HISTORIC INFLUENCE OF HISTORY STUDY
AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

by

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Approved  

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Table of Contents

Foreword................................................................. 1

Ch. I- Status of Historical Instruction prior to 1789

1- Schools of the Old Regime ....................... 3

2- Testimony of famous persons

(a) Those who prepared the French mind for the Revolution ........ 6

(b) Those who were active in the Revolution..................... 8

3- Character of the historical literature of the eighteenth century..... 12

4- Conclusion of the chapter......................... 18

Ch. II- Evidence of a Knowledge and Appreciation of History by the Revolutionary Leaders

1- Mirabeau

(a) His significance in the Revolution......................... 19

(b) Typical historical arguments.................. 20

(c) Summary of his allusions...................... 27

2- Vergniaud

(a) His part in the Revolution............. 28

(b) Typical historical arguments........ 29

(c) Summary of his arguments............. 31

3- Robespierre

(a) A great Revolutionary leader........ 33

(b) Historical arguments.................... 34

(c) Summary of his arguments............. 36
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4- Danton</th>
<th>Page Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) His part in the Revolution</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Historical arguments</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5- Barère</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) His significance to the Revolution</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Historical arguments</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Summary of his arguments</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6- Baudin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Significance and historical allusions</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7- Gaudet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) His part in the Revolution</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Historical arguments</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8- General Summary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9- Camille Desmoulins, a typical journalist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the Revolutionary period</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) His significance for the period</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) His indebtedness to history</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10- Talleyrand, a typical statesman of the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>early Revolutionary period</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) His influence on the Revolution</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) His knowledge of history</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11- General conclusion of the chapter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ch. III- History in the Revolutionary Projects for Public Instruction

| 1- Opinions of Johnson and Compayre           | 53          |
### iii.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2- Talleyrand's comprehensive project for public education</th>
<th>Page Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Its significance</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Degrees of education proposed</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Arguments for history teaching</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) History in the primary school</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) History in the district and departmental schools</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f) History in the National Institute</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3- Mirabeau's discourse upon education</th>
<th>Page Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Its importance</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Importance of public education</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) History in his scheme</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4- Joseph Dorsch and the Normal Schools</th>
<th>Page Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) His arguments for teaching history</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5- Memoir of d'Archenholtz</th>
<th>Page Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6- Grand project by Condorcet</th>
<th>Page Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Its significance</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Condorcet's philosophy</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) School Organization</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Arguments for teaching history</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) Far-reaching influence of scheme</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>7- Romme's report on education</th>
<th>Page Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) His part in education of France</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) School organization</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Recognition given history</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>8- Joseph Serre's proposal for education</th>
<th>Page Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv.</td>
<td>Page Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9- Educational project of Lakanal</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10- Deleyre's ideas upon education</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11- Project of Lepelletier</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12- School laws of Delacroix</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13- Daunou's essay upon education</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14- Educational project of Robespierre</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15- Petition from the department of Paris</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16- Petition of Crouzet and Moherault</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17- Gregoire's report upon the preparation of historical texts</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18- Curriculum of the College of Mans in 1793</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19- Conclusion of the chapter</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chapter IV- Educational Laws from 1790-1806: provisions for Historical Instruction.

1- Actual Legislation versus Agitation                               | 84          |
2- Constitution of 1791                                             | 85          |
3- Various laws organizing the Primary Schools                      | 85          |
4- Distribution of Primary Schools                                  | 86          |
5- History in the Primary Schools                                   | 87          |
6- Provision for Primary text-books                                 | 88          |
7- The Normal Schools                                               | 89          |
8- History teaching in the Normal Schools                           | 89          |
9- The Central Schools                                               | 90          |
10- History in the Central Schools                                  | 90          |
11- The Lycée                                                       | 91          |
12- Provisions for teaching History in Lycée.                       | 92          |
Chapter V-- Pragmatic Evidences of Historical Influence upon the Revolution

1- Emphasis upon the fêtes...................... 98
   (a) The Civil fêtes...................... 99
   (b) The Military....................... 100
   (c) Fêtes under the Committee of Public Safety....................... 102
      (1) Fête of Capture of the Tuileries 103
      (2) Fête of Reason............... 104
      (3) Fête of Supreme Being... 104

2- Historical Paintings......................... 106

3- The Theatre and History...................... 108
   (a) Chenier and the historical drama 109
   (b) Other historical dramas........... 110

4- Evidences of Historical Influence upon public opinion....................... 112
   (a) New histories of the period... 112
   (b) Influence of Jacobin Club..... 114
      (1) Jacobin Debates............. 115
Chapter VI - Revolutionary History the Product of Historic Influence

1- Influence of history on constitutional measures
   (a) Declaration of Rights of Man
   (b) Constitution of 1791
   (c) Constitution of 1793

2- Influence of history on the treatment of the Church

3- History and financial legislation
   (a) Assignats
   (b) Real Estate tax
   (c) The law of the Maximum

4- The Emigrés

5- Influence of history on the King's flight

6- Influence of history on the trial and execution of the King

7- History and the Great Terror

8- Influence of history on the foreign policy of the Revolution

9- Influence of history on military affairs

10- Influence of history on the Napoleonic reconstruction

11- Conclusion of the chapter
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VII- Conclusion</th>
<th>1- General Summary</th>
<th>145</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2- Significance of the facts demonstrated</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3- Value of such a study</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4- Danger of teaching perverted history</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII-Appendix A</td>
<td>1- Bibliography</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX- Appendix B</td>
<td>1- Histories written by French authors during the eighteenth century</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X- Appendix C</td>
<td>1- Historical translations by French authors during the eighteenth century</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI- Appendix D</td>
<td>1- Histories published by Contemporary writers during the latter half of the eighteenth century</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FOREWORD

This study has been entered upon with the purpose of determining the influence of historical instruction upon history making. It is an attempt to answer the question whether the various far-reaching movements arise spontaneously and independently of historical obligations, or whether, a knowledge and deliberate use of precedents is a vital factor in inaugurating new movements.

The period of the French Revolution has been selected for the field of this study for a number of reasons. In the first place the source material for this period is especially complete and accessible. This period is of peculiar interest also, because it represents the first real beginning of the democratization of governments. And, particularly, this is a period when it is often asserted that historical information was discredited. It is quite popularly supposed that the break with the ancient regime was so complete and so abrupt that history was disregarded, discredited, and ignored. If it can be established that the leaders of this period made a definite attempt to build upon the experience of the race, it may be presumed that historical information is a vital factor in every type of institutional development.

This study attempts to answer the following questions:

(1) Were the leaders of the Revolution familiar with history?

(2) If they were, where and how had they gained their
(2)

information?

(3) Did they demonstrate their indebtedness to history by their policies and acts?

(4) Particularly, did they prove their indebtedness to history by their encouragement to history teaching?

(5) Finally, was history a potent factor in determining the course of the Revolution?

It is apparent that consideration of these questions is quite significant for any attempt which seeks to analyze, not only the status of history in this period, but also, the general influence of historical instruction as a force in the development of nations and civilizations.
Chapter I

Status of Historical Instruction prior to 1789

Three tests have been made in order to determine the status of historical instruction during the old regime in France, and, particularly, in the period immediately preceding the Revolution. In the first place a brief study of the various teaching Orders which dominated education in France during the eighteenth century has been pursued to ascertain, if possible, their attitude and practice relative to the teaching of history. Secondly, the testimony of some of the prominent characters who were educated in these schools has been investigated; and, lastly, the type of literature, and especially, historical works which were produced by French and contemporary writers during this period have received considerable attention.

Education in France during the old regime was controlled by the church. The religious Orders were formed primarily for the support of the church and the recruitment of the priesthood, and were, therefore, indifferent to the intellectual condition of the masses. Progress in elementary education in France dates from the foundation of the Schools of the Christian Brethren. This order flourished until the suppression of the monastic orders during the Revolution. The Port Royal schools also started out to provide elementary work but did not limit their efforts to this type of instruction. These schools gave instruction in reading, writing, and catechism, but their number was not sufficient to reach any considerable
number of the elementary school population.

These religious orders were especially concerned about the education of leaders, and consequently, they made more liberal provisions for secondary and higher training. This higher instruction was provided by the Universities, Jesuits, Jansenists, Oratorians, and other teaching orders.

The Society of Jesus played a leading part in the educational history of France for about two centuries. Their primary purpose in the beginning was to combat the Reformation, and they sought to accomplish this by controlling the education of the nobles and wealthy. They were very successful and early became formidable rivals of the Universities. This Order eventually brought themselves into ill repute by extending their activities to political issues, and were suppressed in 1763. While the Jesuits laid their principal stress upon Latin and Greek, history was taught as an accessory subject, meaning that less time was given to it than to the classical languages.¹

The Jansenists, also, exercised considerable influence upon the education of France. Their curriculum was not so narrow as the Jesuits. Beginning as early as 1644 they gave three periods a week to the teaching of history.² Nicole in his "Traité de l'Education d'un Prince" devotes several paragraphs to the study of history and sums up its advantages as follows: it cultivates memory and judgment, and since pictures, portraits, and views may be used, it stimulates the imagination

¹- Schwickerath, Jesuit Education, p. 125
²- Barnard, The Little Schools of Port Royal, p. 147
and delights the child. History occupied a large place in Arnauld's study plan for the Port Royal schools, being found in every class morning and afternoon from the sixth to the rhetoric inclusive. The child had to relate some historical event "which he found in Valerius Maximus, or Plutarch, or some other historical work." Arnault also recommended the daily reading of some passages from the history of France.

The Oratorians established themselves in France as a teaching order about 1611. They competed with the Jesuits with varying degrees of success until the expulsion of the latter in 1763, when they came more directly into control of secondary education. This Order was less harsh and rigid than the Jesuits and devoted more time to the vernacular, scientific studies, and history. From the beginning they had special teachers of history and encouraged the study of modern as well as ancient history. National history occupied three of the best years of their course. At Juilly, one of the most famous schools of the Oratorians, the first two years were devoted to sacred history, the next three to the history of Greece and Rome, and the last year to French history.

Twenty three universities had been established in France since the twelfth century and all still existed nominally in 1789. The earlier university colleges taught the history of Judea, Athens, and Rome. Near the close of the eighteenth century, however, the history of France was placed in the universities. Boiteau states that the college of Toulouse

3- Farrington, French Secondary Schools, p. 238
4- Barnard, The Little Schools of Port Royal, p. 148
5- Farrington, French Secondary Schools, p. 238
6- Boiteau, État de la France en 1789, p. 483
did not have a separate chair of history before 1763,\(^7\) indicating that the other colleges had been so provided before that date. There appears, also, in the minutes of the Committee of Public Instruction under the date 30 December 1791 a memoir concerning the school of Music at Menus established in 1784, stating that history and geography had been taught as a regular part of the curriculum ever since the establishment of the school.\(^8\)

The next logical test of the status of history in the pre-revolutionary period concerns itself with a consideration of the testimony of a number of prominent individuals who were products of these schools. Some of these were men who emancipated themselves from the shackles of authority and prepared the French mind for the Revolution. There is Montesquieu for example, the great French philosopher and historian, who spent five years at the Oratorian college at Juilly, where as it is stated elsewhere, at least six years were devoted to the study of history. While here he began preparation for the mighty work which was destined to break the long silence of the French spirit on rational politics. In 1734 he published his "Considerations sur la grandeur et la décadence des Romains." This strictly historical work is an attempt at a philosophical analysis of the history of Rome. "It was the first work in which a comprehensive attempt was made to show how the events and course of history have been determined by great physical and moral forces. It is even at the present day one of the

\(^7\) Boiteau, *État de la France en 1789*, p. 483
\(^8\) Guillaume, *Procès-Verbaux du Comité d'Instruction Publique de l'Assemblée Legislatif*, p. 171
most remarkable of the numerous studies to which the surpassing interest of Roman history has given rise."9 This work was widely read and frequently and carefully edited. His greatest and most influential work, the "Esprit des Lois" will be considered in another connection. Voltaire, also, had great influence in breaking down superstition and authority. He tells us under what circumstances he was led to approach philosophy. Madame du Châtelet was a great student of history. She told Voltaire that she had read with pleasure the history of the Greeks and the Romans, but complained that she became confused in her study of the long modern histories. Voltaire pointed out that the method of historians in presenting the facts should not blind us to the true merit of historical study.10 Thus he constructed his own histories upon the theory that laws, arts, and manners are the chief matter and concern of history. It is said that Rousseau and his father were devoted students of history. Such books as Nani's History of Venice, and Le Sueur's History of the Church and the Empire were studied by them, but the work which made the greatest impression upon the young Rousseau was Plutarch; he used to read to his father during the hours of work, and read over again to himself during all hours, those stories of free and indomitable souls which inspired him to freedom and liberty. Plutarch was dear to him to the end of life; he read him in old age when he had nearly ceased to read, and he always declared that Plutarch was about the only author to whom he had never gone without

9- Flint, The Philosophy of History, p. 263
10- Morley, Life of Voltaire, pp. 299-300
profit. "I think I see my father now," he wrote, "living by the work of his hands and nourishing his soul upon the sublimest truths. I see Tacitus, Plutarch, and Grotius lying before him along with the tools of his craft. I see at his side a cherished son receiving instruction from the best of fathers."¹¹ Turgot gave lectures upon history at the Sorbonne about 1750. "None before and few since have described so well how age is bound to age, how generation transmits to generation what it has inherited from the past and won by its own exertions."¹² History he declared was the life of humanity, ever progressing through decay and revival, each age linked equally to those which have gone before and to those which are to come. As a deduction of principles set forth in the lecture he boldly predicted the independence of the American States twenty-three years before it came,¹³ while Washington wrote as late as 1774 that independence was not desired by any thinking man in North America. The principles which he set forth were enthusiastically proclaimed by leading men in France a quarter of a century later, and it was through them, twelve years later still, to receive its great practical application in the great Revolution.

Besides those who prepared for the Revolution are ranged those who were important factors in its prosecution. Camille Desmoulins, who actually hurled France into the throes of the Revolution as indicated in a later chapter, was an ardent student of history. He was educated in the college of Louis-le-Grand, and while a student there, "he gave himself up body and soul to the study of the antique world; he fed upon Athenian

¹¹- Morley, Life of Rousseau, pp. 12-13
¹²- Flint, Philosophy of History, p. 281
¹³- Stephens, Life and Writings of Turgot, p. 9
honey and Roman marrow, learning from the great past a love for the great word Republic. The Roman Revolutions of Vertot filled him with admiration, and inspired him with the hope of someday striking death to the tyranny of the old regime. Madame Roland, also, took a keen interest in the study of history. She found in Plutarch's Lives "the pasture of Great Souls." In the first months of her married life she read Plutarch while she cooked her husband's dinner. She was a republican after the manner of Plutarch, and fancied herself a Greek or Roman heroine. She dwells at length upon the authors who formed her mind. She says, "After Corneille who made her Roman, and Plutarch who made her Spartan, came Voltaire, Holbach, Helvetius, Diderot, and Raynal." Baron de Frenilly in speaking of his recollections of Paris in 1788 says, "That next to politics, the lycee was then the rage. From nine in the morning until ten at night, lectures followed one on the other: physics, chemistry, anatomy, botany, astronomy, and literature, in addition to history and language. Garet delivered to us a very fashionable lecture upon history." La Harpe is also mentioned as giving instruction upon literary history. Charlotte Corday was a diligent student of Voltaire, Rousseau, Raynal, and Plutarch, as well as of English history. This history inspired her with a deep seated hatred against all oppression, and so she determined to free her country from Marat, to whose account a great deal of the blackness, wickedness, and cruelty

14- Jules Claretie, Camille Desmoulins and his Wife, pp. 12-18
15- Rose, Life of Napoleon, vol. i, p. 10
16- Madelin, History of the French Revolution, p. 14
17- Baron de Frenilly, Recollections, p. 58-59
18- Van Alstine, Charlotte Corday, pp. 37-41
of the great Revolution was laid. Talleyrand spent five years preceding 1775 at Saint-Sulpice College where he seems to have utilized most of his time studying history. "I spent my days there reading the productions of the great historians, the private life of statesmen and moralists. My really useful education dates from this time." 19 The earliest instructors of Condorcet were the Jesuits, then within a few years of their fall. It was impossible, however, for the Jesuits to keep his mind away from history and politics. "For thirty years," he wrote in 1790, "I have hardly ever passed a single day without meditating upon these subjects." 20 His principles were doubtless deeply colored by ideas drawn from two sources. He was Voltairean in his antipathy for church authority, and he learned from Montesquieu to look upon societies with a scientific mind and to perceive the influence of past institutions upon men. He came to recognize that there are laws susceptible of modification in practice which regulate the growth of these institutions. He viewed history as the story of the intellectual emancipation of mankind, and while in 1789 he was not an avowed revolutionist, before two years had gone by he was an ardent republican. Writing in July 1791 he confutes those who asserted that the establishment of a limited monarchy was a safeguard against a usurper by pointing out that the extent of France, its division into departments, the freedom of the press, the multitude of public prints, were all insurmountable barriers to a French Cromwell. "To anybody who has read with attention the history of the usurpation of Cromwell, it is

19- Broglie, Memoirs of Talleyrand, vol. i, p. 15
20- Morley, Miscellanies, p. 168
clear that a single newspaper would have been enough to stop his success. It is clear that if the English people had known how to read other books besides their Bible, the hypocritical tyrant, unmasked from his first step would have soon ceased to be dangerous." Again, he says, "Is the nation to be cajoled by some ambitious general to be an empire-race? Will he promise our soldiers, as the consuls promised the citizens of Rome, the pillage of Spain or of Syria? No, it is because we cannot be an empire nation that we shall remain a free nation." Danton was sent to Troyes and placed with the Oratorians, the religious order which had the honor of training many of the French Reformers. In a famous speech recorded in the Moniteur he makes a reference to the influence of the training received in these schools, and notes truly its tendency to turn men republican. In 1774 Mirabeau addressed to the Dauphin, later Louis XVI, an "Essay upon Despotism." The material in this work is drawn from a variety of historical sources, such as from the writings of Sallust, Tacitus, Cicero, Horace, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Hume, Hobbes, Mably, Bouquet, and others. There are references in later connections in this study something of Mirabeau's knowledge and use of history. Napoleon entered the school of Brienne in 1779 at the age of ten. He proved to be a mediocre student in many of his studies, but it is stated that he studied history and geography with pleasure. During the eighties "Raynal's Philosophical and Political History of the Indies" was the most widely read book in

21- Morley, Miscellanies, pp. 191-192
22- Belloc, Danton, p. 45
23- Moniteur, August 15, 1793
24- Fling, Mirabeau and the French Revolution, p. 450
25- Fournier, Napoleon I, pp. 8 and 15.
France, and Napoleon was wonderfully influenced by this author. The third line of evidence relative to the pre-revolutionary status of history considers the character and extent of the historical literature produced during the eighteenth century. An investigation of the historical publications demonstrate quite conclusively that with the eighteenth century the scope of historical study rapidly widened. During this century Ruinart gathered the records of the early martyrs, Montfaucon laid the foundation of Greek palaeography and classical archaeology, Bouquet began collecting the historians of France, Clement compiled the first comprehensive chronology, Sainte-Marthe wrote the history of the provinces of Christian Gaul, Vaissète and De Vic compiled the annals of Languedoc, Rivet began the great "Histoire littéraire de la France", Muratori collected the sources of Italian history, Leibnitz collected the early records of the House of Brunswick and compiled the annals of the Mediaeval Empire, while in England such men as Wharton, Strype, Hearne, Maddoz, Hicks, Rymer, Wilkins, and others gathered together a great storehouse of historical learning. These men laid much of the foundation upon which history could be satisfactorily built up.

Fréret produced many historical works during the early part of this century. The range and scope of his activities can only be indicated here in a very brief way. He produced eight volumes devoted to the study of the chronology of the ancient world. Specialists are agreed that his special dissertations on the chronology of the Assyrians, Chaldeans, Lydians.

26- Note: A very limited number of historians and their works can be considered here. Others are listed in the Appendix of this study.
Egyptians, Hindus, Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans were important contributions to the histories of these peoples.\textsuperscript{27} This man also investigated Chinese chronology, the time when Pythagoras lived, the dates of the battles of Marathon, Platea, the taking of Athens by Sulla, and the death of Herod the Great. His complete works were gathered together and published in twenty volumes in 1798.

There were two general histories of France which attracted a great deal of popular attention during this period. The former was published by Gabriel Daniel in 1713; the latter by Velly from 1755 to 1759.\textsuperscript{28} In 1730 Rollin published his Ancient History. "There was no French author of the eighteenth century more popular or more widely read then Rollin."\textsuperscript{29} Another book of great repute in this period was Fresnoy's "Méthode pour étudier l'Histoire." The first edition was published 1713; a second and much larger edition appeared in 1729. This work was very popular and was translated into Italian, German, and English.

Three great works appeared about the middle of the eighteenth century which manifested a decidedly philosophical treatment of history. They were the following works: Montesquieu's "Spirit of Laws," Turgot's "Discourses at the Sorbonne," and Voltaire's "Essay on the Manners and Spirit of Nations." The "Esprit des Lois" appeared in 1748 and enjoyed such an imme-

\textsuperscript{27} Flint, Philosophy of History, p. 250
\textsuperscript{28} Note: Napoleon expressed a very great appreciation and indebtedness to Velly (See Thibaudeau and the Consulate, page 125)
\textsuperscript{29} Flint, The Philosophy of History, p. 250.
diate popularity which carried it through twenty-one editions in eighteen months. An investigation of this work reveals an exceptionally elaborate citation of history upon which his conclusions are based. He shows in a grand scale and in a most effective way, that laws, customs, and institutions can only be judged of intelligently when studied as what they really are, historical phenomena. Fueter, the noted historiographer, in comparing Montesquieu's influence upon history with that of Voltaire states that we are sometimes inclined to rank the former among political scientists rather than historians, but he insists that the "Esprit des Lois," especially, had upon a great many historians such an influence as to far overshadow the principles even of Voltaire. Turgot showed history to be no mere aggregate of names, dates, and deeds brought together and determined either accidentally or externally, but an organ­ic whole with an internal plan progressively realized by internal forces. His views of history embraced all elements of social life,—science, art, government, manners, morality, and religion. "Voltaire is entitled to have the highest place among those historians who wrote for the instruction of the general public." His "Charles XII" (1731) was a brilliant in­stance of descriptive history in which he portrayed the char­acter and career of the Swedish monarch. In 1752 he produced his "Siècle de Louis XIV" which was of great value and in­fluence. It subject is not a man but an age—a great eventful epoch. Perhaps, his most influential and meritorious work,

30- Flint, Philosophy of History, p. 250
31- Fueter. Histoire de l'Historiographie Moderne, p. 475
32- Flint, The Philosophy of History, p. 291
however, was his "Essai sur les Moeurs et l'Esprit des Nations." This work was written at the suggestion of Madame de Châtelet and published in 1756. It traces the growth of national manners, the progress of society, and the development of the human mind from Charlemagne to Louis XIV.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century numerous historical works appeared but space will not permit a consideration of many of them in this connection. In 1756 Mably published his "Observations sur l'Histoire de la France" in two volumes. This work possessed considerable merit and was re-edited later by M. Guizot. Mably, also, published his "De l'Étude de l'Histoire" (1778), and "De la manière d'écrire Histoire" (1782). Abbé de Condillac published a "Universal History" (1775) in thirteen volumes. This work was an attempt to trace the history of philosophical opinions, of science, and of civilization. Raynal's "Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies" was the most popular of all the historical writings which appeared in France during the reign of Louis XVI. It was first published in 1771 and rapidly passed through twenty editions, and was translated into almost every language of the civilized world. During the Revolution Volney's "Ruins" and Condorcet's "Sketches" appeared. The former was a survey of the revolutions of empires published in 1791; the latter entitled the "Équisse d'un Tableau Historique des Progrès de l'Esprit Humain" was written while concealed from the emissaries of Robespierre in the garret of a friend. He describes nine great epochs in the past history of the human race through which mankind has progressed,
and, even though at the moment of writing in the shadow of the guillotine, he pictures a glorious future at hand. In 1753 Vernet published his "Abrégé de l'Histoire Universelle pour la direction des jeunes gens." This was a work as the title indicates designed for the teaching of universal history. Millot also wrote a series of brief histories evidently intended for school purposes. In 1767 his "Elements de l'Histoire de France" first appeared; it passed through seven editions before the close of the century. His "Éléments de l'Histoire d'Angleterre" was published the same year and met with the same popular approval. The seventh edition was published in 1815. From 1772 to 1778 brief Ancient, French, and Roman histories were published by the same author.

This brief discussion of some of the most important historical writings of the period is sufficient, perhaps, to indicate the character of the works which were being produced, as well as, the popular attitude towards such literature. There is abundant evidence of an active historical interest in practically every known country. The Critical Review of 1791 makes the following significant statement: "Numerous are the histories of our own country (England); the eastern and western parts of the globe have had their separate historians: scarcely a kingdom or petty state in the north or south of Europe both has engaged the attention of some able writer." 34

In reviewing a new volume of the modern French period, the reviewer states in the

33- Note: More extended lists of historical works published during this period may be found by referring to Flint, Gooch, Fueter, Gentlemans Magazine, Critical Review, Annual Register, and various bibliographies such as Lanson and others.

34- Critical Review 1791, p. 404
same magazine under date of 1793, "that memoirs are already published relating to the reigns of Louis XIV and XV, epochs so well known even in their secret details, that it would be no difficult task to compose a faithful history of them."[^35] England produced several famous historians during this period, such as Hume, Gibbon, Echard, Middleton, Robertson, Smollet, and others, but they nevertheless recognized the superiority of the French historians. The reviewer of Hume's History of England in 1761 definitely states that "the French and the Italians have long continued our acknowledged superiors as to historians."[^36] This recognition is also emphasized by the fact that in 1771 Millot's Elements of French History was translated into English to provide a textbook for the instruction of girls. "The translator informs us that as the reading of history has now become a part of female education, it has been thought by many, that the abridgment is more proper than any other to be put into the hands of young ladies. We entirely coincide in the opinion of its utility for that purpose. It contains a concise narration of all the memorable events of French history. Since it is brief we think that it may prove useful to that part of our sex who are not disposed to study a larger work."[^37] Such a statement as the above implies that the boys in England at this time were not only taught history but were expected to make a more intensive study of it than such a brief text would provide.

This chapter has attempted to present a very brief resume of the schools and teaching Orders in France previous to the

[^35]: Critical Review 1793, p. 526
[^36]: Annual Register, vol. iv, p. 301
[^37]: Critical Review 1771, vol. xxxii, p. 141
Revolution, and to indicate in a general way the attitude of each towards the teaching of history. It has pointed out that the Order which placed least emphasis upon this subject was suppressed shortly after the middle of the century. This removed the greatest obstacle in the way of the more liberal school men, who utilized the opportunity for further extension of their respective Orders. In the second place certain evidence has been presented concerning the testimony of prominent eighteenth century leaders who were products of these schools. Finally, the historical publications of the period have been reviewed, demonstrating quite conclusively a wide and varied interest in historical studies. The next problem before us involves an analysis of some typical speeches and writings of certain famous revolutionary leaders who were educated in these schools to determine if possible the extent of their historical information, as well as the influence of such knowledge upon their plans and programs.
Chapter II

Evidence of a Knowledge and Appreciation of History by the Revolutionary Leaders.

It has been shown in the preceding chapter that the schools of the old regime made provision for the teaching of history; it has also been pointed out that there was an active interest in the production of historical literature, especially, during the last half of the eighteenth century. The fact has been emphasized that many of these works of history produced a profound effect upon public opinion, and particularly, upon certain youths who were later to become dominant factors in the prosecution of the Revolution. It is next to be shown by an analysis of certain typical speeches and writings that the conspicuous revolutionary characters possessed a wide range of historical information, and that they used it effectively to further their policies.

Honoré Gabriel Riqueti, Comte de Mirabeau was the greatest orator and chief factor in the history of the Constituent Assembly. His career during the Revolution was too important to be sketched here. Every modern history emphasizes the fact that until the day of his death, on 2 April 1791, his attitude towards every question which arose was of the greatest importance. Some characteristic quotations are cited from various speeches illustrating the variety and type of history employed by him in his most important speeches. Other references will occur from time to time in later connections.

One of his first great speeches was made on 3 February 1789 in which he openly defied French aristocracy. His own
order had refused to elect him to the States-General because of his liberal ideas, but he was elected to the great assembly which was to remodel France by the "tiers état" of both Aix and Marseilles. In this speech against the Nobility and Clergy of Provence, he points out how in all countries and in all ages, the aristocrats have implacably pursued the friends of the people; and, he says, "When such a friend has arisen from the very bosom of aristocracy, it is at him pre-eminently that they have struck, eager to inspire wider terror by the elevation of their victim. So perished the last Gracchi by the hands of the patricians. But, mortally smitten, he flung dust to heaven, calling on the avenging gods to witness, and from that dust sprang Marius—Marius, less illustrious for having exterminated the Cimbri than for having beaten down the despotism of the nobility."¹ The Constituent Assembly's favorite labor of constitution making was often interrupted by the necessity of considering the actual state of things in France. During the summer and fall of 1789, the state of the finances was a vital question. National bankruptcy was threatening France. Necker lost no opportunity of pressing the financial needs of the country upon the consideration of the Assembly. On the 24 September Necker proposed the levy of a special tax of twenty-five percent of all incomes to be paid on the taxpayers own valuations within three years. Mirabeau supported the proposal in one of his most famous speeches, concluding as follows: "A few faithbreakers have said 'Catiline is at the gates of Rome, and yet you deliberate.' There has been about us no Catiline

¹- Brewer, Library of the World's Best Orations, vol. viii, p. 3033
This speech carried through Necker's proposal but it had little effect upon the state of the finances.

Mirabeau presented a report 25 August 1790 in the name of the Diplomatic Committee which manifests in a high degree his knowledge of history and foreign politics. "Louis XIV reunited in his families the scepters of France and Spain. This reuniting and the ambitious views which it concealed raised up against us many European nations. The kings were relatives, the people were not united, and the ministers were in rivalry. England profiting by their divisions and weakness took possession of the seas with impunity and secured the commerce of the world. Finally, after the war had been fought which took from France her vessels, her riches, and her best colonies, our misfortune furnished to the Spanish a glorious occasion to display themselves to such an extent that they have never ceased doing so."  

This report is filled with numerous quotations of which the above is typical. One of the severest constitutional debates was over the question of the veto. Was the King to have an absolute veto after the model of England or the suspensive veto? Mirabeau decided to support the absolute veto as he was very familiar with the history of the English constitution, as well as a great admirer of the English constitution. He traced in great detail the constitutional development of England and the important part played by the royal veto. "In the first place if the prince has not the veto what will prevent the representatives of the people to prolong and finally, to perpetuate their
deputation. It is thus, that the Long Parliament reversed the political liberties of Great Britain.\(^4\) He refers to the fact that in 1772 Gustavus III, King of Sweden, overthrew the dominion of Swedish aristocracy and issued a new constitution for Sweden which gave the King supreme executive power. "Because of this," he says, "Sweden has not returned to despotism."\(^5\) He goes on and calls attention to the custom of the English Parliament of passing the Mutiny Act for only a year at a time since 1689. "Perhaps, to remove the recurrence of the National Assembly, they will propose for you an intermediary commission."\(^6\) Such commissions were often appointed by early States General in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. "I consider," he says, "the veto of the King so essential, that I prefer to live in Constantinople than in France if he does not have it."\(^7\) In spite of Mirabeau's marvelous plea, the Assembly adopted the suspensive veto patterned after that of the President of the United States.

The Chamber of Vacations of Rennes refused to obey the decrees of the National Assembly, therefore, on 9 January 1790 he delivered a speech in which he traced out by splendid historical arguments how the nobility had cost France centuries of oppression, public, private, political, as well as fiscal, feudal, and judicial. In speaking of the nobles of the province of Brittany, he says, "Must the terms of the marriage contract of one Ann of Brittany make the people of the province slaves to the nobles till the consummation of the ages?"\(^8\)

4- Stephens, Orators of the French Revolution, vol. i, p. 104
5- Ibid, p. 112
6- Ibid, p. 108
7- Ibid, p. 113
8- Brewer, Library of World's Best Orations, vol. viii, p. 3037
In the Spring of 1790 there was considerable reaction against the revolutionary measures carried out the preceding summer and fall. Mirabeau, therefore, made a speech 19 April 1790 before the National Assembly justifying the Revolution. In the course of the speech he made numerous historical allusions. For example, he calls attention to the instance of the Roman who to save his country from a dangerous conspiracy had been constrained to overstep the powers conferred upon him by the laws. He pictures how a captious tribune tried to exact from him the oath that he had respected those laws, hoping by this insidious demand to drive the consul to the alternative of perjury or of an embarrassing avowal. "Swear," said the tribune, "that you have obeyed the laws." "I swear," replied the great man,—"I swear that I have saved the Republic." Mirabeau then turned to the Assembly and said, "I swear that you have saved France." 9 It is said that this speech had a wonderful influence in putting down for the time opposition to the course of the Revolution. As has been indicated already, Mirabeau defended the King in certain of his rights, and as a result of this attitude was attacked on May 21 by a pamphlet under the title "La grande trahison de Mirabeau découverte." During the course of a speech the following day in defense he made the following allusion: "The other day they would have borne me in triumph; and now they cry in the streets 'The great treason of Count Mirabeau!' I needed not this lesson to teach me how short the distance from the capitol to the Tarpeian Rocks!" 10

Mirabeau argued in the Constituent Assembly against the establishment of religion in a manner which reveals his know-

9- Brewer, Library of the World's Best Orations, vol. 8, p. 3039
10-Ibid, p. 3035
ledge of Hebrew, as well as Greek and Roman history. He compares the status of Christianity in his day with that of its earlier history, and points out the uselessness of establishing a state religion. "What a spectacle it would be for those early Christians, who, to escape the sword of persecution, were obliged to consecrate their altars in caves or amid ruins, could they this day come among us and witness the glory with which their despised religion now sees itself environed; the temples, the lofty steeples bearing aloft the emblem of their faith—the evangelistic cross which crowns the summit of all departments of this great empire! Methinks I hear them exclaim, even as the stranger of old time exclaimed on beholding the encampment of the people of God: 'How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel!'

Without doubt the most important speeches which Mirabeau delivered in the Constituent Assembly were those on the subject of the right of declaring war and peace. His extraordinary arguments derived from history have a permanent value. The question had not yet been considered by the National Assembly or its Constitutional Committee, when it was brought prominently to the front by the demand of the King of Spain for the armed assistance of France against England under the terms of the 'Pacte de Famille' in connection with the Nootka Sound dispute. The National Assembly resolved that the treaty should be observed, and directed in consequence that a squadron should be got ready. The general question as to what authority under the new constitution should have power to make war and peace was

11-Brewer, Library of World's Orations, vol. viii, p. 3025
12-Note: For reference to this dispute see Morse Stephens, History of the French Revolution, vol. i, pp. 318, 319.
was then raised. The debate commenced on May 16, 1790. Mirabeau held that the most important function of the government must necessarily be inherent in the King, as chief of the executive. He understood that no monarch could begin an unjust war or conclude a dishonorable peace against the wishes of a majority of the people who controlled the finances of the country. He saw, however, that it would be impossible to overcome the prejudices against the King so he decided to advocate a middle ground. On May 20 and 22 he delivered his great speeches on the subject. His speeches won the support of the majority and retained for the executive his most important prerogative. This success was one of Mirabeau's greatest victories in the tribune. The following indicate the type and range of history used in his arguments: "It is among the nations who did not have a king at all that military success made them king. It was to Carthage and Rome that such citizens as Mannibal and Caesar were a danger."13 "I suppose there is not a corps of the National Army which has not enough patriotism to resist a tyrant, and what king might lead the French against the French as easily as Caesar who was not born to a throne made them cross the Rubicon to Gaul." He refers repeatedly to the ancient republics of Rome and Greece as well as to the practices of such European states as Poland and Sweden.15 He refers to the Secretary of War under the regime of Louis XIV by saying, "You have had Louvais under despotism, do you wish to have him still under the regime of liberty?"16 He alludes to the story of Jenkin and his ear which brought

13-Stephens, Orators of the French Revolution, vol. i, p. 161
14-Ibid, p. 161
15-Ibid, pp. 137, 140, 142, 151, 152, 158
16-Ibid, pp. 148, 150
about the outbreak of war between England and Spain 1739 and which led to the overthrow of Walpole. "Look," he says, "at the act of the sailor who in 1740 made England resolve war against Spain." The war was neither just nor politic and neither the King nor the ministers wished it. "Look at the Polish Diet: several times a deliberation upon war has only excited their wrath." This reference is to the time when Poniotowsk was prevented by the Diet from joining Russia against the Turks in 1788. This failure led to the overthrow of Polish independence. Gustavus III of Sweden declared war against Russia in 1788 but he was wonderfully hampered in the prosecution of it by the discontent of the nobles whose power he had recently broken. Mirabeau calls attention to this: "Remember what happened in Sweden; the King had strengthened the suffrage of the state, but the dissenters almost obtained the culpable success of making the war a failure." "Holland," he says, "presents another brilliant example." This reference is doubtless to the neutrality of France in 1786, when in spite of the appeals of the Dutch Republicans who wished to overthrow the stadtholder, the King of Prussia was allowed acting under the influence of Pitt and the English ambassador at the Hague, to advance into Holland and replace the Prince of Orange and expel the democratic leaders.

Space will not permit the citation of these historical references at length, but the following summary indicates the

17- Stephens, Orators of the French Revolution, vol. 1, p. 151
18- Ibid, 151
19- Ibid, p. 152
20- Ibid, p. 152
the character, variety, and frequency of this man's use of history. The speeches investigated are listed below.

1- On the Name to be assumed by the Assembly
2- Address to the King
3- On the Veto
4- On Necker's Financial policy
5- Address to the Nation
6- On the Right of declaring war and Peace
7- Report of the Diplomatic Committee
8- On the Assignats
9- On the Emigres
10- On the Insurrection of 5 October 1789
11- Reason Immutable and Sovereign
12- Justifying the Revolution
13- Against the Establishment of Religion
14- Defying the French Aristocracy
15- On Members of the Assembly being Ministers

Mirabeau's historical allusions or references to history distribute themselves in the adopted scheme of classification in the following manner:

1- Classical history
   (a) Greek.......................... 6
   (b) Roman.......................... 15
2- American history.................. 8
3- Revolutions........................ 3
4- National history.................. 21
5- Carthage.......................... 1
6- Orient............................. 3
7- Contemporary history............. 45
   Total.................... 102

It may be observed that the above classification and summary indicates an average of about seven historical references to each of the speeches considered. In one speech selected at random from the above I find that more than five pages of material out of a total of twenty-seven pages is devoted to a discussion of historical material, or approximately twenty percent of the total bulk is concerned with historical references.
Vergniaud was the greatest orator of the Girondins. He was educated at the College of Plessis of Paris and later he studied at the Sorbonne. In 1791 he was chosen to the Legislative Assembly, and from the beginning he was a dominant figure. His speech on the emigrés on 25 October 1791 secured for him the presidency of the Assembly. From 10 August 1792 to the meeting of the Convention he was reporter of the Committee of twenty-one which governed France during those critical weeks; he was then elected first deputy to the Convention where he remained a Girondin leader until the downfall of the party in June 1793.

An analysis of the speeches of Vergniaud reveals copious historical quotations which are frequently derived from the history of Greece and Rome. A few selected extracts are presented to illustrate the nature of his allusions to classical history. The first important debate in the Legislative Assembly was on the subject of the emigrés. The departure from France of the princes of the blood, and of the nobility and many of the commissioned officers, and their establishment at Worms and Coblentz where they breathed out threats against the new state of affairs was regarded with the greatest suspicion. The question of coercive measures against them was hotly debated. Vergniaud especially distinguished himself by his elaborate speech delivered the 25 October. He was chiefly responsible for forcing through the decrees providing, (1) that if the King's brother did not return to France within two months he should have forfeited his right to the regency in case of the King's death, (2) that all emigrés who had not returned by 1 January 1792, should be declared conspirators, their property should be con-
fiscated and they should be condemned to death. "They will tell you of the intense grief that this will bring to the heart of the King. A Brutus will sacrifice the criminal children of his country. The heart of Louis XVI will not be put to so severe a test. But it is worthy the king of a free people to show himself so great as to acquire the glory of a Brutus."  

"In olden times even kings eagerly desired the title of a Roman citizen; it remains for us to make them (emigrès) envy the title of French citizen."  

"If it finally becomes necessary for France to measure her forces and her courage we will make those thousands of Greece look insignificant who fought for liberty and triumphed over the millions of Persia; if we fight for the same cause and with the same courage we will obtain the same victory."  

Concerning the disposal of the King, Vergniaud was in favor of death but he wanted to throw the responsibility of judging Louis XVI upon the nation as a whole, therefore, on 31 December 1792 he made a famous speech in favor of submitting the death penalty to the people for ratification. In this speech he drives home his argument by many historical arguments. For example, he says, "We know that Tiberius Gracchus perished at the hands of a misled people whom he had constantly defended."  

"What does it mean for a Catiline to rule a senate: that a particular will ought to be substituted for a general will, and tyranny for liberty."  

Again in his speech on the conspiracy  

21- Stephens, Orators of the French Revolution, vol. 1, p. 337  
22- Ibid, p. 338  
23- Ibid, p. 258  
24- Ibid, p. 337  
25- Ibid, p. 338
of 10 March 1793, he says, "Today the emissaries of Catiline do not only present themselves at the gates of Rome, but they have the insolent audacity to come within the walls and display their signs of a counter-revolution." 26 "During the night the assassins destroyed all the presses of the journalists. They were heard to say as the savage conquerors of Alexandria had said in speaking of the books of the library which they burned: 'Either they contain that which is in the Koran, or they contain other things. In the first place they are useless; in the second dangerous.'" 27 The disturbances which kept Avignon in a state of anarchy for considerable time and culminated in the terrible massacre of the Glacière cannot be described in a few words; reference must be made to the historians. 28 Vergniaud made a speech 19 March 1792 in opposition to a general amnesty to certain factions who participated in those crimes. He says in concluding his speech, "I will finish by a reflection which history proves. To end a civil war by the execution of a few criminals is proof of the victory; it is a lesson to sacrifice the conquered to the victor. It covers by the veil of the law those proscriptions of Marius, Sulla, and Caesar." 29

Vergniaud not only used classical history in a masterful way to enforce his arguments, but he likewise made frequent allusions to national and contemporary history, as the following

27-Ibid, p. 354
28-Note: Reference may be made to the following:
illustrations indicate: "If in the war with Saxony Frederick had procrastinated his successor could only have claimed the title of Marquis of Brandenburg. On the contrary he attacked and the King of Prussia holds today with the Emperor the political balance which slipped out of our hands." 30 "When Cromwell wished to prepare the dissolution of the party with which he had upset the throne and made Charles the First mount the scaffold, he made the insidious proposition to them which he knew would cause the nation to revolt, but which he was careful to support by hired applause and great clamors. Parliament yielded, the fermentation was general, and so Cromwell broke without effort the instrument which he had used to arrive at his supreme power." 31 "The influence of old Vauban is still upon our frontiers defended by a line of patriotic and courageous troops, devoted national guards, and by the enthusiasm of liberty." 32 "If one runs through the historic chain of events since 1756, one sees that France has sacrificed her American colonies, her soldiers, her gold, her ancient alliances, and her glory to the house of Austria." 33

The following speeches of Vergniaud have been investigated:

1- On the Emigrès (25 October 1791)
2- Address to the People (27 December 1791)
3- On the War (18 January 1792)
4- On the Avignon Amnesty (19 March 1792)
5- On the Situation of France (3 July 1792)
6- On the Summons to the Camp (2 September 1792)
7- On the Appeal to the People (31 December 1792)
8- On the Conspiracy of March 10 (13 March 1793)
9- Reply to Robespierre (10 April 1793)
10- On the Oath to be taken by the Priests (16 May 1792)

30- Stephens, Orators of the French Revolution, vol. i. p. 283
31- Ibid, p. 341
32- Ibid, p. 277
33- Ibid, p. 280
The references and historical arguments which occur in the speeches investigated have been classified with the following results:

1- To Classical history
   (a) Greek ........................................... 7
   (b) Roman (General) .............................. 13
   (c) Catiline ....................................... 4
2- To National history .............................. 9
3- To Contemporary history .......................... 12
4- To Oriental ....................................... 2
5- To Revolutions .................................... 2

Total ............................................. 49

The conclusion is plain. This man most effectively used on an average 4.9 allusions to some type of history in each of his orations.
Maximilien Marie Isidore de Robespierre exercised but little real influence upon the course of the Revolution in its earlier stages, but his influence and importance grew steadily in the Constituent Assembly. After the death of Mirabeau he was recognized as a leading statesman. He became the idol of the Jacobin Club, as well as, the leader of the deputies of the Mountain. On the 31 May 1793 the Mountain triumphed over the Girondins and Robespierre became one of the rulers of France. That Robespierre was one of the chief authors of the Great Terror is an indubitable fact, in spite of what his apologists may urge. From the execution of Danton until the fall of the Mountain this man dominated the Great Committee of Public Safety almost at will, and was the real leader in the affairs of France.

The speeches of Robespierre are carefully founded on classic models; their instance and examples are almost invariably drawn from Greek, Roman, and other types of history. The following extracts and summary indicate the type and extent of historic references used by him in some of his typical orations. "The cottage of Fabricius need not envy the palace of Crassus. For my part, I would rather be the son of Aristides brought up at the expense of the Republic, than the presumptive heir of Xerxes, born in the corruption of courts, to occupy a throne adorned from the degradation of the people, glittering with public misery." 34 "See," he says, "with what profound art Caesar pleading in the Roman Senate in favor of the accomplices of Catiline, goes astray into a digression against the immortality

34 Lewes, Life of Robespierre, p. 296
of the soul. Cicero, on the contrary, calls down upon traitors the sword of the laws and the thunder of the gods. Socrates, when dying, talked with his friends of the immortality of the soul. Leonidas at Thermopylae, dining with his companions in arms, before executing the most heroic deed that human virtue has ever conceived, invited them for the following day to a banquet in another world." 35 On 30 May 1791 Robespierre made a marvelous plea for the abolition of the death penalty which he fortified with abundant references to history. He says, "The news having been carried to Athens that citizens had been condemned to death in the city of Argos, they ran in the temples and prayed the gods to turn aside the Athenians from thoughts so cruel and deadly." 36 "Did the Republic of Greece where punishment was more moderate, where the punishment of death was rare or absolutely unknown, supply more crime and give evidence of less virtue than countries governed by the law of blood?" 37 "Nowhere is the extreme penalty of death so frequent as in Japan, and nowhere are crimes so frequent and atrocious." 38 "Has Russia been turned topsy-turvy since that despot who governed her has entirely suppressed the penalty of death, as if he desired by that one humane act to purchase the privilege of holding millions of men under the yoke of his absolute power?" 39 "Do you believe that Rome was disgraced more by heinous crime, when, in the days of her glory the Porcian law had abolished the severe punishment applied by kings and by decem-

35-Stephens, Orators of the French Revolution, vol. ii. p. 403
36-Ibid, p. 299
37-Ibid, p. 302
38-Ibid, p. 302
39-Ibid. p. 302
virs, than she was under Sulla, who revived them, and under the emperors who exerted their rigor to a degree in keeping with their infamous tyranny." 40 "They were not permitted to put a Roman citizen to death but Sylla conquered and said, 'All who bore arms against me deserve death.' Under Tiberius to have praised Brutus was a crime worthy of death. Caligula sentenced to death all those who were sacrilegious enough to undress before the image of the emperor." 41 He uses history to prove two propositions; (1) the death penalty does not prevent crime, and (2) that if it is permitted it is very liable to be abused.

After the overthrow of Danton, Robespierre was free to propound his ideas for the future government of France. On 7 May 1794 he analyzed the principles which should form the foundation of a permanent republican system. This speech, as in fact all his speeches, is a model of classic allusions. A few historical extracts are cited as illustrations. "The Priests have treated God as the mayors of the palace treated the descendants of Clovis. They reign in his name and put themselves in his palace; they exile Him to heaven, and only call Him upon earth to serve them in their demands for wealth, honor, and power." 42 In defending his idea of a Supreme Being and of the immortality of the soul, he says, "I know that the wisest have mixed some fiction with truth. Lycurgus and Solon had recourse to oracles, and Socrates was obliged to persuade his fellow citizens that he was inspired by a familiar spirit." 43

In his last speech before the Convention 26 July 1794 he calls

41-Ibid, p. 300
42-Brewer, World's Best Orations, vol. ix. p. 3337
43-Stephens, Orators of the French Revolution, vol. ii. p. 403
the attention of the people to the Verres and Catilines of France, and says. "I have seen many times in history all defenses of liberty overcome by ill-fortune or calumny; but soon, their assassins also met their death." 44

The character, frequency, and range of Robespierre's use of history may be presented more vividly by the following summary, indicating the speeches analyzed and the number of historical arguments produced.

1- On the Abolition of the Death Penalty (30 May 1791)
2- On War (2 and 11 January 1792)
3- Reply to the Accusations of Louvet (5 November 1792)
4- On Conduct to be pursued with regard to Louis XVI (3 December 1792)
5- On Property (24 April 1793)
6- On the Arrest of Danton (31 March 1794)
7- On the Relation of Religion and Morality to Republican Principles (7 May 1794)
8- On the Festival of the Supreme Being (8 June 1794)
9- Last Speech delivered in the Convention (26 July 1794)

The table below shows the number and variety of historical references which appear in the above speeches.

1- Classical history
   (a) Greek........................................ 23
   (b) Roman......................................... 36
   (c) Catiline...................................... 4
2- Japan............................................. 1
3- American history............................. 4
4- Contemporary history....................... 8
5- National history............................. 4
6- Revolutions.................................... 2

Total........................................... 82

Thus, Robespierre used on an average of more than nine historical references in each of the above speeches. Indeed, an examination of the first speech listed above reveals the fact that more than twenty percent of the total bulk of subject matter is distinctly historical.

44- Brewer, World's Best Orations, vol. ix. p. 3342
Danton, like Mirabeau and Robespierre, played such an important part in the history of the Revolution, that it would be impossible in this study to present even a brief sketch of his political career. He was educated in the Oratorian College of Troyes where he proved himself a good classical scholar, and one of his school fellows reports his fondness in his boyhood for the Latin historians. In 1789 he took an active part in the elections of the "tiers état" of Paris to the States General, but he was not chosen as an elector. In 1790 he founded the Cordeliers Club which became the rallying point for the advanced democrats of Paris. He was disgusted with the Constituent Assembly, which he saw was building up an impossible constitution that would end in a weak government which would have to be overthrown by another revolution. He took part with the people in the attempt made to keep the King from going to Saint-Cloud on 18 April 1791; he accused the King of treachery and desertion at the time of his flight to Varennes in June 1791; and he helped to prepare the petition in favor of a republic which led to the massacre on the Champ de Mars on 17 July 1791. During the Legislative Assembly he gradually became a leader. During 1792 and 1793 he persistently argued for a strong central government; especially, after the defeat of Dumouriez at Neerwinden he saw that only a strong executive could save France. On 7 April 1793, his election to the first Committee of Public Safety made him one of the rulers of France. He did a great deal to create the despotism of the Great Committee and the Reign of Terror, but he did not approve of the severity of the Terror. His opposition to these excesses led to his 45-Aulard, Les Orateurs de la Legislative et de la Convention, vol. ii. p. 193 (Cited by Morse Stephens)
downfall. The Leaders of the Great Committee had him arrested, not because of anything he had done, but because of what he might do. He was accused by Robespierre, condemned, and speedily executed.

On 10 March 1793 Paris had received the news of the disaster of her armies on the frontiers. It was rumored that Dumouriez had been cut off and forced to surrender. Danton tried to arouse a spirit of determination to repulse the Prussians. In the course of his speech he alluded to England as the modern Carthage. "Take Holland," he shouted, "and Carthage is destroyed and England cannot exist except for democracy." The effect of this speech was very profound; it was mainly responsible for the establishment of the Revolutionary Tribunal. After the defeat of Dumouriez at Neerwinden and his expulsion from Belgium, Danton his frequent visitor and outspoken supporter, was frequently attacked as an accomplice in the treason of the former. In a speech 27 March 1793, he defended himself against these accusations. It was a marvelous plea for unity, harmony, and for a display of revolutionary vigor. He says, "At Rome Valerius Publicola had the courage to propose a law which carried the death penalty against any person who should cry tyranny. But here, even in the streets and public places the greatest patriots are insulted." On 13 July 1793 Robespierre read the scheme for national education which had been drawn up by Lepelletier providing that schools should be established to which all children might be sent in order that they might be fed, clothed, and taught in the same manner. Danton was a

47-Ibid, p. 202
practical man and no socialist. He supported the plan so far as it established free education but he objected to making it compulsory. His position was adopted by the Convention. He says, "It is to the monks; it is to the age of Louis XIV, when men were great by their acquirements, that we owe the age of philosophy brought to the knowledge of the people. It is to the Jesuits who destroyed themselves by their political ambitions, that we owe an impetus in education invoking our admiration."  

In October 1793 the Republican Calendar was adopted by which the year was divided into twelve months of thirty days each, commencing with the twenty second of September and ending with the seventeenth of September. From the seventeenth to the twenty-second were five, and in leap years six, days called the Complementary or Sans-Culottides, devoted to various festivals. Danton speaking of this said, "If Greece had her Olympian games, France will also celebrate her Sans-Culottides."  

On 17 May 1791 the Constituent Assembly decreed that all mulattoes and negroes born of free parents had the full right of French citizenship. But it was not until the 4 February 1794 that the Convention actually decreed the abolition of negro slavery. Danton made a speech on this occasion which was primarily responsible for the decree. He utilized several historical arguments in this speech, for example, he refers to Las Casas, who came to America as a missionary soon after Columbus, and devoted himself to defending the natives against the cruelties of the Spaniards. "The great principles developed by the virtuous Las Casas have not been appreciated until  

49-Ibid, p. 270
Now. We labor for future generations, starting liberty in the colonies; it is from this day that England is dead."\textsuperscript{50}

After the proscription of the Girondin leaders, Bertrand Barèe was the most important orator in the Convention. He was not a statesman like Danton and Robespierre, but he exerted great influence upon the course of the Revolution; this commanding influence which he possessed during the most critical period of the history of the French Revolution was due to his faculty of seizing the views of others and developing them clearly and forcefully. He was elected to the States General in 1789, and later to the Convention where he took his seat in the centre. He became the leading orator of the Committee of Public Safety. When the Thermidorians began to look around to find some one to make the scape-goat of the excesses of the Reign of Terror, Barèe was selected to bear the blame. He was exiled but amnestied after the establishment of the Consulate. Barèe was an excellent scholar and his knowledge of history was wide and varied as a few quotations from his speeches will indicate.

On 10 July 1793 the second Committee of Public Safety was elected. On 1 August following Barèe read the first report to the Committee on the state of the country. The following quotations are cited from this report: "Why should not the government of England attempt by so many crimes to snatch away from us a liberty which she has always abhorred? Why should not England seek to poison us with royalty which she superstitiously adores? Why should not England seek to avenge herself for the cruelties of the American Independence by favoring

\textsuperscript{50}\textsuperscript{-} Stephens, Orators of the French Revolution, vol. ii. p. 282
our subjection to him whom avarice has prescribed so much crime
and political corruption? Take the accounts of modern history.
It is the government which during the war with India subjected
the Indians to the horrors of famine by stopping upon the seas
the food carried by neutral commerce. They have tried the same
thing against us. This is the same government which in the
Bengal closed the depots where food for the whole province
was stored, so as to permit death to hasten its ravages in
order that wealth might be more easily extracted from the rest
of the woeful population whom they sought to subject. It is the
government which in the war with America bought from the Ger­
mans soldiers and weapons as a merchant buys his cattle. It is
the same government that gave disgraceful prize money to the
savages for carrying to them the bloody scalps of the Americans
who wished to be free men. It is the government which at New
York burned the College, the Observatory, and other buildings
which they knew to be dear to the hearts of the Americans. It
is the government which bought the American officers as it hired
the German soldiers; it is they who bought Arnold as they
bought Dumouriez. It is the government which employs the treas­
ures of India to enslave Europe, the benefits of commerce to
destroy liberty, the advantages of social communications to
corrupt men, and the tribute of peoples to hinder France.51
"Louvois was accused by history of having aroused the Pal­
atinate and he ought to have been accused; he worked for des­
potism; he pillaged for the tyrant. The Palatinate of the Re­
public is the Vendee; and liberty which this time will direct
and 21
the writing of history, will praise our resolute courage because we have assured the rights of men and because we have destroyed the two greatest maladies of nations—religious fanaticism and royal superstition."52 "Pitt has figured out by his cold calculations how he might be able to give a king to France, because he sees that in olden times there was an Englishman upon the throne. He remembers that for several centuries the English aided by certain circumstances such as our poorly trained troops, incapacity of officers, and deception of subjects, had absorbed three-fourths of our province."53 "The people of the continent tired of this insular oppression and this national tyranny will realize the solemn vow of Cato: 'the modern Carthage must be destroyed'."54 In this speech consisting of thirty-five pages in the publication cited below, six pages or approximately one sixth of the entire report is devoted to the recital and discussion of purely historical material. Moreover, its fame is due largely to its historical allusions, particularly that one in reference to Cato's vow which became the slogan of the Revolution and was taken by Napoleon as the keynote of his Continental Blockade.

One of the most important and permanent results of the French Revolution is the fact that it welded a number of provinces with different customs, laws, and languages into a single nation. Barère saw the importance of teaching the French language to accomplish this and acted accordingly. On 27 January 1794 he made a report which revealed an amazing fund of historical information. "Rome," he says, "instructed her young

by teaching them to read in the twelve table of the law. France
will teach her citizens the French language in the book of the
Declaration of Rights." 55 "We have a people who were never
enslaved or mastered, whom Caesar was not able to conquer in
the midst of his triumphal course in Gaul, whom Spain was not
able to reach in the midst of their revolutions, and whom the
despotism of our despots could not put under the control of
the galleys of the intendents. I speak of the Basque people." 56

In all, ten speeches of Barère were studied, namely,

1- Report on the State of the Republic
2- Report on the Necessity of Teaching the French Lan-
guage
3- Report on the Law of the Maximum
4- Report on the Heroism of the Sailors of Vengeur
5- Report on the Capture of Charleroi
6- On Giving New Names to the Monuments of Paris
7- Report on the Conspiracy of Robespierre
8- Second report on the Conspiracy of Robespierre
9- Report on the Release of Robespierre
10- Report on the Battle of Fleurus

In the above speeches Barère used on an average of 3.7
historical references. These allusions and arguments distri-
bute themselves as indicated below:

1- Classical history
   (a) Greek.............................. 2
   (b) Roman (General).................. 7
   (c) Catiline.......................... 1
2- Carthage............................ 3
3- America............................ 3
4- Contemporary........................ 5
5- National............................ 8
6- Revolutions........................ 3
7- India............................... 4
8- Hebrews............................. 1

Total............................... 37

55- Stephens, Orators of the French Revolution, vol. ii, p. 46
56- Ibid, p. 43
The great orators of the Revolution, except Mirabeau, belonged to what is loosely, but not unnaturally called, the Girondin party. Baudin was another of these Girondin orators and leaders. He was elected to the Legislative Assembly in 1791 and to the Convention in 1792. He did not emerge as a great leader until after the fall of Robespierre and the conclusion of the Reign of Terror. The only speech analyzed was the one delivered while he was President of the Convention, on the occasion of the great 'Festival in honor of the Deputies who had lost their lives as victims of tyranny' on the 11 Vendémiaire. This speech is an eloquent tribute to the men who perished in the Terror, especially the sixty-five Girondins who had perished for signing the protest of the seventy-three. He says, "The righteous indignation which produced eighteen months of anarchy has not made us forget four centuries of despotism. Have the blood-stained pages of history been snatched away? Are the cruelties of Louis IX, the massacres of Charles IX, the sinister ministries of Richelieu, and the disasters of the reign of Charles VI only chimeras?"  

"Cromwell combined valor and genius, and he was an usurper. Caesar was a superior man but he became none the less a tyrant."  

"Gensonne had the great mind of a Cato and the same Stoic virtue."  

In speaking of Vergniaud, he says, "This tribute is not more applicable to Cicero than to him — 'a good man, skillful in the art of speaking'."  

In the one speech he makes use of five historical arguments.

58-Ibid, p. 547
59-Ibid, p. 554
60-Ibid, p. 556
Guadet was styled the AEschines of the Gironde. In 1790 he was elected member of the Council General of the Gironde, and in 1791 to the Legislative Assembly. He was made President of the Assembly and served as a member of the Committee of twenty-one. In 1792 he was elected President of the Convention. On 10 April Robespierre delivered an attack on the Girondins and two days later it was answered by Gaudet. In this speech he says, "Citizens, if in declaring before the Senate of Rome that one had conspired against the liberty of his country; if in accusing Catiline, Cicero had founded his accusations upon evidence of the nature that Robespierre has produced against me, he would have filled his hearers with indignation and contempt. If after announcing that he had come to perform a sad and painful task which his love for his country compelled him to do, Cicero had ended by joking and irony, he would have been disgracefully chased from the Senate. These people detested a slanderer and knew how to punish them. But Cicero was a good man; he did not accuse without proof; he did not speculate upon the ignorance of the people. Cicero would not buy a popular reputation in order to monopolize the Republic." 61 "In two words I have never been in union with Dumouriez: these are not imaginations, they are facts. Conquering, victorious, I admire him—conspirator, I condemn him. Believe you that Brutus did not love his children? Brutus had a father's love. Nevertheless, Brutus condemned them, and no one supposed that he was an accomplice to the crimes of his children." 62 On the 18 May 1793 he spoke on the conduct of the Jacobins. He re-

61—Stephens, Orators of the French Revolution, vol. i. pp. 422
62—ibid, p. 435
ferred to the tyranny of Pride's Purge in England and stated
"that events indicate that this act of the history of England
is about to be perpetuated here." In his last speech to the
Convention he closes with this allusion: "It is not necessary
to agree with these principles. Phocion and Socrates would not
have swallowed the hemlock, if the one had been willing to
embrace Anytus and the other to reconcile himself with it." in
the three speeches Gaudet makes a total of ten references
to history.

The Revolution of 10 August 1792 brought Louvet to the
front. He was elected to the Convention and at the instigation
of Madame Roland prepared his famous accusation against Robespierre. in the course of the speech he says, "I demand that
you have your constitutional committee examine the question to
ascertain whether for the maintenance of public liberty you
should not pass, as in ancient Greece, a law which would con­
demn to banishment every man who allowed his name to become a
subject for division between the citizens." Then I remember
Sylla who began in Rome by punishing the most detested citizens,
but who shortly attacked those most renowned for their talents
and virtue." in the two speeches analyzed, Louvet used eight
historical arguments, or an average of four to each speech.

A summary of the tests we have applied to the orators of
the Revolution is significant. Such an analysis reveals not
only the type of history cited but the extent and frequency
63-Stephens, Orators of the French Revolution, vol. i. p. 447
64-Ibid, p. 453
65-Ibid, p. 474
66-Ibid, p. 472
as well. From the scheme of classification presented the number and character of historical allusions may easily be observed. The total number of references appearing in the speeches discussed are distributed in the following manner:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1- References to Classical history</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Greek</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Roman (General)</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Catiline</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2- References to American history</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3- Contemporary history</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4- Revolutions</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5- Carthage</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6- Japan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7- Hebrews</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8- India</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9- National history</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10- Egyptian</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11- China</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>314</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Probably no single revolutionary historical allusion was more effective than that famous one by which Desmoulins aroused the mob spirit of the Revolution. On 12 July 1789 the news came that Necker had been dismissed. Desmoulins leaped upon a table outside of the cafe in the garden of the Palais Royal and announced to the crowd the dismissal of their favorite minister. "To arms," he shouted: "This dismissal is a tocsin of Saint Bartholomew to patriots." The crowd embraced him and the cry "to arms" resounded on every side. On the 13 the crowd partly organized, and on 14 the Bastille was taken.

Camille Desmoulins, however, was not really an orator, but rather a revolutionary journalist and politician. From the beginning of the Revolution he was connected with Robespierre with whom he had studied while a student at the College of Louis-le-Grand. His friendship for Danton was the cause of his downfall.  

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Claretie, Camille Desmoulins and His Wife, pp. 46-47
Robespierre at the head of the Committee of Public Safety was making rapid strides towards tyranny. Danton determined to resist this Committee, and his disciple, Desmoulins, as a prominent journalist began the attack by declaring himself against the terrorists. This aroused the enmity of the Great Committee which sent him along with Danton to the guillotine 5 April 1794.

It has been stated in a previous chapter that Desmoulins was a great student of history. In fact, it is said that he wore out at least six copies of the Roman Revolutions by Vertot, and that he invariably had a copy of this author in his pocket. Extracts from his note books testify to his method of work. He made out orderly notes tabulated as subjects and words, so that the journalist had at his disposal an alphabetical repertory, a portable arsenal of historical quotations. But very few of these pertinent quotations can be reproduced here because of lack of space. Thus, under the heading of the "Manners of the Romans" the following appear: "Romulus divided the soil into three parts; one for religion; another for the support of the government; he distributed the third among the citizens. Hence no taxes." 68 "In the beginning there were patricians and ple­bians in Rome; but in the beginning the word patrici meant only, some authors say, those who could give the names of their fathers." 69 "When the Republic became a flourishing state, each senator was obliged to prove possession of an annual income of forty thousand livres." 70 "At Rome permission to speak was not asked; the senators spoke in their turns." 71 He quotes also from Mably: "'Money is the motive power of war,' said Aristides; 68-Claretie, Camille Desmoulins and his Wife, pp. 381-382 69, 70, 71- Ibid, p. 382
'do you not see that our poverty does not permit us to have a fleet and keep up an army?' 'These fine maxims,' says Phocion, 'would not have been heard when our fathers vanquished the Persians at Marathon and Salamis. They were poor yet they built a fleet to fight Xerxes. if money be as powerful as Pericles called it, why do we not buy a Miltiades, an Aristides, or a Themistocles?' Continuing his quotations from Greek sources, he says, "Pisistratus, being accused of murder, appeared before the Areopagus to justify himself as though he had been the meanest of citizens." "Xerxes wrote to Leonidas: 'If thou will submit, I will give thee the empire of Greece.' Leonidas replied, 'I would rather die for my country than enslave her.'" "Aristides, when exiled, left Athens praying for his country." Besides the sources already indicated, numerous quotations also appear from such authorities as Voltaire, Herodotus, Josephus, Xenophon, Mezeray, Pliny, Strabo, and various other historians. These quotations illustrate the type of information which appealed to Desmoulins. He had evidently mastered a great mass of such material which inspired him with an undying love and devotion to the cause of liberty and free institutions; so at the opportune moment he was ready to strike for the freedom of France.

As Desmoulins has been taken as a typical journalist of the period, we may select Talleyrand as a typical representative statesman of the early years of the Revolution. A scion of the..."
the old nobility and a leader of the clergy, he was chosen to
the States General in 1789 and was soon recognized as one of
the most advanced members. He stood for the amalgamation of
the Third Estate, helped draw up the Declaration of the Rights
of Man, and proposed the confiscation of the landed property of
the church. He rendered notable service to France by his criti-
cism of the finances of the reformed state, and by a report
upon public instruction which was epoch making. In 1792 he was
sent to England to win over Pitt and his master to the Revol-
ution, but while there he came under the suspicion of Robes-
pierre who proscribed him. He was not permitted to return until
1795, after which he became a great factor in the consolidation
of Napoleon's power.

It has been stated elsewhere that Talleyrand confesses to
having studied history while a student in college. Portions of
his writings have been examined to determine whether they re-
fect a knowledge of history to any special degree. It has been
found that his memoirs, especially, are frequently interspersed
with historical quotations or allusions, as indicated by the
following extracts: "The power of what in France they call So-
ciety, was prodigious during the years which preceded the Revo-
lation, and even, during the whole of the last century. The
light and varied ways peculiar to it probably prevented our
historians from noticing the origin of it, and following up
the effects, of this strange result of modern civilization.
In countries where the constitution is lost in clouds of hist-
ory, the influence of society must be immense. We see that
Athens and Rome in antiquity, England and united States of
America in modern times, have never had, and have no society. The dramatic literature of the ancients, Plutarch, the letters of Cicero, the chronicles of Suetonius, give us no idea of society circles. In Athens we see that the women lived in absolute retirement. The love-intrigues there only applied to courtesans or to young girls stolen from their parents by slave dealers. The Romans, by nature warriors and conquerors, always scorned those customs which make life more quiet and more pleasant. If eloquence itself, which contributed so much to their glory, was not banished from Rome, it was merely because the Senate made use of it to preserve the State, and defend life and property. The women of Rome never left the shelter of their homes. This mingling of the two sexes in society was unknown to the ancients, and but a few years since it was still held in scorn by the customs of England and America. In France it was under the reign of Francis I that women first began to appear in court."

Such types of historical references by the conspicuous leaders of the Revolution, as well as by men of much lesser prominence of the revolutionary period might be multiplied indefinitely, but space will not permit a more elaborate presentation of such material in this study. This discussion has presented a brief digest of the results of a rather careful study of the original speeches and writings of several of the most influential men of this very important period of

76-Talleyrand's Memoirs, vol. i. pp. 49-50

77-Note: A study has been made of other noted men of the period whom it has been impossible to discuss in this chapter. The speeches and writings of such men as Saint-Just, Marat, Cambon, Gensonne, Condorcet, Brissot, Gregoire, and many others, reflect the same knowledge and appreciation of history.
French history. Typical historical arguments from some of the most vital speeches have been translated and incorporated into this discussion in order to illustrate the historical influence. In conclusion, it may be stated that this chapter demonstrates conclusively that the leading thinkers and men of action of the Revolution knew history particularly and used it effectively to fortify their arguments and carry out their projects.
Chapter III

History in the Revolutionary Projects for Public Instruction

In the preceding pages it has been demonstrated by various lines of evidence that there was an active interest in historical information during the eighteenth century, and that historical knowledge was particularly common among the Revolutionary leaders. Our next task is to indicate the value placed upon historical knowledge by these statesmen of the Revolution. This problem involves primarily an investigation of the various proposals during the course of the Revolution for the establishment of public instruction, with particular regard to the provision made for history teaching in these schemes. It is true that it has been quite popularly conceived that the Revolution was such a decided and abrupt break with the past that history came into ill repute—that it was discouraged and ignored. In fact, it is actually stated by a certain authority, "That even in the days of grand projects, I mean under the Revolution, the boldest organizers of national schools, Talleyrand and Condorcet, had not included history in their programs."\(^1\) Again, it is asserted by another writer, "That the Revolution developed much in its trend of thinking that either tacitly ignored or consciously defied history, and that the Republic of Year I was in appearance the culmination of an organized movement to abolish history."\(^2\) Nevertheless, it will be shown that the arguments and liberal provisions for the incorporation of history into the educational projects

1- Compayre, Lectures on Teaching, p. 343
2- Johnson, Teaching of History, pp. 88-89
of the Revolution demonstrate quite definitely and conclusively the deference of the framers of these schemes to history as a proper and essential subject for school instruction. In short, it was neither discriminated against nor ignored by any of the schemes proposed.

As has been indicated earlier the schools of the old regime were under the control of the church but the advent of the Revolution soon brought these schools into a state of utter demoralization. This state of affairs called for some immediate action, and therefore, the provisional school law was passed 13-19 October 1790 providing that the schools be conducted as formerly for a period of one year. In the meantime the Committee of the Constitution was instructed to make a report upon the various views concerning the establishment of a system of public instruction. This was the origin of the voluminous work of Talleyrand which he read to the Constituent Assembly in the sessions of the 10, 11, and 19 September 1791. Talleyrand states in his Memoirs, "that I charged myself with the report of the Constitutional Committee on Public Instruction. To accomplish this great work I consulted the most learned men among whom were Condorcet, La Harpe, and others. They all assisted me and the reputation of the work demanded that I should name them." Thus, this report is significant not only because it is a great literary monument which represented the clerical influence of the period, but also, because it represented the combined thought of many of the greatest educational leaders of the time. It is also important because of

3- Talleyrand Memoirs, vol. i. p. 102
the very important part played by Talleyrand in the Constituent Assembly. 4

The present inquiry concerning this educational project has to do with three main considerations which are especially pertinent in determining the extent of historical provisions. In the first place the report has been analyzed from the standpoint of the classes of schools suggested. Talleyrand has worked out a complete system which embraced the whole gamut of education from the modest village primary school to the National Institute located at Paris. Between the highest and lowest orders of schools there were to be established the district and departmental schools. The primary school was to provide free and public education to all children in order to develop their intellects and instill moral principles so as to make them the most useful and most honorable citizens. 5 It was planned that the district school should provide more extended courses for the further development of the faculties of the young men. 6 The departmental schools were in reality a system of professional schools providing appropriate instruction in theology, medicine, law, and the military arts. 7 Various academies and societies of scholars were to constitute the National Institute. This grand Institute was to dedicate itself to the task of perfecting literature, science, and the arts. Only persons renowned for their accomplishments in some field of

4-Note: For a brief summary of his efforts from July 1789 to September 1791 the reader is referred to pages 49-50 of this study, and also to Talleyrand's Mémoirs, vol. i. p. 102
5-Archives Parlementaires, vol. xxx. p. 480
6-Ibid, pp. 481-485
7-Ibid, pp. 485-486
knowledge were eligible to this institute.  

Talleyrand maintains that if instruction is to be most advantageous for the individual all the faculties of man must be exercised. Thus, instruction should develop the physical, intellectual, and moral faculties. He maintains further that the intellectual faculty is composed of the elements of memory, imagination and reason. History, he insists, should be taught for three purposes: (1) to develop patriotism; (2) to inspire moral virtue; (3) to cultivate the memory.

According to this project historical instruction should begin in the primary schools. In discussing these schools, he says, "It is necessary to offer elementary knowledge of historical sketches for the memory of the children so that they may be made to love the privileges of their country and to cherish the place of their birth." He calls attention to the fact that France is entering upon a new era, under a new constitution, which can avail little unless supported by a new system of instruction. "Ignorant men under a liberal constitution are easy prey for the charlatans. Thus, general instruction must be provided which will enable the citizens to profit by the experience and errors of the preceding generations of mankind. Therefore, we must be able to present to the young the history of ancient free peoples so as to inflame their imaginations by a recital of the ancient heroes, to make them live in a word, as it were, in the midst of Sparta and Rome." In

8- Archives Parlementaires, vol. xxx. p. 490
9- ibid, p. 454
10-ibid, p. 447
the district school the scheme proposed that the morals
should be developed by a study of the history of religion,
as well as, by a study of the constitution and the Declaration
of Rights of Man. The intellectual faculties and especially
the memory were to be trained by a study of history. "For the
cultivation of the memory these schools will offer instruction
in the history of free peoples, history of France, and hold up
before the children virtuous heroes of all races either among
the ancients or moderns." 11

The departmental schools in Talleyrand's plan were designed
to offer specialized or professional training. History was in­
cluded in the curriculum of the schools of theology, law, and
military arts. Thus, it was to be taught in all the department­
al schools except the schools of medicine. History played an
important part in teaching the constitution in the school of
law. "How useful," he says, "national history may be in devel­
op ing joy and pride in the constitution of their nation." 12 After
the constitution the scheme provided for the study of the
theory of punishments, criminal procedure, criminal law, and
civil law. He called attention to the fact that the latter
had been marvelously developed by the Romans; since the mid­
dle of the thirteenth century their Digest has impressed the
minds of all who have become acquainted with it by its high
degree of wisdom, justice, and superiority. This scheme, pro­
vided, also, for six military schools. Besides the distinct­
ly military arts he insisted that instruction should be given
in the languages, mathematics, geography, and history.

11- Archives Parlementaires, vol. xxx. p. 481
12- Ibid, p. 459
The climax of Talleyrand's educational hierarchy was the National institute. This was designed as a great research school where eminent scholars would be brought together from all parts of the kingdom, as well as, from foreign countries, to pursue advanced study along all lines of investigation. It is manifestly beyond the scope of this brief analysis to attempt a description of all the sections proposed for the elaborate organization. Our interest centers in the section devoted to the philosophical sciences, letters and arts. It was proposed that this section be divided into ten divisions: (1) morals, (2) science of government, (3) ancient history and antiquities, (4) history and modern languages, (5) grammar, (6) eloquence and poetry, (7) painting and sculpture, (8) architecture, (9) music, (10) declamation. It may be observed that history had a prominent place in this institution. Out of a total of thirty chairs which were to provide instruction for this section, six were to provide instruction in history and the science of government.

The main aspects of this remarkable educational project have been presented in so far as they are pertinent for this study. A brief resume may serve to emphasize the significant points. The plan of organization has been analyzed revealing a completely co-ordinated system of schools—all recognizing the teaching of history. (1) The primary school was to take the child from seven years of age to the beginning of adolescence. In this school the child was to be taught historical

14-ibid, p. 493
sketches and facts of various kinds. (2) The district school provided seven years of instruction beyond the primary. In this school, Talleyrand emphasized the teaching of French history, Greek and Roman history, as well as the history of free peoples, both ancient and modern. (3) The departmental schools provided specialized instruction. History had a prominent place in the curriculum of all, except the schools of medicine. (4) Finally, the National Institute, designed for advanced study along all lines, provided amply for historical instruction and investigation, as has already been pointed out. While Talleyrand included history in every class of school from the lowest to the highest, it is also significant that he laid special emphasis upon the possibilities of this study for France. "This study," he says, "will instill moral virtue, arouse men by a recital of heroic examples, develop patriotism and noble pride for the homeland, and cultivate the memory." Moreover, he not only argued for historical instruction and included it in his scheme for public instruction, but he also utilized numerous historical arguments in presenting the scheme itself.

The above project was debated for several days. Buzot, who at the particular moment was leader of the Girondins, opposed the scheme on various grounds. It was emphasized that the nation's political existence was in danger and that there was no time to consider education; that the finances would not permit such expenditures as the system would require; that in England there were few colleges and nowhere was there so many really great men.15 Talleyrand attempted to answer all of these 15-Archives Parlementaires, vol. xxxi. p. 324
arguments. Finally, 26 September 1791 a motion was passed to print the project and distribute copies of it to members of the next legislature. Since the provisional law which had been passed would expire in October some thing had to be done. Therefore, a motion was adopted as follows: "All public educational establishments existing at present in the realm will continue provisionally to exist under the same laws by which they are being governed."

A second educational treatise which merits some consideration was prepared by Mirabeau, whose significant part in the early years of the Revolution has been indicated in another connection. Death prevented the author from delivering this discourse to the Constituent Assembly, but the manuscript was found among his papers and published 10 September 1791. The suggestions of Mirabeau are really four carefully worked out discourses: the first on public instruction or organization of the teaching body; a second upon public fêtes; a third upon the establishment of a national lycée; and, the fourth upon the education of the presumptive heir to the crown. This project is of specific interest for the present study because it is filled with references to history which Mirabeau employs to support his arguments, and besides, it shows the attitude of this great leader and statesman to the subject of education.

He calls attention to the situation in France where there is an age long despotism expiring by reason of its own excesses and points out that the only way to make the new structure eternal is by a good system of public education.

17- Ibid, p. 340
He says, "In slavery men have neither knowledge nor virtue, but under a regime of liberty information must be extended. In a good system of public education along can the regeneration of France be fully completed. It has been seen in all times and has been said in all languages that customs govern the human race; thus, education must give men a knowledge of such customs as will be necessary in the circumstances to which they may be called." His scheme does not provide for a complete well co-ordinated system of instruction. It merely stipulates that public schools and colleges should be established under the control of the departments. The former type of schools devote their attention to primary education, but the colleges should not admit pupils before the age of ten. Besides these general schools, special schools of law, medicine, and theology should be established as demanded. It is recommended in his discourse also that the three French academies be dissolved and one new institution be created bearing the name of National Academy. This Academy should be divided into three sections-- philosophy, literature, and science.

The theatres and public fêtes are emphasized by Mirabeau as a part of public education. These fêtes were to be celebrated in every part of France as a means of creating patriotism and attaching free people to the country. In order to encourage young men to higher learning, Mirabeau insists that a national lycée be established at Paris for one hundred men from all parts of the empire. "Universal history should be taught in this lycée in such a manner as to picture the cus-

18- Archives Parlementaires, vol. xxx. p. 512
toms and governments of all the peoples of the earth."^{19} This report is unsatisfactory in that it is impossible to determine the amount of history which Mirabeau would have taught. The curricula for the colleges and academies are not definitely specified. Yet, this much is certain that he would utilize the fêtes and historical plays to develop patriotism, and, in the lycées where the select leaders are to be trained ample provision is made for instruction in history.

On 7 March 1792 a project for the establishment of Normal schools was addressed to the National Assembly by Antoine-Joseph Dorsch. He refers to Talleyrand's program and commends it for the most part, but points out a weakness in its provision for teachers' colleges which he is attempting to supplement. He, therefore, emphasizes the importance of establishing such colleges in each department of the realm where teachers may be properly educated to instruct in the public schools. Dorsch points out that without such schools public education cannot be carried on efficiently. Since Dorsch was an unofficial French citizen and presented his proposal from the ordinary citizen's viewpoint, his ideas are evidently significant as representing to a certain extent popular attitude and interest in the educational situation. The relative importance of the subjects which he proposes to include in the curriculum of these teachers' schools is briefly but definitely outlined. The arguments advanced for historical instruction are summarized in the following extract: "The history of the human race, its origin, its civilization and its present condition, and especially the age to which we have the good

^{19} Archives Parlementaires, vol. xxx. p. 544
fortune to belong, is one of the most interesting subjects of public instruction. In order to prevent a gross ignorance on the part of the people of these important subjects, it is essential to train the school-masters in French history and universal history. It must not, however, be allowed to become a sterile study, but must exercise the judgment, develop morality, and direct the bent of the young towards useful subjects for imitation."

It may be observed from this that he emphasizes French and universal history as a proper study for the teachers' colleges, and bases his suggestions upon the following arguments: (1) that history is an interesting subject, (2) that history develops morality, (3) that it trains in judgment, (4) that it cultivates patriotism and civic virtue by providing noble examples for imitation.

On 30 March 1792, just a few days after Dorsch made his recommendations, a certain M. d'Archenholtz addressed a letter and a memoir to the Legislative Assembly. This man was an old Prussian officer, and his memoir upon education is of specific interest to this discussion in so far as it reflects the influence of the German educational system upon French educational legislation. He too begins his memoir by calling attention to the grand scheme for national education presented to the constituent Assembly by Talleyrand. He states that all of the most important principles have been pointed out in that plan, but admits that the difficulties in the way of inauguration of such a comprehensive plan are innumerable. Then, after outlining the organization of the German school system,

20-Guillaume, Proces-Verbaux du Comité d'Instruction Publique de l'Assemblée Legislative, pp. 149-150
he calls attention to the choice of subjects for instruction. There all children are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic in schools of the first degree. In the village schools history, geography, and geometry are added to the study of the dead languages. Later on in his memoir it is again stated that the famous Normal Method is prescribed for all the primary schools; this method implies the use of a mechanical process in teaching various branches and is adapted not only to the teaching of reading, writing, and arithmetic, but also to religion, history, and geography. This method he states has caused considerable sensation in Germany. This memoir proves that history was taught in Germany at this time in all grades from the primary school to the university, and the fact that the German plan was discussed in the Legislative Assembly in France indicates considerable influence of the German system.

The next educational project which presents itself for consideration is the most important of all those presented to the revolutionary assemblies. On 20 and 21 April 1792 Condorcet, a member of the Committee of Public instruction, read a very elaborate and comprehensive scheme for the organization of education which was ultimately destined to become the basis of that adopted by the constitution. It laid the foundation upon which the modern French system of education has been built. It is true that more urgent questions compelled its postponement for a time. Even the very reading of the report had to be postponed in order that the Assembly might give their attention to some explanations of the King relative to his

21-Guillaume, Proces-Verbaux du Comité d'Instruction Publique de l'Assemblée Legislative, pp. 422-429
conduct. The various Committees on education, however, always came back to this one. The first Committee of Public Instruction took it for the basis of their work but the wranglings of parties caused it to be put aside or lost to view for a time. Nevertheless, it inspired Romme in Brumaire of Year II, and likewise, lackanal at the beginning of Year III. It is still recognizable in mutilated fragments in the law of the third of Brumaire Year IV, especially, in the organization of the central schools and the national institute. Thus this project has a peculiar significance for the present study not only because of the specific provisions, but also, because of its far-reaching influence. Moreover, it is of particular interest because of the life of the author. 22

Condorcet's fundamental thesis is summed up in three statements which he maintains are justified by the history of the past: (1) the destruction of inequality between nations, (2) the destruction of inequality between classes, (3) the indefinite perfectibility of human nature itself—intellectually, morally, and physically. "If man," he says, "can predict with almost entire confidence phenomena when he knows their laws, if even when these laws are unknown he can from the experience of the past foresee with great probability the events of the future, why should it be deemed chimerical to attempt to picture the probable destiny of the human race in accordance with the results of history? Since opinions formed from the experience of the past are the rules of conduct adopted by the wiser

22- Note: For a brief account of the life of Condorcet the reader is referred to Morley's "Condorcet" in Critical Miscellany, or to an article by Morse Stephens, Yale Review, vol. iv. Encyclopedia Britannica is good also.
portion of mankind, why should the philosopher be forbidden to rest his conjectures upon the same basis, provided he attribute to them no greater certainty than the number, the consistency, and accuracy of the observations warrant?" In short, Condorcet was a devoted disciple of Turgot and Voltaire, and like them, may be classed as a historical philosopher. The influence of history is evident on his educational project. It is illustrated in the following extract: "The plan which we propose to the Assembly has been prepared after the examination of the actual state of learning in France and in the rest of Europe, after all which the observation of several centuries has enabled us to learn of the progress of the human mind in the arts and sciences, and finally, after what a study of the past enables us to foresee of the progress of the future."24

Condorcet proposed five classes of schools for the reorganization of French education: (1) primary, (2) secondary, (3) institutes, (4) lycee, (5) national society of arts and sciences. The primary school formed the first degree of education where the children of the country and the villages were to be taught those things necessary for all citizens. Such information as would develop the moral and civic virtues, as well as information useful to lawyers, justices of the peace, and city officials was to be rigorously taught. Fêtes and brief histories were recommended as the best methods to develop moral virtue and patriotism. He says, "Nature is such that it

23- Condorcet, *Esquisse*, pp. 327, 328 (2nd ed.) (cited by Flint in his *Philosophy of History*)
24- Guillaume, *Proces-Verbaux du Comité d'Instruction Publique de l'Assemblée Legislative*, p. 226
is easy to direct it by instruction. Brief histories will serve to develop and direct the moral sentiments."²⁵ The secondary schools were designed for those children whose parents were able to permit them to remain in school a greater number of years. In these schools the history and geography of France and the neighboring countries were to be emphasized, besides instruction upon the most important points of the moral and social sciences, laws, agriculture and the practical arts. His project in these particulars reads very like a modern twentieth century program for secondary education. A third degree of instruction was provided by the institutes; here the elements of all human knowledge was to be taught. The curriculum was differentiated in such a way that the student could elect one of four possible courses in which to do the major part of his six years work. One course in the institute was devoted to the moral sciences and politics where an intensive study was made of history, constitutions, legislation, economics, logic, and commerce.²⁷ The school in which the fourth degree of instruction was to be given was designated the lycée. All the sciences were to be taught in these schools in all their completeness. The lycée was designed to produce scholars. It also was divided into four classes and a number of professors were attached to each class. One class in this lycée was designated "moral sciences and politics" and was to be presided over by five professors who were to devote themselves to giving instruction in chronology, geography, philosophical history.

²⁵-Guillaume, Proces-Verbaux du Comité d'Instruction Publique de l'Assemblée Legislatice, pp. 188, 193, 194
²⁶-Ibid, pp. 194-196, 229
²⁷-Ibid, pp. 196-206, 230-231
political history, public law and general legislation, moral law, social sciences, economics, finance, and commerce. The capstone of Condorcet's system was the national society of sciences and arts. It was not a school in the strict sense of the term but rather a collection of prominent scholars for research and investigation. It was instituted for the oversight and direction of the educational establishments, for perfecting the sciences and arts, and for the encouragement and exploitation of useful discoveries. The second class was devoted to advanced investigation in moral sciences and politics. Thus, it may be concluded in summation that Condorcet's project recommended the teaching of history in every degree of school instruction. His arguments for such teaching may be briefly summarized as follows: (1) to develop method, (2) to cultivate sound and profound logic, (3) to acquire exactness, (4) to develop morals, and (5) to inspire the youth of the nation with patriotic zeal.

This project of Condorcet produced a marked effect upon the Assembly. His discourse was received by loud and continuous applause, but vital issues coming up for solution the following summer delayed further discussion of the educational question until late in December. At that time there was a heated discussion concerning the establishment of the primary school, but the Convention finally decreed that instead of considering the organization of the primary school, a project upon general education should be prepared. Condorcet's scheme was ordered reprinted and on 20 December 1792 Romme gave his report. The

29-Ibid, pp. 213-226, 238-240
influence of Romme upon educational affairs in France is peculiarly significant because of the numerous reports which he proposed upon education. In the present report he proposed four classes of schools: (1) The primary schools were to give instruction to all children who had attained the age of six. Besides the usual subjects proposed for these schools the children were to be taught the stories and facts of the Revolution.

(2) The secondary schools were to be open to children who had attained the age of ten. The instruction in these schools was to be more advanced and more analytical than in the schools of the first degree. History was to be taught in order to develop morality.

(3) The "institutes" were designed to provide training for those persons who were destined for the various professions. The course in morals and politics constituted one of the four divisions under which instruction was given. Instruction in history was provided in this division.

(4) The lycée was proposed as the school for well informed men where instruction was to be given in the sciences, arts, and letters to the fullest extent. Thus it may be concluded, that in Romme's plan, as in each of the other two major revolutionary proposals for national public instruction, historical instruction was neither discriminated against nor ignored. Quite the contrary, since it has been shown that there was a great deal of argument advanced setting forth the positive advantages of such instruction for the development of an active, intelligent, and efficient citizenship.

30-Archives Parlementaires, vol. Iv. p. 190
31-Ibid, pp. 190-191
32-Ibid, pp. 191-192
when Homme had finished presenting his report, the Convention decreed that it should be printed and copies of it distributed among the members of the Convention. In the meantime the question of education was debated from various angles. Many were in favor of establishing a system of elementary education but opposed the comprehensive schemes which had been proposed for obvious reasons. On 24 December 1792 Joseph Serre, deputy from Hautes-Alpes, presented to the Committee of Public Instruction some reflections upon education. He advocated the establishment of a system of elementary education which would provide to every person, (1) a knowledge of their rights, (2) a knowledge of their duties, and (3) a knowledge of the means of subsistence and conservation of their independence. Such knowledge, he claimed, was not only useful but indispensable. In his enumeration of the various subjects which should be taught to accomplish the above purposes, he specifies abridged history and geography.33 The Society of Young France was established in August 1792 by Leonard Bourdon, deputy of the National Convention, for the purpose of studying and preparing essays upon the best methods of public instruction. This Society of young republicans on 24 February 1793 made a recapitulation of the results of their study in the presence of the Committee of Public Instruction. The studies which they recommended as best fitted to prepare men to realize their rights and duties in society are as fol-

33- Guillaume, Proces-Verbaux du Comité d'Instruction Publique de la Convention Nationale, vol. i. p. 288
allows: history, geography, French, mathematics, physics, astronomy, German, English, Latin, surveying, drawing, music, and architecture.34

The next educational project was the work of Lakanal, deputy from l'Asiege. He had been a school teacher for fourteen years, and in 1792 he was elected to the Convention, where he rendered great service to the Revolution by his practical knowledge of education. He became a member of the Committee of Public Instruction in 1793 and carried out many important decrees on the preservation of national monuments and the re-organization of the Museum of natural history. On 26 June 1793 he brought before the Convention a project for national education. He proposed to lay the burden of primary education on public funds but to leave secondary education to private enterprise. For primary schools he emphasized what may be termed applied or dramatized history. He says, "The children will be instructed by historic representations. The national fêtes will be utilized to remind them of the most important epochs of the history of man and the French Revolution."35 His plan was refused, however, by the Convention which submitted the whole question of education to a Commission of six members. During the period which the Commission had the educational scheme under consideration several discourses upon education appeared. On 28 June 1793 Charles Duval, the celebrated archaeologist and deputy from the department of Ille-et-Vilaine, presented some suggestions to the Convention. Much of his

34-Moniteur, vol. xv. p. 536
35-Guillaume, Proces-verbaux du Comité d'instruction Publique de la Convention Nationale, vol. i. p. 515
discussion is irrelevant to the present study but he does emphasize the fact that the teachers should be charged to give instruction in detailed geography of France and the principal events of French history. On 2 July 1793 Coupe, deputy of the department of Oise, discussed public instruction before the Convention. While speaking of the discipline of instruction he emphasizes the need of teaching the constitution, laws of the country, and the history which preceded them. "In all the primary schools the pupils should be taught reading, writing, ciphering, the constitution, and the laws and principles of the Republic. They should also have an easy course in morals, universal and general history." On the same day Lequino, deputy from Morbihan, presented a plan for the preparation of books for the secondary schools. He recommended the establishment of a national library at the chief place of each department where attention would be given to the composition of suitable books in the exact sciences, mechanical and liberal arts, natural and civil history, morals and literature.

In the early days of July 1793 Alexander Deleyre, deputy from the department of Gironde, presented some ideas to the Convention upon education. The speech is of special interest for this study for two reasons. In the first place it is filled with historical allusions from beginning to end, and secondly, he describes the making of a historical atlas to be used in the schools. His arguments for the teaching of hist-

36-Guillaume, Proces-Verbaux du Comité d'Instruction Publique de la Convention Nationale, vol. i. p. 640
37-Ibid, vol. i. p. 536
38-Ibid, vol. i. p. 552
ory are also worthy of notice. "This atlas devoted to the study of history should describe the names and places where anything of importance took place and the great event which have made countries famous. In the article upon Athens the eminent deeds of the gorgeous days when this city was the most dominating republic on land or sea should be pictured and described. It shall speak of the morals of the men of Sparta, and while describing Mycene it shall emphasize Agamemnon sacrificing his son to the gods. In Thessaly Mount Olympus will be described as the place where Alexander came to weep upon the tomb of Achilles. In the countries known to modern history the battlefields, the names of tyrants who governed, the names of sages and philosophers, and celebrated artists may all be pictured and described in the little atlas. England should shine in the little atlas because of her great events, authors and martyrs, civil and religious revolutions. In France it should trace the precise course of the immortal Revolution, with the epochs of its birth and progress, and the names of the illustrious victims who have been slain whether in popular insurrections or by foreign invasions. This historical atlas ought to fix by its subjectmatter and laconic style a picture of the republic in the memory of the children and instil in their hearts an undying love for their country. Independent of this first brief study of history which ought to be taught to all children, even in the primary schools, there should be collected in the libraries the literature of ancient and modern history. It is necessary to familiarize the children with a knowledge of ancient times.
The pupils of a republic must know the history of Greece and Rome. It is proper to expect that some excellent abridged histories will be published of the ancient despotic empires or of the modern monarchies. Nothing is more useful to enforce the love of liberty than examples of tyrants and slaves. Good abridged histories of England and Sweden will serve as histories of free peoples. The revolutions of these two states will be very instructive for the schools of liberty. "Deleyre emphasizes history as the most effective means of teaching patriotism. He thinks that the facts most liable to arouse this patriotic devotion may be found in the lives of Plutarch and other historians of free peoples of antiquity. In the second place the facts of ancient or modern history, either of the Orient or of Europe may be used. If properly chosen there are many events which may be used to inspire hatred of tyranny, despotism, and royalty. The theatre of Greece and the English of Shakespeare furnishes many ideas which will produce the desirable effect upon young republican souls. He thinks that women should also be taught history so that they can recite the history of the queens of France, and profit by the cruel and fantastic abuse of their power.39 Deleyre's arguments for such an ambitious scheme for the teaching of history may be summarized under three heads: (1) the development of patriotism, (2) the teaching of morality, and (3) the spreading of free and republican ideas.

The next significant scheme for national education was the work of Lepelletier. It was read in the Convention by

39-Guillaume, Proces-Verbaux du Comité d'Instruction Publique de la Convention Nationale, pp. 658-669
Robespierre several months after the assassination of the author. Lepelletier was a French politician who was sent as a deputy of the nobles to the States General in 1789. By slow degrees his ideas changed from a conservative to an advanced type of republicanism. In the Constituent Assembly he won great popularity by securing the substitution of beheading for hanging. In 1790 he was made president of the Constituent Assembly. During the Legislative Assembly he became president of the general council. He voted for the death of the King and was assassinated on the eve of the King's execution 20 January 1793. Lepelletier was interested in education and left several fragments of schemes from which ideas were borrowed and incorporated into later educational projects. The present scheme was proposed 13 July 1793. The idea of prolonging general public education until the end of adolescence is ridiculed in this scheme. The author contends that the greatness of France is her agriculture and factories, and that it is there that she needs to develop. If education should be prolonged so long her arm would be paralyzed, her industry destroyed, the social body confused, and general dissolution would set in. He does insist, however, that primary education should be provided for all where instruction should be given in reading, writing, ciphering, morals, and the constitution. Besides these studies he insists that the memory should be developed by storing the mind of the child with beautiful gems from the history of free peoples and the French Revolution. The girls ought to be taught some works on history proper in order to develop their memory and to cultivate the
virtue of her sex. Later on in his project he specifies what should be included in a history written for the elementary schools. The principles of the constitution should be summarized, the historical facts of free peoples and of the French Revolution should be explicitly stated, and to this should be added the elementary principles of morals, as well as domestic and rural economy. The book should be divided into proper lessons to exercise the memory of the children and develop in each the germ of civic virtue and republican sentiments. It is evident, therefore, that Lepelletier would put in the hand of the child an elementary work combining history and social science. The work of devising a program for education had been previously assigned to the Commission of Six, therefore, the Convention took no further action on the report than to decree that it be printed and copies presented to each member.

On 23 July 1793 Delacroix, deputy from the department of Marne, proposed a system of laws to the Convention to govern education. There is one article which is particularly pertinent to this discussion, in which a law is proposed governing the course of study in the elementary schools. It states that public instruction of the young shall include reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, the constitution, the principal laws, morals, and abridged general history. Two days after Delacroix's proposal an essay was presented to the

41- Ibid, p. 60
42- Ibid, p. 109
Convention by Daunou which is worthy of attention because of
the interesting and influential career of the author. Daunou
was deputy from the department of Pas-de-Calais and was fam­
ous as a statesman and historian. He had been professor in
various seminaries from 1780 until the outbreak of the Revol­
tion when he threw himself ardently into the struggle for
liberty. The constitution of Year III was principally his
work and it is generally conceded that his ideas made possible
Napoleon’s coup d’etat of 18 Brumaire. He became the first
president of the Council of Five Hundred and helped Napoleon
draft the Constitution of the Year VIII. Napoleon appointed
him archivist of the Empire, which position he held from 1807-
1814, and again from 1819-1830. During the latter period he
also held the chair of history in the College of France where
he delivered lectures of exceptional merit. In his essay of
July 1793, referred to above, he emphasized the necessity of
providing for the children adequate instruction in morals,
theory of the civil state, the constitution, laws, economy,
and treatises of civil history, in order to prepare active
and efficient citizens for a free government.

On 29 July 1793 Robespierre reported a project for the
establishment of schools to the Convention. The scheme proved
to be an adaptation of the earlier plan of Lepelletier with
very few minor changes. The same type of history is recom­
mended as in the earlier report, and similar arguments are
advanced to support the place of historical instruction

43-Guillaume, Proces-verbaux du Comité d’Instruction Publique
de la Convention Nationale, vol. i. p. 607
mentaire de la Revolution Francaise, vol. xxiv. pp. 53-106
in the proposed curriculum. The proposals presented by Robespierre were debated from time by Leonard Bourdon, Lequino, Gregoire, and other members. In the meantime several petitions were presented to the Convention from non-members. On 12 September a petition was presented from the department of Paris, the rural districts, the commune, the sections, and the popular societies united. This petition urged the early establishment of primary schools, and then they recommended that three degrees of progressive instruction should be established independent of the primary schools: the first to provide indispensable instruction to all artists and workers; the second to give training necessary for the professions; and the third to furnish the more advanced work, a knowledge of which is not required of all men. This petition does not discuss the primary school but limits its recommendations to the secondary school, the institutes, and the lycée. The instruction specified for the secondary school is limited to the practical studies to prepare especially for artists and workers. For the institutes and lycée the following types of history are recommended: mythology, chronology, ancient history, modern history, French constitution, and the history of the constitutions of free peoples. Following this petition on 15 September, Crouzet, principal of the college of the Panthenon Français, and Moherault, a teacher in the same college, drew up a plan of studies which they recommended for college instruction. The authors divided pupils into two
categories– children and adolescents. The children's course extended over four years and emphasized ancient history; the course for adolescence covered a six year period and included modern history and social morality. 46

The summer of 1793 was exceedingly critical for the existence of France. She was not only attacked from without but was seriously distraught by civil war within. More or less serious revolts were common in various parts of the realm so that there was division at home at a time when it was absolutely necessary that all Frenchmen should combine in the loyal defense of their country against the invaders. This situation tended to accelerate plans for the development of war enthusiasm and patriotism. The Convention urged the Committee of Public Instruction to gather from every source such historical material as might inspire loyalty. Thus, on 28 September 1793 Gregoire read a report to the Convention outlining the steps necessary to collect suitable material for a historical work to teach devotion to government. His ideas are so strikingly significant that a few extracts are reproduced in the following statement: "The execution of this plan offers great advantage. In the first place it will furnish material for a history of a people, who, until the present have experienced little save the crimes of kings. The tyrants and emigrés have disgraced in the eyes of the universe the founders of the French Republic. Many writers prostituting their efforts to lies and cupidity have become their echoes. The survey which we will prepare will be

46-Guillaume, Proces-verbaux du Comité d'Instruction Publique de la Convention Nationale, vol. ii. p. 404
an irrefutable response to the impostors who have poisoned public opinion. We will present a series of authentic facts dedicated to posterity which will answer all the accusations of the émigrés and attach to them the execration of the centuries. The undeceived people will hastily attain their political virility and the smouldering volcanoes under the thrones will be exploded. Another advantage of such a work will be that it will furnish models to our contemporaries and to posterity worthy of imitation. Sow virtue and you will reap virtue. This was the doctrine of Miltiades who inspired the heart of Themistocles. Very few men are inspired by principles—nearly all imitate. In making a genealogy of crime we find that the titled Achilles was the father of the brigand who devastated Asia. We know that Alexander wept upon the tomb of this warrior and envied him for having been sung by Homer. Caesar, at Cadiz, wept before the statue of Alexander and said, 'At my age he had conquered the world.' The frenzied Charles VIII finds that at the age of thirty-two years one has lived sufficiently if he has made as many conquests as Darius. Thus, in the last analysis, it is Achilles who cut to pieces the Persians on the plains of Arbella; it is Alexander who scattered corpses upon the battlefield of Pharsale; and it is still Alexander who two thousand years after his death cut to pieces the Russians at Narva. But good examples also encourage virtue. It is Brutus who by his hand delivered the world of a despot. But, it will not be necessary to limit our models to the heroes of antiquity. France has nothing to envy of any time or country. If Rome had one Decius, France has
many thousand. The description of these magnanimous deeds must be presented in a historical and not in an oratorical manner. A preliminary discourse will trace the great chain of events which prepared for the Revolution; then its history will be traced from the moment of its birth to the real epoch from which our republic dates. A history of the heroic episodes will unite our citizenship and instil undying devotion to the republic. When upon the shores of America Doctor Warren fell under the fire of the English, his bloody shirt was carried to the hall where the orator expressed the regrets of the country. He said to the auditors, 'when liberty shall be in peril call your sons and show them a shred of this shirt of Warren and give them arms.' The assembled crowd swore to conquer or die in the attempt, and their children will repeat with enthusiasm the oath of their fathers. It is by teaching to the children the road to virtue that the nations' teachers will merit the confidence of the Republic."

The Convention passed the decree and appointed a committee to collect the material and prepare a historical work along the lines outlined in his report. It may be observed that this is a case in point of the knowledge of history making history. Grégoire's remarkable knowledge of history and the facility with which he employed it in the discourse carried his measure through the convention. Thuriot made a suggestion after the appointment of the committee in which he proposed that the committee be allowed the widest latitude in the selection.

of their material, since in all republics, either ancient or modern, there have been truly noble and heroic actions worthy of imitation. The Convention also decreed that the suggestion be incorporated with the report of Gregoire.

During the three years of educational discussion from 1790 to 1793 some of the colleges had attempted to re-adjust their curriculums to conform as nearly as possible with the new order of things and to the new ways of thinking. On 25 August 1793, for instance, a professor from the College of Mants addressed the Convention outlining the course of study which they proposed to follow the coming year. It is of sufficient interest to be noted in this connection since the proposed course of study doubtless reflects the current attitude towards historical instruction. The professor states that it is their intention to teach the best political writers such as Mably, Condillac, Rousseau, and Montesquieu. "Sallust and Tacitus will be interpreted, and we propose to finish the course in national history began last year. Besides this, we propose to begin a course in national history, emphasizing especially the abuses of the monarchical governments. Special attention will be devoted to the various governments of the celebrated nations, and abridged history of the Roman Republic will be duly stressed in order to develop patriotism and republican virtues." The above report was accepted by the Convention as satisfactory material for instruction in the Republic. From such evidence it is quite apparent that the Convention realized the influence of historical instruction

49-Ibid, pp. 616-621
The purpose of this chapter is apparent. It has aimed to trace the educational agitation of the Revolution for approximately three years beginning in September 1790. Our efforts have been deliberately limited to an analysis of the numerous schemes proposed to the several revolutionary assemblies for the re-organization of the national system of public instruction. It has been presumed that a study of these proposals would reveal the attitude and interest of the revolutionary leaders in historical instruction as a foundation for national reconstruction. Thus, the provisions for historical instruction in each of the several projects, the relative emphasis upon it, the arguments for it, and the kinds of history advocated, have all received consideration in the course of this discussion. The study has not only revealed a remarkable interest in history, but it has also shown a constant and consistent use of historical arguments to bring about educational legislation. Finally, the opinions of Compayre and others to the contrary, it has been demonstrated that history had a definite recognized place in every educational project presented to the various revolutionary assemblies.
Chapter IV.

Educational Laws from 1790-1806: provisions for historical instruction.

The previous chapter has traced the educational agitation through the most important years of the Revolution, emphasizing the significant projects for the establishment of public instruction and specifying the recognition given to history in each of the programs. It is not surprising that the period is conspicuous for such a large number of educational proposals, for so unstable was political life during the Revolution that often there was neither time nor power for realizing a project before circumstances were entirely changed. A bill might pass today but the government which passed it might cease to exist before it could be put into operation. In a sense, it is not so much what these men accomplished in the way of educational reform as what they proposed, or what they dreamed of doing that arouses our interest and admiration in the present day, because many of the great, far-reaching ideas and principles for which they stood have since been worked out in a more practical way and incorporated into the educational systems of modern nations. Nevertheless, the period is not fruitless in contemporary results and certainly not unproductive of significant legislation for the schools of France. Anyone who doubts this need only consult the index of Duvergier's laws.

Constructive educational reform begins with the consti-
tution of 1/91. This instrument which represented the faithful efforts of the Constituent Assembly for almost two years decreed the creation and organization of the primary schools to provide free instruction to all citizens. In spite of the high hopes entertained for this document, its operation soon revealed fatal weaknesses, and the government under it failed before any definite steps could be taken to organize the schools for which it provided. Such was the disappointing record of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies with respect to school legislation. The National Convention, however, following out the idea passed a decree 12 December 1/92 providing for the establishment of the primary schools to "teach such knowledge as is rigorously necessary for all citizens." This law was not put into effect, but 30 May 1/93, Barère, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety recommended that primary schools be organized in all the communes having from 400 to 1500 population. The Convention after a short discussion passed the decree that such schools should be established so as to accessible to all citizens. The law provided that there should be in each school a teacher qualified to teach the necessary elementary knowledge. The creation of the primary schools was definitely provided for in the constitution of Year I (24 June 1/93). Article 22 of its Declaration of Rights states that instruc-

1- Duvergier, Lois, vol. iii. p. 241
4- Duvergier, Lois, vol. v. p. 309
tion is necessary for all, and that the government ought to encourage with all its powers the progress of public education. This requires that instruction be carried to all citizens. Article 122 of the constitution proper guarantees common elementary instruction to all. This constitution was drawn up by the Convention, submitted to the people and accepted, but it was never put into operation. It was suspended for a time and later put aside indefinitely. The first and only plan of education presented under the name of the Commission of Six was read to the Convention by Romme on 1 October 1793. The plan of the Commission was much the same as that of the first Committee of Public instruction presented by Condorcet. This plan provided that the history of the Revolution should be taught in the primary schools, and it is significant in this connection because it was incorporated into the law of 27 Brumaire Year III. Moreover, it was also put into the constitution of 5 Fructidor Year III.

These Revolutionary legislators were not only desirous of creating institutions for primary instruction, but they were also anxious to locate them within easy reach of all. The law of 30 Vendemiaire Year II, as well as other laws before mentioned, provided that there should be a primary school for each commune where the population is from 400 to 1500. The law of 7 Brumaire Year II provided machinery for

5- Duvergier, Lois, vol. v. p. 357
6- Archives Parlementaires, vol. viii. p. 402
7- Duvergier, Lois, vol. vii. p. 329
carrying out the provision of the foregoing decree. A com-
misson composed of five capable men was to be established
in each district whose duty it should be to locate schools
where needed, secure houses, and examine persons who might
offer themselves to teach in these schools. 10

The laws which have been cited demonstrate conclusively
that the legislators of the various Legislative Assemblies
recognized the importance of elementary schools. They at-
ttempted to establish these schools uniformly throughout the
country in proportion to the population sufficiently numer-
cous to be easily accessible to every home. The number of
schools varied in the different districts from one to thirty-
seven. 11 Now that we have provision for a school system which
attempted to carry elementary instruction to the masses of
the common people, it is obvious that the next question of
peculiar interest for this study is concerned with the sub-
ject matter which they proposed to teach. Was history to be
included in the curriculum of these schools?

The law of 31 Vendémiaire Year II (21 October 1793)
specified, "that children will receive in the primary schools
physical, moral, and intellectual training most fitted to
develop in them republican morals, love of country, and a
sense of industry. They will be taught the virtuous deeds
of the most honorable of free men, and particularly the
historical events of the French Revolution which are most

11- Ibid, p. 243
likely to inspire the soul and dignify equality and liberty."

The decree of 27 Brumaire Year III (17 November 1794) relative to the primary schools states explicitly that the following subjects must be taught: reading, writing, patriotic stories, the Declaration of the Rights of Man, the constitution of the French Republic, the French language, agriculture, geography, history of free peoples, and a survey of the heroic deeds and triumphant songs of the Revolution."  

The Revolutionary Legislative Assemblies not only provided for the establishment of primary schools and specified what should be taught therein, but they also took steps towards securing necessary text-books. By the decree of 29 Frimaire Year II (19 December 1793) the National Convention directed the Committee of Public Instruction to present to it elementary books necessary to develop citizens, emphasizing that the first books prepared be the "Declaration of Rights of Man", the constitution, and a survey of the heroic and virtuous deeds and events of the Revolution.  

The law specified further that the schools must provide instruction in the books adopted.

Such was the legislation made for the primary schools and the provisions made for history study therein. We turn

next to the laws providing for the organization of secondary education. In all the comprehensive schemes proposed for the establishment of a system of national instruction, provisions were made for the creation of various types of schools for higher education. However, there was a great deal of opposition in the different legislative bodies to the establishment of schools for this higher training at state expense. But it is quite natural that as soon as the primary schools were created they had to face the problem of preparing adequate teachers for these schools. Thus the next school for which provision was made was the Normal school. The law of 9 Brumaire Year III (30 October 1794) provided that there should be established at Paris a Normal school where the prospective teachers might have the opportunity of securing instruction in the art of teaching under the very best instruction in the country. The districts were instructed to recommend to the Normal school a certain number of pupils in proportion to the population. These pupils were to be selected on the basis of patriotism, moral virtues, and teaching aptitude. The law further provided that these schools should teach to the pupils who came up from the various sections of France the art of giving instruction in morality and instilling in the heart of the young republicans the practical public and private virtues. These schools were to train these prospective teachers how to give instruction in reading, writing, practical geometry, history, and grammar. They must be advised how to prepare teachers to give more
adequate instruction in the elementary books adopted by the Convention. 15

The next school established was the Central school which "as proposed to the Convention by Lakanal on 7 Ventose Year III (25 February 1795). Lakanal points out that the Normal school has been established and is doing a great work in spreading information in the departments and protecting the sciences, arts, and letters from the ravages of ignorance and tyranny. He says, "The primary schools are being organized in every part of the realm; it remains for us to extend the whole system of national instruction by establishing Central schools which will prove a great benefit to the generations to follow." 16 The Convention on the same day passed the following decree creating these schools: "For providing instruction in the sciences, arts, and letters, there shall be established in every part of the Republic a central school for every 100,000 population." 17 On the following 3 Brumaire Year IV (25 October 1795) the law was revised so that the central schools might be established in every department. 18 The law of 7 Ventose specified that there should be one professor for each of the following departments: mathematics, physics, chemistry, natural history, agriculture, commerce, logic, political economy, legislation, philosophical history of the various peoples, hygiene, grammar, and the ancient and living languages. 19 The law of 3 Brumaire Year IV divided instruction in the Central schools into

16-Moniteur, vol. xxiii. pp. 557-559
17-Duvergier, Lois, vol. viii. p. 29
18-Ibid, p. 357
19-Ibid, p. 29
three classes. The first class to which children were admitted at twelve years of age was devoted to natural history and languages; the second section which was concerned with mathematics and science was open to pupils 14 years of age; the third class admitted pupils 16 years of age and was devoted to literature, history, and legislation. These Central schools were the principal institutions dedicated to higher instruction during the years of the Directory. Soon after the fall of the Directory, however, the Consulate applied itself to the task of reconstructing the educational system. In the rather elaborate plan which was promulgated 11 Floreal Year X (1 May 1802) the central schools were suppressed and the lycée was created and organized to take its place.

The law of 11 Floreal Year X provided that there might be established in every court of appeal district a Lycée for the purpose of giving instruction in science and letters to such pupils as the government might place there. From the above date until 23 May 1806 there were passed nine separate decrees establishing Lycees at twenty five different cities. The following list gives an idea of the distribution of these schools as provided by these decrees: Turin, Brussels, Douai, Lyons, Mayence, Moulins, Bordeaux, Marscilles, Rennes, Rouen, Besancon, Strasburg, Bonn, Ghent, Bruges, Clermont-Ferreand, Avignon, Rodes, Nantes, Nice, Pontivy, Versailles, Parma,
Piacenza. Besides these cities several decrees were passed establishing Lycées in several villages the names of which were not specified in the laws.

The law which gave these schools their legal status does not specify in detail the subjects which should be taught. About six months later, however, on the 19 Frimaire Year XI (10 December 1802), a law was enacted specifying minutely the type of instruction which should be given. The Consulate decreed that these schools should offer two three year courses of instruction: one in Latin and the other in mathematics. In the Latin course history was to be taught the last year and a half. Beginning with chronology and ancient history, this was to be followed with a study of the customs of the different peoples in the different ages of the world, and history until the rounding of the French Empire. The last half year was to be devoted exclusively to the study of French history.

Another important educational agency was created by the constitution of 5 Fructidor Year III (22 August 1795). Article 298 of this constitution specifies "that there is for all the Republic a National Institute for the purpose of conducting investigation and perfecting the arts and sciences." Practically the same article appears in the constitution of 22 Frimaire Year VIII. While the constitution authorized

22- Duvergier, Lois, vol. xiii. p. 341
24- Ibid, vol. viii. p. 29
it creation, the law 3 Brumaire Year IV really gave it an actual existence. This law provided that the Directory should name the first forty-eight members, and that these should select the remainder. The second of the three classes into which the law of Brumaire organized the institute was to be devoted to the moral sciences and politics, embracing history and geography, social sciences and legislation. The law of 3 Pluviose Year XI (19 January 1803) reorganized and extended the National Institute so that it came to embrace four classes devoted respectively to the physical sciences and mathematics, French language and literature, history and ancient literature, and the fine arts. This institution continued to exist in this form until 1816 when Louis XVIII changed it to the four Academies.

The law of 3 Brumaire Year IV also made a provision for the creation of a number of special schools where opportunities should be provided for special study along the following lines: astronomy, geometry, mechanics, natural history, medicine, veterinary art, rural economy, antiquities, political science, history, painting, sculpture, and architecture. The number of these schools were to be determined by particular laws based upon the reports of the Committee of Public Instruction. The status of these schools were much

26-ibid, vol. xiii, p. 367
27-See Debidoir, Recueil des Actes du Directoire for the organization of the Special schools.
28-Duvergier, Lois, vol. viii. p. 358
more clearly defined by a law passed under the regime of
the Consulate 11 Floreal Year X (1 May 1802). This law es­
tablished ten schools of law, three schools of medicine,
four of natural history, two schools of chemistry, of mech­
anics, one school of mathematics, and one special school
of geography, history, and economics. The special schools
constituted the last degree of instruction, or in other words,
they were finishing or professional schools which undertook
to completely qualify young men to become competent practi­
tioners in the various professions.

It has already been pointed out in the preceding chap­
ter that Condorcet in his educational project emphasized the
Secondary school. Such an institution was not realized, how­
ever, until ten years later. The law of 11 Floreal Year X
(1 May 1802) stated that the government should encourage
the establishment of Secondary schools. The instruction
which they offered was to be superior to primary instruction.
No Secondary school could be organized without an express
governmental permit, but from 30 Vendémiaire Year XI to the
2 Thermidor Year XII, fifty-five such permits were issued
which indicate that this school was exceedingly popular.
The terms of article VI of the law of 11 Floreal prescribed
the plan of instruction for these schools. "All schools
established by the communes in which is taught Latin and

29- Duvergier, Lois, vol. xiii. p. 176
30- Ibid, vol. xiii. p. 175
and French languages, geography, history, and mathematics will be considered secondary schools."\(^{31}\) The law of 19 Vendémiaire Year XII goes more into detail and specifies exactly what shall be taught. "Instruction in the Latin and French languages, geography, and history will be divided into six classes as follows: 6th, 5th, 4th, 3rd, 2nd, 1st. The pupil should make two classes a year. In the third, the elements of chronology and history will be given. In the second, history will be taught with more detail until the founding of the French Empire; the pupils will be taught mythology and the beliefs and customs of the different peoples in various ages of the world. In the last class the study of geography and the history of France was to be completed."\(^{32}\) Thus the Secondary schools were finally established very much along the lines which Condorcet had outlined in his scheme during the earlier years of the Revolution.

The preceding discussion has attempted to give a brief synopsis of the most significant educational laws and to trace the slow degrees by which the educational system of France was eventually established. It may be observed how one idea after another, or a fragment here and a fragment there, was selected from the bold projects of Talleyrand and Condorcet and incorporated into the educational leg-

\(^{31}\) Duvergier, Lois, vol. xiii. p. 175  
\(^{32}\) Ibid, vol. xiv. p. 258
islation from time to time. After the law of 11 Floreal Year X (30 April 1802) was passed the educational system was as follows:

(1) Primary schools supported by local authorities under the supervision of the prefect and sub-prefect.

(2) Secondary schools supported either by the communes or private enterprises, subject to government inspection.

(3) The Lycée located in each Appeal Court district. They were state institutions and the teachers and inspectors were appointed by the state.

(4) Special schools constituting the final stage in public education.

(5) The National Institute, capping this school system, composed a body of scholars devoted to research and investigation in their chosen fields.

This was substantially the status of education when Napoleon became Emperor. He soon felt, however, that the school system was not sufficiently in harmony with his new position, nor in line with the greater development in centralization of government. He wanted a teaching body organized upon hierarchical lines and an educational monopoly under close governmental supervision.33 Thus the Imperial University was created 10 May 1806, and the decree of 17 March 1808 gave it a working organization. By this

arrangement instruction in the whole Empire was confided to the University. The schools pertaining to each Academy were placed in the following order:

(1) The Faculties for the approved sciences.
(2) Lycée for the ancient languages, history, rhetoric, logic, mathematics, and physics.
(3) Colleges and Communal Secondary schools for the elements of ancient and first principles of history and science.
(4) Private schools.
(5) Normal schools for the training of teachers.
(6) Primary schools.

The present discussion has not been concerned with educational agitations and schemes, but rather, with the constructive results of the previous agitation. These laws which have been cited demonstrate that, at least, a majority of the members of the various revolutionary legislative assemblies were convinced of the significance of the laws which were passed. It has been shown by these laws that historical instruction was emphasized in every degree of instruction offered from the primary school to the National Institute or Imperial University. It may be concluded, therefore, that the teaching of history was deemed to have a far-reaching influence in molding ideas essential for an active and efficient citizenship.

34- Duvergier, Lois, vol. xvi. p. 239
Chapter V
Pragmatic Evidences of Historical Influence upon the Revolution.

The discussions in the preceding chapters of this study have been concerned primarily with the arguments and legislative provisions for historical instruction in the curriculum of the national public school system established by the Revolutionary Assemblies. The evidence adduced along these lines has demonstrated quite conclusively the debt of the Revolution to history. There are, however, practical evidences of a different nature which indicate the recognition of historical influence. Turning to these other lines of evidence, it will be shown in the first place the Revolutionary leaders soon recognized the significance of dramatized history, and thus, utilized it in a variety of ways to further their designs. In the second place it will be pointed out that in recognition of the value of historical sources steps were taken to preserve the manuscripts and books of historical significance from the dangers of destruction by the misguided populace. And, lastly, certain evidence will be offered concerning the influence of history upon public opinion.

Very early in the Revolution the leaders began to utilize the fêtes or festivals to develop patriotism and to unify the nation. For example they did not allow the anniversary of the taking of the Bastile in 1790 to pass by without a great festival. It had been decreed by the
National Assembly that every department of France should send representatives, and still more, that every National Guard should send certain members to be present at the fête at Paris. In the presence of a vast assembly, on a great altar erected there, the King heard mass said by Talleyrand and swore to be faithful to the still unfinished constitution.¹ Talleyrand's scheme of Public Instruction of 10 September 1791 also specified that the Committee of Public Instruction should make provision for the establishment and supervision of the celebration of at least two fêtes. The first under the name of the fête of liberty should be celebrated every year on 14 July; the other should be celebrated on the 4 August in memory of the establishment of equality. These were to be celebrated in every part of the realm.²

The second discourse of Mirabeau's project for national instruction 10 September 1791 is entirely devoted to a discussion of the significance of the public fêtes, civil and military, as a means to develop patriotism and attach free people to the country. He points out how the great events of Greek and Roman history should be portrayed or enacted in pageant form before the eyes of the whole people, and the children especially, so as to arouse within their breasts a love for deeds of virtue and valor. "The four civil fêtes will celebrate the four great events of French history. The first will be called the 'fête de la Constitution' in mem-

¹- Archives Parlementaires, vol. xvii. pp. 84-85
ory of the days when France instituted the National Assembly. The second will be named the 'fête de la Reunion, ou de l'Abolition des ordres;' it will be intended to call back to memory the great events of the Revolution, and should become a day of great rejoicing to the people. The third will be called the 'fête de la Declaration' and will celebrate the Declaration of the Rights of Man upon which is founded the whole system of laws and the constitution itself. The fourth will be named the 'fête de l'Armement, ou de la Prise d'armes'; its object will be to refresh the memory concerning the admirable accord and the heroic courage with which the national guards responded in order to defend the cradle of liberty." Besides the civil fêtes there was to be established four military fêtes to refresh in the memory of the people the most important events of the Revolution. They were to be celebrated in all parts of France, in the chief places of the departments, districts, cantons, and smallest communes. It was recommended that eulogies be delivered upon the great historical events of the past, and particularly. upon the men who had rendered distinguished service to their country. "The first of these fêtes will be called the 'fête de la Revolution'; it will have for its object the bringing back to the attention of the army the great changes which have come in the country of interest to soldiers as well as to citizens. The second
will be called the 'fête de la Coalition' in memory of the conduct of the troops during the summer of 1789. The third will be named the 'fête de la Regeneration' and will celebrate the new laws which have regenerated the army. The fourth will be the 'fête du Serment militaire'; its purpose shall be to make known to the army its particular relation to public events."

In addition to these festivals there was to be established a great national fête called the 'fête de la Federation ou du Serment' which was to be celebrated on the 14 July of each year in order to renew the oath of fraternity between the citizens of all the departments of the realm and the central authorities.

It may be pointed out in this connection that Condorcet in his report upon public instruction also emphasized the fêtes as a very significant method of teaching loyalty and patriotism. "The national fêtes will portray to the citizens of the country and villages the glorious epochs of liberty. The deeds of men renowned for their devotion to honor and virtue will be celebrated in order to instruct citizens to cherish their privileges and realize their duties." Lakanal insisted that the citizens be instructed in historical representation. "It is necessary," he says, "to remind the citizens by means of the national fêtes of the most important epochs of the history of man and the French Rev-

3- Archives Parlementaires, vol. xxx. pp. 526-533
4- Guillaume, Proces-Verbaux du Comité d'Instruction Publique de la Convention Nationale, vol. i. p. 192
olution." Lequino would have the fêtes teach patriotism and unity. Space will not permit citing in detail the arguments and provisions for historical representation by the dramatic fêtes and festivals as proposed by the educational reformers. It may suffice to state that these men invariably included these fêtes in their schemes for public education.

During the critical summer of 1793 when France was threatened with invasion from without and with disruption within, the need of creating patriotic fervor became very imperative, and the Committee of Public Safety, therefore, began to lay more stress upon the fêtes. Sieyes wrote in the Journal of Social Instruction under the date of 29 June 1793, "I do not know but it seems to me that we may utilize the public fêtes in such a way as to create French enthusiasm and imagination in the young to such an extent that we will have nothing to envy of ancient Greece." In October 1793 the government adopted the Republican Calendar by which the year was divided into twelve months of thirty days each. The additional days between 17 and 22 September were called the Sans-Culottides and were devoted entirely to the fêtes. On 26 November 1793 Danton made a speech supporting the organization of the public fêtes. He called attention to the fact that the young would doubtless be provided with instruction in the great principles of liberty in the schools, but in-

5- Guillaume, Proces-Verbaux du Comité d'Instruction Publique de la Convention Nationale, vol. i. p. 515
6- Ibid, p. 554
7- Ibid, p. 570
sisted that the entire people should celebrate the heroic deeds and famous events of the Revolution. "It is necessary", he said, "to bring the people together in a vast temple, and I demand that the most distinguished artists co-operate in the construction of this edifice where on a specified day there will be celebrated the national festivities. If Greece had he Olympian games, France will solemnize her Sans-Culottides." The same day the National Convention passed the decree providing for the organization of the fetes.

Perhaps, the most spectacular of all the popular pageants and fêtes used by the great Committee of Public Safety to control the people during the Terror were the following: fête of the Capture of the Tuileries, fête of Reason, and the fête of the Supreme Being. The first of these was prepared by David and his young disciples at the instigation of the Great Committee. It was celebrated on 10 August 1793, the anniversary of the capture of the Tuileries. Upon the 'Place de la Bastile', the large figure of a woman had been erected with hands pressed against her breasts from which sprang two jets of water, and around it gathered the members of the primary assemblies of Paris, the conquerors of the Bastile, and great crowds of Parisians. The deputies of the Convention marched through the crowd carrying fruit and

9- Duvergier, Lois, vol. vi. p. 304
10-Note: This imposing statue called the fountain of Re­
genation was raised upon the debris of the Bastile.
Two different engravings of the figure may be seen by referring to vol. xvii of Moniteur, pp. 344, 362.
flowers in their hands, and when they reached their places, the president addressed the statue as follows: "O Nature, receive the expression of the eternal attachment of all Frenchmen to thy laws." In imitation of the ancient Greek custom he then poured wine upon the ground while a choir of chosen voices sang a hymn to Nature.

The first celebration of the Fêtes of Reason occurred at Paris 10 November 1793. A young woman was dressed to represent the Goddess of Reason. She was attired in a white drapery; a mantle of azure blue hung from her shoulders; her flowing hair was covered with a cap of liberty. She was seated upon an antique seat, entwined with ivy, and borne by four citizens. Young girls dressed in white and crowned with roses preceded and followed the goddess. Then came the busts of Lepelletier and Marat, musicians, and troops. Patriotic speeches were delivered and patriotic hymns were sung in Notre Dame Cathedral consecrated as the temple of Reason. They next proceeded to the hall of the Convention where Chaumette addressed the legislators in a stirring patriotic address. The members of the Convention were then obliged to follow the crowd back to the temple of Reason where they all united in singing patriotic hymns.

This series of fêtes which was celebrated during the time of the Great Terror culminated in the Fête of the Supreme Being, by which Robespierre believed he had laid the

keystone to the supremacy of himself and his ideas. This fête was the work of David and his disciples. The day appointed for this magnificent celebration was 8 June 1794. Four days before the Convention had elected Robespierre president, and this conferred upon him a very conspicuous part in this celebration. The crowd assembled early but Robespierre kept them waiting a considerable time. At last, he appeared gorgeously arrayed his head covered with white feathers and in his hand a bunch of flowers, fruit, and ears of corn. An amphitheatre had been erected for the members of the Convention, and others who had parts in the program, in the center of the garden of the Tuileries. The boys wore wreaths of violets, the youths wreaths of myrtle, the men wreaths of oak, and the aged wreaths of olive and ivy. The women held their daughters by the hand and carried baskets of flowers. On the other side of the amphitheatre were erected three images representing Atheism, Discord, and Egotism. The program started with music, after which Robespierre made a patriotic address. "Republican Frenchmen," he said, "At length has arrived the ever-to-be-remembered day of happiness which the French people consecrate to the Supreme Being. Never did the world which he created exhibit a spectacle so worthy of attention. He has beheld tyranny, crime, and imposture reigning upon the earth. He beholds at this moment an individual nation at war with all the oppressors of mankind, suspending the course of its heroic
labors, to lift its thoughts and its prayers to the Supreme Being, who gave it the mission to undertake and the courage to execute them." 13 Them he stepped from the amphitheatre and set fire to the figures of Atheism, Discord, and Egotism, and from amidst their ashes there arose the statue of Wisdom.

These three fêtes, a brief description of which has been presented, are merely typical of innumerable pageants and festivals which were celebrated in France during the course of the Revolution. On 25 October 1795 the Directory decreed that there should be celebrated each year in each canton of France several national fêtes. These were to consist of historical representations, patriotic songs, speeches upon national morality, fraternal banquets, and numerous sports suitable to each locality. 14 Encouragement was given to the national fêtes throughout the reign of the Directory, 15 and as late as 5 September 1799 there was passed a decree concerning the mode of celebrating the fête of the anniversary of the founding of the Republic. 16

Besides this active interest in fêtes and pageantry by the revolutionary assemblies artists were given encouragement to produce historical paintings. On 28 November 1791 the Legislative Assembly decreed that the historical pictures and statuary should be examined in order that the Assembly might act intelligently in selecting artists who might be worthy to be shown the most dignified encouragement. 17

14-Duvergier, Lois, vol. viii. p. 370
15-Debidour, Recueil des Actes du Directoire, vol. iii. pp.668
16-Duvergier, Lois, vol. ix. p. 301
17-Proces-Verbaux de l'Assemblée Legislative, p. 38
the following 6 June, Rossel came before the Assembly and requested that a decree be passed which would provide for the engraving of his pictures encouraging an interest in history, national honor, and the arts. A decree was passed immediately granting the request. 18 The 21 February 1793 Felix Lepelletier presented a bust of his brother Michael Lepelletier to the Convention. The Convention decreed to accept the bust and also decreed that David, a famous painter, should prepare a picture representing the death of Lepelletier and Marat to be placed in the Assembly room. In order to encourage the creation of monuments and pictures embodying the history of the Revolution, the Committee of Public Safety on 9 June 1794 decreed that an artist's tournament or contest should be arranged. It was requested that each artist of the Republic select one or more of the glorious epochs of the French Revolution and represent it upon canvas. These paintings were to be placed on exhibition for a time in the Hall of Liberty and finally judged by the jury of arts. 19

During the period of the Revolution David produced two of his master-pieces, the "Oath of the Tennis Court", and "Brutus." This great painter, however, during the year of the Great Terror was too busy to devote much time to art. He was a member of the Convention and served upon the Committees of General Security and of Public Instruction. We

18-Guillaume, Proces-Verbaux du Comite d'Instruction Publique de l'Assemblees Legislative, p. 310
have already noted his share in the organization of the fêtes of the period. In arranging these pageants he was assisted by a numerous and devoted group of French art students who after the closing of the French Academy at Rome were obliged to carry on their studies at Paris. They were devoted to classic principles and carried their devotion to Greece and Rome to such an extent that they went about Paris clad in togas and buskins, and made up grand schemes for vast historical paintings, gigantic statues, and allegorical groups to celebrate the Revolution and its progress.

The utilization of history during this period may be recognized not only in the fêtes, paintings, and statuary, but its influence is reflected even in the re-naming of many of the streets and sections of Paris. The following names of streets for instance are suggestive of the influence of history: William Tell, Brutus, Lepelletier, Marat, and French Republic. It was also a common thing in Paris for individuals to discard their old names and assume historical cognomen.

Finally, it must be stated that the theatre was soon recognized by leaders of the Revolution as one of the most efficient mediums for popular historical instruction and political propaganda. Racine had used the theatre for historical plays to bolster up the monarchy in the days of Louis XIV, but now this same institution was used to exalt democracy. Thus, as already mentioned, Mirabeau in his Moniteur, vol. xix. pp. 215, 262, 328.
educational project called attention to the possibilities of the theatre as a means of cultivating morality and patriotism. But most credit for such recognition of the function of the theatre is due to Marie-Joseph Chenier, the most famous Revolutionary dramatist, and also a member of the Convention and of the Council of Five Hundred. Chenier first became prominent as the author of "Charles IX" in 1789. During the years of 1791 and 1792 his tragedies of "Henry VIII" and "Caius Gracchus" were produced. The former is a distinctly historical play, while in the latter the author emerges not only as a historical dramatists but also in the role of a patriotic poet. The latter play met with particular favor because of its Roman setting. Never was classic antiquity more popular than in this period. The heroes of the ancient Republics raised up the heroes of the French Republic. The battle of Marathon or the capture of Toulon, the heroism of Scevola or that of young Bara, interested equally the admirers of historical and patriotic events. "Caius Gracchus" was especially opportune at this time as an inspiration to patriotism since it represented the last of the Gracci sacrificing his life for the cause of the people. "Marius a Minturnes", another of Chenier's dramas, was first presented 9 February 1792. This new play also was based upon a subject of Roman history and its success and influence was equal if not superior to the two.

22- Lieby, Etude sur le Theatre de Chenier, pp. 5-9, 78-85
which had preceded it. "Fenelon" appeared in 1793. In this
drama Chenier undertook to immortalize this celebrated educator by representing him in the role of a philosopher and patriot. Fenelon was presented at the Theatre of the Republic six times from the 15th to 31st of March 1793; six
times in April; once in May; and, three times in June. In
addition to the historical and patriotic dramas which Chenier
produced there should be mentioned numerous patriotic songs and hymns which were used to good advantage to enhance the effectiveness of the various festival occasions.

Besides the plays produced by Chenier there are many others which indicate popular interest in historical representations. On the second of August the National Convention decreed that there should be presented at the Paris Theatre three times a week the tragedies of Brutus, William Tell, Caius Gracchus, and other dramatic plays to represent the glorious events of the Revolution and the virtue of the defenders of liberty of all ages. On the 19 of the following October Beffroy-Reigny offered to the Committee of Public Instruction a play entitled "The Liberty of Greece." This play was accepted and presented for the greater part of three months at the Opera. "This patriotic play presents," says a contemporary critic,"the historical facts of Greece united against Philip of Macedonia who attempted to enslave her. It has produced in France all the effects which could

23-Lieby, Etude sur le Theatre de Chenier, pp. 85-86
24-Ibid, pp. 104-105
25-Ibid, p. 103
26-Guillaume, Proces-Verbaux du Comite d'Instruction Publique de la Convention Nationale, vol. ii. p. 688
27-Ibid, p. 634
be desired upon the hearts of Republicans."28 "Miltiades à Marathon" and "Tarquin, ou Royauté abolié" had an exceptional run in the Paris theatres during the latter part of 1793 and the early part of 1794. It is said concerning the latter, that," The intention of the play is to inspire horror of royalty; it is without doubt valuable to instruct republicans."29 In addition to the plays which have already been mentioned such dramas as Christian's "Manlius Torquarius", Luce de Lancival's "Marcius Scoevola," Lebrun-Tossa's "La Folié de Georges, ou l'Ouverture du Parlement d'Angleterre," Lesur's "La Veuve du Republicain," Leger's "L'Apotheose du jeune Barra," Duval's "La Prise de Toulon par les Francaise," Gassier Saint-Amand's "L'Ami du Peuple, ou la Mort de Marat," Philipon and Jadin's "Agricol Viola, ou le Jeune Heros de la Durance," Boullault's "Les Brigands de la Vendée, and many others, of which the title sufficiently denotes the subjects, are indicative of the types of plays which were produced during this period. A typical though by no means exhaustive list of plays which were presented in Paris during the summer and fall of 1793 has been compiled from the daily issues of the Moniteur. The titles of most of these 30-Examples: Toute la Grece, Siege de Thionville, Mort de Cesar; L'Expulsion des Tarquins, Miltiades à Marathon, Fabius, Guillaume Tell, Jugement dernier des Rois, Abus de Ancien Régime, Cri de la Patrie, Les Dragons en Cantonnement, La Revolution de Cyrene, Les Emigrés aux Terres Australes, Caius Gracchus, l'Offrande à la Liberte, Les Crimes de la Feodalité. Demosthenes, Inauguration de Republic francaise. Les Cataline Modernes, Marat dans le Souterrain, Combat des Thermopyles, Histoire du Genre Humain, Mort du Marat, l'Interieur d'un Menage republicain.
(112)

plays reveal their historical significance. Many of them appear in the schedule of "spectacles" as often as seven and eight times a month for several months, which denotes their relative popularity. The success of this type of instruction through the medium of the theatres was evidently highly gratifying in the eyes of the Committee of Public Safety, because on 18 March 1794 they passed a decree specifying that these plays should be produced in all parts of France wherever there was an available theatre, every ten days, free to the people of the respective communities. 31

Besides the influence of the dramatic use of history upon public opinion to which attention has already been called in this discussion, there are two other lines of evidence which reflect historical influence upon public opinion. In the first place the new books which were published during the Revolution were primarily historical and patriotic in nature. Volney's Ruins, and Condorcet's "Esquisse" have already been mentioned in another connection, but several others equally significant, appeared during the course of the Revolution. In 1792 "The Private Life of Richelieu" appeared setting forth his intrigues and passions. "Examples and descriptions of vice as portrayed in this work exceed the imagination and belief; the profligacy of the French Court and the nobles lessen our wonder at the Revolution." 32 During the same year Barrett published his work entitled the "Hist-

32-Critical Review, vol. iii. p. 343
ory of the Reigns of Nerva and Trajan." Trajan, particularly, is pictured as a just and gracious prince adored by all his people. The author has attempted to portray the mind, heart and virtue of that great prince." In 1791 a book was published in Paris entitled the "Crimes of the Kings of France from the time of Clovis to Louis XVI." A contemporary British reviewer in speaking of this work says, "The author has industriously amassed the crimes of the kings of France from the earliest ages of the monarchy down to the present time. It places many of the sovereigns upon a level with the Caesars, and considers it very mortifying that in all the long list of rulers which have ruled in France neither a Trajan nor an Antonius has once appeared." During the year 1792 there appeared histories of France by two different authors. The first was a history of the précis type by Carrieres; the second was from the pen of Rabaut of Saint-Etienne and emphasized primarily the causes and accomplishments of the Revolution. In addition to these works there were published in Paris the same year other historical works such as Mercier's "Fragments of Politics and History," "History of Modern Europe" by Bonneville, and a faithful narrative of the causes and events of the Revolution of the 10 August by Peltier. Brandes published a work in 1792 which was quite influential in justifying the course of the Revolution. It was called "Political Considerations upon the French Revolution." He showed in this work by apparently convincing logic that the

33-Critical Review, vol. iii. p. 343
Revolution was necessary because France had not had the shadow of a good constitution since 1614, and furthermore, that no change could come without the people in arms. The following year Mallet du Pan sought by a similar treatise to justify the course of the Revolution by presenting the abuses of the old régime. Montgaillard came out in 1794 with a history of the conditions in France down to that date which appears to have presented the facts in a reasonable, unbiased, and authentic manner. "Alcibiades" was published the same year and proved exceedingly popular. In this work the manners of Plato and Lucian are so agreeably blended as to produce a vivid picture of Athenian manners and morals. The Moniteur lists under the title "new books" many others of historic significance. In fact, so many histories of the Revolution came out during this period in France that a leading contemporary periodical complains of being tired of the numerous histories produced by the French during the period.

Passing now to perhaps the most potent agency for moulding as well as reflecting public opinion during the Revolutionary period, we come to consider the influence of the Jacobin Club. This organization was the most famous and

36-Critical Review, vol. xii. pp. 287-301
38-Critical Review, vol. iii. p. 337
and influential of all the clubs of the French Revolution. It was organized in 1789, gradually became the controlling power of the Revolution, and spread its influence all over France. Twelve hundred branch societies were established before 1791, obeying orders from the headquarters in Paris. During the summer of 1793 and until the fall of Robespierre in 1794, this society ruled supreme. The sessions were open to the public and the speeches and debates were delivered for the effect that they might have upon the spectators rather than upon the members. These speeches and similar ones were delivered to the populace throughout France. Numerous pamphlets were published and circulated through the various subsidiary societies throughout the empire. For instance this club ordered Camille Desmoulins to publish the secret history of the Revolution for distribution among the numerous societies, and it has been previously shown that this editor was a most ardent and devoted admirer of Greek and Roman history, and had at his command select quotations from history for every sort of an occasion. There is little doubt but that the Jacobins bolstered up the Great Reign of Terror by a carefully planned historical propaganda. In fact, I have investigated the arguments of the Jacobins which appeared in the Moniteur, the official newspaper for the Revolutionary period, from the 21 December 1793 to the
20 March 1794, and I find these arguments were replete with a wide range of historical arguments. The following summary sets forth the results of the investigation for the period specified:

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<td>5- &quot; &quot; William Tell</td>
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<td>8- &quot; &quot; Brutus</td>
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Total references: 259

Thus, the Moniteur reveals an elaborate use of history. No evidence could be more conclusive of the influence of this sort of thing upon public opinion. Here were hundreds of these Societies scattered throughout the realm where the people flocked to listen to the political discussions of the day, and, here in these schools of public opinion, so to speak, the orators were found fortifying their arguments by historical material.

Our next inquiry has to do with the attitude of the Revolutionary leaders with regard to the conservation of the records of the past. It is frequently asserted that the
Revolution consciously set about to destroy historical manuscripts, documents, books, and other things of historical significance. Such a conception does not, however, agree with the existent evidence. On 19 October 1790 a decree was passed that the directors of the departments should protect with all their power the historical monuments, churches, and houses of the national domain which happen to be in their territory. It was also specified that the same precautionary measures be taken to protect the numerous monuments, depots of charters, titles, papers, and libraries located at Paris. 39 The National Convention soon after its organization appointed a committee to look after the conservation of monuments and papers. On 27 November 1792 a decree was passed directing that this committee collect such papers as might prove of interest to history, sciences, and the arts. 40 It is true that on 4 July 1793 the Convention passed a decree directing that the officers of the communes suppress the coats-of-arms and other signs of royalty and of feudalism in the churches and in other public places, and on the following 14 September another decree was passed providing for the execution of the previous decree. It soon developed, however, that the officers and people in their zeal to destroy all former traces of tyranny were giving the decree an extension which was never contemplated by the Convention. On 22 October 1793 Romme read a report to the Committee of Public

39-Duvergier, Lois, vol. 1. p. 410
40-Guillaume, Proces-Verbaux du Comité d'Instruction Publique dé l'Assemblée Legislative, p. 304
Instruction calling attention to the abuses which were being committed in the execution of the above decree. "It is true," said he, "That you have rendered several decrees providing for the removal from the public parks, churches, and great thoroughfares all the emblems of royalty, feudalism, and nonsenical heraldry. But ignorance, cupidity, and malevolence gives to your decrees an extension which was never intended, and which, if allowed to go on, will result in the destruction of the most beautiful memorials of French genius. This destruction has been carried out in a manner more fitting for Vandals than Frenchmen. Our libraries, cabinets, and depots of art are menaced; the geographical maps which are at this very moment directing our armies may be burned or mutilated. The manuscripts and memorials which should hand down to posterity the assassination of Lepelletier may be destroyed in this same name of liberty. There are millions of books in France which must not be sacrificed to this strange fury as the library of Alexandria was to the ignorance and fanaticism of the Mohammedans. It was thus that Greece threatened of her liberty by the barbarians, lost for three centuries the work of her greatest genius Aristotle. We must preserve our books and libraries." On the same day a member of the Convention spoke in a similar vein before the Convention. "Some municipal officers," he said,

"Believing themselves authorized by your law against the signs of royalty and feudalism, have taken a band of citizens and have gone and burned books and manuscripts upon which they found any of these signs. There exists in the National Library and with the Minister of Justice many bound volumes with such signs upon them. I ask that the Convention pass a decree specifying that they never intended to include such things in the previous decree." Chenier, also, made some very significant remarks concerning this question. He said, "There are some very republican books which are dedicated to princes. The works of Sidney and one edition of Rousseau are dedicated to the Prince of Orange. Is it necessary to burn these? That has never been your intention, but if we continue to substitute silence for consent the people may become Vandals and Visigoths. I demand, then, that the Convention pass a decree specifying that it has not been intended to destroy our literature and turn people back to barbarity, but to encourage the accumulation of virtuous information." The Convention on the same day on which the foregoing speeches were made passed the following decree: "It is forbidden to rob, destroy, mutilate, or alter in any manner, under pretext of causing to disappear, signs of royalty or feudalism, in any of the libraries, the collections of books, works, manuscripts, engravings, or any object of interest for art

42-Archives Parlementaires, vol. 77, p. 431
43-Ibid, p. 431
history and instruction. The public portable memorials interesting for art and history will be transferred to the nearest museum to be conserved for purposes of national instruction." 44 It is clear, therefore, that the Convention impelled by historical arguments and motives was disposed to extend protection to the libraries, museums, and depots where documents and instruments useful for the arts, sciences and history were deposited. Moreover, the oft cited decree of 14 September 1793 was manifestly illegitimately extended, and for that reason it was permitted to remain in operation but a little more than a month— from 14 September 1793 to 22 October 1793. And yet primarily from this slender and perverted evidence has been derived the classic assertion that the French Revolution was the product of Vandalism and of contempt for history.

In concluding this chapter a brief résumé may emphasize what has been attempted. In the first place it has been shown that the dramatic value of history was recognized and utilized from the beginning to the end of the Revolution, as evidenced by the use of historical themes in the fêtes, theatres, and paintings. In the second place, evidence has been adduced which indicates a public opinion sensitive to the significance of historical influence. And, finally, attention has been called to the fact that the Revolutionary leaders took such precautions as to protect to the best of their abilities the libraries, museums, and other things of use for the future instruction and production of history.

44-Proces-Verbaux de la Convention, vol. ii. pp. 660-661
It has been demonstrated in the preceding portions of this study that history was not only recognized but that it was a dominant factor in determining the course of educational legislation as the Revolution progressed. From such evidences indicating the appreciation and utilization of historical information by the Revolutionary leaders in order to bring their schemes to successful fruition, we turn now to discuss briefly some typical examples of the actual operation of history in the making of the Revolution as proved by legislation as well as by other Revolutionary actions and events.

In the first place it may be stated that undeniably certain constitutional measures were the outgrowth of historical precedent. Possibly the most far-reaching of these early constitutional measures was that known as the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which was clearly based upon historical precedent. "The idea," says Dumont, "was primarily American, and there was scarcely a member of the Constituent Assembly who did not consider such a declaration an indispensable preliminary to the constitution."¹ The business of the Assembly from July 1789 was the constitution. The first steps towards it was to define the rights for which it exists. "Such a declaration, suggested by America, had been demanded by the electors in several of the instructions, and had been

¹ Warwick, Mirabeau and the French Revolution, pp. 285-286
faithfully reproduced by Mounier, July 9."  

The decrees of the fourth of August abolished the feudal system; all French citizens were made equal before the law, but it was necessary to make some provision for their rights, and "America had shown the way." The Declaration was passed on 26 August after a hurried debate. In addition to the references indicated many others might be cited attesting the same fact. In fact, historians are universally agreed concerning the source of the French Declaration of Rights. The Declaration of the Rights of Man, however, is simply one instance of the working out in France of the republican ideas which were primarily responsible for the Revolution itself. To how great a degree the Revolution may be attributed to the influence of the study of the history of England, America, and Rome is difficult to ascertain. That it had an influence, however, no one can deny. "All men of any degree of culture were familiar with the history of England, and all knew what was then to be known of the history of the English Rebellion of the seventeenth century. Among the writings of English republicans (frequently translated into French—several were published in 1763 by the English Radical, T. Hollis) they read more especially Locke and Sidney, whose names were household words in France, and were incessantly quoted along with the names of the heroes of Republican Rome. But America in

2—Acton, Lectures on the French Revolution, p. 102  
3—Madelin, History of the French Revolution, pp. 96-97  
4—For other references concerning this point see the following: Aulard, The French Revolution, vol. i. pp. 111-118; Stephens, the French Revolution, vol. i. ch. ix; Bourne, Revolutionary Europe, pp. 101-105, etc.
a still more immediate and in a far more efficacious manner contributed as a living example to the republicanization of French opinion. The numbers of editions in French of the various American constitutions proves the reality of American influence. The American war inspired the French to produce a great number of narratives, histories, and books of travel. The grave and reasonable republicans of whom Franklin was a type inspired both love and admiration. Republican America became even more the fashion than monarchist England. France did not forget that America had Declarations of Independence, National Conventions, Committees of Public Safety, and Committees of General Security. Part of the very political vocabulary of the French Revolution is American. The most important fact of all in the history of republican ideas is that twenty years before the French Revolution all enlightened Frenchmen had read, either in the original or in one of the numerous French translations, the text of the constitution of the United States."

It is quite apparent, therefore, that there can be little question concerning the operation of historical influence upon constitutional problems at the opening of the Revolution. There was not, however, any demand for the establishment of a republic in 1789. With the exception of Desmoulins whom we have already characterized as an apt student and ardent

5-Chateaubriand says: "The height of fashion and elegance was to be an American in the city, English at Court, and Prussian in the army."

6-Aulard, French Revolution, vol. i. pp. 111-117
admirer of Greek and Roman republicanism, there were few republicans in Paris prior to the flight to Varennes. The constitution of 1791 was not so much the product of a democratic revolution as it was the result of a reaction against absolutism. "The Revolution at this stage was directed against Louis XIV rather than against Louis XVI." They hoped by the division of power and a multiplicity of checks to make their country as free as England and America, and yet retain the monarchy. Thus, they set about framing a constitution which would combine the principles of the English and American constitutions. The constitutional committee elected July 14 drew up a constitution based upon the English model providing for two legislative chambers and an absolute veto of the monarch upon all measures passed by them. The issue was raised at once whether the King should have the power to veto or refuse consent to any measure passed by the legislature, and the Vicompte de Noailles, a young nobleman who had read a great deal of the history of America and had imbibed American ideals, championed the idea of the suspensive veto and it won the day. While the constitution of 1791 reflected English and American influence, the constitution of 1793 was built upon Spartan principles. It is said that the author, Hérault de Echelles, kept his colleagues of the constitutional committee busy going to the National Library to make sure about the laws of Minos.

7-Madelin, History of the French Revolution, p. 120
8-Acton, Lectures on the French Revolution, p. 109
9-Madelin, History of the French Revolution, pp. 348-349
The recognition and use of historical precedents in the Revolutionary reconstructive policies is also manifest in the treatment of the church. The sale of the Church lands was the solution suggested by members of the Assembly to expedite the deplorable financial condition of France in the latter part of 1789. On October 10 Talleyrand moved that the property of the church be placed at the disposal of the state. This aroused a debate of the most passionate nature. Did the state have the right to confiscate the church property. It was pointed out in these debates that the principle of transferring ecclesiastical property in the shape of landed domains to the civil power had been recognized since the time of John Huss. The policy of Henry VIII in England in regard to this matter was emphasized. Louis XIV had advocated this theory. "Kings," we read in his Memoirs, "are the absolute rulers of all property, whether secular or ecclesiastical, to use it with wise economy, that is to say, according to the necessities of the state." Mirabeau argued from these precedents upon the proposition of Talleyrand and was responsible for forcing the measure through the Assembly. He pointed out how Henry VIII of England had appropriated to the nation the property of the clergy, and also, the doctrine of Louis XIV was repeatedly emphasized. "This was doubtless the tradition of the old monarchy and the Assembly fully recognized the time honored claims of the civil power regarded-

11-These debates are given with sufficient fullness in the Archives Parlementaires, vol. ix. pp. 604, 649.
ing church property. On April 10, 1790 Dom Guerle, a democratic monk who had voted for the confiscation, artlessly proposed his celebrated motion to proclaim Catholicism the State religion. This again produced a storm of protests. Mirabeau arose on this occasion and made an allusion to the balcony from which Charles IX had fired on the Huguenots. The effect was instantaneous. The motion was lost. Immediately the Assembly voted the nationalization of all church property. It is said, therefore, "That the Assembly acted cautiously and historically in secularizing the ecclesiastical estates." 

The Assembly after the confiscation of the church property, had a difficult task to decide what disposition should be made of it to relieve the public exigencies. To offer it all for sale at once would greatly depreciate its value. It was suggested, however, that it be sold to the municipalities, and that these should be given time to dispose of it gradually. The municipalities were to give bills payable at a certain date, and the credit given these notes would insure their circulation as money. This was the idea of the assignat.

The policy of issuing paper money aroused a great debate but the current toward this procedure became irresistible because of the urgency of the need and the very convincing arguments in its favor. It was constantly pointed out that many nations in the past had issued it, and that if any nation could safely do it, France was that nation. It was

12-Sloane, The French Revolution and Religious Reform, p. 85
13-Ibid, pp. 94-95
emphasized that France was now a constitutional government, controlled by enlightened and patriotic men, and not as in the days of former issues of paper money, an absolute monarchy controlled by politicians and adventurers. Besides with men like Bailly, Mirabeau, and Necker at her head she could not make the financial mistakes and crimes from which France had suffered under John Law, the Regent Duke of Orleans, and Cardinal Dubois. "Law's paper money was based upon the phantoms of the Mississippi; ours, upon the solid basis of ecclesiastical lands." Mirabeau's great speech on 27 September 1790 finally overcame the opposition. He first called attention to the political necessity involved, and then emphasized with all his eloquence and ingenuity, the stability and security of the proposed assignats. He says, "While many nations in the past have been compelled to emit paper money, none have been so fortunate as the French nation, for none have been able to give landed security. I would rather have a mortgage on a garden than on a kingdom." The assignats were issued and grossly abused; but while they almost ruined France, they did insure the existence of the Revolution.

Other instances may be cited which prove the influence of history upon financial legislation. On 17 February 1794 Ramel-Nogaret made a speech before the Convention setting forth the desirability of a land tax payable in money rather than in products. "History," he says, teaches us that every

14-White, Fiat Money Inflation in France, pp. 3-8
15-Moniteur, vol. v. pp. 755-763; Mirabeau refers to the pol- of America, England, Germany, etc.
society has begun by establishing a tax payable in products, but it also teaches us that this has been abandoned as soon as the introduction of a money medium of exchange which permitted the withdrawal from the vices inherent in this form of tax. After having modified it to a point of paying this sort of tax upon figs only, the Greeks were delivered of this even in the time of Solon. The tax of Aristides, known as the most excellent of Greece, had for its basis the evaluation of wealth. The Romans established this same method of taxation in imitation of the Greeks. It is true that with the decline of the empire the whole thing fell into decline and confusion. Nations plunged again into ignorance of those laws and the improvement already made had to be rediscovered. Raynal, we remember, calls attention to the very bad economic administration in France in the time of Charlemagne because they paid taxes in products. Our fathers obtained suppression of this when the communes recovered the right to act intelligently in this matter themselves. The clergy resorted to enchantments and miracles to maintain the tithe; this suppression has just been regarded as a precious conquest. Someone says that receiving taxes in products is maintained in China but even here it is so moderate as to be insignificant, and one must add also that the example of the Chinese is very poor precedent; cut off from all communications and all exterior relations, they have held to abuses which all reason and good sense condemn. Why then,
should apparently intelligent people declare in favor of a system which the history of the world so supremely repudiates? The adoption of such a system will be the ruin of agriculture."¹⁶ A law was ultimately passed recognizing the points raised by the above argument and repudiating the method of paying taxes in products.

It has been said, "That the Girondins were distinctly Roman, partisans of Brutus, Gracchus, and Cato. They were Republicans because they had fed upon the Roman historians. When they attacked Louis XVI they called him Tarquin or Caligula. They were deputies for the Peloponnesus or for Latinum."¹⁷ While they were in a majority they passed a resolution that a maximum price be fixed at which all the necessities of life should be sold. No particular attention was paid to the decree at the time but when the executive power came into the hands of the Committee of Public Safety it was utilized as a means of enforcing the system of terror. Barère made a speech in behalf of the Committee which was responsible for the report which put the decree into force and attached a death penalty for its violation. Barère in this speech on the Maximum, 22 February 1794, made numerous arguments from history. He calls attention to the evils of monopolies from the time of the Romans to the present time, emphasizing especially the tragedy of the English in Bengal and the "Pacte de Famine" in France. He argued that unless

¹⁸-Moniteur, vol. xix. pp. 527-528
France profits from these historical examples the same tragedies may come to pass within the realm in the near future. After this speech Barère's report providing for the operation of the law was immediately adopted.

The Legislative Assembly was dominated by distinctly Roman, and hence republican ideals. "Everybody is expecting to see men like Aristides, Fabricius, Cato, and Cincinnatus arriving from the depths of the provinces," wrote citizeness Julien on August 14.19 There did come to this Assembly a large group of persons consecrated to Roman principles and devoted worshippers of the ancient times. They became the future Girondin party which was responsible for the harsh laws against the émigrés to which reference has been made in an earlier connection.20 The émigrés began to leave in 1789 and at the beginning of 1792 there were thousands of these unhappy folk who crowded the banks of the Rhine waiting on events. What course was to be pursued concerning these people? This was the first important question which came before the Assembly. The debate on this question lasted over eleven sittings. Brissot, Isnard, Gensonne, Gaudet, Vergniaud, and Condorcet all spoke upon the question. The émigrés were constantly characterized as the "Catalines of Coblenz." De Bry referred to the princes as the "Tarquins."

The most important and most influential speech of all during

19-Madelin, French Revolution, p. 213
20-See page 28 of the present study.
this debate was delivered by Vergniaud on 25 October 1791. As a result of his efforts he was hailed as the new "Marcus Tullius Cicero." This famous address is replete with historical arguments and allusions. He compared the position of the King to that of Brutus sentencing his own sons. He pointed out how these emigrants differed from the émigrés who left to escape the cruelty of the Spanish Inquisition. They were seeking for liberty and were justified in going. The effect of this speech has already been noted, but it may be re-stated here that it in particular was primarily responsible for those laws against the émigrés which brought on the crisis between the King and the Assembly that led to the Veto riots of 20 June 1792, and so at length to the Great Terror.

Possibly the event which more than any other caused public sentiment to drift toward an open and avowed advocacy of a Republic in France was the King's flight to Varennes. There is no way, however, of determining just to what extent the King was influenced by his study of history to take this fatal step, but it is stated "that he read much history and especially the history of England. He was familiar with the misfortunes of dethroned princes, and saw the analogy between them and his own unhappy position. The history of Charles I lay constantly upon his table; the portrait of Charles I was constantly before his eyes. Two circumstances were be-

21-Madelin, History of the French Revolution, p. 213
22-See this study, p. 28 and following.
23-Ibid, p. 28
James II had lost his throne because he left the kingdom; Charles I had lost his head because he made war against Parliament and his people."\(^{24}\) "It is likely that Louis XVI dreamed of waging a regular war against Parliament as had Charles I, only with better success. The history of this English King obsessed him; it fascinated him. He resolved to profit by the mistakes of Charles I and make success doubly certain."\(^{25}\) This history no doubt influenced his decision to attempt flight to the border where an army might be organized to affect a counter revolution. Louis calculated that if the flight succeeded he would be in a position to dictate terms concerning such amending of the constitution as would strengthen the executive. He felt naturally that he would be stronger on the frontier than in the capital.

Tuesday, June 21, 1791, the day on which the departure of the King became known was a memorable day in the history of the Assembly. The conservative party could not survive the blow, and the Republican party was called into existence. Many monarchical deputies were converted to republican principles by the King's flight. They soon began to spread their doctrines; pamphlets, such as "Louis XVI, dethroned by himself", were printed and circulated. Condorcet refuted one by one the arguments against a Republic. "How," he asked, "could a tyrant establish himself with such a division of power?"

\(^{24}\) Lewes, Life of Robespierre, p. 166
\(^{25}\) Kropotkin, French Revolution, p. 151
power as in the United States, and with a free press? Let a single journal be free and the usurpation of a Cromwell is impossible." He goes on to argue against the possibility of a military dictatorship. "What conquered province would a French general despoil in order to purchase your votes?" he asked. "Will some ambitious man propose, as to the Athenians, to levy tribute on our allies in order to raise temples or give feasts? Will he promise our soldiers as the citizens of Rome were promised, the pillage of Spain or Syria?"

Condorcet for this speech incurred the bitter enmity of the monarchists but there is no doubt that it made a profound impression. On July 5 the Jacobin Club presented to the National Assembly a petition which contained the following:

"Representatives! it is of the greatest importance that you should know public opinion; here is ours. To be indeed Romans, we lacked only hatred and the expulsion of the King. We have the former; the latter we await at your hands." In a later Jacobin petition it is stated:"One word omitted from the constitution: hereditary, and you will inspire us with the virtues of Greece and Rome." After the massacre of the Champ de Mars, 17 July 1791, the agitation of a Republic became more pronounced. "Men were hired to declaim in the streets and in the public places lines from Brutus in order to create public sentiment more readily."

27-Ibid, p. 297
28-Ibid, p. 301
29-Ibid, p. 303
30-Ibid, p. 317
The monarchical constitution went into effect 1 October 1791 and the outward insistence for a Republic subsided for a time. In June, July, and August 1792 another tide of republican sentiment arose which led to the dethronement, trial, and ultimate execution of Louis XVI. Petitions were sent in from numerous departments summing up in striking terms the state of public sentiment in 1792. "We loved Louis as long as he served us well, but he has betrayed his oath and we sign in favor of his dethronement. Legislators, the measure is full; it is time to hunt the Tarquins out of France." The Jacobins, also, again demanded a Republic. There was no question about their attitude since the affair of the Champ de Mars. "Let us hasten the removal of the King," cried Billaud-Varenne. "When Rome was resolved to recover her liberty, she commenced by expelling all the Tarquins." Thus, the sentiment for a Republic gradually coalesced and 10 August 1792 democracy was established in France. For forty days there was neither a monarchy nor a republic, but on 22 September the Republic was definitely established. The republican propaganda had succeeded; the ideals of Rome had triumphed.

The Convention met in September of 1792. One of its first acts was the abolition of royalty and the establishment of a Republic. It was not long, moreover, until the question of the disposition of the former king came up for consideration. In the latter part of October copies of the "Trial of Charles I" were printed, sold, and read everywhere as

32-Ibid, p. 52
an example how people should judge and treat a tyrant. It was pointed out in these pamphlets that France would do well to imitate the example set by England. Robespierre and Saint-Just demanded a decree from the Convention for the King's execution. The Convention was not, and could not be a court of law. A state murder was what these men demanded. "Caesar," said Saint—Just, "was put to death in the middle of the Senate, with no formalities beyond two-and-twenty dagger thrusts." "In what republic," demanded Robespierre, "was the right of punishing a tyrant ever questioned? Was Tarquin tried? What would have been said in Rome if anyone had undertaken his defense? Yet you demand advocates for Louis." The Girondins, however, insisted upon a trial. They rejoiced to have the opportunity of making a great show in the Convention, and wished to make the trial of Louis more impressive even than the trial of Charles I in England. They felt that they had won a great victory when the Convention decreed that Louis should be tried. Possibly two of the most important speeches delivered upon the conduct to be pursued with regard to Louis, were those delivered by Robespierre and Vergniaud. Many historical arguments were used by both in the course of their speeches. Deseze eloquently and convincingly pleaded the King's cause. He concluded in a grave tone of voice as follows: "I say no more: I pause in the presence of History: remember that it will give its verdict upon

33- Lewes, Life of Robespierre, pp. 276-278; Aulard, vol. ii. p. 17
35- Stephens, Orators of the French Revolution, v. ii. p. 361
yours, and the verdict of History will be the verdict of ages to come."\textsuperscript{37} But Robespierre had given the word: "You are not judges, you are statesmen, and it is a necessity to cut off the head of Louis just as Cromwell found it a hard necessity to cut off the head of Charles I."\textsuperscript{38} The King was found guilty 17 January 1793, and he was executed three days later. The populace looked on in dreary silence, which Mme. Jullien describes as "a Roman majesty."

Following the execution of the King the government of France was administered largely by the Great Committee of Public Safety. They instituted the policy of Terror and the period from July to December 1793 is known as the period of the Great Terror. Vaulland, the president of the Convention sought to justify the Terror policy by historical precedent. "Legislators," he said, "of all ancient republics have been very severe in times of crises."\textsuperscript{39} Robespierre was undoubtedly the great central figure in the Committee of Public Safety. The most important speech in favor of instituting the terror policy was made by him. He began by saying, "That defenders of the republic must adopt the maxim of Caesar: 'nothing has been accomplished so long as anything remains to be done.' There remains still sufficient danger to the Republic to occupy all our efforts, but the conquering of the English and traitors will be easy enough for the valor of our republican soldiers."\textsuperscript{40} He continues with numerous

\textsuperscript{37-Nadalin, History of the French Revolution, p. 320}
\textsuperscript{38-Hodgson, French Education, p. 39}
\textsuperscript{39-Moniteur, vol. xix. p. 7}
\textsuperscript{40-Ibid, vol. 19, p. 51}
references to history. For instance: "Themistocles was more of a genius than the ancient general who commanded the Greek navy. However, when the former made a necessary suggestion which would have saved the country, the latter raised his cane to strike him. Themistocles merely said to him: 'strike but obey!' and Greece triumphed over the tyrants of Asia. Scipio excelled many other Roman generals; Scipio, after having conquered Hannibal and Carthage, made himself glorious by serving under the orders of his enemy. Oh, the patriotism of great men! who of you are above all these agitations and all the pretentions of narrow minds? Oh, virtue! are you less necessary for the founding of a republic than for a governor in times of peace? Oh, country! have you less claims upon the representatives of the French people than Greece and Rome had upon their generation?"

This address, in fact, is replete with such allusions. The effect of this speech was the establishment of the Revolutionary government and the institution of the reign of Terror. The following day, 28 September 1793, Barère made a speech in support of the terrorist government in which he used nine historical arguments.

Turning now to the Revolutionary foreign policy, the influence of history is equally striking. Mirabeau on 24 May 1790 was appointed on a diplomatic committee, and his famous report manifesting alike his wonderful knowledge of

41-Moniteur, vol. xix. pp. 52-54
42-Ibid, pp. 59-62
history and foreign politics was presented to the Assembly 25 August 1790. He refers to the dispute between London and Madrid over Vancouver Island. He gives a history of the Bull of Pope Alexander VI, issued in 1493, dividing the newly discovered world between the Spaniards and Portuguese. He enumerates the various French possessions in all parts of the world and points out the importance and value of each. He gives an account of the wars which lasted with slight intermissions from the days of Charles V and Francis I between France and Spain until they were settled by the treaty of Pyrenees in 1659. The significance of the action of Louis XIV in 1702 in uniting the crowns of France and Spain, the war of Spanish Succession 1703-1713, the seven years war with England at the conclusion of which Canada was ceded to Great Britain, and the history of the 'Pacte de Famille' were all recounted in this discourse. 43 Quotations concerning many of these it will be recalled have been cited earlier. 44

The adoption of a French navigation policy also reflects historical influence. The speech of Barère in the debate upon the navigation act, cited in an earlier connection, contains many striking historical arguments. 45 The most important act of the Legislative Assembly was the declaration of war against Austria on 20 April 1792. This foreign war was the work of Brissot, Vergniaud, and other

44-See this study pp. 21-25, 40-42
45-Ibid, pp. 40, 41
Girondins, who as we have seen, were dominated by Roman ideals. Vergniaud set forth the ardor of the Girondins for war in his speech of 18 January 1792. He refers to the impregnable fortresses on the frontier which had been constructed by Vauban, the old Marshall of France in 1705; he points out the advantage gained by Frederick the Great in suddenly attacking Saxony in 1756; and, finally closes with a quotation of Demosthenes to the Athenians. The influence of history is also indicated by the course pursued by the Directory in re-naming the conquered territories. The Directory was so completely dominated by Roman precedents that the new republics which were created were given Roman names. The Batavian Republic, Helvetian Republic, Cisalpine Republic, Ligurian Republic are typical in this respect.

Space will not permit any detailed discussion of the influence of history upon military events. A great deal of evidence might be assembled to show the influence of Caesar, Hannibal, and Alexander upon the campaigns of such generals as Dumouriez, Moreau, and Napoleon. One concrete instance may be cited. In September 1792 France was threatened from every side. The Prussians had got between the French forces and the capital and there seemed to be nothing to prevent their advance. Dumouriez was at Sedan when he heard the heavy firing upon Verdun. He immediately fell back upon the passes of the Argonne forests that he was about to make so

famous. "They are the Thermopylae of France," he said, "but I mean to do better even than Leonidas." Though the French were greatly outnumbered, the Prussians were defeated and France was saved. "Ten thousand men," Dumouriez wrote, "were put to flight by fifteen hundred hussars."

We turn now from the events of the Revolution itself to a very brief consideration of the Napoleonic reconstruction. It has already been shown that Napoleon was an apt student of history from boyhood. "In his French history he read of the glories of the distant past when Germany was a part of the Carolingian Empire; of the splendors of the reign of Louis XIV, of the disasters of France in the Seven Years War, and of the conquests of England in India. The librarian at Brienne asserted that he fed his mind continually upon Plutarch's Lives, and that at an early age he modelled his career upon the heroes of antiquity." While a mere subaltern officer he read the Philosophical History of India by Abbé Raynal and it excited his mind with the wildest enthusiasm. There was another book which exercised great influence upon his mind. It was the Gallic wars of Caesar. Caesar was destined to exert a peculiar fascination upon Napoleon's mind. The change in the character and career of Napoleon I may be registered mentally in the effacement of the portraits of Leonidas and Cincinnatus by that of Caesar. In 1790 we hear that he spent whole nights poring over Caesar's history, committing many passages to memory.

47-Acton, Lectures on the French Revolution, p. 216
48-Rose, Napoleon, pp. 10-11 (50) Rose, Napoleon, p. 11
49-Sloane, Napoleon, vol. i. p. 40
in his passionate admiration for those wondrous exploits. He invariably took the side of Caesar against Pompey. It was doubtless a perilous study for a republican youth in whom the military instinct was as ingrained as the genius to rule. During this period he ransacked the records of the ancient and modern world. The history and customs of the ancient Persians, Scythians, Thracians, Carthaginians all furnished material for his note-book. He accumulated a knowledge of the past which astounded his contemporaries.

This interest in history which was developed in early youth persisted throughout his life. In the years of his greatest activity he had his library of history at his command. On the voyage to Alexandria he studied the library of books which he had requested Bourrienne to purchase for him. He had with him 125 volumes of historical works, among which were the works of Thucydides, Plutarch, Tacitus, and Livy. These represented the life of the ancient world. For accounts of modern life he concentrated his attention chiefly upon the manners and institutions of peoples and great generals, such as Turenne, Condé, Luxembourg, Saxe, Marlborough, Eugene, and Charles XII. In July 1808 Meneval wrote to M. Barbier, the librarian of the Emperor, to prepare a portable library of a thousand volumes. The library was to contain 40 volumes on religion, 40 volumes of epics, 40 volumes on the theatre, 60 volumes of poetry, 100 volumes of accounts of the Romans.

51-Rose, Napoleon, p. 11
52-Ibid, p. 20
53-Ibid, p. 169
60 volumes of general historical works, and the remainder to make up the 1000 volumes was to be selected from a list of historical memoirs of all ages. The librarian was further instructed to draw up memorandums of the campaigns which had taken place upon the Euphrates and against the Parthians, including those of Anthony, Trajan, and Julian. Particular attention was to be given to tracing the course which each army followed and to a historical account of each expedition. 54 A letter written to M. Barbier in May 1811 states that the Emperor wants a volume of Ecclesiastical History by Fleury, together with the details of the Pragmatic Sanction under Charles VII. 55 Another letter of February 1812 directs that a copy of the History of France by Velly be sent at once as the Emperor wants to read it. The same letter states that the Emperor wishes to replace the works of fiction and the greater part of the poetry in his library by works of history. 56

To trace the influence of history upon his reconstructive policies in general would take us too far afield for this study. It is plainly evident that he used his wonderful historical imagination and allusions with great effect. "I am the Revolution," which was uttered so frequently after the failure of the royalists plot of 1804, is a revamped version of Louis XIV's "I am the State." Another of his catch phrases was, "I am the New Charlemagne." Possibly the greatest contribution of Napoleon to the world was the Napoleonic Code.

54-Correspondence de Napoleon I, vol. xvii. p. 463
56-Ibid, vol. xxiii. p. 298
This was for the most part a compilation of Roman laws adapted to French condition. Napoleon, himself, made frequent comparisons of his own government with that of the Roman emperors, particularly Diocletian. "You who are well acquainted with history", he said, "are you not struck with the points of resemblance between my government and that of Diocletian, by this close woven net which I spread to such a distance by these ubiquitous eyes of the Emperor, and by this civil authority which I have known how to maintain in an Empire absorbed in war? I have many traits in common with Diocletian from Egypt to Illyria, only I neither persecute the Christians nor abdicate the imperial throne." 57

Another quotation may be given which forms an interesting example of his knowledge and use of history. He was showing why his most famous institution, the Legion of Honor, should be established. In answer to some arguments against it, he said, "People are everlastingly talking about the Romans. It is curious to hear the example of the nation which carried rank and classes to the extremest limit, quoted by those who want to do away with them both. The Romans had their patricians, knights, citizens, and slaves. Each class had its distinctive costume and code of morals. They bestowed all sorts of distinctions and rewards. They had their superstitions. If you leave religion out of the idea of Rome you lose the key to its history. When the splendid race of patricians fell

57 Fournier, Napoleon, p. 405
Rome was rent in twain. The populace was the vilest of mobs. Then followed the fury of Marius, the proscriptions of Sylla, finally, the Emperors. People talk about Brutus as a foe of tyrants. In point of fact, he was nothing but an aristocrat; he only killed Caesar because Caesar was trying to decrease the authority of the Senate and increase the power of the people. I defy you to give a single instance of a Republic, ancient or modern, in which there have been no distinctions.\textsuperscript{58}

Such arguments might be multiplied at great length but surely sufficient evidence has been presented already to indicate the impelling force of history upon Napoleonic policies.

In conclusion it should be said that this discussion has merely attempted to sketch in as brief a manner as consistent with reasonable clearness some evidences of the influence of history in the making of history. It has been shown that it had its power in shaping the course of various typical Revolutionary events and policies, and finally, it has been demonstrated that Napoleon, the Son of the Revolution, the great maker of history of the nineteenth century was an ardent student of history and constantly avowed its influence in determining his actions and the policies of his government.

\textsuperscript{58} Thibaudeau, Bonaparte and the Consulate, pp. 142-143
Summary

It may be justly concluded from what has been presented in the preceding discussions that the study and use of history is the vital factor in the making of other history. For it has been clearly demonstrated that:

(1) The significance of history was appreciated by the Revolutionary leaders.

(2) A wide range of historical information was a general accomplishment of the men of influence during this period of history.

(3) Historical arguments were resorted to in order to promote their policies and inaugurate action.

(4) The events of the Revolution did not spring up spontaneously as it is frequently supposed, but that practically every movement is based upon precedent and analogy, springs from the past or is determined by its history.

(5) Contrary to the assertion of many educational writers, the various educational programs of the Revolution and revolutionary legislation did effectively recognize history and made ample provision for its teaching in the curricula of the various classes of schools.

(6) The Revolution was based largely upon the history of Greece and Rome.

(7) The culmination of the Revolution, Napoleon, the great maker of history of the nineteenth century, utilized history to a very great extent in his civil, political, and military policies.
The significance of the above facts is quite apparent. Their significance is enhanced when we consider that the period which has been investigated in this study is an epoch when history is supposed to have been ignored. For it is even frequently stated that the Revolution is the manifestation of a deliberate attempt to break loose from all history and traditions of the past. The baselessness of such an inferential assertion has been demonstrated. In reality, the Revolution was primarily an attempt at the application of history in a new way.

If history operated in directing the course of events during the Revolutionary period, it is more than certain that a similar test in other periods would warrant the same conclusions as those which have been deduced from this study. Actually, what better test of the influence of historical study can be pursued than one of this nature? The most important speeches upon typical vital issues have been investigated and the arguments analyzed. Time after time it has been found that these crucial speeches have been based upon historical precedents and vitalized by historical arguments. History seemed to be the determining factor in deciding a course of action. Besides this analysis of speeches and typical debates upon vital issues, other tests have been made, as for example it has been found that the actual Revolutionary legislation made ample provision for the teaching of history. Furthermore, the public press of the period reflects a public opinion interested in historical material, while the histor-
ical dramas and the histories and historical literature which were produced during the period point to the same conclusion.

The value of such a study is three fold: In the first place it shows the continuity of historical facts, how age is bound to age or how one civilization is built upon that which preceded. In the second place it shows the motives and aspirations which have dominated the makers of history at various stages of the game; and, finally, it brings home to the teacher of history the dignity of their profession and their responsibility to the future welfare of the social order.

Moreover, such a study is especially pertinent at the present hour. Since the outbreak of the war we have found ourselves in the midst of an unprecedented campaign of history teaching. It has not been limited to the schools, but it has been emphasized from forum, pulpit, and press. Much of it is directed toward correcting false historic notions. If one thing is brought out more clearly than any other in this study of the Revolution and history study, it is the danger of teaching perverted history. A recent writer has said: "There is no greater menace to the future safety of the United States than the teaching of what is called patriotic history. On the other hand there is no greater guarantee to that safety than the teaching of history in such a way that students will relentlessly recognize the truth irrespective of national pretensions."  

1 F. H. Hodder, History Teachers Magazine, June 1916, p. 188
concerning the American Revolution has been woefully pre-
judiced. In our efforts to develop patriotism we have taught
the heroism of the Revolutionary fathers and the tyranny of
England, but we have not taught that England's colonial pol-
icy even in the latter part of the eighteenth century was
the most enlightened policy known to civilization. It has
been brought out in this study that the French Revolution was
based upon history but the awful extremes to which the Revol-
ution led were due to the perverted use and application of
the history of Greece and Rome. Napoleon came upon the scene
at the close of the Revolution and obliged the Germans to
solve the problem of making history in their schools serve
the cause of national spirit. But this teaching in Germany
for the past hundred years of this type of perverted nation-
alistic imperialism has brought the world face to face with
the most momentous epoch in the history of civilization.
Appendix A

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Appendix A Con.

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Woolsey, Political Science
White, Fiat Money Inflation in France

III- Educational

Farrington, French Secondary Education
Buisson, Dictionnaire de Pedagogie
Johnson, Teaching of History
Hodgson, Studies in French Education
Compayre, Lectures on Teaching
Rousseau, Emile
Monroe, Encyclopedia of Education
Monroe, History of Education
Graves, History of Education
Schwickerath, Jesuit Education
Barnard, The Little Schools of Port Royal
Compayre, History of Pedagogy
Langlois and Seignobos, Introduction to the Study of History
Appendix A Con.

IV- Biographical

Lewes, Life of Robespierre
Warwick, Mirabeau and the French Revolution
Morley, Life of Turgot
Belloc, Danton
Morley, Life of Voltaire
Morley, Life of Rousseau
Stephens, W. W., Life and Writings of Turgot
Van Alstine, Charlotte Corday
Morley, Miscellanies
Jules Claretie, Camille Desmoulins and his Wife
Fling, Mirabeau and the French Revolution

V- Bibliographies

Gooch, History and Historians of the 19th Century
Lanson, Manuel Bibliographique de la Litterature Francais Moderne, vols. iii. and iv.
Fueter, Histoire de Historiographie Moderne
Monod, Bibliographie de l'Histoire de France

VI- General

Flint, Philosophy of History
Appendix B

Histories written by French Authors during the Eighteenth Century

Lenglet-Dufresnoy

1- Méthode pour étudier l'Histoire, 1713, 2 v.; nouv. ed. 1729, 4 v.; Supplement, 1740, 2 v.; nouv. ed. augm. par Drouet, 1772, 15 v.

Juvenel

1- Principes de l'Histoire (avec des Reflexions sur l'usage de l'Histoire et la maniere de l'étudier), 1733.

Voltaire

1- Histoire de Charles XII
2- Siècle de Louis XIV
3- Annales de l'Empire, 1753, 3 v.
4- Histoire de l'Empire de Russie sous Pierre le Grand, 1759
5- Précis du Siècle de Louis XV: 1755, Histoire de la guerre de 1741; 1763, 18 chapitres, à la fin du Siècle de Louis XIV.
6- Histoire du Parlement de Paris, 1769

Rollin

2- Histoire Romaine, 1738, 9 v.

Mably

1- Parallèle des Romains et des Francais par rapport au gouvernement, 1740
2- Observations sur les Grecs, 1749.
3- Observations sur les Romains, 1751.
4- Observations sur l'Histoire de la Grèce, ou Des Causes de la prospérité et des malheurs des Grecs, 1766
6- De la Législation, ou Principes des Lois, 1776.
8- De l'Étude de l'Histoire, nouv. éd., 1778.
9- De la Manière d'écrire l'Histoire, 1783.

1- Note: For a more complete list of historical literature produced during this period see bibliographies by Lanson, Monod, and others.
Raynal

1- Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans Indes (avec collaboration de Diderot, d'Holbach, Pechmêja, le fermier général Paulze, Martin, Deleyre: mémoire fourni par l'armateur bordelais Dutasta), 1770, 4 v.
2- Recueil de diverses pièces servant de supplément à l'Histoire philosophique......, 1783.
3- Dissertations sur le Droit public ou gouvernement des Colonies francaises, espagnoles et anglaises d'après les lois des trois nations (sur les esclaves) comparées entre elles, 1778.

Anquetil

1- Intrigues du Cabinet sous Henri IV et Louis XIII, 1780
2- Louis XIV, sa cour et la Régence, 1789
3- Précis d'Histoire Universelle, 1797

Banier

1- La Mythologie et les Fables expliquées par l'Histoire, 1738.

De Beaufort

1- La République Romaine, ou Plan général de l'ancien gouvernement de Rome, 1766.

Boulainvilliers

1- Mémoires historiques sur les anciens Gouvernements de la France jusqu'à Hugues Capet, avec quatorze Lettres historiques sur les Parlements ou États-Généraux, 1727.
2- État de la France, 1727, 3 v.; 1752, 8 v.

Bréquigny

1- Histoire des Révolutions de Gênes, 1750.
2- Table chronologique des diplômes, chartes, lettres et actes imprimés concernant l'histoire de France, jusqu'en 1314, 1769-1783.

De Brosses

1- Histoire de la République Romaine dans le cours du VII siècle, par Salluste, 1777.

De Bury

1- Histoire de la vie de Jules César, suivie d'une Dissertation sur la liberté où l'on montre les avantages du gouvernement monarchique sur le républicain, 1758.
Appendix B Con.

2- Histoire de Philippe et d'Alexandre, 1760.
3- Vie privée de Henri IV, 1765.
4- Histoire de la vie de Louis XIII, 1767.

P. Catrou
1- Histoire générale du Mogol, 1705.
2- Histoire Romaine (avec le P. Rouillé) 1725-1735, 21 v. réimp. 1740.

Crevier
1- Histoire des Empereurs Romains, 1750-1756

Abbé Dubos
1- Histoire critique de l'établissement de la Monarchie française dans les Gaules, 1734.

Duclos
1- Histoire de Louis XI, 1745.

Foncemagne
1- Examen critique de l'ancien gouvernement de la France, 1736.

Duclos

Fourmont
1- Réflexions sur l'origins, l'histoire et la succession des anciens peuples, Chaldeens, Hébreux, Phéniciens, Egyptiens, Grecs, jusqu'au temps de Cyrus, 1735 et 1747.

P. Griffet
1- Histoire du règne de Louis XIII, 1758
2- Traité des différentes preuves qui servent à établir la vérité de l'Histoire, 1769.

Renault

La Croze
1- Histoire d'Éthiopie et d'Arménie, 1739

Lebeau
1- Histoire du Bas Empire, 1756-1811, 27 v.
Appendix B Con.

Levesque de Burigny
1- Histoire des Révolutions de l'Empire de Constantinople, 1749.

Longuerue
1- Recueil de pièces intéressantes pour servir à l'Histoire de France, 1766.

Montesquieu
1- Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur et de la décadence des Romains.

Millot
1- Abrégé de l'Histoire Romaine, 1772.
2- Abrégé de l'Histoire Ancienne, 1778.
3- Abrégé de l'Histoire de France, 1778.
4- Eléments de l'Histoire de France, 1767-1769; 7th ed. 1800; nov. ed. augm. 1803.
5- Eléments de l'Histoire d'Angleterre, 1767; 7th ed. 1815.

Pilati de Tassulo
1- Histoire des Révolutions arrivées dans le gouvernement, les lois et l'esprit humain après la conversion de Constantin jusqu'à la chute de l'Empire d'Occident, 1783.
2- Traité des lois politiques des Romains du temps de la République, 1781.

Rulhière
1- Histoire sur la Révolutions de Russie en l'année 1762, 1797

Dom Taillandier et Dom Morin
1- Histoire de Bretagne, 1750-1756.

Dom Vaissette et Dom Devic
1- Histoire générale du Languedoc, 1730-1745.

Velly
1- Histoire de France depuis Clovis, 1765-1785.

Dom Calmet
1- Histoire Universelle depuis la création du monde, 1735.
Appendix B Con.

Hardion

1. Histoire universelle, 1754 et suiv.
   J. Vernet

1. Abrégé de l'Histoire Universelle pour la direction des jeunes gens, 1753.
   La Croze

   Hornot

Appendix C

Histories translated by the French during eighteenth Century.

I- From Greek Historians

1- Collected speeches of the principal Greek historians, translated by Auger, 1788, 2 vols.

Denys of Halicarnassus
2- Antiquities of the Romans, translated by P. Lejay, 1722, 2 v.; by Bellanger, 1723, 2 v.

Diordorus of Sicily
3- Histoire universelle, translated by Terrasson, 1737-1777, 7 v.

Polybius
4- History, translated by Thuillier, 1727-1730, 6 v.

Xenophon
5- The Expedition of Cyrus, translator unknown, 1772; translated by Count of Luzerne, 1777, by Larcher, 1778, 2 v.

II- From Latin Historians

Sallust
1- Translated by Dotteville 1769; by Beauser, 1770.

Suetonius
2- The Twelve Ceasars, translated by La Harpe, 1770, 2 v.; by La Pause, 1771, 4 v.

Tacitus
3- Tiberius or the first six books of Annals, translated by La Bletterie, 1768, 3 v.
4- Histories, translated by Dotteville, 1772, 2 v.

Tite-Live
5- Roman History, translated by Guérin, 1770, 10 v.

III- German Historians

Kempfer
1- Natural, Civil, and Ecclesiastical History of the Empire of Japan, translated by Schurchzer, 1729, 2 v.

IV- From English Historians

1- Universal History since the beginning if the world, translated into French 1742-1792, 46 v.

L. Echard
2- Roman History, translated by Larroque and Guyon 1728-1742, 16 v.
Appendix C Con.

Gibbon
3- History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, translated by the Dauphin (Louis XVI) under the name of Leclerc, vols. I to IV; since by Demeunier and Boulard, and by Cantwell and Marigné, 1777-1795, 18 v.

Hume
4- History of the House of Stuarts until the fall of James II, translated by Prévost, 1760, 3 vols.
5- History of the House of Tudor, translated by Mme. Belot, 1763, 2 v.
6- History of the House of the Plantagnets upon the English throne since the invasion of Julius Caesar, translated by Mme. Belot, 1765, 2 v.

Middleton
7- History of Cicero, the collected writings and memoirs of his century, translated by Prévost, 1743, 4 v.
8- Treatise upon the Roman Senate, translated 1753.

Robertson
9- History of Scotland, translated by Basset 1764.
11- History of America, translated by Eidous, 1777, 4 v., by Suard and Jansen, 1778, 2 v., by Morellet 1807.

G. Sale
12- Historical and Critical Observations upon the Mohammedans, 1751.

T. Smollett

Burnet
15- Memoirs to serve for the History of Great Britain under the reigns of Charles II and James II, translated by La Pillonnière, 1725, 3 v.

G. Carleton
16- Letters, Memoirs, and Negotiations of the time of James I, translated by Monod, 1759, 3 v.

V- From Spanish and Portuguese Historians

Mariana
1- General History of Spain, translated by Charenton, in 1725, 5 v.

Fr. Correal
2- Travels in the West Indies, 1722, 2 v.
Appendix C Con.

Garcilaso
3- History of the Incas, translated by Dalibard, 1744.

Zarate
4- History of the Discovery and Conquest of Peru, 1716, translated in 2 v.

VI- From Italian Historians

P. Giannone
1- Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples, 1742, 4 v.

Guichardin
2- History of the Italian wars, 1738, 3 v.

Machiavel
3- His Works, translated by Tetard, 1743, 3 v.
4- Reflections upon the first decade of Tite-Live, translated by Menc, 1782
5- History of Florence, translated by Barrett, 1789.

Fra Paolo Sarpi
6- History of the Council of Trent, translated by P. Le Courayer, 1736, 2 v.

Varchi
7- History of the Revolutions of Florence, translated by Regnier, 1765, 3 v.

VII- Translations into French from Russian author

Lomonosoff

VIII- From Chinese Authors

1- Memoirs concerning the history of the sciences, arts, morals, and customs of the Chinese, translated by Du Halde, 1766, 16 v.
Histories produced by French and Contemporary Historians from 1754 to the close of the eighteenth century.

1754, Scheflin, History of Alsace.  
General History of the State of Europe from Charlemagne to Charles V.

1755, Crevier, Roman History, vols. II, III.  
Knapton, History of China.  
Sharpe, Translation of Holberg's introduction to universal History.

1757, Maitland, History of the Antiquities of Scotland.  

1758, Comber, Vindication of the Revolutions of England 1688.  
Hooke, History of the Roman Senate.  
Leland, History of the Life and Reign of Philip of Macedon.  
Deguignes, General History of the Huns and Turks.

1759, Robertson, History of Scotland during the Reigns of Mary and James IV.  
Hume, History of England under the Tudors.  
Le Beau, History of the Bas Empire.  
Seyffert, Modern History.

1760, Crevier, History of the Roman Empire, vols. VII, VIII.  
Langier, History of the Republic of Venice.  
Voltaire, History of Russia under Peter the Great.  
Wilkie, Considerations on the German War.  
Thompson, History of Gustavus Ericson, King Sweden.

D'Arnay, Private Life of the Romans.  
Crevier, History of the Roman Empire.  
Combe, History of the Russian Revolutions.  
Bury, History of Philip and Alexander the Great.  
Davis, Complete History of the present war.  
Nugent, History of Peter the Great.

1762, universal History, vols. XXXVI, XXXVII.

1763, Universal History, vol. XXXVIII.  
Du Pratz, History of Louisiana.  
Warner, History of Ireland.  
Stuart & Revett, Antiquities of Athens.

1-A more extended list of French and Contemporary Historians for this period may be found by consulting the Annual Register, Gentlemen's Magazine, and Critical Review.
Appendix D Con.

1764, Hooke, Roman History, vols. V, VI.
  Grieve, History of Kamtschatka.
  Entick, History of the late war.
  Nicoll, Reign of George IV.
  Cooke, Complete History of the Martyrs.

1765, Wright, Complete History of the late war.
  General History of the world, vols. 8, 9.
  Macauley, History of England from James I to the Brunswick line.
  Durham, Private Life of the Romans.

1766, Hutchinson, History of the Massachusetts Bay Colonies.
  Welding, Brief History of the King of England.
  Grantz, History of Greenland.
  Halwell, History of the Empire of Hindostan.

1767, Lyttelton, History of the Life of Henry II.
  Lomonossoff, History of Russia.

1768, Barnetti, History of the Customs and Manners of Italy.

1769, Robertson, History of the Reign of Charles V.
  Anderson, History of France.
  Balfour, History of Scotland.
  Nugent, History of France from the foundation to the Reign of Louis XIV.

1770, Manstein, Historical, Political, and Military Memoirs of Russia.
  Evans, History of the Reign of George III to the conclusion of the sessions of 1770.
  Northern Antiquities translated from Mollet's introduction to the History of Denmark.
  Davis, History of the Lower Empire.
  Smith, History of Greece.

1771, Millot's, Elements of the History of France translated into the English.
  Velly, History of France translated into the English.

1773, Leland, History of Ireland from the Invasion of Henry II

1776, Gibbon, History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. I.
  Watson, History of the Reign of Philip II, King Spain.
Appendix D Con.

1777, Robertson, History of America. Le Ragois, instruction upon the History of France and Rome.

1786, Gilles, History of Ancient Greece.

1788, Gibbon, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vols, II, III, IV, V, VI.

I- Bibliography and Historiography

Fueter, Eduard, Histoire de Historiographie moderne
Paris 1914

Gooch, George Peabody, History and Historians of the
19th Century. London and New York 1913

Langlois, Charles Victor, and Seignobos, Charles, Intro-
duction to the study of History.
New York 1904

Lanson, Gustave, Manuel Bibliographique de la Litterature
Francais Moderne 1500-1900
5 Volumes. Paris 1909-1914. Volume III covers the
18th century.

Monod, Gabriel, Bibliographie de l'Histoire de France
Paris 1888

*Torneux, M. Bibliographie de L'Histoire de Paris pendant
la Revolution Francaise
5 Volumes
Paris 1890-1913

II- General Sources

1- Legal, Diplomatic, Legislative, and Administrative

Archives Parlementaires de 1787 a 1860
Paris 1860- still incomplete
Series I (1913) 82 Volumes reaches to 1794

*Aulard, F. A., Recueil des Actes du Comite de Salut
Public, etc. 12 Volumes in 14
Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1889-1899

*Aulard, F. A., Recueil des Actes du Comite de Salut

*Aulard, F. A., Paris pendant la reaction Thermidoriennene
et sous le Directoire. 5 Volumes, Paris
1898-1909

*Bacourt, M. A. de (Editor) Correspondance entre le
Comite de Mirabeau et le Comite de la Marck
pendant les annees, 1789 et 1791. 3 Vols.
Paris 1851

* Did not arrive in time to be fully investigated for this study.


Duvergier, J. B., Collection Compleète des Lois, Décrets, Ordonnances, Règlemens, etc. Deuxième Edition. 69 Volumes. Paris 1834-1869

Guillaume, J., Proces-Verbaux du Comité d'Instruction publique de l'Assemblée Legislative Paris 1889

Guillaume, J., Proces-Verbaux du Comité d'Instruction publique de la Convention Nationale 2 Volumes. Paris 1891-1894

Isambert, M., Recueil Général des Anciennes Lois Francaises depuis l'an 420 jusqu'a la revolution de 1789 29 Volumes. Paris 1821-1833

Kaulek, M. Jean, Papiers de Barthélémy, Ambassadeur de France en Suisse 1792-1797. 6 Volumes Paris 1886-1910

State Papers relative to the War against France (2nd Edn.) 10 Volumes. London 1795-1802

Correspondence and related documents

Brewer, Josiah D., The World's Best Orations from the earliest period to the present time. 10 Volumes. St. Louis, Mo., 1900

Marat, Jean Paul, La Correspondance, Paris 1908

Napoleon I, Correspondance publiée par ordre de l'Empereur Napoleon III. 32 Volumes. Paris 1858-1869

Saint-Just, Louis Antoine de, OEuvres Complètes 2 Volumes. Paris 1908

*not arrive in time to be fully investigated for this study
Stephens, H. Morse, Orators of the French Revolution
2 Volumes. Not in translation. London 1892

Talleyrand-Perigord, Charles Maurice de
Memoirs. Edited with preface and notes
by Duc de Broglie. 5 Volumes.
New York 1891-1892

Talleyrand-Perigord, Charles Maurice de
Ambassade de Talleyrand a Londres
Introduction et Notes par G. Pallain
(Correspondance diplomatique de Talleyrand)

3-Current Literature, including contemporary books,
pamphlets, periodicals, and newspapers

Annual Register, a review of public events at home and
abroad. London 1858- Date

Critical Review; or, Annals of Literature
Volumes 1-70. London 1756-1817

Gentleman's Magazine
London 1731-1857

Montesquieu, C., Considerations on the Causes of the
Grandeur and Decadence of the Romans
New York 1882

Montesquieu, C., Esprit des Lois
2 Volumes. Cincinnati 1873

Reimpression de l'Ancien Moniteur 1789-1799
31 Volumes. Paris 1858-1863

Rousseau, Jean Jacques, Emile
New York 1893

Stephens, W.W., Life and Writings of Turgot
London 1895
Secondary Works

1. Books

(a) General Histories


Fournier, August, *Napoleon I*. Edited by E. G. Bourne. New York 1903


Thibaudeau, A. C. *Bonaparte and the Consulate*. Translated and edited by G. K. Fortescue. London 1908

(b) Special Studies

(1) Pedagogical

Barnard, H. C., The Little Schools of Port Royal Cambridge 1913

Buisson, Ferdinand, Dictionnaire Pedagogie et d'Instruction Primaires
4 Volumes. Paris 1887-1888

Compayre, Gabriel, History of Pedagogy
2nd Edition. Boston 1899

Compayre, Gabriel, Lectures on Teaching
Boston 1898

Farrington, Frederic Ernest, French Secondary Education. New York 1910

Graves, Frank Pierrepont, History of Education in Modern Times. New York 1913

Hodgson, Geraldine, Studies in French Education from Rabelais to Rousseau. Cambridge 1908

New York 1913


Monroe, Paul, A Cyclopedia of Education New York 1914-1915


(2) Miscellaneous


Dunning, William Archibald, Political Theories from Luther to Montesquieu. New York 1905

Flint, Robert, History of the Philosophy of History. Edinburgh 1893

White, Andrew Dickson, Fiat Money Inflation in France. Toronto 1914

Woolsey, Theodore D., Political Science 2 Volumes. New York 1886

(3) Biographies

Belloc, Hilaire, Life of Danton  
New York 1911

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Fling, Fred Morrow, Mirabeau and the French Revolution. New York 1908

Lewes, George Henry, The Life of Robespierre 3rd Edition. Chicago 1849

Morley, John, Life of Voltaire  
New York 1903

Morley, John, Life of Rousseau  
2 Volumes. New York 1905

Morley, John, Critical Miscellanies  
4 Volumes. London 1904-1908

Stephens, W. W., Life and Writings of Turgot  
London 1895

Van Alstine, Mrs R. K., Charlotte Corday  
London 1890

Warwick, Charles F., Mirabeau and the French Revolution. Philadelphia 1908

2- Articles

Encyclopedia Brittanica, Article on Condorcet. Eleventh Edition

Hodder, F. H., History Teachers Magazine, June 1916


Trevelyan, G. M., From Waterloo to the Marne Quarterly Review, January 1918