



National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

Enlightenment and the French Revolution:
The Membership and Political Language of the Société de 1789.

by
Mark V. Olsen

Thesis submitted to
the School of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Ph.D. degree in History

Université d'Ottawa/University of Ottawa



National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-70479-9

Canada



UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

Acknowledgements

In the course of preparing this dissertation I have accumulated a number of debts to friends and colleagues which I cannot repay, but only acknowledge.

I have benefitted over the years from a close and fruitful collaboration with Louis-Georges Harvey. Our published work on several projects is only a small indication of the range of our discussions, and I am especially indebted to him for his careful consideration of material relating to American political discourse. Phyllis LeBlanc had read over much of this work and identified many problems of expression and interpretation. Ted Cachey has been instrumental in forcing me to think more critically about the nature of text and language. Colleen Donagher proof-read the entire document and caught many errors in style and references.

Professor Sydenham has been, without doubt, a teacher and mentor without peer. His rigor and clarity attracted me to the study of the French Revolution as an undergraduate. And he has, much to his chagrin I am sure, been unable to get rid of me ever since. As director of my Master's thesis on Condorcet as well as this dissertation, he has insisted on high standards of historical argumentation, standards of which I have frequently fallen short. Professor Sydenham has been just as helpful in examining material in which he is not expert as in historical elements of this work because he brings to everything he reads the same impartial and judicious critical eye. Professor Jennings has provided critical comment that has been most helpful in drafting this dissertation.

Finally, I owe a large debt of gratitude to my wife Sabrina. She has put up with late night worries and anxiety attacks, has read and commented on much of this work, and provided an environment suitable to combining work, writing, and family life. Her contributions are less concrete but equally as substantial as anyone else who has assisted me. Sabrina Marie has recently provided a welcome and entertaining diversion from my late-night scribbling. Her efforts to help daddy write his dissertation, I regret to add, have not been all that successful.

There are numerous errors of interpretation and fact which remain due to my failure to heed the excellent advice I have received from all these people.

ABSTRACT

Enlightenment and the French Revolution:
The Membership and Political Language of the Société de 1789.

Mark V. Olsen

University of Ottawa, 1990

Supervisors:

Dr. M. J. Sydenham
Dr. L. Jennings

The relationship between the Enlightenment and the French Revolution has been debated for many years. The problem has frequently been posed, until recently, in monolithic terms, looking for a single Enlightenment that either did, or did not, have a significant role in preparing the Revolution. Recent historiography stresses that neither the Enlightenment nor the Revolution can be accurately described as single processes. Examining the relationship between two complex events requires a closer examination of direct lines of individual and institutional connections.

The Société de 1789 is used in this dissertation as a case study of the relationship of the Late Enlightenment to liberal monarchists of the early Revolutionary period. The club, founded in January of 1790, was composed of leading intellectuals, financiers, ancien régime bureaucrats and many liberal members of the National Assembly who sought to consolidate the gains of the Revolution in a new constitution which would reflect "political

truths" as deduced by Enlightened philosophy. Members were drawn from elite groups, such as financiers, intellectuals, and administrators, most of whom were dependent on the government of the ancien régime for both prestige and money. This reflects the fact that Enlightenment, after Turgot's ministry, had become respectable and was the reforming monarchy's source of scientific and technical expertise. The Société de 1789 continued the role of the intellectual developed during the ancien régime -- that of Enlightened advisor and administrator -- and found expression in the fact that the Société was more concerned with policy considerations, the formation of rational responses to particular situations, than with abstract theorizing on the nature of political power. Finally, the members of the club, drawn from several elite groups in the ancien régime, continued to exercise influence in political, administrative, financial and cultural institutions for many years after the end of the Terror, suggesting that the lines of continuity of personnel and ideology can be clearly traced from ancien régime reform to Bonaparte.

The High Enlightenment did not leave a particular political program or philosophy to be "implemented" by later reformers or revolutionaries. Rather the Enlightenment provided a context in which to debate political issues. The style and language used for the discussion of contemporary politics tells us more about the impact of the Enlightenment than would an attempt to trace ideas back to a "source." Thus, the analysis of the political language of the Société de 1789 is an important element in

determining the degree to which the Enlightenment influenced the club. There are many distinguishing aspects to Enlightenment political discourse when compared to a neutral sample, the General cahiers de doléance of 1789. The discourse concerning the status of the nation, as opposed to the monarch, seems to have been resolved. The nation was, for the members of 1789, the center of France.

If the patterns of language use by members of the Société can be attributed to the influence of the Enlightenment in many cases, there are important elements of this discourse that do not seem to be drawn from the Enlightenment. The language of "populism," finding legitimacy in the "will of the people," seems to have been drawn from American political language rather than from the Enlightenment, even though the club was organized to exclude the "people." The impact of American discourse was relatively limited, however, since comparison of several political cognates does not indicate a consistent level of shared meaning. Though the club professed a strong institutional attachment to America and many of its members had strong personal and intellectual ties to the new Republic, the American example had only a limited impact on the discourse of the Société.

A considerable portion of this work is devoted to the elaboration of computer-based linguistic methods applied to intellectual and cultural history. The theoretical and methodological issues raised by systematic analysis of textual data are considered in the context of analyzing the impact of

Enlightenment and American Revolutionary discourses on the language of 1789. Although these methods may still be considered provisional, preliminary results presented here suggest that further development is warranted.

The well-known failure of the Société de 1789 as a political club to attract support and its failure to consolidate the gains of 1789 and stop the Revolution is also indicative of the relationship of the Late Enlightenment and Revolution. Part of the problem came from the political failure of moderates to reach a consensus and accommodation to which the large majority of Frenchmen and Parisians would rally. The well-known animosity between Mirabeau and La Fayette was symptomatic of this political failure. The failure was not merely political, however, but came from the basic assumptions concerning liberal politics that can be found in the organization of the club. The Société de 1789 was patterned after the institutions of the ancien régime, such as the Academies, to which many members of 89 had belonged. The membership of the Société de 1789 was blind to the development of mass politics. The presentation of scholarly discussion papers to a small, elite group of influential individuals was an essential mechanism of reform during the ancien régime, but was ill-adapted to the new Revolution. It was adherence to old forms of political discourse and political sociability that prevented the Société from recognizing and responding to the political culture being developed in the Jacobin clubs and in the sections of Paris.

The contradictions of the Enlightenment's failure to develop a systematic political ideology is central to this failure. The Société de 1789 never lost the Enlightenment fear of the people. Indeed, the club was systematically organized to exclude the masses and the perceived "irrationalities" of mass politics. A small Enlightened elite would meet to discuss politics dispassionately. The idea of the Common Reason became a central component in the argument against mass politics, since it required political representation of the Enlightened portions of the population. The rational liberalism that led Condorcet and Turgot, for example, to try to reform the Monarchy, prevented them from taking their liberal assumptions to the conclusions of popular rule and, most importantly, taking their politics to the streets.

Table of Contents

Preface	ii
Abstract	iii
Table of Contents	viii
List of Figures	ix
 Introduction	 1
 Part One: The <u>Société</u> and its Members	
1. The Enlightenment and the French Revolution: Historiography and Methodology.	24
2. The Politics of Enlightenment in 1790-91.	65
3. The Membership of the <u>Société de 1789</u> : Career paths of an elite.	157
4. <u>La vérité mise en action</u> : Rational Politics in 1790.	228
 Part Two: The Political Language of the <u>Société</u>	
5. The Language of Revolution: From Intellectual History to the History of Meanings	293
6. The Language of Liberty: the Discourse of the <u>Société de 1789</u> .	371
7. American Political Language in the Discourse of the <u>Société de 1789</u> .	481
 Conclusion: The Politics of Enlightenment in the French Revolution.	 582
 Appendices	
One: Function Word List.	601
Two: Collocation Program Output and Source Code in SNOBOL and UNIX.	602
Three: Bibliographies of Text Samples.	612
Four: Membership of the <u>Société de 1789</u> .	639
 Bibliography.	 685

LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter Three

Table One	170
Table Two	171
Table Three	177
Table Four.	178
Table Five.	179
Table Six	183
Table Seven	204

Chapter Five

Figure Five-One	363
Figure Five-Two	363
Figure Five-Three	364
Figure Five-Four.	365
Figure Five-Five.	365
Figure Five-Six	366
Figure Five-Seven	366
Figure Five-Eight	367
Figure Five-Nine.	367
Figure Five-Ten	368
Figure Five-Eleven.	368

Chapter Six

Figure Six-One.	454
Figure Six-Two.	458
Figure Six-Three.	459
Figure Six-Four	460
Figure Six-Five	464
Figure Six-Six.	465
Figure Six-Seven.	466
Figure Six-Eight.	466
Figure Six-Nine	467
Figure Six-Ten.	467
Figure Six-Eleven	468
Figure Six-Twelve	468
Figure Six-Thirteen	469
Figure Six-Fourteen	470
Figure Six-Fifteen.	471
Figure Six-Sixteen.	473
Figure Six-Seventeen.	474
Figure Six-Eighteen	475
Figure Six-Nineteen	413
Figure Six-Twenty	476

Figure Six-Twenty-One	477
Figure Six-Twenty-Two	478
Figure Six-Twenty-Four.	431
Figure Six-Twenty-Five.	479
Figure Six-Twenty-Six	480
Figure Six-Twenty-Seven	434

Chapter Seven

Figure Seven-One.	560
Figure Seven-Two.	506
Figure Seven-Three.	561
Figure Seven-Four	562
Figure Seven-Five	563
Figure Seven-Six.	509
Figure Seven-Seven.	564
Figure Seven-Eight.	565
Figure Seven-Nine	566
Figure Seven-Ten.	567
Figure Seven-Eleven	568
Figure Seven-Twelve	569
Figure Seven-Thirteen	570
Figure Seven-Fourteen	571
Figure Seven-Fifteen.	572
Figure Seven-Sixteen.	573
Figure Seven-Seventeen.	526
Figure Seven-Eighteen	574
Figure Seven-Nineteen	575
Figure Seven-Twenty	576
Figure Seven-Twenty-One	577
Figure Seven-Twenty-Two	578
Figure Seven-Twenty-Three	579
Figure Seven-Twenty-Four.	580
Figure Seven-Twenty-Five.	539
Figure Seven-Twenty-Six	581

Introduction

In 1899, Dr. Robinet gave the following entry for "Club de 1789" in his Dictionnaire historique et biographique de la Révolution:

Cette société, établie en mai 1790 et qui avait comme principaux chefs: Sieyès, La Fayette, La Rochefoucauld, alarmés des idées révolutionnaires qui se manifestaient dans le club des Amis de la Constitution, eurent l'idée d'en fonder un autre qu'ils appelèrent le club de la propagande, avec l'intention de répandre les vrais principes de la liberté. 1

The Club de 1789 or, as it was officially known, the Société de 1789 is commonly either ignored completely or mentioned only in passing by historians of the Revolution. Robinet's description is typical of the kind of image drawn by other historians. Georges Lefebvre mentions the Société only once in his French Revolution, where he comments that the club was "a center . . . where plans could be concerted and specific measures decided"² in support of the La Fayette faction. J.M. Thompson places the Société de 1789 with other "clubs of a more aristocratic and conservative type", mentioning that its "exclusive entry fee was five pounds."³ Soboul does not even mention the club in his discussion of the political alignments of 1789-90, even though many of his so-called Constitutionnels were members of the Société de 1789.⁴

The omission of the short life of the Société de 1789 from numerous histories of the French Revolution is quite understandable, for the group failed to accomplish any of its goals and never attracted the mass support accorded to other Parisian clubs during 1790. This failure to attract mass support has been easily explained: the "people" were kept away from the club by high membership fees as well as a certain elitist attitude that was officially embodied in its constitution. Less easy to explain is why the club consciously failed to act as a political party and adopted policies that would ensure the failure to attract popular support. The goals of the Société de 1789 were those of an enlightened academy, where the application of new ideas would be discussed in a detached and collegial fashion. The members it attracted were in keeping with the goals declared in the Prospectus written by Condorcet:

La société doit être considérée comme un centre de correspondance pour tous les principes généraux . . . Ce n'est ni une secte ni un parti, mais une compagnie d'amis des hommes, et pour ainsi dire, d'agens du commerce des vérités sociales. 5

Consciously attached to the Enlightenment, as well as to preserving a privileged position in the new order, the club was created in the mold of a "think tank", where the enlightened and privileged could put the finishing touches on the Revolution. The leaders of the club were Patriotes of 1789 who considered that the Revolution had achieved its goals and that order should be restored.

The emphasis on enlightened, rational discussion and the

restoration of order -- or rather the consolidation of the new order -- was less politically neutral than the overly optimistic Condorcet believed. The life and death of the Société took place during the period that Soboul claims was characterized by the failure of compromise.⁶ Ongoing debates at the national and municipal levels were frequently the source of interest and frequently the motive for membership of many adherents. David Epstein suggests that Mirabeau's membership in the Société was only a small part of his "assiduous pursuit of a monarchical party under his leadership" and that he considered the club "as a possible nucleus for his projected party."⁷ Similarly, La Fayette apparently wanted to use the club to consolidate the revolution and gain support for his policies:

Lafayette's primary concern in helping to create the Society of 1789 was to unite all men of good-will in an effort to complete the long-delayed constitution. He did not expect them to vote for all his program, only to keep disruptive motions from passing. 8

Not surprisingly, the closest associates of these political rivals, and those of others such as Sieyès and Bailly, became members of the Société.

Besides being prone to internal division, the club very quickly became the object of external attack as well. Elements from the left attacked the club for its exclusive tendencies and the lavishness of its patriotic dinners. The club drew even greater fire after it denounced the rebellions at Nancy in August/September 1790, proclaiming that irresponsible journalists were whipping up popular opinion against the elite who they

believed would establish the Revolution.⁹ The Annales patriotiques denounced the club, declaring "the reunion of the club of 89 and the noirs, which we had long suspected, is today no longer doubtful".¹⁰ Identified with "anti-popular" elements, the liberal elements of the club were forced, because of the adverse publicity which association with the club entailed, to return to the Jacobins during the fall and winter of 1790. The creation of the Amis de la Constitution monarchique club at the end of 1790 destroyed any prospect the Société de 1789 still retained of representing the center-right. Only a rump of the club survived until it was finally absorbed into the Feuillants in 1791.

The brief history of the Société de 1789 -- one marked by failure and political impotence -- has never been closely examined by historians. In fact, only three short studies of the club have ever been published, two of which were written at the turn of this century. Many important documents, including the only surviving membership list and the club regulations, were published in J.B. Challamel's Les clubs contre-révolutionnaires. Writing in 1895, Challamel suggested that the club was formed as a new type of Academy, combining the roles of salon, learned society and political club into one institution:

En lisant les Règlements de la Société de 1789, on voit qu'il s'agissait d'une réunion d'hommes désireux de faire passer à l'application leurs théories politiques et sociales, et que cette réunion ressemblait à un club fermé, presque à une académie. 11

Thus, for Challemel, the club represented "modératisme" that

failed with the declining popularity of its leaders -- La Fayette in particular -- and was finally proscribed "quand la Montagne l'emporta sur la Gironde."¹² The second of the early writings dealing with the club is Claude Perroud's "Quelques notes sur le club de 1789" which appeared in 1900. Inexplicably, he fails to mention Challamel's work, published five years earlier, and does little more than suggest that the club was formed by Sieyès in January of 1790.¹³ Neither study examines the ideology that inspired the formation of the club and neither provides more than a merely cursory examination of the development of the club and the reasons for its decline.

An important recent study suggests that the Société de 1789 played an important role in the development of Revolutionary ideology and inspired traditions that would reappear in the work of the idéologues. Keith Baker argues in his "Politics and Social Science in Eighteenth Century France: the Société de 1789",¹⁴ that the Société was an important stage in the elaboration of the late enlightenment idea of social science as applied to the political realm. The club, under the direction of prominent philosophes, administrators and politicians, "became the first society for the advancement of social science". Baker suggests that Condorcet's image of art social was an attempt to create a system of rational politics, which the club would both foster and help to apply. Recourse to scientific discourse, however, was essentially conservative. "Committed to the revolutionary achievements of 1789", Baker continues,

as the very title of their society was meant to emphasize, these men were at the same time moderates fearful of the dangers of political disorder revealed by the October Days. Like many later theorists of social science, they equated science with order; rational politics with peaceful solutions. By elaborating a rational constitution on the basis of the principles of social science they hoped at once to guarantee the political achievements of 1789 and substitute rational discussion for the threat of further revolutionary disorder. 15

Thus, Baker sees the idea of social science, or l'art social, as providing an important link between late enlightenment social theorists like the Physiocrats and intellectuals working during the Revolution to apply the principles of an enlightened public policy.

Following Baker's lead, Brian Head argues that the Société de 1789 was an important stage in the development of "science sociale and ... specific currents of liberal elitism and reformism in the late eighteenth century."¹⁶ Similarly, the foremost historian of the late Enlightenment and the Ideologues, Sergio Moravia, has also argued for the importance of the Société in the elaboration of a rationalistic theory of politics. It is not hard to find in the writings of the club, he suggests, the desire "d'une certaine élite culturelle de diriger directement, au nom de la raison et de la science, la réforme de la société"¹⁷ without becoming involved in day to day politics and intrigue. The Société was a party of intellectuals who wanted to become a political force:

Era un vero e proprio partito d'intellettuali; e d'intellettuali, si potrebbe aggiungere, secondo una definizione prettamente idéologique: accanto ai soliti letterati, una conspicua presenza di scienziati, poi di economisti, e infiniti di uomini politici. La presenza, sin

allora indiretta, degli idéologues nella Rivoluzione, aveva dunque trovato il modo di concretarsi e di divenire vera e propria forza politica? 18

They were, however, concerned with the creation of rational politics that had little to do with the party politics surrounding them. This desire to create and direct a rational political discourse was, Moravia suggests, "l'aspirazione constante degli idéologues."¹⁹ Thus, recent historiography suggests that the Club de 1789 played an important role in the formation of an ideology of political rationalism based on the development of an idea of l'art social or social science. Keith Baker concludes,

The importance of the Society of 1789 [...] should not be minimized. It propounded for the first time in an institutional context, and among an influential audience, the concept of an integral social science based, as Condorcet insisted [...] "like all others, on facts, experiment, reasoning and calculation". Such a conception of "social science" [...] did not wither away as the Society of 1789 perished of political inaction. Largely as the result of the influence of some of its members, especially Talleyrand and Condorcet, the teaching and study of social science was incorporated into the reorganized educational system finally established under the Directory, where it was again developed and actively propagated by [...] former members of the society. 20

Baker's article opens interesting avenues for further research on the politics and ideology of the Société de 1789, but does not examine the club in detail. Indeed, historians are still unsure as to when the club was formed, when it finally expired, or how many members joined, as well as when and for what reasons they joined. Nor do we know how fully the rank and file membership agreed with the ideology expressed by the club's leadership or why the club failed to change its position in order

to respond to its declining popularity. It is possible, however, that the immediate political importance of the club hardly justifies extended examination. As we shall see, it had a limited impact on political developments after 1790 and proved ineffective in competing with the Jacobins during 1790. Nevertheless, the greatest interest for us in the Société de 1789 may be the fact that it represents a clear expression of Enlightenment political thought and action during an early phase of the Revolution. The membership, as will be shown, included a number of prominent intellectuals and administrators, representatives from liberal members of the National Assembly, members of the Parisian municipality, and financiers. Their public membership of a club with such a conscious attachment to Enlightenment ideals makes them an interesting sample to use in an examination of the role that Enlightened political discourse played in the formulation of Revolutionary ideology. Thus, the Société de 1789, while forming an interesting study on its own, will be used in this thesis as an example which illuminates aspects of the relationship of the Enlightenment and the Revolution.

The Société de 1789 may also be a good example of Alexis de Tocqueville's thesis that the French Revolution was a less radical break from the ancien régime than is usually assumed. Tocqueville argued that the process of centralization and "pulverization"²¹ -- the systematic reduction of all corporate bodies -- of the Revolution was merely a continuation of the

policy followed by the Crown before the Revolution. Although the revolutionaries congratulated themselves for destroying the institutions of the monarchy, they nevertheless continued the old policy of centralization and social leveling. Tocqueville writes:

Thus the democratic revolution, though it did away with so many institutions of the past, was led inevitably to consolidate this one; centralization fitted in so well with the program of the new social order that the common error of believing it to have been a creation of the Revolution is easily accounted for. 22

Tocqueville's argument may be attacked on a number of grounds. The French monarchy was not, as Tocqueville argued, an all-powerful monolithic institution which could impose its centralizing program with impunity. The failure of successive reform ministers during the second half of the eighteenth century is indicative of the very weakness of the Crown.²³ The desire of the Crown, however, was to create a new administrative structure which could bypass "the struggles, the intrigues, the corporate spirit, the animosities and the prejudices of the separate social orders" in which the King "could govern like a God, by general laws."²⁴ Not surprisingly, it was Turgot who outlined, during his brief tenure as chief minister between 1774-1776, the Crown's most ambitious reform program. Turgot's failure to implement this program has been often cited as the last chance for the Crown to reform itself before the Revolution. "Les arguments de Turgot ont fait leur chemin",²⁵ however, a road which led almost directly to the Société de 1789. Continuity of ideas, personnel and language between a reforming administration and reforming

revolutionaries would show an important ideological and political link between Enlightenment and Revolution.

It is well known that reforming ministers, Turgot in particular, had the support of the philosophes. Turgot, in fact, was responsible for involving a number of intellectuals, including Condorcet, Dupont, Lavoisier and Vicq d'Azier, in the government, drawing upon their expertise as scientists, economists, and medical men. The late Enlightenment, as will be argued in the first chapter, became allied with the government, attempting to implement changes from the 'inside'. This experience changed the nature of Enlightenment thought, which developed from an opposition movement bent on attacking abuses to an established group intent on dealing with the problems of changing the social order. In short, Enlightenment figures became part of an "establishment" that was trying to reform the monarchy from within. It is from this cadre that the Société de 1789 recruited many of its members. Established in the upper echelons of the academies, administration, parlements etc., these intellectuals retained their view that they as enlightened, rational administrators were to direct reform and revolution.

Although many of the members of the Société de 1789 were drawn from the ranks of reforming administrators, they also maintained late Enlightenment emphasis on rational social and political reforms throughout the Revolutionary period. Condorcet's abortive constitution of February 1793 was only one expression of a continued effort by enlightened intellectuals to

cast the Revolution in their own image. The foundation of the Institut National, under the aegis of de Tracy, Cabanis and Volney, represented an important effort of the idéologues to establish the means of effecting rational control of public policy. The career of Roederer, who became a baron under Bonaparte and wrote in the 1820s and 30s of the glories of the events of 1789, is not untypical of members of the club. Reformers under the monarchy, moderates during the Revolution, proscribers under Robespierre, many continued to positions of power and influence in the regimes following Thermidor. This continuity is not particularly surprising since it has been recently shown that continued political activity of members of the National Assembly was typical. E.-H. LeMay, for example, in her examination of the Tocqueville thesis, suggests that the members of the National Assembly are "les hommes de la continuité," since fully half of the members for whom information can be found continued in political and administrative careers after September 1791²⁶. More striking is that over seventy percent of the National Assembly were either former government officials or lawyers. The Société de 1789 drew a large proportion of its membership from the National Assembly, suggesting that patterns of career continuity through the Revolution may be typical to members of 1789.

Thus, the membership of the Société de 1789 provides an interesting group of individuals who, at an early juncture of events, expressed a commitment to what they saw as the social and

political goals of the Enlightenment. Furthermore, the intellectuals of the club continued developing theoretical models, as well as practical applications of a rationalistic system of politics. Finally, many members played roles in subsequent regimes. It is these three aspects of the membership, along with club's activities in 1790, that will form the central themes of this thesis. Several approaches can be used in examining so varied a subject matter, including collective biography, discourse analysis and more traditional institutional and intellectual history.

This thesis is divided into two roughly equal parts. Part One, consisting of the first four chapters, uses traditional methods to describe the historiographic context, political development, membership, and informing ideals of the Société de 1789. Part Two is the experimental application of computerized textual analysis to examine the relationship of the language of the club to Enlightenment and American Revolutionary political discourse. As an experiment in methodology, Part Two offers tentative conclusions which rely on the demonstration of important lines of continuity established in the first half of the dissertation. The use of the Société de 1789 as an appropriate subject for a test of linguistic continuity is based on the assumption that the continuities of personnel, ideas, and institutions will also be reflected at the level of political language.

The first chapter outlines recent historiography concerning

treatments of the late Enlightenment and the ideological history of the Revolution and will also survey differing methods used to discuss the relationship of the Enlightenment to the Revolution. In an effort to define the membership of the Société more clearly, Chapters Two and Three describe the origins of the Club, its organization, goals, publications, conflict with the Jacobins and final demise. Chapter Two looks more closely at the foundation of the club, as well as its development and reception in Paris and the provinces. This chapter also examines the political alignments in the club, particularly between La Fayette and Mirabeau. Much of Chapter Two relies on the recently published letters of Fillipo Mazzei, an important member of the Société de 1789, to Stanislaus of Poland for the years 1789-1791. Stanislaus was very interested in the activities of the Club and Mazzei frequently described the political activities of the Société and its more important members. This source is especially important because of the fact that none of the records of the club itself have been located.

Chapter Three describes the membership of the club by constructing a collective biography. Using quantitative and descriptive methods, this chapter sketches the careers of the membership. The members of the club were drawn from a variety of elite ancien régime groups, many of whom were directly or indirectly employed by the government or dependent on the government for support and were politically active at the national and municipal levels. After the interruption to their

careers during the Terror, many of the members of 1789 returned to positions of influence in subsequent governments, and were awarded many honors and positions under the Empire and Restoration. The continuity of this elite financial, cultural, administrative and political group is particularly interesting because they were drawn from groups who were involved in the government of the ancien régime and were frequently implicated in pre-Revolutionary reform efforts. It is particularly important to note the continuity of the Enlightened establishment throughout the Revolution, since many of the members of 1789 remained involved in the cultural institutions of the Empire and Restoration. The lines of continuity suggested by 1789 include not only individuals involved in politics, finance and administration, but in the cultural arena as well.

Chapter Four is closer to traditional intellectual history than subsequent chapters, examining material published by 1789. The role of reason as a political force seems to have been of capital importance to many of the members of the club. Indeed, Condorcet's notion of a "common reason" serving as a legitimation of representative institutions appears in a number of the papers presented to the club. The notion of collective or common reason was hardly invented by Condorcet and other late Enlightenment figures, but it was particularly well developed in the years leading to the Revolution -- partially, it would seem as a rationalistic response to Rousseau's theory of the General Will and emphasis on classical notions of virtue. Further, the

members of 1789 loaded their political writings with frequent references to truth and rationality. Many of them thought that government, or at least important elements of government such as finance, could be analyzed propositionally, and that good policy could be determined with the certainty of a mathematical proposition. The propositions become, however, less certain when the writings of members of 1789 on the assignats are examined. In these texts, the interests of a financial elite and government bondholders became paramount. The debate over the assignats is particularly revealing because it addresses thorny issues of policy that could not easily be resolved by references to natural rights or other slogans. The rhetoric of rationality in politics was, it would seem, truly believed by members of the club, but it also served a particularly convenient way to mount a defense of established interests.

The political language of the club is analyzed in Chapters Five through Seven. Using both quantitative linguistics and transformational analysis, the discourse contained in all of the club's sponsored publications will be examined and compared with three other samples of political discourse. Computational and quantitative analyses of language represent important, though still experimental, developments in intellectual history as they provide a higher degree of verifiability and systematic assessment than do traditional techniques.

Computational methods must be guided by theoretical and methodological concerns which are still being developed. Chapter

Five addresses the methodological and theoretical issues that arise when these techniques are applied to intellectual history. The nature of the datasets used in this study, some of which are far larger than used in previous computerized analyses of political language, have engendered several interesting issues which have not been satisfactorily resolved. Because the underlying computer hardware and software developed very rapidly, both the size and complexity of available datasets increased during the course of research and writing. Computer capability for textual retrieval and analysis has at present outgrown the paradigms that guided earlier research. A series of new (and unresolved) problems have become apparent in the face of new computer technologies.

The most important of these are the related problems of textual sampling and comparison of different corpora. Traditional quantitative history, based on records such as census or taxation rolls, uses the sampling techniques borrowed from other social scientific disciplines. The sampling of natural language, in corpus linguistics and textual analysis, is not nearly as well developed. The variations of natural language and the range of textual data seem to defy sampling to identify either "standard" French or representative selections of particular discourses. Similarly, there is considerable difficulty in identifying reasonable comparison levels between samples. One can question the degree to which it is valid to compare word use between texts of different genres or samples of

text drafted for different purposes. Finally, there is no clear definition of what constitutes political writing or whether, paradoxically, it is reasonable to think of any published text which is not political. Underlying all of these issues is the problem of identification of the object of study. Political discourse is subject to patterns or structures of which actors seem to be unconscious. At the same time, political language is subject to rhetorical manipulation by actors attempting to stake a particular claim or defend a position. The interplay of various linguistic levels suggests that a simple definition of political language will not be forthcoming.

The increasing sophistication of hardware and software has opened significant room for improving approaches to textual analysis of all types. The principle method used in this dissertation is based on the notion of collocation of terms, which assumes that semantic fields can be readily identified using statistical measurement of term clustering. This is a simple and powerful approach that permits analysis of very large samples, but does so at the cost of specific examples and considerable amounts of "noise." Natural language processing techniques -- such as morphological analysis and syntactic parsing -- are being explored as ways to improve upon collocation to identify significant relationships between terms.

Thus, significant development remains to be performed at the theoretical level, in identifying more consistent rules of sampling and text corpora comparison, and at the methodological

level, in establishing a firmer link to computational linguistics techniques and more sophisticated representation of linguistic information. While provisional, it is important to stress the degree of verifiability and methodological consistency introduced into intellectual history by these methods. The fact that problems of sampling, definition of valid comparison criteria, systematic representation of complex linguistic phenomena, and textual data integrity are raised in this dissertation does not invalidate the results. Rather, it points to the importance of continued development of systematic methods in intellectual and cultural history.

Chapters Six and Seven will compare the discourse of the Société de 1789 to three other data sets: a sample of the General cahiers de doléances, a large sample of American political discourse, and the massive ARTFL²⁷ database at the University of Chicago. The structures of the language of Enlightened politics is contrasted with the cahiers in order to examine differences between a "standard" political discourse that reflects the political language of the late ancien régime with the assumption that there is only a minimal amount of Enlightenment political language found in the cahiers. The contrast demonstrates distinct shifts in the discourse of Enlightened politics as exhibited in the Société de 1789. One potential source for these changes in discourse is the rhetoric of the American Revolution. Many of the members of the Société de 1789 were openly pro-American before the Revolution and claimed that the American

example was an important precedent. Examining cognate use suggests that this was the case and that in certain political domains the members of the Société de 1789 borrowed political constructions from the Americans.

The Société de 1789 was one stage in the continuing development of an Enlightened view of politics as a rational system. In distinct contrast to the much more studied ideology inspired by the populism of Rousseau, which found expression in the works of Robespierre and St. Just, the members of the Société de 1789 continued an elitist Enlightenment ideology, believing that careful consideration, rational organization of institutions and the education of voters rather than love of country and virtue were the fundamental principles of the nation. It would seem that the emphasis on elitism and reason developed into the view held by the idéologues that a science of society could be applied to the nation. At the same time, the expression of rational moderation in 1790 attracted an impressive audience among the liberal elite of the ancien régime, who hoped to preserve a place in the new order. Finally, the men of Société de 1789, intellectuals as well as politicians, continued in positions of influence. They formed an intellectual and personal link between Enlightenment liberalism and the effort to re-impose order after Thermidor. Through the entire period, the members of 1789 feared and distrusted the "popular" elements of the Revolution, preferring to command change from above. This represents an important element of continuity of the ancien

régime reform tradition based on Enlightened ideas and points to an infrequently noticed connection between the Enlightenment and French Revolution.

Notes

1. L. Robinet, Dictionnaire historique et biographique de la Révolution et de l'Empire 1789-1815, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie historique de la Révolution et de l'Empire, 1899), 1:410.
2. Georges Lefebvre, The French Revolution from its Origins to 1793, trans. E. M. Evanson, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962), p.137.
3. J. M. Thompson, The French Revolution, (Oxford: Basil Blackwood, 1944), p.109.
4. Albert Soboul, Précis d'histoire de la Révolution française, (Paris: Editions sociales, 1962) pp. 134-135.
5. Condorcet, Journal de la société de 1789: Prospectus, (Paris, 1790) p.3.
6. Soboul, Précis pp. 130-143.
7. David Epstein, "Mirabeau and the French Revolution: A Reappraisal," The Historian 33 (1970): p.586.
8. L. Gottschalk and M. Maddox, LaFayette in the French Revolution: From the October Days through the Federation, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), p.319.
9. See André Chenier's inflammatory article "Avis au Peuple François sur ses véritables ennemis," Memoires de la Société de 1789, 13 (28 Aug. 1790).
10. Cited in K.M. Baker, Condorcet: From Natural Philosophy to Social Mathematics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), p. 283.
11. Augustin Challamel, Les Clubs contre-révolutionnaire: cercles, comités, sociétés, salons, réunions, cafés, restaurants et librairies (Paris: Maison Quantin, 1895), p. 393. The material dealing with the Société de 1789 is found on pp. 391-443.
12. Ibid. p. 442.
13. Claude Perroud, "Quelques notes sur le Club de 1789" in Révolution française: Revue d'histoire contemporaine 39 (1900): 255-262.
14. Keith Baker, "Politics and Social Science in Eighteenth

Century France: the Société de 1789," French Government and Society (1500-1850). Essays in Memory of Alfred Cobban. in J.F. Boshier, ed., (London, 1973). This article was reprinted virtually verbatim in Baker's Condorcet pp. 272-285.

15. Baker, Condorcet p. 274.

16. Brian Head, "The Origins of la science sociale in France, 1770-1800," Australian Journal of French Studies. 19 (1982): 115.

17. Sergio Moravia, "La société d'Auteuil et la Révolution," in Dix-Huitième siècle. 6 (1974): 185.

18. Sergio Moravia, Il tramonto dell'illuminismo: Filosofia e politica nella società francese (1770-1810). (Bari: Editori Laterza, 1968), p. 154. Translation of this passage as follows:

It was really and truly a party of intellectuals -- and of intellectuals, one might add, according to a definition that is purely idéologique; next to the usual litterati, there is a conspicuous presence of scientists, then of economists, and finally of political men. Had, then, the presence, up till now indirect, of the idéologues found a way to establish itself and to become a real political force?
(trans. Dr. Mark Phillips).

19. Ibid. p. 155.

20. Baker, Condorcet p. 285.

21. The argument of this paragraph is drawn from the author's unpublished Master's thesis: "Reform, Revolution and Enlightenment: An examination of the political career and political philosophy of the Marquis de Condorcet." (Carleton University, 1982) pp.iii-xii. This reading of Tocqueville and the use of the idea of "social pulverization" is drawn from W.H. George "Montesquieu and de Tocqueville and Corporate Individualism," American Political Science Review. 16 (1922). George suggests that Tocqueville's ideal individualism was essentially Montesquieuan, dependent on corporate structures or intermediary bodies. The process of "social pulverization" depicts the breakdown of corporate bodies and the subsequent development of "atomistic individualism".

22. Alexis de Tocqueville, The Old Régime and the French Revolution, translated by Stuart Gilbert, (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1955), p.60.

23. Alfred Cobban has suggested "the parlements presented an unyielding barrier against which the reforming spirit of the century broke itself in vain.... In the royal administration there was a machine ready made for the putting of the plans of the reformers into operation. A reforming bureaucracy is a rare

thing in history, but such was the French bureaucracy in the eighteenth century. For the frustration of reform ... the parlements bear no small share of responsibility." ("The parlements of France in the Eighteenth Century" in Alfred Cobban, Aspects of the French Revolution (Frogmore, St. Albans: Paladin, 1973) p. 72). Cobban's extreme view must be balanced by William Doyle's "The Parlements of France and the Breakdown of the Old Regime." in D. Johnson, ed., French Society and the Revolution. (Cambridge, University Press, 1976) and Bailey Stone's The Parlement of Paris. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1981). Stone argues that the parlements "...although eager at all times to augment their corporate privileges and powers, sought with equal zeal to articulate and balance the interests of all other groups in state and society...". (p.12) J.A. Carey suggests that the conflict over how reform should be accomplished depended on two different visions of law: "Traditional reform required historical or legal precedent; modern reform, theoretical justification." (Judicial Reform in France Before the Revolution of 1789. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981) p.2).

24. G.J. Cavanaugh, "Vauban, D'Argenson, Turgot: From Absolutism to Constitutionalism in Eighteenth Century France.", (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1967) p. 12. See also his article "Turgot: The Rejection of Enlightened Despotism." in French Historical Studies, 6 (1969).

25. Denise Maldidier et Régine Robin, "Polémique idéologique et affrontement discursif en 1776: les grands édits de Turgot et les remontrances du Parlement de Paris." in Le mouvement social, 85 (octobre-décembre 1973). p.80.

26. E.-H. LeMay, "La composition de l'assemblée nationale constituante: les hommes de la continuité" in Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine, 24 (1977): 342ff.

27. Project for American and French Research on the Treasury of the French Language.

Chapter One

The Enlightenment and the French Revolution: Recent Historiography.

The problem of the effect of the Philosophy of the Enlightenment on the French Revolution is one of the most important problems that confront the pure historian as well as the historian of thought and of literature. It is without doubt the most complex of the thousand aspects involved in the study of the Revolution. 1

Although far more rhetorical than current academic fashion allows, Henri Peyre's description of the problem of the influence of the Enlightenment on the Revolution gives fair warning of the difficulties involved. The problem is as complex as it is important in understanding the origins of the "modern world," which makes it an attractive area of research for historians from many ideological perspectives. Any attempt to sketch recent developments in the historiography of so large a literature must necessarily be impressionistic.² This is particularly true since views of the Enlightenment and the intellectual history of the Revolution have become increasingly more complicated and sophisticated. Both are now being looked at "from below" and in less monolithic terms than was previously the case. In addition, the theoretical void left by the breakdown of the Marxist

interpretation of the Revolution has encouraged historians to concentrate on monographic studies and studies based on alternative theoretical models.³

Both the Enlightenment and the French Revolution have become fragmented chronologically, socially, and geographically in recent historiography. This is due, in part, to the application of methods best suited to local or micro analysis, such as histoire du livre or family history,⁴ but it also reflects an increasing feeling that the national emphasis of past historiography failed to suggest some important regional and/or social realities. The theoretical fragmentation involved in the breakdown of the Marxist model of the Revolution, however, continues to dominate the historiography of the period. William Doyle argues that the Marxist (or neo-Marxist) model provided an interpretive paradigm for the French Revolution and the Enlightenment until the mid-1960s. Although the English and French critics of the "orthodox" interpretation, including Cobban, Taylor, Furet and Goubert, have effectively undermined the old model on a number of fronts, they have not attempted to formulate a new paradigm. This theoretical void has sparked tremendous volumes of detailed research, but has left the historian "faced with a huge mass of complex and waspish articles (and books), rather than any clear outline of the problem."⁵ Part of the difficulty in formulating a new paradigm may be due to the fact that the English- and French-speaking critics of the neo-Marxist model attacked from two radically divergent

positions: the English from a resurgence of empirical political history and the French from closer analysis of social structures using Annales methods. The confusion suggests, in any event, "that a new synthesis, however difficult, however imperfect, however tentative, is urgently required."⁶

Two major developments in the historiography of the past decade or two have had a direct impact on the interpretation of the role that the Société de 1789 played in the formation of early Revolutionary ideology. Historians now give more weight to ideological and cultural forces that prepared the political ground for Revolution during the ancien régime and propelled revolutionary events after the fall of the Bastille. This trend has been paralleled by efforts to "reconsider the Enlightenment as a political movement."⁷ Given the widespread rejection of the view that the Enlightenment was out of touch with the political realities of the second half of the eighteenth century, as well as the increasing emphasis placed on political ideology during the Revolution, an examination of the Société de 1789 as a self-conscious propagator of Enlightened politics takes on a greater importance. The Société de 1789 did not appear without preparation during the ancien régime. Rather, many of its policies and members were directly connected with reforms proposed during the years leading to the Revolution, most notably with Turgot's reform efforts fifteen years earlier. Few of the studies discussed in this chapter, however, attempt to examine systematically the relationship between Enlightened reform

efforts and early Revolutionary ideology.

The suggestion that there is a level of continuity between the ancien régime and the early Revolutionary period brings up a second vital development in the recent historiography of the Enlightenment and French Revolution which warrants a closer examination of the Société de 1789: Furet's revival of the "Tocqueville thesis." Furet's emphasis on the continuities stretching across the chasm of 1789 suggests that the policies, personnel, and institutions that worked for Enlightened reform of the monarchy were not swept away with the Bastille, but continued to have a significant impact on the ideological reconstruction of the French state. The Société de 1789 was a self-conscious conduit of that continuity. Thus, recent historiography has tended to stress the continuity between ancien régime and the Revolution, as well as the importance of ideology, or political culture, as a motive force.

Ten years ago, in an attempt to create a workable paradigm to replace the Marxist model of the Revolution. Furet called for a revival of Alexis de Tocqueville's continuity thesis and his emphasis on the ideological nature of the Revolution. Tocqueville suggests, in his Ancien Régime, that the Revolution was, despite of appearances, a continuation of the programs and policies of the monarchy in France. He identifies egalitarianism and bureaucratic centralization as ongoing processes which had been undertaken by the Crown in order to improve the administration of the kingdom, and which were continued by

Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary régimes for the same reasons. Furet in large measure accepts this, and suggests that those who find radical discontinuity between the ancien régime and post-Revolutionary France see only the myth of the Revolution. He comments that, "for almost two hundred years, the history of the French Revolution has been a story of beginnings and so a discourse about identity."⁸ Once freed from its mythical status -- as a myth of the foundation of liberty, freedom, or equality -- the Revolution may be seen for what, in Furet's opinion, it really was: a political phenomenon. But politics in Furet's sense is ideological. The revolutionaries were firmly convinced that they had destroyed the old and created anew. Furet describes this Revolutionary consciousness:

The Ancien Régime had been in the hands of the king, the Revolution was the people's achievement. France had been a kingdom of subjects; it was now a nation of citizens. The old society was based on privilege; the Revolution established equality. Thus was created the ideology of a radical break with the past, a tremendous cultural drive for equality. Henceforth everything -- the economy, society, and politics, yielded to the force of ideology. ⁹

The idea of discontinuity was created by the revolutionaries as a means of self-justification. Furet calls for the study of the ideology of the Revolution, as he believes that only this ideology is historically significant. Keith Baker encapsulates Furet's argument as follows:

In order to understand the Revolution we must think it, which is to say that we must grasp it as thought; we must understand its character, dynamics and development as an intellectual, cultural or ideological phenomenon [...] the Revolution was political not simply because it represented a struggle for the possession of power, but because it transformed the symbolic foundation of an entire community

and reconstituted the logic of social relations in the most profound sense. In short, it represented the supremely political act of redefining the public order. 10

Furet suggests that the essence of the Revolution can be found in the successive recastings of a political ideology, in the effort to redefine the public order, rather than in the conflict of economic or class groupings. Furet's call to "think the Revolution" suggests a renewed awareness of the importance of examining the intellectual history of the Revolution.

The fragmentation of the history of the French Revolution and recent attempts to create new explanatory models has had a direct impact on Enlightenment historiography. Jean-Marie Goulemot, for example, comments that much of the history of 18th century France is written with the Revolution firmly in mind:

Pour dire vrai, le plus souvent la raison d'être des recherches entreprises sur le 18^e siècle est la présence en son terme de la Révolution. Plus simplement, parce que nous portions en nous cette révolution-sommet-guide-de-lecture nous avons tous pensé que le siècle la portait. 11

It is no surprise that, as the Revolution is seen less as a "bourgeois revolution," the Enlightenment is seen less as a manifestation of "bourgeois thought."¹² In this context, recent research by Guy Chaussinand-Nogaret and Denis Richer suggests that characteristic features of Enlightenment and anti-feudal thought, traditionally associated with the early Revolution, were created and held most strongly by liberal aristocrats.¹³ Implicit in such arguments is a rejection of the "sociology of knowledge" which postulates a necessary connection between social position and ideology.¹⁴ Robert Darnton's study of the

"low-life" of the Enlightenment and Daniel Roche's examination of the intellectual activity of the provincial academies during the 18th century demonstrate an equally important shift of focus away from the central figures like Voltaire and Montesquieu, toward a new concentration on the "social history" of the Enlightenment.¹⁵ Rather than being seen as reflections of economic substructures, the ideas of the Enlightenment are being studied at a number of levels.

The debate about the Enlightenment and Revolution began with the Revolution itself. Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France offers the view that the Revolution was the result of the naturalistic thinking that predominated in France. He contrasts British submission to tradition with the Enlightened pride and egoism that resulted with the overthrow of order:

I almost venture to affirm, that not one in a hundred amongst us participates in the triumph of the 'Revolutionary Society'. . . We are not the converts of Rousseau; we are not the disciples of Voltaire; Helvetius has made no progress amongst us. Atheists are not our preachers; madmen are not our law-givers. We know that we have made no discoveries; and we think that no discoveries are to be made in morality; nor many in the great principles of government, nor in the ideas of liberty, which were well understood long before we were born, altogether as well as they will be after the grave has heaped its mold upon our presumption. ¹⁶

Burke's attack on the supposed rationalism of the Enlightenment remained a common theme of conservative assessments of the philosophes in England as well as France. Implicit in the charge of "atheism" was the fear of dark conspiracies to overthrow order and civilization in the name of the new philosophy¹⁷. Similarly, Taine suggests that science and the spirit of "classic

abstraction" combined in the Enlightenment to form an abstract and absolutist form of thought: "the philosophy of the eighteenth century contained a poison, and of a kind as potent as it was peculiar."¹⁸ Pierre Gaxotte, writing in the middle of this century, agreed with Taine's formulation, and suggested that the proliferation of corresponding societies, masonic lodges, and literary salons helped spread "these topsy-turvy ideas," which lead inevitably to the "socialistic Jacobin of 1793."¹⁹ Conservative historians have placed the blame for the Revolution on the Enlightenment or the systematic criticism of ancien régime ideology, institutions, and traditions. The view is clearly expressed in the feeling that "It was Rousseau's fault! It was Voltaire's fault!"²⁰

Proponents of the Revolution, contemporaries and historians alike, have often argued that the Revolution did find its origins in the Enlightenment, but that this intellectual tradition did not lead to the Terror. The Enlightenment, they frequently suggest, created a new consciousness of liberty and humanity that swept France during the last years of the ancien régime. Condorcet and Paine, for example, were quite explicit in focussing on the debts the Revolution owed to the philosophes.²¹ The celebrations dedicated to the philosophes, such as Voltaire's burial in the Pantheon, indicate the self-conscious attachment to what were considered the principles of the Enlightenment. This tradition of finding in the Enlightenment the origins of the revolutionary idea of liberty has continued to the present.²²

Jules Michelet and Alphonse Aulard saw the Enlightenment as the theoretical "soundings" for the foundation of liberty in France. Michelet praises Voltaire and Rousseau as the discoverers of Right and the will to eliminate vice:

When those two men have passed, the Revolution is accomplished in the intellectual world [...] Now it has become the duty of their sons [...] to expound and diffuse it in a hundred ways: some in eloquence and fiery satire, others will strike bronze medals to transmit it from hand to hand; Mirabeau, Raynal, Malby, Sieyès, are now to do their work [...] The Revolution is on her march, with Rousseau and Voltaire still in front. 23

While Aulard's treatment of the matter is not nearly as striking as Michelet's, it does suggest that the Enlightenment was responsible for creating attitudes necessary for the creation of the Republic in 1792. He comments that,

without desiring to establish a republic, and solely with a view to organizing the monarchy, they [the philosophes] attacked the monarchical principle, and put into circulation republican ideals of such a nature that, although in 1789 no one wished for a republic, yet whoever thought at all was impregnated with these republican ideas; and this is why, in 1792, when circumstances made the republic necessary, there was a sufficient number of thinking men prepared to accept, and to force upon others, a form of government of which they had already adopted the principles. 24

Thus, the Enlightenment, for pro-Revolutionary historians, prepared the ground for the foundation of liberty by circulating ideas critical of ancien régime institutions and traditions.²⁵

There is a surprising degree of agreement on both sides that the Enlightenment, for good or bad, played an important role in the breakdown of the institutions of the ancien régime and in directing the course of the Revolution. This consensus, however, is less meaningful than it might at first appear. In an

important essay, Alfred Cobban suggests that

although contemporaries and historians have agreed on the causal relation between the thought of the eighteenth century, or more specifically the Enlightenment, and the Revolution, it has usually been on the basis of assumptions about both that have hardly survived more recent historical analysis.²⁶

This "recent historical analysis" mentioned by Cobban raises a number of important issues. He suggests, for example, that there is no clearly identifiable Enlightenment political or social philosophy. He claims that it is difficult to pin any one of the great philosophes, including Diderot, Rousseau, Montesquieu or Voltaire, to clear and consistent support for any particular political ideal. Further, as Cobban correctly argues, the French Enlightenment as a whole was "lacking in systematic political theory."²⁷ This is not surprising, he continues, in a country with no active politics, but it certainly limits the possible impact of Enlightened ideas on the political ideologies of the Revolution. Although most philosophes shared ideals of humanitarianism, progress and secularism,²⁸ these ideals do not translate into a consistent political ideology. Furthermore, a systematic political position might have harmed the real political ambition of the Enlightenment, encouraging the establishment of "good government," by forcing support for regimes that were not necessarily good. Voltaire comments in Idées républicaines: "Let us insult neither monarchies nor republic. We must defy all those general rules which exist only under the pens of authors."²⁹ For Voltaire and other Enlightenment figures the substance of government was more

important than its form.

Did it oppose the pretensions of aristocrats and ecclesiastics? Did it practice toleration? Did it operate under the rule of law, or was it at least moving toward it? If so it was a good government. 30

Similarly, if one may judge the incongruous shifts in their political ideas, both Diderot and Rousseau³¹ could find no clear institutional expression for the humanitarian ideals of the Enlightenment.

The reception of the political ideas of the Enlightenment during the Revolution underlines the failure of the philosophes to create an identifiable political theory. In a series of recent papers, R. Galliani examined the references to the philosophes in over 7,000 Revolutionary pamphlets. He draws two important conclusions from this study: first, as the Revolution continued, the ideas of the philosophes were increasingly used to serve contemporary issues; second, their ideas were frequently used in support of differing sides of an argument. Galliani goes on to suggest

Tantôt, les acteurs de la Révolution doivent faire face à des circonstances imprévues par les penseurs des Lumières, tantôt ils renoncent à se réclamer d'eux parce que leurs textes sont utilisés aussi souvent par les partisans que par les adversaires de la Révolution. C'est ainsi qu'avec le temps la pensée des philosophes perd son actualité. 32

Galliani, who is particularly concerned with the impact of Voltaire on the thought of the revolutionaries, suggests that in 1789 Voltaire's works were used to support moderate revolution, against the Montesquieu's arguments in support of an aristocracy. The year 1790 saw the rise of many conservatives

who used the name and reputation of Voltaire to support putting an end to the Revolution. With the radicalization of the Revolution came consequent rise in the references to Rousseau. What is more surprising, however, is that both Voltaire and Rousseau were used equally for and against the Revolution. Galliani's analysis shows that in 1791 Voltaire was cited in a pro-Revolutionary sense 27 times, compared to 17 for Rousseau. In the same period, Voltaire made 28 anti-Revolutionary appearances compared to Rousseau's 25. The actual meaning of the texts seems not to have been important to the users of the texts, and to have become less so as time went on. This progression may be attributed, Galliani suggests, to a decreasing familiarity with such "high brow" works with the appearance of less educated writers.³³ The impact of Voltaire, and by implication other philosophes of the eighteenth century, occurred only at the most general level: "Les révolutionnaires ont retenu, de l'oeuvre de Voltaire, surtout sa volonté de transformer la société."³⁴ Galliani implies that the humanitarian ideals of the Enlightenment, rather than any concrete political program, were the legacy that was left by the High Enlightenment and which inspired many revolutionaries.

Although the works of the most important philosophes apparently had limited direct influence on revolutionary ideas, the Enlightenment did not end in 1778 with the deaths of Voltaire and Rousseau. Rather, the Enlightenment continued to develop in a direction that had been established during the previous

decades. C. G. Stricklen traces the development of the "philosophes's political mission" from the middle of the century to the Revolution.³⁵ As the century went on, the philosophes began to think of themselves in a more active political sense. The politicalization of the philosophe, he suggests, occurred in three distinct phases. Until 1750, the Enlightenment was largely apolitical and concerned itself with the development of a secular ethic to replace Christian ethics. With the appearance of the Spirit of Laws and the Encyclopédie, the Enlightenment became more concerned with politics, but only defensively so because the 1750s and 1760s saw the philosophes under attack from hostile elements of the clergy and the administration. It was during this period, Stricklen argues, that many intellectuals favored Enlightened Despotism. He sees a second phase beginning in the middle of the 1760s when the philosophes began to play a more active role in the formation of social and political criticism. The ideal of the philosophe increasingly stressed the role of "defender of humanity," and it was thought that the philosophes should bring their expertise and enlightenment to the administration of the monarchy. Stricklen stresses the importance of the Turgot administration in the consolidation of the political ideal of the philosophe. The third important phase of the development of the political role of the philosophe began after the American Revolution, when the philosopher came to be seen as an enlightened representative of the people. Stricklen characterizes the main line of late Enlightenment political

theory as

the strand that emphasized the synthesis of reason and nature, of natural law and utility, of rational authority and individual rights, and reform from above through collaboration between government and philosophes rather than reform from below through revolution. 36

The intellectual became responsible for the best interest of the people, and the philosophes pictured themselves as magistrates or deputies of the people. "The new conception," Stricklen continues, of the philosophe as representative of the nation first developed with a felt need for resistance to despotism rather than in relation to the idea of revolution."³⁷ Thus, the philosophes became self-conscious proponents of the "patriot" cause by the end of the 1780's. The importance of this development, argues Stricklen, is that it shows the ideological and practical readiness of the philosophes to play a political role well before the Revolution. He concludes that

although the late Enlightenment intellectuals were not revolutionaries in the modern sense, and formed no conspiracy to overthrow the government, they were well prepared to view their actions in political terms, and to act politically in order to realize their ideals when the appropriate moment came. They had prepared themselves well for putting an end to that disjunction between thought and action characteristic of Enlightenment social and political theory by politicizing the intellectual capacities of the philosophe and rationalizing the humanitarian ideal of the Enlightenment. 38

Thus, it appears that the politicization of intellectuals and their ideas may be the most important development of the late Enlightenment.

Stricklen's argument that the late Enlightenment introduced significant changes in the thought of the philosophes is unusual.

Until recently, the late Enlightenment had been ignored by both cultural historians, who seemed to think that the Enlightenment ended in 1775, and historians of the Revolution who of late have shown little interest in the intellectual aspects of the Revolution. Sergio Moravia complained in 1974 that

Si l'on examine les grandes tendances de la recherche sur l'histoire des Lumières et sur l'histoire de la Révolution depuis la dernière guerre, il est difficile d'échapper à une impression de gêne. C'est que d'un côté les historiens de la culture du 18^e siècle ont marqué de plus en plus rigide-ment les bornes chronologiques ad quem de l'âge des Lumières, en les faisant coïncider avec les années qui s'étendent de 1770 aux premières années de la décennie suivante et qui voient la disparition des principaux philosophes, mais sans démontrer d'une façon persuasive la validité de cette datation. D'autre part, les historiens de la Révolution ont de plus en plus négligé la dimension intellectuelle et idéologique du processus révolutionnaire: parce qu'ils ont sous-estimé aussi bien la contribution théorique fournie à la Révolution par l'âge des Lumières que la contribution pratique fournie à la Révolution par les intellectuels héritiers des Lumières. 39

The Enlightenment became, in the wake of Turgot's reforms, part of the establishment of the monarchy and there is little doubt that the Enlightenment lost some of its intellectual vigor and direction in the years following Turgot's fall in 1776. But Thomas Kaiser suggests that "despite Turgot's dismissal the state was beginning to show an interest in the Enlightenment's social program."⁴⁰ Administrative and judicial reforms initiated by the Crown deprived the late Enlightenment of easily identifiable targets. Moreover, as Kaiser points out, the monarchy became increasingly aware that it "required the services provided by an ambitious, talented, well educated intellectual elite."⁴¹ Although the process of "integration into the Old Régime" meant

that the High Enlightenment ceased to be primarily an opposition movement, it fostered a shift in Enlightened perspectives, methods and strategies. The philosophes of the 1780's sought to become the architects of a new society, by changing it from within. The accommodation of the Enlightenment to the ancien régime was conditional on the continuation of reform:

Once the Revolution began, the forces of the High Enlightenment, replenished with new recruits, returned to the front in an attempt to win through intimidation what they had failed to achieve through accommodation [...] From petty academic rivalries and salon disputes, the High Enlightenment turned its attention to the problems of reconstructing France. 42

The Enlightenment's integration into the monarchy indicates a shift of direction rather than a fatal decline.

During the past fifteen years there have been a number of studies of this shift of direction and the men involved in it.⁴³ There has been a renewed interest in the idéologues -- the philosophical successors to the Enlightenment centered around Condorcet, Cabanis and de Tracy -- as well as the role of philosophes in pre-Revolutionary reform efforts and the development of Revolutionary thought. Unlike the philosophes, the Ideologues were a close-knit group of friends with a relatively consistent outlook. B.G. Garnham suggests that, despite the fact that idéologie did not exist before 1796 when de Tracy coined the term, the idéologues formed "a remarkably homogeneous group" that enjoyed "close ties of friendship, particularly at the salon of Mme Helvétius at Auteuil."⁴⁴ The core of the group was formed at the regular meetings of the

"société d'Auteuil" which began at the modest home of the widow of the philosophe after his death in 1771. There, men like Volney, Garat, Cabanis, Chamfort and Condorcet gathered to discuss the pressing issues of the day:

En s'occupant du problème de l'esclavage, en discutant sur le sens et les implications de la Révolution américaine, en organisant des discussions et des recherches politiques et sociales, les jeunes amis de Mme Helvétius poursuivant le même type d'activité qui avait été pratiqué par les philosophes. 45

The members of the salon were conscious of their position as heirs of the Enlightenment, and strove to continue the intellectual tradition as well as see its principles practically applied.

The practical application of the Enlightenment is clearly demonstrated in Charles Gillispie's Science and Polity in France at the End of the Old Regime, which opens new perspectives in our understanding of the relationship between the Enlightenment and the monarchy at the end of the ancien régime.⁴⁶ Gillispie contends that starting with Turgot's ministry, and continuing through the Revolutionary period, the relationship between science and the state became regularized and institutionalized. Turgot installed leading intellectuals in positions of importance in the administration: he placed Lavoisier in munitions and gunpowder manufacture; Condorcet in a host of positions, including the Mint; and Vicq d'Azyr as an advisor on medical matters. Before Turgot, "the two traditions of administration and intelligentsia had been quite distinct and often antipathetic;" and although he proved unable to adapt to the

politics of the court

it was in his generation of the Enlightenment, in the context of its civic and governmental problems, and most consciously in his own entourage that the coupling of these incompatibles [administration and intelligentsia] turned out to be fertile, leaving as offspring the tribe that has ever increased, that of the expert in public affairs. 47

After Turgot's fall, successive administrations used the expertise found in various academies, such as the Society of Medicine or the Academy of Science, to conduct investigations and produce reports. For example, a whole series of investigations into public hygiene and sanitation appeared in the 1780s, commissioned by the government and written by members of the Academy of Science.⁴⁸ But Gillispie cautions that science itself "was not the source of the reform movement." He suggests rather that "its role was to provide the monarchy with the services and knowledge of experts and in return to draw advantages from the state for the furthering of science."⁴⁹ These enlightened experts were frequently partisans of a reforming outlook, who saw the need to rehabilitate the French monarchy in important ways.

Gillispie's study highlights the emphasis that recent historiography has placed upon the role of the intellectual in affairs of state. The late Enlightenment saw the development of ideas about "social science" and a parallel movement toward professionalization of disciplines like medicine. The Ideologues, Brian Head writes,

were generally impressed by the view that the moral and political sciences -- the bases of public policy -- could be elevated to the certainty achieved already by the physical sciences. 50

Intellectuals, or more properly "experts," became the guardians of socially useful knowledge that they were to pass on to the political or administrative elite. It must be appreciated that social science at this time went far beyond the descriptive study of society which we know today. Rather, social science -- or "l'art social" as it was termed by Condorcet and Sieyès -- was the catch word for the application of rationalist moral and political sciences through government policies. Brian Head points out that the idéologues

represent an early form of "social engineering," in which men of science (as against churchmen and the traditional landed and titled ruling classes) would demonstrate the necessity of certain institutions, law codes, techniques, curricula, and moral conduct to the men of authority in the political, economic and social spheres (ie. to politicians, educators and entrepreneurs). 51

Keith Baker's study of Condorcet similarly stresses the importance of the philosophe's conception of social science as forming a link between the "political" concerns of the Enlightenment and its rationalistic/scientific interests. He writes,

For Condorcet the goal of rational politics was not simply to limit the exercise of power but to transform it. Politics was to be the expression of reason, not the implementation of any sovereign will. The principle of popular sovereignty once invoked, the philosophe did his best to guide revolutionary politics in the light of the principles of a rational social science. 52

Ideas of science sociale, Condorcet's as well those of as others, developed with the collapse of royal power and ensuing attempts to create a new political order. But the idéologues borrowed and built on the work of the earlier philosophes. Peter Gay suggests

that the philosophes "laid the foundations and wrote the classics"⁵³ of the modern social sciences. Implicit in their work, however, is the tension between wishing to pursue knowledge for its own sake and the conviction that a truth should be of some benefit to society. Gay goes on to argue that

the harmony between knowledge and improvement was not automatic, or inevitable; it was a demand that runs through the philosophes' conception of what social science must be. In their eyes, scientific detachment and reformist involvement belonged together; the application of reason to society meant that knowledge and welfare, knowledge and freedom, knowledge and happiness must be made inseparable allies. 54

Recent works concerning this activist conception of social science describe a process that developed from Montesquieu and Adam Smith and came to fruition during the Revolution.

Georges Gusdorf integrates the revolutionary elaboration of the idea of les sciences sociales into the broader development of that particularly French subject, the human sciences. The idéologues, he argues, have been unfairly forgotten by the French, whose collective memory seems reserved for the High Enlightenment or the politicians of the Revolution.⁵⁵ The Ideologues worked to give a definition of the espace mental which would give a proper role to the operations of reason. They felt the weight of the responsibilities of thought and far from abandoning human actions to the overwhelming power of the materialist's fate, they had a particularly interventionist image of social science. But interpretation of the thought of the idéologues must be qualified by the fact that they, unlike the philosophes, had to think in reaction to events and frequently in

terms of concrete and practical proposals. Gusdorf comments

l'espace mental des Idéologues est celui de la Révolution de France, dont ils s'efforcent de formuler et de systématiser l'exigence pour le bien de la société humaine. Le déchiffrement de l'action des hommes trouve son sens dans un ordonnancement rationnel de la pensée qui, une fois proclamé, permettra de rectifier l'action. 56

Using this kind of interpretive strategy, he argues that l'Institut national formed a centerpiece of the idéologue social and political program, and by extension was a clear reflection of the centralizing rationalism of the Revolution as a whole. The mental as well as political order of the nation had to be systematized:

L'Institut national définit l'oeuvre maîtresse de la centralisation révolutionnaire dans l'ordre de la pensée. [...] La Révolution en son essence est l'entreprise d'une organisation de l'univers humain selon l'exigence de la raison. Les Idéologues, chargés de fournir à la République l'animation culturelle, se vouent à cette mission de définisseurs et mainteneurs d'une doctrine de l'enseignement à tous ses degrés. Le projet idéologique s'inscrit au coeur de l'utopie révolutionnaire du remembrement du domaine politique et social. 56

The radical -- and to our post-Freudian eyes -- hopelessly naive idea of imposing a strictly rational order on the politics of a nation found its origins in the sensationalist psychology of the Enlightenment typified by the works of Condillac and Holbach. But the development of moderate republican ideology by Condorcet and de Tracy was by no means automatic. The thought of the idéologues was pushed by events, and they were frequently caught theorizing after the fact.

The political role that late Enlightenment intellectuals claimed for themselves in the reform of the monarchy and during

the early Revolutionary periods did not cause the theorists of science social to support or even to tolerate the claims of popular sovereignty and egalitarianism. The failure of the Société de 1789 to attract or even recognize the importance of mass politics was symptomatic of a more general inability of late Enlightenment thinkers to understand the results of much of their own rhetoric. Therefore, radical philosophical ideas, which might imply egalitarianism and popular sovereignty, did not necessarily lead in those directions. The late Enlightenment scientific approach to reform and administration developed under the monarchy, for which reform from above was considered the only possible choice. The limitations of the social and political theories developed during that time remained with the idéologues during the Revolution. The distrust of the "people" and persistent notion that educated, enlightened elites must lead the reform of government, both before and after 1789, is an important element of late Enlightenment political thought that has been explored in recent historiography.

Alan Kors, for example, supports the suggestion that radical philosophical ideas did not necessarily translate into radical political and social theories in D'Holbach's Coterie: An Enlightenment in Paris.⁵⁷ Rather, according to Kors, the thinkers associated with Holbach remained rather conservative both before and during the Revolution. The group of men who frequented the lavish dinners served at the home of d'Holbach has been portrayed as a powerful collection of militant atheists who

conspired to foment the fall of the Church and monarchy. This description, used by opponents of both the Enlightenment and the Revolution, has remained in historiography. Kors argues, however, that the coterie was little more than a small group of men who met regularly for dinner and advanced intellectual conversation. Few were truly atheists, although many radical ideas were discussed and there was no firm ideological line shared between the participants save the very basic themes of Enlightenment humanitarianism. Despite their taste for radical metaphysical and epistemological theory, the members of the coterie who survived into the Revolution were surprisingly conservative in politics. Many were involved in the earliest period of the Revolution, but as the summer of 1789 erupted into violence,

those members of the coterie holbachique who had participated so actively in the direction of events began to draw back in a reflex of distrust, contempt and fear [...] They saw, before it became apparent to all, the conflict between themselves and the men of 1789. 58

The members of the coterie abandoned the Revolution at an early stage because they felt that it opened the way for greater irrationalities than had existed under the ancien régime. Kors writes,

the fear of passionate disorder and the goal of rational and experimental human control of natural (including social) phenomena were nuclear elements of the thought and attitudes of almost all the thinkers of the coterie holbachique [...] Almost all [...] believed that the involvement of the broad elements of the population in political affairs would negate the intellectual preconditions of enduring reform: a calm, dispassionate, scientific analysis of probable consequences, and the rational evaluation of results. Both of these would be lost in the disordered outpourings of purposeless rage

and random actions of the people. The masses were as much to be feared under political as under religious inspiration. 59

Thus, while the coterie enjoyed lively and unfettered philosophical discussion, their radical philosophical ideas were not translated into radical political ideas. The ideal of rational politics and science sociale was modified as the Revolution went on to accommodate the changing political realities that required the inclusion of elements of the population perceived as being fundamentally irrational.

The tensions in late Enlightenment and idéologue thought between rational or scientific elitism and the changing demands of popular politics were profound. The High Enlightenment has been noted for its ambiguous view of the nature of equality. All men were considered to be equal, in theory at least, but social and intellectual inequalities were also seen to be natural. So Jean Ehrard comments,

tous les hommes sont naturellement égaux, mais l'inégalité sociale ne contredit pas la nature [...] Cette double évidence où se complait la bonne conscience des possédants résume l'essentiel de la philosophie politique du demi-siècle. 60

The humanitarianism of the philosophes opened the doors to a concerned paternalism for the well-being of the less fortunate.

Harry Payne argues that

the philosophes followed an elitist logic of economic and social realism, tempered by their sympathy for the lot of the people. They perceived society as a hierarchy justified not by sacred order but by its inevitability and its potential utility. Within this hierarchy, established by economics and talent, they saw both great possibilities for fairness and ability and great realities of oppression and misery. 61

Given these Enlightened assumptions, it is not surprising that the problem of natural and political equality continued to plague the idéologues during the Revolution. Martin Staum suggests that Cabanis' liberal belief in the benefits of "natural inequality" and his participation in humanitarian reforms reflect the extent to which "Cabanis and his circle were the victims of the optical illusion of liberalism."⁶² The best hope for achieving natural equality, in the Ideologues' discourse, was to allow unfettered competition between individuals. The role of the state is paradoxical here; on the one hand it was supposed to insure social stability by "mitigation of the urgent problems caused by extremes of wealth and poverty," while on the other it would stimulate competition through liberal policies and by the creation of an education system.⁶³ Gusdorf suggests that the idéologues saw natural equality as an essentially limited right: "l'égalité, conçue comme un droit naturel, ne peut prétendre à une validité absolue; ainsi de tous les autres droits de l'homme, qui à la limite, semblent se nier eux-mêmes."⁶⁴ He cites Laharpe's insistence on the dangers of not respecting differences and hierarchies among individuals and concludes that they held the view that "l'égalitarisme est la négation ou la perversion de l'égalité."⁶⁵

The revolutionary career of Condorcet illustrates the difficulties late Enlightenment thinkers faced in coming to terms with the Revolutionary emphasis on equality. Keith Baker has argued that there was a latent tension between elitism and

populism in all ideas of social science:

He [Condorcet] revealed the latent tension between an authoritarian conception of society administered by a scientific elite upon the basis of an unequivocal scientific plan, and that of a libertarian society guided by the public interplay of subjective political action and often uninformed interests. Turgot and Condorcet assimilated politics to physics: could they do so without entailing the Comptean conclusion that since liberty of opinion is inapplicable to physics it is irrelevant to politics? 66

Condorcet both feared the irrational mob, who were subject to outbursts of fanaticism, and the power of oratory to sway a crowd. Faced with the "responsible" actions of the Parisian population in July of 1789, however, Condorcet could no longer maintain the distinction between rational property owners who had a stake in the state and the propertyless mass. His call for universal suffrage entailed the creation of an educational system directed by the nation's intellectuals which would foster the spread of Enlightenment and the creation of rational politics. Education, for Condorcet, was central to the Revolution because it was the only way to reduce the distinction, in so far as that was possible, between the intellectual elite and the rest of the population.⁶⁷

A second element of social science envisaged by Condorcet and other idéologues was the creation of a rational language. The recasting of the political sphere in rational language would eliminate the irrationality and disorder that many late Enlightenment intellectuals feared. Since politics should be a reflection of rational method applied to the "moral sciences", the attempt to express political ideas in a language so imperfect

and irrational as the French of the day could only lead to error. The implementation of science sociale seemed to require the creation and dissemination of a rational language of politics. Monique and François Hinckner suggest that the creation of a "langue scientifique universelle" was a "véritable obsession chez Condorcet."⁶⁸ Baker concurs, pointing out that Condorcet thought that "the imperfection of the moral and political sciences [was] largely attributable to the fact that they use precisely terms that are employed vaguely in everyday life."⁶⁹ Primary education would teach an exact language, thereby making errors in politics less likely. Condorcet's proposal for extensive education and improvement of social/political language represents an important attempt at resolving the difficulties posed by the elitism implicit in ideas of social science.

The emphasis on creating a rational system of politics remained an important part of the idéologue program throughout the 1790s, even after the Terror. In fact, de Tracy's Ideology was created precisely as an intellectual antidote to the "barbaric anarchy" of the Terror.⁷⁰ Ideology, Emmet Kennedy writes, was far more than merely the systematic analysis of the formation of complex ideas from sensations or simple ideas. Rather, it was an intellectual system designed for practical application and directly connected to politics. "Ideology was genealogically the first science," Kennedy writes,

since all sciences consisted of different combinations of ideas. But it was specifically the basis of grammar or the science of communicating ideas, logic, or the science of combining them and reaching new truths, education, or the

science of forming men, morality, or the regulation of desires, and "finally the greatest of the arts, for the success of which all the others must cooperate, that of regulating society in such as way that man finds there the most help and the least possible annoyance from his own kind." 71

Central to this concern was the analysis of language and the creation of a new rational language that would eliminate the source of so many confusions and contradictions. In answer to the problem of how to foster a new morality in the French people, Pierre-Louis Roederer suggested in an article titled "D'un grand moyen de perfectionner la morale du peuple" that perfecting "le langage des idées morales et politiques" would eliminate political errors. Condillac, he further argued, had proven that "l'art de raisonner" could be reduced to speaking a well constructed language ("une langue bien faite").⁷² Ideology would examine the nature of the relation of ideas, sensations and grammar, resulting in a language that would allow social and political truths to be expressed clearly and scientifically. The central goal of Ideology was the creation of a means of reaching political certainty, thus avoiding the proliferation of factions and interest groups. De Tracy argued that to do this, Revolutionary intellectuals would have to continue to analyze the operation of human reasoning begun by Locke and Condillac.

The recent works we have examined concerning the late Enlightenment and Revolutionary intellectuals stress the importance that the ideal of science sociale played in the development of these intellectual's political ideology. Developed in the last decades of the ancien régime, this

perspective placed the impetus for reform and revolution on an enlightened elite, who could prescribe policy based on rationalistic models of legislation, society and human nature. Reforms of education and even language came out of the perceived need to eliminate popular irrationality and disorder: to consolidate, in other words, authority in the hands of the rational administrative elite.

Until recently, the late Enlightenment and intellectual history of the Revolution have been ignored by historians. Research in the last two decades has contributed a great deal to our understanding of the intellectual history of the period between the American Revolution and Brumaire. The late Enlightenment was not so weak and venal a movement as had been depicted. Rather, a number of studies suggest that there was a shift in emphasis of the Enlightenment towards practical reform and integration with the monarchy. The development of certain ideas regarding science sociale was a central feature in the ideological framework out of which reform ideas developed. Condorcet's image of rational politics was carried through the Revolution by men like de Tracy, Cabanis and Roederer and formed the basis of Tracy's projected "super-science," idéologie. While this "meta-science" never developed into a full system, the ideas of the idéologues did have a profound impact on the development of social science in France as well as laying the theoretical foundations of French democratic liberalism. Thus, far from representing the end of the Enlightenment, the deaths of Rousseau

and Voltaire in 1778 marked the transformation of the philosophe from social critic to social and political activist. Enlightenment philosophy from the period of the American Revolution became more consciously political, as well as more concerned with the practical details of transforming the political order.

Historians of the period have ceased to treat the Enlightenment and the Revolution as single phenomena that can be related in general terms. Recent research has been concentrated on the direct links between the intellectual development of the late Enlightenment and the Revolution, frequently by following the careers and ideology of individuals and small groups. The Société de 1789 has not been examined in this recent effort to trace the linkages between the late Enlightenment and the development of Revolutionary ideology. This may be due to the fact that the club failed in its political aim and was discredited in the eyes of more radical revolutionaries. The failures of the club do not, however, detract from the fact that the Société de 1789 was an important institutional attempt to apply some of the late Enlightenment's theories about government and society to France in 1790. Many of the individual members of the Société de 1789 had been involved in reform of the monarchy before the Revolution and most were convinced of the central role that men with a background in science, administration, philosophy, and letters should play in the reconstruction of the public sphere. The stated objectives of the club evolved quite

naturally from the increase in political and reformist activities that Stricklen has characterized as the third stage of the "politicalization" of the philosophe. Although the means of reforming society changed from the Royal bureaucracy to the orchestration of public opinion in Paris and influence in the National Assembly with the Revolution, the central concern of imposing reforms based on rational or Enlightened principles from above remained constant. Thus, the Société de 1789, as will be argued in this dissertation, is an instructive example of important points of contact between the late Enlightenment and the Revolution, adding an additional element to the Tocquevillian emphasis on the importance of continuity between the ancien régime and Revolutionary France.

Notes

1. Herri Peyre, "The Influence of Eighteenth Century Ideas on the French Revolution," Journal of the History of Ideas 10 (1949): 63-4.
2. The extent of this historiography is indicated, for example, by the range of articles in the number devoted to the Enlightenment and Revolution by Dix-Huitième siècle 6 (1974). There seems to be no slackening of interest in the problem among historians. For example, just before his death, Albert Soboul wrote a discussion on "Les Philosophes, l'Ancien Régime, et la Révolution," Canadian Journal of History 12 (1982). Also see Thomas E. Kaiser' review article concerning recent efforts, "This Strange Offspring of Philosophie: Recent Historiographical Problems in Relating the Enlightenment to the French Revolution," French Historical Studies 15 (1988), pp.549-562.
3. William Doyle describes the breakdown of the Marxist consensus and the failure of the revisionist critics to build a replacement theoretical model. See Origins of the French Revolution, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 7-40. A number of other discussions of this ongoing debate can be consulted including G. F. Cavanaugh "The Present State of French Revolutionary Historiography: Alfred Cobban and Beyond," French Historical Studies 7 (1972) and François Furet's Interpreting the French Revolution, trans. E. Forster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981). Many important papers and extracts for this debate have been collected in Ralph Greenlaw's The Social Origins of the French Revolution: The Debate on the Role of the Middle Classes (Lexington, Mass.: D.C.Heath and Co., 1975).
4. The methods involved in histoire du livre have been explored in François Furet et al., Livre et société dans la France du XVIIIe siècle 2 vols., (Paris: Mouton, 1965 & 1970). These studies are frequently limited to a small geographic and chronological period. Looking at "history from below" has also become very popular. See, for instance, Jeffry Kaplow, The Names of Kings: The Parisian Laboring Poor in the Eighteenth Century, (New York: Basic Books, 1972). The political actions of lower classes have also become more important as demonstrated in a number of essays in History from Below: Studies in Popular Protest and Popular Ideology in Honor of George Rudé, ed. Fredrick Krantz (Montréal: Concordia University, 1985).
5. Doyle, Origins of the French Revolution, p.2.
6. Ibid. p.40.

7. Thomas E. Kaiser, "This Strange Offspring of Philosophie," pp. 554-5.

8. Furet, Interpreting p.6.

9. Ibid. p.25.

10. Keith Baker, "Enlightenment and Revolution in France: Old Problems, Renewed Approaches" Journal of Modern History 53 (1981): 284.

11. Jean-Marie Goulemot, "De la Polémique sur la Révolution et les lumières et des dix-huitiémistes: Notes d'humeur incomplètes et imprudentes sur un débat," Dix-huitième Siècle 6 (1974): 237.

12. Goulemot argues that the interpretation of the Revolution colors interpretations of the Enlightenment and he attacks the attempt to apply social typologies created by Revolutionary historians to the Enlightenment. It must be admitted, he comments, "...que notre discours sur les Lumières, dans tous ses niveaux n'est possible que par référence à un discours sur la Révolution" (p. 238). Diving into the "bain rassurant des catégorisations de la Révolution" forces interpretations of the social origins of the Enlightenment into a mechanistic and puerile view of causation. The telescoping of the Enlightenment and Revolution into a single movement is less a matter of proof than of conviction. He writes:

Convaincus d'abord qu'elle est bourgeoise nous (je) projetons sur le siècle une typologie sociale qui nous (me) permet de définir socialement le discours des Lumières. C'est un discours bourgeois. Alors que les historiens s'interrogent sur cette notion de bourgeois -- et plus encore du côté de l'historiographie marxiste qui depuis que l'on a mis en doute la pleine participation de la bourgeoisie aux Lumières et à la Révolution s'est réveillée de son sommeil et de ses certitudes sacramentelles, l'historien des idées continue à aller de l'avant. (p.239-240)

13. G. Chaussinand-Nogaret, "Un aspect de la pensée nobiliaire au XVIIIe siècle: l'antinobilisme" Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine 29 (1982); Denis Richet, "Autour des origines idéologiques lointaines de la Révolution française" Annales: E.S.C. 24 (1969).

14. For the theoretical background of the "sociology of knowledge" see Karl Mannhiem, Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge, (London: Blackwood, 1954). Of central importance is section V and pp. 237-241, which treats "the significance of the non-theoretical conditioning factors in knowledge." (p.237). Mannhiem took the vague Marxist

formulation of ideological superstructures reflecting social substructures and created a systematic theory of ideology. All thought, with the possible exception of science and mathematics, is determined by the social environment in which the ideas are created: "knowledge must always be knowledge from a certain position." P. L. Berger and T. Luckman, The Social Construction of Reality; A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966), p.13.

15. See the essays in Robert Darnton's The Literary Underground of the Old Regime (Cambridge, Mass.:Harvard University Press, 1982); and The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History (New York: Basic Books, 1984).

16. Edmund Burke, Reflections on the Revolution in France (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1955), p.97.

17. The conspiracy theory -- completely discredited in today's historiography -- has had a long and colorful career. The pre-Revolutionary origins of the conspiracy theory are described in Amos Hofman, "The Origins of the Theory of the Philosophe Conspiracy," in French History 2 (1988): 152-172. Abbé Barruel's Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du Jacobinisme places the blame for all of the Revolution on a conspiracy of Masons and the philosophes creating a tradition that lasted well into this century, finding an influence in the works of Augustin Cochin and Pierre Gaxotte. More recently, J.L. Talmon Origins of Totalitarian Democracy (New York: Mercury Books, 1952) has blamed both the Terror and modern totalitarianism on the philosophy of Rousseau, particularly as found in Talmon's hostile interpretation of the Social Contract.

18. cited in R.W. Church, The Influence of the Enlightenment on the French Revolution (Lexington, Mass.:D.C.Heath, 1974), p. 46.

19. Taine, cited in *Ibid.*, p.82, 88.

20. Louis Madelin, The French Revolution, (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1916), p.13.

21. Condorcet linked scientific truth and political liberty in past history. He writes in the Esquisse that "All errors in politics and morals. . .are based on philosophic errors." With this postulate in mind, he describes the intellectual origins of the Revolution:

. . .if there existed a country where sympathy with the American cause had diffused more widely than elsewhere its writings and its principles, a country that was at once the most enlightened and the most enslaved of lands, a country that possessed at the same time the most enlightened philosophers and the most crassly insolently ignorant government, a country whose laws were so far below the level

of public intelligence that not even patriotism or prejudice could attach the people to its ancient institutions, was not this country destined by the very nature of things to start that revolution which the friends of humanity awaited with such impatience and such high hopes? It was inevitable, then, that the revolution should begin in France.

Sketch for a Historical Picture of the Progress of the Human Mind (New York: Noonday Press, 1955), p.146. Tom Paine comments, in his Rights of Man that,

all those writings and many others had their weight; and by the different manner in which they treated the subject of government, Montesquieu by his judgement and knowledge of laws, Voltaire by his wit, Rousseau and Raynal by their animation, and Quesnay and Turgot by their moral maxims and systems of economy, readers of every class met with something to their taste, and a spirit of political inquiry began to diffuse itself through the nation.

Cited in Church, The Influence, p. 21.

22. See, for instance, J.M. Moore's The Roots of French Republicanism (New York: American Press, 1962).

23. cited in Church, The Influence, pp. 95-96.

24. Alphonse Aulard, History of the French Revolution, trans., Bernard Miall (New York: AMR Press, 1910), pp. 90-91.

25. Professor Godechot has suggested that "all historians agree on the influence of lumières on the Revolution but disagree whether their influence is essential, or secondary to economic factors." Cited in Alfred Cobban, "The Enlightenment and the French Revolution" in his Aspects of the French Revolution (London: Paladin, 1971), p.20. Thus, historians like Georges Lefebvre and Albert Soboul, while stressing the primacy of economic causes, argue that the Enlightenment played some role in the Revolution. Soboul, for instance, argues that the new ideas -- originating from Descartes -- reflected the rise of the bourgeoisie. The emphasis on naturalistic and rationalistic ideals undermined the ideological justifications of the old social and political structures: "Face à cet idéal nouveau, l'Ancien Régime en était réduit à la défensive." Histoire de la révolution française de la Bastille à la Gironde (Paris: Gallimard, 1962), p. 17. He describes this ideological shift as follows:

Les Lumières substituèrent dans tous les domaines, le principe de la raison à celui de l'autorité et de la tradition, qu'il s'agisse de science, de croyance, de morale ou d'organisation politique et sociale. (Ibid. p. 69.)

26. Cobban, "The Enlightenment," p.20. Cobban is considered to be an historian who discounts the causal importance of the Enlightenment on the Revolution. See J. F. Bosher, "Alfred

Cobban's view of the Enlightenment" in Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture 1 (1971). Cobban is convinced that the Enlightenment was a reform movement which had begun to change the monarchy over the objections of reactionary forces like the parlements, but that all three -- the monarchy, the parlements and the reform movement -- were destroyed when the Revolution changed the nature of politics. "The Revolution, Cobban asserts, ends the age of individualism and opens the age of nationalism." (p.25) The most important idea of the Revolution, that of popular sovereignty, is not related to those of the Enlightenment or the seventeenth century. He writes,

It has always been difficult to believe that the liberal political ideas of the Enlightenment were the source of revolutionary terrorism, oligarchy and military dictatorship. It ceases to be a problem if we realize that such developments were indeed not the result of the Enlightenment but of the new social and political trends that appeared in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. (pp. 25-26)

Cobban's attempt to "save" the Enlightenment from the Terror and Bonaparte raises two problems. First, ideas that influence may well be pushed to extremes not originally intended. Second, Cobban fails to realize that many Enlightenment thinkers were active in most Revolutionary developments, making such a clean distinction largely artificial.

27. Ibid. p. 22.

28. Peter Gay suggests that the Enlightenment was made by "a loose, informal, wholly unorganized coalition of cultural critics, religious skeptics, and political reformers." The Enlightenment: An Interpretation 2 vols., (New York: Knopf, 1966), 1:3. They found their unity of purpose, Gay argues, in "a vastly ambitious program [...] of secularism, humanity, cosmopolitanism, and freedom; above all, freedom in its many forms." (p.3). Even these "motherhood" issues were not universal. The idea of progress, for instance, was held by late Enlightenment figures like Condorcet and Turgot, but this is not the case with Gibbon, Hume, Montesquieu or Voltaire. See Henry Vyverberg, Historical Pessimism in the French Enlightenment (New York: Knopf, 1958). Even secularism may be placed in doubt, at least as something to be taught to the masses. Many philosophes, including Voltaire, saw that some form of religion was necessary to preserve morals. See Harry Payne's discussion of "the uses of belief" in his The Philosophes and the People (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), pp.65ff.

29. Cited in Peter Gay, Voltaire's Politics: The Poet as Realist (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1959), p. 218.

30. Ibid.

31. See Arthur Wilson "The Development and Scope of Diderot's Political Thought," Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 28 (1963) and his classic study Diderot (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972).

32. R. Galliani, "Voltaire et les autres philosophes dans la Révolution: les brochures de 1791, 92, 93," Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 174 (1978): 69-70. Two early papers cover the first two years of the Revolution: "Voltaire cité par les brochures de 1789," Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 137 (1975): 17-54 and "La présence de Voltaire dans les brochures de 1790," Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 164 (1977): 69-114. Galliani's method was to send research assistants through the material, giving a resume of the work, the title and the full passage in which the mention of the philosophe occurs. He points out that, in 1789, fewer than one third of the pamphlets contained any reference to an Enlightenment figure. Galliani's conclusions and useful statistics are presented in the 1978 article (pp. 108ff). Galliani is certainly not the first to suggest that the Revolutionary interpretation of the philosophes was somewhat flexible. G. H. McNeil suggests that Rousseau was quite conservative in his views, writing,

the essentially conservative, anti-revolutionary tone of much of his [Rousseau's] political thought, as aspect of his writings to which considerable publicity was given by conservative writers during the early years of the Revolution. "The Anti-Revolutionary Rousseau," American Historical Review 58 (1952-53): 808.

Recently, Jean-Paul Bertaud made the same point, recalling the counter-revolutionary readings given Rousseau in works like Lenormand's Jean Jacques Rousseau aristocrat. See Les Amis du roi: Journaux et journalistes royalistes en France de 1789 à 1792 (Paris: Perrin, 1984), p. 111. Judith Shklar's reading of Rousseau stresses the pessimistic and conservative aspects of his thought -- which ends with the protest that "there is no suitable abode for men." Men and Citizens: Rousseau's Social Theory (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 12.

The impact of Rousseau on the French Revolution has been debated for many years. Roger Barny has published a series of books and articles concerning Rousseau and the Revolution. See among several titles, Rousseau dans la Révolution: le personnage de Jean-Jacques et les débuts du culte révolutionnaire (1787-1791) (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1986).

33. Galliani, "Voltaire et les autres" p. 111. This discussion is drawn from the tables on p. 112.

34. Ibid., p. 111.

35. C.G. Stricklen, "The philosophe's political mission: the

creation of an idea, 1750-1789,' Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 86 (1971): 137-228.

36. Ibid., p. 188.

37. Ibid., p. 217.

38. Ibid., p. 227-228.

39. Sergio Moravia, "La Société d'Auteuil et la Révolution," Dix-Huitième Siècle 6 (1974): 181-182.

40. T.E. Kaiser, "The Ideologues: From the Enlightenment to Positivism" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1976). p. 3.

41. Ibid., p. 5. Robert Darnton's devastating characterization of the High Enlightenment at the end of the ancien régime stresses that the philosophes of the period depended less on their intelligence and style than on connections in the literary world and government pensions. Darnton's argument relies on the contrast between Grub Street intellectuals like Brissot, Carra and Marat -- men alienated from the elite culture -- and well paid lightweights like Jean-Baptiste Suard. See the essays "The High Enlightenment and the Low Life of Literature", "A Spy in Grub Street" and others in his The Literary Underground of the Old Regime (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982). The distinction is, however, less than accurate since the politicalization of the Enlightenment necessitated adoption of traditional means of recruitment. Moreover, Darnton seems to adopt the Grub Street view that intellectuals working for the state had to have lost critical views of the monarchy. Shift in perspective, for Kaiser, does not constitute abdication of Enlightened values. (See Kaiser, pp. 5-20).

42. Ibid. p. 19.

43. Recent studies of the Ideologues include the following: Emmet Kennedy, A 'Philosophe' in the Age of Revolution: Destutt de Tracy and the Origins of Ideology (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1978); Martin Staum, Cabanis: Enlightenment and Medical Philosophy in the French Revolution (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); Keith Baker, Condorcet: From Natural Philosophy to Social Mathematics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975); Saricks Ambrose, Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1965); Alan Kors, D'Holbach's Coterie: An Enlightenment in Paris (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976); Cheryl Welch, Liberty and Utility: The French Idéologues and the Transformation of Liberalism (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984).

The principal historian of the Ideologues, however, is the Italian Sergio Moravia. From 1967 to the present he has written

books and articles on the idéologues. These include La scienza della società in Francia alla fine del secolo XVIII (Firenze, 1967) and Il tramonto dell'illuminismo: Filosofia e politica nella società francese (1770-1810) (Bari: Editori Laterza, 1968).

44. B.G. Garnham, "Who were the Idéologues?" in D. Mossop et al. eds. Studies in the French Eighteenth Century (Durham: University of Durham Press, 1978), pp. 67 and 80.

45. Moravia, "La société d'Auteuil," pp. 182-183.

46. Charles Coulston Gillispie, Science and Polity in France at the End of the Old Regime (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

47. Ibid., p. 5.

48. Ibid., p. 244ff.

49. Ibid., p. 550.

50. Brian W. Head, "The Origins of la science sociale in France, 1770-1800," Australian Journal of French Studies 19 (1982): 128.

51. Ibid., p. 129.

52. Baker, Condorcet p. 385.

53. Peter Gay, The Enlightenment: An Interpretation. Volume II: The Science of Freedom (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), p. 319.

54. Ibid., p. 322.

55. Georges Gusdorf, La conscience Révolutionnaire: Les Idéologues (Paris: Payot, 1978). Gusdorf castigates his countrymen on several occasions for forgetting these philosophers. He complains,

Le paradoxe est que la mémoire collective de la culture française, si fière des philosophes du XVIIIe siècle, se montre si ingrate à l'égard des philosophes de la Révolution. La Révolution elle-même demeure inscrite à l'inventaire des monuments et légendes qui constituent le passé national; le souvenir est resté des hommes politiques et des tribuns, des personnages, heureux ou malheureux, du drame révolutionnaire. Mais les penseurs qui tentèrent de définir, selon l'ordre de la raison, la condition de l'homme nouveau dans le nouveau monde humain sont laissés dans l'ombre, et leurs noms sont ignorés de l'immense majorité des Français cultivés (p.541).

Even more vexing, for Gusdorf, is that the history of the idéologues is being written by foreigners. He opens this stout tome with a description of a conference held on the idéologues in

which all the participants were either American, Italian or Canadian. "Pas un seul Français. Absence symbolique: les Idéologues ne sont pas prophètes en leurs pays, rejetés aux poubelles de l'histoire...." The idéologues are, for Gusdorf, "des auteurs maudits du domaine française" (p.21).

56. Ibid., p. 34.

57. Alan Kors, D'Holbach's Coterie.

58. Ibid., p. 264.

59. Ibid., pp. 314 and 322.

60. Jean Ehard, L'Idée de nature en France à l'aube des Lumières (Paris: Flammarion, 1970), p. 306.

61. Payne, The Philosophes, p. 172.

62. Staum, Cabanis, p. 145.

63. Ibid., pp. 145-6. Ralph Miliband suggests that the situation of the modern capitalist state reflects this paradox. It fosters competition and a suitable climate for investment while attempting to mitigate the worst abuses of this economic free-for-all. See his The State in Capitalist Society, (New York: Basic Books, 1969).

64. Gusdorf, La conscience, p. 224.

65. Ibid., p. 225. The passage from Laharpe is indicative of the deep problem that the idéologues felt was posed by the inequality of talents for political and social theorists:

Si l'égalité des droits naturels et civils est fondée sur la nature et la raison, l'inégalité morale et sociale, celle qui est dérivée des facultés personnelles, comme les talents, l'industrie, les vertus; des différences de sexe et d'âge et des liens du sang, comme l'autorité paternelle, maternelle, conjugale; de la puissance légale, comme toutes les places dans lesquelles un seul ou plusieurs sont chargés de représenter le pouvoir de tous [...] est fondée aussi sur la nature et la raison encore plus impérieusement. (p.225).

66. K.M. Baker, "Scientism, elitism and liberalism: the case of Condorcet" Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, 55 (1967): 137.

67. This argument is drawn from my unpublished Master's thesis "Reform, Revolution and Enlightenment: An Examination of the Political Career and Political Philosophy of the Marquis de Condorcet." (Carleton University, 1982), pp.120-171.

68. See the notes in Condorcet's Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain, ed. M. et F. Hincker (Paris: Editions Sociales, 1971), p.81.
69. Baker, Condorcet, p. 296.
70. Kennedy, A Philosophe, p. 40.
71. Ibid., p. 47.
72. P.-L. Roederer, "D'un grand moyen de perfectionner la morale du peuple" in Oeuvres de Roederer... vol. 5 pp. 151-152.

Chapter 2

The Politics of Enlightenment in 1790 and 1791.

une grande société dont l'objet
serait d'approfondir, de
développer, de répandre les
principes d'une constitution libre,
et plus généralement de chercher
les moyens de perfectionner l'art
social considéré dans toute son
étendue.

Cette nouvelle association a pris
le nom de Société de 1789.
(Condorcet to M. ***, 1790)¹

The life of the Société de 1789 was short, spanning only about twelve months from January, 1790 to February, 1791. This chapter describes the creation of the club, giving particular emphasis to Condorcet's and Sieyès's objectives in organizing it, and covers main activities of 1789 from its foundation to dissolution. The Société de 1789 was a political club organized by two leading intellectuals of the day and shared many characteristics with earlier forms of political and intellectual sociability. One of the characteristics that marks the Société de 1789 was the denial of its obvious political role by its founders and its constitution. Several considerations contributed to this rhetorical stance. Denying political goals

was certainly advantageous in the light of the general distrust of party politics. Factionalism and party organizations were frequently decried because they led to corruption and favoritism, and because they promoted particular interests over the general will. Moreover, the claim to be an "Enlightenment Academy of Politics" gave the club a high level of prestige, matching the reputations of the individuals whom it wished to attract and placing its enemies in the position of having to attack Enlightenment as well as moderate policies. The rational politics of the Enlightenment would not have to be sullied by common political concerns. Finally, the apolitical rhetoric of 1789 may have come as part of a belief that the elimination of party spirit was both necessary and desirable. Condorcet's elaborate writings on the necessity of "rational politics" was echoed in the intellectual justification of the new club.

There is little doubt, however, that the Société was a political club. From its public announcement in April, 1790, both the supporters and opponents of the Société thought it was a political organization. Many of the best known members, such as La Fayette, had definite political interests in supporting the club. It is true that open political activities of the club were marginal, consisting of frequent, and lavish, patriotic dinners. Informally, however the club served as a meeting ground for moderates, and a place to negotiate coalitions of moderates for the formation of a ministry and/or garnering control of the Assembly. The club's meetings and speeches, as in the case of

the Jacobins, focused on current events and the political debates of the Assembly. The collapse of the Société was, not surprisingly, due to the failure of the club to establish and maintain a significant political following in Paris and the provinces. For a political club that denied its political role, the Société de 1789 suffered a most political demise -- failure to attract a large partisan following.

The organization and activities of the Société de 1789 are not well documented. Any official documents that the club may have kept, such as minutes of meetings, budgets, membership lists and so on, have not been located. As we shall see, the club's public activities are recorded in its Journal and other sponsored publications, including a membership list published in May of 1790. A number of contemporary commentators also mentioned the activities of the club, particularly during the spring and summer of 1790, when the Société briefly flourished. The recent publication of Fillipo Mazzei's letters to King Stanislaus of Poland during 1790 and 1791, translated into English from the original Italian, provides a valuable source for the study of the Société upon which this chapter relies heavily. Mazzei wrote several times a week in his capacity of foreign "intelligencer" to the Polish monarch who was very interested in the Revolution and especially in the Société de 1789.² Mazzei was hardly an impartial observer, for he was one of the founding members of the Société de 1789 as well as an active partisan of the Revolution who remained on good terms with many of the participants,

including La Fayette and Condorcet. Mazzei had lived for many years in the United States and had taken up the defense of the new republic in a large work published in 1788.³ Despite his seeming candor on many issues, however, Mazzei's letters strove to please Stanislaus as much as to inform him. It is difficult to determine to what extent his opinions on, for example, the Jacobins in 1790 and 1791 are a reflection of his real beliefs or an attempt to please Stanislaus by depicting the rivals of the Société as overzealous enemies of order. Many of his descriptions of the Société, however, occur in the context of other discussions and shed particular light on the operations of the club.

The foundation of a club or society like the Société de 1789 was not an uncommon activity in early 1790. Indeed, the years leading up to the Revolution had seen an unprecedented growth in secret, private, and semi-private clubs established in the English style, which combined "eating, whist-playing and reading all the latest books."⁴ As the crisis of the monarchy deepened, politics became the main focus of these clubs, as well as of the salons held by more or less fashionable hostesses, such as Madame de Condorcet. Accompanying the flood of political writing that presaged the French Revolution as well as the failure of the old institutions monitoring the press, was an even greater deluge of political talk. Not surprisingly, the forms of sociability inherited from the ancien régime continued to predominate in clubs founded during the early Revolutionary period. Before the

Revolution, the clubs were one forum where "the aristocracy mingled with the high bourgeoisie, and social distinctions were sometimes forgotten."⁵

The Société de 1789 combined many of the ancien régime models of sociability: the academy, the lodge, the salon, and the literary society. Its members were already linked by ties of friendship and by interlocking memberships in prerevolutionary associations. The formal and public nature of the Société de 1789 represents a small part of an important development in political sociability, since previous private associations had been illicit or unofficial. Ran Halévi suggests that

dans la France d'Ancien Régime il n'est d'associations légales que celles tenant leur existence du pouvoir monarchique et relevant de la société des corps, c'est-à-dire de cette mosaïque d'ordres, de communautés religieuses et de corporations professionnelles pourvus de privilèges et insérés dans la hiérarchie qui s'étend du monarque jusqu'au peuple anonyme. Le reste n'est que coteries, assemblées, cercles, cabales, attroupements -- expression le plus souvent interchangeable dans le vocabulaire de la police, pour désigner l'illicite et donc le répréhensible. 6

Since the 1760s there had been a growing number of extra-governmental associations, including "cercles, musées, clubs, sociétés littéraires, cabinets de lecture et [...] loges franc-maçonnnes."⁷ None of these bodies had directly challenged the existing social order, and certainly their role in the preparation of the French Revolution has been vastly overestimated by some commentators.⁸ Nevertheless, the "democratic sociability" that pervaded many extra-governmental organizations during the ancien régime provided necessary

experience in forming institutions where rank was of secondary importance. The Freemason movement in France is a prime example of the importance of this "democratic sociability," for within the institution all Masons were equals and able -- in theory at least -- to attain high rank. Masonic lodges, and other sociétés de pensée were "fondées sur le principe d'égalité sociale." It is of little importance, Halévi continues,

que l'égalité soit réelle ou seulement de principe, qu'il y ait tiraillement et même contradiction entre l'aspiration énoncée et la réalité des faits; cela ne change rien à la nature sociale du phénomène. Par exemple, l'existence au sein de la franc-maçonnerie d'offices (ou ministères) et de grades (de connaissance initiatique) ne contrevient nullement au caractère démocratique de l'Ordre, dans la mesure où tous les maçons peuvent y accéder, du moins théoriquement. 9

Equality within extra-governmental associations was not limited only to secret societies. Daniel Roche argues that, despite the official exclusion of all politics in their discussions, all of the academies of France, from the most prestigious in Paris to modest provincial institutions, provided an ideal of service civique that assumed "l'intégration sociale des gens cultivés." "Pour la grande majorité des sociétés," he continues, "chacun prend sa place en séance sans distinction de rang, de titres ou de qualités."¹⁰ Freed of government supervision at the beginning of the Revolution -- though not of the suspicions of enemies fearing plots against liberty -- political clubs, circles and associations flourished. Even the most elitist of the institutions, such as the Société de 1789, adopted egalitarian rules of membership and procedure that had been learned during

the ancien régime.

The origins of the Société de 1789 are not difficult to determine. The club officially constituted itself on April 12, 1790, with the circulation of a prospectus and list of founding members. The list of 416 founding members, the clearly written constitution, and idealistic prospectus all suggest that the club had been meeting for some time before its public declaration. The Société de 1789 was widely believed to be an offshoot of the Société des Amis de la Constitution -- the Jacobins -- reflecting the first of many internal conflicts that would buffet this famous club. Michael Kennedy writes that,

When the Société des amis de la Révolution of Paris was instituted in November 1789, well-nigh every "patriotic" deputy enrolled. Within a few weeks, however, party feeling had already fragmented the "mother club." Lafayette, the "hero of two worlds," confessed to a friend that he could no longer go alone to the Society then dominated by his jealous adversaries, Barnave, Lameth, and Duport. In January 1790 he joined several others in founding the Society of 1789. 11

This is probably true, but needs to be qualified by the fact that Condorcet, one of the founders and most influential members of the Société de 1789, wrote that the Société -- or some other club -- had been meeting since October, 1789.

Dès le mois d'octobre 1789, quelques citoyens, dont la plupart n'avaient pas attendu l'annonce des Etats généraux pour méditer sur les principes des sciences politiques, formèrent une société dans laquelle ils devaient s'occuper des moyens de rétablir l'ordre, de conserver la paix, et de donner aux lois françaises toute la perfection à laquelle les progrès de l'art social permettaient d'atteindre. 12

Condorcet might have been referring to the Breton Club, which had not survived the move of the Royal family and National Assembly from Versailles to Paris after the October Days. The Société de

la Révolution had about fifteen or twenty former members of the Breton Club, including Barnave and Duport, and grew rapidly, moving into its quarters in the Jacobin convent on rue Saint-Honoré in the late fall of 1789.¹³

Nevertheless, Condorcet may equally well have been referring to another association that had been formed at the same time period, possibly stemming from the so-called "Society of Thirty," with which many of the prominent members of the Société de 1789 who were in Paris at that time were associated.¹⁴ Keith Baker suggests that this association "was probably the group of 'friends of peace' to which Condorcet read his Réflexions sur ce qui a été fait, et sur ce qui reste à faire" in 1789, but the membership of this early club, if indeed it was anything more than a salon, has not been established.¹⁵ Louis Cahen, in his magisterial biography of Condorcet, suggests that the Société d'amis de la paix was actually the group also known as Les Impartiaux which met regularly at the hôtel de la Rochefoucauld.¹⁶

Condorcet's time frame is confirmed in a letter from Fillipo Mazzei to King Stanislaus dated April 26, 1790, responding to rumors circulating in Rome about which Stanislaus had requested further information. Stanislaus had written:

It is believed in Rome that some free thinkers who have influence in the National Assembly and Paris administration have organized under the name of Congrégation de Propaganda, a club that holds its meetings in the Convent of the Jacobins, the object of which is to propagate the spirit of freedom and independence within other nations by means of paid emissaries they call missionaries. Tell me what you know about this new-fangled propaganda. 17

What the King received in return was a short history of the Jacobins and the Société de 1789, which is revealing in that Mazzei sees no particular conflict between the two clubs. The Breton Club -- Comité de Bretagne -- was a "political academy" of sorts established in Versailles. All of the members were friends of the current Revolution and discussed issues facing the National Assembly. The club may have had as many as 150 members when it moved to Paris and that number quickly grew to 600. Mazzei suggests that the Jacobin club "was, and is still, a very useful school, for in it matters are discussed in order to find the best possible result and not solely to fight the proposition of the opposing party."¹⁸ Mazzei goes on to defend the Jacobins, arguing that "the enemies of the Revolution have tried to denigrate that Club in all possible ways." These untruths concerning the Jacobins have gained some credence, he continues, because

perhaps to the Club [Jacobins] belong all those hot-headed deputies whose excessive zeal, if it is all that pure zeal, is frowned upon by many wise and worthy citizens who sincerely abhor the old abuses and consequently are not outdone by anyone in their love for the present Revolution. 19

On the note of suggesting that the Jacobins might have some members afflicted with "excessive zeal," he goes on to discuss the Société de 1789 without any reference to a split or conflict with the Jacobins.

Mazzei does not attribute the foundation of the Société de 1789 to any particular circumstance or event. He simply says that,

Toward the end of last year at a meeting of 32 people attended by the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, the Abbé Sieyès, the Marquis de Condorcet, and other persons worthy of such fellowship, it was decided to organize a Club the aim of which is stated in the enclosed printed paper entitled Draft, etc. 20

The Draft Mazzei mentions was presumably Sieyès' Ebauche d'un nouveau plan de société patriotique, adopté par le Club de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf, an early prospectus of the club. Mazzei praises the "generous spirit of brotherhood" that pervades the Société and argues that critics of the association have no interest in seeing the public good well served. The critics "derisively call the Club of 1789 the Congregatio de propaganda society,"²¹ and Mazzei confesses that although he had not heard the allegations that the club's "salaried emissaries" are called "missionaries," he is not surprised since the enemies of the Revolution will stop at nothing to discredit patriotic institutions. Two months later, in June 1790, the Société de 1789 was attacked in a brochure entitled Dénonciation à toutes les puissances de l'Europe d'un plan de conjuration contre sa tranquillité générale. Par une association formée à Paris sous le nom de club de la propagande.²² This unfortunately confuses the issue, since Stanislaus had specifically stated the it was the Jacobins -- or the club meeting in the Jacobins convent-- who had been derided as the French version of the Congregatio de propaganda. Mazzei's suggestion that it was the Société de 1789 that had been so called raises once again the question of the club's exact identity in the closing months of 1789. Hence, it remains uncertain whether the Société de 1789 was founded at

about the same time as the re-constituted Breton Club in Paris during October and November, or whether it was an off-shoot that developed later in the year.

There is, however, little doubt that by January, 1790 the club that would become the Société de 1789 was meeting regularly in the houses of prominent Parisians and, at the end of the month, at a local hôtel. Sieyès wrote the following note to M. Bancal des Issarts:

Le Club de 1789, où vous êtes reçu, tiendra sa première assemblée générale lundi, 18, à 8 heures du soir chez M. Périet, rue Chaussée d'Antin, no. 72, Prévenez ceux vous savez être reçus. 23

A second, unsigned note, in Sieyès' hand was sent to Bancal on January 27, informing him that he [Sieyès] would be attending a meeting of "our club" that evening:

Ma vie est tellement dépendante de l'Assemblée, du comité, etc., etc., qu'il m'est impossible de dire d'avance: à telle heure, je serai libre. Si Monsieur des Issart voulait me faire demander à l'Assemblée, cela vaudrait mieux. Ou mieux, je le prévins d'abord que notre club est ouvert à l'hôtel des Etats-Généraux, rue de Richelieu, au dessus du passage Saint Guillaume. J'y serai ce soir entre six et sept heures, pour une assemblée de commissaires. C'est bien le cas de nous voir si vous voulez y venir. 24

What transpired in those meetings is unknown. We have already seen that meetings of the Impartials were held at the hôtel de La Rochefoucauld and it is not surprising to note that the meetings of this small group changed locations several times in early 1790. In February, 1790, the Actes des Apôtres listed a number of future members of 1789 who had dined "hier dimanche 14 en comité de constitution, hôtel de la Propagande, rue de Richelieu, no. 158."²⁵ In early April, the Apôtres printed a note from

Roederer to Sieyès, under the title EFFETS PERDUS, requesting a meeting of ten founding members of the Société to discuss the judiciary "ce soir vers neuf heures chez vous."²⁶

A hint of the proceedings of a meeting, held at the Hôtel des Monnoies by Condorcet may be given in Fillipo Mazzei's letter to Stanislaus dated February 26, 1790. In an earlier letter, Mazzei had been pleased to report to Stanislaus that he was very close to La Fayette and on familiar terms with many of the General's friends and supporters. He had been invited to a number of social engagements involving these people, including one described in the letter of February 26. "The other evening", he writes,

Abbé Texier [later included in the membership list of the Société de 1789] came to the soirée at the home of the Marquis de Condorcet, and as soon as he saw me he conveyed to me [...] that he did not have good news about the mill. Then he engaged the interest of all the company by pointing out the importance of the matter, and said that together with the mill there were seeds quite valuable for here [...] Many lamented the loss, particularly the Marquis de Condorcet. The Abbé mentioned the King of Poland's generous disposition to encourage useful things, as though hoping for a repetition of the gift [...] If my Master thinks it proper, then I shall try to have the Duke de Fronsac convey to Louis XVI that, aware of the interest he takes in research and in Abbé Texier's experiments, Your Majesty was pleased to repeat the gift upon hearing of the loss of the first. 27

Was this a chance meeting at Condorcet's or a soirée held under the auspices of the Société de 1789? It is interesting to note that the Texier's request is for financial support for agricultural research, which is a combination of politics and science that we shall see formed a important element of "l'art social." This was not the only social occasion held at the

hôtels of important members of the Société de 1789 that provided an opportunity for individuals to relay requests and comments to Stanislaus. On February 15, Mazzei wrote:

Yesterday while one of the many dinner guests of the Duke de Liancourt [listed as a member of the Société de 1789], I spoke of the attention paid by your Majesty to all the writings I send you, and I quoted your judicious criticism of some. They all admired it and were suprised in view of the limited time you can devote to such matters. When I repeated what Your Majesty deigned to tell me concerning the Opinions of the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, who was present, the Duke de Liancourt asked me whether I thought it proper to forward also his own regarding the clergy's property and pensions. 28

There is no way to prove that these were meetings of the Société, but the letter does indicate frequent gatherings of influential members where current affairs were discussed. The Société de 1789 probably met at regular intervals during the winter months of 1790, moving from location to location until it was more formally organized in April.

The first indication that this rather informal association was becoming a larger, more organized club is the appearance of the Ebauche d'un nouveau plan de société patriotique, adopté par le Club de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf at the end of March 1790. The Ebauche is a sixteen page description and proposed constitution of the new society initialed by EJS.²⁹ The abbé Sieyès, as we have seen, had already been organising the Société de 1789 in January, 1790, and was identified as "le président du club de 1789" by Camille Desmoulins in February, 1790.³⁰ Thus, it is not surprising that the draft constitution and prospectus should appear with his initials. Unfortunately, the Ebauche is

not mentioned in the standard French studies of Sieyès or the recent examination in English by Murray Forsyth. In fact, few of the abbé's biographers discuss his role in the creation of the club save in the most general terms.³¹ This oversight is unfortunate, for Sieyès seems to have been the main author of the Ebauche, although he may have been helped by Condorcet. Sieyès' authorship is suggested by the immediate emphasis that this document places on the development of "l'Art Social." Article 1 states that

Le but principal que la Société se propose est de développer, de défendre & de propager les principes d'une Constitution libre; & plus généralement de contribuer de toutes ses forces aux progrès de l'Art Social. Souvent la chose publique a retiré plus d'avantage des moyens particuliers réunis par le seul esprit du patriotisme, que tant d'Administrateurs inutilement chargés par état de voler à son secours. 32

Forsyth argues that Sieyès had identified l'art social as the human science whose goal was the improvement of mankind in political, economic and social areas.³³ Forsyth continues by citing Views on the means of execution which the representatives of France will have at their disposal in 1789 (1788), in which Sieyès posed the following questions:

Social mechanics has been equally enriched in our own day by the long creative night of genius. Why do we then refuse to consult it over the true means of satisfying the great needs of political societies?

We are always quick to profit in terms of enjoyment from the least progress that has been made in the arts of commerce and luxury -- must we always retreat into a shameful indifference when it is a question of the progress of the social art, the premier art, whose wise combinations divulge the happiness of the human race? 34

Thus, in his first major publication, Sieyès had raised an issue

that he would ponder for a number of years: what is l'art social, and how might it be incorporated into political systems? In 1793, Sieyès and Condorcet again founded Journal d'instruction sociale. Par les citoyens Condorcet, Sieyès et Duhamel, which took as one of its main concerns the elaboration of "les principes du Droit naturel et politique, de l'Economie publique, de l'Art social."³⁵ This concern is clearly reflected in the Ebauche, for Sieyès assigns the study of l'art social to the first section of the club:

20. Première Section. Des Principes de l'Art Social. Elle s'occupera de pénétrer de plus en plus dans les vérités utiles, & de les défendre avec courage par la voie de l'impression: ses Séances seront les Séances de discussion. 36

At this point, Sieyès was along with Condorcet, the organizing force and main inspiration of the club.

The Ebauche tells us much about the status of the club in late March or early April of 1790. Sieyès thought it vital that the club find permanent quarters immediately, and that those quarters should be very well appointed indeed.³⁷ The Club would combine in its assembly hall "tous les agréments & tous les avantages qu'on peut se promettre de l'institution des Clubs ordinaires."³⁸ Ordinary clubs, it would seem, had to be at the center of things, for the first task of the Société de 1789 was to find "un local convenable au Palais Royal, ou le plus près possible de ce centre habituel des affaires." And it was envisaged that the Club would be rather large: "une maison entière" would be the only housing suitable for the different

objects of the Société de 1789 and would respond well to "l'esprit de son institution." Its furnishing should be comfortable, reflecting simple, good taste. The Club would also employ a number of people: a concierge, two cleaners (frotteurs), a librarian to care for the Club's books, journals and papers, a porter if the Club occupied a whole house, and finally a chef. Articles 43 and 44, devoted to food and meals, are more than a page long, longer, in fact, than the description of l'art social found at the beginning of the document. By occupying a whole house, Sieyès continues, the club can provide room and board for a chef who will prepare "de provisions saines & choisies, en vins, liqueurs, café, &c." Further

Ce Cuisinier aura la liberté d'envoyer en ville: mais, en dedans, il ne pourra donner à manger qu'aux Membres de la Société, ou aux hommes de leur connoissance, que les Membres de la Société meneroient dîner avec eux.

Members with guests, he continues, would be content to eat in rooms set aside for nonmembers. Members could eat in separate rooms. Sieyès obviously thought that the Société de 1789 would be a center of gastronomic activity, as well as civic activism and enlightened philosophizing, since members would have to reserve their tables in writing in advance:

44. Pour composer les tables dont il est parlé à l'article précédent, ceux qui voudront dîner ou souper, tel jour, au Club, écriront leur proposition & leur nom, sur une feuille de papier, où d'autres pourront s'inscrire jusqu'à concurrence du nombre fixé.

No penalty, it seems, would be assessed for broken reservations. It is evident that, in Sieyès' mind, the patriotism of the Société de 1789 was no barrier to the comfort and good taste

becoming of an enlightened gentlemen. This is an obvious continuation of ancien régime sociability that was not typical of more radical political clubs like the Jacobins or the Cordeliers.

To administer the activities and assets of the Club, the future constitution framer, Sieyès, stipulated a number of regulations. These ranged from the number of members to be admitted to the club, to the composition of committees, to the management of the employees of the Société to its foreign correspondence. This proposed constitution, which bears interesting similarities to the national constitution being debated in the Assembly, is marked by two peculiar and contradictory characteristics: the desire to regulate the smallest details such as the advance booking of dining tables in the club, and a push to decentralize authority as well as a corresponding failure to clearly describe the hierarchy of the Club. The space devoted to stipulating the procedures used to nominate new members, for example, is far greater than that devoted to describing which administrative unit would be responsible for actually making decisions concerning policy and operations. Indeed, the only place where elections are discussed is in reference to new members, while election to administrative positions is not even mentioned. Finally, Sieyès does not even clarify the role of the executive in relationship to the entire membership, an omission that parallels the failure of the National Assembly to distinguish clearly between the responsibilities of the executive and the legislatures in

national politics. It would be a mistake to take these parallels too far, for the two constitutions are not at all on the same scale. But the desire to regulate activities closely and the general distrust of the executive, marked in both instances by a failure to define adequately its makeup and functions, may indicate attitudes shared by moderates in 1790.

The size of the club was to be limited to six hundred and sixty members. Sieyès arrived at this number by calling for a limit of six hundred members with an extra ten percent to replace those who might leave the club. These sixty would, presumably, have the same rights and privileges as the rest of the members. He argues that a club of this size is necessary: "Il faut beaucoup de monde pour une semblable entreprise, & pour acquérir l'étendue d'influence qu'elle exige."³⁹ The Société de 1789, from its earliest foundation, was not to be either a mass political party nor even a large scale club, but a pressure group made up of influential, enlightened individuals. Sieyès and Condorcet were almost completely blind to the importance of mass politics that was being exhibited by the early radical clubs of the sections and by the Jacobins,⁴⁰ for while the Société de 1789 was large in comparison to the clubs and associations of the ancien régime, it could not, according to its constitution, mobilize mass support.

According to the Ebauche, membership would be tightly controlled:

26. On peut adopter une forme de scrutin si prompte, & en même temps si sûre & si commode, qu'elle pourra servir, soit

à former le premier fonds de la Société, soit à la compléter, soit enfin à en renouveler les Membres. 41

Potential members, Sieyès suggests, should not include men who are suspect in their "doctrine ou leurs sentimens patriotiques" or those whose reputations, merited or not, would detract from the useful influence of the club.⁴² New members would have to be approved by the club though Sieyès does not mention whether the existing membership would be periodically scrutinized, a feature that was adopted in the actual rules of the Société de 1789. It seems that for the initial creation of the club and selection of its membership, Sieyès wanted to have a list of names of potential members, presumably all those present at the first meeting, with a number beside each. Cards would be passed out and each person could indicate those people he did NOT want to be included in the club. Those who received a number of no votes greater than one quarter of the total number of people voting would be rejected. Future votes, he goes on, would be more conventional. Members would mark their acceptance or rejection of each prospective member. The candidate would be rejected if he received seven or more negative votes or if the number of votes to accept was not greater than ten times the number of rejections. Scrutiny votes would be held twice a month, and founding members -- those who were accepted at the first meeting -- could propose up to ten individuals for consideration by the club. Once the club reached its initial membership quota, a more strict procedure would be adopted. Votes would be taken by the club's officers and would be open for two-day periods at the

beginning and the middle of each month. Sieyès argued that all members should be given every chance to vote "afin qu'ils soient d'autant mieux le résultat de la volonté générale."⁴³ Membership in the Société de 1789 would require approval of the majority of its members, and it would not be cheap, for Sieyès noted that there would be an initiation fee of two louis and annual fees of three louis, payable in advance. By individual scrutiny and cost, Sieyès' proposal effectively limited membership to a narrow economic elite whose ideology was deemed to be appropriate.

The Société would form six sections or committees, each of which would be charged with a particular administrative or political task. Membership in these committees would be voluntary, though Sieyès reserved the right for the club to issue "invitations amiables" to fill sections that had too few members. Sections would be formed in November and May, when members could move from one section to another, though there does not seem to be a limit to the number of individuals in any particular committee. Each section, no matter how large, would choose nine to twelve members to form a Directoire that would sit for a year, as well as electing a president and a secretary each month. The presidents and secretaries of all the sections would form the Commissariat du Club, which would seem to function as some form of executive. This is unclear, for Sieyès also notes that an Assemblée générale would meet every Sunday at five, and that all the Sections would report to this assembly: "Il n'y aura pas d'autre Comité central que l'Assemblée générale."⁴⁴ The

Commissariat seems to have been replaced by the club assembling as a committee-of-the-whole to which sections would report and which, presumably, would make all decisions regarding the club, including the most detailed and trivial.

The six sections or committees that Sieyès envisaged for the Société de 1789 were as follows:

Première Section.	Des Principes de l'Art Social.
Seconde Section.	Du Journal.
Troisième Section.	De la Correspondance françoise.
Quatrième Section.	Correspondance étrangère.
Cinquième Section.	D'information exacte.
Sixème Section.	D'encouragement.

The tone of the club is set by the selection and order of the sections or committees. Conspicuous by their absence are sections concerned with politics, membership, fund raising and other mundane elements that would be commonly associated with a political club or, to use modern American parlance, a political action committee. Indeed, influence as described by the Ebauche had little to do with the political process or the exercise of direct political influence on the representatives, but rather seems to have involved the cultivation of public opinion. The first section concerning the development of l'art social had a clear mandate:

Elle s'occupera de pénétrer de plus en plus dans les vérités utiles, & de les défendre avec courage par la voie de l'impression: ses Séances seront des Séances de discussion. 45

Discussion of enlightenment political ideas was the primary occupation of the club. The remaining sections dealt with elements of the dissemination of the "results" of these

discussions, through publications, correspondance, and affiliations. The second section, Sieyès continues, will be primarily occupied with the propagation of les bons principes, through the club's journal and by other means. The club's sessions would usually be Séances de rédaction, and it might be very practical to purchase a printing operation in the future. The third section would be charged with creating a "Comité d'Association" in each major town and, at least, in each department in France and with maintaining active correspondance with these institutions which would have the same goals as the "Société-Mère." The Foreign Correspondance section (Four) had the very broad objective of exporting the principles of the Revolution and liberty:

Formation de Comités de Correspondance, par-tout où cela sera possible & utile; aide & secours pour recouvrer la liberté; traduction dans toutes les langues, des bons principes, &c. &c. 46

Representatives of Correspondance Committees in France and abroad could attend the sessions of the Société, and there would be periodic celebrations of appropriate revolutionary days, to which other patriotic societies would also be invited. The fifth committee was the means by which the Société de 1789 would gather accurate information concerning the operation of other governments, attempts against the rights of man, as well as attempting to find means to reform abuses and correct political errors (erreurs politiques). Finally, the Encouragement section was to stimulate useful works, essays, and inventions by offering prizes, in much the same way as the Academies of the ancien

régime. The main activities of the club, as described in Sieyès' Ebauche, were those of an enlightened political academy dedicated to the elaboration and dissemination of "political truths."

In theory, the Société de 1789 would not participate directly in the political process, for there was no institutional provision within the club for active intervention in the politics of regenerating France. The model used for the Société was a cross between the salon and the Academy, and its goal was to raise the general level of political discussion in France and abroad. The club was not meant, according to Sieyès' description, to serve as a political party that would propose a platform and attempt to secure its implementation by trying to get its members elected to the legislative branch or through a pressure group (or political action committee) which would lobby members of the legislature or executive. Any impact the Société would have on the political process would be indirect, by opening public discussion of issues and enlightening the electorate and representatives. By disseminating political truths the club would not be aimed at particular pieces of legislation but at the broadest formulation of l'art social, which enlightened legislators would implement in policy.

A couple of weeks after Sieyès published the Ebauche, the Société de 1789 was officially founded. This occurred in April of 1790 and Augustin Challamel gives the date of the foundation of the Société de 1789 as April 12.⁴⁷ Although this date has been generally accepted by historians, Challamel does not say how

he determined this date. The foundation of the Société de 1789 was announced by the publication of Règlements de la Société de 1789 et liste de ses membres.⁴⁸ Challamel's date is certainly not unreasonable. On April 26, 1790, Fillipo Mazzei informed Stanislas that he had joined the Société de 1789 as one of its founders and that he was including a document which was probably the Règlements. In addition, Mazzei informed Stanislas that the club had just under 400 members, a figure that was close to the actual number of 416 that were included in the membership list.⁴⁹ There is also no indication of where this first meeting was held, since the club did not move into its quarters in the Palais Royal until mid-May. If the initial meeting plan described in Sieyès' Ebauche was followed, the meeting would have required a lot of time to organize and a large meeting hall to fit the 400 or so members, although some were honorary members like Washington who would not have been present. It is not unreasonable to assume that it was held at the hôtel des Etats-Généraux, rue de Richelieu, mentioned by Sieyès earlier in the year. Challamel suggests that the club "s'installa d'abord dans une superbe maison de la rue de Richelieu" but this may not be the same place since it is equally possible that the club changed meeting locations more than once before May, 1790.⁵⁰

The April Règlements differ in important ways from the Ebauche. The Règlements are more directly politically oriented, stressing the importance of the National Assembly and the establishment of new laws for the nation, without changing the

primary focus on the intellectual elaboration of l'art social that is evident in the earlier draft. The document is divided into three sections: 1) a discussion of the general principles and goals of the Société de 1789, centered on an outline of l'art social; 2) a revised version of the Ebauche and; 3) the membership list.

The authorship of the first section of the Règlements can in all likelihood be attributed to Condorcet, with only minimal involvement of Sieyès. As we have seen, Condorcet wrote the first draft of his A Monsieur *** sur la Société de 1789, which described the origins and goals of the new club in March, 1790.⁵¹ Comparing this document to the discussion of the goals of the Société de 1789 found in the Règlements reveals a similar description and common language. L'art social is described in both texts as a kind of science, designed to promote the well being of humanity. Condorcet writes in his A Monsieur ***,

Nous avons regardé l'art social comme une véritable science, fondée, comme toutes les autres, sur des faits, sur des expériences, sur des raisonnements et sur des calculs; susceptible, comme toutes les autres, d'un progrès et d'un développement indéfini. 52

L'art social provides a degree of objectivity and universality that the traditional means of examining les objets politiques fails to attain, because it looks at the éternelles de l'homme et des choses rather than following the course of events, a method which relies on party politics and expediency. It is the appeal to universal and unchanging principles that gives l'art social its appeal: "ils recherchent ce qui est vrai, ce qui est juste,

et sont sûrs d'avoir trouvé ce qui est utile."⁵³ Thus, l'art social is abstract, progressive and universalistic, and will lead to measurable benefits for political life. The Règlemens takes a similar stand on the nature and role of l'art social:

Il doit exister [...] pour les nations, un art de maintenir et d'étendre leur félicité: c'est ce qu'on nommé l'art social.

Cette science, pour laquelle travaillent toutes les autres, ne paroît pas avoir été encore étudiée dans son ensemble. L'art de cultiver, l'art de commercer, l'art de gouverner, l'art de raisonner même, ne sont que des parties de cette science.

Réunir tant de matériaux épars et inconsistans, rechercher dans les sciences économiques leurs rapports mutuels, et sur-tout la liaison commune qu'elles peuvent avoir avec la science générale de la civilisation, tel est l'objet de l'art social. 54

This proposed science does not yet exist, Condorcet suggests, but its elements can be found in economics and studies of legislation. In both texts, l'art social is linked directly to progress in morals, government, the economy and society. In fact, Condorcet suggests that this study is a necessary element to foster progress.

Both texts are clear in their descriptions of how the Société de 1789 is necessary for the elaboration of l'art social, for the club will act as an international conduit and clearinghouse for information and vérités sociales. He writes in A Monsieur *** that

nous avons jugé qu'il étoit bon qu'une société d'hommes, libres dans leurs opinions, indépendants dans leur conduite, s'occupassent d'accélérer les progrès de cette science, d'en hâter les développemens, d'en répandre les vérités. 55

It is the lack of free and independent consideration by enlightened men that Condorcet seems to think was the main

barrier to the development of l'art social in the past. Given the free movement of ideas and individuals, the progress of this science can be accelerated. The model he adopts for the Société de 1789 is consciously drawn from the various academies of Europe in their free -- or relatively free -- exchange of ideas, writings, and scholars. He writes,

Il est nécessaire qu'une société comme la nôtre reste isolée, pour conserver une indépendance entière; ce qui n'exclut point une correspondance, une fraternité, comme celles qui existent entre les sociétés savantes de l'Europe. Elles s'envoient réciproquement leurs ouvrages; les académiciens qui voyagent sont admis aux séances des sociétés étrangères; elles se consultent réciproquement, et il leur arrive même quelquefois de se concerter pour des travaux importants. 56

Direct political involvement, he continues, can hurt the internationalism of the Société de 1789 and its affiliates, since national division will generate discord and the "spirit of sects" that arise in the political arena. The Société de 1789 should remain an institution "plus philosophique encore que politique."

The Règlements is equally clear in the communicative role that is assigned to the Société de 1789. The club is not a political party or a sect, but "une compagnie d'amis des hommes, et, pour ainsi dire, d'agens du commerce des vérités sociales." Given the disjointed nature of the components of l'art social, only a common method adopted by all enlightened men can result in real progress.

Ce n'est ni un, ni plusieurs hommes, ni même une seule nation, c'est le concert des peuples qui peut assurer à cet art des progrès efficaces; mais ces progrès seront moins lents, dès que tous les esprits suivront partout un ordre de travail constant et uniforme.

Il faut donc créer cette méthode commune. Or, avant

qu'elle soit fixée, perfectionnée et généralement adoptée, il étoit naturel que les bases en fussent posées par une association, qui, communiquant à d'autres sociétés semblables, les principes et l'esprit qui l'animent, pût, ainsi qu'elles, rallier à des systèmes pareils les divers travaux de tous les hommes éclairés, en quelque lieu qu'ils existent, et qu'ils veillent pour le bien de l'humanité. 57

The constant communication among enlightened individuals who form institutions dedicated to improving the lot of humanity seems to be an important element of progress. Up to the present, the Règlements continues, too few advantages from the improvements in the technology (instrumens) of communications have been applied to the development of human knowledge. It is the global commerce of enlightened ideas, akin to the global patterns of commerce, that is required for progress, by which "nous pouvons nous rendre si supérieurs aux anciens." Thus, it is highly desirable to "multiplier entre les nations les échanges réciproques des connoissances humaines." One of the means by which the Société de 1789 will promote international communications is the prospective journal, which will cover all the news, opinions, and information "qui intéressent les principes et les progrès de cette science, aussi nouvelle qu'elle est étendue."⁵⁸ Through its journal and less formal means of communications, the Société de 1789 will foster progress by opening avenues of international communications between enlightened thinkers.

Nevertheless, the Règlements describes a somewhat more openly political stance than the A Monsieur ***, reflecting the real situation of a club whose membership was dominated by people active in politics, for a large proportion of the individuals

included in the list of members were active either in the Paris commune, the National Assembly, or the National Guard. The only mention that Condorcet makes of the contemporary political scene in Paris in A Monsieur *** is in the final paragraph, which seems to have been hastily tacked on to the end. This suggests that deputies to the National Assembly could be admitted to the meetings of the Société. But even this nod to the reality of Parisian politics is full of academic reserve:

Elle a cru devoir offrir l'entrée de ses séances aux députés à l'Assemblée nationale, qui, n'étant pas établis à Paris, ne pouvaient appartenir à la Société comme membres ordinaires. Elle s'est proposé de discuter de préférence dans ses assemblées, les objets qui devaient l'être dans celle des législateurs. C'était un moyen de rendre ses travaux d'une utilité plus présente, plus immédiate. Mais elle s'est bornée sagement aux questions générales qui tiennent essentiellement à la législation générale: les réclamations particulières ont été soigneusement écartées. 59

Deputies of the National Assembly might be admitted, but not as ordinary members of the club. Political and legislative issues might be raised in the club, but only those pertaining to general issues: particular political concerns are to be carefully avoided. Condorcet seems to be completely unaware of the irony of taking such a strong stand against active political participation in describing a club named after the supremely political events of 1789, where the name itself indicates much of the political perspective of its most influential members. By contrast, the Règlements sees a more active role for the Société de 1789 in the promotion of l'art social as a part of the political process, if only in the most general sense.

Développer et répandre les principes d'une constitution libre, est sans doute le premier devoir d'une institution qui date de l'époque de la liberté françoise: la société de 1789 sera fidelle à ce devoir. En même tems que ses travaux se dirigeront vers son principal but, qui est la recherche des principes et des moyens de perfectionnement de l'art social, elle consacrera aussi ses veilles à faire une heureuse application de ces principes à la constitution et à la félicité nationale. 60

In principle, at least, the Société de 1789 would use the knowledge and improvements in l'art social to fulfill its obligations to the nation. Although there is no discussion in the opening section of the Règlemens of what form such political action would take, this general declaration of political interest is certainly a more realistic perspective than Condorcet's original formulation in the A Monsieur ***. Both discussions, however, fail to assess accurately the degree to which the foundation and operation of the Société de 1789 was dictated by the contemporary political situation.

The rules adopted by the members of the Société de 1789 on April 12 reflect the substantial softening of the earlier stance against active concern in French politics found in the Ebauche and in Condorcet's A Monsieur ***. The journal to be published by the Société de 1789 was to include five "chapters" covering l'art social, correspondance nationale, correspondance étrangère, Assemblée nationale, and variétés. These areas would also form the bulk of the topics of discussion during the meetings of various sections or committees of the Société. No matter how hard Condorcet and Sieyès might try to create a new academy in Paris in 1790 -- even a political academy dedicated to the

advancement of enlightened political ideas -- it was unrealistic for them to expect that the Société de 1789 could avoid active involvement in partisan politics.

Striking an appropriate balance between abstract speculation and partisan political action was a problem for other clubs during the early period of the Revolution. Gary Kates, for example, traces the tensions between the intellectual program of the Confédération des Amis de la Vérité and the political ambitions of the Cercle Social.⁶¹ The Cercle began as a secret group of Parisian municipal politicians which organized, in the fall of 1790, the Confédération as a public club committed to the application of Enlightened and progressive ideas in the Revolution. The political role of the club varied according to the political fortunes of the leaders of the Cercle, particularly Fauchet and Bonneville. When, in August of 1790, the Fauchetins were defeated in Paris, they created the Confédération and renounced political action. By the following May, however, when the National Assembly did not implement the reform program supported by members of the Cercle Social, the role of the Confédération shifted dramatically, becoming more overtly partisan. The directors of the Cercle shared similar opinions, distinguishing between Enlightened speculation concerning the general good and partisan political activity as the leadership of the Société de 1789. Both clubs seem to have wavered between these two poles, depending on the interests of individual members and the force of circumstances.

The activities of the Société which would be covered by the Journal give some indication of how Condorcet and Sieyès would strike this balance. Coverage of the activities of the National Assembly was largely political, including descriptions and analyses of current events:

Assemblée nationale. Sans s'astreindre à la marche de ses travaux, on en donnera les résultats les plus importants, on en développera les principes, soit en présentant, par une analyse rapide, le tableau de discussion contradictoire, soit en expliquant l'esprit des décrets par de nouvelles considérations. 62

An examination of the debates in the National Assembly is certainly license for editorializing and commentary that would overstep the bounds of internationalism that the Société de 1789 was supposed to uphold. Correspondance nationale was an equally active category of political commentary that the proposed journal would cover in depth. The difficulties encountered by public and private institutions and groups in regenerating the nation are discussed at length by the contributors to the journal, who will also be charged with trying to resolve these problems, reasoning from the principles of natural rights and the new constitution. The proposed solutions reflect a clear ideological stance, for the opinions expressed in the journal should conform to those inherent in the new legal system, the nature of things, and the natural rights of citizens. This formulation implies that the Société de 1789 supported a particular constitutional and legal program identified with the moderates who then dominated the National Assembly. Despite the rhetoric of abstract concern for the development of l'art social, some of the main journalistic

and discussion activities of the Société de 1789 were an attempt to sway opinion in very well defined political directions as well as to defend specific policies.

The other main areas of coverage of the proposed journal are less self-consciously political. L'art social, the first and presumably most important chapter of the Journal, retains, in this formulation, much the same meaning as in the first draft; that being the study of governments, legislative bodies, commerce, finances, and the entire social system, in order to promote the happiness of humanity. Under this rubric the journal would publish papers, memoirs, and remarks on almost any element of this new science. Foreign correspondance would report on the important political events of both hemispheres, assessing the external and internal affairs of other countries and concentrating on the progress of l'art social and the utility of the institutions of the various countries being covered. Finally, variétés were to be general coverage with a political twist, for the publication of "ouvrages utiles" would encourage talent and art in France and abroad. In keeping with the Enlightenment use of the printing press, dissemination of scientific and technical information would also be undertaken, and the journal would provide room for "la description et le dessin des machines et des découvertes les plus remarquables" as well as discussions of philosophy and morale.⁶³ The dissemination of l'art social was not limited to political and social commentary, but also included the typical Enlightenment

concern with scientific and technical progress.

The Règlements incorporated several important changes in the formal organization of the Société de 1789 originally described in Sièyes' Ebauche. Members were to be elected in much the same way as before, but the new rules included provision for an annual "scrutin d'épreuve." Each year the scrutin d'épreuve was to be held "à l'effet d'exclure de la société les membres qui pourroient ne pas lui convenir."⁶⁴ The regulations, however, do not give any criteria concerning the grounds for eliminating a member of the Société de 1789, and one must not exclude the possibility that such a mechanism was simply considered prudent in case the club needed to rid itself of a political enemy or an individual whose conduct and reputation would harm the club's objectives. The likelihood of exclusion from the Société de 1789 for any but the most infamous of men was small, since it required a nine-tenths vote of the membership. The secrecy of the scrutin was paramount: secret ballots would be burned after being examined by four commissioners no matter what the verdict on any individual. The provision for the scrutin may have been added at the last minute, since Mazzei wrote to Stanislaus that not only was the scrutiny of new candidates rigorous, the club had also taken further steps to preserve its integrity:

Up to now we are not even 400, although there is no lack of applicants, for the scrutiny is somewhat strict. I do not know of six members who in my judgement could be excluded without causing general regret. And since it is not only possible but even probable that occasionally a not sufficiently well known applicant may be admitted whose company is not desirable, lately we decided that every year we shall have a sifting scrutiny. 65

There is no mention of a "sifting scrutiny" in Condorcet's March description of the Société. The Règlement, unlike the earlier outlines, is even vague on the qualities that should be considered during votes on new members. It seems that the admissibility of an individual rested with the membership without much institutional guidance.

The organization of the Société de 1789 is more clearly described in the Règlement. As in Sieyès' formulation, the organization of the club mirrors that of the National Assembly, in that it featured a weak and ill-defined executive and a potentially discordant General Assembly. The club's operations were to be directed by 12 commissioners, half of whom would be renewed each year, and would form sub-committees directing the journal, library, and other daily operations. Three sections--replacing Sieyès' six -- were to cover the journal, correspondence, and encouragement. All members of the club were eligible for these sections, each of which would have twelve directors who were elected for six month terms. The work of each of the sections was to be determined by the general assembly of the club. The general assembly was to meet weekly, at 6:00 p. m. on Sundays with a quorum of 40 members, to act in the interest of the Société de 1789 and direct the work of the sections. A president and three secretaries of the general assembly would be elected every two weeks. The president's role was peculiar in that it was clearly not an executive role:

Le président ouvrira les séances, et dans les discussions qui pourront s'établir, il posera les questions,

donnera la parole, prendra les voix, et généralement observera et fera observer les règles ordinairement suivies dans les assemblées délibérantes.

Mais dans les questions générales de tout genre sur lesquelles la société a décidé qu'on n'iroit point aux voix, elle a aussi arrêté qu'elle ne se priveroit point d'entendre l'opinion de son président, et qu'il pourroit prendre la parole dans ces sortes de discussions. 66

The sense one draws from the description of the president's role is very similar to those of the president of the National Assembly, whose activities are limited to maintaining orderly debate of whatever issues arise. While it would be unreasonable to expect a club to require a clear constitutional structure, the very fluidity of the president's role and the complete failure of the rules to establish a more clear appointment of responsibilities and powers suggests that the main collaborators in the Société de 1789 had a fear of central or executive authority wherever it might be found. A great deal could be discussed in the Société de 1789 in an orderly fashion, but there is no indication of how decisions would be made and who would implement them, save in the loose definition of the commissioners and the sections. The "constitution" of the Société de 1789 may fairly be thought unworkable because of the very collegiality that the members wished to maintain.

The club would be expensive to maintain and operate, and this was reflected in its high initiation fee and annual dues which were to be promptly collected. The Société would maintain a library that would carry journals, periodicals, new books "que l'opinion publique distinguera," and other books relevant to the work the Société would undertake. The club -- and presumably its

reading room -- would be open every day from 8:00 a.m. to midnight, during which time all the members could read material kept there, though they could not leave the premises with library materials. Unfortunately, the Règlements does not discuss the quarters that the Société de 1789 should rent, nor the exact composition of the staff. It would seem, however, that the recommendations found in Sieyès' Ebauche were generally accepted, as suggested by the lavish dinners which the club sponsored and the opulent quarters that housed the Société de 1789 in the Palais Royal during most of its existence. The annual dues were set at three louis, with a one-time initiation fee of two louis. Memberships were considered lapsed if the fee went unpaid, although there was a provision for members whose failure to pay on time was due to ill health. Despite its more political role, the Société de 1789 was to remain an elite club, separated from Parisian mass politics by policy (membership was still limited to 660), strict admission rules, and high cost.

From its constitution and early descriptions, it is clear that the Société de 1789 was modeled after ancien régime forms of sociability, according to which the club was to be the meeting place of an enlightened elite. Fouquières neatly summed up the situation,

on ne pouvait espérer fonder une Société populaire en fixant à une cotisation de cinq livres [sic] l'admission de ses membres et en s'attachant à l'étude abstraite de questions métaphysiques."⁶⁷

The ancien régime academy was probably the most important model in the creation of the Société de 1789. Although it admitted

members who were not renowned for their intellectual or academic accomplishments, the club tried to encourage such accomplishments with publications, open discussion and, echoing a typical activity of the academies, essay competitions. We have already seen the emphasis placed on the first two activities; and although the last was not mentioned in the Règlements, it did form a part of the club's activities. On May 24, 1790 the following notice appeared in the Moniteur, opening an essay competition on a number of contemporary economic issues in response to two recent publications:

Un particulier a déposé entre les mains de MM. Rilliet, etc., rue Montmartre [bankers and members of the Société de 1789], une somme de 25 louis, pour être remise à l'auteur d'un ouvrage qui, au jugement de la section d'encouragement de la Société de 1789, développerait et établirait, ou bien détruirait de la manière et par les raisons les plus solides, le système très spécieux de finance présenté dans deux brochures intitulées: l'une la Proposition n'est pas neuve, il ne s'agissait que de la démontrer; l'autre Absurdité de l'impôt territorial et de plusieurs autres impôts, démontrée par l'exposition des effets ou réactions des différents espèces de taxe sur tous les prix, tant du travail que de ses produits, soit dans l'agriculture, soit dans l'industrie [both by Casaux]. Ces deux brochures se vendent chez M. Baudouin, imprimeur de l'Assemblée Nationale, rue du Foin-Saint-Jacques, n. 31. On prie ceux qui voudront s'occuper de cet ouvrage de l'adresser, franc de port, avant le 15 octobre prochain, à la Société de 1789.

68

The secret sponsor of this competition was probably the author of the two texts, Charles Casaux, the Grenadian planter allied with Mirabeau, and whose prodigious literary energy was exceeded only by his obscurity. Casaux's prize may well have been officially sanctioned by the Société de 1789, for he was an active member until its demise, being a member of the club's executive as well

as a respected speaker and author in the club.⁶⁹ The sponsorship of essay contests, under the rubric of "encouragement," was an important activity of the academies under the ancien régime. It is hard to say, however, whether its continuation into the Revolutionary period significantly affected the literary production of the Société de 1789.

The image of an international academy was accepted by other commentators as well. Fillipo Mazzei, in his letter of April 26, 1790 describing the Société de 1789, was pleased to report to Stanislaus that he (Stanislaus) had been invited to become an honorary member of the club. The Italian wrote that he had never before been a member of a club, but was glad to accept the "kind of honorable invitation of the Founders," because it was an opportunity to learn much and pass time with very pleasant company. He continues,

It is not unlikely that in time it may become more useful than are many academies of science and that in foreign countries people of pre-eminence will accept or seek membership in it. 70

Washington and Franklin, Mazzei writes, appear among the clubs members and the Abbé Sieyès has proposed, with the unanimous support of the membership, "to ask me whether through me the Club might hope to receive the honor to number among its honorary members His Majesty the King of Poland, "a man," he said, "who honors the Crown he wears."⁷¹ In seeking the honorary membership and support of a foreign prince, the Société de 1789 continued an ancien régime tradition of scientific and literary academies seeking the patronage of men of influence.⁷² This tradition

grew out of the close alliance between the academies and the monarchy during the ancien régime. The reception speeches given to the various academies were frequently eulogies of power. "Les philosophes, Daniel Roche writes, en riront avec Grimm, citant Voltaire":

M. de Voltaire a dit quelque part, qu'un discours de réception et d'entrée à l'Académie française était composé de quatre ou cinq propositions essentielles. La première que le Cardinal de Richelieu était un grand homme; ce qui n'empêchait pas en second lieu le chancelier Séguier d'être de son côté un grand homme, sans compter troisièmement que Louis XIV avait été aussi un grand homme; mais que quatrièmement l'académicien auquel on succède avait été surtout un très grand homme. 73

Mazzei's description suggests that he saw the club as a kind of international political academy that operated in ways very similar to the French academies of the ancien régime, encouraging the support and membership of the wealthy and powerful.

Given the need and desire for such support, it is not surprising to find that that the club's membership, leaders, name, constitution, and principles quickly became easy targets for hostile commentators, who as might be expected, ascribed the worst motives to the foundation of a select society of allegedly politically ambitious men. As we shall see, in the eyes of many Parisian opinion makers the foundation of the Société de 1789 was an act of partisanship of the first order.

The most important members of the Société de 1789 may have joined for far more practical reasons than the abstract speculation of political truths. In his Mémoires, Charles-Elie de Ferrières implies that the foundation of the Société de 1789

was the result of contemporary political concerns. He suggests that in the spring of 1790,

Il existait une scission sourde dans la majorité de l'Assemblée; scission qu'entretenaient les jalousies et les prétentions des deux clubs qui préparaient les décrets, le club des jacobins et le club de 1789. 74

Ferrières names the leaders of the club as La Fayette, Bailly, Roederer, Dupont de Nemours, Chapelier, Rochefoucauld, and Sieyès, all of whom were originally members of the Jacobins. He describes the reasons that they left that club as:

Fatigués du bruyant des séances, de la déraison des orateurs, de la nécessité d'obtenir et de captiver la faveur populaire, nécessité qui force l'honnête homme de dissimuler sa pensée, et, s'il veut commander, d'obéir d'abord à tous les caprices d'une multitude ignorante et grossière, il cessèrent peu à peu d'assister aux séances des jacobins, et vinrent s'étaler pompeusement au Palais-Royal dans un appartement superbe, et avec tout le fracas propre à attirer et à frapper la multitude. 75

Ferrières points out that the club included philosophers, financiers, men of letters, and academicians, not to mention many important members of the National Assembly and committee chairmen. They are all just as interested as the Jacobins in attracting popular support, and willing to go a good distance to curry favor. He comments,

Au reste, on y ambitionnait tout comme aux jacobins la faveur populaire, et l'on y employait pour l'obtenir, tout comme aux jacobins, les adresses et les députations: car on cherchait aussi tromper le peuple, à lui persuader que l'on était uniquement occupé de l'amour du bien public, lorsque l'on n'était animé réellement que d'un esprit d'intérêt et de domination. Les vainqueurs de la Bastille venaient-ils féliciter les jacobins de leur énergie: les dames de la Halle arrivaient au même moment au club de 1789, adressaient un beau compliment au génie de M. Bailly; elles n'oublièrent pas le bon général La Fayette, le grand Mirabeau qui disait de si belles choses à l'Assemblée, ni M. Chapelier qui, sans cesser d'être bon Breton, était devenu bon Parisien. 76.

The Société de 1789, in Ferrières opinion, was no different than the Jacobins in its frenzied pursuit of influence and domination, and both were willing to sacrifice the good of the nation for their own political ambitions.

Certainly, more than just the noise and disorder of the meetings, the causes cited by Ferrières, drove La Fayette from the Jacobins. Rather, the election of Robespierre as the President of the club for the first half of the month of April, 1790 and La Fayette's continuing conflict with the "Duport party" furthered his estrangement from the Jacobins. Indeed, in a letter to Mme Simiane on April, 5th 1790, La Fayette intimated that he was afraid for his safety at the Jacobins.

Je n'ai point été aux Jacobins et ne puis pas y aller seul; mais 89 n'étant pas un parti, je crois que je dois m'occuper de la constitution et de l'ordre, indépendamment des intrigues de clubs. 77

By suggesting that the Société is not a club at all, La Fayette maintains his assertion that he is above politics, acting independently of all clubs. He continued to attempt to position himself above the political fray later in the summer, as is suggested in his letter to Washington on August 28, 1790, in which he claimed that he was working to reconcile the clubs:

Les aristocrates n'ont pas encore renoncé à l'espoir de faire la contre-révolution; ils intriguent avec toutes les cours de l'Europe qui nous détestent, mais je pense qu'ils échoueront dans leurs négociations; je suis plus inquiet des dissensions qui se manifestent dans le parti populaire. Deux clubs appelés l'un de 89, l'autre des jacobins, partagent les amis de la liberté et se déchirent mutuellement. Les jacobins sont accusés d'une extravagance anarchique, et la société de 89 de ministérialisme et d'intrigues intéressées. Je tâche d'amener entre eux une réconciliation. 78

Later, when he could no longer maintain that the Société was not a political club, he claimed to have attended the 1789 only occasionally. He writes in his comments on the Notice sur la vie de Sieyès, "Lafayette ne fut pas dans ce club [the Société de 1789] que cinq ou six fois."⁷⁹ But La Fayette's perception of his own strict neutrality is questionable. In his comments on Ferrières' Mémoires, La Fayette argued that he was not trying to enforce his own legislative plan at this time:

M de Ferrières donne un compte assez exact du club de 1789; mais quand Lafayette s'efforçait de réunir les diverses fractions du parti populaire, ce n'était pas, comme on le prétend, "à condition qu'on fit passer toutes ses motions" sa condition était qu'on ne fit pas passer de motions désorganisatrices. 80

Even if he was not attempting to gather support for his entire program, as Ferrières implies, his refutation seems weak enough to raise doubts as to his neutrality at the time. Other observers also felt that La Fayette was one of the main members of the club. Louis-Philippe, for example, suggests on several occasions that "Lafayette and his friends in the 89 Club"⁸¹ acted in ways that indicates a close relationship.

Even more revealing is the degree to which he attacked Condorcet and Sieyès for having abandoned the Société de 1789 in early 1791, when it had become obvious that the club was without significant influence. La Fayette was convinced by the late fall of 1790 that the Société de 1789 was no longer an important force in the Parisian political scene and he wrote to his cousin de Bouillé on Feb 7, 1791, that the "club de 1789, [...] se perd dans les spéculations philosophiques."⁸² In a letter to Bureau

de Puzy dated December 20, 1797, he wrote:

Sieyès et Condorcet, après avoir créé contre les jacobins le club de 1789, voyant que ce club avait peu de crédit, imaginent tout à coup d'en aller chercher aux jacobins, et veulent y entraîner La Rochefoucauld et moi. Or nous ne crûmes pas devoir les accompagner dans cette démarche. 83

And in his notes on the Notice sur la vie de Sieyès, La Fayette was even more blunt in his attack on Sieyès' rapid and, in the general's opinion, inexplicable change of mind:

Sieyès en était le membre le plus zélé; [...] beaucoup d'excellens patriotes s'y réunissaient, et il est assez simple que ceux-ci, qui avaient entendu Sieyès déclamer ouvertement contre le club des Jacobins et les dangers de cette institution, fussent surpris de le voir tout-à-coup, au commencement de 1791, se jeter avec Condorcet aux jacobins, sans motif connu, sans changement dans les principes et la conduite de l'autre club. 84

In retrospect, La Fayette argues that the Société de 1789 was openly founded by Sieyès and Condorcet to act against the Jacobins. Further, apparently unwilling or unable to return to the Jacobins, La Fayette seems to attack the loyalty of those, like Sieyès and Condorcet, who did so when the Société de 1789 was no longer a political force. Despite his protestations of neutrality, La Fayette seems to have clearly supported the Société de 1789 in opposition to the Jacobins. Finally, he identifies its origins and purpose as opposition to the Jacobins, a political purpose denied by Condorcet and Sieyès, the founders of the Société.

The Société de 1789 also attracted a number of formidable opponents, all of whom stressed the political nature of the club, but none of whom was more vitriolic than Marat. Returning to France in May 1790, after having spent several months hiding from

French authorities in England for his attacks on Necker, Marat continued his political agitation. On July 14, 1790, he published the Infernal projet des ennemis de la Révolution in pamphlet form, then reprinted it in L'Ami du peuple two days later. In this diatribe, Marat intimated that the Société de 1789 was the center of a vast political conspiracy to place political control of France in the hands of the enemies of the nation.

C'était aux Jacobins que se préparaient les discussions et souvent les décrets de l'Assemblée nationale. Par une suite de sourdes menées des ennemis de la Révolution, toutes les affaires se sont portées au club de 1789. C'est là où se prépare le travail de la cour et de l'Assemblée, mais les membres de ce club ne sont pas tous initiés; c'est dans un comité secret que se traitent les grandes affaires, c'est là qu'on a résolu de changer totalement l'administration, changement qu'on vient d'annoncer dans quelques feuilles du jour, pour y préparer les esprits. 85.

Judging by Marat's description of who would be appointed to important positions in this new administration, it seems that he believed that many of the most prominent members of the Société de 1789 were members of this secret committee. Like most good political invective, Marat's charge of a "secret committee" was not entirely inaccurate. Mazzei mentions some kind of separate reunion permitted by the Société made up of members who broke away from the Jacobins during the summer: "since there were about 30 who were also members of the National Assembly, our Society allowed them to meet by themselves in our rooms if they thought it advisable."⁸⁶ What was discussed in these separate meetings is unknown, but Marat was certainly willing to speculate that those present were planning to form a new ministry. "Et sur

qui," Marat asks, "doit tomber le choix?"

Il est, dit-on, arrêté d'avance; Mirabeau l'ainé doit remplacer Necker; La Fayette, La Tour du Pin; Liancourt, Montmorin; La Rochefoucauld; Saint-Priest; et l'abbé Syeyes (sic), le Garde des Sceaux; Bailly restera maire avec cent mille écus d'appointement. Et Necker, Necker, après avoir dilapidé deux milliards, partira sans rendre ses comptes, comme il s'y prépare depuis si longtemps. 87

And, as might be expected, Marat presents a long list of calumnies for each man.⁸⁸ Marat identified the Société de 1789 not with enlightened philosophizing, but with the most partisan of political activities, a secret conspiracy to promote the favored members of that institution into the ministry.

The fact that Marat and La Fayette would agree that the Société de 1789 was primarily a political organization suggests that even the club's denial of active political interest was, in itself, an intensely political act. The rhetoric adopted by Condorcet and Sieyès, in their early writings describing the club, not only served to position the Société de 1789 as the only inheritors of Enlightened rationalism but also freed them from the charge of splitting the patriotes through the establishment of a faction or party.

The fear of partisan spirit, Lynn Hunt argues, was one of the most important developments in French Revolutionary political discourse. She argues that

in France in the 1790s, factional politics was synonymous with conspiracy, and "interests" was a code word for betrayal of a nation united. 89

The connection between faction and betrayal of the nation was not, however, a creation of the Revolution alone, for it had been

made during the ancien régime. The Dictionnaire de l'Académie, in 1786, gave a narrow definition to the word "parti" which stressed the conflict of particular interests, without consideration of legitimate conflicts concerning public policy: "l'union de plusieurs personnes contre d'autres qui ont un intérêt contraire." Michel Péronnet adds to this definition,

Les révolutionnaires emploient aussi "secte", "faction" ou "cabale" pour désigner ceux qui refusent l'idéal de la Révolution présenté comme expression unanime de la volonté nationale. 90

This fear of unrestrained factional politics, Hunt argues, was linked to the fear of conspiracy, a dynamic that developed early in the Revolution. Marat's attack on the Société de 1789 expressed this fear and the identification of party politics (in the British and American sense) and treasonous conspiracy against the state or nation.

Creating a political faction behind the rhetoric of disengaged contemplation freed the Société de 1789 from the charge of treacherous conspiracy and permitted men, such as La Fayette, who feared factional politics to enter the conflict without publicly compromising their positions. However, the transparency of this manoeuvre, for supporters and critics alike thought that the Société de 1789 had been created as a political faction to counter the Jacobins, suggests that Condorcet and Sieyès may have been less than forthcoming in their elaborate justifications of the Société. Although the two philosophers, arguably the two most influential intellectuals of the period between 1789 and 1791, did desire clear, rationalistic discussion

of politics, they probably also saw the club as serving a role in opposing the Jacobins. This rhetorical positioning of the Société, however, was probably not merely a strategy for Condorcet and Sieyès, since they would collaborate again, as we have seen, in the effort to formulate and disseminate l'art social under far more dangerous and difficult circumstances in 1793. Their mixture of motives -- Enlightened contemplation of l'art social and opposition to the Jacobins -- suggests that the appeal of the club to moderates in the spring of 1790 was both practical and ideological. A faction or party that promoted the preservation of order and the application of rational precepts to the constitution and legislation pending before the National Assembly could be easily linked to the more abstract ideological considerations of l'art social. The fact that the activities of such a faction might include placing its members in positions of power or influence again does not contradict Enlightened considerations of policy. Indeed, placing reform-minded individuals into various ministries and Academies was a marked feature of the late Enlightenment, typified by Turgot's selections of assistants such as Du Pont as well as d'Alembert's efforts to have protégés like Condorcet and Suard named to the Academy. In the context of Revolutionary political rhetoric, however, such "interested" behavior could not be explicitly acknowledged, although it was widely understood by supporters and assailed by opponents. Thus, the pursuit of Condorcet's "rational politics" and the elaboration of l'art social were not,

in themselves, barriers to the creation of a political faction.

The actions of the Société de 1789 certainly suggest a political faction more than a philosophic circle. The most publicized and impressive activities of the club were not lectures, debates or useful works. Rather, it was lavish dinners and harangues by moderate political leaders. The first of these was in celebration of the opening of the club's lavish quarters in the Palais Royal.⁹¹ On May 15, the Moniteur carried a description of this reunion of 130 people held on May 12. The article announced the formation of the Société de 1789 -- so named to "consacrer l'année de la révolution en France" -- whose main goal was to develop, defend and propagate the principles of a free constitution and, in general, to lend its effort to the development of l'art social. The article lists thirteen toasts to appropriate causes, such as "A notre Révolution," "A la Nation, à la Loi et au Roi," and "Aux États-Unis de l'Amérique."⁹² Towards the end of dinner, the article continues,

une multitude de citoyens s'est assemblée sous les fenêtres du local de la Société; elle a demandé à voir M. le Maire et M. le Commandant-général, qui se sont présentés et ont remercié le public au milieu des applaudissemens. Une musique militaire, placée dans l'intérieur, à une des fenêtres, a exécuté différens morceaux qui ont ajouté à l'allégresse commune. 93

Earlier, the Société had taken a collection for the indigent of the city, which was given to the Mayor.

A similar, carefully staged "patriotic dinner," attended by more than 200 people, was held by the Société de 1789 on June 17, the occasion of the first anniversary of the creation of the

National Assembly. This event was not only covered in the Moniteur, but the Société de 1789 published a Récit Fidèle de ce qui s'est passé au grand dîner de la société de 1789, au palais royal and another account, with much the same contents, appeared in the Journal de la Société de 1789.⁹⁴ The extent of coverage suggests that these civic activities were deemed to be an important component of the club's mandate. The Récit Fidèle suggests, not without some self-congratulations, that

L'anniversaire de ce jour heureux [June 17, 1789] sera éternellement cher à tous les amis de la liberté. Les membres et associés du club de 1789, l'ont célébré d'une manière digne de ses fondateurs. 95

The main elements of this dinner were the same as the first: the unanimous patriotic toasts reflecting a general feeling of affection; the collection for the poor; the list of dignitaries such as Bailly, La Fayette and Sieyès; the enthusiastic crowd in the Palais Royal demanding to be shown revolutionary leaders at the windows; and the playing/singing of patriotic songs.⁹⁶ Also attending was General Pascal Paoli, "ce généreux martyr de la liberté qui avait été invité au nom de la Société,"⁹⁷ the Corsican patriot who had fled to England before the French annexation of the island and who would preside over the English occupation of Corsica in 1793. The highlight of the evening was a deputation from "les dames de la halle," who brought flowers and read a statement paying their respects to the assembled dignitaries. They gave Sieyès, the president of the National Assembly and father of the constitution, a crown of flowers and a bouquet. Mirabeau, Bailly, La Fayette, Chapellier, Talleyrand

and Paoli were all offered bouquets for their services to liberty. And the deputation concluded,

Jamais vos noms ne seront oubliés; nous les rappellerons à nos enfans, comme celui de leurs plus grands bienfaiteurs; il ne sortira jamais de notre mémoire, le souvenir agréable d'avoir vu réunir dans un même jour, dans un même lieu, à la société de 1789, tous les illustres membres de l'assemblée nationale, à qui nous devons une constitution que nous bénirons tous les jours de notre vie. 98

The careful orchestration and wide publicity that this event was given by the Société suggests that the club's leadership was anxious to prove not only the club's patriotism and public-mindedness, but also that it could attract a "popular" audience.

If the most visible element of the Société de 1789 was its dinners, its main activity of the club was talk. "Les discussions," the editors of the Journal de la Société de 1789 wrote, "les plus intéressants sur les différens objets de la constitution, ont lieu plusieurs fois la semaine dans les assemblées de la société."⁹⁹ The subjects of the discussions were sometimes published in advance. The Bibliothèque nationale has a copy of a single page document, presumably sent to Jean-Louis-Claude Emmercy, a member of the Société de 1789, describing the session to be held during the first week of December, 1790:¹⁰⁰

SOCIÉTÉ DE 1789

Séances des vendredi 3 et dimanche 5, lundi 6 et mercredi 8 décembre 1790.

1. Discussion sur le tarif des droits à percevoir à l'entrée et à la sortir (sic) du royaume.
2. Discussion sur l'organisation des milices nationales.
3. Discussion sur le droit de tester.

This document is interesting for several reasons. The Société met frequently, at least twice and probably four times a week. From another printed minutes, we know that the club met on Wednesday, September 29 and Friday, October 1, 1790.¹⁰¹ The discussions, as suggested by the topics for the first week in December, dealt with pending legislation and topics of current interest. The talk was almost always political. Frequently, the Société debated issues of direct legislative action, and even proposed discussions of potential legislation. For example, Charles de Villette, the writer who married Voltaire's niece and was editor of the Chronique de Paris, made the following proposal to the Société de 1789 on June 17:

au lieu de ces vive le Roi, qui ont si long-tems fatigué nos oreilles, sans entrer dans nos coeurs, on criât d'une voix unanime: LOUIS EMPEREUR! [...] Charlemagne fut proclamé Empereur des Français, et convoquoit la nation dans le Champs de Mars. Après mille ans, elle a repris sa gloire et ses droits. Louis XVI doit donc reprendre un titre d'honneur que les rois fainéans ont laissé passer chez nos voisins. Effaçons les noms de roi, de royaume, de sujets, qui ne s'uniront jamais bien avec le mot de liberté.¹⁰²

There is, unfortunately, no indication of how the constitutional monarchists of the Société reacted to Villette's proposal. Other proposals, rather less controversial, were frequently discussed at the Société's meetings. On June 20, 1790 Du Pont de Nemours, for instance, gave a major speech to the Société on the problem posed by the potential ratification of the pacte de famille, a constitutional and foreign policy issue of great importance and considerable complexity, prompted in part by the Nootka Sound engagement that threatened naval war with England. Thus, the

Société sponsored, as a main activity, discussions of current politics from two to four times a week.

More than that, however, the Société was an informal meeting place for constitutional monarchists and moderate revolutionaries. Although La Fayette claimed to have attended the Société de 1789 only five or six times, others seem to have attended quite frequently. Mazzei makes it clear, in his letters to Stanislaus, that he attended the Société de 1789 frequently, possibly every day, to catch the latest gossip and meet members he wished to see. The frequency of his visits is neatly indicated by his invitation to Count Jan Potocki, a Pole spending time in Paris, to join the Société as a foreign guest. He wrote Stanislaus,

I offered to ask for permission for him to attend as a foreign guest the meetings of the Société de 1789, for which he expressed great gratitude [...] yesterday morning I told him that permission had been fully granted and that he could go there any time of the day. 103

One could visit the Société at any time of the day, and presumably any day of the week. When news of a speech given by Stanislaus against the abolition of knighthood in Poland reached Paris, Mazzei reported, in a letter of July 29, 1791, that Cerisier "promised to contradict it because all of the persons he had seen that morning at the Société de '89 had jumped on him like so many wolves, saying that it could not be, etc."¹⁰⁴ Mazzei took other Poles to the Société so that they could be properly introduced to important and respectable Parisians. On February 7, 1791, Mazzei reported to Stanislaus that

Last night I took Count Morski to the Société de 1789, where I had him meet Abbé Sieyès [...] As for private homes, as yet he has shown no desire to be taken to any soirée except the Duchesse d'Enville's [...] Yesterday he called at the Marquis de Lafayette's where the Marquise de Condorcet happened to be. 105

No clear distinction can be drawn here between the Société de 1789 as a political group and its function as a social organization. Nicolas Chamfort, for example, continued to attend the Société de 1789 daily, even after he found its politics tiresome, to play chess and talk. Lescure comments,

Bientôt, Chamfort ne la regarda plus que comme un club d'échecs: il y faisait tous les jours plusieurs parties de ce jeu qu'il aimait beaucoup. Souvent distrait par la conversation, les mots qui lui échappaient choquaient quelques opinions, mais plaisaient à tous les esprits; et sa partie était presque toujours entourée de gens plus attentifs à ses distractions qu'à son jeu. 106

Mazzei and many others among the moderates of the Société de 1789, probably met there frequently, even daily, to read the latest journals, stay abreast of the news, exchange gossip, and socialize.

The Société de 1789 attempted to establish a firm presence in the city and the country. During the club's rapid expansion and popularity in June 1790, membership in the Société was something of a prize. Voting on new admissions to membership in the club became a personal and ideological test. This can be seen in Mazzei's report to Stanislaus:

Last night our Club voted on the admission of new members and rejected Prince Charles of Hesse for being closely connected with the small group of Démocrates whose principles sensible and discreet people cannot approve of. Previously an honest man sponsored by four persons of merit, of whom three were Grouvelle, Gallois, and Ferri, was rejected along with seven others because it was known that

at meetings in his district he had been more impetuous and fiery than reasonable. 107

The Italian does not tell us how many were accepted to the club that evening, but the members felt free to reject well regarded individuals of high rank for both ideological and personal reasons. Judging by the number of rejections, it is obvious that gaining new members was an important element of the club's activities in the months after it was founded. One quick method to increase membership of important persons was to attract members of the National Assembly. In its deliberations of May 28, 1790, the club decided to open its doors without charge to members of the National Assembly who were not residents of Paris as associate members. "En conséquence de cet arrêté," the minutes read, "plus de cent membres de l'Assemblée Nationale se sont déjà présentés, et ont été reçus comme associés."¹⁰⁸ The Société was also interested in establishing a network of associated clubs in France. On June 10, 1790, the general assembly of the Société de 1789 accepted the correspondence committee's proposal for the establishment of formal relations with other associated clubs, both in France and abroad. The regulations, part of which were published in "Extrait des registres des délibérations de la Société de 1789" in the Journal de la Société de 1789, specified that the directory of correspondence should stipulate that one of its first duties was to give all associate institutions,

tous les éclaircissemens qu'elles exigeroient, et de leur faire part des délibérations importantes prises par la Société de 1789, lorsque ces délibérations ne seront pas de

nature à être insérées dans son Journal. 109

The club would also send "écrits nouveaux et périodiques" to associated clubs. Few groups in France or abroad rushed to take advantage of this offer; however, on July 18, 1790, a deputation from the Société des amis de la constitution de Nantes requested that they be associated with the Société de 1789 because the Parisian club had adopted "les principes les plus sains, pensoit avec tant de raison," for such measure and moderation are the surest means of securing liberty.¹¹⁰ A month later, on August 13, the Société patriotique de la ville du Havre sent two of its members to request that the two clubs be united "par les liens d'une indissoluble fraternité."¹¹¹ But there were few applications for such affiliation. Indeed, after the initial interest in membership exhibited by many individuals and some groups, the membership of the Société de 1789 dwindled rapidly.

A number of factors might be cited to explain this failure of the Société to attract a solid following in Paris and the provinces. These include the effectiveness of the Jacobin opposition; the difficulty of adopting and defending conservative or moderate positions, which would plague all attempts to halt the Revolution; and the club's failure to act with the necessary energy and unity against its opponents. Mazzei identified this last cause as the most important. The Italian resigned from the governing committee of the Société de 1789 on September 27, 1790, although he remained a member through the next year, because he was dissatisfied with the progress of the club. He wrote a long

letter to Stanislaus explaining his motives for resigning from the club's executive and outlining, once again, the principles he felt motivated the club. Mazzei wrote had joined to promote the common good:

But when inactivity, lack of energy and even union render talents and uprightness itself useless, a man made the way I am needs to wash his hands of it. Mathieu de Montmorency pleaded with me to remain and tried to convince me that my resignation would reflect badly on the Society in the public mind. The Bishop of Autun said the same thing but added that I had a thousand reasons to be shocked by its unpardonable inertia. 112

On November 29, 1790, he again pointed out to Stanislaus that the talent and character of the members of the Société de 1789 were certainly impressive, "enough [...] if there had been courage to make use of them and union [...] to destroy forces much superior to those wicked extremists of the two parties could have mustered."¹¹³ Mazzei's stinging indictment was accurate. The leadership of the Société was split on both ideological and personal grounds. Although the club was committed to the preservation of the constitutional monarchy under Louis XVI and the ratification of such a constitution, many members were certainly not loyal to the Crown. Condorcet's ambiguous position concerning the monarchy in 1790 is a good case in point. In his most developed constitutional work, Essai sur la constitution et les fonctions des assemblées provinciales (1788), the King was given no noticeable role in the constitutional organization, and was, in fact, very rarely mentioned. Even when the philosophe does mention the monarch or sovereign in this treatise, it is always in purely passive role.¹¹⁴ Condorcet would write in

September 1792 that he had decried "the absurdity and dangers of royalty" since July of 1791, but he went on to assert that

It is [...] possible that a republican may desire to conserve provisionally a ruling race until treachery can be clearly seen, proven, and can readily provide its expulsion without any great upheaval. 115

Condorcet's adherence to the constitutional monarchy was, in 1790, questionable. He was willing to preserve the monarchy, but would have preferred, it would seem, a republic. Condorcet's ambivalence on a matter of such fundamental importance to the policies of the club he helped to create must be contrasted with the very strong pro-monarchical stances adopted by many other members of the Société. Bailly, La Rochefoucauld and La Fayette all remained staunch constitutional monarchists. Thus, the leaders and founders of the Société de 1789 did not seem to agree even on issues as vital as the role of the monarch in France, hardly a good basis for an effective political pressure group.

The ideological and political diversity of the Société de 1789 is also indicated by the fact that the club, which was widely seen as having split violently from the Jacobins and was attacked by members of that club, still shared a number of active members with the Jacobins. Indeed, Mazzei told Jan Potocki, who wished to attend the Jacobins rather than the Société de 1789 that "he could frequent both, since quite a few of our people [members of 1789] are regular members of both the one and the other."¹¹⁶ Mazzei certainly reflected the typical reaction of the conservative leaders of the Société when he branded the Jacobins "extreme enragés." That many of the members attended

both clubs suggests that the support of many more liberal members, like Jean-Paul Brissot, was marginal. On the other side, the club felt obliged to declare, in January, 1791, that membership in the Amis de la constitution monarchique was incompatible with membership in the Société de 1789. The statement prepared by Condorcet declared that the club had been created by the love of truth which could not be separated from the love of liberty. The club must, he continues,

regarder comme absolument incompatible avec ses vues, celles de toute association qui, méconnaissant les progrès possible des lumières et de la perfectibilité humaines et sociales, et se vouant à repousser toute espèce d'opinion vraie ou fausse qui ne serait pas exclusivement favorable à une forme particulière de la Constitution, annoncerait l'intention de protéger un des pouvoirs qui en font partie. 117

The Club Monarchique is one of those institutions; therefore "on ne peut être, à la fois, membre de ce Club et de la Société de 1789." Furthermore, admission to the Club monarchique was to be considered renunciation of membership in the Société de 1789. This rejection of the political right in early 1791 suggests that some of the leadership felt the club was becoming too reactionary. A number of members of the Société de 1789, such as the comte de Lablanche, had joined or would join the Club monarchique and a number of members of 1789 were also members of the conservative Club Valois in 1790, as will be shown in the next chapter. Other important members joined for purely political reasons. Pierre-Louis Roederer, for example, who was the président of the general meetings of the Société in August 1790, may have joined the club at the request of an ally in the

Assembly. Kenneth Margerison writes,

Roederer had joined the Société de 1789, but this seems to have been to please the Duc de La Rochefoucauld, one of his political allies in the assembly, rather than to implement the goals of social science. 118

One of the reasons that the Société de 1789 was ineffective as a political organization was its failure to unite enough members in a single, consistent political position. The leadership was apparently as badly divided as the membership, and it failed to create a consensus.

The Société was not only racked with internal ideological divisions and incompatibilities. The dominant personalities of the club, and the moderate patriots of 1790, also played a key role in the "unpardonable inertia" that so frustrated Mazzei. The antipathy between Mirabeau and La Fayette led to partial paralysis of the patriots during 1790.¹¹⁹ La Fayette, as we have seen, was not above using the Société de 1789 as a foil against the Jacobins. Mirabeau, too, wanted to organize a monarchical party and a ministry, under his own leadership, and saw the Société de 1789 as a possible means to that end. Without breaking with the Jacobins, Mirabeau became president of the Société de 1789 in July 1790, and, according to Chaussinand-Nogaret, believed that he could "sans doute compter sur le soutien du Club de 1789."¹²⁰ Mazzei reported to Stanislaus on August 27, 1790 that

it is [...] a fact that for more than four months now Mirabeau has not set foot in it [the Jacobins club] and that in his speeches in our Club, of which he is a member, he has always won deserved applause. His private life is a different matter. 121

Given their respective interest in the Société de 1789 as a potential forum for consolidating their power, it is not surprising that the failure of La Fayette and Mirabeau to reach an agreement in the spring of 1790 reduced the political effectiveness of the club. La Fayette did not trust Mirabeau while the latter thought the "hero of the two worlds" was a vain and weak individual. Their failure to compromise on a ministry is more deeply rooted than mere personal dislike, for the two men had rather distinct ideas of how political conflict should be resolved. Paul Bastid describes an extraordinary meeting that took place at the beginning of 1791 between Sieyès, Condorcet, La Fayette, and Mirabeau, certainly the most important members (or former members) of the Société de 1789. This meeting, Bastid remarks, came after months "remplis par des luttes de Mirabeau et de La Fayette." They agreed that the decree of November 7, 1789, which prohibited ministers from sitting in the National Assembly, should be repealed and that "la nomination des ministres dont cette petite société ferait le choix" should be brought about. Nothing came of the proposed arrangement, however, and Bastid concludes,

La vérité est que presque tous ces hommes essayaient de se tromper les uns les autres et n'étaient d'accord sur rien. 122

Even at this late date, the most powerful of the constitutional monarchists -- with the reservations that Condorcet and possibly Sieyès held towards the monarchy -- could not come to an agreement. A large portion of the political failure of the

Société de 1789 was due to the inability of Mirabeau and La Fayette, whom Bernier suggests were "the only two men who together might yet halt the government's disintegration"¹²³ in the fall of 1790, to agree on a plan of action and unite moderate revolutionaries.

The political conservatism of the Société de 1789 made it difficult to attract a mass audience and broad support. By design, the club was made up of men of money, position and influence. They were actively trying to "restore order" in a situation where political radicals and the lower classes were appropriating power to themselves. However, the authorities, and more particularly, certain ministers, created problems for moderates, since their actions and intentions were already suspect. In this context, Fillipo Mazzei wrote on September 17, 1790, to Stanislaus that the Société was heavily involved in defending the policies of the current ministry, a dangerous course which could alienate popular opinion:

The ruling principle of our Club is to defend as much as possible the conduct of the ministers and to damp down public wrath against the aristocrats because it seems to us that the party of the Enragés extremists and rascals is more to be feared. But we have to be extremely cautious lest we ruin ourselves in public opinion since the aristocrats still show their venom like rabid dogs, and M. de Saint-Priest and the Bishop of Bordeaux, who is the Minister of Justice, cannot hide their evil intentions, which often cause delays and puts obstacles in the way of affairs. 124

Exactly one month later, Mazzei again cites this passage to Stanislaus, and expresses his belief that the Société de 1789 has indeed struck a poor alliance with a ministry that is either stupid or treasonous. Mazzei feels that in any event the Société

de 1789 is caught in a shrinking middle position between the Enragés and those "idiots of aristocrats":

Our Club, besides lacking energy and activity, never was wary enough. The minister's conduct was no better and among the reasons for regret there is a very grave one against M. de la Luzerne who was unpardonably remiss in the Brest matter. Those idiots of aristocrats, for their part, miss no chance to show that they wish a counterrevolution and that they hope for it. Their pieces of imprudence are huge and numberless . . . It is nothing to wonder at, therefore, if the extreme Enragés are winning since all the others are conspiring in their favor. I cannot get over it... 125

Indeed, two months before he resigned from the leadership of the Société de 1789, Mazzei argued that the club was losing the battle for popularity in Paris because it was being increasingly identified with the right. The problem, he intimated to Stanislaus, was not that there was resistance to restoring order in Paris and the provinces, but that every effort to halt the Revolution was identified with counterrevolution by the left; and the right, by their counterrevolutionary sympathies, gave ample reason for fear. He wrote at length to Stanislaus on August 27, 1790,

The party of the truly enragés or rascals would have become powerless long since if the stupid, obstinant, and almost equally criminal behavior of the partisans of ancient abuses had not offered them ample opportunity to confuse their own rascalities with those of the aristocrats and, like them, impute them all to the rival party. About a month ago, having no doubt realized how weak they were, they tried all possible means and without any scruples, to win over the deputies in our Club. There was no lack of indirect threats. They tried and are still trying to have our Society pass for an aristocratic organization and a great number of its members for royalists or in the pay of the ministers. Their behavior was revealing more and more every day their weakness when their rival party came to their rescue. 126

This was, of course, the consistent complaint of many of the

centerist groups that formed during the Revolution. The defense of order, which the Société de 1789 did want to promote, as we shall see, was quickly used by the left to attack the club. Mazzei, a shrewd observer of events, saw that the suspected complicity of the Ministry in a potential reaction made the identification of the Société de 1789 with the right all the more persuasive and dangerous. But other than decrying the right for its shortsightedness and unproductive intransigence, there was little the Société de 1789 could do, in Mazzei's opinion, to preserve the center.

The Société de 1789 was, from the early summer of 1790, certainly the party of order. Mazzei frequently expressed his feelings that the maintenance of good order and peace was both urgently needed and difficult to obtain. For example, he wrote to Stanislaus on September 10, 1790 that

the pains taken by good citizens to maintain peace and order are inexpressible! They are as edifying as the intrigues of the two rival parties are detestable, each of them out to find what it wants in universal disorder. 127

The club itself stood for the maintenance of law and order. André Chenier published an essay entitled "Avis au Peuple François sur ses véritables ennemis" in the Journal de la Société de 1789 and as a separate pamphlet, in which he argued that the "heat" and passion created by the just and legitimate insurrection threatened to destroy the entire revolution. He writes:

après que tout ce qui étoit mal est détruit; lorsqu'il faut que les mains chargées des réformes poursuivent à la hâte leur ouvrage, il ne faut pas espérer qu'un peuple encore

chaud des émotions qu'il a reçues, et exalté par le succès, puisse demeurer tranquille, et attendre paisiblement le nouveau régime qu'on lui prépare. Tous pensent avoir acquis le droit, tous ont l'imprudente prétention d'y concourir autrement que par une docilité raisonnée. 128

All Frenchmen, Chenier continues, want to carry the flag, display their patriotism and have a say in the creation of the new regime. Agitation and demonstration can benefit the public good by exciting "une sorte d'émulation patriotique." But these agitations, if taken too far, can become the soil in which political hatred and factionalism can take root. If we see, Chenier says describing the symptoms of political factionalism,

les accusations graves, les imputations atroces se multiplier au hasard; si l'on voit sur-tout un faux esprit, de faux principes fermenter sourdement, et presque avec suite dans la plus nombreuse classe de citoyens; si l'on voit enfin aux mêmes instans, dans tous les coins de l'empire, des insurrections illégitimes, amenées de la même manière, fondées sur les mêmes méprises, soutenues par les mêmes sophismes; si l'on voit paroître souvent et en armes, et dans des occasions semblables, cette dernière classe du peuple, qui ne connoissant rien, n'ayant rien, ne prenant intérêt à rien, ne sait que se vendre à qui veut la payer, alors ces symptômes doivent paroître effrayans. 129

This kind of social upheaval, though Chenier does not distinguish between political and social unrest, poses a grave danger to the public good, because it weakens the nation in a pointless anarchy and renders the legislators less effective. Finally, with such disorder, it is more difficult to identify and isolate real public enemies. The unrest in France is based on false principles, but Chenier goes on to ascribe a social component to these false principles for the lower orders of society are not sufficiently educated or enlightened to reason properly or to deduce the true principles of the Revolution. He writes,

à qui la pauvreté et une vie toute employée aux travaux du corps, n'ont pas permis de perfectionner leur entendement par ces longues réflexions, par cet apprentissage de la raison, par cette éducation de l'esprit, qui seule enseigne aux hommes à rappeler à des principes certains et simples toutes les actions de la vie humaine. 130

According to Chenier, the solution is simply to educate the people about the true principles of the Revolution: "qu'il n'est de bonheur, de bien-être, de contentement sur la terre, sans amour de l'ordre et de la justice, sans obéissance aux loix, sans le respect pour les propriétés."¹³¹ His fear of social disorder and the threat to property is well rooted in the social ideology of the Enlightenment, since the philosophes never trusted the "people" to respect either reason or property.¹³² The Lockean imperative of property as a guarantor of political rationality and interest was certainly one of the informing principles in Chenier's essay. Clearly, order for Chenier and the Société de 1789 meant the preservation of existing social and economic distinctions, where property owners would continue to control the political institutions.

The concerns of the Société de 1789 were not, as suggested by Chenier's essay, purely abstract discussions of the threats to the Revolution. In the beginning of September, 1790, the Société took a strong and unpopular public stand concerning the repression of the mutiny by the garrison at Nancy against their officers by General Bouillé.¹³³ The club expressed its gratitude and congratulations to the department of the Meurthe, the municipality of Nancy, the national militia, and the troops of the line whose "fidélité courageuse a rétabli la paix et les loix

dans la ville de Nancy."¹³⁴ The first pages of the communiqué is a blistering attack on the mutineers and on all seditious groups who counsel attacks on legitimate powers. These implacable and perverse enemies of the people have completely destroyed legal power by defaming all public officials, and rendered the representatives in the National Assembly suspect by forcing them to employ "une rigueur nécessaire." Were the mutineers Frenchmen, since they broke the "pacte social" that binds the nation together? No, the Société declares, and the punishment of the "enfants paricides c'est le devoir sacré des vrais et fidèles enfants de la patrie."¹³⁵ The Société congratulated the victors at Nancy, by pointing out that they had not only done their duty, but also pointed the way to the continued preservation of the nation, suggesting that the Société approved of the use of force to crush all rebellions. The Société declared that habitual hostility to authority would result in anarchy and characterized the rebels as follows:

Accoutumés à ne voir le gouvernement que dans la force, et la force que dans la contrainte arbitraire, ils prédisent que les François ne sauroient plus être gouvernés. Si nous les en croyons, la puissance manquera sans cesse à la loi: les passions individuelles vont seules régner. L'administration périra, privée d'ensemble et d'unité; avec elle périront les travaux, les revenus, les richesses, les propriétés, la société entière. Ainsi, disent-ils s'évanouira, comme un songe philosophique, cette constitution jurée par toutes les bouches, et adoptée par tous les coeurs. 136

Thus, the restoration of order at Nancy was placed in the center of a broader struggle to halt what the members of the Société de 1789 saw as the threat of anarchy. Properly regulated by the

constitution and the law, power was no longer inextricably linked to arbitrary action as it had been under the ancien régime. Rather, the exercise of legitimate power opened up the possibility of illegitimate revolts, a process which the Société de 1789 felt was defined by the constitution. The club defended law and order by linking them to the process of drafting the constitution and to the individuals who were so engaged. Clearly, the Société de 1789 wanted to confine the Revolution to the gains that were then being drafted into the constitution, which would define the law and limits of the legitimate use of power. While the constitution was being drafted, the National Assembly was the sole possessor of legitimate authority.

The Société's defense of order, and particularly of the process of drafting the constitution, placed the club in an unpopular and contradictory position, which, as we have seen, was clearly observed by Mazzei. The opponents of the moderates in the Société de 1789 and in the National Assembly did not hesitate to attack the club for its stand on the Nancy Affair. Desmoulins, certainly no supporter of the club earlier in the summer, viciously attacked in the club for its congratulatory message to the municipality of Nancy in Révolutions de France et Brabant:

Elle vient d'envoyer à la municipalité de Nanci, une address commençant par ces mots: nous n'avons pu apprendre vos belles actions sans laisser éclatter les transports de notre reconnoissance et de notre admiration . En effet, on sait que le Club de 89 reçut avec des cris de joie la nouvelle du massacre de Nanci, de 3000 Français, qui supploient, ce sont les termes du procès verbal de Castella et de Vigier, d'entendre leurs propositions de soumission. 137

Desmoulins expressed outrage at being named one of the "ecrivains sanguinaires"¹³⁸ by the moderates of 1789, and declared that their support for the violent repression at Nancy revealed them as the "men of blood." He drove this point home to his readers by suggesting that the soldiers executed at Nancy had been hanged for not shooting patriots, like the readers of Révolutions:

Danserons-nous comme les modérés, les modérateurs de 89, autour de cette roue, de ces 28 potences, pour des soldats dont le véritable crime peut-être fut, aux yeux de leurs officiers, d'avoir dit les premiers, au Champs de Mars, qu'ils ne feroient point feu sur NOUS?" 139

The principal suspicion, however, was that the club was home for a number of former aristocrats and wealthy individuals.

Prudhomme declared in Révolutions de Paris that

les intrigans, les ambitieux d'argent ou de pouvoir se saisirent d'un Club de 1789, qui existait déjà obscurément, et y attirèrent plusieurs membres de celui des Jacobins, en leur persuadant qu'ils n'y avoient pas assez d'influence, ou que ce Club était vendu au parti d'Orléans. 140

Many young former seigneurs and men of letters who had pensions during the ancien régime, the article continues, have joined the Société de 1789: "Rien n'est plus simple: cette voie mènera à la fortune." Further, the Révolutions de Paris declared that the Société de 1789 was influenced by the Court and the ministers of Louis XVI. Calling the Club a "clapier ministériel," the journal goes on to declare "guerre éternelle aux vils esclaves de la Cour, aux ambitieux et aux faux patriotes!"¹⁴¹ Early on, the rumors in Paris were that the Société was secretly receiving money from one or more ministers in order to pay the rent on the Palais royal quarters and other expenses; these rumors certainly

hurt the reputation of the club, for it had proclaimed itself strictly independent of political factions.¹⁴² Robespierre argued that the aristocrats of the Société de 1789 speculated on the revolution in France rather than opting for the reaction at Coblenz. This, he suggested, was as dangerous as the external enemies, but more inscrutable and hard to detect. He writes,

Ce projet [to establish a Senate and open negotiations with the émigrés] étoit celui de ce qu'on appeloit la minorité de la noblesse presque'entière, qui auroit démenti toutes ses habitudes et toute son éducation, si elle n'avoit pas spéculé sur la révolution de la France, comme elle spéculoit sur les révolutions de la cour. C'étoit celui des nobles fondateurs du club de 1789; c'étoit celui de ces ci-devant nobles et de ces ci-devant patriotes, qui ont si long-temps édifié cette société même par les sublimes élans de leur patriotisme; celui de tous les hommes de cette caste, qui ont cru qu'il valoit mieux poursuivre la fortune en France, au sein des troubles et des intrigues, que de l'aller chercher à Coblenz. 124

The attacks from the left zeroed in on the Société's most vulnerable points: the elite composition of the club and the perception that it 'supported counter-revolutionary or conservative measures which would halt the extent of the Revolution.

After an initial burst of influence and enthusiasm, the Société de 1789 quickly deteriorated. The Chronique de Paris, a journal favorable to Condorcet and other moderates, reported on June 15, 1790 that:

La Société de 1789 devient chaque jour plus nombreuse et plus brillante: elle compte parmi ses membres beaucoup de députés à l'Assemblée nationale, d'hommes de lettres distingués, et de personnes qui ont donné, dans la Révolution, des preuves de patriotisme et de zèle. 144

We have seen that Mazzei reported the numbers of individuals who

wished to become members during the first months of the club's existence. By September or October 1790, however, the Société had certainly lost that momentum. Mazzei reported to Stanislaus, on October 14, 1790, that the Société was no longer a force to restrain the excesses of the Jacobins or the aristocrats:

The few wicked men leading the Jacobin Club and having followers throughout the kingdom, make the most of it by pretending to believe the aristocrats much stronger than they are. By dint of exaggerating and inventing hostile aims and plots of the aristocracy, ministers, and Court, they easily recruit many good people and increase prodigiously every day their strength at the expense of the Société de 1789. The friends of the public good, members of that Society, who had been so successful that they could hope that they would be able to curb the criminal excesses of both the aristocrats and the Jacobins, vexed by circumstances, and lacking the energy which for humanity's misfortune seems to belong exclusively to the wicked, have become so weak that I no longer see how they can keep in check the excesses of which to my mind are capable, nay guilty, both parties. 145

The ineffectiveness of the Société de 1789 was apparent to its members by the fall of 1790 is also suggested by the number of members who quit the club during that period, including Mirabeau, Thouret and La Chapelier. Early the next year, Condorcet and Sieyès also left the club, after suggesting to La Fayette that he too return to the Jacobins. By the fall of 1790, membership in the Société de 1789 had become a political liability forcing all of its leaders to abandon the club by the early months of 1791.

The leaders of the Société de 1789 were aware of the shortcomings of the club in the fall of 1790 and expressed many of the same frustrations as Mazzei. On December 4, 1790, L'Ami des patriotes carried a long discussion of the Société de 1789 which suggested that the club had missed many opportunities to

exercise more influence and which also gave a perceptive account on its failings to date. The significance of this "post-mortem" is that it appears in a journal edited by Adrien Duquesnoy, with the cooperation of François-Emmanuel Toulangeon, both of whom were members of 1789. Other individuals involved in L'Ami des patriotes who did not want to be mentioned probably included Sieyès, Dufresne de Saint-Léon, and Carpentier, again, all members of the club.¹⁴⁶ Thus, this unsigned article represents an analysis of the failure of 1789 by one or more of its most influential members. The author argued that the Société de 1789 had been well attended by deputies soon after its foundation, but that now it attracts very few members of the National Assembly to its discussions. This is true despite the great advantages that the Société had over all of the other clubs, including

une très-grande indépendance, une liberté illimitée d'opinion; chacun y pense à sa manière, & nul commande la pensée de son voisin. ¹⁴⁷

This freedom attracted many among "les hommes le plus éclairés" of the capital and foreign visitors to Paris, but the club became unpopular in spite of the fact that "elle compte parmi ses membres les hommes qui ont dicté le plus de décrets à l'assemblée." There are many reasons for the decline which can still, even at this late date, be remedied. The club publicly announced its establishment "pour lutter contres les aristocrates & les factieux" but has never attacked the right with nearly the vigor with which it has attacked the left. The author complains that

ils ont fait le décret sur la paix & la guerre; [...] ils ont formé l'opinion publique sur l'affaire de Nancy; mais à des intrigues actives & soutenues, ils n'ont ordinairement opposé que des plaintes des regrets. 148

Even more damaging is their failure to act with resolution. He suggests that they have never demonstrated any character in difficult circumstances. The club has little influence today and does not deserve any because

elle s'est constamment conduite avec foiblesse & gaucherie pour attaquer des ennemis qui ont de l'audace & de l'adresse [...] il faut qu'elle veuille avec fierté & fermeté pour produire de bons effets. 149

Further, the selection of members is too limited and the club admits too many individuals "connus par leurs principes peu populaires, & par leurs liaisons avec les ministres anciens."

They have selected wealthy men, in part because they needed to select those who could pay to maintain the club in its lavish surroundings. Even in these times of turmoil, he continues, the discussions avoid practical politics: nearly all the discussions "roulent sur des questions métaphysiques." Finally, the organization of the club itself is called into question:

Il est certain que la composition même de cette société est la cause principale pour la quelle on ne la fréquente pas. Il est difficile d'imaginer qu'on fondera jamais une société populaire, quand il faudra payer cinq louis pour y être admis, quand ses séances se tiendront dans un local très-bien décoré, quand on y gardera des formes de politesse à charge dans tous les temps & dans tous les lieux, mais surtout dans un temps de révolution, dans un club de révolution. 150

The old forms of sociability no longer fit in the new political culture, a point which the editor of L'Ami made again several months later. Commenting on the differences between the Jacobins

and 1789, he writes,

les jacobins font un parti; quelle que soit l'opinion qu'on doit concevoir de plusieurs membres de 1789, il est au moins certain que la société ne fait pas un parti, & que pourvu qu'on y professe l'amour de la liberté & le respect pour les lois, on y est bien venu. 151

It seems to have been lost on the editor that the very liberalism which made the Société attractive to the most enlightened men of Paris and the world may have had something to do with its failure as a political club.

The comments in L'Ami des patriotes suggest that some members of 1789 were aware of the club's most important failings. These ranged from the failure of the leadership properly to exploit the club's strengths to the suggestion that the old forms of political organisation were simply inadequate for the new realities of the Revolution. The suggestion that the club was still capable of being useful to the patriots' cause is probably more hopeful than realistic, given the stinging indictment of the failures of the Société de 1789 and the fact that the editors of L'Ami des patriotes had to establish their own journal to express the moderate patriot opinion that they accused the Société of failing to propagate. Observers like Camille Desmoulins, who believed that the success of many members of the Société de 1789 in the municipal and departmental administration was a sign of its influence, confirmed the sentiment expressed in L'Ami des patriotes that the club was finished. Révolutions de Paris declared in late November, 1790 that "les véritables patriotes sauront empêcher que le Club de 89 ne renaisse de ses

cendres."¹⁵²

Determining the exact date when the Société de 1789 dissolved is more difficult than would be expected. The last issue of the Journal de la Société de 1789 appeared on September 15, 1790, but the club maintained a steady stream of publications until January or February, 1791. Further, the Société was mentioned as a going concern during the spring of 1791 in the popular press. The Moniteur, for example, reported that the Société de 1789 had an identifiable presence at the funeral procession of Mirabeau.¹⁵³ Challemel suggests that,

La Société de 1789 disparut, en même temps que ses fondateurs perdirent leur popularité. Il fut, vers la fin de 1791, le noyau du Club des Feuillants. Tous les deux représentèrent le modérantisme; tous les deux luttèrent vainement contre les Jacobins, et succombèrent quand la Montagne l'emporta sur la Gironde, quand les membres de l'une et de l'autre réunion constitutionnelle passèrent à l'état de suspects. ¹⁵⁴

This assessment is, as we shall see in the next chapter, largely correct, since many of the members of the Société de 1789 subsequently joined the Feuillants after its members broke away from the Jacobins and established the rival institution in July 1791.

There is evidence, however, that the Société de 1789 maintained some level of activity through the summer of 1791 and possibly after that. Reporting to Stanislaus on the events of July 17, 1791, Mazzei writes of an incident that occurred just outside the club's quarters in the Palais Royal, indicating that he remained in the club for a while and that other members could still drop by in the evenings:

About 9:00, as soon as it was dark, in the Palais Royal garden was seen a corpse that scoundrels had brought from the Champs de Mars, hoping, no doubt, to excite the minds and bring about a great explosion. An officer who had been on duty all day long, on his way back from the Champ de Mars was crossing the garden to come up to rest at the Société de 1789, of which he is a member, when he saw the corpse. He notified the commanding officers of the patrols, one of which of about 100 men (so far as I could see from one of the windows of the Société) with rifles with fixed bayonet resting on an arm [...] making the rounds of the garden. 155

In late October, Mazzei suggests that the Société de 1789 was functioning in some capacity. Reporting to Stanislaus about one of the many rumors circulating in Paris at the time, he comments as follows:

The fact is that at the home of the Duchesse d'Enville, of M. Lafayette, of M. Bailly, at the Club of 1789 -- in short throughout Paris it was talked about as something sure and that everybody knew. 156

The remnant of the Société was probably sympathetic to the Feuillants after the massacre of the Champs de Mars. This is suggested in a letter from Bertrand de Moleville, Minister of the Marine, to Louis XVI, dated December 10, 1791. Moleville advises that it would seem prudent to halt the fermentation that is being occasioned by the petition of the Department of Paris, "renforcée, d'une part, par les signatures obtenues des membres du Club de 89 et de celui des Feuillants."¹⁵⁷ In all likelihood, the club closed its doors shortly after this. Two years later, the space occupied by the Société de 1789 continued to be used for meetings of some association whose activities were suspect. A report of disturbances in Paris submitted by one Roubaud, on September 19, 1793, to the local authorities gives the following information:

3. Un rassemblement suspect de gens de deux sexes existe au Palais-Egalité dans le local qu'occupait le Club de 89 ou de l'abbé Sieyès. 158

For later, more radical revolutionaries, even the rooms occupied by the Société de 1789 remained under suspicion.

The collapse of the club did not, however, end the guilt by association that many of its members subsequently faced at the hands of Jacobins. A denunciation brought against one Caillault (Cailliant, according to the membership list of the Société de 1789) in October, 1793 by the Comité révolutionnaire of the Guillaume-Tell section, accused him of being an "accapareur, signataire des petitions, membre du Club de 1789, n'étant muni d'aucune carte civique, enfin reconnu très mauvais citoyen."¹⁵⁹ Similarly, Théodore Jauge, a banker associated with Cottin, was stopped because he had "un revenu foncier de cent mille livres d'après sa déclaration." He was accused of all manner of crime, including being a "signataire de toutes les pétitions anticiviques, membre du Club de 1789, au ci-devant Palais Royal, et de celui des Feuillants."¹⁶⁰ This form of attack was also used by the Jacobins in print. For example, Collot-d'Herbois attacked Roederer in April, 1792, questioning his intentions because of his association with other counter-revolutionaries in the Société de 1789:

Quant au Club 89, oui, Roederer y a été; mais je n'y ai été, dit-il, que pour fuir le despotisme des Lameth; et, membre de 89, j'ai toujours opiné avec les jacobins. Il est bon de savoir que M. l'abbé Syeys (sic), que MM. Chapelier, Duquesnoy, La Fayette, que Mirabeau lui-même, ont allégué cette excuse de leur retraite des Jacobins. M. le procureur-général-syndic est donc un patriote de la trempe de MM. Chapelier, Duquesnoy, La Fayette? Le bon

Jacobin! 161

Attending the wrong club was a serious problem; indeed it was a fatal error in a number of instances. The Jacobins continued to attack the Société de 1789, even during the ascendancy of the Montagnards in Year II. In an article entitled "Quelques réflexions sur le Club des Jacobins et sur le Club 89," Pierre-François-Joseph Robert argued that it was enough to remember the decrees proposed by each club to understand the true motives behind each institution:

tous les décrets populaires ont été préparés chez les Jacobins, et les décrets royaux au Club de 89 [...] que les Jacobins ont [...] préparé la décision sur l'affaire du 6 octobre, et que le Club de 89 vouloit immoler les innocens accusés; que les Jacobins siègent modestement sur les bancs de bois à la lueur de trois mèches humides, et que messeigneurs du Club de 89 sont fièrement assis sur le velours, entourés de lambris dorés et éclairés par mille et une bougies. 162

The first group that split from the Jacobins did not fare well during the rest of the Revolution at the hands of the Montagnards. Membership in the club, like membership in the Feuillants, was more than enough cause for suspicion. The fact that the Société was also wealthy and ostentatious only increased its visibility for hostile critics who judged it by "popular" standards.

The political failure of the Société de 1789 was due to several factors. The elite of 1789 failed to organize the machinery of a political party and find ways to foster and mobilize mass support. Influenced by the belief that factions were inherently destructive and that rational, enlightened

discussion was a superior alternative to political rivalries, the club was organized more as an academy than as a political party. The rhetoric of the Société, which stressed its non-partisan nature, was partially a smoke screen to hide a real political agenda, but was also believed by many members who shared Condorcet's vision of a rational political system where clear discussion would lead to the rule of "common reason." These inconsistent aims and objectives were combined with the failure of a moderate monarchical party to establish itself in Paris and the provinces during 1790. The Société de 1789 was certainly a candidate to act as a vehicle for such a coalition and its failure was only one part of the failure of revolutionary moderates to halt the Revolution.

Notes

1. Condorcet, "A Monsieur ***, sur la Société de 1789" in Oeuvres, 10 vols., Edited by F. Arago and Condorcet-O'Connor (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1847), 10:70.
2. Philip Mazzei: Selected Writings and Correspondence, 3 vols., translated and edited by Marcherita Marchione, (Prato: Cassa di Risparmi e Depositi di Prato, 1983).
3. Mazzei's career is described in R.C. Garlick, Philip Mazzei, Friend of Jefferson: His Life and Letters (Baltimore, 1933).
4. Marquis de Ségur cited in Jean Egret, The French Prerevolution, 1787-1788, trans. by W. D. Camp (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), p. 87. The word "club" is an anglicism that first appeared in French in 1702. The ARTFL database isolates only one example of the word "club" in documents from 1500 to 1788 (698 documents), a reference by Rivarol in 1788 to the foundation of a literary society:
on a désiré de se rassembler tous les soirs autour d'un poêle qui inspire de si beaux vers, et le cabinet de M. l'abbé est devenue le club littéraire le plus brillant de la capitale: nous n'en exceptons pas les musées. [ARTFL: Rivarol, Petit Almanach Grands Hommes, in Oeuvres Complètes, 5 vols. (Paris, Collin, 1808) 5:64.]
Michel Péronnet, in his Les 50 mots clefs de la Révolution française (Paris: Privat, 1983) pp. 64-68, argues that the clubs found their origins in part in sociétés de pensée, as broadly defined by Augustin Cochin (p. 64). He gives the following definition of club during the Revolutionary period:
Ce mot d'origine anglaise est utilisé dès 1788-1789 pour désigner des sociétés se réunissant régulièrement pour discuter des affaires politiques du temps. L'adhésion d'un nouveau membre est subordonnée à l'approbation des autres membres. Chacun paie une cotisation pour permettre le bon fonctionnement matériel du club: location et entretien des salles de séances en particulier. (p. 64)
Further, he writes, the clubs during the Revolutionary period became somewhat more specialized because of their origins as meetings of deputies who discussed in advance the debates of the Assembly.
5. Egret, The French Prerevolution, p. 87.
6. Ran Halévi, Les loges maçonniques dans la France d'Ancien Régime. Aux origines de la sociabilité démocratique (Armand Colin: Paris, 1984), p. 11.

7. Ibid., p. 9.

8. Even in 1985, Michel Vovelle felt it necessary to declare, yet again, that there was no "conspiracy" at the root of the French Revolution before discussing Maurice Agulhon's work on the masonic lodges: "pour tout historien sérieux aujourd'hui, il reste établi que la Révolution n'est pas le fruit d'un complot maçonnique." [Michel Vovelle, La mentalité révolutionnaire. Société et mentalités sous la révolution française (Paris: Editions sociales, 1985), p. 145].

9. Halévi, Les loges maçonniques, p. 10.

10. Daniel Roche, "Académies et politique au siècle des lumières: les enjeux pratiques de l'immortalité" in K. M. Baker, ed., The Political Culture of the Old Regime (Oxford: Pergamon, 1987), pp. 332 and 338.

11. Michael Kennedy, The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution, the First Years, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton university Press, 1982), p. 281.

12. Condorcet, "A Monsieur **," p. 70. Elisabeth and Robert Badinter have found the first manuscript of this paper in the Condorcet Papers, Library of Congress, Washington DC, and suggest that it was composed in March 1790. See Badinter, Elisabeth and Robert Badinter, Condorcet: Un intellectuel en politique, (Paris, Fayard, 1988), p. 286 and note.

13. See Michael L. Kennedy, "The Foundation of the Jacobin Clubs and the Development of the Jacobin Club Network, 1789-1791" Journal of Modern History 51 (December, 1979): 701-2.

14. D. L. Wick, "A Conspiracy of Well Intentioned Men: The Society of Thirty and the French Revolution" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Davis, 1977).

15. Keith Baker, Condorcet: From Natural Philosophy to Social Mathematics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), p. 272. Baker suggests that this club was meeting at the house of the duc de La Rochefoucauld under the name of Les Impartiaux from January of 1790, serving as a form of "brain trust" for La Fayette. It would seem, however, that this was not the Club des Impartiaux [see Augustin Challamel, Les Clubs contre-Révolutionnaires. Cercles, comités, sociétés, salons, réunions, cafés, restaurants, et librairies, (Paris: Maison Quantin, 1895).], which was a royalist club under the influence of Clermont-Tonnerre, and meeting from January, 1790 at rue de la Michodière, 8. Some of the members of the Club des Impartiaux did move to the Société de 1789 on the failure of the first club. Given the efforts of forming the Société de 1789 in January, 1790 by Sieyès and Condorcet, it is unlikely that the Club des Impartiaux had

anything to do with the Société. La Rochefoucauld was one of the principal members and founders of the Société de 1789. The confusion between the groups may have been deliberately created by right wing elements. Mazzei writes that La Rochefoucauld was not involved at all with the Club des Impartiaux:

"I am also enclosing a letter from the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, which without violating the rules of the most scrupulous decency and discretion, sufficiently demonstrates the insidious plots of the aristocratic hydra. The Club of the Impartial (who are anything but impartial) will not thrive. They have been unmasked, and their trick of making journalists talk as though the Duke de la Rochefoucauld were the leader of their club will do them more harm than good."
[Philip Mazzei: Selected Writings, 2:286].

This suggests that the confusion of the formal club and the meetings at La Rochefoucauld's was deliberately caused.

16. Léon Cahen, Condorcet et la Révolution française, (Paris, 1904), p. 237.

17. Philip Mazzei: Selected Writings, 2: 315.

18. Ibid., p. 331.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid., p. 332.

21. Ibid., p. 332. The editor adds the note that the Congregatio de propaganda refers to the Congregatio de Propaganda Fidei, "an arm of the Papacy devoted to the propagation of the faith" (Ibid., p. 333).

22. Dénonciation a toutes les puissances de l'Europe, d'un plan de conjuration contre sa tranquillité générale. Par une association formée a Paris, sous le nom de club de la propagande (Au congrés des souverains, 1790). This attacks the Société for its pro-American position and reproduces a slightly annotated copy of the first 10 pages of the Ebauche d'un nouveau plan de Société patriotique, adopté par le Club de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, nd.) by the abbé Sieyès under the title Plan de la société prétendue patriotique, qui s'est formée à Paris, sous le nom de Club de la Propaganda as an appendix. The pamphlet is signed "Collationné sur un imprimé original. Ce 12 juin 1790. L.M." (p.24). No evidence for an earlier edition of this pamphlet has surfaced.

23. Cited in C. Perroud, "Quelques notes sur le Club de 1789" Revue française: Revue d'histoire contemporaine 39 (1900): 257. Perroud presents the argument that the only Monday, the 18th, that would fit reasonably is January, 1790.

24. Ibid., pp. 257-8.
25. Les Actes des Apôtres 34 (1790): 15.
26. Ibid., 83 (1790): 13.
27. Philip Mazzei: Selected Writings, 2:279-280.
28. Ibid., p. 274.
29. [Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès], Ebauche d'un nouveau plan de société patriotique, adopté par le Club de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, nd.).
30. Révolutions de France et Brabant 16 (1790): 139. This reference appears in an unfavorable article on Sieyès.
31. Murray Forsyth, Reason and Revolution: The Political Thought of the Abbé Sieyès (New York: Leicester University Press, 1987), makes only two references to the Société de 1789 and does not mention the Ebauche or the January notes in the following passage on the foundation of the Société:
on two occasions, after the outbreak of the Revolution, Sieyès attempted to place the discussion and dissemination of the "social art" on a more regular and systematic basis. The first was when he and Condorcet established the Société de 1789 in early 1790. As the Prospectus to the Journal of this club indicates very clearly, one of the objectives of the new body was to foster the impartial discussion of the "social art," the latter being defined very broadly as the overarching science that was directed towards maintaining and extending the felicity of nations. (p.28)
- Paul Bastid, Sieyès et sa pensée (Paris: Hachette, 1970) only comments that "Droz [Histoire du règne de Louis XVI] attribue son règlement à Sieyès lui-même" (p. 102) with no further comments on Sieyès' role in the establishment of the Société. Albéric NeTON Sieyès d'après des documents inédits (Paris: Perrin et Cie., 1900) places Sieyès in a purely passive role in attending the Société de 1789:
A cette époque, Sieyès fréquentait, très souvent, chez Condorcet avec Talleyrand, Mirabeau et Lafayette [...] Sieyès s'était, comme la plupart des constituants, affilié aux Jacobins, alors Amis de la Constitution. Il préférerait toutefois assister aux séances du Club de 1789, nouvellement fondé, rue de Richelieu, et où se rencontraient Bailly, Lafayette, Condorcet et l'élément modéré du parti national. (p.126)
32. Sieyès, Ebauche, p. 1.
33. Forsyth Reason and Revolution, pp. 22-31.

34. Cited in *Ibid.*, p. 23.

35. Journal d'instruction sociale. Par les citoyens Condorcet, Sieyès et Duhamel. Prospectus (Paris: De l'Imprimerie des Sourds-Muets, 1793): 5. This journal has been reprinted in a limited facsimilie edition by Editions d'histoire sociale EDHIS (Paris, 1981). Forsyth argues that:

This close co-operation between Sieyes and Condorcet should not incidently deceive one into thinking that the two men thought alike on the question of the study of society; Condorcet was by background a mathematician and was keen to apply mathematical calculation to the facts of society, whereas Sieyes' emphasis . . . was quite different. [Forsyth Reason and Revolution, p. 28]

36. Sieyès, Ebauche, pp. 4-5.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

38. The following discussion is taken from pp. 10-13 of the Ebauche.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

40. See Jack Censer's discussion of the early radical press and its relationship to the clubs forming in the sections, Prelude to Power: The Parisian Radical Press 1789-91 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976).

41. Sieyès, Ebauche, p. 7.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

47. Challamel, Les Clubs, p. 391. See, for example, Elisabeth and Robert Badinter, Condorcet, p. 286.

48. Règlements de la Société de 1789 et liste de ses membres, (Paris: l'Imprimerie Lejay, 1790). This is reprinted in Augustin Challamel, Les Clubs, pp. 391-414, with additional comments. The copy of the Règlements in the Bibliothèque nationale does not have any indication of the exact date of publication.

49. Philip Mazzei: Selected Writings, 2:332.

50. Challamel, Les Clubs, p. 413.
51. See note 12 above.
52. Condorcet, "A Monsieur ***, " p. 71.
53. Ibid.
54. Règlements de la Société de 1789, pp. 3-4.
55. Condorcet, "A Monsieur ***, " p. 71.
56. Ibid., p. 72.
57. Règlements de la Société de 1789, pp. 6, and 4-5.
58. Ibid., pp. 5 and 7.
59. Condorcet, "A Monsieur ***, " pp. 75-76.
60. Règlements de la Société de 1789, p. 6.
61. See Gary Kates, The Cercle Social, the Girondins, and the French Revolution (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), pp. 98-172.
62. Règlements de la Société de 1789, p. 10.
63. Ibid., p. 11.
64. Ibid., p. 17.
65. Philip Mazzei: Selected Writings, 2:332-333.
66. Règlements de la Société de 1789, p. 25.
67. Cited in C. Perroud, "Quelques notes sur le Club de 1789," p. 261.
68. Moniteur (24 May 1790), p. 444.
 The first text is Charles Casaux's, La Proposition n'est pas neuve, il ne s'agissait que la démontrer, (Paris: LeJay, 1789), which is a discussion of national finances. He compares the fiscal systems of England and France, and follows a strict Physiocrat line, arguing for a substantial increase in the wage rates of the lowest classes and elimination of all taxes save those on grain. The second is his Absurdité de l'impôt territorial et de plusieurs autres impôts, démontrée par l'exposition des effets ou réactions des différents espèces de taxe sur tous les prix, tant du travail que de ses produits, soit dans l'agriculture, soit dans l'industrie, (Paris: Baudouin, 1789), reprinted in 1790.

69. Aulard comments that Casaux was an "orateur écouté et applaudi au Club de 1789." [Les Orateurs de la Révolution: L'Assemblée constituante (Paris: Edouard Cornley, 1905) p. 164]. He published a number of pieces under the auspices of the Société de 1789.

70. Philip Mazzei: Selected Writings, 2:333.

71. Ibid.

72. The philosophes frequently courted, and were courted by, foreign notables. One only needs to recall the relationship between Voltaire and Fredrick of Prussia and Diderot's attempts to influence Catherine the Great of Russia to see the importance of royal patronage to the philosophes.

73. Roche, "Académies et politique," pp. 336. Roche points out that most reception speeches to the Academy varied little, stressing the Christianity of the King, his victory over heresy, his protection of letters, and so on.

74. Charles-Elie de Ferrières, Mémoires du marquis de Ferrières, avec un notice sur sa vie, des notes et des éclaircissemens historiques, 3 vols., eds. Berville and Barrière (Paris: Budouin Frères, 1821), 2:120.

75. Ibid., p. 123.

76. Ibid., pp. 123-4.

77. Mémoires, correspondance et manuscrits du Général LAFAYETTE publié par sa famille, 4 vols. (Paris: H. Fournier, 1838), 2:459. The date of this note is taken from Louis Gottschalk and Margaret Maddox, LaFayette in the French Revolution: From the October Days through the Federation (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), p. 317.

78. Ibid., 3:139.

79. Ibid., 4:14. The text is Notice sur la vie de Sieyès, (Paris: Maradan, Year III), p. 69.

80. Ibid., 4:155.

81. Louis-Philippe, Memoirs: 1773-1793, trans. John Hardman (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovitch, 1977), p. 197.

82. Mémoires, correspondance et manuscrits du Général LAFAYETTE, 3:159.

83. Ibid.

84. Ibid., 4:14.

85. Jean-Paul Marat, "Infernal projet des ennemis de la Révolution" in Charles Vellay, ed., Les Pamphlets de Marat (Paris: Charpentier et Fasquelle, 1911), p.197.

86. Philip Mazzei: Selected Writings, 2:414.

87. Marat, "Infernal projet," p. 197.

88. La Fayette, "ce traître à la patrie, qui voulait rendre le monarque dictateur absolu, et qui ne cesse de travailler à relever le despotisme;" Mirabeau, "ce vil scélérat, couvert de crimes et d'opprobre, pour qui rien n'est sacré, auprès de qui l'abbé Terray, Calonne, Loménie, seraient des modèles de vertu; ce lâche sardanapale qui épuiserait les trésors de la France, entière réduirait la nation à la mendicité, et finirait par mettre le royaume à l'encan, pour satisfaire ses sales voluptés;" La Rochefoucauld and Liancourt, "ces citoyens équivoques, ces lâches courtisans;" and Sieyès, "ce fourbe parvenu, qui a sacrifié la cause de la liberté aux caresses de la cour!" [Ibid., pp. 197-8].

89. Lynn Hunt, Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), p. 44.

90. Michel Péronnet, Les 50 mots, p. 210.

91. Challemeil describes the location: "un très bel appartement du Palais-Royal, au n. 108, au premier étage, au-dessus du Cirque. Il payait gros loyer, s'assemblait avec grand fracas, dans des salons étincelants, ayant balcons et jardins. Il cherchait à attirer la multitude au moyen de fleurs, de musique et de vins exquis. Un salon était spécial pour la lecture des papiers publics." (Challemeil, Les Clubs, p. 415).

92. Moniteur (May 15, 1790): 368.

93. Ibid.

94. Ibid., (June 22, 1790): 687-88; Récit Fidèle de ce qui s'est passé au grand dîner de la société de 1789, au palais royal, (Paris: Imprimerie de Devaux, 1790); Journal de la Société de 1789 4 (June 26, 1790): 34-40.

95. Récit Fidèle, p. 3.

96. Including an untitled, rather pedestrian effort sung to the tune of "des Dettes" with such memorable stanzas as:

Les traitres à la nation
 Craignent la fédération,
 C'est ce qui les désole;
 Mais aussi depuis plus d'un an
 La liberté poursuit son plan,
 C'est ce qui nous console.

Il arrive souvent qu'au bois
 On va deux pour revenir trois,
 Dit la chanson frivole;
 Trois ordres s'étoient assemblés
 Un sage abbé les a mêlés,
 C'est ce qui nous console.

Récit Fidèle, p. 7.

97. Journal de la Société de 1789 4 (June 26, 1790): 35. Given Paoli's negative feelings towards France, it is rather interesting that the Société would invite him to this celebration.

98. Récit Fidèle, pp. 6-7.

99. Journal de la Société de 1789 4 (June 26, 1790): 40.

100. Société de 1789, (n.p., n.d.) [BN copy Lb.40.2409]. This copy was probably sent to "Monsieur Emmery" since it has that name clearly written on the facing page, followed by several indecipherable words, one possibly a name.

101. Extrait des registres de la société de 1789 (n.p., 1790) [BN Lb40.843].

102. Motion De M. de Villette, au Club de 1789. Le 17 Juin 1790. (n.p., n.d.) [BN Lb40.829]. Villette also printed this text in the Chronique de Paris (June 24, 1790): 697-8.

103. Philip Mazzei: Selected Writings, 2:467.

104. Ibid., p. 608.

105. Ibid., p. 503.

106. M. de Lescure, "La vie et l'oeuvre de Chamfort," in Chamfort: Produits de la civilisation perfectionnée; Maximes et pensées [...] avec une notice [...], (Paris: Société du Mercure de France, n.d.), p. 371

107. Ibid., p. 366. The letter is dated June 14, 1790. The rejection of Prince Charles of Hesse is rather problematic, since one "Hesse, rue de Verneuil" was included in the membership list of the Société in April. If this is the same Hesse, the moderate members of the Société may have been voting him out of the club

rather than rejecting his admission.

108. Journal de la Société de 1789 3 (June 19, 1790): 34.
109. Ibid., p. 35.
110. Journal de la Société de 1789 8 (July 24, 1790): 28.
111. Journal de la Société de 1789 14 (September 4, 1790): 36.
112. Philip Mazzei: Selected Writings, 2:448.
113. Ibid., p. 469.
114. Condorcet, "Essai sur la constitution et les fonctions des assemblées provinciales" (1788) in Oeuvres, 8:129.
115. Letter to the Chronique de Paris, September 5, 1792. (Author's translation).
116. Philip Mazzei: Selected Writings, 2:467.
117. Moniteur 37 (Feb. 6, 1791): 307
118. Kenneth Margerison, "The Legacy of Social Science: Condorcet, Roederer and the Constitution of the Year VIII" in David Williams, ed., Condorcet Studies II (New York: Peter Lang, 1987), p. 15.
119. A helpful discussion of the politics of the Constituent period, see Norman Hampson, Prelude to Terror: The Constituent Assembly and the Failure of Consensus, (London: Blackwell, 1988), p. 111ff.
120. Guy Chaussinand-Nogaret, Mirabeau, (Paris: Seuil, 1982), p. 253. Camille Desmoulins commented on Mirabeau's well known flexibility that he could breakfast with the Jacobins, lunch at the Société de 1789 and dine with La Marck and the monarchists.
121. Philip Mazzei: Selected Writings, 2:415.
122. Bastid, Sieyès et sa pensée, p. 108. Bastid cites the agreement from La Fayette, which bears repeating here since it shows the "selflessness" of certain individuals:
 On convint unanimement que Condorcet devait accepter un ministère; Mirabeau dit que, pour sa part, il y renonçait et qu'en le déclarant à l'Assemblée son opinion aurait plus de poids. Sieyès déclara aussi qu'il ne voulait pas être ministre; mais d'après les instances de la société, il parut avoir moins d'objections à une place qu'on aurait créée sous le nom de ministère de la sanction. On indiqua plusieurs bons choix; et La Fayette, ayant parlé de Thouret, fut

vivement repoussé par Sieyès et Condorcet, qui haïssaient ce député. [Bastid continues] La Fayette prétend qu'on lui reprocha de manquer de chaleur à cet entretien. On trouve dans les papiers de Sieyès une autre liste dictée en sa présence par La Fayette, avec même une variante sur une feuille distincte. Sieyès n'y figure pas. (108).

123. Olivier Bernier, Lafayette: Hero of Two Worlds (New York: Dutton, 1983), p. 222.

124. Philip Mazzei: Selected Writings, 2:426-7.

125. Ibid., pp. 448-9.

126. Ibid., pp. 414-5.

127. Ibid., p. 421.

128. André Chenier, "Avis au Peuple François sur ses véritables ennemis" Journal de la Société de 1789, 13 (August 28, 1790): 1-2.

129. Ibid., pp. 4-5.

130. Ibid., p. 50.

131. Ibid.

132. See Harvey Payne, The Philosophes and the People, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976).

133. It was unpopular not only with the more radical elements in Paris, but even among the National Guards. Mazzei writes to Stanislaus, on September 10, that La Fayette was finding it difficult to garner support for a unanimous declaration of thanks to Bouillé by the National Guard:

The farrago of iniquitous and silly innuendoes, whereby every good move of his [La Fayette's] is maliciously construed, even by lovers of the common good, would seem incredible to anyone not present here. For several days now M. de Lafayette has been putting forth all his efforts to have the 60 Paris national Guard battalions agree to give thanks to M. de Bouillé and his fellow soldiers for the signal service rendered to the Country. The day before yesterday there were 43 willing to do their duty, but he wants unanimity and by dint of canvassing everywhere, of stoically enduring unpleasant incidents, and enlightening them, it is hoped he will have it (Philip Mazzei: Selected Writings, 2:421-2).

La Fayette was able to get the unanimous support, but the fact that there was so much opposition in the National Guard indicates the unpopularity of the motions of support for Bouillé.

134. "Extrait du procès-verbal des séances de la Société de 1789, du vendredi 3 Septembre 1790" Journal de la Société de 1789 15 (September 15, 1790): 1.
135. Ibid., p. 4.
136. Ibid., pp. 5-6.
137. Révolutions de France et Brabant, 43 (1790): 187.
138. Ibid., 41 (1790): 81.
139. Ibid., 43 (1790): 189.
140. Révolution de Paris vol. 5, (1790): 20. This appears in a five page denunciation of the club titled Le Club de 1789.
141. Ibid., p. 23.
142. L'Ami des patriotes 2 (Dec 4, 1790): 43 reports that the "misérable libelle, intitulé Compte rendu par M. Dubois de Crancé" charged that the ministers were paying for the expensive dinners the club held. Révolution de Paris, arguing that the club was founded as a plot by the ministry, argues that the rent of 24,000 livres would have required that all members pay for membership, "si la bourse ministérielle ne subvenoit avec des assignats aux frais de cet établissement." (vol. 5, p. 21). I have not been able to locate Compte rendu par M. Dubois de Crancé.
143. Robespierre, Discours, 9 vols. Edited by M. Bouloiseau, G. Lefebvre, A. Soboul, (Paris, P.U.F., 1950-1958), 5:54-55.
144. Chronique de Paris (June 15, 1790): 3.
145. Philip Mazzei: Selected Writings, 2:425.
146. It is possible that the article was written by Toulangeon, "qui lui [Duquesnoy] avait fourni deux Essais sur les clubs..." See Maurice Tourneux, Bibliographie de l'histoire de Paris pendant la Révolution française, 5 vols. (Paris 1894), 2:603.
147. L'Ami des patriotes 2 (December 4, 1790): 40-45.
148. Ibid., p. 45.
149. Ibid., p. 44.
150. Ibid., p. 41.
151. L'Ami des patriotes 20 (April 9, 1791): 98-99n

152. Révolutions de Paris, 54 (1790): 62.

153. The Moniteur described the funeral in some detail, giving the order of the procession: "les officiers municipaux de divers lieux circonvoisins, la Société des Amis de la Constitution, les ministres du roi, la Société de 1789, toutes les Sociétés fraternelles et tous les clubs patriotiques de Paris suivaient l'Assemblée nationale" (April 6, 1791, p. 42).

154. Challamel, Les Clubs, p. 442.

155. Philip Mazzei: Selected Writings, 2:602.

156. *Ibid.*, p. 661.

157. AN C185 no. 562.

158. AN F7 3688³.

159. AF*11 289, fol. 50. October 21, 1793.

160. AN F7 4749. He was executed in Year II.

161. Révolutions de Paris 145 (14-21 April, 1792).

162. Cited in Challamel, Les Clubs, p. 460.

Chapter Three

The Membership of the Société de 1789: Career paths of an elite.

...faire une dénonciation motivée
contre ce club de 1789, dont les
grands noms et les grands talents ne
m'en imposent pas.¹

The membership of the Société de 1789 was composed, for the most part, of wealthy and influential men -- Prudhomme's "grands noms et grands talents" -- reflecting the efforts of Condorcet and Sieyès to establish an Enlightened elite which could stabilize and consolidate the gains of 1789. The members were attracted to the club for a number of reasons. Many would have been attracted by the prospectus which stressed the original public motivations for establishing the club: the elaboration and dissemination of Enlightened social and political ideals. Thus, joining the club can to some extent be considered an act of support for such ideals. The practical political focus of the Société -- forming an opposition to the Jacobins, supporting moderate efforts to restore order -- was less explicitly mentioned by the founders of the club, but would also have proven attractive to many members. Most of the individuals who joined the club in the spring of 1790 probably did so because they believed that the club would provide a forum for the rational discussion of political matters and that the Société would be a force to restore order and halt the

Revolution which they thought had accomplished most of its objectives.

The membership of the Société de 1789 was drawn from ancien régime elites, including parlementaires, members of the Academies, intellectuals, financiers, soldiers, aristocrats, and bureaucrats. The intellectual goals and political moderation of the Société attracted members of many of the traditional elites. The clear identification of the Enlightenment with the Revolution made by members of the club, suggests that the late Enlightenment's transformation from a movement of political opposition to a force for reform in the institutions of the Monarchy (argued convincingly by scholars like Stricklen and Gillispie²) continued into the Revolution. As the Enlightenment became respectable and, beginning with Turgot's ministry, more politically active, the programs of reform gained more influence in many circles.

If the Enlightened political message, as expressed by the Société de 1789, attracted members of the ancien régime's elite groups in 1790, it is also equally striking that this moderate elite would continue to exercise influence for a long time. Many members of the Société de 1789 remained in positions of influence and prestige from 1790 to the end of their lives. Through the vicissitudes of the Revolution, the liberal elite that consciously supported moderation in 1790 and an Enlightened approach to politics would reappear time and again, in the Institute of France, the Legion of Honor, and various

legislatures and governments that would follow.

This chapter has three important goals. The first is to identify the membership of the Société de 1789; the second is to examine their pre-Revolution activities; and the third is to follow their careers through the Revolution. Before proceeding, however, several methodological issues need to be examined. Collective biography is both well known and widely used.³ Typically, the biographies of individuals linked by some common feature, such as membership in an institution or common social origins, are collected and analyzed for a number of patterns, including, for example, social mobility across one or more generations. There are two problems posed by the Société de 1789. The first is to determine the status of the membership in 1790: who they were and why they joined. The second is to follow their careers during the Revolution. The two steps require an accurate reconstruction of the membership of the club in 1790 and the collection of a database of individual biographies. Fortunately, the limited size of the club and the prominence of its members makes both tasks possible.

The membership list published by the club in May, 1790,⁴ contains 416 names (see Appendix Four). This is more than 200 members less than the 660 members that the club could enroll and that Mazzei suggests had joined by mid-June, 1790.⁵ Several members not found in the May, 1790 list, who probably joined the club after the publication of the Règlement, have been added only on strong evidence. For example, the poet Jean-Antoine Roucher

was added to the list on the strength of Challalmel's suggestion, and Adrien-Pierre-Barthelemy Cochelet, representative in the National Assembly, has been added because he signed a document as one of the secretaries of the Société.⁶ People associated with the club by other sources, particularly opposition newspapers, have not been included, since the charge of membership in the Société was one that could be politically damaging and would become grounds for arrest during the Terror. The Actes des Apôtres, for example, published a short list of members of the club, indicating who acted as treasurers and auxiliaires.⁷ Similarly, in early 1791, the Révolutions de France et Brabant implied that Regnaud de Saint-Jean d'Anglely was a member of 1789, when such a charge would prove politically damaging.⁸ Other cases are more difficult. The comte de Volney, for example, was named as a member of 1789 by Louis-Philippe.⁹ Given Volney's participation in the salon of Mme Helvétius and his later identification with the idéologues, it would not be surprising that he participated in some of the meetings of the Club. His name, however, has been excluded, in the absence of stronger evidence.

It is also largely impossible to determine the date of entry, and more importantly, the date of withdrawal of individual members. As we have seen, the date that Condorcet and Sieyès left the club to return to the Jacobins is well known.¹⁰ Brissot's name, for example, appears in the membership list, but it seems that he attended few sessions and never relinquished his

support for the Jacobins. Membership in the Société de 1789, as defined here, covers a broad range of involvement, from the most active long-term support such as that demonstrated by Mazzei and Cazaux, to the nominal participation of members such as Brissot. There is little evidence that allows us to measure the length and strength of membership in the Société. Later accounts, such as La Fayette's adamant denial of active participation, which we saw in the last chapter, are strongly colored by the danger of being associated with the club during the Terror and the fact that the club failed miserably in attaining its goals. The club did not publish the names of members who left and, in fact, this information may not have been known at all for there was no requirement for attendance at any function or meeting that would serve as an indicator to the club's executive as to who was an active member or who had withdrawn. By contrast, political rivals of the Société de 1789 did not hesitate to publish the names of important members who left the club. The Actes des Apôtres mixed the news of departing members with more personal attacks:

M. l'Evêque d'Autun, connu par la solidité de ses principes en matière de serment, de finance et de religion, quitte 1789: on dit pour le justifier qu'il commence à s'appercervoir que M. Nicolas (plus connu sous son ancien nom de Chamfort) avait abusé de sa confiance, en lui persuadant que M. l'abbé Siéyes avait beaucoup plus d'esprit que lui. 11

Membership in another club, including the Jacobins, did not mean automatic withdrawal from the Société, except in the case of the club Monarchique after January, 1791. Thus, there is little

evidence to allow us to determine, with reasonable certainty, the date when members left the club.

Further, there is no evidence covering a large number of members to allow us to determine the "seriousness" of the membership as found on the list. It is clear that some members, like Condorcet, Mazzei, and Cazaux, remained associated with the club long after membership had become a political liability. Unfortunately, there is no good way to assess how committed individual members were to the club. The subsequent careers of the members seem to be unrelated to their opinions about the club. For example, whereas Brissot withdrew early from the Société because of its conservative posture, the future regicide and member of the Committee of Public Safety, Bertrand Barère, retained a much better opinion of the club. Barère discussed the break between the Jacobins and the Société de 1789 at some length in his Mémoires, intimating that during 1790 he preferred 1789 to the Jacobins:

plusieurs députés ayant trouvé que ce club [the Jacobins] devenait trop nombreux, trop tumultueux [...] une partie de ses membres les plus distingués crurent devoir, non pas faire une scission, mais établir un autre club, partageant avec celui des Jacobins l'influence politique, pût diriger l'opinion par cet esprit d'opposition qui ne renverse pas, mais qui discute, qui n'incendie pas, mais qui éclaire. 12

Barère goes on to assert that the members shared "cette opinion sage et éclairée qui ne voulait de révolution que pour arriver à une constitution régulière" and that he regularly attended the Société, particularly to hear Mirabeau.¹³ Of course, Barère was known to be flexible in his opinions. He joined the club when it

was politically expedient and probably left the club when he saw that it was losing popularity rather than for ideological reasons. The membership of some individuals, such as Mirabeau, is particularly suspect. Desmoulins wrote an extensive report on the denunciation of Mirabeau at the Jacobins during the meeting on the 28th of February, 1791 by Duport and Lameth. During the proceedings, the charge of Mirabeau's shifting allegiance between the Jacobins and 1789 was brought up:

Les factieux sont ceux qui, venus d'abord aux jacobins, ont passé à 89, puis sont revenus aux jacobins sans avoir quitté 89. 14

Desmoulins reports Mirabeau's response to the charge in terms so scandalous that only Mirabeau could have pronounced the words; for in defending himself of the charge of political duplicity, he sullied Sieyès' reputation and threw doubt on the commitment of the founder of the club to his own institution.

Il y avait, disoit-il, dans ce discours, un reproche qui l'affectoit vivement, savoir, d'être transfuge des Jacobins, puis de 89. Il dit: il est vrai. Le despotisme de quelques membres de cette société m'en avait éloigné comme beaucoup d'autres. J'ai bougé les Jacobins, mais en leur rendant justice; car je pense d'eux comme l'abbé Syeyes qui disoit de 89, en pleine séance: "à l'exception de deux ou trois Jacobins que j'ai en horreur, j'aime tous les membres de cette société, et excepté une douzaine de membres que j'aime parmi vous, je vous méprise tous." Au bout de trois semaines de boudries, je voulois revenir au milieu de vous. 15

There is no doubt that Mirabeau's tenure with the Société de 1789 was short-lived. His comment regarding Sieyès' attitudes, although coming third-hand from a dubious source, does indicate the difficulties that arise when we try to measure the degree to which membership in the club was a serious statement of

principle. Membership in the Société de 1789, for our purposes, means clear identification with the club at any time during its existence for any length of time.

The membership list published by the club may have been an attempt to impress upon Paris and the nation that the Société de 1789 was attracting important and influential people in large numbers. But this interpretation of the list is problematic, since it does not include information that would further enhance the status of its members, such as indicating members of the National Assembly and other prestigious institutions or occupations. The list includes only the last name and an address for each member. Typical entries are as follows:

Dampiere, rue Sainte-Avoye, près la rue Saint-Anne,
Decretot, rue Neuve-des-Bons-Enfants, 7,
Dedrée, rue du Colombier, hôtel du Parc-Royal.

Spelling of the members' names and addresses is rather inaccurate, reflecting many orthographic and typographic problems. Names of even well-known people and families are frequently misspelled. For example, Mathieu Montmorency, as he signed as a secretary of the Société in August, 1790,¹⁸ is rendered "Mommorency" in the list. The spelling of names is also not consistent with other documents. The membership list includes "Daoust" and "Dandre," both of whom were members of the National Assembly as "D'Aoust" and "D'Andre." The contraction of names on the membership list, which occurs frequently, may have been a simple convenience, but might also reflect a quiet acknowledgement of the abolition of the nobility by dropping the

particle. In either event, the flexibility of signing names and the orthographic problems of spelling makes the identification of individuals less certain. Street addresses are also frequently problematic. Information found in the addresses can include the street name, building number, a hotel name, cross streets and other landmarks. There are also a number of conflicts between the addresses found in the membership list of the Société de 1789 and other lists from the same period, such as membership lists from other clubs, names of Parisian electors, yearly almanacs, and guides to Paris. Some of these inconsistencies are due to the transient nature of many of the members, who were deputies in the National Assembly from the provinces. Other changes may be due to changes in street names. For example, Jacques-Michel Canuel, homme de loi, is listed as living at Chaussée-d'Antin, 3, in the membership list and rue de Mirabeau, 3 in the list of Paris Electors in 1791. Thus, both the names and addresses found in the membership list can lead to problems in establishing clear identifications of individuals.

Identification of members of the National Assembly posed a particular problem owing to the substantial number of deputies in the club. They were not necessarily included in reference guides like the Almanach de Paris or the Almanach royal, which frequently include addresses which aid in positive identification, and many were not Parisians and moved frequently. We have based identification of members of the National Assembly on the assumption that the names must exactly match the spelling

in the list of deputies and that there was no other likely candidate by the same name. Exceptions have been made in a few cases where the weight of evidence from other sources was strong.

Some identifications remain problematic. There are, for example, four men by the name of "La Rochefoucauld" in the membership published by the club:

La Rochefoucauld, rue de Seine.
 La Rochefoucauld, rue de Varenne.
 La Rochefoucauld, rue de Varenne.
 La Rochefoucauld, rue de Cléry, hôtel de Chastulé.

The first is clearly La Rochefoucauld-d'Enville, the philanthropic patron of science, and the fourth was a member of the National Guard. The two giving "rue de Varenne" could be any one of a number of individuals. Similarly, the Lecouteulx clan, the well-connected banking and finance family, had four members in the Société, three of whom are clearly identifiable. Presumably the fourth -- Lecouteulx, Place Vendôme, 16 -- was also involved in banking or finance. Thus, even in cases of important families, there is the possibility of members of the Société falling through the cracks. Finally, a number of members simply do not appear in other sources. One "Martin" has no address and is obviously not traceable. "Lepousseur, hôtel royal, place du Palais royal" was not, as his address might have expected one to believe, a member of the National Assembly. Even in cases where a solid address is given, such as one "Méricourt, rue du Mail, 29," there seems to be no further information available.

The amount of data gathered on each individual varies

enormously. For some there is nothing at all, as in the case of "Martin." For others there is significant information, such as the several multi-volume biographies in the cases of Condorcet or Talleyrand. Solid information had been included in a membership database for over half of the names of the membership list. For example, the age of members in 1790 can be calculated for about 200 individuals, and this number excludes many members of the National Assembly, such as Nicolas Arnaud de Marsilly, whose occupation and honors are known, but not his birth year. Some information has been found on about two-thirds of the members.

A general profile of the members of the Société leads to several interesting conclusions. There were, of course, no female members of the club, in spite of Condorcet's eloquent plea for voting rights for women that appeared in the Journal de la Société de 1789. The average age of the 200 members for whom a reasonably solid birth year could be determined was 42 in 1790, ranging from 14 years of age to 74. Only ten members of the 420 members were drawn from the ranks of the First Estate, including Sieyès, Talleyrand, and Jean-Baptiste Dumouchel, rector of the Université de Paris. There were, of course, several Protestant clergymen, including Rabaut Saint-Etienne, but these must be classified as part of the Third Estate. Ninety members of the Société de 1789 were former nobles or, more correctly, former members of the Second Estate, in 1790. This number, however, is not as solid as it might appear, because it is not always easy to identify exactly who was an aristocrat and by what rights they

made that claim. There is, of course, no discussion regarding the status of Praslin, La Fayette, La Rochefoucauld, Lauzun (Biron) and other members of ancient families. Pierre-Louis Roederer is a more problematic case. In 1780, he purchased the office of conseiller of the parlement of Troyes and signed himself écuyer, but was elected for the Third Estate of Troyes to the Estates General. On the strength of his election and his being a first generation parlementaire, he is classified as a non-noble for this study. Given the upward momentum of the wealthy into the aristocracy and the ancien régime habit of using the possessive by those with no legitimate claims to it, Brissot de Warville being one famous example, the distinction between noble and non-noble is not always perfectly clear. Finally, 210 members of the Société de 1789 were members of the Third Estate, leaving 110 members unclassified. In all probability, the vast majority of the unclassified members also belonged to the Third Estate. But without any evidence to substantiate that suspicion on a case-by-case basis, they remain unclassified.

Not surprisingly, the political activity of the membership was very high. Nearly one-fifth (82) of the membership were deputies or alternates to the National Assembly. This figure is probably low, since it was only after the publication of the membership list that the Société offered free membership to deputies of the National Assembly. Representation in the Société was not evenly distributed among the Estates, for only two of the Société's deputies to the Estates General had been elected to

represent the First Estate, while 29 members represented the Nobility and 38 were from the Third Estate. Thus, the club drew more members from deputies of the Second Estate, as a percentage of deputies in the National Assembly, than from either the First Estate or the Third. The Société attracted a large proportion of liberal aristocrats in the National Assembly, along with an important contingent of deputies elected by the Third Estate. This suggests that the moderates in 1790 were attempting to continue the coalition between liberal aristocrats and influential members of the Third Estate that had been created by the patriotes before the Revolution.

The members of the Société de 1789 were also very active in Parisian municipal politics. Forty-nine members of the Société served as Electors in Paris between 1789 and 1791, and 12 of these were elected to the Estates General. Most electors were typically local notables who were active in politics and favorably viewed by the majority of active citizens (in 1790 and 1791) in their districts. Some Electors represented more than one section, as in the case of François-Jean Badouir, who was elector for the Thermes de Julien section in 1790 and the Tuilleries section in 1791. The political role of Electors changed over the course of the three elections in 1789 to 1791. Electors in 1789 served as electors to the Estates General, later forming a provisional government until the establishment of the Paris Commune in October 1790. After that, Electors represented the sections of Paris to an Electoral Assembly which was charged

with the selection of judges and other municipal officials. Our interest in the members of 1789 who were elected to the Electoral Assemblies is related to opinion in local districts concerning particular groups. The number of members of the Société de 1789 who served as Paris Electors increased during the period: 26 future members of the club were elected in 1789, 23 in 1790, and 39 in 1791. There was, at the same time, considerable turnover in the individuals in the club chosen to be Electors by the residents of Paris during the early Revolution. Only six members of the club -- Baudouin, Caffin, Chaudot, Dufresnoy, Garnier, and Thouin -- were elected for all three years. Thus, eighty-eight terms as Elector were filled by sixty members of the Société de 1789, suggesting that the role played by club members was due less to personal tenure than to the appeal of moderates to a number of districts in Paris.

The districts that chose Electors from individuals who belonged to the Société de 1789 were typically the wealthiest

Table One

Streets most frequently given as addresses by the members of the Société de 1789.

rue Saint Honoré	22
rue de Richelieu	18
rue Saint-Dominique	12
rue Vivienne	11
rue Sainte-Anne	10
rue de Grammont	10
rue de Bourbon	10
rue Croix-des-Petits Champs	10
place Vendôme	8

parts of Paris. This probably reflects the geographic distribution of the club's members in the city. The membership of 1789 seems to have been concentrated in the most fashionable parts of the city, many in the region around the Palais Royal. Table One shows the most frequent addresses given by members of the Société de 1789. Most of these streets are concentrated in the sections of Paris that Marcel Reinhard suggests were the most wealthy.¹⁷ The representation of Electors who were members of the Société de 1789 is somewhat more evenly distributed around the city, although the concentration remains within the wealthiest parts of the city. The number of members of the Société de 1789 elected in 1790 and 1791 reflects the period after the club had lost most of its influence, since the primary elections of 1790 took place in November and those of 1791 in mid-June. Table Two shows the number of Electors from each section who were members of the Société de 1789, ordered by total number of Electors over the two years. Half of the Electors from the Bibliothèque section in 1790 and 1791 were or had been members of the Société de 1789. Only one member of the Société de 1789, the actor Larive, was elected by one of the poorest sections of Paris, and four were elected from the second poorest sections. By contrast, twelve members were elected to represent the wealthiest sections and twelve from the second wealthiest sections. Thus, the Société de 1789 represented the wealthiest sections of Paris in the Electoral Assemblies in 1790 and 1791, reflecting to a degree the general composition of the club.

Table Two

Number of members of the Société de 1789 chosen as Electors of Paris in 1790 and 1791 by section. Rank indicates general economic status (1 is highest) of the section.

<u>Section</u>	<u>1790</u>	<u>1791</u>	<u>Rank</u>
Bibliothèque	7	8	1
Enfants Rouges	3	3	3
Place Vendôme	1	4	1
Thermes de Julien	3	1	3
Palais Royal	2	2	2
Jardin des Plantes	2	2	3
Champs Elysées	1	2	3
Halle au Blé	1	1	2
Fontaine de Grenelle	1	1	4
Grange Batelière	1	1	2
Postes	1	1	3
Tuileries	0	2	1
Fontaine Montmorency	0	2	2
de Roule	0	1	3
Théâtre français	1	0	2
Louis XV	1	0	1
Invalides	1	0	5
Roy de Sicilie	0	1	3
Louvre	0	1	3
Popincourt	0	1	4
Quatre Nations	0	1	4
Observatoire	0	1	2
Passy	0	1	na

Rank reflects proportion of eligible citizens in all active citizens, as formulated by Marcel Reinhard.

1=70%+ 2=60-69% 3=50-59% 4=40-49% 5=<39%

The influence of members of the Société de 1789 is also suggested by the fact that several were elected to positions of authority in the assembly of Paris Electors, even after the club was well past its period of growth. On November 20, 1790, the marine captain Kersaint, an elector from the Bibliothèque section and one of the editors of the Journal de la Société de 1789, was

elected président of the electoral assembly. In the following days, other members of 1789 were also selected by their peers in the electoral assembly to serve in important positions: Pastoret as secrétaire, and Brousse-Desfaucherets and Cerutti as assistant secrétaires. Charavay argues that Pastoret in particular "se trouvait donc tout désigné pour jouer un rôle prépondérant dans l'assemblée électorale."¹⁸

Given the fact that the number of Electors chosen from among the members of the Société de 1789 was higher in 1791 than in 1789, and that members continued to exercise influence within the electoral assembly, it appears that support for members of the club in Paris remained stable even after the failure of the club itself. The radicalization of politics in Paris does not seem to have adversely affected the members of the Société de 1789 during the early Revolution in maintaining the respect and trust of their neighbors, especially in the well-to-do sections of Paris.

This political activity spilled over into membership in clubs besides the Société de 1789. The conflict during 1790 for political power was waged more often than not through clubs which had been established to represent particular viewpoints and lobby for particular policies. Membership in other clubs is a useful indicator of the political makeup and directions of the membership of the Société de 1789. Although membership in a particular club is not a perfect indicator of the attitudes of an individual, club memberships were increasingly used, during the Revolution, as a litmus test of political attitudes. The choice

of clubs, a relatively insignificant act in the early days of the Revolution, became an issue as the Revolution progressed.

The political alignment of the other major clubs that were active during the period between 1789 and 1791 and whose membership lists are known is not perfectly clear. The Club de Valois, active from early 1789 to 1791, was one of the first clubs to meet in the Palais-Royal and seems to have enjoyed the protection of the duc d'Orléans. It was not, however, a strictly political club and was "le seul club peut-être où la similitude des opinions ne fût pas une condition rigoureuse d'admission."¹⁹ The political opinions of the members of this club are particularly difficult to determine, since the club had members from both the left and right during the early years of the Revolution. Challamel, however, argues that while the club "n'afficha pas des idées retrogrades" from its foundation, "au fond, l'opinion royaliste dominait." A large number of members (forty-two) of the club de Valois, he continues, "les plus remarquables, n'ont pas tardé à appartenir au Club monarchique" when the latter was founded in late 1790.²⁰ Membership in the Valois during the more radical phases of the Revolution was grounds for being considered a suspect. In 1790, the Club de Valois had many notable right-wing members, including many editors and writers of the journal Actes des Apôtres (such as Clermont-Tonnerre, Lally-Tollendal, Bergasse, Regnier, Ruhlières, Lauraguais, Langeron, Champcenetz, and Artaud);²¹ a number of individuals who would be important spokesmen for the right-wing of the National Assembly

such as the comte de Clermont-Tonnerre, Nicolas Bergasse, the comte de Serent, the marquis de Ferrière; and several known for their right-wing views, including the comte de Fersen and the comte de Duras. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that membership in the Club de Valois in 1790 -- the only year in which a membership list was published -- indicated a more or less pronounced tendency toward the right.

Less problematic are the political views of the Club Monarchique and the Feuillants, both of which were founded as political clubs dedicated to specific political goals without reservation. The Amis de la Constitution monarchique was founded in late 1790 to promote "des bons principes" and to establish communication between good citizens, that is, friends of order and liberty in the face of opinions dangerous to the legitimate authority of the King and the "constitution monarchique" then being finished by the National Assembly. The prospectus of the journal to be published by the club declared that the Constitution was based on two fundamental laws:

Le Gouvernement français est monarchique; qu'il n'y a pas en France d'autorité supérieure à la loi; que le Roi ne règne que par elle; que ce n'est qu'en vertu des lois qu'il peut exiger l'obéissance.

L'Assemblée nationale a reconnu et déclaré comme points fondamentaux de la monarchie, que la personne du Roi est inviolable et sacrée; que le trône est indivisible, et que la couronne est héréditaire dans la régnante, de mâle en mâle, par ordre de primogéniture, à l'exclusion absolue des femmes et de leur descendance. 22

The prospectus continued to attack those who were working to destroy the monarchy as well as the inflammatory writers who were their main instruments. Needless to say, the Club Monarchique

was attacked ferociously by the liberal press. The Société de 1789 joined in this attack on the new club and, under the influence of Condorcet, prohibited members of 1789 from also belonging to the Club. The composition and public discourse of the Club Monarchique represented a strong declaration of the support for the elements to the right of the middle ground that the Société de 1789 had been trying to hold.

The Feuillants, on the other hand, was seen by contemporaries as a continuation of the Société de 1789.²³ The club was established after the Flight to Varennes to promote the constitutional monarchy, which the National Assembly had spent the better part of two years defining and giving legal status. The Société des Amis de la Constitution séante aux Feuillants was formed out of the schism among the Jacobins over the status of the King after his evident treason, as well as the declaration of Martial Law and use of deadly force in the Massacre of the Champs de Mars. Like the Société de 1789, the Feuillants attracted a large number of prestigious names and important deputies as soon as it was organized. The first list of members, dated July 16-18, 1791, contained 365 names and declared that members of the National Assembly, founders and members of the Jacobins, had decided to hold their sessions in the Feuillants convent. By October, the club had grown to nearly 800 members and exercised significant influence in the Legislative Assembly.²⁴ The relationship of the Société de 1789 to the Feuillants is clear in its most general outlines. As we have seen in chapter two, while

the rump of 89 moved to the Feuillants, the Société de 1789 may have continued as an organization for some time after July 1791.²⁵ The degree of institutional linkage is unclear. Both clubs shared the main objective of establishing and preserving the constitutional monarchy in France. This proposition became more clearly identified with the right after the Flight to Varennes. Thus, members of 1789 who joined the Feuillants in the summer of 1791 remained consistent with objectives of a year or more earlier, but were choosing to continue to support an option increasingly identified with the right.

The membership of the Société de 1789 was unevenly split between clubs of a conservative bent and the Jacobins. Of the 420 members of the Société included in this study, 240 were members of at least one other club. Table Three shows the

Table Three
Number of members of the Société de 1789 belonging to other clubs in the 1789-1791 period, broken down by total memberships and cases where the membership was with only the other club.

<u>Names</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Only other club</u>
Feuillants	100	54
Jacobins	90	52
Valois	79	32
Société des Amis des Noirs	35	12
Monarchique	12	0

overall breakdown of club memberships. Roughly half of the members of another club belonged to only that club, as is the case with 54 percent of the members of the Feuillants and 58 percent of the Jacobins. Interlocking memberships were also frequent, suggesting that political divisions, while growing in

importance, were fluid during this period. This reflects the historical development of the political spectrum between 1789 and 1791, where members of the Jacobins would break away as the political crisis deepened in 1791. Thus, six members of the Société de 1789 also belonged to the Jacobins, Feuillants and Valois at one time or another. Twenty-three individuals were members of both the Feuillants and the Jacobins and 22 members of the Club Valois and the Feuillants. The conservative nature of the Société de 1789 is, however, clearly indicated by the significant number of members who belonged to one or more conservative clubs (without belonging to the Jacobins), compared to those members who belonged solely to the Jacobins. Table Four indicates the strongly conservative bent of the Société de 1789.

Table Four

Members of the Société de 1789 in conservative clubs in Paris, and who were not also members of the Jacobins.

Club	Number of memberships	Interlocking memberships
Valois	67	Valois -- Feuillants: 16
Feuillants	77	Valois -- Monarchique: 10
Monarchique	<u>11</u>	Feuillants -- Monarch: <u>2</u>
	155	28

Total of Société de 1789 members in conservative clubs, not members of the Jacobins: 127

The Société provided 155 members to the major conservative clubs formed in the early Revolutionary period who were not also members of the Jacobins. Thus, 127 members of the Société (taking interlocking memberships into account) belonged to one or

more of the conservative clubs in Paris without also belonging to the Jacobins. Only 56 members of the Société belonged only to the Jacobins with no affiliation to conservative clubs. The political clubs to which members of the Société de 1789 were affiliated indicates that the club consisted primarily of individuals supporting conservative policies in 1790 and 1791.

There is also an interesting link between the social status of individual members of the Société de 1789 and the other clubs they joined. Société de 1789 members who are classed among the Second Estate were more inclined to join the more conservative clubs than were members of the Third Estate. Nobles who became members of the Société de 1789 were, by most definitions, liberal aristocrats who acknowledged and often supported the Revolution of 1789 and the destruction of the old order, including the abolition of many of their "feudal" privileges. Given the liberal Prospectus of the club and the reputation of its founders, aristocrats who joined the club were expressing a certain degree of support for the revolution of 1789. A large number of them were concerned to restore order and preserve the monarchy. Table five shows the

Table Five

	Only Jacobin	All members of (excluding Jacobins)		
		Valois	Feuillants	Monarchique
Total:	56	67	77	11
1st	1	1	1	0
2nd	5	31	20	5
3rd	39	27	53	6

breakdown of memberships in other clubs by Estate. Only eleven percent of the members of the Société de 1789 from the Second Estate were members of the Jacobins but not conservative clubs. By contrast, fifty-two percent of the members of the Société who also belonged to the Valois were aristocrats; forty-six percent in the Club Monarchique and twenty-seven percent in the Feuillants. It would seem that the most conservative members of the Société de 1789 were its nobles. The members of the Second Estate avoided the Jacobins and tended to gravitate to the most conservative clubs, Valois and Monarchique, in far greater numbers than the non-nobles in the club.

The general tendencies, however, may be misleading, for members of conservative tending clubs like the Club de Valois could prove to be liberal on certain issues. A case in point is the interlocking membership of the Société des Amis des Noirs, a pre-Revolutionary antislavery club patterned after the London club of the same name, and Revolutionary clubs. Founded by Brissot, Clavière, Mirabeau, and others in 1788, Amis des Noirs attracted an impressive group of members drawn from the most prestigious families in Paris. Claude Perroud points out that the club included thirty-three nobles, eleven members of the courts, twenty-six financiers, bankers or bureaucrats, and several "femmes du monde."²⁶ The Amis des Noirs is a good example of the practical application -- or at least as practical as was possible during the ancien régime -- of Enlightenment social and political theory to contemporary issues. The call for

the abolition of slavery came directly from the Enlightenment presumption that all men were created equal, or more accurately, that there was a minimum level of equality found at the level of human nature that the institution of slavery violated. Perroud comments that

rien ne me touche autant de voir, dans cette aurore de 1789, les représentants des hautes classes répondre à l'appel d'un publiciste à demi obscur, comme l'était alors Brissot, pour faire disparaître la plus odieuse des inéquités sociales. Les plus belles pages de Montesquieu contre l'esclavage [...] avaient, depuis quarante ans, été lues et méditées par tous les Français lettrés et réfléchis. 27

A significant proportion, thirty-five of the 141²⁸ known members of the Société des Amis des Noirs, joined the Société de 1789 in 1790. The majority of these individuals belonged to other conservative clubs during the early Revolutionary period: fifteen were members of the Club Valois and four joined the Feuillants compared to just six members in the Jacobins. Although this may be a result of the restrictive admittance of the Valois and the Société des Amis des Noirs, it does suggest that the move from support of a pre-Revolutionary reform, inspired to a large degree by Enlightenment ideology, to a moderate and conservative stance during the Revolution was compartmentalized. Reform in certain "safe" areas, such as freeing slaves, was not incompatible with a more conservative view of politics at home. Thus, even conservative members of the Société de 1789, defined in this case by membership in the Club Valois, could support progressive measures before and during the Revolution.

It is interesting to examine the occupations of the members

as they show representation of the Parisian economic and political elite. The occupational breakdown for this study was determined by assessing the primary economic activity of each individual from a wide array of sources. In many cases, the occupation of an individual member is fairly evident from the source. Addresses in the membership list are frequently useful, as in the case of Villard, rue d'Amboise, hôtel de la Compagnie d'Assurance or Bergerot, hôtel des fermes. Other useful sources for occupations include registers of the Estates General, the Almanach royal, lists of Electors, the Almanach de Paris, membership lists of other clubs, and a number of secondary sources such as dictionaries of biography and, in the case of financiers, Bouchary's monumental studies of French financial institutions at the end of the 18th century.²⁹ Although it is possible to get a sense of what many of the members of the Société de 1789 did, it is far more difficult to establish an exact title or classification. Further, the well-known confusion of public and private financial activity at the end of the ancien régime makes any distinct classification of individuals involved in government financing more difficult.³⁰ The diversity of sources and the difficulty of clear classifications suggest that the occupational breakdowns of the members of the Société de 1789 must be treated with more than the usual caution.

As in the Estates General, liberal professions and office-holders predominate in the socio-occupational composition of the Société de 1789.³¹ There were few manufacturers or owners of

manufacturing concerns, and few businessmen in the club. Unlike the National Assembly, however, it is financiers and bankers who are the largest group by far, as suggested by Table Six. Forty-four can be classified very broadly as bankers, representing some of the most important banking and exchange houses in the capital,

Table Six

Occupations of the members of the
Société de 1789

44 bankers	7 financier
30 lawyers	7 tax farmer
22 Other (see note 32)	7 conseiller
21 writer/hommes de lettres	5 minister/abbé
13 military	4 regisseur
11 business	3 commissaire
11 math/science	3 economist
10 doctor	2 payeur des rentes
	2 notary
	2 assesseur

including the Vandenyver, Walckiers, Thellusson, Ravel, Mallet, Lessert, Lecouteulx, Grand, Cottin, Boyd and Ker, and Berard. By contrast, the Third Estate of the Constituent Assembly, according to Cobban, included only one banker and one négociant "described as a banker."³³ There are several possible reasons for the dominance of financiers and bankers in this breakdown. First, the Société drew a large proportion of its members, except for the deputies of the National Assembly, from Paris, which was the financial center of the nation. Further, since many of the financiers and bankers had significant amounts of money invested in government securities and paper, they would have seen the rise to power of a moderate and fiscally conservative group as being

an important protection of their interests. As we shall see, many of the financiers were Genevan and Dutch exiles who had supported the popular parties in their respective nations and continued to support moderate liberal policies in France. Part of the domination of financiers and bankers, however, may be illusory, attributable to sources rather than actual numbers. Bankers and financiers who had fixed addresses in Paris and were listed in the Almanach royal because of their relations with the government, may be much more likely to be traceable than other individuals in the Société. Thus, while bankers and financiers were clearly an important part of the Société, their presence in the club may be overstated as a percentage of the identifiable membership.

The presence of a large number of bankers did not go unnoticed by contemporary observers. Desmoulins suggested that the fiscal policies supported by many of the members of the Société de 1789 were an attempt to profit from the Revolution. Club members opposed issuing small assignats, Camille argued, because they wanted to profit from the nationalized property of the clergy:

Il est écrit sur la porte de 89, que les petits poissons seront toujours mangés par les gros, et que les avantages, ainsi que l'autorité du gouvernement, doivent aller de bas en haut. C'est pourquoi 89 ne veut pas entendre parler des petits assignats. De quel droit, dit Dupont, l'ami du peuple, de quel droit des hommes qui ne sont pas citoyens actifs, veulent-ils jouir d'un papier national, profiter de la vente des biens du clergé, et avoir aussi leurs assignats? 34

Underlying this, however, is the further charge that many of the

members of the Société de 1789 were actively promoting the establishment of a bank from which they would profit.

On doute que les meillieurs raisons du monde fassent passer les petits assignats, parce que 89 n'en veut point, et Brissot, nous révèle pourquoi 89 ne veut point des petits assignats. C'est que M. Beaumetz, Chapelier, l'évêque d'Autun etc, etc, sont intéressés dans cette caisse patriotique qui depuis quelques jours inonde le public de son prospectus. 35

In fact, the charge that many members of 1789 had direct financial interest in the operation of a national bank was not so very far from the truth, for many of the club's members stood to benefit from Necker's original plan to establish the Caisse d'Escompte as a national bank in Paris. The conversion of the Caisse d'Escompte to a kind of national bank would have guaranteed the profits of stockholders and administrators, a number of whom became members of the Société de 1789. A case in point is Jean-Jacques Lecouteulx du Molay (b.1740) who was "l'un des principaux banquiers de Paris"³⁶ and had been an administrator of the Caisse d'Escompte from 1778. Similarly, Jean-Baptiste Vandenyer was on the administrative council of the Caisse from 1789 to 1792, and his oldest son had been involved from 1778. Jean Cottin's name also appears as an administrator of the bank from 1781 to 1785 and 1788 to 1790. Etienne Clavière made a considerable fortune on speculations on the Caisse d'Escompte before the Revolution, abandoning financial speculation to his brother in 1789 for a political career. Aimé-Gabriel Fulchiron (b.1752), another Parisian banker, was listed as an administrator of the Caisse d'Escompte in the early 1790s.

When the Necker proposal reached the National Assembly in November, 1789 for debate, it was defended by Dupont de Nemours, Lecouteulx de Canteleu, Duclos-Dufresnoy, and Lavoisier, all future members of the Société de 1789. DuPont argued particularly forcefully for the Necker proposal, an inherently conservative proposition because it restricted the ability of the government to create its own credit, suggesting that the "law of competition" would be best observed by having the government choose as "a public bank the company making the best offer."³⁷ Given the instability of contemporary fiscal arrangements, it is not surprising that a number of papers read to the Société de 1789 concerned the organization of state finances. This intense interest in the financial affairs of the government was due, in large part, to the direct interest which many of the members had in the details of the organization of the nation's fiscal affairs. Indeed, there may have been a concerted effort by a number of bankers and financiers to influence the most important members of the Société de 1789 to support measures in which they had direct financial interest.

A surprising number of foreigners were members of the club, possibly because of its cosmopolitan emphasis. Indeed, Mazzei, one of our main informants on the club's activities, was an Italo-American in the pay of the Polish king. William Short, the American secretary to Jefferson and the Genevan envoy, Tronchin, both joined the club. Other members, such as the Italian Joseph Cerutti, had become French citizens years earlier.

The majority of the foreigners, however, were bankers. Walter Boyd and his partner, Ker, were Englishmen, and Bost and Scherer were German bankers. One counts no less than twelve Swiss bankers, including Clavière, Bidermann and the Mallets, as well as half a dozen Dutch bankers. Many of the Swiss and Dutch bankers in the Société de 1789 were refugees from the political upheavals in their homelands during the 1780s. Balthazar-Elie Abbema, a Dutch banker and "Patriot of 1787," arrived in Paris in 1788 after the Prussians, under the Duke of Brunswick, had occupied the country and restored the House of Orange. Edourd de Walckiers also came to Paris to escape from political conflict. S.R. Cope comments that

In 1789, imbued with the spirit of the time, Walakiers saw himself as the Lafayette of the Netherlands, and took a leading role in the popular and democratic insurrection of de Vonck. He soon clashed with the clerical and reactionary elements in the movement, and in March 1790 . . . he took refuge in France. 38

The better-known Swiss financier, Etienne Clavière, had been expelled from Geneva after leading the popular party in 1782, arriving in Paris in the middle of that decade. The connections between these various families and firms were established well before the Revolution. Jean-Louis Grenus was a Genevan who married Pauline Elisabeth Scharf, a relative of Issac Mallet, founder of the Banque Mallet frères et Cie, and settled in Lyon. Bouchary writes

Nous trouvons [...] dans cette ville, dès 1777, la maison Philippe Gaillard, Grenus et Cie, en relation avec Etienne Clavière et qui, quelques années plus tard, est en compte avec Delessert et Cie et Greffulhe, Montz et Cie de Paris. 39

There is no trace of Grenus in Paris until 1787, when he is chosen administrator by the stockholders in the Compagnie d'Assurance contre les incendies. In Paris, Grenus is in contact with the more influential banking houses of the time: Boyd, Ker et Cie, Vandenyver, Rougemont, Pomeret, Razuret, Tourton et Ravel, Fulchiron, Grivel et Cie. Abbema, Tassin et fils, and Delessert, most of whom were members of the Société de 1789. Bouchary concludes,

La maison Grenus, est, on le voit, une grande banque européenne, et les opérations qu'elle traite portent sur des sommes considérables pour l'époque. 40

Other foreigners, such as the family of Jean-Baptiste Vandenyver, also financiers, had settled in Paris years before the Revolution. It is safe to say that many foreigners of liberal persuasion, particularly financiers from Holland, Belgium and Geneva who were involved in popular politics and may have had business or personal connections in Paris, joined the Société de 1789.

The membership of 1789 was drawn from several distinct pre-Revolutionary groups: royal administrators, parlementaires, financiers, intellectuals (frequently members of certain academies), and nobles serving in the military. The most striking feature is that a large number of the members were dependent on the government before the Revolution for their livelihoods and status. Contemporary commentators were conscious that many of the important members of the club had been influential in the government before the Revolution, although

this fact was not always seen in a positive light. Prudhomme, for example, summarized Du Pont's pre-Revolutionary career, as part of a blistering attack on the "ministeriels" found in the Société de 1789, in single comment:

Dupont, vrai balai d'anti-chambre sous Turgot comme sous Brienne, sous Calonne comme sous Necker, et de plus membre du club de 1789. 41

And he repeated the charge, a month or so later:

Le sieur Dupont, député de Nemours, le Dupont du club ministériel de 1789, celui qui, comme on l'a dit, a circulé avec le porte-feuille de contrôleur-général en contrôleur-général. 42

Further, Prudhomme argued that the club contained many "jeunes ci-devant seigneurs et nos gens de lettres à pension sous l'ancien régime"⁴³ who were there to improve their fortunes by supporting the Court against liberty.

There seems to have been enough truth to Prudhomme's charges to make them stick. We have already seen that a large proportion of the members of the Société de 1789 were ci-devant seigneurs and that many of them were certainly wealthy and influential men. With certain important exceptions, such as Brissot and Sieyès, most of the members of 89 had been well established under the ancien régime. Indeed, the case of DuPont, used by Prudhomme, was not unique among members of the Société de 1789. Charles-Pierre-Paul Savalette de Langes (1746-1797), for example, came from a family that was at the centre of royal financial administration. A conseiller to the parlement de Paris (1766-1771), he became the assistant to his father who was Garde du Trésor royal from 1774 to 1785. He took his father's place in

1785, and advanced to the position of administrator of the Trésor royal in 1788. He was commissaire de la Trésorerie nationale without interruption from its creation in 1791 to his death in 1797. Similarly, Louis-César-Alexandre Dufresne de Saint-Léon (1751-1836) worked for Savalette in the 1770s and 80s. He wrote a number of essays on the problem of public finances which were noticed by Necker, who brought Saint-Léon into the Department of Finances when the chief minister returned to power in 1788.⁴⁴ Thus, the charge by Prudhomme and others of a cozy relationship between ministers and members of the Société de 1789 was, like most good political invective, accurate enough to be effective, although this does not, by itself, suggest that the club was formed or financed by the ministry. It does suggest, however, that many of the members of 1789 were already accustomed to dealing with government and to working within an administration before the Revolution began.

Royal administrators in the Société de 1789 ranged from the most influential to individuals who occupied minor posts and were, like the ministers they served, subject to periodic dislocations in their careers. DuPont de Nemours' career, for example, in the Royal bureaucracy began under Turgot as inspector general of commerce, and he kept his position by finding new protectors years after Turgot's dismissal. DuPont was brought into the government because of his writings on economics, which had attracted the attention of Quesnay and Turgot. More typically, future members of 1789 entered into the government

through family connections, as was the case for Savalette de Langes, who "inherited" his position from his father. Antoine-Léon-Anne Amelot de Chaillou (1760-1824) also came from an important family involved in the parlements and the royal bureaucracy since the time of François I; he began his career in the administration as maître des requêtes; and moved in 1783 to serve as intendant of Burgundy until 1789, when he was assigned to the caisse extraordinaire. Personal connections were also important in gaining access to positions in the royal bureaucracy. Bertrand Dufresne (1736-1801) was placed in the banque de la Cour by de Laborde, beginning a long career in government finance helped extensively by Necker. He was charged by Necker in 1777 with the reorganization of the Recette générale, and he also held several other positions under the Genevan, including premier commis at the Trésor. Out of favor after Necker's retirement, Dufresne served as the receiver in Rouen and, in 1784, as intendent of the fonds de la Marine et des Colonies. He was named intendant of the Trésor royal by Necker on the latter's return in 1788 and became director general of the Trésor public in 1790.

It is also clear that royal administrators continued their careers into the earlier phases of the Revolution without significant disruption. Amelot, the Dufresnes (not related as far as we have been able to determine), and Savalette all continued in their positions. Nicolas-François Mollien (1758-1850) was an economist, financier and administrator in the royal

government who held several posts before the Revolution: commis à l'administration de la Ferme générale and premier commis of the same in 1784. He was allied with La Rochefoucauld and attended many of the liberal salons of the last years of the ancien régime, particularly that of madame de Durfort. In 1791, he accepted the position of directeur des domaines et de l'enregistrement for the Eure, and continued a career in finance and administration through the Revolution and Restoration. Similarly, Daniel Etienne Rouillé (1730-1811) was a secretary to the King (1765), treasurer of the police of Paris, treasurer general of dépenses diverses (1780-1788), and one of the commissioners of the Treasury in from 1791 to 1793. Several other members of the Société de 1789, such as Antonin-Pierre Piscatory, René-Augustin Marignier and his son Augustin-Jacques Marignier de la Creuzardière, and Joesph-Jérôme Jullien de Jully, were established in the bureaucracy before the Revolution and remained there, at least through the beginning phases of the Revolution.

In addition to individuals in the direct service of the monarchy, there were a number of members of 1789 who had been indirectly attached to the royal government before the Revolution. Ten members of the club had been involved in tax farming before the Revolution, either as investors in the Farmers General, such as Lavoisier who was executed because of this connection in 1794, or as administrators of what was, for all intents and purposes, a private corporation collecting royal

taxes, as were Jérôme Bergerot (b.1748) and Pierre-Eloi Doazan and his son.

Many members of the Société de 1789 were what Prudhomme called nos gens de lettres à pension sous l'ancien régime. The club could boast an impressive membership of Parisian writers and scientists, many of whom were members of ancien régime academies, including such well know figures as Bailly, Chamfort, Condorcet, Lavoisier, and Suard. Some fifty members of the Société de 1789 were active pre-Revolutionary intellectuals such as scientists, writers, and functionaries. They were frequently connected to the High Enlightenment network of sinecures, academies, and patronage positions, a socio-cultural elite characterized by Darnton as "le monde." The case of Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Suard, a member of the Société de 1789, was typical of the careers of many late Enlightenment intellectuals. Darnton has made Suard famous with his description of how he became an established philosophe though "he wrote little and had little to say-- nothing it need hardly be added, that would offend the regime."⁴⁵ As the Enlightenment became established in the government, access to privileged positions and honors became a function of favor and influence as well as talent.

The intellectuals in the Société were mainly drawn from an established cultural elite. No less than thirteen members of the Société de 1789 were also members of the Academy of Sciences of Paris; thirteen were members of the Royal Society of Agriculture; six were in the Académie des Inscriptions et belles-lettres; and

five were among the "immortals" of the Académie française. Members of 1789 had also been in many other academies in France and abroad. David and Pajou had been admitted to the Académie de Peinture; Thouret, the brother of the four-time president of the National Assembly, had been admitted to the Medical Society of Paris; Cazaux was a corresponding member of the Royal Society in London and the Agricultural Society of Florence; Bitaubé had been admitted to the Academy of Berlin; and Broussonet, the perpetual secretary of the Royal Society of Agriculture, was also a corresponding member of the Royal Society in London. The positions held by the most prominent intellectuals of the Société de 1789 are well known: Condorcet had been employed for many years in the Mint, Lavoisier at the Salpêtrière, Lacépède at the Jardin des Plantes, and Bailly at the Observatory. These members were frequently well compensated by the monarchy as well, as in the case of Chamfort, who was named secretary to Madame Elisabeth (Louis XVI's sister) and given a pension of 2,000 livres during the 1780s. In an typical personal connection, Grouvelle began as Chamfort's secretary, replacing the latter when Chamfort left Condé's service. He then stayed in that position until the Revolution had started. Finding positions involved the use of patronage by intellectuals as well as wealthy employers. Jean-Henri Hassenfratz began his career as a carpenter, trained himself in chemistry and geology, and directed the laboratories of Lavoisier before the Revolution. André Thouin replaced his father, who died when André was seventeen years old, as chief

gardener at the Jardin des Plantes through the influence of Jussieu and Buffon (a fortuitous choice, for Thouin greatly expanded the Jardin and was admired by many of his contemporaries). The ancien régime intellectuals who became members of 1789 were part of a Parisian cultural elite that had become accustomed to manoeuvring in the salons of the powerful and making appeals to the government. As the Enlightenment became institutionalized, the most successful intellectuals, like Condorcet and Lavoisier, became themselves patrons and protectors of younger and frequently, although not always, less talented men.

It is important to note that the Société de 1789 recruited its members from the financial, cultural, administrative, and political elite of the early Revolution. These men were not strangers to government patronage and activity before the Revolution. They had dealt with the monarchy of the last years of the ancien régime in a wide variety of functions. Even more striking is the degree to which they shared reform ideas before the Revolution. Reforming the royal administration and applying liberal ideas before the Revolution was important to a wide number of members of 89. This can be seen in LaRochfoucauld's Americanism, the liberalism of many of the expatriate financiers, and Pastoret's ideas of legal reform, published in 1788 when the procureur of the Parlement of Paris was named maître des requêtes. A liberal elite before the Revolution found, in the Société de 1789, a very similar liberal elite in the early

phases of the Revolution. Although few realized it in 1790, enlightened liberals in 1790 would not be able to contain the Revolution. Political virtue rather than administrative merit would mark the next several years.

A large majority of members of the Société de 1789 had to avoid the Terror, and they did so by keeping a low profile, hiding in Paris or the provinces, or emigrating. Not all survived the Terror or escaped the revolutionary regime. At least twenty-six members of the club were executed or massacred between 1792 and 1794 and four more committed suicide during that period. Members who were executed included prominent intellectuals like Lavoisier and Bailly; writers including André Chenier and Antoine Roucher; bankers like Cottin and Jean-Baptiste Vandenyver and his two sons; administrators and parlementaires including the Trudaine brothers; and nobles such as Custine, Kersaint, Biron and Broglie. Condorcet and Chamfort both committed suicide, the latter dying in April, 1794 of wounds inflicted months earlier when he thought he was about to be arrested.⁴⁶ Another twenty-six members of 1789 were arrested during the Terror, on a wide range of charges, but survived, in one way or another until Thermidor.⁴⁷ The individuals who were arrested but never executed were slightly less prominent during the early Revolutionary period. Those who were arrested and later released included writers like Ramond and Broussonet; legislators such as Guillotin and Emmercy; and bankers like Biderman, Lessert, and Mollien. Thus, at least one out of every

eight members of 1789 was directly sanctioned, by loss of life or freedom, during the Terror.⁴⁸

A greater number of members of 1789 managed to evade the Terror. Some forty-five members of the Société de 1789 emigrated to escape the Terror, frequently to the United States. Moreau de Saint-Mery, for example, a deputy in the National Assembly who went into hiding in Normandy; in November 1793, he fled to New York, settling in Philadelphia.⁴⁹ He opened a bookstore and printing shop, which quickly became a rendezvous for many other distinguished émigrés who had been members of 1789, including Talleyrand, Beaumetz, La Rochefoucauld Liancourt, La Colombe, and Demeunier, as well as many other prominent émigrés, including Louis-Philippe d'Orléans. Others fled to England, Switzerland, or other parts of Europe. Pierre-Marie-Auguste Broussonnet is a good example of how far emigration took individual members of 1789. He was elected to the Legislative Assembly and made president of that body. Fatigued by the events, he retired to the country on January 10, 1792; he was later arrested as a Girondin. He escaped to Spain only to be arrested there as a freemason (there is no record of his membership in a pre-Revolutionary lodge), and he finally fled to Morocco, where he became a doctor and chargé d'affaires for the United States.

Many other members of 1789 hid in France and Paris, though it is not possible to determine who among remaining members consciously went into hiding and who simply moved out of public affairs and the public eye, waiting for the storm to pass.

DuPont de Nemours, for example, was hidden by the astronomer Lalande, in the dome of the Institut (collège des Quatres Nations) for some time before he was arrested in 1794. Ramond de Carbonnières, however, was a strong defender of the monarchy in the Legislative Assembly who retired but did not emigrate and hid in the Pyrénées, where he had spent time doing research in geology before the Revolution, until he was arrested in January, 1794. Edme-Pierre Chauvot de Beauchesne, a doctor who established himself in Paris with the post of "médecin des écuries de Monsieur," became a member of the Paris Commune in 1789, and simply retired to Sens after the events of August 10, returning to Paris only in 1795.

The majority of the prominent members of the Société de 1789 -- including politicians, financiers, and intellectuals -- spent the years from 1792 to 1794 trying to survive by either fleeing or hiding, although not always successfully. A minority of members, however, followed the radicalization of the Revolution and remained influential for a far longer period of time, some remaining in positions of prominence throughout the entire period. Fourteen members of 1789 were elected to the Convention, although none of them were elected from Paris. Among these, the most important were Condorcet, Brissot, Barère, Marie-Joseph Chenier, David, Rabaud Saint-Etienne, and Sieyès. Though all of the members of 1789 elected to the Convention seemed to have supported the establishment of the Republic, a slight majority voted against the execution of the King in January 1793.

Kersaint, for example, had been a strong supporter of the Revolution, but was horrified by the September massacres and the prospect of executing his King, and he therefore voted for a plebiscite to deal with the issue of punishing the King and to keep him until the end of the war. He resigned from the Convention the day before the execution of the unfortunate Capet, an action which the naval captain would pay for with his life. Six -- David, Barère, Chenier, Daoust, Ferri, and Sieyès -- of the 14 members of 1789 who were elected to the Convention voted for the death of the King without a plebiscite or a reprieve.⁵⁰

Some less important members of 1789 also supported the Revolution through its more radical phases. A good example is Hassenfratz, the chemist in Lavoisier's laboratory, who had been one of the the instigators of August 10. He became a member of the Paris Commune, and soon afterwards served as a director of the administration of war supplies. He attacked the deputies associated with the Girondins on May 31, speaking from the bar of the Convention on behalf of the forty-eight sections of Paris, and demanded the arrest of the twenty-seven deputies. Garat replaced Danton as minister of Justice in October 1792, and moved to the ministry of the Interior in March 1793. Accused of having links to Girondins, he quit the ministry in August 1793, and resumed his political career after Thermidor.⁵¹ Still others continued in their positions with only minimal dislocation. François-Jean Baudouin, for example, was the printer to the National Assembly and the Convention. A moderate, he was

attacked on several occasions for refusing to print, or for printing, various documents. Baudouin also hid seven of the Swiss guards on the night of August 10, disguising them as printers and assuring their safety. After the convocation of the Convention, he retained the semblance of strict neutrality by obeying the decrees of the current victorious party. Ironically, he was imprisoned after Thermidor for having been a member of the Jacobins. Emmanuel de Grouchy (whose two sisters married Condorcet and Cabanis) became a brigade general in 1792 who fought continuously for the newly declared republic in the Savoie, the Vendée, at Nantes and at the battle of Quiberon, with only a brief interruption in September 1793 when he was suspended for being an ex-noble. Jean-Barthélemy Lecouteulx de Canteleux, a financier from Rouen and member of the National Assembly, was aware of the dangers of the Revolution and tried not to offend any party, cultivating contacts in many factions. He was not molested during the Terror, although he was a man of wealth and birth. He remained in Paris from 1792 through Thermidor and resumed his political career shortly after the fall of Robespierre.

Although the radical phase of the Revolution forced many of the members of the Société de 1789 into exile or hiding, with many facing arrest and execution, a minority continued to live and work without significant disruption through some or all of the period from 1792 to 1794. Only a handful of members of the club openly supported the most radical actions of those two

years, such as the execution of the King and the purge of the Convention on May 31 to June 2, 1793. Several of these individuals, including Chenier and Barère, played parts in the overthrow of Robespierre. Sieyès, having voted for the execution of the King, seems to have withdrawn from active politics in 1793, only to return after Thermidor. Only Jean-Henri Hassenfratz, the carpenter turned chemist, became heavily involved in the radical Paris Commune which proved instrumental in forcing the Convention to take ever more radical measures. In general, the period between the fall of the monarchy and Thermidor represents a hiatus in the careers of most of the members of the Société de 1789. Many of them had been influential during the ancien régime and the first years of the Revolution and it was this very early prestige that marked them for persecution during the most radical phase of the Revolution. Those members that survived Thermidor returned to France and Paris during the following few years to rebuild their lives and move back into positions of prestige and influence. It would seem that the members of 1789 were very successful in returning to the political, administrative, and cultural elites to which they had belonged.

There are several general measures of the persistence of this elite through the Revolution after Thermidor. One good measure is appointment to positions of prestige. Appointment to the Legion of Honor and the Institut national, for example, are good indicators of favor and influence from 1795 through the

early years of the Restoration. The Legion of Honor was probably created by Bonaparte to attract support for his regime by providing honors and decorations.⁵² It was open to anyone who had made substantial contributions to the government or society, but was also a means used by Bonaparte to bestow favor on those who supported him. The Institut national⁵³ was cut of more serious stuff: for it was to be the centre piece of national education. The Institut was modelled, in part, on Condorcet's education plan, which called for the creation of a central national elite institute of higher learning and research. In Condorcet's vision, the Institut would propagate Enlightenment, fostering not only education but good political opinion as well.⁵⁴ Appointment to the Institut reflected official favor during the Directory as well as a high level of academic achievement.

Thirty members of the Société de 1789 were named by Bonaparte to the Légion d'honneur, an appointment that had become widely sought by the end of the Empire. Future appointees to the Legion included parlementaires such as Emmery, Des Mousseau, and Duveyrier; writers including Suard and Jean-Antoine Gauvin (Gallois); and, not surprisingly, military men like Grouchy and Jaucourt. The naturalist Bernard Lacépède, who in 1790 had been the "garde et démonstrateur du Cabinet d'histoire naturelle," was named grand chancellor of the Légion d'honneur in Year XI. Boissy d'Anglas was named a member of the Legion in Year XII and, by 1810, a "grand officier" of the order. Three other former

members of the Société de 1789 attained the honor of "grand officier" in the Legion: the lawyer Nicolas Frochot, the mathematician Gaspard Monge and the soldier Grouchy. Five members became commanders in the Legion: Toulangeon, Semonville, Jaucourt, Garat, and Des Mousseaux. A dozen former members of 1789, including several named to the Legion of Honor, were given titles as counts of the empire during Bonaparte's rule, again as a reward for good service. Men given this honor included administrators with financial backgrounds like Lecouteleux, Mollien, and Bergon; politicians like Emmercy, Dèmeunier, and Treilhard; and soldiers including Grouchy, Jaucourt and Praslin. The fact that Bonaparte was willing to bestow honors on a substantial number of former members of 1789 suggests that they continued to hold positions of influence during the Empire.

The Société de 1789 also had twenty-eight future members of the Institut national (shown in Table Seven). Eleven of these, including Lacépède and Monge, were also named to the Legion of Honor. The most influential members of the Institut were De Tracy and Cabanis, the main propagators of idéologie. Many of the members of the Société de 1789 who were named to the Institut had, in fact, reached a level of prominence before the Revolution. As we have seen, Monge has been a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences and in contact with the leading intellectuals of the ancien régime, including Condorcet, Lavoisier, and d'Alembert. Paul Jérémie Bitaubé, who became the president of the Institut in Year V, was a member of the Academy

of Berlin and a foreign associate of the Académie des Inscriptions before the Revolution. We have also seen that

Table Seven

Members of the Société de 1789 later named to the Institut national.

Baudouin, Francois-Jean	Baumes, Antoine (?)
Bitaupe, Paul Jeremie	Boissy d'Anglas, Francois-Antoine
Bory, Gabriel de	Dacier, Bon-Joseph
Dupont de Nemours, P.-S	Gallois, Jean-Antoine Gauvin
Garat, Dominique Joseph	Grandmaison, Aubin-Louis Millin de
Grouvelle, Antoine-Philippe	Hassenfratz, Jean-Henri
Lacépède, Bernard-Germaine	Lacretelle, Pierre-Louis
Leroi, Jean-Baptiste	Maron, Paul-Henri
Monge, Gaspard	Pajou, Augustin
Perier, Jacques-Constantin	Praslin, Antoine-César-Félix
Prony, Gaspard-Clair-Francois	Ramond de Carbonnières,
Roederer, Pierre-Louis	Sieyès, Emmanuel.
Suard, Jean-Baptiste-Antoine	Toulangeon, Emmanuel-François
Tracy, Antoine-L.-C.-Destutt	Vandermonde, Alexandre-Théophile

Suard was very well established in the world of ancien régime intellectuals. After returning from the exile imposed after Fructidor, he was named to the language and literature section of the Institut shortly after Brumaire and became its permanent secretary in February, 1803. Although Suard had written little of importance during the Revolution, he did not forget the politics of cultural institutions: after the second Restoration he had nine of his colleagues purged from the Institut, including Garat, Monge, Roederer, David, and Sieyès. Roederer had been a reform-oriented parlementaire at Metz⁵⁵ and had published numerous tracts on tariffs and political theory, also frequenting the salon of Mme. Helvétius. He was given a professorship at

l'Ecole centrale and named to the Class of Moral and Political Sciences of the Institut in 1795. Dacier had been the perpetual secretary of the Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres de Paris and the official historian of the Saint-Lazare and Mont-Carmel orders before the Revolution. He was named to the Institut in 1795 and became conservator of the Bibliothèque nationale in 1800. Vandermonde was made a member of the Académie des sciences in 1771, at the age of thirty-six, and was named to the Institut and professor of political economy at l'Ecole normale in 1795.

The number and prominence of members of the Société that were named to the Institut suggests that the cultural elite formed in Paris before the Revolution continued to exert a substantial ability to control positions in the state's educational and cultural apparatus. The Revolution, without doubt, was a cultural disaster, for it eliminated some of the best minds of their generation, such as Condorcet, Lavoisier, Bailly, Chamfort, and André Chenier. The surviving intellectuals continued to find support in government institutions and continued the elite that had been formed during the late Enlightenment.

Some members of the Société de 1789 emerged from Thermidor to continue political and administrative careers as well. Under the Directory, from 1795 to 1799, at least ten former members of 1789 served in the conseil des cinq cents, including Barère, Monge, Cabanis, Emmercy, Sieyès and Treilhard. Another six former

members of 89 -- Cretet, Du Pont, Garat, Lecouteulx de Canteleux, Monge and Regnier -- were named to the conseil des anciens. Under Bonaparte, even more former members of 1789 found "political" roles, although these roles were certainly less important given the composition and functions of legislative bodies after Brumaire. Eleven former members of 1789 were elected to the Tribunate, during the years of its operations, and seventeen members were named to the Sénat conservateur. The influence of former members of 1789 did not stop with the fall of Bonaparte. Twenty-two former members were named peers of the realm and sat in the chambre des pairs after the Restoration. Members of the Tribunate and Senate included administrators, soldiers, and intellectuals. Bonaparte did not hesitate to appoint regicides, naming Treilhard to the Senate, Chenier was elected to the Tribunate. The role of regicides seems to be the only significant difference between former members of 1789 honored and appointed by Bonaparte and those selected by Louis XVIII to serve as Peers. No less than seven men named to the Sénat conservateur by Bonaparte were also named Peers by Louis XVIII: Emmercy, Garnier, Jaucourt, Lacépède, Pastoret, Tracy, and Valence.

Several politically active former members of the Société were elected or appointed to a number of successive institutions. François-Antoine Boissy d'Anglas, for example, a lawyer in the Parlement de Paris before the Revolution, was a member of the Cing-cents under the Directory, the Tribunate under Bonaparte and

named a peer and member of the Chambre haute under Louis XVIII. Jean-Louis-Claude Emmery was elected to the conseil des Cinq-cents and became its secretary in the same year. He supported Brumaire and was named, in Year VIII, conseiller d'État. In Year XI he was named to the Sénat conservateur and was made a count of the Empire in 1808. He voted for the resignation of the Emperor in 1814, and was made a peer of France by Louis XVIII. Emmery ended his political career by sitting on the left of the haut conseil, and voting for the death of maréchal Ney. Bonaparte's mathematician friend and admirer, Gaspard Monge, was elected to the Cinq-cents and the Anciens, selected to the Sénat conservateur, and finally, named peer of France by Bonaparte during the Hundred days. Claude-Emmanuel-Joseph-Pierre Pastoret was elected to the Cinq-cents, appointed to the Sénat conservateur, and named a peer of France.

It was not only the politically prominent who managed to secure positions in successive governments. Financiers and administrators continued in government service in one capacity or another. Amelot de Chaillou became one the régisseurs de l'enregistrement from August to October, 1793, when he was accused of "prevarication" by Robespierre and arrested. Released on October 14, 1794, he continued his career as chief of finance and revenues for the Republic in Italy (1798), then as civil commissioner of the army in Italy, becoming administrator of the Lottery (1799-1802). Nicolas-François Mollien was imprisoned in 1794 as a tax farmer, survived Thermidor and was released. He

became a director of the Caisse d'amortissement in 1800, and was minister of the Treasury from 1806 to 1814 and during the Hundred Days. During the Restoration he was president of the oversight committee of the Caisse d'amortissement. Etienne Delessert was one of the founders of the first Caisse d'Escompte in Paris as well as the first Compagnie royale d'Assurances contre les incendies before the Revolution. During the Revolution, he was one of the founders of and shareholders in the Caisse Patriotique de Paris. He remained successful during the Directory and refused many offers from Bonaparte to accept offices which merited his talent and character. Bouchary writes about one episode:

L'Empereur s'en offensa et s'exprima avec vivacité sur le compte du banquier. Mais Cretet [a former banker and member of 1789], alors ministre de l'Intérieur, qui connaissait bien Delessert, le défendit et rappela à Napoléon qu'après le Coup d'Etat, ce banquier avait été du nombre des manieurs d'argent qui avaient mis leur crédit à la disposition du nouveau gouvernement. 56

Not all of the members of 1789 who regained their positions after Thermidor were successful. A member of the most remarkable "families politico-financières"⁵⁷ at the end of the century, Augustin-Joseph-François Monneron, was arrested in 1792, and twice again in 1794 for financial dealings. He became an agent for commercial relations in the Agence du commerce extérieur and was named, under the Directory, as an administrator and director general of the Caisse des comptes courants (June, 1796). Monneron disappeared two years later, leaving "un trou de 2,5 millions"⁵⁸ and was found in Guadeloupe. He was tried and

acquitted, returned to Paris and died many years later outside of New Orleans. Generally, however, members of the Société de 1789 involved in finance and administration emerged from the Terror continuing their careers and advancing to high places in the successive administrations.

The continuity of careers exhibited especially by intellectuals, financiers, administrators, and politicians does not imply a continuity of opinion on social and political matters. Indeed, although twenty-five years of upheaval did not displace the liberal elite found in the Société de 1789 in 1790, it did change their opinions, which sometimes became more conservative as the years went by. While La Fayette prided himself on the continuity of his liberal opinions, Mathieu de Montmorency -- who, like La Fayette, had fought in America where he learned many liberal ideas -- became known for his blind reaction during the Restoration. Montmorency was named to the Chambre des pairs in 1815 and became the minister of foreign affairs and president of the Council of State. In this position, he repudiated the liberal principles that had led him to support the Revolution⁵⁹ in its early phases in a speech to the Chambre des pairs, an atypical but definitive break with his past ideals. There does not seem to be any reliable way to predict how individual members of 1789 developed their views in the years after the Terror. Personal relationships were potentially influential, as in the case of Marc-René-Marie de Voyer, de Paulmy d'Argenson's connection with La Fayette. He was in the

military before the Revolution, and was a strong partisan of reforms and a "républicain de principe même, quoique pensant que la république ne serait pas possible en France avant longtemps."⁶⁰ Serving in the army as La Fayette's aide-de-camp when he organized the National Guard in Givet in 1792, Argenson retired to devoted himself to agriculture on his lands when La Fayette emigrated and was denounced in 1793, but he probably did not emigrate. In 1803, he was named president of the electoral college of Vienne, proving to be a strong supporter of Bonaparte; he was also a liberal member of the Chambre des Cent Jours and the Chambre introuvable. He became an active member of several democratic societies in the 1820's and worked with La Fayette on the journal Revue américaine. The disparities about how liberal members of the Société de 1789 developed over the course of the Revolution are not easily typified.

The cases of Roederer and Pastoret⁶¹ are instructive, in that both began as ambitious young parlementaires concerned with reform in the waning years of the ancien régime and both had clear literary ambitions, publishing many works over their lives and long political careers. A brilliant student at Aix and Lyons, Pastoret became a counsellor in the cour des aides in Paris in 1781. He wrote extensively on legal and legislative issues as well as ancient history. As we have seen, he was named to the Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres and maître des requêtes in 1788. His knowledge of ancient history and law is apparent in his Des Lois Pénales, "ouvrage qui eut un

retentissement immense, que son ami Filangieri lui envoyait, et dont les principes ont servi de base à presque toutes les réformes introduites depuis dans le droit criminel."⁶² The work owes much to Beccaria and echoes many of the important Enlightenment themes of social justice and toleration. Thus, Pastoret declares that "les vrais principes de la législation ne sont que ceux de la raison et de la morale universelle, consacrés par l'autorité publique."⁶³ Much of the crime in France, he argued, resulted from poverty, the "most excusable" kind of crime.⁶⁴ While Pastoret argued for swift, even mechanistic punishment (since the fear of justice with no possibility of pardon is more rational and more awesome), justice should not be not violent. He argues strongly against the death sentence: "le peine de mort [...] est également proscrite par la nature, l'avantage social, la politique et l'humanité."⁶⁵ Pastoret draws on his professional and academic strengths to present a compelling case and program for reform of criminal law in France in 1788.

Pastoret supported the early phases of the Revolution, but by 1791, he was being increasingly identified with the right. The King offered him the ministry of Justice and the Interior, which Pastoret would have accepted, if the King had not refused "d'accorder les moyens de répression énergiques que Pastoret demandait."⁶⁶ Elected to the Legislative Assembly, he sat on the right until June 20th, 1792, when he ceased attending its sessions. He emigrated after August 10, returning in 1795.

Elected to the Cinq-cents, he sat on the right defending the émigrés and priests. Forced into exile again after Fructidor, he was called back to France after Brumaire. Elected to the Sénat conservateur he continued to serve Bonaparte and the Restoration. He was made a peer after the Restoration, and became secretary of the Chamber of Peers five times. He served Louis XVIII and Charles X in a variety of positions, and was finally named, as we have seen, chancellor in the ill-fated 1829 Polignac ministry. There remained however, one last service which he rendered for the Bourbon line: he spent his last years as the tutor of the young prince, presumably the comte de Chambord.⁶⁷ Pastoret seems to represent the striking transformation of what would have appeared, in 1788, to be an Enlightened liberal magistrate into a strong royalist, associated with the most reactionary elements of the French political scene of the 1820s and 30s.

By contrast, Roederer took great pains to stress the continuity of his opinions and actions as a matter of pride in two autobiographical documents, "demandée par mon fils Antoine" and "pour mes enfants." In 1824, he wrote that he had been a conseiller in the parlement of Metz, where he had been distinguished, even at a young age, "par son zèle pour la liberté."⁶⁸ An indication of his early liberalism was his frequent writing of remonstrances and his 1788 work on the principles of representative government. He states with pride, in several places, that he was counted among the "patriotes les plus énergiques de l'assemblée"⁶⁹ and that when he was presented

to the National Assembly,

il y fut accueilli comme un homme dont le patriotisme et le talent étaient éprouvés. Dès ses premiers discours, il se fit remarquer par cet esprit philosophique qui jette de haut la lumière sur les objets de discussion. 70

As a member of the Paris municipality after the end of the National Assembly, Roederer tried to safeguard the person of the King and maintain order on June 20 and August 10, 1792, actions which completely discredited him in the eyes of the Jacobins.⁷¹ He went into hiding after the fall of the Monarchy, becoming active in politics after Thermidor. Roederer saw himself as a moderate during the Directory, when he was named a member of the Institut and editor of the journal Economie publique, de morale et de politique, threading a path "entre les conventionnels et les émigrés." He was a strong supporter of Bonaparte: "Ici commença, he wrote, pour la France un nouvel ordre de choses, et pour moi une nouvelle position et une autre existence."⁷² He held a variety of positions under Bonaparte, serving as a Counsellor of State, ambassador to Switzerland and Holland, and a member of the Sénat conservateur. Stripped of many of his functions and honors during the Restoration, he was recalled to the Chambre des Pairs after 1830. Roederer certainly modified his political opinions during the Revolution, moving to a more authoritarian position in support of Bonaparte. He continued to look at the early years of the Revolution as a good thing, and he remained proud of his role in those events. He remained a constitutional monarchist for many years, arguing that the establishment of the republic was not a logical conclusion of

1789. Indeed, Roederer argues that the king had abandoned the "constitutionnels" -- including himself -- and that the supporters of constitutional monarchy had then been overwhelmed by the "anarchists." He summarizes his vision of the events in France from 1789 very clearly:

Le renversement du trône en août 1792 n'a pas été une conséquence inévitable de la révolution de 1789. Cet événement n'était ni dans son intérêt ni dans son esprit; il fut déterminé par les intérêts particuliers d'une faction des révolutionnaires [...] La déchéance et la mort de Louis XVI, l'établissement de la république, sont des écarts, et non des progrès de la révolution de 1789; ils ont non-seulement franchi ses limites, mais ils ont jeté la France hors de l'état social, et l'ont forcée, pour y rentrer, de stationner quinze années sous un pouvoir à peu près absolu, et de se soumettre, quinze autres années, à un régime peu différent de l'ancien. 73

The nearly thirty years of non-representative rule following Brumaire seems to have been, in Roederer's opinion, a necessary step for France to amend the failures of the early Revolution.

Thus, two liberal and ambitious parlementaires finished their careers on very different notes: Pastoret by training the pretender to the Bourbon throne; Roederer's looking back to 1789 as the right revolution gone wrong. Both men were well versed in political theory and had adopted many of the ideals of the Enlightenment and both had served, in various capacities, in several governments that followed 1789. There seems to be no general explanation why some individuals, like La Fayette and Roederer, preserved their liberal ideals over the years while others, like Pastoret and Montmorency, ultimately rejected, by word and deed, their earlier ideals.

In conclusion, a number of the members of the Société de

1789 were representatives of the National Assembly who had supported the creation of a constitutional monarchy and felt that the Revolution needed to be stopped by firmly establishing the constitution. In addition, the club drew members from the financiers and bankers of Paris, established intellectuals in the city, administrators in the royal and Parisian bureaucracy, parlementaires, and a number of liberal aristocrats who were not members of the National Assembly. They represented the wealthy and influential areas of Paris and were active in national as well as Parisian politics. A surprising number of the members of the Société de 1789 were directly dependent on the monarchy of the ancien régime for their livelihoods and status. The bankers dealt extensively in government paper and moved in and out of the bureaucracy -- if it can be strictly called that -- with regularity. The intellectuals were very heavily dependent on the government for pensions, appointments, and honors. Many of the aristocrats served in the military in one capacity or another. Thus, the Société de 1789 drew the bulk of its membership from an established Parisian elite, an elite accustomed to dealing with government in a wide range of activities.

The influence of many of the members continued, with a short interruption during the Terror, through the successive regimes of the period from 1795 to 1830 and beyond, though few did very much during the July Monarchy. The most striking degree of continuity is found in the intellectuals: with few exceptions, they moved from the academies, universities and pensions of the ancien

régime to the new universities and the Institute. And, as will be discussed further, they continued the Enlightenment concern with the development of a rational system of politics in the Institute. Members of 1789 also continued to receive honors and positions, such as being named counts of the Empire, peers, and to Legion of honor. Many served distinguished careers in the administration, finance, and the military, attaining high government positions. The impressive degree of continuity of personnel in cultural, financial and administrative institutions from the ancien régime through the Restoration provides useful evidence to support Tocquevillian suggestion that the Revolution was a less radical rupture than has generally been depicted.

The continuity of Enlightenment political ideology is slightly less certain. The movement of many members of the Société de 1789 associated with the Enlightenment before the Revolution to the Institut certainly suggests that the club served as a conduit for many established ancien régime intellectuals to post-Revolutionary positions. The political implications of idéologie and the interests of many members of the Institute suggest that this institution retained the liberal perspective that can be traced to the Enlightenment. However, the continuity of Enlightenment political attitudes becomes less marked in the case of individuals outside of the intelligensia, such as Montmorency and Pastoret, who developed far more conservative political opinions than they had started with in 1789. Such a move to more conservative opinions might be

expected, given the upheavals that members of 1789 lived through for so many years. Indeed, the relative consistency of the political ideas of La Fayette, Roederer, Argenson, or Cabanis might be more extraordinary than the move to more conservative political ideas. It can be suggested that the political ideology of the late Enlightenment, as expressed by the Société de 1789, continued through the Revolution, at least through the Institut, but probably more widely, since many politicians continued to support liberal reform after the Terror.

Given the continuities shown above, it would seem that the relationship between the Enlightenment and the Revolution was considerably more evolutionary than has previously been considered. Individuals involved in reform before the Revolution continued their political activities during the Revolution, with a striking degree of continuity. The politicalization and reform activity evident in the late Enlightenment led quite naturally to the formation of institutions dedicated to the propagation of the ideal of rational, scientific government during the Revolution. Further, the elite which met in the Société de 1789 continued, as a group, to exercise influence in a wide range of areas as the Revolution progressed. The influence of this group can be seen in the elaboration of the theoretical underpinnings of liberalism in the work of Condorcet, Tracy, and Cabanis as well as in the practical political activities of men like Roederer and Pastoret. This suggests that the Société is probably a good example of Tocqueville's continuity thesis in a modified form: that the

liberal elements of the power elite during the closing phases of the ancien régime continued to exercise influence, with the exception of the period from 1792 to 1794.

The political ideology of 1789 stressed the role of collective manifestations of reason and a Physiocratic emphasis on mechanism and natural law in the social and political realms. Many members of the club assumed that only an elite group could adequately understand social and political systems. The elite composition of the Société de 1789 and its policies designed to exclude popular elements from its deliberations reflected their conception of political rationality, popular education, and other elements of late Enlightenment thought. Reason was thought to be limited to those with the education and experience to apply scientific method to political and social problems. The Enlightenment emphasis on rationality was used as a way to justify the position of a liberal elite which would guide the revolution from above. Thus, it would seem that the political role of reason was a central component of the Société's claim to retain their privileged positions, a subject which will be explored in the following chapter.

Notes

1. Révolutions de Paris 52 (July 3-10, 1790): 749.
2. See above, Chapter 1, pp. 41-5.
3. See Laurence Stone, "Prosopography" Daedalus 100 (1971) and Phillip VanderMeer, "Collective Biography and the New Political History" Indiana Social Studies Quarterly 33 (1980) for useful discussions of collective biography.
4. Règlements de la Société de 1789 et liste de ses membres (Paris: Lejay fils, 1790). Appendix Four contains the membership list with additional information concerning each member. This report is derived from a much larger database which was used to perform the analysis in this chapter. The database is designed in free text format, in order to incorporate notes on writings and publications by individual members, as well as traditional delimited field data. Quantitative analysis was performed using UNIX based search and retrieval tools. I have included only delimited field data in Appendix Four. In addition to the electronic database, further information concerning members is contained in a series of linked hardcopy files.
 Data capture for this type of information is problematic. Starting with the membership list published by the club, I used a number of biographical dictionaries and other sources indicating names and status. Information concerning the activities of individual members was culled from any number of sources, including secondary works and printed almanachs. Thus, for example, a considerable amount of information concerning English financiers was derived from a study of Walter Boyd. Some of the most useful general sources for this study include: Armand Brette, Les Constituants: Liste des députés et des suppléants élus à l'assemblée constituante de 1789, (Paris, 1897); M. Prevost, R. D'Amat, et. al., Dictionnaire de Biographie française (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1954-); Etienne Charavay, Assemblée Electorale de Paris. 18 novembre 1790 -- 15 juin 1791 (Paris: Maison Quantin, 1890); Michaud, ed. Biographie Universelle, Ancienne et Moderne (Paris: M.C. Desplaces, 1855-1869); Maurice Tourneux, Bibliographie de l'histoire de Paris pendant la Révolution française, 5 vols. (Paris: Imp. Nouvelle, 1890-5); Michel Gaudart et Humbert Lamant, Dictionnaires des Francs-Maçons Français, (Paris: Editions Albatros, 1980); Robiquet, Paul. Le personnel municipal de Paris pendant la Révolution: période constitutionnelle (Paris: Maison Quantin, 1890). Albert Soboul's Dictionnaire historique de la Révolution française (Paris: 1989) appeared too late to be used for this study.

Biographical dictionaries are particularly weak sources

since much of the information is not verified. I have, for example, attempted to verify the assertion in the Biographie Universelle that Pastoret was the tutor of the Bourbon pretender after 1830, without success. Other sources, particularly club membership lists and personnel lists in almanachs, are useful sources to verify the identity of individuals included in the membership list of 1789.

5. See above, Chapter 2, p. 95.

6. He signed as a secretary of the club in Journal de la Société de 1789 15 (September 15, 1790): 8.

7. Actes des Apôtres 166-7 (1790): 41-2. The club is characterized by this right-wing journal as "Amis des noirs, administrateurs, philosophes, savans, novateurs, démocrates royaux, pies, ministériels."

8. Révolutions de France et Brabant, 66 (1790): 36; 67 (1790): 53.

9. Louis-Philippe, Memoirs: 1773-1793, translated by John Hardman, (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977), p. 71. The rest of the list of prominent members cited by Louis-Philippe is accurate.

10. See above, Chapter 2, pp. 102-3.

11. Actes des Apôtres 174-5 (1790): 27. This reference is preceeded by the general observation that:

Le club de 1789, ne s'est pas réuni encore en totalité au club des amis de la constitution. Quelques paillards honteux seulement, ont imité la grande trahison de M. de Mirabeau. M. l'abbé Siéyes, n'est point du nombre de ces paillards honteux. Il est demeuré, suivant sa coutume, inébranlable (p. 26).

12. Bertrand Barère, Mémoires de Barère (Paris: Jules Lafitte, 1842), pp. 292-3.

13. Ibid., This retrospective view of the Société must be accepted with some caution as Barère wanted to distance himself from the Jacobins in this period of his life.

The quibbling and moderating about positions taken regarding club memberships began early. Roederer explained, in a long letter in 1791, that he would never go to the Feuillants and that he was remaining with the Jacobins. [Oeuvres du Comte P.L. Roederer, pair de France, membre de l'Institut ... publiées par son fils (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1857), 4:592ff]. He writes that all of the clubs have some reason for existing and generously gives the benefit of the doubt to all:

Je le déclare donc: je crois qu'ils ont tous eu raison

les uns contre les autres, que tous ils se sont dits leurs vérités; je pense que cela même qui les a réunis, et je pense que c'est pour cela aussi que les sincères amis de la morale et d'une constitution toute fondée sur la morale doivent se tenir soigneusement séparés d'eux.

He then goes on to explain his movement between clubs, which strains the credulity of the skeptical reader, for he explains his movement between clubs as a constant flight from intriguers.

En mon particulier, j'ai tant entendu l'an passé trois ou quatre chefs de 89 dire que le club des Jacobins était dominé et trompé par trois ou quatre intriguers ambitieux et factieux, et j'ai si bien cru le reconnaître moi-même, que je me suis retiré de ce club au mois de juin de l'année dernière [June 1790] et n'y suis retourné que quand j'ai vu leur règne passé.

J'ai ensuite tant entendu les trois ou quatre chefs des Jacobins dire que 89 était rempli d'intriguers ambitieux, ministériels et modérés, et j'ai si bien cru le reconnaître moi-même, que j'ai été un des membres de 89 les plus zélés à détruire l'influence politique de ce club.

Après avoir ainsi fui ou mis en fuite les intriguers de toutes les formes, qu'irais-je faire aux Feuillants? Y chercher en groupe des personnages que j'ai évités chacun séparément; m'y réunir aux gens qui, d'un côté, m'ont fait un moment désertier les Jacobins; de l'autre, contribuer à la dissolution de 89?. (pp. 602-3)

14. Révolutions de France et Brabant 67 (1790): 88.

15. Ibid., p.90.

16. Journal de la Société de 1789, 10 (August 7, 1790): 48.

17. Marcel Reinhard, Nouvelle histoire de Paris: La Révolution 1789-1799 (Paris, 1971), pp. 63-8. These are the Tuileries, Palais Royal, Place Vendôme, La Bibliothèque, La Halle du Blé, and Place-Louis XV sections.

18. Etienne Charavay, Assemblée Electorale de Paris: 18 Novembre 1790 -- 15 Juin 1791 (Paris, 1890), p. xxi.

19. Chancelier Pasquier cited in Augustin Challamel, Les Clubs contre-Révolutionnaires. Cercles, comités, sociétés, salons, réunions, cafés, restaurants, et librairies (Paris: Maison Quantin, 1895), p. 32.

20. Ibid., p. 33.

21. Three of the four main authors of serious political texts published in the Actes and as separate brochures -- Clermont-Tonnerre, Lally-Tollendal and Bergasse -- were members of the Valois club. See William James Murray, The Right Wing Press in

the French Revolution: 1789-92 (London, 1986), p. 53n. Murray argues that the Actes des Apôtres was "the most brilliant" of the right-wing journals of the period and that "its satirical attacks served as models for the rest of the right-wing press" (pp. 52-53),

22. cited in Challamel, Les Clubs, p. 164.

23. See above, Chapter 2, pp. 133-5.

24. Challamel, Les Clubs, p. 286 and 293.

25. See above, Chapter 2, pp. 135-6.

26. Claude Perroud, "La Société française des amis des noirs" La Révolution française: Revue d'histoire contemporaine 65 (1915): 144-5. Also see D. P. Resnick, "The 'Société des Amis des Noirs' and the Abolition of Slavery" French Historical Studies 7 (1972).

27. Ibid., p. 145

28. Ibid., p. 144. This number includes foreign associates and several female members (such as the wives of Lafayette, Condorcet, and Clavière) as well as 15 individuals that Perroud was unable to identify.

29. Jean Bouchary, Une famille d'agents de change [...] Les Boscary, (Paris, 1942) and Les Manieurs d'Argent Paris à la fin du XVIIIe siècle, 3 vols. (Paris, 1939). Michel Bruguire, Gestionnaires et Profiteurs de la Révolution, (Paris, 1986).

30. John Bosher makes this important argument in his French Finances 1770-1795 (London, 1970).

31. Alfred Cobban, "The Myth of the French Revolution" in Cobban, ed., Aspects of the French Revolution (London, 1971), pp. 100-102.

32. Other Occupations:

- 1 Académie de Peintre
- 1 Diplomat
- 1 Envoyé de Genève
- 1 Polish envoy
- 1 administrateur du département
- 1 archives
- 1 bourgeois
- 1 capitaine
- 1 censeur royal
- 1 chevalier
- 1 directeur
- 1 employee AN
- 1 horloger

- 1 imprimeur
- 1 ingénieur des ponts et chaussées
- 1 inspecteur des manufacteurs
- 1 national guard
- 1 officier municipal
- 1 painter
- 1 patriote hollandais
- 1 secretary to US envoy

33. Cobban, "The Myth," pp. 110-111.
34. Révolutions de France et Brabant, 76 (1790): 487.
35. Ibid., p. 488.
36. Michel Bruguire, Gestionnaires et Profiteurs, p. 61.
37. John Bosher, French Finances, p. 264.
38. S.R. Cope, Walter Boyd: A Merchant Banker in the Age of Napoleon (Alan Sutton: London, 1983), pp. 17-8
39. Jean Bouchary, Les Manieures d'Argent Paris, 2:157.
40. Ibid., p.159.
41. Révolution de Paris 56 (1790): 165.
42. Révolution de Paris 61 (1790): 416.
43. Révolution de Paris 5 (1790): 25.
44. Bosher, French Finances, writes that Dufresne de Saint-Léon was "one of the most remarkable" (p. 127) individuals of the few specialists to write concerning the state of French finances before the Revolution. Bosher describes this small group as follows:
 There were nevertheless a few who published thoughts both critical and pertinent. They were all officials of one kind or another and this goes far to explain their competence in the subject, though not their inclination to discuss it. In a literary or intellectual sense, none of them could hold our attention even for a moment, but they stand as practical men with systematic thoughts of reform. They are examples of a large group of reformers and critics which cannot be identified either with the philosophes and physiocrats, largely ignorant of the financial administration, or with the main body of financiers and officials who understood the system and believed in it. Necessarily rather specialized, these critics and reformers most often only dealt with one or two particular aspects of administrative reform. (pp. 126-7)

45. Robert Darnton, "The High Enlightenment and the Low-Life of Literature" in The Literary Underground of the Old Regime, (Cambridge, Mass, 1982), p. 7.

46. Condorcet, it is well known, died in prison either by using poison supplied by Cabanis or by a stroke. It is generally suspected that his death was suicide, though there is no proof of this.

47. Joseph-Henri Jessé, a representative of the 2nd Estate to the Estates General, died of natural causes in the Conciergerie.

48. This proportion is probably low, since a number of individuals are not identified. One would expect that the unidentified members would also have suffered during the Terror, though at a lower rate than among the most prominent members.

49. See Moreau de St. Méry's journal, Moreau de St. Méry's American Journey, translated and edited by Kenneth and Anna Roberts, (Doubleday: Garden City, New York, 1947), pp.175-256 for a description of the nearly four years that Moreau spent in Philadelphia. He was admitted as resident member of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia in early 1795 (p.178). Among a number of important French works, Moreau also published the Courrier de la France et des Colonies which was the main channel of communications among émigrés in the United States.

50. See "Appendix III, The Voting in the appels nominaux of 1793" in Alison Patrick, The Men of the First French Republic: Political Alignments in the National Convention of 1792 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972), pp. 317-39. Those voting for "moderate" proposals were Boissy d'Anglas, Brissot, Condorcet, Kersaint, Pontecoulant, Rabaud, Treilhard, and Villette.

51. See William Murray, "A philosophe in the French Revolution: Dominique-Joseph Garat and the 'Journal de Paris'" in History From Below: Studies in Popular Protest and Popular Ideology in Honour of George Rudé, Edited by F. Krantz (Montreal:Concordia University Press, 1985), p. 177.

52. The Legion of Honor was established in 1802. Robert Holtman argues, in The Napoleonic Revolution (New York: Lippincott, 1967) that Bonaparte "realized that people were avid for decorations." (pp. 196-7) Though the Legion was not very popular when it was established, "its insignia soon became all the rage, and by the time of Napoleon's downfall the Legion had become so popular that even the republicans were clamoring to be named to it" (p. 197).

53. A number of members of the Société de 1789 were named to the

Class of Moral and Political Sciences of the Institute. This became a center of opposition to Napoleon who abolished the Class on January 23, 1803. See Martin Staum's "The Class of Moral and Political Sciences 1795-1803" French Historical Studies 11 (1980) and "Images of Paternal Power: Intellectuals and Social Change in the French National Institute" Canadian Journal of History 17 (1982). Bonaparte's antipathy for the intellectual opposition which formed around the Institute is well known. See Louis de Villefosse and Janine Bouissounouse, L'opposition à Napoleon (Paris, 1969), pp. 218-9 and the chapter titled "L'idéophobe."

54. see Keith Baker, Condorcet: From Natural Philosophy to Social Mathematics (Chicago, 1975), p.302.

55. K. Margerison, P.-L. Roederer: Political Thought and Practice During the French Revolution (Philadelphia: Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 1983), characterizes Roederer's early career in the following terms:

From his youth he was highly ambitious and willing to use all the tools available to him in the last years of the ancien régime to achieve personal advancement. At the same time he was intrigued with the possibilities that enlightened reform offered to France. This fascination with reform was perhaps natural to a highly intelligent youth maturing in the last decade of the ancien régime, an era dominated by interest in theoretical and practical ideas of reform. As an advocate of reform Roederer was as capable of writing persuasive mémoires as he was of pulling all the political strings at his command in order to achieve his goals. (p. 1).

56. Bouchary, Les manieurs, 3:104-105.

57. Ibid., p. 181. Bouchary devotes some 60 pages to the Monnerons.

58. Bruguire, Gestionnaires, p. 276.

59. Aulard cites Thibaudeau's opinion in Biographie et Mémoires that Montmorency was noble, candid and patriotic in the early Revolution, but "il n'avait pas de talent; on n'y regardait pas de si près avec un grand seigneur. On lui savait gré de ce qu'il employait ses petits moyens à la défense de la cause populaire. On le disait inspiré et poussé par Siéyès." [Les Orateurs de la Révolution: L'Assemblée constituante (Paris: Edouard Cornley, 1905), p. 446].

60. M. Prevost, R. D'Amat, et. al., Dictionnaire de Biographie française (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1954-), 3:543.

61. Pastoret is the far less well known of the two. I have not found a single study devoted to the man who became chancellor of France in 1829. He is not mentioned in either Guillaume de

Bertier de Sauvigny, The Bourbon Restoration, trans. Lynn Case, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966) or Nora Hudson, Ultra-Royalism and the French Restoration (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), even though he was promoted from vice-chancellor to chancellor in the ill-fated Polignac ministry. Much of the information concerning Pastoret comes from a long article by A-D. in Michaud, ed. Biographie Universelle, Ancienne et Moderne (Paris: M.C. Desplaces, 1855-1869), 12:237-240. His published works are listed in Walter and Martin, 4:550-552.

62. Michaud, 12:237.

63. Pastoret, Des Loix Pénales, 2 vols., (Paris: Buisson, 1790), 1:15.

64. "L'indigence est une des causes les plus ordinaires du crime. Sur 900 hommes condamnés en France, chaque année, plus de 700 manquoient des premiers besoins de la vie" (Ibid., p. 130).

65. Ibid., 2:134.

66. Michaud, 12:237.

67. The biography in Michaud describes this as: "Charles X étant hors du royaume, et madame la duchesse de Berry aussi absent, il fallait un tuteur au jeune prince: ce tuteur fut Pastoret. Le chancelier, quoique courbé déjà sous le poids de l'âge, accepta sans hésiter tous les devoirs que lui imposait ce titre, et il les remplit tous avec un infatigable zèle" (Ibid., p. 238). Pastoret's role is unclear. He is not mentioned in Vincent Beach's "The Education of the Comte de Chambord: A study of the Development of the Reactionary Mindset" The Historian, 20 (1958): pp. 201-218. Pastoret seems to have been involved in the adventures of the duchesse de Berry. Paul Thureau-Dangin suggests that Pastoret was one of the "politiques sérieux du parti" and that he was to be named to the provisional government when the royalist rising of 1832 was successful. (Histoire de la Monarchie de juillet, vol. 2, [Paris: Plon, 1888], p.151 and 154.

68. "Notice pour une biographie demandée par mon fils Antoine" in Oeuvres du Comte P.L. Roederer, 3:315.

69. "Notice de ma vie pour mes enfants" in Oeuvres, 3:278.

70. "Notice pour une biographie demandée par mon fils Antoine," p. 315.

71. Margerison discusses his actions in detail in P.-L. Roederer, p. 84ff.

72. "Notice de ma vie pour mes enfants," p. 294.

73. Roederer, "Chronique de Cinquante Jours du 20 juin au 10 août 1792" in Oeuvres, 3:71.

Chapter Four

La vérité mise en action: Rational Politics in 1790.

J'ai vu quelquefois des philosophes se réunir pour discuter des matières épineuses. Quelle étoit leur méthode? Ils commençoient par définir les mots, puis rapprochoient soigneusement toutes les notions positives du sujet, pour les comparer avec la nature des choses, et ne réduisoient la question à des élémens simples, qu'après l'avoir considérée sous le double rapport des principes inviolables, et des convenances nécessaires. Si un scrupuleux amour du vrai suffit seul pour inspirer de telles précautions, dans la recherche d'une vérité spéculative, que doit-on faire lorsqu'il s'agit de poser les fondemens d'une loi, c'est-à-dire, d'une vérité mise en action.¹

Philippe-Antoine Grouvelle's suggestion that philosophical methods of reasoning should be the model for debates in representative bodies is premised on the assumption that a law is "une vérité mise en action." Indeed, many laws require the consideration of a "foyer de lumières concentrées" since the issues under debate are at least as complex as those speculative problems that philosophers examine. Grouvelle's opinion should not be discounted as the idle writings of a marginal figure who was not speaking for the club. He was a secretary of the club, editor with Condorcet of the Journal, as well as a frequent contributor. His notions of the role of rationality and truth in

politics was, as we shall see, shared by many members of the Société de 1789. The Enlightened conception of reason informed many of the political ideas of the members of the Société de 1789. Many accepted the proposition that scientific method, properly applied to public institutions and policy, could lead to harmonious and beneficial rule.

To this end, the founders of the Société de 1789 gave the club a broad mandate. It was to serve as a clearing house for Enlightened political and social ideas at the national and international level, monitor, if not become involved in, debates concerning the constitution and establishment of order in France, and educate France and the rest of Europe in the principles of Enlightened and representative government. Its activities were, in short, to be as wide ranging as its intellectual forbearers, the philosophes of the High Enlightenment. The club may have failed in attaining the goals of becoming an Enlightened clearing house for all of Europe, but the contributors to the Journal of the club and authors of papers published by the club managed to touch on a broad array of issues, from the abstract to the useful. Condorcet's discussion on the competing interests of Paris and the provinces was followed, in the same number of the Journal, by Hassenfratz's "Observations sur les mines."² The Société carried on the Enlightened tradition of combining the theoretical and the useful without clear distinction in much the same way that Diderot mixed philosophical and technical articles in the Encyclopédie. All subjects were open to scientific

examination and rational analysis. At first glance, it is rather difficult to determine whether there are any common intellectual threads in this diverse collection of authors and topics. Yet certain attitudes and opinions, not to mention language which will be discussed in subsequent chapters, are found consistently in the published material of the Société.

The most significant common thread in the writings of 1789 is the emphasis on reason in politics. While Condorcet might have been the most important theorist of rational politics, he was by no means isolated. Indeed, notions of a form of collective reason in politics and other areas, predate the Enlightenment and can be found in the work of several late Enlightenment figures, particularly Mercier. The rhetorical uses of the Société's view of political reason are just as important to consider, for it is here that the tensions between representative rule of the people and the rule of an enlightened elite comes to the fore. Grouvelle isolated the tensions of the Enlightenment conception of reason in politics when he wrote that a complex proposal,

à la vérité, ne peut sortir d'une assemblée nombreuse! Car la foule juge, mais ne conçoit point. L'empire du génie est oligarchique de sa nature. Il faut compter les voix, mais peser les avis; et c'est en pareil cas, qu'un homme n'en vaut pas un autre. 3

The contrast between counting voices and weighing opinions, where one man is not the same as the next, formed an important subtext to the discussions of the Société, and provided the underpinnings of the defense of the emerging constitution and the authority of

the National Assembly.

-- I --

The informing principle of the Société de 1789 was its call for dispassionate political and social thinking. It was to serve, as we have seen, as a clearing house for correct political ideas, using the image of a company whose trade is in "vérités sociales."⁴ The importance of truth and reason in the political process -- hopelessly naive from the present day perspective of television politics, instant polling, political action committees, and special interest groups -- was taken seriously by many of the members of the Société de 1789. The balance of competing interests and the art of compromise was not seen to be the main political effort. Rather, clear thinking from correct assumptions could lead to social and political truths to which all right thinking men could assent. While the strongest proponent of this notion was Condorcet, many other members of the Société seem to have held this Enlightened belief in the fundamental rationality, or at least reasonability, of political and social behavior.

The frequency and seeming extremity of the declarations that politics could be reduced to an exact science is surprising. The chemist and tax farmer Lavoisier, for example, opened one of this discussions of the assignats with the assertion that it was time to assemble the truths from the debate and draw the consequences:

Aujourd'hui que la discussion, après avoir fait étinceler la lumière de toutes parts, ne ramène plus que les mêmes arguments, il est temps de rassembler les vérités éparses & de tirer des conséquences.

Posons d'abord les faits qui sont convenus entre tous les partis: car dans ces sortes de discussions, où chacun n'a pour objet que de chercher la vérité, il faut marcher ensemble le plus long-temps qu'il est possible & ne se séparer qu'à la dernière extrémité. 5

Lavoisier's method is to start from agreed upon facts and to assume that everyone in the debate is looking for the truth. The possibility that in a debate where so many important players could gain or lose significant amounts of money in a speculative enterprise, defending individual, regional or social interests might be a primary motivation, or that any solution would be a matter of power and influence rather than truth, does not seem to have been taken seriously by Lavoisier. Similarly, Cérutti attacked the opponents of the assignats for not being rational, even though "les finances en étoient la science exacte et la géométrie" of government and politics. "Cette géométrie," he goes on to write,

manque à la plupart de ceux qui écrivent aujourd'hui sur les finances. Ils semblent ne produire que les romans de l'espérance ou les satyres du désespoir. C'est faute d'idées simples et précises. Je vais donc commencer par éclaircir les trois questions sur lesquelles porte la dispute, et par donner des notions exactes... 6

The role of reason in the Revolution for Cérutti seems to have been paramount. In defending the nationalization of the Church lands, he argues that the abuses of the clergy were the main reason for the accumulation of so much wealth, and that attempts to prevent the loss of their lands by threatening universal destruction will fail because "la population crédule est devenue

un Peuple raisonneur."7 Two assumptions underlie the optimism of Lavoisier and Cérutti in reaching true conclusions to such an intractable problem: that politics and government are subject to rational analysis and program, and that the Revolution was, to a certain extent, the creation of a rational government, led by Enlightened men and motivated by an Enlightened nation.

There was, as Jean Starobinsky has pointed out in his 1789: Les emblèmes de la raison, a widely held assumption that the Revolution ushered in a period of reasonable government. The solar myth of the Revolution, depicting the fall of the Bastille as the end of a long period of darkness is only one component of the rationalist imagery of the Revolution. It is for example, the journées révolutionnaires that form the union of the language of reason and the real politics of the Revolution. Starobinsky comments:

Le discours de la raison, entraîné par la passion volontaire, cherche dans le monde son point d'insertion, son réceptacle. Les grands moments révolutionnaires sont les épisodes de cette incarnation: nous n'y percevons désormais le discours de la raison que dans l'alliage qui l'unit à la tension volontaire des hommes d'action et à la résistance accidentelle du monde préexistant. C'est là, il est vrai, une raison engloutie et bientôt déviée de son projet, mais c'est aussi une matérialité élevée à la puissance du symbole. 8

The symbolism of reason was widely used during the Revolution, being reflected in the art and architecture of the period. The more particular mechanisms that individual political actors and theorists saw for "incarnating" reason into the political process is rather more difficult to assess. The role of reason and truth in political and social behavior as understood by members of 1789

must be considered in the context of Condorcet's conceptions of l'art social and the raison publique, since it was his speculations that informed a number of other commentators. Indeed, Condorcet may have been one of the most forceful proponents of a rationalistic conception of politics of his generation, as reflected in his educational, electoral and constitutional writings. Reason and politics, for the philosophe, were firmly linked at many levels.

Condorcet's notion of the common or public reason was the key to his political and social theories from well before the Revolution.⁹ In his reception speech to the French Academy on February 21, 1782 he suggested that

In meditating on the nature of the moral sciences, one cannot indeed help seeing that, based like the physical sciences upon the observation of facts, they must follow the same methods, acquire an equally exact and precise language, attain the same degree of certainty. 10

He believed that reason in the form of scientific method could be applied to human activity and result in the same precision as natural science. It was toward this end that Condorcet developed a form of mathématique sociale¹¹ which could be applied to political decision making. The certainty of the moral sciences opened the possibility of a political organization that would harmonize rational interests in the Common Reason.

The project of rendering all men virtuous is chimerical; but why should not one day see enlightenment combine with genius to create for happier generations a method of education and a system of laws that would render the courage of virtue almost useless? Governed by these salutary institutions, man would need only to listen to the voice of his heart and to that of his reason, to fulfill by natural inclination the same duties that today cost his effort and sacrifice -- just

as a worker without intelligence and without skill now executes with the help of machines the marvels of genius in the arts, the masterpieces that human industry abandoned to its own forces would never have equalled. 12

The sufficiently careful and reasonable creation of political institutions will allow the rule of reason without requiring distinct moral character. Condorcet outlined such a political organization in Essai sur l'application de l'analyse à la probabilité des décisions rendues à la pluralité des voix in 1785 and a constitutional project in 1788.

The problem which Condorcet attempted to solve in the Essai was to identify the conditions where

the probability that the majority decision of an assembly or tribunal is true be high enough to justify the obligation of the rest of the society to accept that decision. 13

The problem of unanimity in any democratic political organization requires that a minority submit to the decision taken by a majority. Since rational government must function under the double burden of being an expression of both truth and freedom, Condorcet's problem was reduced to determining how the imperatives of Reason might be imposed upon men without tyranny. Condorcet argued that

a law which had not been voted on unanimously involves subjecting men to an opinion which is not their own, or to a decision they believe to be contrary to their interest. It follows that a very great probability of the truth of this decision is the only reasonable and just ground according to which one can demand such submission. 14

Thus, Condorcet was concerned not merely to find the will of the greatest number of men in an assembly or a tribunal, but also to obtain results in collective decisions that are most "conformable

to the truth."¹⁵ Power, for Condorcet, should be a function of truth and reason, and not of majority will. His interest in electoral combinatorics and in close details of constitutional arrangements¹⁶ comes from his conviction that one can calculate the probability of truth arising from the deliberations of a voting body.

Condorcet's probabilistic analysis resulted, in his mind, in the mathematical foundation of a system to deduce the "common" or "public" reason. He describes the relationship of the individual to society in terms of the common reason:

Every man has the right to conduct himself according to his own reason. But when he enters into a society, he agrees to submit to the common reason those of his actions which must be governed for all according to the same principles. His own reason prescribes this submission and thus it is still according to his own reason that he acts, even in renouncing the right to make use of it. Thus when he submits to a law contrary to his own opinion, he must say to himself:

It is not a question of myself alone, but of everyone. Thus I must not act according to what I believe to be reasonable, but according to that which everyone -- like me setting aside his own opinion -- must regard in conformity with reason and truth. 17

Faced with the same problem of minority submission to the majority as Rousseau, Condorcet's solution was to argue that the individual voluntarily submitted to the highly probable truth of the "common reason." Rather than base political organization upon the General Will, the will of a "moral and collective body,"¹⁸ Condorcet sought to base political organization upon the universal dictates of reason as discovered by the common reason of enlightened men.

The practical application of this theory of rational

government based on the "common reason" appeared in several works, none more systematic or complex than his Essai sur la constitution et les fonctions des assemblées provinciales which Condorcet published in 1788. The Essai describes a complicated arrangement based on a hierarchical system of assemblies which has been called "one of the most tortuously complicated constitutional schemes ever devised by an Enlightened mind."¹⁹ This constitution would balance, according to Condorcet, the demands of reason and representation by giving rational representative procedures to the most enlightened portions of the population. He wrote,

The value of an assembly's decisions depends as much on the procedures by which they were reached as on the enlightenment of its members. Its activity and the unity of its functions also depend on these procedures. If they are defective, although motivated by the purest of intentions, its ponderous and incoherent operations can become more of an obstacle in eliminating abuses than the corruption and ignorance of an administrator. Finally, if this body is not guided by solid principles, its errors can be more disastrous to the nation it represents than would be individual abuse of power. 20

The procedures proposed by Condorcet were as unworkable as they were systematic, for he took every effort to eliminate the possibility of conspiracy and irrational acts by, for example, separating assemblies that debate measures and those charged with voting on proposed laws. Bills would be drafted in scientific proposition form which could only be approved or rejected in writing by representatives by mail, for they would never meet.

The assumption behind all of the mechanisms of Condorcet's constitutional proposal of 1788 is that a statement declared true

by fifteen rational individuals is more probably true than a contradictory statement declared true by only ten people.²¹ Since the view of the majority is more probably true, and all reasonable and honest men willingly submit themselves to the truth, despotism is impossible because sovereignty is not based upon will at all, but on the truth of the common reason. Thus, there is an image of the despotism of truth in Condorcet's political theory that parallels the rule of truth in the scientific and mathematical worlds. In the natural sciences, all men willingly submit their reason to adequately proven truths. This act of assent is not forcibly imposed, but rationally deduced by an individual's reason. The authority of the Newtonian synthesis, for example, is absolute, but its force comes finally from the conformity of an individual's reason to the common reason of the scientific community. Political power can operate the same way, Condorcet argued, by having men submit to the truth of the common reason of representative bodies of enlightened men. This rationalistic conception of sovereignty was still foremost in his mind, in November 1792, when he argued that free men should only obey the

collective reason of the greatest number; I say its reason and not its will, because the power of the majority over the minority cannot be arbitrary; it does not extend to the violation of the rights of a single individual; it does not extend to obliging submission to that which obviously contradicts reason. This distinction is not trifling; a collection of men ought and must, the same as an individual, distinguish between what they want, and that which they find reasonable and just. 22

He went on to declare in the same article, that legislation must

be seen by the majority of the people as "les plus conformes à la raison."²³ And he repeated this opinion in the Chronique de Paris on a number of occasions:

Speak to men the language of reason and they will obey you. Show them an arbitrary will and they will refuse. In popular constitutions, power is not in violence, it is in the reason of the greatest number. 24

Condorcet remained convinced that the common or public reason could be a force in politics to the end of his life, and that the rule of public reason would not be limited only to France. He attacked slavery in his Esquisse (1793), arguing that the government of Britain may well be forced to submit to the raison publique:

Déjà, dans la Grande-Bretagne, quelques amis de l'humanité en ont donné l'exemple; et si son gouvernement machiavéliste, forcé de respecter la raison publique, n'a osé s'y opposer, que ne doit-on pas espérer du même esprit, lorsqu'après la réforme d'une constitution servile et vénale, il deviendra digne d'une nation humaine et généreuse? 25

The common reason of the greatest number was, for Condorcet, a political principle of the highest importance, which he seems to have felt could be implemented in the real political world.

The notion of a collective or public reason did not originate with Condorcet's mathematico-political representation of a process of truth valuable decision-making. Rather, it is implicit in seventeenth century scientific attitudes and made its way into French thought by the mid-seventeenth century. In 1631, for example, Guez de Balzac suggested that

si le bon sens, et la simple raison d'un homme, sont extrêmement [difficile?] à estimer, je ne voy pas pourquoy on méprisera la science, qui est comme le sens recueilly

d'une infinité de testes, et la raison commune de plusieurs sages. 26

The collective or common reason was not merely a scientific notion in the seventeenth century. It was also used to denote common human behaviors and, in some places, common errors of thought. Explaining the origins of pity, Corneille proposed a theory that presages, in some ways, Smith's affective notion of moral sentiment, where the fear of the affliction prompts pity for the sufferer, which is a universal human response²⁷

The words common and reason are frequently indirectly linked, usually in the idea of something being in accord with or contrary to common sense and reason such as in outrageantes à la raison et au sens commun.²⁸ The use of raison commune to indicate common sense, instead of the more metaphysical notion depicted by Balzac, is evident in the following verse by Maynard:

Depuis que je vay chés le roy
et pretens y faire fortune,
on dit que la raison commune
a fait divorce avecque moy. 29

At its most mundane, la raison commune seems to have been a synonym for common sense, a degree of intelligence or reasoning capability possessed by most people. The notion of a common or collective reason was not frequently used in the seventeenth century, and it is important to note that the expression raison publique does not occur in the ARTFL database between 1600 and 1699. The few uses in the 17th century, however, do reflect the concern with reasoning as a process that is greater than a single thinker.

The status of reasoning as a collective and public process was far more important in the eighteenth century because reason became the way that Enlightened thinkers wished to define humanity. In the first years of the century, Fénelon presented the problem posed by reason as part of his proof of the existence of God in particularly clear terms:

Tous les hommes sont raisonnables de la même raison, qui se communique à eux selon divers degrés: il y a un certain nombre de sages; mais la sagesse, où ils puisent comme dans la source, et qui les fait ce qu'ils sont, est unique. 30

Fénelon's assumption that all men are reasonable, to a certain degree, sets out the role of reason as a means of defining humanity. His identification of the common reason with the divine was not followed by many of the commentators later in the century. Indeed, common reason was also thought of as a limiting pattern of thinking rather than as a way to search for truth. In La Nouvelle Héloïse, for example, Rousseau suggests that social groups each have "une raison commune" which serve as a means to defend particular interests from competing groups:

Il y a une raison commune pour la robe, une autre pour la finance, une autre pour l'épée. Chacune prouve très-bien que les deux autres sont mauvaises, conséquence facile à tirer pour les trois. Ainsi nul ne dit jamais ce qu'il pense, mais ce qu'il lui convient de faire penser à autrui, et le zèle apparent de la vérité n'est jamais en eux que le masque de l'intérêt. 31

It is difficult to reconcile Rousseau's suggestion here that reason can be parceled out among competing interest groups with his argument that beneath the varieties of language is a reason that is common to all.³² The common reason also had definite political and ethical implications that were discussed by some

18th century writers. H.-J. Dulaurens argued that the notion that men are evil by their nature is an untenable absurdity. One need only consult reason and one's conscience to prove this, for

rien ne démontre mieux qu'elles que nous avons des devoirs à remplir, et pour cet effet des règles à suivre. Il y a une raison commune qui prend connaissance de nos actions; il est des devoirs communs, et les maximes qui exposent ces devoirs sont les lois naturelles. 33

The notion of raison commune was used in a variety of ways during the eighteenth century. All stressed, to varying degrees, the general idea that humanity had some reasoning capabilities which all members possessed.

The idea of common or collective reason also seems to have been linked with the idea of public opinion, resulting in the description of "la raison publique" among a number of writers in the eighteenth century. From the examples found in the ARTFL database, the idea of the public reason was used mainly in the second half of the eighteenth century. At the end of the century, Marmontel links la raison publique and public opinion implicitly, suggesting as well that the public reason is guided by the "invisible hand" of common utility. He writes,

Dans tous les temps, même les plus barbares, l'utilité commune a été un guide invisible pour la raison publique; et si on laisse à l'opinion son influence sur les mœurs, elle ne manquera jamais d'apprécier les hommes à leur juste valeur dans ce rapport d'utilité. 34

The public reason, in general usage in the second half of the eighteenth century, is not the universal reason upon which all other reasoning is based, as defined by Fontenelle at the beginning of the century. Rather, it is more closely associated

with public opinion, which was considered to be subject to gross errors. Thus Nicolas Chamfort, member of the Société de 1789, suggested in his Maximes et pensées (1794) that education is designed to teach a child's reason to conform to the public reason, but that this goal is dubious at best.³⁵ Twenty years earlier, Diderot had expressed similar contempt for the raison publique. Answering his father during a discussion of the possibilities of a lawsuit in his Entretien d'un père, Diderot gives an interesting political twist to the idea of raison publique, by associating it with the judicial system as well as legislation, arguing that the reason of an individual (himself) and the reasoning of humanity both take precedence over the public reason.³⁶ The public reason is clearly not reasonable enough for Diderot's tastes, and rather is linked in his mind to a succession of errors and crimes over the centuries. The public reason was seen to carry with it the weight of law and legislation as well as traditional reason, and was in some opinions responsible for many absurdities.

Many Enlightenment thinkers, however, placed more faith in the public reason than is suggested by Diderot's and Chamfort's use of the notion. Holbach gives a particularly succinct outline of not only what the public reason is, but also of why it is necessary. He writes,

Si tous les hommes étoient éclairés ou raisonnables, ils n'auroient aucun besoin d'être gouvernés; mais comme ils ignorent, ou semblent méconnoître et le but qu'ils doivent se proposer et les moyens d'y parvenir, il faut que le gouvernement, en leur présentant la raison publique exprimée par la loi, les remette dans la voie dont ils pourroient

s'écarter. 37

The public reason is expressed in the law, which reflects the enlightened and careful consideration of legislators. The law carries the authority of being an expression of the public reason which permits the government to enforce law for the good of the ruled. In a surprisingly similar passage, Rousseau seems to equate the will of the people and the public reason as signs of good government and the way to preserve liberty. "Vous avez appris," he writes,

à quels signes on reconnoît cet organe sacré de la volonté d'un peuple, et comment l'empire de la raison publique est le vrai fondement de la liberté. 38

These are, however, only occasional references in the works of both Holbach and Rousseau.

Louis-Sébastien Mercier³⁹ refers to the raison publique more frequently and more consistently than other philosophes whose works are found in the ARTFL database. Writing in support of paper money in France, for example, Mercier argues that the unfortunate experience of the nation under Law earlier in the century had left people afraid of trying it again.

Aujourd'hui que la raison publique préside à tout calcul, et que le calcul ne sauroit s'égarer, il n'y a qu'une terreur enfantine qui puisse interdire en France ce papier-monnoie, dont l'absence empêche le royaume de profiter de tous ses avantages. 40

The increasing importance of la raison publique in the calculations of public finance seems to have been paralleled, in Mercier's opinion, by similar advances in other fields. Examining the theatre of Racine's period, Mercier suggests that

there was little consciousness of the nation or of politics.⁴¹

The importance of public reason, in Mercier's writing, is consistently linked to political considerations. His criticism of the theatre of the 17th century relies on the assumption that the public reason was not sophisticated enough to appreciate drama aimed at the people or nation, remaining, therefore, superficial and silly.

Like Condorcet, Mercier placed considerable emphasis on the development of the public reason through education, a process that he saw having profound political implications. "J'ai écrit sur cet art que tu chéris," he writes in L'An 2440,

et qui mieux vu et différemment traité pourroit rendre l'instruction générale, répandre dans l'esprit du citoyen des principes utiles, cultiver la raison publique jusqu'ici si négligée, ramener enfin les hommes à ces idées simples, claires, intelligibles, qui sont les meilleures de toutes et qui leur paroîtront de la plus étrange nouveauté, car rien de plus nouveau pour eux que les premières et faciles notions de la vraie morale et de la saine politique. 42

This art, he goes on to suggest, is still very much in its infancy, for despite the efforts of a few men of genius, little has been accomplished in realizing the ideals of general education. Writing from the perspective of the future in the L'An 2440, Mercier attacks the legal structure of the ancien régime, arguing that haughty magistrates make laws like theological decrees without the slightest realization of the real nature of laws. "Nous ne concevons pas comment," he has his learned guide to the future declare,

dans votre siècle (soi-disant éclairé) vos magistrats osoient dans leur morgue orgueilleuse vous proposer des arrêts dogmatiques, semblables aux décrets des théologiens,

comme si la loi n'étoit pas la raison publique, comme s'il ne falloit pas que le peuple fût instruit pour se porter plus rapidement à l'obéissance. 43

Mercier's idea of perfect government is not monarchical, democratic, or aristocratic. Rather, "it is rational, and made for man."⁴⁴ Mercier's notion of the public reason is flexible. At times he suggests that it is a level of general knowledge or culture that some or all of the people possess. His more political usage tends to emphasize the idea that law is a reflection of, and derives its authority from, la raison publique. Education can increase the level of the public reason, but Mercier does not propose mechanisms that could be used to determine what the public reason is on a particular issue or how various propositions could be tested.

Condorcet took a relatively vague notion of common or public reasoning current in the eighteenth century, which had developed largely as a synonym for public opinion or common sense, and gave it a considerable degree of precise meaning. The importance of reason and rationality, at both the symbolic and theoretical levels, in Enlightenment attitudes would lead one to expect that the political theory of the philosophes would stress a construction like the public reason. Few of the philosophes, however, used the notion frequently or with great consistency. Only Mercier, a secondary figure writing⁴⁵ after the peak of the High Enlightenment, seems to have had a more democratic view of the cultural and political implications of the Enlightenment's quest for reasonableness. It seems that this conception of

public or common reason had some impact on the Société de 1789 and other writers of the Revolutionary period. Many members of the Société de 1789 seem to have accepted the general notion that government and public policy were functions of reason and could be judged by rational techniques. It is rather more difficult to know whether members of 1789 were directly influenced by Condorcet's writings or simply borrowed the notion from other Enlightenment writers.

The application of reason to the political and social realms found many expressions in the writing of the Société de 1789. Several writers made direct reference to collective manifestations of reason as the basis of political sovereignty or laws. Cérutti greeted the new political order, in 1789, with the declaration that the French were substituting "enfin la raison publique aux opinions factieuses, et des idées justes à des idées fausses ou exagérées."⁴⁶ Similarly, the marquis de Casaux outlined a notion of the "general reason" in his discussion of the constitution. He wrote that

une Loi doit toujours être la déclaration du résultat de toutes les connoissances qu'il est possible de recueillir sur l'objet à l'égard duquel il est nécessaire de statuer. ⁴⁷

Though he does not, in this text, refer directly to the notion of the common or public reason, Casaux mentions the critical importance of the accumulation of reason in legislative bodies on a number of occasions. "Le pouvoir législatif," he declares,

réside essentiellement et uniquement dans la masse de lumières qui existent dans la Nation, et qu'il n'est pas possible de recueillir ces lumières, que dans le Conseil,

composé de Représentants de tous les intérêts. 48

Casaux asserts the connection between lumières and liberty in absolute terms: "sans lumières point de liberté, sans liberté point de lumières, sans lumières et liberté, point de propriété; point d'Assemblée Nationale."⁴⁹ The general pronouncements of the desirability of reasonableness in political behavior and the foundation of political sovereignty on constructions like the "public reason" were politically loaded notions in 1790. The contrast was drawn by a number of writers between the reason required of the National Assembly and the irrationality of those who attacked the Assembly or other elite groups. The politics of reason and truth found particular application to the defense of the parties of order in 1790 and must be interpreted in that context.

Grouvelle opened his discussion of the decree of June 18th 1790 suppressing the nobility and exterior signs of nobility with the declaration that law is not merely an expression of the general will, but also must be the view of the public reason:

la loi ne devrait pas être seulement l'expression de la volonté générale, mais il lui convient sur-tout d'être le voeu de la raison publique. Voilà pourquoi il faut qu'une discussion étendue et solennelle lui serve comme d'une préface nécessaire. 50

Grouvelle goes on to argue that if legislators did not deliberate carefully and rationally, they would be acting as despots, who frequently confused truth and the movement of the passions. The National Assembly has the right to form decrees, but it has the duty to discuss, for there is no

proposition assez simple pour n'avoir pas besoin d'être démontrée. Une Assemblée Nationale est faite pour prouver que deux et deux font quatre, si quelqu'un le nie. 51

The public reason is determined in the debates of the National Assembly which, it would seem, can reach conclusions that demonstrate the truth of proposed laws. And by implication, Grouvelle suggests that these demonstrations can be as clear and as simple as the proofs of deux et deux font quatre. The legislators have a further duty to disseminate these truths to the population as a whole. The interest of the people, he argues is best served by freeing them of their prejudices, instructing them of their interests and of the new métier of being a citizen. He poses the rhetorical question:

Le devoir du législateur n'est-il pas de veiller sur la conservation du bon-sens national, la plus précieuse partie de la santé du corps politique? 52

The representatives of the nation are not only to preserve the "national common sense" -- a quaint expression found half-a-dozen times in the ARTFL database, used by Guizot, Constant, Reybaud, Crevècoeur, and Charles de Gaulle -- but are supposed to serve as the purveyors of "social truths." Grouvelle writes,

les représentans de la nation ne sont pas seulement les architectes de l'édifice constitutionnel, ils doivent être aussi les hérauts des vérités sociales. Le sénat, le conseil de souveraineté, est encore un aréopage, un tribunal d'opinions, qui doit flétrir les erreurs dangereuses, dénoncer les préjugés anticiviques à la conscience et à la raison de tous les citoyens. 53

Thus, the two principal functions of the National Assembly both entail the operations of rational government. The first, the creation of a constitution, will allow decrees (toujours

salutaires) to be nothing more than the "proclamation des axiomes philosophiques." More importantly, the National Assembly will serve as protectors of the public reason by disseminating enlightenment to the population. It is because the people, Grouvelle goes on to claim,

n'est point éclairé qu'il faut montrer la lumière; c'est parce qu'il n'est point sensible aux atteintes portées à ses droits et à sa dignité, que ses mandataires réclameront pour lui. 54

Grouvelle suggests that reason in a collective form is central to the creation of a free government. It is, however, a strictly elitist argument in favor of maintenance of the new political arrangements, since it presupposes an enlightened elite to enact and operate rational government. Opposition to the government is categorized as "charlatanisme" or irrationality. Grouvelle's emphasis on the role of reason in the political realm carries with it a strong defense of existing social distinctions.

A far stronger defense of the existing political order is found in André Chenier's Avis au Peuple François sur ses véritables ennemis. A central part of Chenier's argument is the role of reason in the formation of the body politic. The enemies that he wishes to identify are those who attack the leaders of the National Assembly without charges and are sowing the "germes de haines politiques" which are taking root. Radical journalists and rabble-rousers attack the most respectable politicians with grave accusations and atrocious imputations, encouraging insurrections throughout the realm. Perverse and evil-intentioned men are destroying the public spirit, since men's

passions are strong and their judgement weak, particularly in times of upheaval. It is the deterioration of the public spirit that Chenier sees as the most dangerous activity of the radicals. Thus, he asks the rhetorical question: "Quest-ce (sic) qu'un bon esprit public dans un pays libre?" followed by the answer,

N'est-ce pas une certaine raison générale, une certaine sagesse pratique et comme de routine, à-peu-près également départie entre tous les citoyens, et toujours d'accord et de niveau avec toutes les institutions publiques. 55

There are several elements to Chénier's notion of the general reason. The most important is that it seems to represent common and collective patterns of political behavior and belief, a meaning which corresponds to the ideas of common reason suggested by Chamfort and Rousseau, as we have seen, which stressed the habitual and traditional in the common reason. Chenier goes on to suggest that every citizen in a well regulated state knows well what is due to the society as a whole. Citizens respect the law as their own will, and "ne dispute jamais contre la loi." Indeed, when a society endures for a long time, such public spirit becomes "une habitude innée," and

une sorte de religion, je dirois presque de superstition; certes, alors un pays a le meilleur esprit public qu'il puisse avoir. 56

During the past year of upheaval, Chenier continues, we have seen the beginnings of the establishment of a new public spirit, where new rules of conduct will naturally apply. "Ainsi voyons" he declares,

quels pas notre raison nationale a fait vers ce modèle que nous devons nous proposer. Voyons en quoi elle s'est éclairée, affermie, agrandie, voyons de quoi nous a servi

l'expérience d'une année, et d'une année si fertile en évènements. 57

The past year of events were based on listening to "nos caprices du moment," but now we must establish the raison nationale and the patterns of behavior that will stabilize the nation and secure liberty. Collective reason -- denoted by terms like the national or general reason -- for Chenier, suggests stable patterns of behavior that do not challenge constituted authority as opposed to the irrational behavior of the radicals who felt that the Revolution was not complete.

Condorcet's discussions of the political role of the common reason during the period of the Société de 1789 also tended to emphasize this conservative representation of reason in the political domain. At the beginning of August 1790, the philosophe gave a thumb-nail sketch of representative government which provides a useful guide to his constitutional theory as applied to the political situation of the day.⁵⁸ A nation is free, he declares, only when it follows laws conforming to natural rights of citizens made by its representatives meeting under the conditions established previously in a constitution. Just as important, he goes on, there must be a mechanism to reform and modify laws. The mechanisms for changing laws must be limited because of the nature of law. The reason that one submits to laws "est la probabilité qu'elles seront conformes à la vérité." If one can change laws arbitrarily, however,

il n'y a aucune raison de croire conforme à la vérité, celle qui a été faite aujourd'hui, de préférence à celle qui a été faite hier. Une loi est une détermination générale, dont

les preuves ne peuvent varier d'un jour à l'autre. 59

Condorcet argues that law does not represent force or will, but rather that the "voeu de la pluralité" is a form of jugement, and he contrasts the required stability of judgement with the instability of the opinion générale which can change rapidly. This can lead to the contradictory situation of having a law which is not in accord with the opinion générale. This does not invalidate the law nor give individual citizens the right to disobey it. Respect for law, even those that the citizen might dislike, prevents anarchy, allows the true exercise of freedom through representatives, but is not "une superstition politique qui suspende les progrès de la raison."⁶⁰ Rather, Condorcet declares that "le respect pour la loi est une sentiment plus réfléchi."⁶¹ Thus, nothing can be more useful, he argues, than

persuader aux citoyens, qu'ils ne seront pas vraiment libres, si dans la société tous ne suivent les mêmes règles, et par conséquent si tous ne sont soumis à la loi légitime; que s'y soustraire parce qu'on la désapprouve intérieurement, ce n'est pas jouir de la liberté, ni même de l'indépendance, c'est exercer une sorte de tyrannie, c'est asservir les autres à ses intérêts, à ses passions, qui trop souvent on confond avec sa raison. 62

Insurrection and other forms of protest against laws are forms of tyranny that are caused by mistaking individual passions for reason. Further, Condorcet argues that any attempt by an individual or a group to use their limited reason to judge laws is illegitimate, since only the common reason has this authority. He writes that one should persuade citizens that

chaque homme, maître de juger par lui-même de ce qui est ou n'est pas juste, ne peut donner sa raison pour règle à celle d'autrui, que cette autorité n'appartient qu'à la raison

commune. 63

Since the constitution gives adequate mechanisms to redress unpopular laws, the right of insurrection cannot be invoked to justify disobedience to law.

Condorcet's argument against insurrection was based on his notion of the role of the legislature in determining the common reason. One obeys laws because they have a high probability of being true. Implicit here is both a theory of representative government, as opposed to any form of direct or immediate democracy, and a theory of "intellectual elitism," since one must elect the most enlightened men to the National Assembly in order to have laws which are most probably true. Finally, Condorcet attacks the possibility of individuals or localities having a legitimate cause to oppose the national representation since it creates laws that reflect the common reason, rather than a compromise of local interests to a single agreement. Rational politics, during this period of the development of Condorcet's thought, has profoundly conservative elements, forming a strong argument for continued direction of the Revolution by an enlightened elite. The common reason appears to serve as a formidable argument for retention of the political and social status-quo of 1790.

Arguments from reason were used as a means to suggest that insurrection, or other attacks on the constituted authorities in 1790, were illegitimate. Underlying the rhetoric of populism implicit in the writings of 1789, there seems to have remained a

feeling that reason continued to be best expressed by the elites of the realm. The political use of reason, as opposed to passion or patriotism, was to create a group who claimed to be more reasonable than the rest. Appeal to reasonableness was also an important component of the effort to stabilize the political situation, since further revolutionary action could only be aimed at the elite holding power. The use of enlightenment, reason, and truth was both a serious political conception derived from earlier political notions and an attempt to calm the revolutionary situation. The politics of reason seems to have embodied a moderate political position and a rather conservative social theory intent on preserving existing hierarchies of property and education.

The uses of the rhetoric of reason and truth in the political writings of members of the Société de 1789 were more broad than the abstract constitutional elements that we have discussed to this point. The use of the common reason as a constitutional theory is only one use of general Enlightenment rhetoric in the writings of the Société.

-- II --

Many members of the Société thought that the progress of Enlightenment was an important element of constitutional arrangements being developed under the National Assembly, and they frequently couched their political discussions in the

language of reason and truth. The implications of this attitude underlying the writings of members of 1789 are important to understanding positions they took on issues confronting the club in 1790. The notion that political representation involved ascertaining the common or collective reason of the nation suggested the importance of education as well as a relatively mechanistic conception of politics and social organization.

In his long discourse concerning the constitution, Casaux argues that the dissemination of Enlightenment in France is already so profound that rational government can be implemented without fear:

On peut maintenant compter en France, et, graces au ciel, répandus dans toutes les provinces, un million d'hommes capables de saisir une vérité quand elle sera bien présentée; -- un million d'hommes déjà pleinement convaincus, et certainement convaincus pour jamais (car qui peut enlever une vérité saisie et défendue par un million d'hommes); convaincus, dis-je, que la France ne peut se gouverner sagement qu'au moyen d'une Assemblée Nationale annuelle qui délibère annuellement sur tous ses besoins qui peuvent et doivent varier d'une année à l'autre. 64

Casaux uses the image of one million reasoning men -- referring to un million têtes réfléchissantes and êtres pensans -- a number of times to reenforce the progress that the nation has made towards Enlightenment as well as the political viability of a rational model of government. He is, for example, willing to find simple political truths that seem to be self-evident to all right thinking men. Is it necessary, he asks, to give the title of constitutional law to truths "lorsqu'un million têtes réfléchissantes, dans un pays tel que la France, ont bien saisi ce petit nombre de vérités, et de vérités aussi sensibles?"⁶⁵ If

the truths which are to be found in the constitution seem to be clear to the mass of enlightened men in France, Casaux is also certain that the progress of Enlightenment warrants direct election of representatives.⁶⁶ He goes on to argue that in a nation of a million enlightened men, the most enlightened and just individuals will always be selected: "l'homme qu'ils reconnoitroient le plus éclairé comme le plus juste."⁶⁷ The attempt to impose electoral distinctions, like the marc d'argent, will be rejected by Frenchmen precisely because so many of them are enlightened. Thus, the key to Casaux's argument against limitations to suffrage and, more broadly, to his constitutional arrangements, is the notion that Enlightenment has already been disseminated in France to such a degree that representative institutions can reflect the truths already grasped by one million thinking men.

Government policy should, according to many members of 1789, function to spread Enlightenment, or at the very least, retard the forces of fanaticism. Grouvelle's explanation of the ideals and implications of the civil constitution of the clergy is a particularly interesting example of how the Revolution required careful delineation between the forces of fanaticism and those assisting the progress of reason. All religions, he argued, should be freely practiced under the protection of the constitution. But when the ministers of the cult -- "les ministres d'un culte" -- are salaried employees of the state, the nation can impose a constitution which requires that they perform

a useful service, for "elle ne peut imposer aux citoyens que les dépenses qui servent à l'utilité commune."⁶⁸ Grouvelle notes that an important element of the civil constitution is its design, preventing the formation of another estate within the nation, while the most significant component is in the teaching of morals. He argues that

sur-tout s'ils enseignent la morale, la constitution doit les empêcher de former un système de morale théocratique calculé sur leurs intérêts, qui au lieu de se perfectionner par le progrès de la raison humaine tende au contraire à la retarder ou à l'égarer, et qui ait pour objet, non d'éclairer les hommes sur leurs devoirs, mais de les gouverner par les ferveurs de la conscience. 69

If good government is based on the common reason, then popular education must be an important component of the establishment of representative institutions. There is a clear element of elitism implicit in this view, however, since an Enlightened elite should control the education system. The encouragement of the spread of reason, it would seem, could serve to enlighten large portions of the population as well as to entrench the established elites in cultural institutions.

Condorcet made this process quite explicit in his discussion of the role of the capital in the new order. The reform of education or the establishment of truly national education would be particularly advantageous for Paris. He writes,

Sans doute la nation doit offrir à tous les citoyens les instructions nécessaires pour travailler à leur propre bonheur, et remplir les devoirs communs de la société. Mais les grands maîtres, les instructions plus approfondies, plus étendues, qui ne peuvent convenir qu'à un petit nombre, auront naturellement leur place dans la capitale, et il est important d'y réunir sur-tout les établissemens où l'on développera dans toute leur étendue les diverses parties des

sciences politiques. 70

This model of a centralized education scheme, with the "best and brightest" converging on Paris to be supported by the nation appears frequently in Condorcet's later writing and was the model on which the Institut was built. The political implications of his national education model were fairly clear in the philosophe's mind. Development of the political sciences was to be complemented by public education in this knowledge. Education was to be aimed not only at children but at adults throughout the nation in order to instill correct principles. The role of the philosophe in the Revolution and the new political order, according to Condorcet, is both educator and cultural leader. Indeed, Condorcet declared that the Revolution and the development of the arts and sciences were intimately linked. "Les sciences, les lettres gagneront donc à la révolution"⁷¹ because careers are open to talent and enlightenment. He poses the rhetorical question, however, of whether France can afford to ignore the progress of Enlightenment. And he suggests that failure to advance in letters and science will result inevitably in a fall back into oppression and tyranny.

Pourquoi une nation libre n'encourageroit-elle pas autant que les princes, tout ce qui contribue aux progrès des lumières. Ignorera-t-elle que ce sont les philosophes, les savans, les grands écrivains qui lui formeront ces instituteurs, destinés eux-mêmes à former des citoyens utiles. Ne saura-t-elle pas que si on vouloit borner l'esprit humain, à ce qui est rigoureusement d'une utilité immédiate, il retomberoit bientôt dans l'ignorance et dans la servitude; que tout art, toute science qui ne fait pas de nouveaux progrès se corrompt et s'altère? 72

Condorcet was convinced that the dissemination of Enlightenment

had clear political benefits in training the population in its civic duty and obligations. But the nation had a vested interest in the development of the sciences and letters. It was the philosophes who had helped to form useful citizens, and would continue to guarantee the Enlightenment and freedom of the nation.

This glorified view of the intellectuals' political role may be thought to justify the notion that a small, select group should continue to exercise a degree of power that it had during the last years of the ancien régime. The political uses of reason were, as in Casaux's constitutional discussion, used to defend a representative constitution, but also implied the defense of traditional elites and the concentration of cultural power in Paris. Grouvelle's attack on Church support for regulation of education reflected another avenue of enlightened intolerance and use of the political process to enforce a particular view. Thus, Enlightenment in Paris in 1790 fostered a socially conservative view of education and the preservation of cultural institutions which the philosophes had controlled before the Revolution.

The ideals of science were infrequently used by members of 1789 in describing politics, but seem to inform their conception of l'art social as well as the notion that government was really a matter for an educated elite. After discussing an opinion with which he disagrees intensely, Grouvelle declares that

la liberté est une science qui a, comme tous les beaux arts, une foule d'amateurs aveugles et de faux connoisseurs; ces

gens-là sont d'ordinaire plus enthousiastes que les professeurs les plus habiles. 73

While the science of liberty might attract many rank amateurs, it is more difficult to determine just how scientific politics really could be. Condorcet suggests that "la science des constitutions politiques"⁷⁴ has not advanced significantly since ancient times, judging by the fact that many in France wanted to continue the ancient tradition of revocability of all laws, regardless of the immutable nature of human rights. Condorcet and Siéyès, as we have seen in Chapter Two,⁷⁵ defined l'art social as a sort of super-science which would combine the particular fields of knowledge into a single body of information. L'art social would be of utility to the improvement of mankind as well as the creation of a new political order in France. Thus, they argued in the Prospectus that it would be a science of general civilization combining political knowledge and technical information. Scientific notions of politics, closely allied to the rationalistic model of government that many in the Société supported, implied a mechanistic view of politics and society. The object of l'art social was, in the final analysis, the uncovering of the laws of politics and society which would inform the legislature's decrees.

Grouvelle argued that the Revolution was not only a noble experiment from which the rest of the nations in the world could learn, but it was also the overturning of all known ideas of "social mechanics:"

La France fait dans ce moment à ses risques et au profit du

genre humain une grande expérience, qui renverse toutes les notions connues de la mécanique sociale. 76

In an earlier essay, Grouvelle adopted the image that he was a simple amateur in the "grand art" of social mechanics. Going on to assert that the entire constitutional process was analogous to assembling a complicated machine, he declared that the role of the executive was the most complicated to reconcile with representative government, writing,

De toutes les pièces qui composent cette grande machine qu'on appelle constitution, celles-ci sont les plus difficiles à composer, manier et agencer avec justesse. Semblables aux mauvais instituteurs qui ne savent corriger un enfant d'un vice que par un autre, la plupart des Mécaniciens politiques n'ont su combattre la force qu'ils craignent, qu'en créant une force ennemie. 77

In another context, Grouvelle again asserts the notion that the individual interests found in the nation can be reconciled through the carefully crafted institutions of government and representation. Such is the sublime competence of a legislative body, he writes

qu'après avoir organisé l'universalité des choses, il sait r'accorder (sic) les ames à ce mécanisme harmonieux, par des décrets toujours salutaires, ne fussent-ils que la proclamation des axiômes philosophiques sur lesquels il a fondé l'ensemble des institutions nationales. 78

The mechanism of the constitution not only seems to balance the competing interests of the people, but also all of the various branches and powers of a mixed government. Writing on the delegation of the power to declare war, he argued that war, peace and the negotiation of treaties,

en un mot, toute la politique extérieure d'un Etat, exigent, comme les finances, une organisation particulière, un mécanisme complet; ainsi que les finances, cette partie du

gouvernement est mixte de sa nature, et composée de divers branches qui doivent ressortir des divers pouvoirs. 79

This organization of government applies to all elements of the administration, bureaucracy and legislatures. Grouvelle concludes by providing an outline of just how the "political machine" can be engineered and kept in tune through the constitution, even though the constitution is far from being finished in France:

Il s'en faut bien que les élémens particuliers, dont il se compose, aient été tous analysés et rapprochés des principes qui leur sont propres; aussi quoique le décret rendu à cet égard remplisse les principales vues, et ait posé les vrais fondemens, la machine politique est bien loin d'être achevée. Ne faudroit-il pas en conclure que la discussion publique sur une matière si vaste et si nouvelle, n'auroit dû être ouverte qu'après le travail préparatoire d'un comité. 80

The committee of the constitution of the National Assembly was working on the new and vast project of building the political machine that would encode liberty and balance individual rights.

Grouvelle's image of the political machine was not his alone. The marquis de Casaux adopted many physiocratic notions of free trade with mechanistic conceptions of social organization in his Considérations sur quelques parties du Mécanisme des sociétés which was published as five volumes in London just before the Revolution.⁸¹ Casaux's study of the economies and fiscal policies of France, Britain and other European nations is based on the theory that social organization can be made to reflect a natural order which will automatically balance all interests. He writes,

Toutes les opérations de la nature sont lents, graduelles,

imperceptibles; & comment tracer sa marche lorsqu'elle n'emploie dans les procédés qui la conduisent au bien général que le secours de cette multitude d'intérêts particuliers qui tendent tous à le détruire. 82

Casaux was not a strict physiocrat, for he admitted the possibility that agriculture was not the only source of wealth: "l'agriculture est la source de la vie, elle n'est point la source de cette richesse qu'on appelle argent."⁸³ He was, however, a strong proponent of free trade, among the nations of Europe as well as within France, declaring that the freedom to export grain, even with some restrictions, could make Europe "une seule famille."⁸⁴ The free flow of commerce and trade will follow natural laws, leading to expanded benefits for all segments of the society. Casaux's conception of economics is rather mechanical. He follows, for example, the (positive) consequences of increasing the salaries for laborers through a series of cause and effect relationships that have an impact on trade, industry, and agriculture.⁸⁵ Casaux's particular interest in tax and fiscal policy reflects his notion that the legislator must understand the operation of natural forces before attempting to make changes to this system. Indeed, he seems to think that humans cannot adequately understand economic and social organization well enough to formulate policy, and recommends as little intrusive legislation as possible. He asks the members of the Société de 1789 whether the true balance of economic matters is in the hands of men or of nature:

la main des hommes, pareille à celle des harpies, n'est capable que d'empoisonner tout ce qu'elle touche. Législateurs, tremblez de porter la vôtre sur tout ce que

vous n'êtes pas indispensablement obligés de toucher! 86

The complexity of social and economic organization, so difficult to see in operation because it is slow and depends on the balance of conflicting interests, may well frustrate attempts to develop satisfactory legislation. Better, Casaux seems to conclude, to simply leave nature alone. The mechanisms of society, when left unhindered by legislation, will balance out interests and through the operation of an "invisible hand" lead to greater prosperity for all.

The optimism of Grouvelle's and Casaux's mechanistic views of political and social organization was derived from the view that human reason was competent to devise constitutional systems to balance competing interests and, in the final analysis, that these systems would mirror the mechanisms of natural social organization which automatically create such a balance. The rational model of political behavior would seem to owe a considerable debt to the physiocratic conception of natural law in social and political organization. DuPont de Nemours presented this argument in schematic form more than twenty years before the Revolution (1768), declaring that there is "un ordre naturel, essentiel, et général qui renferme les lois constitutives et fondamentales de toutes les sociétés."⁸⁷ The point of legislation and government, according to DuPont, is to bring political and social organization into as close an alignment with the natural order as possible. Nature has surrounded us with supreme laws, he goes on to argue,

et d'un enchainement physique et inviolable de causes et d'effets qui ne laissent à notre intelligence et à notre liberté que le soin de les étudier et d'y conformer notre conduite, pour profiter des avantages qu'elles nous offrent, et éviter les maux qu'elles nous attireraient inévitablement, si nous refusions ou si nous négligions de nous éclairer sur l'ordre qu'elles constituent, et de nous soumettre à ce qu'il nous prescrit. 88

This mechanistic view of society, ruled by inevitable laws of cause and effect, provided the linkage between the scientific study of society and the political process. According to DuPont and Casaux, government was supposed to examine the laws of social organization, particularly financial and economic behavior, and permit the smooth operation of natural laws as far as possible.

Before the Revolution, physiocrats and those inspired by physiocrats, tended to support absolute government, which could implement the results of scientific examination of social laws without impediment. Absolutism was not, however, a necessary component of the physiocratic conception of social legislation. L'art social and the rationalistic conception of the government, found in the political theories of Condorcet, Grouvelle and other members of the Société de 1789, opened the possibility of representative bodies enacting legislation that would conform to social laws. The common reason, formed through education and continued research -- the latter concentrated in Paris as Condorcet argued -- would fathom the natural order of society and create legislation that would conform to natural law, reflecting the automatic balancing of interests that is implicit in nature. The optimism of Casaux, Grouvelle, and Condorcet and other members of 1789 in finding rational solutions to intractable

political problems appears to have been derived from the mechanistic conception of social organization which stressed the overall harmony of the system. They felt that France was already enlightened enough to support this form of government by reason, and that the role of the intellectual was to continue providing guidance to legislators and further advances in l'art social.

-- III --

The majority of papers published in the Journal de la Société de 1789 or printed at the order of the club did not deal with abstract subjects. Indeed, as will be argued in Chapter Six, the language of the club was not particularly marked by scientific or philosophical terminology. The importance of reason in the political realm seems to have been a central feature of the views of the most frequent publishers of the club, but these notions were applied to contemporary political problems. Thus, for example, many of Grouvelle's references to political reason occur in his treatment of particular decrees or the organization of the executive. There was a consistent effort by several members of the Société de 1789 to apply notions of political reason to the discussion of current events.

The best example of the applications of l'art social by members of the Société is the debate concerning the assignats in the late summer and early fall of 1790. The composition of the club and the importance of the issue to the operation of

revolutionary government made the problem of the assignats very pressing to the Société de 1789. Members wrote a flurry of articles and papers at the end of the summer and into the fall of 1790. Financial issues were more important to members of the club because many of them held physiocratic ideas about social organization which tended to stress the central role of finance and economics. Aside from purely intellectual concerns, members of 1789 had other reasons to be particularly concerned by the prospects of a paper currency. Many members of the club were actively involved in banking and commerce before and during the Revolution. A number of the most influential financiers attached to the Caisse d'Escompte, which held a large proportion of the regime's debt, were members of the Société and had direct interests in the financial affairs of the government. Beyond that, some members were influential in the formulation of fiscal policy in several of the committees that reported to the Finance Committee of the National Assembly. La Rochefoucauld and Roederer, for example, became the guiding individuals of the committee working on taxation. DuPont de Nemours had a considerable reputation as a reformer and economist at the beginning of the Revolution and was, at one point, a member of twelve committees, including Commerce and Finance.⁸⁹ A number of other members wrote considerable tracts on fiscal policy during the early Revolution. Cérutti, to take a single example, wrote a long tract titled Idées simples et précises sur le papier monnaie, les assignats forcés et les biens ecclésiastiques which

was attacked by several authors and followed by a defense of his position.⁹⁰

The composition of the Société de 1789 was not the only reason that the club took particular interest in fiscal affairs. The majority of the papers dealing with the assignats and other fiscal affairs were read to the Société in the late summer and fall of 1790, reflecting the outburst of interest on fiscal policy that accompanied the proposal to float another creation of assignats.⁹¹ In its debate concerning the assignats on August 28th, 1790, the National Assembly decreed to request submissions from interested parties.⁹² The timing was important. The first round of assignats in November 1789 had been, for all intents and purposes, the creation of a paper currency, but structured as bills of exchange or Treasury bonds, bearing interest at five percent annually and redeemable against the sale of biens nationaux.⁹³ When the assignats did not raise sufficient capital through sales of the biens nationaux, the National Assembly was forced, on April 17, 1790, to declare the notes currency proper. It ordered assignats printed in smaller denominations, and reduced the interest to three percent in order to stimulate redemption. This new currency was used to pay government creditors and other obligations. Thus, the decree of April 17th maintained the fiction of calling the assignats bills of exchange rather than a true currency, even though it was being treated as currency by the government.⁹⁴ On August 27, 1790, Mirabeau argued in the National Assembly that the remaining biens

nationaux be sold to many more small holders, excluding syndicates and large landholders, by issuing assignats in small denominations bearing no interest, or a paper currency which could be accumulated by anyone in the realm and redeemed against the nationalized property. The bill was passed a month later by a narrow margin (508 to 423) and 1.2 billion livres were ordered issued.⁹⁵ The debate concerning the creation of a true paper currency, inside the National Assembly and out, was particularly intense, given the fear of paper currencies that was caused by the disasters of Law's regime in the early 18th century and the failure of experiments in other countries, such as the United States.⁹⁶

The month long debate in the National Assembly concerning the establishment of a true paper currency divided the Société de 1789 along lines that do not necessarily reflect political divisions on other issues. Members in support of Mirabeau's position included Clavière, who was probably the author of much of what Mirabeau had to say on the issue; Pierre-Hubert Anson, a receiver general in Grenoble when he was elected to the National Assembly; and Le Chapellier. Equally influential opponents in the Société included DuPont, Condorcet, and Talleyrand. The debate in the National Assembly was paralleled, in many ways, by the debate in the Société⁹⁷ focussing on technical issues of monetary policy, with relatively few overtly political or theoretical statements. There were, on the other hand, hints of suspicion of the speculative interests of individuals adopting

positions pro and con. Thus DuPont, for example, could implicate the supporters of the plan by suggesting that it was hatched by speculators and would benefit speculators who wanted to buy discounted assignats and purchase large parcels of the biens nationaux at very favorable prices:

Gentlemen, when such speculations can be made, do not be surprised that the actions which can lead to them find numerous and ardent partisans.

You know that the plan was not conceived in this Assembly; that it was devised by outsiders of great capacity, accustomed to speculate in our public funds, and who have no other profession at all. Do not be surprised that these men of genius have put forth all their ability to clothe it [their plan] in pleasing colors, which would impress those of our colleagues, who, having the modesty to distrust their own abilities on such difficult questions, believe with reason that they should profit by the abilities of men most experienced in carrying on trade in bills, and in making liquidation and redemption plans for the debt of the State. 98

The implication here is that financiers, particularly those associated with the Caisse d'Escompte, were attempting to make fortunes by manipulating the government debt in their favor. The suspicion of financiers was not limited to more radical political parties, but was found in moderate circles and among well informed economists. Casaux felt that he had to protect the reputations of holders of the government notes, suggesting that "on considère le créancier de l'état comme une excrescence bien fâcheuse sur le corps politique."⁹⁹ This notion, he continues, is based on the current crisis and the wide spread ignorance of the role of credit and lenders in the creation of the public good. The accusation of self-interest by members of 1789 by DuPont suggests that the tenor of the debate moved all too

quickly from scientific analysis to attacks on personal interests.

Indeed, many of the speeches, particularly against the assignats, are marked by this tension between technical analysis of the impact of paper currency on commerce, industry and agriculture, and the suspicion that the wrong elements of the population would benefit. The young English banker Huskisson, for example, lectured the Société de 1789 on the disastrous inflation of paper currency that occurred in the American states as well the Aire bank in Scotland, suggesting that "un papier monnaie n'aura jamais la confiance nécessaire, à moins d'être des billets au porteur qu'on puisse convertir en espèces quand on voudra."¹⁰⁰ He concludes his comments by attacking the notion, proposed by Mirabeau, that the assignats would give a wider range of people a direct interest in the Revolution by allowing them to purchase nationalized land. Do individuals really need further reasons to attach themselves to the Revolution, Huskisson demands, than the fact that twenty-four million people have been freed from slavery? He attacks the possible beneficiaries as of the assignats as "égoïstes agioteurs," equating them with the "sous despotes" of the ancien régime.¹⁰¹ There was more at work here than simply impugning individual reputations, however, for the conflict between supporters and opponents of the assignats in the Société suggests that the discourse of political reason could be used to support less disinterested arguments.

DuPont's attack on the financiers associated with the Caisse

d'Escompte was no simple tirade against wealthy speculators. He attempted to demonstrate that the arguments for the assignats were based on "inconsistent logic" and "absurd reasoning." And he went on to suggest that, assuming the good intentions of the supporters of the assignats, "bad logicians have committed more involuntary crimes than bad men have done intentionally."¹⁰² The dangers of inflation created by paper money can be predicted by the theory of monetary circulation and have been demonstrated by analysis of the period of Law's Bubble. Specie will flow out of the nation because foreigners will have no confidence in the paper, since paper can never be as secure as minted money. And when the paper is burned, serious deflation will occur, since there will then not be enough money of any sort remaining in the nation. The dangers of the assignats, he declared, is not merely speculation.

Do not believe [...] that I am explaining to you purely philosophical systems, because I have mentioned philosophies to you, and the reason, the nature, of the matters which I have pleaded with you: the facts have verified this theory. ¹⁰³

DuPont's counter-proposal is based upon the principles of political economy, which stress, as we have seen, the limitation of human interference and careful understanding of nature. He writes that "the more one can use the forces of Nature, without interfering with her natural course, and the less one seeks to act according to his own fancy, the better he does."¹⁰⁴ A mix of interest-bearing national bonds and the gradual release of interest-bearing assignats will prevent inflation and disruption

of internal and foreign commerce. The argument for gradual and limited release of assignats is based on the physiocratic notion that human actions are dangerous. DuPont concluded by suggesting that industry, commerce and agriculture should be "as little diverted as possible from their natural course," posing the rhetorical question:

Is there any one of you who does not feel that rural pursuits and those of the factories are the arch of safety, and that we should shudder when one risks touching them with a rash hand? 105

In this way, DuPont claimed to apply economic theory to the problem posed by the national debt, opposing the assignat plan as dangerous to the nation and exposing what he considered to be a massive speculative scheme that would benefit a privileged group.

The language of science and mathematics in finance, however, was used to defend or attack the assignats. DuPont's attack on speculators was met by Lavoisier himself. In a series of careful speeches,¹⁰⁶ the chemist used the example of the Caisse in order to defend a slightly modified version of the Mirabeau plan. "Il me seroit facile," he writes,

si je ne craignois d'abuser de votre attention, de démontrer mathématiquement que cet ordre de comptabilité est le plus naturel & le plus simple, le seul même qui soit praticable, le seul qui n'entraîne pas un bouleversement universel. 107

It will suffice my "démonstration," he continues, to cite the example of the Caisse d'Escompte, which has been "si calomnié" by opponents of the assignats. The Caisse has done nothing to deserve such treatment; indeed, without it,

il n'y auroit peut-être aujourd'hui ni Assemblée Nationale, ni Constitution; sans lequel au moins il auroit été

impossible de gagner l'époque à laquelle les biens du Clergé ont été déclarés nationaux; cet établissement enfin que l'opinion publique vengera tôt ou tard, & auquel la postérité, plus juste que la génération présente, rendra la place qu'il doit occuper dans l'histoire de la révolution. 108

The Caisse has shown that "fictive money" circulates rapidly, even when it is discounted. The velocity of circulation of notes reduces the total number that will have to be printed at any one time, and increases the total amount of wealth in the nation since they release capital from fixed assets which can then be invested in productive enterprise. Objections to the assignats, he argues, comes from "personnes peu versées dans les affaires"¹⁰⁹ who are not comfortable with the notion of circulation of notes. Lavoisier was confident that his was the correct answer, since he examined the two proposals being debated, "d'en calculer les avantages, les inconvénients & les difficultés." In outlining the problem, he argued that it is necessary to know all of the facts of the problem,

car ce n'est pas un résultat hypothétique que nous demandons, ce n'est point une question métaphysique que nous nous proposons de résoudre; nous cherchons au contraire une solution réelle & qui soit applicable aux circonstances dans lesquelles nous nous trouvons. 110

Reason applied to economic issues could result, in Lavoisier's opinion, in applicable solutions.

The conflict between two intellectuals of note, DuPont and Lavoisier, in the Société de 1789 and the fact that both sides resorted to arguments that had little to do with economic science in defending existing institutions on political grounds or attacking the motives of sponsors of legislation, suggests that

even the most convinced practitioners of l'art social were not above traditional political invective. There was a level of obvious concern about issues like inflation and bankruptcy, but it is hardly surprising to see Lavoisier, a financier involved in ancien régime credit and borrowing, support an institution which represented that financial elite. Beneath the level of personal or political interestedness lay a more genuine concern about the role that fiscal policies played in the development of commerce and trade. Indeed, commerce and trade for members of 1789 is paramount in their discussions of the assignats. As we shall see in subsequent chapters,¹¹¹ the language of the Société de 1789 concerning the nation is focussed on France as an economic and institutional entity.

Freedom of trade and protection of the national interests were the primary preoccupations of the economic policies of members of 1789. DuPont, as we have seen, feared the effects of possible inflation on foreign trade and depletion of wealth in France. Condorcet made a strong argument for the freedom of international trade, writing:

Il n'existe donc qu'un véritable intérêt commercial, le même pour toutes les nations; c'est le rétablissement de la liberté la plus entière. 112

Not only do all nations have an interest in freedom of trade and preservation of commerce in order to increase wealth, but also to promote political liberty and prevent tyranny.

La liberté du commerce et de l'industrie, en leur permettant de se répandre avec plus d'égalité, de se distribuer suivant le vœu de la nature et les besoins des hommes, préservera de ce danger. 113

Similarly, government fiscal policy in the preservation of liberty is central, according to Condorcet. He argues that constitutional laws relative to finances should place this power independent of the executive branch, particularly if the executive is united under a single hand, the monarch's. "Sans cela," he continues, "une nation riche, commerçante, endettée, ne peut conserver longtemps ni une liberté, ni une égalité réelles [sic]." ¹¹⁴ Thus, political economy was, for Condorcet, a central component of government. He made this linkage very clear in his criticism of the Physiocrats in the Esquisse. Condorcet argued that while the économistes seem to have overlooked political liberty in advocating the freedom of commerce, they did have an important impact on philosophy and political economy in France. Describing the économistes' program as simplistic but powerful, he argues that their theories linked

la véritable puissance et la richesse des états au bien-être des individus, et au respect pour leurs droits; [...] unissait, par le lien d'une félicité commune, les différentes classes entre lesquelles ces sociétés se divisent naturellement; cette idée si consolante d'une fraternité du genre humain, dont aucun intérêt national ne devait plus troubler la douce harmonie. ¹¹⁵

The concern of the members of the Société de 1789 in the assignats seems to have been prompted by a wide range of concerns, from the purely political to rather more idealistic concerns about the role that fiscal and economic policies play in the formation of good government.

The application of reason to political and social problems was not as free from political concerns as the propagandists of

l'art social thought. The debate concerning the assignats in the Société de 1789 shows that men who were at the forefront of the development of ideas of rational politics were quick to use personal abuse. The intense concern over fiscal policy, however, was not merely a result of the direct interests that many members of the club had in such speculative ventures. As suggested by the example of Condorcet, many of the members were influenced, either directly or indirectly, by the thought of the économistes. The identification of good government with the dictates of nature in fiscal and commercial realms was a hallmark of physiocratic thought before the Revolution. Given that the model of l'art social was economics, it is hardly surprising that many of the assumptions of that science came from the economic theory of the second half of the eighteenth century. Similarly, the conflict between Lavoisier and DuPont pitted differing economic views against one another, for where Lavoisier could envisage creation of wealth in increased exchange, DuPont retained the traditional physiocratic notion that wealth was limited to what was produced by agriculture. Both Lavoisier and DuPont were convinced that scientific method could be used to determine the correct course of action. Thus, the debate concerning the assignats and creation of a paper currency seems to highlight some of the assumptions and limitations of l'art social in practical application.

-- IV --

The leadership of the Société de 1789 founded the club with the intention of propagating the scientific study of societies and politics, particular those in France. The development of l'art social as a new super-science had its roots in the physiocrats' theory that society had a natural order to which good social organization should conform.¹¹⁶ The emphasis on economics as a science and the rational organization of society and politics found in the writings of the Société de 1789 would seem to be a continuation of earlier physiocratic notions. Members of the Société developed rather different theories of government, transforming the physiocrats' dependence on an enlightened, absolute monarch to implement rational legislation, to a theory of representative government which would derive its authority from the common reason of enlightened men. The common reason would be developed through the education of the population and continued research into l'art social, primarily in Paris. Representative institutions would reflect not the will of the nation, but the most probable political or social truths as discerned by rational men. Law would therefore conform to social and political truth. These truths could be stated in propositional form and would distinguish the natural order of societies. The theory of rational government, proposed by Condorcet and Grouvelle among others in the Société, brought together the physiocratic view of good government as conforming

to scientific truths with the legitimacy of representative institutions.

The politics of reason in 1790 formed the intellectual bridge between reforming government under an enlightened monarch and redrawing the political landscape to include property owners and other reasonable men in the decision-making process. What remained of the old notions of reform from above was the importance of an enlightened elite, who would assume privileged positions in the new order as the discoverers of natural social laws and implementors of rational legislation.

The politics of reason was not, in reality, as simple or as clean as its theoreticians wished to think. The debate concerning the assignats is an interesting example of the failures of l'art social and the Société de 1789 to attain the "truth" upon which a law could be drafted in the one arena where all concerned thought a single truth was attainable. Physiocrats and economists opined that finance and economics was one area where true progress had been made. The debate in the Société indicates the degree to which this supposition was incorrect, for the arguments quickly moved from scientific -- or in this case macro-economic discussions -- to debates concerning patriotism and self-interest. Even the club could not come to a consensus on issues which should have, according to their theories, been amenable to scientific analysis.

The politics of reason in 1790 seemed to have failed to account for the importance of irrational forces in political

behavior, and was marred by association with the ancien régime. In its attempt to continue the culture of ancien régime politics, the Société de 1789, and many other moderate reformers, developed political theories which did not correspond to the aspirations of more radical elements in Paris. The politics of reason in 1790 were those of the salon and drawing-room, not the meeting hall and the section. By discounting political rhetoric and declaring political passions as simple illegitimate irrationality, the Société failed to confront the new political culture of the Revolution. The failure was both intellectual and political. The composition of the club led naturally to elitist notions of politics which were re-enforced by an intellectual tradition derived from the physiocratic tradition of the Enlightenment. Men like Condorcet, Grouvelle, DuPont, and Lavoisier sincerely believed in the development of rational government, but they also benefitted from that theory which would have left an intellectual and social elite intact. Thus, the influence of Enlightened notions of rational government on the political theories of 1789 was complicated by intellectual concerns as well as the interests of groups wishing to promote their own causes.

The continuity between the Enlightenment and Revolution suggested by the study of the Société de 1789 so far in this work has relied on the examination of the membership of the club, the explicit policies and actions of 1789 during the early Revolution, and the crucial assumptions underlying the ideas of l'art social and rational politics. The members of the club were

formed from a coalition of pre-Revolutionary elites which retained many ancien régime notions of political organization and activity. We have seen, in this chapter, that the ideals of l'art social and rational politics tended to legitimate the claims that such an elite group made to retain its hold on bureaucratic, financial, and cultural power. The following three chapters will attempt to describe the nature of the relationship between the Enlightenment and the Revolution, by using computer-assisted linguistic techniques to analyze the political language based on a number of samples. While the members of 1789 claimed to be the inheritors of Enlightenment thought, there is no way to measure the strength of that claim or evaluate the degree to which the Société borrowed those ideas without the application of systematic methods. After surveying the theoretical and methodological considerations of applying systematic methods to intellectual history, we will compare political keywords in the language of 1789 with several comparison samples.

Notes

1. Philippe-Antoine Grouvelle, "Sur la délégation de l'exercice du droit de la guerre et de la paix," Journal de la Société de 1789, 1 (5 June 1790): 49.
2. Journal de la Société de 1789, 6 (July 10, 1790).
3. Grouvelle, "Sur la délégation de l'exercice," p. 50.
4. "Prospectus," Journal de la Société de 1789, 1 (5 June 1790): 3.
5. Antoine Lavoisier, Addition aux observations de M. Lavoisier, député suppléant du bailliage de Blois, sur la liquidation de la dette exigible ou arriérée, (S.l. n.d [1790]). p. 2.
6. J. Cérutti, Idées simples et précises sur le papier monnaie, les assignats forcés et les biens ecclésiastiques, (Paris: Desenne, 1790), p. 7.
7. Ibid. p. 4.
8. Jean Starobinsky, 1789: Les emblèmes de la raison, (Paris, 1979), p. 43.
9. The following section is drawn from the discussion in Mark Olsen, "Reform, Revolution and Enlightenment: An Examination of the Political Career and Political Philosophy of the marquis de Condorcet." (Unpublished MA thesis, Carleton University, 1982).
10. K. M. Baker, ed. and trans., Condorcet: Selected Writings, (Bobbs-Merrill Co. Inc.: Indianapolis, Indiana, 1976), p. 6.
11. G. G. Granger, La mathématique sociale du marquis de Condorcet, (Paris, 1956).
12. Baker, Condorcet: Selected Writings, p. 8.
13. Keith Baker, Condorcet: From Natural Philosophy to Social Mathematics, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), p. 228.
14. Baker, Condorcet: Selected Writings, p. 44.
15. Ibid., p. 35.
16. See C.C. Gillispie, "Probability and Politics: LaPlace,

Condorcet, and Turgot," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 116 (February 1972): 16, and Granger, La mathématique sociale.

17. Baker, Condorcet: Selected Writings, pp. 59-60.

18. J.J. Rousseau, The Social Contract, (New York: Hafner Publishing, 1947), p. 15.

19. Baker, Condorcet: From Natural Philosophy, p. 256.

20. Condorcet, Oeuvres de Condorcet, 10 vols. Edited by F. Arago and Condorcet-O'Connor (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1847) 8:118 (author's translation).

21. F. Alengry, "La Philosophie politique de la Révolution française dans son expression la plus élevée: Condorcet," La Révolution française 13 (1938): 122.

22. Condorcet, "De la nature des pouvoirs politiques dans une nation libre" in Oeuvres, 10:590 (author's translation).

23. Ibid., p. 591.

24. Chronique de Paris, May 24, 1792 (author's translation).

25. Condorcet, Des progrès de l'esprit humain, Edited by Monique and François Hinckner, (Paris: Editions Sociales, 1971), p. 256.

26. ARTFL: J.L. Gues de Balzac, Le Prince, (Paris: T. du Bray, 1631), p. 151. ARTFL: indicates reference to the ARTFL (Project for American and French Research in the Treasury of the French Language at the University of Chicago) database edition and pagination. There are a number of errors in the ARTFL database which are being corrected. In addition, bibliographic references do not always include complete titles and were entered without accented characters.

27. He writes:

"La pitié d'un malheur où nous voyons tomber nos semblables nous porte à la crainte d'un pareil pour nous; cette crainte, ou désir de l'éviter, et ce désir, à purger, modérer, rectifier, et même déraciner en nous la passion qui plonge à nos yeux dans ce malheur les personnes que nous plaignons, par cette raison commune, mais naturelle et indubitable, que pour éviter l'effet il faut retrancher la cause."

ARTFL: P. Corneille, Discours de la Tragedie, in Trois Discours sur le Poeme Dramatique (Paris: Sedes, 1963), p. 76.

28. ARTFL: P. de Boisguilbert, Detail France Sous Regne Pres., (Bruxelles: G. de Backer, 1712), p. 12.

29. ARTFL: F. Maynard, Poesies (Paris: Garnier, 1927), p. 105.

30. ARTFL: Fenelon, Traite de l'Existence de Dieu, in Oeuvres, T. 1. (Verseilles: Impr. de J-A. Lebel, 1820), p. 90. He continues this passage, writing:

Où est-elle cette sagesse? Où est-elle cette raison commune et supérieure tout ensemble à toutes les raisons bornées et imparfaites du genre humain? Où est-il donc cet oracle qui ne se tait jamais, et contre lequel ne peuvent jamais rien tous les vains préjugés des peuples? Où est-elle cette raison qu'on a sans cesse besoin de consulter, et qui nous prévient pour nous inspirer le désir d'entendre sa voix? Où est-elle cette vive lumière, qui illumine tout homme venant en ce monde?

31. ARTFL: Rousseau J.-J., La Nouvelle Heloise, Ed. D. Mornet, T.2 A 4. (Paris, Hachette, 1925), p. 310.

32. Interestingly enough, Rousseau introduces the idea that the primacy of reason may extend beyond linguistic boundaries, but that "l'esprit" of each language remains distinct and may contribute to the formation of national characters, writing:

les langues en changeant les signes modifient aussi les idées qu'ils représentent. Les têtes se forment sur les langages, les pensées prennent la teinte des idiomes, la raison seule est commune, l'esprit en chaque langue a sa forme particulière; différence qui pourroit bien être en partie la cause ou l'effet des caractères nationaux, et ce qui paroît confirmer cette conjecture est que chez toutes les nations du monde la langue suit les vicissitudes des mœurs et se conserve ou s'altère comme elles. [ARTFL: Rousseau J.-J., Emile ou de L'Education, In Oeuvres Completes, T.4. (Paris, Gallimard, 1969), p. 346]

Rousseau's notion that underlying the particular structures of language is an identifiable reason permits some level of intelligibility between speakers of different languages and, more important for our argument, suggests that even Rousseau adopted the importance of reason as part of a definition of humanity.

33. ARTFL: Dulaurens H.-J., Le Compere Mathieu, (Paris, Chez les Marchands de Nouveautés, 1831), p.82.

34. ARTFL: Marmontel J.-F., Essai sur les Romans, In Oeuvres Completes, T.10. (Paris, Verdier, 1819), p.303.

35. On ne cesse d'écrire sur l'éducation, et les ouvrages écrits sur cette matière ont produit quelques idées heureuses, quelques méthodes utiles; ont fait, en un mot, quelque bien partiel. Mais quelle peut être, en grand, l'utilité de ces écrits, tant qu'on ne fera pas marcher de front les réformes relatives à la législation, à la religion, à l'opinion

publique? L'éducation n'ayant d'autre objet que de conformer la raison de l'enfance à la raison publique relativement à ces trois objets, quelle instruction donner tant que ces trois objets se combattent? En formant la raison de l'enfance, que faites-vous que de la préparer à voir plus tôt l'absurdité des opinions et des mœurs consacrées par le sceau de l'autorité sacrée, publique, ou législative; par conséquent, à lui en inspirer le mépris?

[ARTFL: Chamfort N.-S., Maximes et Pensees, In Maximes et Pensees, Ed. L. Ducros, (Paris, Larousse, 1928), p. 14.]

36. Diderot writes,
Mon Père.

Tu aurais préféré ta raison à la raison publique; la décision de l'homme à celle de l'homme de loi.

Moi.

Assurément. Est-ce que l'homme n'est pas antérieur à l'homme de loi? Est-ce que la raison de l'espèce humaine n'est pas tout autrement sacrée que la raison d'un législateur? Nous nous appelons civilisés, et nous sommes pires que des sauvages. Il semble qu'il nous faille encore tournoyer pendant des siècles, d'extravagances en extravagances et d'erreurs en erreurs.

[ARTFL: Diderot D., 1773. Entretien d'Un Pere, In Oeuvres Philosophiques, Ed. P. Verniere, (Paris, Garnier, 1956), p.436.]

37. ARTFL: Holbach P.-H. d', La Morale Universelle, (Amsterdam, M.M. Rey, 1776) p.22.

38. ARTFL: Rousseau J.-J., La Nouvelle Heloise, p. 2.

39. Mercier's principal biographer, Léon Béclard, Sébastien Mercier: Sa vie, son oeuvre, son temps (Paris, 1903) suggests that he shared the common sentiment of wanting to "réformer le monde conformément à la raison." (p.85).

40. ARTFL: Mercier L.-S., Tableau de Paris, T. 1 A 4, (Amsterdam, 1782), p. 45.

41. ARTFL: Mercier L.-S., Du Theatre, (Amsterdam, E. Van Harrevelt, 1773), p. 30.

42. Ibid. p. 1v.

43. ARTFL: Mercier L.-S., L'An Deux Mille Quatre Cent Q., (Londres, S.N., 1774), p. 295.

44. Memoirs of the Year 2500 (Philadelphia: Thomas Dobson, 1795), p. 256. In spite of the title change, this is the English translation of Mercier's work. The government of France in 2440, according to Mercier, is a combination of elements. "Le sénat est responsable au roi, et le roi et le sénat sont responsables aux états qui s'assemblent tous les deux ans. Tout s'y décide à

la pluralité des voix" (ARTFL: Mercier L.-S., L'An Deux Mille Quatre Cent Q., p. 294).

45. Henry Majewski suggests that he was little appreciated by contemporary or later critics even though his literary production was enormous. See The Preromantic Imagination of L.-S. Mercier, (New York: Humanities Press, 1971), p. 1.

46. J. Cérutti, Vues générales sur la Constitution française ou exposé des droits de l'Homme dans l'ordre naturel, social et monarchique, (Paris: Desenne, 1789), p. 15.

47. Casaux, Simplicité de l'idée d'une constitution et de quelques autres qui s'y rapportent, applications et conséquences, (Paris: n.p., 1789), p. 15. Many of the ideas that Casaux presented to the Société de 1789 in his Aperçu de la constitution française, par un homme d'Amérique, et Réponse sommaire à tout ce qu'on a écrit et écrira en France et en Angleterre pour, sur et contre cette constitution, (Paris: Imp. Lejay fils, s.d. [1790]), are found in this longer discussion.

48. Ibid., p. 19.

49. Ibid., p. 24.

50. Philippe-Antoine Grouvelle, "Considérations sur le décret du 18 Juin, et sur l'opinion de M. Necker à ce sujet," Journal de la Société de 1789, 6 (10 July 1790): 19.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid., p. 26.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid., p. 27.

55. André Chenier, "Avis au Peuple François sur ses véritables ennemis," Journal de la Société de 1789, 13 (28 August 1790): 16.

56. Ibid., pp. 16-17.

57. Ibid., p. 17.

58. Condorcet, "Aux amis de la liberté, sur les moyens d'en assurer la durée," Journal de la Société de 1789, 10 (August 7, 1790).

59. Ibid., p. 2.

60. Ibid., p. 5.

61. Ibid., p. 9.
62. Ibid., p. 10.
63. Ibid., p. 11.
64. Casaux, Aperçu de la constitution française, par un homme d'Amérique, p. 11.
65. Ibid., p. 15.
66. Ibid., p. 21.
67. Ibid.
68. "Sur le décret du 13 avril 1790," Journal de la Société de 1789, [Philippe-Antoine Grouvelle?], 2 (12 June 1790): 11.
69. Ibid., pp. 11-2.
70. Condorcet, "Suite de l'article du précédent numéro sur le préjugé qui suppose une opposition d'intérêts entre la capitale et les provinces," Journal de la Société de 1789, 7 (17 July 1790): 12.
71. Ibid. p. 19.
72. Ibid. pp. 17-8.
73. Philippe-Antoine Grouvelle, "Sur la délégation de l'exercice du droit de la guerre et de la paix," Journal de la Société de 1789, 1 (5 June 1790): 45.
74. Condorcet, "Aux amis de la liberté, sur les moyens d'en assurer la durée," Journal de la Société de 1789, 9 (7 August 1790): 2.
75. See above Chapter 2, pp. 72-86.
76. Grouvelle, "Considérations sur le décret du 18 Juin," pp. 41-2.
77. Philippe-Antoine Grouvelle, "Considérations sur le décret du 22 Mai," Journal de la Société de 1789, 2 (12 June 1790): 25.
78. Grouvelle, "Considérations sur le décret du 18 Juin," pp. 26-7.
79. Grouvelle, "Sur la délégation de l'exercice du droit de la guerre," p. 48.
80. Ibid., pp. 48-9.

81. Casaux, Considérations sur quelques parties du Mécanisme des sociétés, (London: Spilsbury, 1785-7), 5 volumes in 3 tomes. He summarized some of the views of this most eccentric and disorganized work in his La Proposition n'est pas neuve, il ne s'agissoit que de la démontrer, (Paris: Lejay, 1789). Even the author remarked on the obscurity of his Considérations, when he included letters from readers of the first volumes in the third. He cites one, which he calls "la plus affirmative:"

J'ai lu trois fois votre ouvrage avec bien de l'attention; je ne sais encore que vous en dire (vol. 3, p. 4).

The obscurity of the work did not reduce its impact, according to Casaux's biographer. Philippe de Roux Le Marquis de Casaux: Un planteur des Antilles, Inspirateur de Mirabeau, (Société de l'histoire des colonies françaises: Paris, 1951) suggests that the book was favorably received by Mirabeau and that contemporaries were more familiar with the style of economic discourse than modern readers. Roux concludes:

Les esprits éclairés qui rêvent de réforme ne s'y trompent pas: en face des dogmatiques qui bâtissent de brillants constructions sur des nuées, Casaux élève un monument prétentieux et maladroit, mais ce monument repose sur la terre ferme et ses matériaux sont solides. (p. 35)

82. Casaux, Considérations sur quelques parties du Mécanisme des sociétés, vol. 1, pp. 64-5.

83. Ibid., p. 196.

84. Ibid., p. 162.

85. He asserts that raising the daily wage is "le seul moyen de régénérer tout en France" (Casaux, La Proposition n'est pas neuve, p. 45).

86. Charles Casaux, "Réflexions sur la dette ditte exigible et sur les moyens proposés pour la rembourser. Adressées et lues le premier Septembre à la Société de 1789," Journal de la Société de 1789, 14 (4 September 1790): 22.

87. DuPont de Nemours, De l'origine et des progrès d'une science nouvelle, Ed. A. DuBois, (Paris: Geuthner, 1910), p. 8.

88. Ibid., p. 24.

89. L. Cuny, Le rôle de DuPont de Nemours en matière fiscale a l'assemblée constituante, (New York, Burt Franklin, 1971), p. 29.

90. Cérutti, Idées simples et précises sur le papier monnaie, les assignats forcés et les biens ecclésiastiques... (Paris: Desenne, 1790), 113 p. This must have been published in April or

May of 1790, as the rebuttal by Abbé LeGris (Lettre de M. l'abbé LeGris, chanoine de Sens, à M. Cérutti [N. Le39 3510.]) is dated June 6, 1790. Other rebuttals were written by, Authur Dillon, Clavière, and an unknown author. Cérutti responded to Dillon in a 60 page brochure.

91. Some forty opinions, observations, and letters on the assignats are dated in the month between August 27 and September 29, 1790 by Tourneux in Bibliographie de l'histoire de Paris, 5 vols., (Paris, 1890-5) 3:143ff, not including those by members of the Société de 1789 and other clubs or institutions.

92. Archives Parlementaires v. 18, p.398. The editors of the Archives note, on September 3rd, 1790, that "L'Assemblée nationale, dans sa séance du 28 août 1790, ayant fait l'appel aux lumières de tous les citoyens pour résoudre la question du remboursement de la dette exigible, reçut un grand nombre de mémoires sur cette question." Vol. 18. p. 530.

93. S. E. Harris, The Assignats (New York: AMS Press, 1969) suggests that the assignat bill in November 1789 outlined the following:

The Treasury was to repay the Caisse d'Escompte with Assignats; the Government was to issue 400 millions of these interest-bearing Assignats, which were to be supported by the sale of crown and church lands valued at 400 million livres; the notes were to be redeemed systematically within 5 years, and were to be given special privileges in the purchase of lands, but were not, be it noted, to be legal tender. p. 12

94. Ibid., p. 14. Also see Robert Bigo, La caisse d'Escompte et les Origines de la Banque de France, (Paris: PUF, nd), p. 207.

95. Harris, The Assignats, pp. 14-24.

96. DuPont de Nemours, for example, chided the National Assembly for overlooking the American experience with paper currency. See Du Pont de Nemours on the Dangers of Inflation: An Address by Pierre Samuel Du Pont, Deputy from Nemours, Made before the National Assembly of France, September 25, 1790, Trans E. E. Lincoln, (Boston: Baker Library, 1950), pp. 35-36. Condorcet opened his Nouvelles réflexions sur le projet de payer la dette exigible en papier forcé (in Archives Parlementaires, vol. 18, p. 536) with the riposte on Law:

Un maudit Ecossais, chassé de son pays,
Vint changer tout en France et gâter nos esprits,
L'espoir trompeur et vain, l'avarice au tient blême,
Sous l'abbé Terrasson calculaient son système,
Répandaient à grands flots les papiers imposteurs,
Vidaient nos coffres-forts et corrompaient nos mœurs.

97. The parallels could be very close. Three of Lavoisier's papers considering the assignats which were read to the Société de 1789 were also published in the Archives Parlementaires, as being of particular interest (vol. 18, pp. 546-57).

98. DuPont de Nemours, Du Pont de Nemours on the Dangers of Inflation, pp. 44-45. DuPont goes on to suggest that "it is these capitalists, it is the most daring speculators of Europe" (47) who are supporting this plan.

99. M. de Casaux, "Réflexions sur la dette dite exigible et sur les moyens proposés pour la rembourser," Journal de la Société de 1789 14 (4 September, 1790): 26.

100. "Sur les assignats," Journal de la Société de 1789 14 (4 September, 1790): 5.

101. Ibid., p. 8.

102. DuPont de Nemours, Du Pont de Nemours on the Dangers of Inflation, p. 24.

103. Ibid., p. 29.

104. Ibid., p. 48.

105. Ibid., p. 58.

106. Harris (Assignats, p. 30) suggests that Lavoisier "discussed the subject superbly."

107. Lavoisier, Addition aux observations, p. 11. Lavoisier is particularly fond of rationalist language. He claims, for example, to force himself "toujours d'appuyer le raisonnement sur le faits."

108. Ibid.

109. Ibid., p. 12.

110. Lavoisier, Réflexions sur les assignats & sur la liquidation de la dette exigible ou arriérée, (Paris: Clousier, 1790), p. 3.

111. See below, Chapter 6, pp. 377-404.

112. Condorcet, "Sur le préjugé qui suppose une contrariété d'intérêts entra la capitale et les provinces," Journal de la Société de 1789 6 (10 July, 1790): 5.

113. Ibid., p. 12.

114. Condorcet, "Des lois constitutionnelles sur l'administration des finances," Journal de la Société de 1789 3 (19 June, 1790): 26.

115. Condorcet, Des progrès de l'esprit humain, p. 218.

116. Brian Head makes the connection between physiocratic thought and the Société de 1789 in "The Origins of la science sociale in France, 1770-1800," Australian Journal of French Studies, 19 (1982): 115-7. He argues that it was Mirabeau who first coined the term "art social" in 1770.

Chapter Five

The Language of Revolution: From Intellectual History to the History of Meanings.

Je parois attacher à l'exclusion d'un mot bien grande importance; mais je crois que ce sont des mots qui font les opinions de beaucoup d'hommes, et par conséquent les destinées de beaucoup d'autres, et je vois que Locke, en traitant des causes productrices de nos idées, a fait un livre sur les mots. (M. le chevalier de Pange in the Journal de la Société de 1789).*

In an important discussion of the methods and prospects facing intellectual history, William Bouwsma argues that historians concerned with the history of ideas would benefit from the kinds of approaches taken by cultural anthropologists and linguists to the study of cultural artifacts. He suggests that a new intellectual history could be formed around the "history of meanings," which is based on the assumption that man is an animal "who must create or discern meaning in everything he does."¹ Although the achievements of historians inspired by cultural anthropology, such as the work of Robert Darnton, Carlo Ginzburg and Robert Mandrou are well known, the historical application of linguistic methods has not met with the same level of acceptance among historians. This hesitancy to come to terms with the methods and theories of linguistics can only reduce the

effectiveness of intellectual history since, as Bouwsma suggests, the relationship between language and thought is very close. Bouwsma believes that intellectual history could become a more rigorous discipline if its practitioners were more aware of the importance linguistic structures play in the formation of thought. "Changes in language", he argues,

are likely to provide us with clues, of a kind previously lacking, to the significance of various kinds of developments about which we have so far been able to form only the most unverifiable impressions. Here, indeed, might lie one of the possibilities, which may be rare in the kind of history with which I am dealing, for the application of quantitative methods. 3

The study of language, he concludes, is likely to become "a major tool of the new intellectual history."⁴

Bouwsma's call for a history of meanings based in part on the historical analysis of natural language comes at a time when linguists and literary scholars are using computer-assisted techniques to explore language. The appearance of increasingly powerful micro-computers, sophisticated software, and string processing languages make language processing less expensive and more effective.⁵ Following a brief discussion of the theoretical background of applying linguistic analysis to intellectual history, this chapter will outline our use of computers to perform quantitative as well as qualitative analysis of political language. While the limitations of a quantitative approach to language are evident, we suggest that quantitative analysis of language provides answers to questions that are relevant to contemporary historical research. Finally, it is our opinion

that historians have much to learn not only from linguists, but also from computer scientists, since both are concerned with how to deal systematically with large bodies of text.

-- I --

Historians have long been conscious of the importance that language plays in the formation of ideas. To cite one famous example, Lucien Febvre argued, in his attempt to prove that Rabelais was not an atheist, that the satirist could not have been, since the French of the early sixteenth century did not have the necessary vocabulary or syntax to support essential philosophical outlooks. The "mental tools" available to Frenchmen of the time entailed "not only an inconvenience but an actual inadequacy or deficiency of thought."⁶ He implied in all of this that language and thought -- thought used in his wider sense of mentalité -- are inextricably bound together:

The state of language impedes the free play of ideas, but in spite of everything the pressure of ideas causes linguistic frameworks to crack; it breaks them, enlarges them ... Language has often acted like a barrier, if not a dam; whence in intellectual history, all those quantities of backed-up water that one day suddenly break through and sweep everything away. ⁷

For Febvre, the structures of language limit the mental horizons of individuals using a particular language; however as ideas (and presumably social structures) change language itself will develop accordingly. Language cannot be assumed to be a transparent reflection of the external world. Rather, Febvre asserts, the

structures of language modify our mental world, and these structures themselves change over time.⁸

In recent years, French and German historians have devoted substantial effort in exploring the relationship between changing structures of language and social, political, or ideological changes.⁹ The German historian M. Halsig argues that

Society influences the language as a whole in the cooperation of all its factors and calls forth changes in the language which promote its perfection as a means of communication. The language influences social development in turn because of its function in communication and thereby accelerates or blocks social change. 10

Historians have been less concerned with unchanging "deep structures" than linguists. Instead, historical interest is diachronic, examining changing structures of vocabulary and syntax. Thus, for instance, Jacques Godechot has examined the evolution of the word nation (and related words like national or patrie) through the eighteenth century -- even though the term has been "l'objet des dissertations"¹¹ -- in order to link social, political, and linguistic shifts through the century.

The languages or discourses created in political revolutions have been a fertile ground for research. This is due in part to the fact that language changes very slowly in normal circumstances -- imperceptibly to most speakers. In periods of crisis, however, language can change rapidly and becomes part of the political process. François Furet, in his suggestive essays collected under the title Penser la Révolution française, argues that the real significance of the French revolution was that "it invented a type of political discourse and practice by which we

have been living every since."¹² In the Revolutionary effort to "re-conceptualize"¹³ the political,

Language was substituted for power, for it was the sole guarantee that power would belong only to the people, that is, to nobody. Moreover, language -- unlike power, which is afflicted with the disease of secrecy -- is public, and hence directly subject to the scrutiny of the people.¹⁴

The interplay of revolutionary language, ideologies and power was not lost on contemporaries. Lynn Hunt points out that La Harpe, a bitter critic of the French Revolution, was conscious of the power of its language, which he termed "its foremost instrument and the most surprising of all."¹⁵ Revolutionary situations accelerate changes in language and dramatically demonstrate the cleavages and contradictions of existing political language.¹⁶

Many French Revolutionary historians have pointed out that "les acteurs de la Révolution [...] manifestent une conscience aiguë de l'importance de la parole."¹⁷ The Revolution was accompanied by a transformation of the "received common ideas" typically embedded in the lexical structure of a language. Thus, Jean-Baptiste Suard, member of the Academy and the Société de 1789, commented in June, 1791 that

Les langues se ressentent toujours de toutes les révolutions, dans les opinions, dans les moeurs, et surtout dans les gouvernements. Dans le passage, par exemple, d'une monarchie absolue à une pure démocratie, tous les dictionnaires sont renversés, mais par cela même que la révolution se fait de tout au tout, l'ancienne langue est plus vite oubliée et la langue nouvelle plus aisément apprise et entendue; mais quand la révolution n'est pas si tranchante, quand la démocratie et la monarchie se mêlent sans se détruire et sans se confondre, la langue ancienne et la langue nouvelle s'unissent de même, et il devient difficile de marquer l'étendue et la limite des mots comme des pouvoirs. L'un donne aux mots trop de leurs acceptions nouvelles, l'autre leur laisse trop de leurs acceptions

anciennes. On se parle beaucoup plus qu'autrefois, parce qu'on a beaucoup plus de chose à se dire; mais on s'entend beaucoup moins: voilà l'explication du tumulte des assemblées, du silence des meilleurs esprits, et de l'audace de la parole dans ceux qui n'ont pas besoin de savoir ce qu'ils disent. 18

Language, knowledge, and power, for Suard, are inextricably bound together, and the confusion of words reflects the confusion of powers and lack of knowledge on the part of many vocal actors during the Revolution. The concern over the "abuse of words," frequently expressed during the eighteenth century, reached its peak during the Revolution.¹⁹ For example, the anonymous author of the royalist pamphlet, L'abus des mots de nosseigneurs de l'assemblée des Etats généraux, Restaurateur de la Nation Française, looks at a number of words -- liberté, propriété, patriotisme, aristocrate, despotisme, constitution, régénération, and gloire de la nation -- in order to contrast the old meanings with the new "reality."²⁰ The abbé Morellet argued after Thermidor that the clear definition of fifty important terms, such as pouvoir, liberté, and peuple, could lead to the harmonious existence of mankind:

pour détromper les hommes de beaucoup d'erreurs, il ne s'agirait le plus souvent que de leur faire attacher aux mots des idées justes et précises, de sorte qu'un bon lexicographe est le meilleur instituteur que pût avoir le genre humain. 21

Awareness of the changes in the French language was not limited to conservatives. Adrien Duquesnoy frequently published definitions of new political words in L'Ami des patriotes because he believed that the abuse of words arose from the new realities that were being described. In a note on "popular favor" he

wrote,

Il n'est pas de mots dont on ait autant abusé, que ceux-ci, nation, peuple. C'étoit la nation qui, sur la terrasse des Feuillans, demandoit la tête des ministres; c'est le peuple qui a ravagé la maison de M. de Caistres [...] Cet abus des mots n'est pas étonnant; les idées qu'ils expriment sont nouvelles pour nous: le temps, l'expérience, & la raison perfectionneront notre langue, en rectifiant nos idées. 22

Camille Desmoulins gave a favorable notice of the Dictionnaire national et anecdotique, pour servir à l'intelligence des mots notre langue enrichie depuis la révolution, & la nouvelle signification qu'ont reçu quelles mots, and published several pages of extracts in his Révolutions de France et Brabant.²³ The attempt to define an exact political terminology, which would automatically eliminate much political conflict, was also an important aspect of Condorcet's political program and was inherited by the idéologues.²⁴

The founders of the Société de 1789, Sieyès and Condorcet were both very conscious of the role that language played in the formation of political ideology. In the tenth book of the Esquisse, Condorcet's famous comment on the creation of a scientific language he feels is necessary for the progress of l'art social, is indicative of this consciousness:

Il est un autre progrès de ces sciences non moins important; c'est le perfectionnement de leur langue, si vague encore et si obscure. Or c'est à ce perfectionnement qu'elles peuvent devoir l'avantage de devenir vraiment populaires, mêmes dans leurs premiers éléments. Le génie triomphe de ces inexactitudes des langues scientifiques comme des autres obstacles; il reconnaît la vérité malgré ce masque étranger qui la cache ou qui la déguise; mais celui qui ne peut donner à son instruction qu'un petit nombre d'instant, pourra-t-il acquérir, conserver ces notions les plus simples, si elles sont défigurées par un langage inexact? Moins il peut rassembler et combiner d'idées, plus il a

besoin qu'elles soient justes, qu'elles soient précises; il ne peut trouver dans sa propre intelligence un système de vérités qui ne défendent contre l'erreur, et son esprit, qu'il n'a ni fortifié, ni raffiné par un long exercice, ne peut saisir les faibles lueurs qui s'échappent à travers les obscurités, les équivoques d'une langue imparfaite et vicieuse. 25

Truth is hidden, according to Condorcet, by the veils of imprecise language, which invariably leads to inaccurate thought. A logical consequence of the dominance of Lockean epistemology, well understood by members of the Société de 1789 as demonstrated by the marquis de Pange,²⁶ is the close relationship between words and thoughts. A well-defined word should represent a single idea, a single sense datum which could be combined with other simple words into more complex ideas. All complex ideas, including all complex political concepts, can be reduced to simple direct correlations to simple ideas.

Consequently, when Sieyès and Condorcet (with Duhamel) founded the Journal d'instruction sociale in May, 1793, they declared that "la langue politique, l'analyse des idées qu'expriment les mots de cette Langue, sera un des premiers objets" of the endeavor.²⁷ In fact, analysis of contemporary political language is the first major part of the prospectus, preceeding discussions of law, l'art social, and political economy, suggesting that the careful examination of political language underlay work on these other areas. The lack of clarity of common political terms and the invention of complex words to express simple and common ideas were seen to be the main afflictions retarding the progress of the moral and political

sciences. The authors discuss this problem at length:

Une des principales causes de peu de progrès des sciences morales et politiques, et sur-tout de la difficulté d'en réprendre, d'en faire adopter les vrais principes, c'est l'imperfection de la Langue qu'elles emploient.

Commes elles sont formées de mots employés dans l'usage commun, où ils n'ont en général qu'un sens vague et incertain, il est difficile d'amener les hommes à leur donner, dans l'étude d'une science, les sens précis qu'ils doivent y avoir. D'un autre côté, il paroîtroit barbare de créer des termes techniques, pour exprimer des idées simples et communes. Une analyse des mots employés dans ces sciences, est donc un des moyens les plus sûrs d'en faciliter l'étude, et d'en accélérer les progrès. Nous disons une analyse, et non une définition.

En effet, une définition, lorsqu'elle est possible, n'est que le résultat d'une analyse qu'elle suppose et qu'elle rappelle. Avant d'attacher un mot à une idée complexe, il faut l'avoir développée et circonscrite; il faut que ceux qui doivent s'entendre en prononçant le même mot, reçoivent la même idée; et l'analyse seule peut remplir cette condition. 28

They do not propose the creation of a new political language to eliminate the lack of clarity of the language as it had developed during the Revolution, but rather a careful analysis of the meaning of each word. The analysis of language and ideas can result in a situation where the speaker and the listener understand the same thing from the same words. Reform of the language became, for Condorcet and Sieyès, an important element of political action. It is not surprising that several articles appeared in the Journal d'instruction sociale, during the early summer of 1793, concerning the meaning of words, including Condorcet's discussion "Sur les sens du mot Révolutionnaire" and Duhamel's general treatment "Analyse et définition des mots et des expression employés dans l'art de constituer les Sociétés politiques."²⁹ The editors of the Journal seemed to have

believed that discussions of public policy, even in times of extreme crisis, required careful establishment of the meaning of words.

The analysis of political language -- or, more accurately, an examination of shifts in the meaning of words and the modes of political discourse -- is consistent with the contemporary consciousness that dramatic changes had occurred not only in political institutions but also in the language used to describe and debate the public sphere. Given the linkage between knowledge, power, and language proposed by Michel Foucault,³⁰ the significance of the conscious manipulation of language to recast the political in a revolutionary situation cannot be underestimated. Power, for Foucault,³¹ is exercised silently, buried in the structures of language and knowledge, but it is all the more pervasive for its silent, decentralized operation. The French Revolution exposed many of the "languages of power" operating during the ancien régime and forced all of its actors to restructure the networks of power and reconceptualize the means by which power was expressed and consolidated. In the language of French revolutionaries we can see the conscious manipulation of structures that normally pass undetected. The men of the Revolution were conscious of the relationship between power and knowledge, and they attempted to establish a new common political discourse that had dissolved in the final years of the ancien régime.

-- II --

Structural changes in language can be described at a number of levels. Charles Morris divides semeiotics, the study of signs, into three areas:

pragmatics is that portion of semeiotic which deals with origin, uses, and effects of signs with the behavior in which they occur; semantics deals with the signification of signs in all modes of signifying; syntactics deals with the combinations of signs without regard to their specific significations or the relation to the behavior in which they occur. 32

These distinctions roughly correspond to the analysis of natural language at the level of the text (or discourse), the word and the sentence. All three levels of analysis have been used in historical research.

Discourse analysis or text linguistics (pragmatics) examines the super-sentence structures of a language. This is a relatively new field of linguistics that is still establishing firm theoretical bases. Zellig Harris argues that one can study not only what a text says, but how it says it. Descriptive linguistics has normally stopped at the level of the sentence, but

discourse analysis yields considerable information about the structure of a text or a type of text, and about the role that each element plays in such a structure ... thus it turns out that while there are relations among successive sentences, these are not visible in the sentence structure (in terms of what is subject or what is predicate, or the like), but in the pattern of occurrence of equivalence classes through successive sentences. 33

The hidden structures that constitute "textuality" include the

ways that a text retains coherence and cohesion, the intention underlying the text, its acceptability and "informativity," and the means by which it addresses a situation and other texts.³⁴ The terms "text" and "discourse" are left deliberately vague, since they may refer to either oral or written communication produced by an individual, a group, or a culture. Thus, for instance, Denise Maldidier and Régine Robin argue that the conflict between the parlement of Paris and the abbé Turgot in 1776 was a major stage in the conflict between bourgeois and noble ideology, and they do this by examining the rhetorical codes in a series of edicts and remonstrances.³⁵ The method employed in the study "met également en évidence une même 'structure discursive' pour les deux discours."³⁶

The study of syntax is more traditionally the realm of linguistics than discourse analysis. Syntactics examines the means by which individual signs are combined, looking for the rules a culture employs in ordering the world. Lucien Febvre argues that syntax is a "social institution [...] that belongs to and reflects an era and a group."³⁷ And it would seem that Michel Foucault's archaeological approach to cultural history draws part of its power from an examination of the changing structures of syntax. In his discussion of alternative modes of ordering the world, he suggests that

heterotopias are disturbing, probably because they secretly undermine language, because they make it impossible to name this and that, because they shatter and tangle common names, because they destroy "syntax" in advance, and not only the syntax with which we construct sentences but also that less apparent syntax that causes words and things (next to and

also opposite one another) to "hold together" ... heterotopias ... dessicate speech, stop words in their tracks, contest the very possibility of grammar at its source. 38

Foucault suggests that archeological structures remain intact for long periods of time, shifting dramatically in periods of upheaval.

Structures of language change at varying tempos. Grammar and syntax change relatively slowly, preserving the basic outlines of a language's structure for many generations. By contrast, vocabulary is a far more volatile object, changing rapidly in the face of technological, social, political and cultural developments. The volatility of words, in contrast to the relative stability of syntax, makes the lexicon a more attractive object for diachronic study.³⁹ The study of historical semantics can also be aided by computer-assisted and quantitative techniques that are not applicable to discourse analysis. This study will be restricted to political lexicology because words are more volatile and can be analyzed using quantitative methods. This decision should in no way be interpreted as a rejection of other approaches. Rather, lexicology should be seen as one of several ways of examining the interplay of language and society, one that offers important benefits as well as distinct limitations.

Contemporary lexicology, according to Henri Mitterand, has moved beyond its previous "fetish" of the individual word. It is now based on

l'hypothèse que la destinée de tout mot, et de tout ensemble

de mots, est soumise à un double déterminisme; celui qui tient à l'intégration du mot dans une structure de formes et d'emplois, et celui qui tient à l'interaction permanente des faits économique-sociaux et des faits linguistiques. 40

Lexicologists are not interested in individual words, but in the structures of the lexicon available to the speaker. The available lexicon places limits on possible thoughts, or, as Gustav Matoré suggests, "le mot est antérieur à la pensée."⁴¹ A number of factors contribute to the formation of and changes in a particular lexicon. Pierre Lafon suggests that "le code linguistique, le genre littéraire, le scripteur et son destinataire, le thème et tout particulièrement pour le discours politique: la conjuncture historique"⁴² all contribute to the creation of a particular political vocabulary. The meaning of words cannot be considered apart from the historical circumstance of the emitter and the lexical and discursive context in which they occur. Le lexique, Régine Robin argues,

n'est pas une collection de termes qui se juxtaposent mais un tout structuré, un système fait d'associations et d'oppositions, chaque unité dépendant étroitement de sa position dans la chaîne lexicale, de sa position et non d'un sens univoque, explicite, fixé une fois pour toutes. 43

The word, for lexicologists, has become a complex object of study, where the transmission of meanings is dependent on historical and discursive circumstance of word usage.

Although the principal object of study of lexicology is the word, there are a number of difficulties confronting systematic analysis of word use. There has been, for example, great difficulty in framing a satisfactory definition of a word. Charles Muller notes that "les lexicographes connaissent depuis

longtemps les incertitudes dans la définition du mot."⁴⁴ It is easy to imagine difficulties in classifying expressions like pomme de terre, which refers to a single object but is certainly not a word. Equally the expression "suis venu" in "je suis venu" refers to a single idea which can be rendered as a single word in English but not in French. Other complications in clearly defining a word include the use of contractions, the problem posed by the conjugation of verbs and according adjectives. Where l'état can be separated into an article and noun, aujourd'hui cannot be similarly resolved. Treatment of the multiple forms of the verb faire or the possible accords of beau -- beau, bel, belle, belles -- is open to discussion.⁴⁵ The problem of clear word definition is exacerbated by the introduction of computers, which can recognize inevitable exceptions to any simple rule only by a great increase in programming effort and processor time. In the end, Muller points out that there is no perfect definition of a word, and that "la statistique lexicale, à un moment de son oeuvre, doit exclure ces nuances"⁴⁶ of word definition.

Another difficulty that lexicologists must face is the difference between high- and low-frequency words. Philip Stone points out that "highly frequent words [...] tend to be highly varied in their meanings."⁴⁷ Furthermore, according to the Zipf and Herdan laws, there is a relationship between the frequency of words and their rank in comparison to the occurrence of other words. Bernard Dolphin suggests that

Si on range les vocables d'un texte dans l'ordre des fréquences (observées) décroissantes, ceux-ci peuvent être affectés de leur rang dans ce classement. 48

This suggests that high-frequency words form a backdrop to less frequent, but more meaningful words. The following passage from Lewis Carroll's "Jabberwocky" shows the importance of function words:

Twas bryllyg, and the slythy toves
Did gyre and gymbly in the wabe:
All mimsy were the borogoves;
And the mome raths outgrabe. 49

One is able to understand the meaning of the passage because the nouns are linked to one another by the underlined function words. Traugott and Pratt comment,

All the familiar words in the text are words whose primary function in English is to show how other words and sentence parts relate to each other. These are called "grammatical" or "function words." In any language, they comprise a small and relatively stable class. 50

The meaningless words in the text are "content" words, which form a very large class of words that changes quite rapidly through borrowing or invention. Carroll's meaning is relatively clear because he uses function words in a correct sense. Thus, meaning arises from the interplay of content and function words.

The distinction between high frequency function words and lower frequency content words forces the researcher to treat each class differently. "One strategy," Stone comments, "is to ignore ambiguous, high-frequency words in favor of less frequent but more reliable indicators."⁵¹ While this might be acceptable in "content analysis", it seems unlikely that simply ignoring high frequency words is acceptable when examining word use in a more

systematic fashion. Consideration of words in context, using "keyword in context" programs and statistical measurement of the co-occurrence of words seems to hold more promise, since this method will result in more accurate indications of the meaning of a word. Similarly, awareness of the importance of slight shifts in the use of function words may be an important part of lexicology. Changing use of the pronominal "nous" can signal important shifts in the way the collectivity is represented. Thus, the working distinction between function and content words is not absolute and must be carefully considered.

Because vocabularies are not stable or clearly fixed objects, they can be best studied by comparing two or more discourses. Pierre Lafon suggests that "la méthodologie utilisée en statistique lexicale conduit nécessairement à des comparaisons."⁵² Several kinds of comparisons can be made. One is to divide the text or texts under consideration into discrete sections that can be compared with the corpus as a whole or with subsections of the text.⁵³ An easier approach is directly to compare two bodies of text for patterns of similarity and difference. These comparisons between texts within a single corpus or between distinct bodies of text indicate the essential fluidity of concepts like lexicon, discourse and vocabulary. For example, a group may share a discourse and express that discourse using a particular vocabulary. Where individuals and groups have vocabularies, cultures may have a lexicon made up of different vocabularies. Thus, one might compare different political

vocabularies within a single lexicon or compare the lexicons of different cultures.⁵⁴

Computer-assisted analysis of textual data can be performed at several levels. This study is restricted to an examination of changing word use in order to trace changes over the short-term. While the lexicon is assumed to change rapidly in response to events, there is a consistent emphasis among lexicologists to examine the lexicon as a structured whole rather than rely on the study of single words. Finally, most approaches to lexicology are comparative, using different sampling techniques to highlight differences or similarities between selected bodies of text. There are numerous qualitative and quantitative methods which are used to examine textual data in systematic ways, ranging from simple word counts to complex linguistic analysis.

-- III --

The obvious first step in comparing two or more bodies of text is to count the number of lexical forms that co-occur in the texts under consideration. This approach is used by Maurice Tournier in his "Le vocabulaire des pétitions ouvrières de 1848: étude des parentages statistiques."⁵⁵ Tournier attempts to determine the degree to which the language of worker petitions in 1848 is related to the discourses of Robespierre, Hébert, Louis Blanc, and others. Tournier sets up his problem very clearly:

desquels d'entre eux les pétitions ouvrières de 48 sont-elles statistiquement les plus proches? En termes plus

larges, existe-t-il des "familles" de vocabulaire politique, comme on a pu confirmer par la statistique qu'il y a des familles de dialectes bantous ou de langues indo-européennes? 56

His approach is to count the occurrence of 152 words, of which only about 100 could be called "political" terms, and measures the size of the shared vocabulary between the texts. Using a "Bernoulli coefficient,"⁵⁷ Tournier generates a value which indicates the degree to which the texts in question are related. In a further refinement, Tournier divides the key words he is comparing into groupings that include the "norme politique," the "norme intellectuelle," and the "norme sociale."⁵⁸ With this distinction, he attempts to categorize the strength of the relationship of various types of language; but his results are inconclusive.

Several problems with this methodology are evident. The classification of words into groups is highly subjective, and errors in judgement can skew results dramatically. More substantial, however, is the fact that these simple numbers cloud important differences in the frequency of keywords and say little about how the words are being used. In a study of the impact of French Revolutionary discourse on liberals in Quebec, Louis-Georges Harvey and the author⁵⁹ found that the word loi is the third most frequently used word in the Journal de la Société de 1789, but ranks only 101st in the French Canadian sample; similarly the word égalité occurs forty-six times in the Journal and only twice in the Canadian texts. Moreover, it is evident that a word which occurs at the same frequency in the two texts

can have radically different meanings. These considerations demonstrate the limitations of merely counting and comparing word occurrences. Maurice Tournier points out that a second stage of work is necessary: "la description statistique des co-occurrences." He argues that

La lexicométrie a en effet deux axes préférés d'analyse: celui des séries verticales de vocabulaire à confronter, celui des structures horizontales du texte à mettre à jour (attirances co-occurentielles). Il est un second parentage statistique, qu'il faut chercher dans les habitudes communes d'expression, tant il est vrai qu'un "salut" est d'autant plus signe de corrélation qu'il est suivi par "fraternel". 60

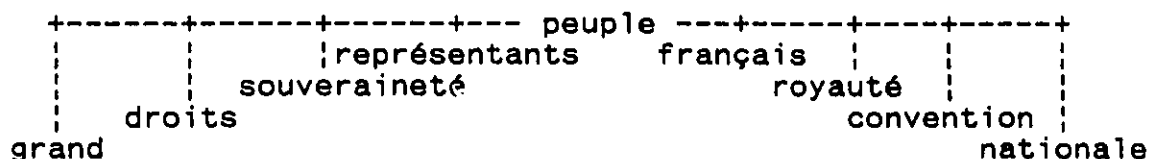
Although measurement of word frequencies can give a rough indication of meaning, the analysis of co-occurrences can provide a more exact description of word use and relationships between texts.

The examination of co-occurrences in language is also a good way of gaging changing word use. Words consistently placed in a certain lexical context will become "idea units," taking on new or extended meaning. The notion of looking for sets of words that occur together is not difficult; Tournier mentions the string "salut-fraternel" while J. R. Firth points out that "silly ass" is a common expression.⁶¹ Unfortunately, a more systematic definition of collocation is more difficult. G. Berry-Rogghe cites Halliday's definition of collocation:

the syntagmatic association of lexical items, quantifiable, textually, as the probability that there will occur at n removes (a distance of n lexical items) for an item x, the items a,b,c,. 62

For instance, one can look at the words occurring within a

certain span of a "pole-word." Robin cites the example of Robespierre's use of the word "peuple" and produces a stereotype in graphic form:⁶³



Here, many of the general tenants of Robespierre's conception of the "peuple" are expressed. A comparison of word collocations in other texts or writers can give striking indications of similarities or differences in word use. The statistical relationship between words can also measure such a relationship.

If one imagines that a text is a random distribution of words, measuring the correlation between the occurrence of two words within a set span of words can give a more sophisticated idea of word use. The z-score is just such a measure of the relationship between words. It is a matrix comparing expected random distribution of the known frequencies of two words in a text of known size against the actual distribution. In the implementation for this study, all words within a span of 12 words are used to generate a table of frequent collocates. Following Berry-Rogghe,⁶⁴ the formulation can be described as follows:

- Given -- Ft = total number of words in text
 -- Fn = number of occurrences of pole word.
 -- Fc = number of occurrences of collocate.
 -- K = number of co-occurrences of two words.
 -- S = span size, number of words on either side of pole.

Expected number of occurrences:

$$p = (F_c / (F_t - F_n))$$

$$E = p * F_n * S$$

Difference between observed and expected frequency -- Z-score:

$$R_z = (K - E) / (E * (1 - p)).$$

The z-score is a statistic that measures the degree to which two words are related, taking into account the frequencies of the two words, the size of the text, and the size of the span. This statistic is relatively accurate, particularly when used with high frequency collocates. In a text of 93,000 words and a span of 14, a word occurring 148 times and co-occurring 6 times receives a z-score of .86 while a word occurring 29 times and co-occurring 10 times receives a z-score of 10.0. At lower frequencies, however, the z-score is less accurate, since the co-occurrence of a word that occurs in a text only once receives a z-score of 7.3. It must also be remembered that the z-score measures inter-relation between two words, so that the highest frequency collocates do not necessarily generate the highest z-scores. Two words co-occurring 11 times can receive z-scores of 2.7 and 11.6 because the former occurs in the text more frequently. The program⁶⁵ written for this study displays both the z-score and frequency of collocates as means of correcting for this inherent inaccuracy.

A good example of collocation is that the frequent and consistent use of the items impôt and impôts in all of the cahier de doléances which suggests that most Frenchmen in 1789 were, not surprisingly, concerned with issues concerning taxation. The

nature of this concern is nicely demonstrated by the most highly correlated items. By examining this list of collocated items (see Figure Five-One), it is evident that consent to taxation is of paramount importance to those drafting the cahiers. These numbers are confirmed when examining the texts in which the terms are used. Figure Five-Two shows the texts in which the items consentement and impôt/impôts occur. Two important facts emerge here: 1) the item can be used in either a positive or negative sense without changing the statistics and 2) one item can modify another across intervening clauses. The measurement of collocation is a relatively accurate guide to word use because it can detect modifiers that are remotely associated with the item in question.

The z-score is also dependent on the size of the span and the rules used to define the span in which collocates occur. There is no clearly articulated method of determining the most appropriate span of words that should be included in collocation measures. Obviously, many words used before or after a selected word do not directly modify it. The syntactic relationship between words is at times indicated by punctuation marks, which suggests that it is reasonable to limit the span at punctuation marks. In other cases, however, connections between words can be made across clauses and sentences. Even more difficult to account for are stylistic devices which use pronominals and other indirect references to subjects. Thus, for instance, "Marley's face" in the following passage from Dickens' Christmas Carol is

modified by a whole series of adjectives which any reasonable definition of collocation span would omit:

Marley's face. It was not in impenetrable shadow as the other objects in the yard, but had a dismal light about it, like a bad lobster in a dark cellar. It was not angry or ferocious, but looked at Scrooge as Marley used to look: with ghostly spectacles turned up upon its ghostly forehead. The hair was curiously stirred, as if by breath or hot-air; and though the eyes were wide open, they were perfectly motionless. That, and its livid color, made it horrible; but its horror seemed to be, in spite of the face and beyond its control, rather than part of its own expression. 66

Although the linkage of adjectives to "Marley's face" is perfectly clear to human readers, it is difficult, if not impossible, to construct an algorithm to make that linkage. Another problem with collocation analysis arises in connection to the occurrence of proper names, such as Assemblée Nationale, which indicate an important though very idiosyncratic use of particular words. In this case, the use of the word nationale may increase dramatically after the June 17, 1789 declaration creating the Assemblée Nationale, but the significance of the increased use of the word and the meaning of the word is obscured.

In the face of these problems we tend to use a wide span, listing approximately 12 words on either side of the poleword or words after filtering out so-called "noise" words (see Appendix One) without taking punctuation into account. The results were checked manually using textbase systems (WordCruncher or PhiloLogic) to insure that conclusions drawn from the statistics were not based on problems arising from definition of span. Misleading results can occur from haphazard arrangements of words

that are counted several times. For example, the collocation program found a high degree of correlation between ami (8 occurrences) and raison (118 occurrences) largely based on the following passage:

Lorsqu'on a un ami, et qu'il a une mauvaise querelle, on le ramène à la raison; mais on ne laisse point assassiner son ami; ce seroit lâcheté, ce seroit imprudence. Celui qui auroit frappé votre ami, fut-ce avec raison, pourroit vous frapper à votre tour sans raison quand vous n'auriez plus d'ami. Ou il y a menace, l'homme de sens, l'homme de bien, l'homme de coeur et de force interdit les voies de fait. Ensuite il juge et concilie.

It is quite incorrect to assume that the correlation between ami and raison, in this case, could mean something like ami de raison. Misleading collocations like this usually occur when one of the two words occurs infrequently, and occurs for whatever reason within the defined span. The evident limitations of the z-score must be taken into account when interpreting the results.

So far, we have discussed a rather limited notion of collocation: words clustering around a keyword at a defined span of n words, possibly breaking at certain punctuation marks. We have chosen not to accept other notions of collocation -- or what we will call for clarity "co-occurrence"⁶⁷ -- that have been used by researchers in literary and linguistic work.⁶⁸ The team led by Maurice Tournier and Pierre Lafon has devoted considerable effort to the development of "méthode des cooccurrences" and the graphic representation of these results.⁶⁹ In general conception, Lafon and Tournier adopt an approach similar to the one described above:

La programmation mise en oeuvre aboutit à une sortie-machine

qui procure, pour chaque couple de formes sélectionné, un jugement en probabilité sur son nombre de rencontres au sein des mêmes phrases (ou cofréquences). 70

The implementation of such a computer program is rather different from ours, for it seems to have no span limitations at all, taking the first occurrence to the right or left of the pole word, travail in this example, no matter how far removed it is. In what Tournier calls "téléstéréotypie", one hundred or more words can intervene between a pair such as travail and salaire, and in the example of travail and salaire the mean distance is 31 words. The linguistic relationship of travail and salaire at this remove is obscure. Even more questionable is the statistical relationship of two words so far removed in a text. Given the information provided by Tournier (I have not had direct access to his raw data), there is only a very weak statistical correlation between travail and salaire; the co-occurrence of these two words in his text is only slightly more frequent than would be expected in a purely random distribution.⁷¹ The failure to narrow the co-occurrence span to a range where one word might syntactically modify another leads to statistically and linguistically insignificant results. Indeed, it would be more efficient and accurate merely to count the most frequently occurring words in various types of text and suggest that they tend to occur together than to attempt any form of téléstéréotypie.

The researchers at the Centre de lexicologie politique de Saint-Cloud have also made great efforts to develop graphic

representations of collocation called lexicogrammes, an example of which is shown in Figure Five-Three. Not only are these almost impossible to understand (a failure of the first rule of graphic representation) but they are also highly misleading and based on rules of dubious value. What is shown in Figure Five-Three at level 1 (Paliers 1) are the most frequent collocates of the word travail. At level two are the four most frequent collocates (within certain other limits) of words at level one, and so on down the list to level twelve. Two rules are prescribed for this analysis of co-occurrence:

Règles de cooccurrence: ne seront gardés dans le graphe que les 2 premiers cooccurrents gauches et droits dont la cofréquence avec le pôle sera supérieure ou égale à 5 [...] et munie d'une probabilité inférieure à 5 % (l'indice D [mean distance] étant libre).

Règles de connexion: le graphe ne pourra être relancé des sommets dégagés qu'à partir de ceux dont la fréquence atteindra le minimum de 30. Sinon le graphe s'arrêtera là. Nous dirons qu'il est saturé. 72

Put simply, Tournier is following the chain of the most frequent modifiers of the most frequent modifiers of a keyword. Because no statistical test of these connections is offered, one is forced to rely on the soundness of the linguistic approach itself. This approach seems dubious, since the direct relationship of a keyword and modifiers at the lowest level are undefined, and may bear no significant linguistic relationship to the keyword in question. More careful statistical and methodological control is warranted, particularly when the small sample size used by Tournier is noted.⁷³

It may also be possible to examine the structure of

political discourse by measuring the frequency of words or word groups as a function of where they occur in texts. The corpus of the Société de 1789, for example, consists of 45 texts. Instead of counting the distribution of words in each of those texts, it is possible to count the occurrence in the first section of all the texts. A computer program divides all the texts into sections of ten percent of the texts. Distributions measure frequency of words in all the texts at the beginning, middle or end of the texts. This procedure may give a clue not only to what a word means, but also how it is used in the construction of a discourse. Since the corpus involved is not written by a single author, but rather by a loosely affiliated group, this measures the way this group constructs its political discourse.

An example may be useful here. Although it might be expected that word frequency in sections of texts would be relatively constant, there is a surprising divergence in this measure. As would be expected, function words occur almost consistently across the texts. Figure Five-Four shows that the word on occurs with a high degree of consistency in the discourses. This contrasts with the section frequencies of loi and vous. The former is used most frequently in the middle sections of the texts while vous occurs most frequently at the end of the texts. By comparing the relative occurrence of words in sections of the texts, it may be possible to determine not only the nature of word use, but also how these words fit into the discursive structure adopted by moderate liberals in the

early part of the Revolution. For example, the increased use of the pronomial vous at the end of the texts is certainly part of the rhetorical effort to conclude by calling to an audience to accept the conclusions of the author. The rhetorical function of vous is also suggested by the marked differences in the use of vous by the authors of 1789. Certain authors, including DuPont, are much more conscious of addressing an audience than others.

Computer-assisted analysis of political texts is not limited to quantitative analysis. In fact, the most important computational method in intellectual history may be full text search and retrieval. Treating text as a database or "textbase" that can be searched for particular words, sub-strings (such as prefixes or suffixes), combinations of words, and lists of words supports a kind of "vertical reading." Rather than scanning "horizontally" across a text, the user of a textbase can instantly search for any item across a very large body of texts, drawing similar words or themes from a series of related documents in ways that are impossible in print media.⁷⁴ In a "vertical reading," the study of relations between texts involving images, themes, linguistic constructions, topoi and other inter-textual features becomes the primary focus of analysis.

The production of concordances was one of the earliest uses of computers in literary research. These hard-copy concordances, however, were typically limited to major works of important writers and could not be used interactively. The interactive

nature of full text retrieval systems permits a level of searching texts that would not have been published in a printed concordance, allowing the user to form new queries based on the results of previous queries.

The simplest application of full text retrieval is the key-word-in-context (KWIC) report across a defined sample of texts. Figure Five-Five, for example, shows all of the uses of the word "utility" in Alexander Hamilton's contributions to the Federalist Papers. Hamilton's usage of "utility" could be compared with Madison's use of the word, with all of the other uses in the sample, or with uses of the word in other corpora. In this example, Hamilton relies far more heavily on arguments from utility than either Madison or Jay. Hamilton's use of the word "utility," however, seems to bear little resemblance to eighteenth-century utilitarianism for there is not a single reference to the calculation of happiness or other Benthamite arguments.

A more complex application of full text retrieval is searching for two or more terms. Figure Five-Six shows the result of a search for two terms, "natural" and "rights," in a subset of the American Constitutional Papers. Out of the 285 occurrences of "rights" in the sample of American Constitutional Documents, these eleven fit the logical relationship of the items "rights" AND "natural" falling within a set span of words or characters. Since the importance of the idea of "natural rights" in the American Revolution is so well documented, it is

interesting to note the relatively infrequent use of the expression in eighteenth-century American political discourse.⁷⁵ It is also possible to build queries that return, for example, all of the words with a common root, such as "nation," "national," and "nationalism," or lists of words that are graphically unrelated, such as all personal pronouns. Textbase systems offer a form of access to the text that can add a significant level of reading, rapidly analyzing constructions and forms of expression in a systematic fashion.

Finally, textbase technology can be used in discourse analysis by allowing rapid access to discursive structures which may be missed by simply reading a text. Representation of the community, the communal "we" in a political discourse, is very frequent, but it serves different functions in different political situations. A good example of this approach is the representation of the community in French Canada in the years leading to the Rebellions of 1837. It is well established that the French Revolution had introduced the idea of "nationalism" to French Canada during the 1790s. Yet the leaders of the French Canadian opposition during the first decades of the nineteenth-century did not use the expressions common to the French Revolutionaries; rather, they developed a way of representing the communality of French Canadians that had little to do with "nationalism."⁷⁶ They were the habitants du pays or the gens du pays -- quite literally the inhabitants of the land -- who had a whole series of moral, political and social attributes.

Nationhood was reserved for the British and the French.

To carry the illustration of the representation of the community further, it is not surprising that Americans during the first two decades after the Revolution were faced with similar difficulties in self-definition. In stressing the importance of the proposed constitution, the Federalist Papers frequently used the phrases "the people of America," "the great body of the people," and "the people at large," whereas the title "American" was used to underline the essential unity of the inhabitants of the thirteen colonies. The authors of the Federalist Papers made much more explicit the composition of the community than Tom Paine in Common Sense. Paine addressed his readers directly as "we" and "our," identifying with them throughout Common Sense,⁷⁷ a construction that stresses the communal, but rarely specifies the community. Textbase systems support complex queries on large collections of text that can be used to analyze patterns of discourse that may not be immediately apparent to the casual reader.

It is also possible to use textbase systems to provide the raw data for more sophisticated forms of linguistic analysis. The transformation of sentences, described by Zellig Harris in 1957, has been used by historians to study the structure of political discourses.⁷⁸ Harris argues that sentence transformation consists of a formal relationship of sentences based on the comparison of co-occurrences of words. Transformation of complex sentences to simple kernels reduces the

variety of expressions and may make it "possible to set up some practical evaluation of meaning."⁷⁹ By breaking up particular sentences into their constituent components through the use of transformation rules, it is possible to show that a large number of sentences and phrases are related at a linguistic level, or, to put it another way, that one sentence is a "transform" of another.

Textbase systems cannot perform transformations as described by Harris. They can, however, extract co-occurrences of morphemes that can form the raw material of a transformational analysis, to be treated either by hand or by another computer program.⁸⁰ The sentence transformations of the words canadiens and canadiens-françois verbs "to have" and "to be," shown graphically in Figure Five-Seven, suggest that the field of definition of the French Canadian stressed their relationship to the land, their loyalty and morality. In a similar vein, Régine Robin has used sentence transformation to describe the ideologies implicit in the cahiers de doléances of 1789, concluding that "despite the uniformity of the lexicon, and of the surface structures, Harrisian analysis demonstrates the profound ideological chasm that separated the nobility and the bourgeoisie in 1789."⁸¹ Thus, textbase systems facilitate sophisticated forms of linguistic analysis that attempt to penetrate the "surface structures" of language use.

A combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis of language is the most desirable form of analysis of political

discourse. Both approaches benefit significantly from computational methods and add a degree of systematic analysis and verifiability that are not available in more traditional readings of texts. We have looked at a number of different approaches to textual data analysis, ranging from frequency counts to syntactic analysis of discursive structures. Advances in computer hardware and software allow the research to experiment with various approaches using very large bodies of text as samples. Qualitative and quantitative analysis of textual data, however much they might be computerized, rely on selection of methods that correspond to the questions being asked and on the samples of text being analyzed. The issue of sampling textual data is particularly complicated and has not been resolved to the same degree of consensus that sampling of data in other areas of quantitative history seems to have developed.

-- IV --

The selection of the data is central to any systematic analysis of language. The issue of sampling techniques as applied to textual or linguistic data is becoming at least as important for the study of the history of meanings as sampling is for the study of demographics or economics. The collection of many public and private textbases, such as ARTFL project at the University of Chicago, has been guided by the very practical concern of finding texts of general interest available in

electronic format, resulting in the accumulation of an ideal "corpus" reflecting "good taste" but one that is not necessarily representative of the development of the French language and almost certainly not applicable to political vocabulary. The selection of texts with some degree of "representativeness," like any claim of general applicability in intellectual history, must be regarded with reservations. In this case, techniques derived from the social sciences, such as random sampling, block sampling, or a form of purposive⁸² sample selection provide little guidance for literary or linguistic computational methods.

Four samples are used in this study: 1) 175,000 words drawn from the writings sponsored by the Société de 1789, found in the Journal de la Société de 1789 or published by order of the club, a frequent practice after the Journal ceased publication at the end of the summer of 1790; 2) a sample of 130,000 words taken from the General cahiers' de doléances of 1789, largely from the cahiers reprinted in Beatrice Fry Hyslop's, A Guide to the General Cahiers of 1789 with the Texts of Unedited Cahiers and others reprinted in this century; and 3) a 330,000 word sample of the collection of Eighteenth-century American constitutional documents recently published in machine readable form by the Electronic Text Corporation of Provo, Utah, including the Federalist Papers, Common Sense, and Richard Henry Lee's Letters from a Federalist Farmer. The outlines of each sample will be discussed here and will be referred to further on in the text since the collections are examined for different characteristics

in subsequent chapters. The final sample is taken from the ARTFL database from 1700 to 1799. This includes more than 500 volumes and 20 million words. The ARTFL database has not been used for historical research in systematic ways before, and including it in this study provides an important component of systematic analysis of natural language not realistically possible before this time.

The selection of the documents published by the Société de 1789 are the most identifiable and compact source for this work. Appendix Three shows the texts included in the sample sorted by title. The sample is composed of the two lead articles from each number of the Journal de la Société de 1789 and from the major pamphlets published from September, 1790 to January, 1791. The majority of these texts were probably read, in their original forms, as speeches before the members of the Société. These origins are very much in evidence, since many of the texts address the audience directly, either as nous or vous. Some of the texts found in the Journal are, in fact, merely fragments of speeches made by members of the Société;⁸³ others, particularly those by Condorcet, may not have been given as addresses, since they tend to be much longer and do not have the same directness as many of the papers by other authors. About half to two-thirds of the major publications sponsored by the Société de 1789 are included in this sample. The sponsored publications of the Société have been identified from Maurice Tournier's list of texts found in his Bibliographie de Paris pendant la Révolution

française.⁸⁴ Other texts published by prominent members of the Société de 1789 during 1790, which might have been included in this sample, such as Pastoret's Des Loix Pénales, have been rejected so that the sample would include only works which were published by order and at the expense of the club. Thus, for example, Condorcet's A Monsieur *** sur la Société de 1789 has been excluded from the sample.

The resulting sample includes forty-six texts ranging in length from several pages to more than sixty pages. The range of subjects is also very wide. Included in the sample are discussions of the constitution, current political issues and foreign affairs, the problem posed by the assignats, taxation policy, and other timely issues. Few of the papers are abstract or purely theoretical in emphasis, but rather address policy concerns that were of political interest over an eight-month period. The sample should provide adequate coverage of the language of writers with an enlightenment background who were responding to political affairs rather than just discussing issues in the abstract.

The second sample is taken from the Cahiers de doléances of 1789. This sample serves as a control or baseline corpus in order to determine the extent to which the language of the Société de 1789 differed from the political discourse used on the eve of the Revolution. There is little reason to expect that the political language used in the cahiers would have been heavily influenced by the political discourse developed during the

Enlightenment or by the political vocabulary of the American revolutionaries, although both of these discourses had an important impact on the elaboration of the political language of the Société. The sample of the cahiers will be compared to the language of the Société de 1789 in a number of areas. The cahiers are a good reflection of elite -- with elite being defined as educated professional men -- political language at the outbreak of the Revolution.

The General Cahiers de doléances are particularly well suited to computer-assisted analysis for a number of reasons. The 523 surviving cahiers (out of 615) are drawn from across France, with the major cities and rural areas being equally well represented; and they come from all three Estates. Drafted within several months of one another, the cahiers touch on every aspect of French public and private life and provide a descriptive picture of French society and opinion that can be compared across regions, social groups, and interests. In addition, as Beatrice Hyslop has suggested, the cahiers represent "the best gauge of public opinion of French leadership in 1789"⁸⁵ and a clear expression of the political language of the French elite on the eve of the Revolution. More important for our purposes, there is little reason to suspect that the numerous drafters of the cahiers across France would have been influenced by any particular discourse,⁸⁶ allowing us to assume that the language of the cahiers reflects, within the institutional setting and limited audience of the documents, the predominant

patterns of French political discourse on the eve of the outbreak of the Revolution. Comparisons between this language and the language of subsequent periods during the Revolution can provide a baseline from which to measure developments.

The General Cahiers de doléances of 1789 were created as part of a well established, if infrequently used, procedure to present public opinion, through the deputies in the Estates General, to the Crown. In fact, the General Cahiers form an intermediary step between the drafts composed in numerous primary assemblies and the national cahiers which were drafted by each order of the Estates General for submission to the King. This process had developed in the Middle Ages and became an important component of calling an Estates General by 1484. The royal decree of January 24, 1789 which convoked the first Estates General in France for 175 years cited the process of drafting cahiers de doléances as the guarantee that Louis XVI's subjects "from the extremities of his Kingdom and from the most obscure settlements"⁸⁷ would be consulted. Not surprisingly, the process of drafting the cahiers, which could involve male taxpayers from the parish level to the bailliages (or electoral district), attracted great attention and seemed to promise serious reforms. The form of the cahiers was borrowed by pamphleteers to express any number of opinions, as in the case of Cahiers du Quatrième Ordre and the patriotic song Cahier du Marquis de Fulvy.⁸⁸ Thus, the General Cahiers de doléances were the products of an ancient institution and were taken very seriously by those who

participated in the process of their elaboration.

The two essential levels of cahiers de doléances are the particular -- also called parish or local cahiers -- and the General Cahiers. The election of 1789 was remarkable in its wide suffrage: all titled nobility, all beneficed clergy, and all male taxpayers over the age of twenty-five in the Third Estate were eligible to vote and to have a hand in drafting their particular cahier. The total number of particular cahiers drafted by local electoral assemblies is not known. More than 20,000 parish cahiers have survived, but the "diversity in the number of parishes within the various electoral districts was so great that no accurate estimate can be computed from the collections still existing."⁸⁹ Further complications are added when the local electoral assemblies of religious orders, chapters, or guilds are taken into account. Particular cahiers are marked by extreme diversity of opinion and even linguistic competence. Finally, particular cahiers were seen as preliminary drafts that would be edited by the electoral assembly of the bailliage. The uneven distribution and varied nature of the local cahiers make them very good sources for certain kinds of information, but it is probably neither appropriate nor feasible to create a textbase representing a national sample with these documents.

The General Cahiers, on the other hand, are well known, exist in reasonably accessible copies and permit analysis of opinion and language across France. The General Cahiers were drafted by the electoral assemblies, usually at the baillage

level. The actual procedures used to convoke the Electoral Assemblies were rather complicated. Hyslop has identified seven different types of electoral assemblies. The most prevalent of these was the meeting of the bailliage, but there were also meetings of districts where Pays d'état were commonly held, of privileged towns; of small districts that had appealed successfully for direct representation to the Estates General, of districts that "had rulings peculiar to themselves," and of colonial districts that had held elections subsequently recognized by the Estates General.⁹⁰ The cahiers were typically composed of two or three sections: the procès-verbal, the cahier proper and sometimes a mandate given to the deputies. The cahier for the Third Estate of the Sénéchausée of Marseille, for instance, is composed of a brief procès-verbal, indicating the names of those in attendance and their right to attend, a long list of the Plaintes et doléances of the city of Marseille, drawn from many groups, including merchant, trade and professional institutions, and a full mandate (Instructions et Pouvoirs) given to the deputies. The mandate is also divided into general and particular issues ranging from a demand for "la garantie de la liberté individuelle" to the protection of the local rights and privileges as defined by "notre Constitution marseillaise." Certain elements guaranteeing the authenticity of the document were required, but in practice there was a wide variation in the presentation, structure, and distribution of the documents.

The indirect nature of the elections of 1789 and the editing

of the General Cahiers de doléances ensured that the documents sent to Versailles reflected, in most cases, the desires of the upper echelons of the three Estates. Charles-Louis Chassin has argued that the cahiers "n'étaient pas l'expression fidèle des vœux du bas clergé, qui n'avait eu ni le temps, ni la liberté, ni la sécurité nécessaire pour exprimer tous ses besoins."⁹¹ A number of protests and confrontations resulted from the elimination of the demands and requests of the lower and less powerful groups in the estates, and these protests often reflected a conflict between rural and urban interests. Champion writes,

Voir les remontrances des habitants de Mesnil-la-Horgne, dans le bailliage de Commercy "subjugés" par le Tiers de la ville: "Nous nous étions trente-deux communautés de la campagne et malgré que nous étions bien concertés, les députés de la ville l'ont emporté pour la rédaction du Cahier [...] Le Cahier des doléances de la campagne renfermait des articles essentiels qui ont été supprimés."
92

This exclusion of the lower groups in the three estates places a major limitation on the results that can be drawn from the General Cahiers de doléances: the language used in these documents reflects, in most cases, the usage of the members of a political and cultural elite who took it upon themselves to edit the demands coming up from below. This process took two distinct forms. In the case of the Third Estate, particular cahiers were edited by a higher level assembly. The cahiers of the Clergy and Nobility were edited in the presence of local authorities -- the bishop or a local dominant aristocrat -- suggesting that the demands and language of the lower clergy or poor nobles were less

likely to be included in the cahiers than the views of the more powerful. There is little doubt that the political discourse found in the cahiers is that of local privileged elites rather than that of the wider range of lower class demands found in the particular cahiers.

The tone of the General Cahiers de doléances is typically timid, moderate, and respectful. Addressed to the King, the cahiers of all three estates make recommendations by appealing to the good will and beneficence of the Monarch. Many scholars have attempted to decipher the global intent of the cahiers, some stressing the nationalism, others finding that "liberty" was the essence of the demands found in the documents. There is little indication, however, that the cahiers form a program for the future Revolution. George Taylor, in his study of the content of the cahiers of 1789, suggested that "[i]f the Revolution could not have been predicted from Enlightenment writings, still less could it have been predicted from the mass of the cahiers."⁹³ The conservative nature of the cahiers extends even to the social demands of the Third Estate:

Les vœux en faveur du vote par tête impliquaient si peu l'intention d'éteindre toute distinction d'Ordres, que les Cahiers où il est réclamé d'une façon catégorique, impérative, se contentent d'autant de voix pour le Tiers qu'en auront ensemble le Clergé et la Noblesse, leur réservent les préséances "qui leur sont dues," et laissent aux Etats Généraux à décider s'il ne conviendrait pas de ne reconnaître désormais que deux Ordres, celui de la Noblesse et celui du Tiers. 94

Although the cahiers are conservative documents in general, they contain elements that are decisively modern: Beatrice Hyslop

argues that nationalism is one such element. In describing the significance of the General Cahiers, she concludes that

Three special advantages of the cahiers as documentary sources render them an indispensable part of any study of the Revolution. The absence of a more adequate source of mass opinion for the period, the possibility of comparison with cahiers of the early States-General in respect of general national trends, and the use of the cahiers in the early Revolution give them special significance. Despite their limitations, the general cahiers of 1789 are an invaluable gauge of national sentiment and are also important for their influence in increasing nationalism.⁹⁵

The presence of nationalism, however, does not mean an implicit conflict between the nation and the Monarch in the cahiers.

The General Cahiers de doléances had a profound impact on the political life of France during the first stages of the Revolution. In place of national cahiers which, under the normal operation of the institution, would have been assembled by each of the three orders for presentation to the King, the marquis de Clermont-Tonnerre outlined the important aspects of the cahiers to the Constituent Assembly in the name of the Constitution Committee on July 27, 1789. He proclaimed in his speech to the deputies: "Vous y [in the cahiers] trouverez sans doute, toutes les pierres fondamentales de l'édifice que vous êtes chargés d'élever à toute sa hauteur." A year later, after the Assembly had enacted much of its constitutional program, ex-comptroller general Calonne wrote from his exile in London an analysis of the situation in France, comparing the actions taken by the National Assembly with the demands of the General Cahiers de doléances.⁹⁶ Not surprisingly, Calonne found that the actions of the National Assembly had both in law and in fact exceeded the mandate it had

received in the cahiers. It was widely believed, at least in the early phases of the Revolution, that the cahiers were to act as a guide and standard. This sense was also seen in the decisions taken by individual deputies, many of whom were deeply disturbed by the incompatibility of the mandate they had received with their own ideals and with the situation which developed once the National Assembly was in session. Patriotes of such impeccable credentials as the marquis de La Fayette, for example, still "felt bound [...] by the instructions of their constituents to maintain the independence of their order, or at least to refrain from jeopardizing it" during the conflict over the unification of the Three Estates.⁹⁷ Far more than merely a legal exercise, the cahiers continued to play an important role in the direction of political events during the first year of the Revolution.

The General Cahiers have been used as a source of French public opinion by a large number of researchers. The importance of this source to historical research cannot be overestimated and, despite the large number of studies based on the cahiers, works based on the General Cahiers continue to appear, reflecting new theoretical perspectives as well as new issues -- such as images of women, social relations and races -- that inform modern historiography.⁹⁸

Several studies of the past two decades underline the importance of the systematic analysis of the General Cahiers de doléances using computer-assisted techniques. George Taylor's 1972 preliminary study of the content of the cahiers de doléances

is the most recent systematic analysis, and it is almost alone in its use of quantitative methodologies to interpret the documents as a whole. Professor Taylor's study, however, was based on a relatively simple form of content analysis, which scored each cahier "with one of six gradations of revolutionary consciousness, beginning with nonrevolutionary attitudes and ending with those that approximate the reforms and ideas of the Revolution."⁹⁹ Taylor's analysis led to the important conclusion that the cahiers were not greatly influenced by Enlightenment ideology, but he remained silent on the issue of political language and representation. The only application of linguistic methodologies to any of the cahiers, local or general, is Régine Robin's 1970 study of Semur-en-Auxois and the image of feudalism in the General Cahiers. Her examination of the 133 cahiers from the Semur-en-Auxois region (650 pages) uses both content analysis and semantic techniques. Unfortunately, her attempt to analyze the "champ lexical des cahiers" was frustrated by the fact that only a small part of the local cahiers, about 17,000 words, were used for a computer-assisted analysis. She argues that the only way to avoid applying a priori categories common to content analysis or the selection of key words was to have the entire body of texts in computer readable format:

Un ordinateur extrait ensuite de ces textes inventoriés la fréquence d'apparition de tous les mots [...], le nombre de leurs occurrences, les pages et lignes du corpus qui renvoient au contexte du terme envisagé. 100

From this information it is possible to examine the lexical structures of the cahiers. Finally, a preliminary approach to

the General Cahiers de doléances was presented in the 1960s by Alphonse Dupront. He argues that the "dépouillement méthodique" of the language of the cahiers required three distinct types of indices. He writes,

Le premier sera un index notionnel, comportant les mots dominants soit du vocabulaire politique et social tels que peuple, nation, Etat, sujets, citoyen, liberté, égalité, soit du vocabulaire des lumières tels que humanité, nature, bonheur, instruction, économie, agriculture. Chaque emploi sera relevé avec sa "concordance" spécifique, le second doit être un index des images et même des clichés pour déterminer par le dénombrement des fréquences soit la valeur d'habitudes établies [...] Le troisième d'usage plus érudit, celui-là serait un index lexicographique comprenant toutes les expressions singulières qui n'ont pas trouvé place dans les index précédents. 101

It is not necessary, given modern textbase technology, to produce indices of the type described by Dupront. Rather, texts in computer-readable format can now be queried by the researcher in more systematic and flexible ways than that envisaged by Dupront in 1964. All these studies do suggest, however, that more systematic analysis of the discourse found in the cahiers is necessary and requires access to all of the General Cahiers de doléances in machine readable form.¹⁰²

Unfortunately, it has not been possible to utilize a very large selection or the entire set of the General cahiers de doléances for this study.¹⁰³ As shown in Appendix Three, the sample used for this research was taken from several modern editions of cahiers. There are several potential problems in this sample of the General cahiers de doléances. The bulk is taken from Hyslop's collection of cahiers that were not included in the Archives Parlementaires. They were omitted for a variety

of reasons,¹⁰⁴ some of which are important to the quality of this sample. The cahiers from the colonies of Saint Dominique and Martinique, for example, were written after the convocation of the Estates General on May 5, 1789. The status of other entities submitting cahiers, such as the "dix villes impériales du gouvernement royal de Haguenau" and the nobility of Corsica, is somewhat questionable. Both these factors, the tardiness of the colonial cahiers and the fact that some cahiers originated from lands that were only recent French possessions, may skew the language of these cahiers. Three other cahiers de doléances are included in our sample: those of Marseille, Bourbonnais, and Arras. These were included to represent an important and politically liberal city as well as two more typical regional centres. The coverage of this sample is wide, including major cities and rural areas. The breakdown of the sample by estate is fairly even: 12 1st, 14 2nd, and 15 3rd¹⁰⁵. The cahiers of the Third Estate, however, are substantially longer than those of the other two estates, and form the largest part of the sample in terms of numbers of words. The texts of the Third Estate comprise 46 percent of the sample, compared with 13 percent for the First Estate and 15 percent for the Second Estate (the remaining 25 percent cannot be classified). This overrepresentation of the cahiers of the Third Estate is attributable to the length of the cahiers of certain urban areas, such as Marseille and Toulon. Thus, this sample may over estimate the degree to which the attitudes and language of the urban Third

Estate were commonly found in the country as a whole. Only a much more inclusive sample of texts, based on scanning or manual keyboarding of the texts found in the Archives Parlementaires could allow us to form a more accurate sample and determine the degree to which the present sample is representative.¹⁰⁶

The third sample of texts used in this study is a large and very inclusive collection of American Constitutional Documents. As shown in Appendix Three, the majority of the texts included in this sample were written in the years immediately prior to the Revolution, with several shorter texts, such as Washington's First Inaugural Address and Madison's essay on Property, that appeared during the first few years of the French Revolution. The largest texts reflect the debate between the Federalists and Antifederalists over the ratification of the constitution in 1787 and 1788.¹⁰⁷ The Federalist Papers is by far the largest and most impressive of the texts written in favor of the constitution. Indeed, this series of documents forms an extended commentary on the theoretical and practical considerations of the "framers." Lesser known but equally interesting are the attacks on the constitution, the most important of which are Richard Henry Lee's Letters from the Federal Farmer and George Mason's Objections to the Proposed Federal Constitution. The final part of the sample consists of all the state constitutions drafted after the American Revolution, as well as the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution ratified in 1787.

The sample was selected by the publishers to be broadly representative of the most important political texts of the period. Despite the inclusion of several antifederalist texts, however, the size of the Federalist Papers, which constitutes just over 50 percent of the sample, dominates the sample. The evident skewing of the sample in the direction of the federalists is not necessarily problematic for this study, however, for as will be discussed in chapter 7, the membership of the Société de 1789 had close ties with many of the federalists and were familiar with much of that American debate.

The sample of French text in the ARTFL database¹⁰⁸ dwarfs the other samples. The ARTFL (American and French Research on the Ireasury of the French Language) database at the University of Chicago is the North American repository of the Trésor de la Langue Française (TLF), established in 1981. The TLF was originally created in 1957 as part of a project to compile a dictionary of nineteenth- and twentieth- century French to rival the Oxford English Dictionary. The purpose of the project was to facilitate a lexicographical analysis of the French language that would be more comprehensive than offered by previous dictionaries. The collection ranges in scope from major literary and philosophical works to a selection of technical and scientific texts, including works by nearly one thousand authors and four hundred publishers dating from the early seventeenth-century to the 1950s. The database for the dictionary was completed in the late 1960s. A Key-Word-in-Context (KWIC)

concordance for every word in the database was printed and is still being used by lexicographers at the Institut National de la Langue française (INaLF)¹⁰⁹. Since the early 1970s, work on improving and expanding the holdings of the database and in moving access from the primitive days of print-outs of one line concordances to interactive full-text retrieval systems has proceeded on both sides of the Atlantic.

ARTFL currently holds 1760 texts from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, or about 115 million words, ranging across a number of disciplines and genres.¹¹⁰ Figure Five-Eight shows the breakdown of types and genres of text by century. Most of the texts are from the eighteenth through twentieth centuries, with significant representation of seventeenth century texts. The majority of the works in the ARTFL database are prose, with novels, treatises, memoirs and correspondence forming the bulk of the titles. A word count for all types of text in each fifty year period is shown in Figure Five-Nine. Representation of the eighteenth through twentieth centuries is considerable; there are, for example, some 29 million words and 180,000 unique forms in the database from 1900 to 1949. The database attempts representative coverage of many major and minor authors for each period. It contains many, but not all, of the works of central figures such as Zola, Balzac, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Gide. For example, the database has 53 titles by Claudel and 38 by Voltaire. ARTFL is in the process of adding significant new data from various sources, such as the well-known Besançon corpus of

machine-readable texts, which contains 150 texts including the works of Racine, Molière, and Rabelais, as well as texts scanned at ARTFL, such as the complete works of Samuel Beckett.¹¹¹

The database has a large number of Enlightenment authors. The eighteenth century corpus contains about 27.7 million words in just over 500 titles. Figure Five-Ten shows the number of volumes published in the eighteenth century by frequency of author. The list is dominated by the most important figures of the Enlightenment, such as Voltaire, Diderot, Montesquieu, and Rousseau. There are also many important Enlightenment authors of the second rank, such as Holbach, Condillac, and Mably. The database includes a significant minority of eighteenth century writers who were neutral or hostile to the Enlightenment, such as Palissot de Montenoy, as well as those who predated the Enlightenment, such as Bossuet. Thus, while the ARTFL sample is designed for an analysis of general elite French in the eighteenth century, it tends to represent well-established Enlightenment figures. The sample is far more representative of the second half of the eighteenth century than the first, containing almost twice the number of words. The publication year for each of the works in the sample is shown in Figure Five-Eleven, indicating that the sample represents the peak of the Enlightenment authors from the 1750s to the 1780s particularly well.¹¹²

The size of this sample does not, however, eliminate serious limitations for the historian. The holdings reflect a

canonical approach to intellectual history, typically including the "great works" of French literature and scholarship. The sample is particularly weak in works reflecting "popular culture", such as those published by the Bibliothèque bleue de Troyes,¹¹³ and in areas of more specialized interest, such as political language, private writings (letters and diaries not aimed at publication), and writings by women.¹¹⁴ The relationship of the sample, even one as large as this, to "the French language of the eighteenth century" is difficult to determine, for there is no clear methodology for establishing the representativeness of samples of linguistic data for a particular period or subculture. There is little doubt that the TLF reflects elite, predominately male written language, which limits the reliability of the sample.

The problem of all four samples is their representativeness and significance. Clearly, significant texts, such as the Federalist Papers, should be included in any sample of American political discourse in the period after 1776. But it is hard to say just how representative the Federalist Papers are of American political discourse during the period. Inclusion of opposition writings may balance the sample, but it is hard to determine how many texts should be used to counter-balance the effect of documents like the Federalist Papers and how representative these less significant texts are in the formation of a political discourse. Sampling in any history of political language, or history of meanings, is always problematic. The crux of the

issue is that a significant text -- one of singular theoretical and rhetorical importance -- may not be representative of the development of contemporary political language. An even more serious problem is the fact that it is difficult to prove the degree to which a given sample is representative of the political discourse of the period under examination.

-- V --

We have been concerned in this chapter with outlining the theoretical assumptions underlying the historical examination of natural language, the methodologies that will be employed in this examination in the two following chapters, and the samples that will be examined. The history of meaning, we have argued, is based on the view that meaning is a shared system of signification that changes over time, developing in relationship to social, political, and cultural changes. Language is the principal system of signification treated by intellectual historians, although it is by no means the only one. Many actors in the French Revolution, including a number of members of the Société de 1789, were firmly convinced of the importance of the changing use of language, since it is language that reflects many of the assumptions of political activity. The recent development of post-structuralist theories of language and society, particularly those of Michel Foucault, have stressed the importance of changing patterns of language use in the

legitimation of existing power structures, including what are typically called political institutions.

Given this general theoretical model, two types of computer analysis will be used in the following chapters: quantitative analysis and "computational" or full text analysis. Computer-assisted analysis of texts has become far more sophisticated in the past decade. This occurred in response to the rapid development of computer hardware and software as well as more elaborate forms of computational analysis by researchers in linguistics and literature. The quantitative analysis of texts can include variations from simple content studies and word frequencies to more complex studies of word clustering and distribution patterns. Interactive textbase systems now permit a far more sophisticated degree of querying texts than was previously available. Large bodies of text can be thought of as single databases that can be searched for words, phrases, logical combinations and so on. Systematic tracing of changing language use is now far more feasible than before. Results from searches in databases can, in turn, be studied through other types of linguistic analysis, such as sentence transformations. The computer is quickly becoming an important research tool in intellectual history.

Sampling of textual data remains problematic. We have discussed the four samples that will be used in the following chapters. The most readily identifiable and most defensible are the texts published by the Société de 1789. Inclusion of more

than half of all of the texts sponsored by the Société and all of the major pieces gives a high degree of reliability to the sample. The case of the cahiers de doléances, a large and important body of material, is more difficult. The use of these documents as a baseline of elite political language seems to be well established. The available sample is skewed in number of words, however, toward the Third Estate and possibly toward the more radical urban elements of the Third Estate. Similarly, there is every indication that the American sample is skewed towards the federalists and, in particular, towards the political language of the Federalist Papers. We have seen that simply increasing the size of a sample does not eliminate sampling problems. The ARTFL database is massive, but seems to have several flaws which detract from its reliability in a number of domains. The difficulty in evaluating these four samples is that there is little guidance to be gained from the sampling techniques used in the social sciences. The issues surrounding the significance and representativeness of textual data have not yet been resolved.

In general, it is safe to assume that the political views of the members of the Société de 1789 were formed from the patterns of discourse they had inherited from the Enlightenment. But this general statement is not particularly informative, since we have little notion of what kinds of Enlightenment language were used before the Revolution, what impact the perception of the American Revolution had on the development of French political discourse

in the years immediately prior to the French Revolution, and what features are exhibited in common "non-Enlightenment" political discourse that will allow us to distinguish ancien régime language of the political from identifiably enlightened political discourse. Using the methodologies and samples discussed in this chapter, the following two chapters will treat the impact of Enlightenment political language and American Revolutionary political language on the discourse of the Société de 1789. Despite these reservations, we expect that this approach will allow us to draw conclusions on the formation of early Revolutionary political language that are both significant and verifiable.

Notes

* François de Pange, "Sur le crime de lèse-nation" Journal de la Société de 1789 3 (19 June 1790): 18-19.

1. William J. Bouwsma, "From History of Ideas to History of Meaning" Journal of Interdisciplinary History 12:2 (Autumn 1981): 287.

2. Robert Darnton, The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History (New York, 1984) and Carlo Ginzburg, The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller (New York, 1982).

3. Bouwsma, 290.

4. Ibid.

5. The importance of the "micro-revolution" for historical research has been underlined by Richard Jensen, "The Microcomputer Revolution for Historians" Journal of Interdisciplinary History XIV (1983): 91-111, and "The Hand Writing on the Screen" Historical Methods 20 (1987): 35-45. A good example of new, more powerful string processing languages is the Icon programming language. See Ralph Griswold and Madge Griswold, The Icon Programming Language (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1983) for a complete description. A brief assessment can be found in Mark Olsen, "Beyond SNOBOL: The Icon Programming Language" Computer and the Humanities 22 (1987): 61-6. New systems for text retrieval and analysis, such as the philis language under development at the University of Chicago or PAT from the University of Waterloo are good examples of new applications that far surpass what was available on older generations of mainframe computers. Finally, the increasing sophistication of optical scanner technology, such as the Kurzweil Data Entry Machine, and the appearance of very large scale optical data storage devices such as the CD-ROM and the WORM disk make the entry and manipulation of multi-million word text collections practicable. The ARTFL Project, for example, stores more than 120 million words on a single 1 gigabyte optical disk.

6. Lucien Febvre, The Problem of Unbelief in the Sixteenth Century: The Religion of Rabelais (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 355.

7. Ibid., p. 363.

8. This proposition is, of course, hardly novel. The arbitrary nature of language in dividing up reality was forcefully argued

by Benjamin Lee Whorf and Edward Sapir. See J.B. Carroll, ed., Language Thought and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf (Cambridge, Mass: 1956). John Lyons points out in his Language, Meaning and Context (London: 1981), p. 68 that

... lexical differences between languages are frequently summarized by linguists with the following generalization: every language divides up the world, or reality, in its own way. A more controversial formulation of the same points ... is that what we think of as the world is very largely the product of the categories imposed on the mush of experience and the amorphous flow of thought by the language we happen to speak.

9. The work of Régine Robin, including her Histoire et linguistique (Paris: 1973) and La société française en 1789: Semur-en-Auxois (Paris: 1970), Marc-Éli Blanchard's Saint-Just & Cie: La Révolution et les mots (Paris: 1980) and Lynn Hunt's Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution (Berkeley: 1984, pp. 19-51) are suggestive of the diversity of work concerning the French Revolution. Jacques Guilhaumou and Hans-Jurgen Lusebrink discuss developments in "pragmatique textuelle" as applied to the French Revolution in "La pragmatique textuelle et les langages de la Révolution française" Mots, ordinateurs, textes, sociétés (MOTS) 2 (1981): 191-203. One of the few German works to appear in translation is Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht's "Persuader ceux qui pensent comme vous: Les fonctions du discours épideictique sur la mort de Marat" Poétique 40 (1979): 363-84. Since the late 1960s, scholars associated with the Centre de lexicologie politique de Saint-Cloud (and more recently in their journal MOTS) have been exploring computer-assisted and more traditional analysis of political language. Pierre Lafon discusses lexicological methods in Dépouillements et statistiques en lexicométrie (Genève-Paris: Slatkine-Champion, 1984). Finally, see Mark Olsen and Louis-Georges Harvey, "Computers and Intellectual History: Lexical Statistics and the Analysis of Political Discourse" Journal of Interdisciplinary History 18 (1988): 449-462.

10. Cited in W. Dieckmann, "Linguistics and Social History" in R. Bartsch and T. Vennemann, eds., Linguistics and Neighboring Disciplines (Amsterdam, 1975), p. 125.

11. Jacques Godechot, "Nation, patrie, nationalisme et patriotisme en France au XVIII^e siècle" Annales historiques de la Révolution française 43 (1971): 481. Godechot stresses the provisional nature of his study suggesting:

Le sémantisme historique est encore dans l'enfance. Les études sur le langage et l'histoire, sur l'évolution des mentalités, commencent à peine. (p. 501)

12. François Furet, Interpreting the French Revolution, trans., E. Forester (Cambridge, 1981), p.46. This is not Furet's first

foray into linguistic analysis. Half of the second volume of his Livre et société is taken up with various applications of linguistic and lexicological methods, including François Furet and Alessandro Fontana "Histoire et linguistique" in Livre et société dans la France du XVIIIe siècle, 2 vols. (Paris, 1970), 2:96-93 and his examination of the eighteenth-century use of the word "histoire" (pp.101-119).

13. T.B. Strong uses the image of "paradigm shift" to describe the reworking of political discourse that occurs in revolutionary situations in his "Dramaturical discourse and political enactments: Toward an artistic formulation for political space," in Richard Harvey Brown and Stanford Kyman, eds. Structure, Consciousness and History (New York, 1978).

14. Furet, Interpreting, p.48.

15. Lynn Hunt, Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution (Los Angeles, 1984), p.49.

16. The range of political upheavals that have been studied using linguistic methods is surprising, from the Revolution of 1789 to the student risings of May 1968 to coups d'état in African states. This range is demonstrated in the three volumes of the Actes du 2e colloque de lexicologie politique 3 vols. (Paris, 1982).

17. Roger Barny, "Les mots et les choses chez les hommes de la Révolution française" La Pensée 202 (1970): 96.

18. Cited in *ibid.*, p.101.

19. Ulrich Ricken, "Réflexions du 18e siècle sur l'abus des mots" Actes du 2e colloque de lexicologie politique (Paris, 1982), 1:57-68.

20. L'abus des mots de nosseigneurs de l'assemblée des Etats généraux, Restaurateur de la Nation Française (A GOA, De l'Imprimerie du Grand Inquisiteur d'Asie, 1790).

21. Cited in Ricken, "Reflexions," p. 67.

22. L'Ami des patriotes 2 (December 4, 1790): 36.

23. Révolutions de France et Brabant 17 (1790): 178-184. I have been unable to locate the Dictionnaire national et anecdotique. Desmoullins cites a false location ("A Politicopolis") for publication of this 200 page book.

24. Pierre-Louis Roederer considered the analysis of words an important part of the "sciences morales et politiques" ("De la faction et du parti" in Oeuvres du Comte P. L. Roederer, pair de

France, membre de l'Institut [...] publiées par son fils (Paris, 1857), 6:217.

25. Condorcet, Des progrès de l'esprit humain, Edited by François and Monique Hinckner, (Paris: Editions sociales, 1971): 272.

26. See Pange's reference to the importance of language in the formation of ideas and his direct reference to Locke's theories, above, leading chapter citation, p.285.

27. Journal d'instruction sociale, par les citoyens Condorcet, Sieyes et Duhamel. Prospectus (Paris: L'Imprimerie des Sourds-Muets, 1793), p. 3.

28. Ibid., pp. 2-3.

29. Condorcet, "Sur les sens du mot Révolutionnaire" Journal d'instruction sociale 1 (June 1, 1793): 1-11; J. Duhamel, "Analyse et définition des mots et des expressions employés dans l'art de constituer les Sociétés politiques" Journal d'instruction sociale 5 (July 6, 1793): 129-144 and 6 (July 6, 1793): 185-92.

30. Interpreting the ideas of Michel Foucault has developed into a cottage industry in the English speaking world. Any characterization of his work is surely subject to attack. Yet his program addresses the problem of the relationship between how knowledge is encoded in language and how this knowledge depends on existing power structures, power being silently exercised by exclusion of the margins by "common sense". A number of discussions of Foucault's work have appeared. Christopher Kent's "Michel Foucault: Doing History, or undoing it?" Canadian Journal of History 21 (1986) raises many of the issues concerning the "historicity" of Foucault's program. See also Mark Poster's Foucault, Marxism and History: Mode of Production versus Mode of Information (Cambridge, 1984) for a Marxist evaluation of Foucault.

31. After May 1968, Foucault moved from his concern with archeologies -- unchanging structures of knowledge which can 'explode' suddenly -- to the problem posed by "power/knowledge". See essays and interviews collected and translated in Power/Knowledge, trans and edited by Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980).

32. Charles Morris, Signs, Language and Behavior (New York: 1946), p. 219. This work is a founding text in the theory of semiotics. Morris argues that culture is a shared system of signification, writing

The recognition that culture is largely a sign configuration suggests at once that the transmission of culture is mainly

affected by the transmission of signs from the existing members of the society to the young or to those who enter that society.... It is by instilling in the members of a culture the designations, appraisals, and prescriptions characteristic of that culture that society gains its major control over the individual. (p. 207)

33. Zellig Harris, "Discourse Analysis" Language 28 (1952): 30.
34. R.A. de Beaugrande and W.U. Dressler offer these seven aspects of "textuality" in their Introduction to Text Linguistics (London, 1981), pp. 5-25. M. Stubbs' discussion in Discourse Analysis: The Sociolinguistic Analysis of Natural Language (Chicago, 1983) presents a less formal and, for the historian, more useful approach to discourse analysis.
35. Denise Maldidier et Régine Robin, "Polémique idéologique et affrontement discursif en 1776: les grands édits de Turgot et les remontrances du Parlement de Paris" in Régine Robin, ed., Langage et idéologies (Paris, 1974), pp. 15-80.
36. Régine Robin, "Langage et idéologies" in Ibid., p. 3.
37. Febvre, p. 363.
38. Michel Foucault, The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences. (New York, 1973) p. xviii. Foucault's notion of syntax corresponds more closely to Morris' "systactics" as a means of combining signs than merely the means of constructing sentences.
39. The fluidity of vocabulary is contrasted with the "statisme relatif de la syntaxe et de la phonétique" by G. Matoré in his La méthode en lexicologie: domaine française (Paris, 1972), p. xxii. He goes on to attack structuralists who relegate change in language to the ephemeral. Similarly Charles Muller points out that vocabulary is inherently volatile:
 Nous sentons que le lexique, beaucoup plus que le système phonologique ou la syntaxe, varie d'un locuteur à l'autre, et chez le même locuteur d'un moment à l'autre, et aussi d'un état de langue à l'autre. (Langue française et linguistique quantitative: Recueil d'articles (Geneva: Slatkine, 1979), p. 270.
40. Henri Mitterand, Lexicologie française (Paris: PUF, 1974), p. 34.
41. Matoré, La méthode, p. xxix.
42. Pierre Lafon, Dépouillements et statistiques en lexicométrie (Genève-Paris, 1984), p. 50.

43. Régine Robin, La société française en 1789: Sémur-en-Auxrois. (Paris, 1970) p. 294. Jean DuBois also makes the same comment in his Le vocabulaire politique et social en France, de 1869 à 1872. (Paris, 1962) writing "le lexique n'est pas un simple agglomérat d'une quantité de mots isolés, c'est une système où toutes les unités sont coordonnées les unes aux autres ou opposées les unes aux autres." (p. 188)

44. Charles Muller, "Le MOT, unité de texte et unité de lexique en statistique lexicologique" Langue française et linguistique quantitative: Recueil d'articles (Geneva, 1979), p. 141. Most of the discussion in this paragraph is drawn from Muller.

45. The discussion is nicely highlighted by Charles Muller's introduction to Pierre Lafon's Dépouillements. Muller argues that Lafon's hesitance to lemmatize verbs -- reduce conjugations of verbs to the root word -- leads him to miss important patterns of verb use in his texts. Lafon points out that precoding of texts should be kept to a minimum in order to allow extensive use of the texts and that conjugated forms of verbs are more important than the lemmatized roots.

46. Muller, "Le MOT," p. 142.

47. P. Stone, The General Inquirer (New York, 1966), p. 149.

48. B. Dolphin, Vocabulaire et lexique (Geneva:1979), p. 17. Charles Muller points out that there is a striking degree of stability in the ranks of the twenty most frequent verbs in French measured over time. Just as importantly is his suggestion that greater variation is noticed between types of literature. See "Les verbes les plus fréquents du français" in Muller, Langue française.

49. Cited in E.C. Traugott et al, Linguistics for Students of Literature (New York, 1980), p. 88. The discussion of this text is drawn from pp. 88-89.

50. Ibid., p. 88.

51. Stone, General Inquirer, p. 148.

52. Lafon, Dépouillements, p. 21.

53. A number of examples of this approach can be suggested. See, for example, Barron Brainerd's "On the distribution of the number of occurrences of a word in blocks of text of fixed length" in Colette Charpentier and Jean David, eds., La recherche française par ordinateur en langue et littérature (Geneva: Slatkine-Champion, 1985) pp. 109-122. Pierre Lafon et al, in their "Lexicométrie et associations syntagmatiques (analyse des segments répétés et des co-occurrences appliquée a un corpus de

textes syndicaux" in Chapentier and David La recherche, examine "des parentages et des clivages observables entre les quatres protagonistes" (p. 59) whose texts form a single corpus.

54. This approach is taken in Louis-Georges Harvey and Mark Olsen "French Revolutionary Forms in French Canadian Political Language" Canadian Historical Review LXVIII (1987): 374-92.

55. In Régine Robin, Histoire et Linguistique, pp. 261-303.

56. Ibid., p. 262.

57. Tournier uses a Bernoulli coefficient derived as

$$r = \frac{(a + d) - (b + c)}{(a + b + c + d)}$$

where a = occurrences in both texts
 b = occurs in text 1
 c = occurs in text 2
 d = does not occur in either text.

Obviously this method requires that text 1 and 2 be subsets of a larger corpus which determines the list of significant lexical items to be compared. A more direct approach is suggested by G. Herdan which produces a coefficient of direct relationship between the two texts:

$$r_n = \frac{a}{((a + b) * (a + c))}$$

See Gustav Herdan, Quantitative Linguistics (London, 1964), pp. 123-124.

58. The "norme sociale" includes words like association, industrie and atelier; the "norme intellectuelle" includes items like droits and principes; and the "norme politique" includes forms like loi and representants. See Tournier, "Parentages," p. 292.

59. See Harvey and Olsen "French Revolutionary," p. 381.

60. See Tournier "Parentages," p. 297.

61. in G.L.M. Berry-Rogghe, "Computation of collocations and their relevance in lexical studies" in The Computer and Literary Studies, edited by A.J. Aitken et.al. (Edinburgh, 1972) p. 103.

62. Ibid., p. 103.

63. Robin, Histoire et Linguistique, pp.133-134.

64. Berry-Rogghe, "Computation," p. 103ff.

65. A sample output and the source code of the z-score generation program written for this study is found in Appendix Two. The program is interactive in allowing the user to specify report formats, sorting on frequencies or words and direct the output to printer, screen or disk file. The strength of text retrieval systems like the Brigham Young Concordance package (now called WordCruncher) was evident when we checked the results of the z-score calculations, since we were able to generate reports on the word combinations desired with a minimum of effort. SNOBOL, an old programming language used extensively for humanities applications, has recently appeared in several microcomputer implementations. Olsen has reviewed one in "SNOBOL4+" Computers and the Humanities 19 (1985). A brief description of the editor used in the data collection process can be found in "TXTCOL4: String Data Collection Program" in Computers and the Social Sciences 1 (1985). Other data was collected using the Kurzweil OCR at the Humanities Computing Facility, Arizona State University. Finally see Mark Olsen, "Textbase for Humanities Applications: WordCruncher" Computers and the Humanities 21 (1987): 255-60.

66. Charles Dickens, The Christmas Books (New York:Penguin, 1971), pp. 54-55.

67. See Maurice Tournier, "Cooccurrences autour de travail" in MOTS 14 (1987): 89-123; Pierre Lafon, "Analyse lexicométrique et recherches des cooccurrences" MOTS 3 (1981): 95-148 and Lafon Dépouillements, pp. 129-199.

68. A good example of some of the variations in collocation is Roger Murray's examination of "period style" in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. See his "Poetry and Collocation" in Style 14 (1980): 216-34. He used a large number of thirty line samples from particular literary features (horror, romance, etc.) to determine how word use changed in these various genres. The "span" in this study is the thirty line selection, which is either a single passage extracted from a text or a composite of several passages, depending on the length of the passages. Murray's definition of collocation is useful:

The modern study of lexis begins with J.R. Firth, who observed that certain words such as "letter" and "mailbox" tend to collocate (co-locate) or co-occur in texts. He suggested that any full description of the meaning of a word would have to include mention of its collocates, the words it sorts with, for in his view collocation is a semantic level, a mode of meaning. "Mailbox" is, to put it simply, part of the meaning of "letter." (p. 217)

69. Jeremy Popkin, in a recent discussion of Rolf Reichardt's work, justifiably criticizes much of the work of the Centre de

lexicologie politique de Saint Cloud, suggesting that it has been "too narrowly focused on a single text or a single author to provide much evidence about changes in usage over time, and the results have been expressed in a complex jargon that makes them unintelligible to most working historians." ["Recent West German Work on the French Revolution" Journal of Modern History 59 (1987): 748.] The charge of "complex jargon" is certainly true of Lafon and Tournier's treatment of "cooccurrences." The situation concerning the statistical treatment of cooccurrences is more problematic since many of the technical elements of the research are published in limited distribution working papers.

70. Tournier, "Cooccurrences autour de travail," p. 90.

71. Given the numeric data given in "Cooccurrences autour de travail," I calculate that the z-score for "salaire" and "travail" is 1.55, only slightly greater than random distribution in the text as a whole. If the actual distribution of "travail" is taken into account, even this slight correlation could be eliminated. Finally, the very low cooccurrence frequency of 5, in this example, suggests that the correlation is insignificant.

72. Tournier, "Cooccurrences autour de travail," p. 105. He describes this approach as a "lecture d'un pôle à travers les mots que fréquentent les mots qu'il fréquente" (p. 104).

73. Each sample in "Cooccurrences autour de travail" is only about 25,000 words, with the frequency of travail ranging from 66 to 104 (p. 92).

74. The most sophisticated of these programs is PhiloLogic being developed as a joint venture of the ARTFL Project and the Textual Information Retrieval and Analysis Research Group (TIRA) of the Center for Information and Language Studies at the University of Chicago. Current implementation of PhiloLogic allow the user to query all 120 million words of the ARTFL textbase for single words, lists of words, substrings and word combinations in real time.

75. The contrast between patterns of political discourse and word use is discussed in Mark Olsen and Louis-Georges Harvey, "Contested Methods: A Discussion of Daniel T. Rodgers' Contested Truths, Keywords in American Politics Since Independence" Journal of the History of Ideas XLIX (1988): 449-462.

76. Harvey and Olsen, "French Revolutionary Forms."

77. "We" and "our" are very significantly over-represented in Common Sense. The expected percentage of occurrences of these two words is 6 percent compared to an actual occurrence of 22 percent.

78. Zellig Harris, "Co-occurrence and Transformation in Linguistic Structure" Language 33 (1957): 283-340.

79. Ibid., p. 339.

80. Some systems have been written to perform the types of transformations described by Harris. See, for example, Régine Robin's description of the AAD (Analyse automatique du discours) system in her Histoire et Linguistique, pp. 184-192.

81. Robin, Histoire et Linguistique, p. 183. My translation.

82. "The purposive or judgment sample represents a deliberate selection of a sample manipulated by the statistician in such a fashion as to obtain a representative cross section of the population." [Herbert Arkin and Raymond Colton, Statistical Methods (New York, 1970), p. 143.]

83. See, for example, M. Marron, "Article relatif à la constitution: Fragments d'un discours prononcé le 18 juillet 1790 dans l'oratoire des protestants, au musée de la rue Dauphine. Par M. Marron, membre de la société de 1789" Journal de la Société de 1789 9 (July 29, 1790): 22-35.

84. (Paris: Imprimerie Nouvelle, 1894), 2:460-4.

85. The classic description of the General Cahiers is found in Beatrice Fry Hyslop's A Guide to the General Cahiers of 1789 with the texts of Unedited Cahiers (Columbia University Press: New York, 1936). Also see her French Nationalism in 1789 According to the General Cahiers (Octagon Books: New York, 1968).

86. This assumption must be taken within limits, since it is known that models of cahiers were circulated by several factions, including individuals associated with the Duke of Orleans and the Group of Thirty.

87. Cited in M.J. Sydenham, The French Revolution (New York: 1966), p. 35.

88. Dufourny de Villiers, Cahiers du Quatrième Ordre, celui Des pauvres Journaliers, des Infirmes, des Indigens . . . L'ORDRE SACRÉ DES INFORTUNÉS (Paris: 1789). Pierre-Louis Orry, marquis de Fulvy, Cahier du Marquis de Fulvy (n.p.n.d), pp.16. The latter is discussed in C. B. Rogers, The Spirit of Revolution in 1789 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), p. 65.

89. Hyslop, A Guide, p.42. Many of the particular cahiers have been collected and reprinted. In addition, historians of particular regions in France have used these documents to assess local opinion in 1789. Régine Robin's La Société française en 1789 is certainly the most systematic in its use of the local

cahiers. Some estimates of the number of particular cahiers range as high as 50,000.

90. Hyslop, A Guide, pp. 11-28.

91. Charles-Louis Chassin, Les Cahiers des curés. Etude historique d'après les brochures, les cahiers imprimés et les procès-verbaux manuscrits (Paris: Charavay Frères, 1882), pp.199-200.

92. Edme Champion, La France d'après les Cahiers de 1789 (Paris: Armand Colin, 1897), p. 23.

93. George V. Taylor, "Revolutionary and Nonrevolutionary Content in the Cahiers of 1789: An Interim Report" French Historical Studies 7 (1972): 489.

94. Champion, La France, p. 232.

95. Hyslop, French Nationalism, p. 21.

96. See Robert Schnerb, "Les Voeux des cahiers de 1789 en matière constitutionnelle d'après Clermont-Tonnerre et Calonne." in Information historique 8 (1946): 139-ff.

97. Sydenham, French Revolution, p. 41.

98. See, for example, David Feuerwerker, "Les Juifs en France. Anatomie de 307 cahiers de doléances de 1789" Annales. E.S.C. 20 (1965): 45-61; Régine Robin, "Le Champ sémantique de féodalité dans les cahiers de doléances généraux de 1789" Bulletin du Centre d'analyse du discours de l'Université de Lille III 2 (Lille, 1975): 61-86; C.R. Grandquist, "The Diffusion of Democracy as Reflected in the Demands of the General and Parish Cahiers of 1789." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1967.

99. Taylor, "Revolutionary," p.483.

100. Robin, Histoire et Linguistique, p. 295.

101. A. Dupront, "Cahiers de doléances et mentalités collectives" Actes du Congrès des Sociétés Savantes de Lyon 1964, cited in Robin, Histoire et Linguistique, p. 270.

102. The Pittsburg content analysis data set created by Gilbert Shapiro and his team in the early 1970s seems to have produced few results. I have been able to find only two articles using this material, and then only in a very general sense. See Gilbert Shapiro, John Markoff, and Sasha Weitman, "Quantitative Studies of the French Revolution" History and Theory 11 (1973): 163-191 and Gilbert Shapiro and Philip Dawson, "Social Mobility

and Political Radicalism: The Case of the French Revolution of 1789" in The Dimensions of Quantitative Research in History, eds. William Aydelotte, Allan Bogue and Robert Fogel, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).

103. This is largely because the cost of scanning from the Archives Parlementaires is much greater than using modern editions for several reasons: a) the Archives are widely available in micro-form publication, but the original hard copies are more difficult to obtain for long periods of time, and are rather fragile and could be damaged during scanning; b) the double column page layout is more complex to scan and causes a number of potential errors (though the Kurzweil scanner can read in columns); c) printing from micro-form has to this point proven impractical as character resolution drops, increasing errors; and d) the print and paper quality of the Archives Parlementaires is poor compared to modern editions printed on heavier paper, causing a higher error rate and increased costs of correction.

104. See Hyslop, A Guide, pp. 27ff.

105. These figures include cahiers from sources other than Hyslop. Thirteen cahiers cannot be classified, being from colonies or other locations where the cahiers were mixed or where divisions between Estates were unimportant.

106. It is, of course, possible to correct for such over-representation by comparing frequencies and other measures against expected values based on the size of each sub-sample. The analysis involving the cahiers examines differences in word usage and frequencies between the three estates.

107. The antifederalists have not had nearly the exposure of the victorious Federalists. Recently, the opponents to the federal constitution have received a far more sympathetic and exhaustive examination. This rehabilitation began with Cecilia M. Kenyon's "Men of Little Faith: The Anti-Federalists on the Nature of Representative Government," William and Mary Quarterly XII (1955), pp. 3-46. She has collected the principal antifederalist works in The Antifederalists, (Boston, Northeastern University Press, 1985) which contains an excellent overview of their ideas (pp.xxi-cxvi). The bibliography on the Federalist Papers is voluminous. For rather different perspectives on the work of Madison, Hamilton and Jay see Forrest McDonald, Novus Ordo Seclorum: The Intellectual Origins of the Constitution (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1985) and Robert Rutland, James Madison: The Founding Father (New York: MacMillan, 1987).

108. For examples of the potential of the ARTFL as an historical object see my "Histoire des mentalités and the Treasury of the French Language: A Quantitative Approach," Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History, New Orleans, October 18-22,

1989 and forthcoming papers to the Kentucky Foreign Language Conference and the Canadian Historical Assn.

Examples of literary research using ARTFL are found in Wendelin A. Guentner, "The Salon as Literary Space: The Case of Stendhal" Stanford French Review (1987): 193-210; Robert Morrissey, "Breaking In (Flaubert in Parentheses)" SubStance 56 (1988): 49-62; P. Stewart, "Julie et ses légendes" Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 260 (1989): 257-78.

109. A description of the current activities of INaLF is found in Jacques Dendien, Gérard Gorcy, Eveline Martin, "Le Trésor Général des Langues et Parlers Français de l'Institut National de la Langue Française (I.Na.L.F.)" Computers and the Humanities 22 (1988): 67-75. INaLF has research centers in Besançon, Grenoble, Nice, Toulouse, and Saint-Cloud as well as the main installation in Nancy.

110. The sample represents all of the complete texts from the original TLF database. The TLF also includes a sample of more technical material where only the first 20 percent of each text was actually entered. These have not been included in the ARTFL database since we are primarily interested in applications in literary, historical and linguistic research where the integrity of the texts has been preserved.

111. Other datasets being prepared for the ARTFL database include the Akehurst corpus of Provençal poetry, the Saint Cloud corpus of 1848 political pamphlets, and the author's sample of the General cahiers de doléances of 1789 and other texts.

112. Appendix Four contains the full bibliography for the ARTFL sample in the 18th century, sorted by date.

113. Robert Mandrou, De la culture populaire aux 17ième et 18ième siècles: la Bibliothèque bleu de Troyes (Paris: Stock, 1964).

114. Karen Offen points out that "il y avait très peu d'auteurs féminins représentés dans" the ARTFL database in "Sur l'origine des mots 'féminisme' et 'féministe'" Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine 34 (1987): 496.

Figure Five-One

Collocations of items "impôt" and "impôts" in
Sample of Cahiers de doléances, 1789.
($Z > 7.0$)

<u>Collocates</u>	<u>Total Frequency</u>	<u>Collocate Frequency</u>	<u>Zscore</u>
consentis	7	5	14.8
aucun	93	18	13.7
perception	44	10	11.3
répartition	36	9	11.3
consentement	26	7	10.4
dette	33	7	9.0
levée	12	4	8.8
supporter	13	4	8.4
consentir	15	4	7.7
besoins	47	7	7.3
peuples	17	4	7.2
subsides	26	5	7.2
produit	37	6	7.1

Figure Five-Two

Concordance of impôt/impôts and consentement.

1. périodique des Etats Généraux, sans le consentement desquels aucun impôt ne pourra être établi ny exigé.
2. Consentement à supporter une partie de L'impôt à établir l'Etat de n'acquieser ni même de faire espérer aucun secours
3. d'impôt que les états n'y aient donné leur consentement sous la
4. ne soit fait aucune imposition n'y Etabli aucune nouvel impôt sans le consentement des Etats-Généraux.
5. ne soit fait aucun emprunt direct ou indirect, établi aucun impôt, accordé aucun subside, sans le libre consentement des états généraux,
6. de ne mettre aucun impôt sans le consentement des Etats généraux, mais encore de n'en proroger aucun sans
7. Qu'aucun impôt ne sera à l'avenir mis ou prorogé sans le consentement des Etats Généraux du

Figure Five-Three

*Lexicogramme CFDT 3
(1975-1976)*

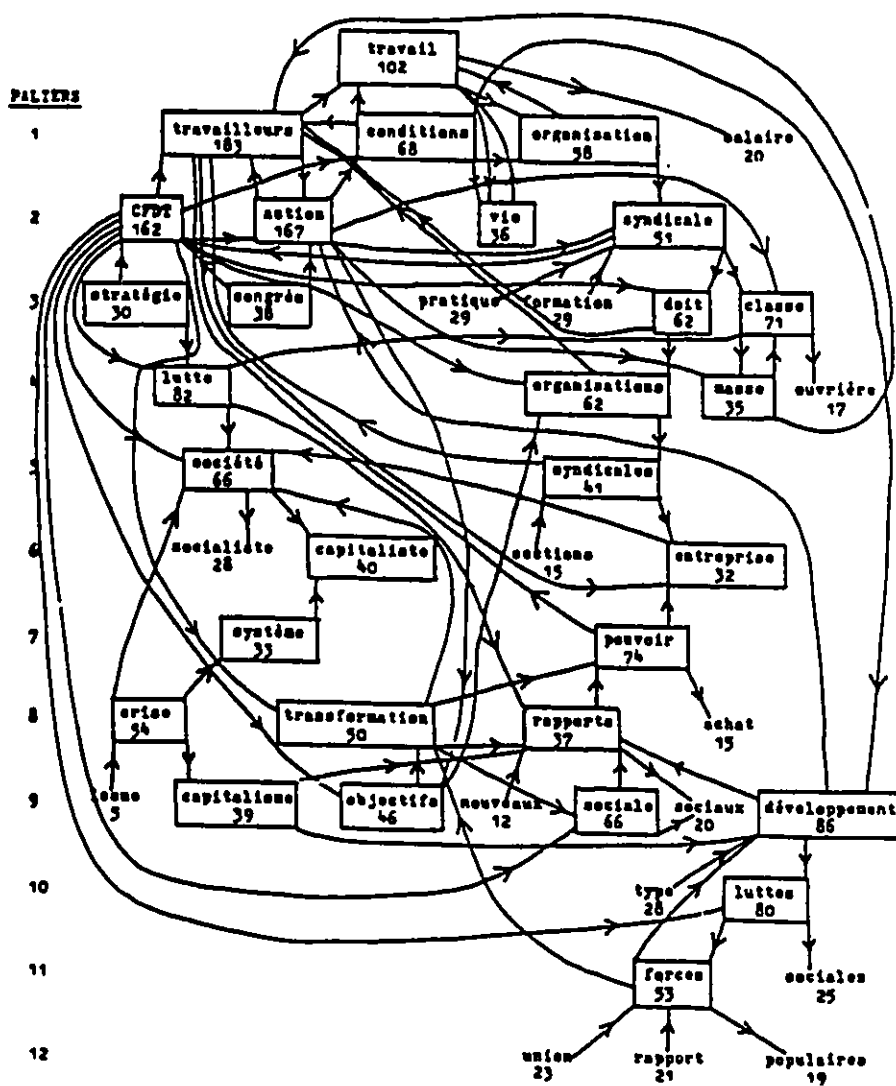


Figure Five-Six

Collocation of natural and rights in the Sample of
American Constitutional Documents.

declaring War against the natural rights of all Mankind, and extirpating the
 in their natural, civil, or religious rights: nor ought any person to be compelled
 safety and tranquility their natural rights, and blessing of life: and whenever
 natural, essential, and unalienable rights; among which may be reckoned the right
 declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby asserted are of the natural
 asserted are of the natural rights of mankind, and that if any act shall
 must cede to it some of their natural rights, in order to vest it with requisite
 to refer to the personal rights of the people, with which it has a natural
 natural, essential, and inherent rights--among which are, the enjoying and
 up some of their natural rights to that society, in order to ensure the
 Among the natural rights, some are in their very nature

Figure Five-Seven

Sentence Transformations of canadiens/canadiens
françois and sont/ont in a sample of French Canadian
 political texts from the first third of the 19th century.

Les Nous	plaintes intérêts moeurs principes usages moraux loyaux sujets	CANADIENS CANADIENS- FRANCOIS	sont ont	contre descendants craint jamais attachés toujours reçues souvent sentir bienfaits mérite plus	sa Majesté
					bons sujets
					l'injustice
					une opinion
					à la prérogative
					opposés à leur gouvernement
					au gouvernement Britannique
					sur
					9/10 de la population
					de naissance
					fidèles
					leurs droits
					constitution
					françois
					liberté
					amis de leur pays
					heureux du monde

Figure Five-Eight

Breakdown of 1759 titles in the ARTFL database by century of publication and type of text as determined by INaLF (accents stripped).

Type of text	17th	18th	19th	20th	
prose recit de voyage	6	8	12	3	
prose roman	33	139	180	179	
prose traite	72	130	66	64	
prose eloquence	14	5	2	0	
prose memoires	11	14	60	37	
prose correspondance	31	17	38	4	
prose melanges	6	31	19	22	
prose pamphlet	4	8	0	0	
prose theatre	4	53	96	65	
prose poesie	0	1	10	1	
vers poesie	62	42	79	27	
vers theatre	37	53	11	3	
===== Total by Year	280	501	573	405	1759

Figure Five-Nine

Total number of words (tokens) and unique words (types) in the ARTFL database broken down by half century periods.

1600-1649	--	TOKENS:	6408392	TYPES:	97017
1650-1699	--	TOKENS:	7536054	TYPES:	93404
1700-1749	--	TOKENS:	9452865	TYPES:	90554
1750-1799	--	TOKENS:	18286866	TYPES:	126466
1800-1849	--	TOKENS:	18788525	TYPES:	146157
1850-1899	--	TOKENS:	20732759	TYPES:	148761
1900-1949	--	TOKENS:	28801775	TYPES:	178457
1950-1964	--	TOKENS:	3266401	TYPES:	71811

Figure Five-Ten

ARTFL Bibliography

1700 to 1799, sorted by number of Volumes by author
(accents stripped).

53	Voltaire	4	Ch de Mouhy
37	D. Diderot	4	Cl. Godard d'Aucour
29	L'Abbe Prevost	4	Comte de Volney
25	Marivaux	4	J. Cazotte
21	J.-J. Rousseau	4	J.-A. Roucher
15	Montesquieu	4	J.-B. Gresset
14	A.-R. Lesage	4	J.-P.-C. de Florian
14	L.-S. Mercier	4	M.-J. Sedaine
13	C. Fils Crebillon	4	P.-A. de Beaumarchais
11	Abbe J.-B. Dubos	4	Palissot de Montenoy
11	Abbe J.-J. Barthelemy	4	Ph de Dangeau
11	J.-H. Bernardin de Saint-Pierre	4	R. Chasles
10	P.-H. d' Holbach	3	A. Hamilton
9	Ch Bonnet	3	A.-C. de Caylus
9	Ch-P. Duclos	3	Abbe J. Terrasson
9	J.-F. Marmontel	3	B.-J. Saurin
9	N. Restif de la Bretonne	3	Ch Rollin
8	Abbe de Condillac	3	Delisle de Sales
8	F. d' Arnaud	3	E.-J.-F. Barbier
8	H. Comte de Mirabeau	3	J. Meslier
8	L. Carmontelle	3	J. d' Alembert
7	A. Chenier	3	J. de Lespinasse
7	A. de La Motte	3	J. de Varenne
7	Abbe A. Barruel	3	J.-F. Collin d'Harleville
7	C.-A. Helvetius	3	J.-F. Regnard
7	G.-L. de Buffon	3	J.-F. de La Harpe
6	Abbe de Mably	3	J.-P. Marat
6	Fenelon	3	Lefranc de Pompignan
6	H.-J. Dulaurens	3	N.-J.-L. Gilbert
6	J.-B. Bossuet	3	P.-A. Guys
6	J.-B. d' Argens	3	P.-L. Belloy
6	Mme Riccoboni	3	R. de Vertot
6	Mme de Genlis	3	R.-L. d' Argenson
5	Anonymous	3	V. Marquis Mirabeau
5	G. de Staël	2	A. Berquin
5	La Chaussee	2	A.-L. Thomas
5	Loiseleur de Trepoate	2	A.-M. de Ramsay
5	Marquise de Tencin	2	Abbe F. Galiani
5	N.-S. Chamfort	2	Abbe de Voisenon
5	P.-J. Pere Crebillon	2	C. Du Marsais
4	A. Piron	2	C.-F.-N. Le Maitre de Claville
4	A.-M. Lemierre	2	Ch Dupuis
4	Abbe Ph-L. Gerard	2	Ch-J. La Morliere
4	Abbe Raynal	2	Ch-P. Colardeau
4	C.-J. Dorat	2	Ch-S. Favart
4	Ch Colle	2	E. de Parny

2	F. de Chateaubriand	1	Mme Dacier
2	Fougeret de Monbron	1	N.-G. Leonard
2	J. Delille	1	N.-T. Barthe
2	J. Dusaulx	1	P. Dupont de Nemours
2	J.-B. Jourdan	1	P.-A. de Piis
2	J.-B. La Noue	1	P.-D. le Brun
2	J.-B. Pere Du Halde	1	P.-J. Bernard-Gentil
2	J.-B. Robinet	1	P.-S. Laplace
2	J.-B. de Lacurne de Sainte Palaye	1	Prince de Ligne
2	L. Racine	1	R.-C. Guilbert de Pixerecourt
2	L. Saint-Martin	1	R.-M. Lesuire
2	L. de Boissy	1	S. de Vauban
2	Laclos	1	S.-J. de Boufflers
2	Lenglet du Fresnoy	1	V.-E. Flechier
2	Louvet de Couvray	1	W. Beckford
2	Marquis de Sade		
2	Mme de Grafigny		
2	N. Boileau-Despreaux		
2	N.-S. Linguet		
2	Ph Destouches		
2	Ramond de Carbonn		
2	Rivarol		
2	S. Tyssot de Patot		
2	Senac de Meilhan		
2	Vauvenargues		
1	A. Condorcet		
1	A. de Bertin		
1	A.-A. Poinsinet		
1	Abbe Ch. Batteux		
1	Adanson		
1	Aubert de la Chesnaye-Desbois		
1	Ch Goldoni		
1	D.-V. Denon		
1	E. Boursault		
1	E. Sieyes		
1	E.-P. de Senancour		
1	F.-A. Chevrier		
1	G. Leibniz		
1	G.-H. Bougeant		
1	Guimond de la Touche		
1	I. de Charriere		
1	J. Fievee		
1	J.-B. Rousseau		
1	J.-F. Ducis		
1	J.-F. Melon		
1	J.-F. de Saint-Lambert		
1	J.-L. Laya		
1	L. d' Allainval		
1	L. de Bachaumont		
1	La Martelliere		
1	M. de Robespierre		
1	Mme Cottin		

Figure Five-Eleven
Number of volumes published in each decade of
the 18th century in the ARTFL database.

period		vols
1700-1710	--	23
1711-1720	--	25
1721-1730	--	31
1731-1740	--	94
1741-1750	--	62
1751-1760	--	95
1761-1770	--	118
1771-1780	--	106
1781-1790	--	97
1791-1799	--	47

Chapter Six

The Language of Liberty: the Discourse of the Société de 1789 and Enlightenment Political Language.

Avec quelle douce satisfaction
nous portons dans cette chaire
le langage du patriotisme, les
éloges de la liberté! (M.
Marron, to the Protestant
oratory). 1

An examination of the political language of the Société de 1789 shows important developments in the representation of the political realm when compared to American and Enlightened sources from which the members of the club drew language to describe the public realm. This discourse is not marked by many of the features, such as "metaphysical abstractness" and excessive emphasis on theoretical matters, that have been identified in the historiography as typical of the club and Enlightened thought in general. Indeed, following our comments in Chapter 4 suggesting that the topics covered by the Société were substantive contemporary issues, the language in the papers read before the Société is surprisingly short of abstraction or philosophical language. This does not suggest that the club ignored Enlightenment political discourse. Rather, the Société adopted particular components of that language, modifying them to suit the current situation while, at the same time, being caught in

the contradictions implicit in various political traditions of the Enlightenment.

A systematic analysis of the political language of the Société must nevertheless consider the degree to which the rhetoric of the Enlightenment moulded the discourse of the revolutionary club. This chapter and the following one examine the structures of the political language of the Société de 1789. In this chapter, we examine the political language of the club in relationship to the discourse of the Enlightenment and the general Cahiers de doléances. In the following chapter we will examine English cognates in order to assess the degree to which American discourse influenced the language of the Société. As will be shown, not only is this discourse far more "practical" than earlier commentators have suggested, but it also represented the development of a language of politics that adopted an Enlightened position in many areas while remaining open to new influences, of which the most important was the influence of American political discourse.

The numerous references by members of the Société to themselves is particularly important, since they help to indicate the rhetorical level at which the club was viewed as a collective body. An examination of the nous politique, that is who is included in and excluded from the collectivity, reveals that the club had no clear notion of its own fundamental unity. Rather, the club as a collective entity was consistently identified with an abstraction, the nation. The automatic and frequent

definition of nous as the French nation suggests that there were unconscious assumptions concerning the importance of the nation in the club's rhetorical self-definition. Their definition of the nation, as we shall see, places it in conflict at an international level. Though the conflicts might be military, international competition was more frequently conceived of in economic and diplomatic terms. The primary political collective is not defined ideologically, as it was by Marat and Robespierre, but institutionally and commercially.

The nous politique of the Société leads naturally to a discussion of the nation in the discourse of the club. Nation is one of three keywords that we shall examine in order to assess the impact of the Enlightenment on the language of the Société de 1789, the other two being loi and droits. These three terms, which have been selected because of their importance in the language of the Société, also indicate three distinct approaches to examining the relationship of the Enlightenment to the Société. Nation was used very extensively during the eighteenth century, as is shown in the ARTFL database. The Société's use of nation often echoes Enlightenment discourse. There is little evidence, however, of a significant shift during the eighteenth century that would permit clear contrasts between authors. Voltaire and Helvétius, in this case, represent an interesting contrast between two radically distinct ideas of the nation, with the Société more influenced by the tradition represented by Helvétius.

By contrast, our examination of loi shows a distinct shift in the use of the word during the second half of the eighteenth century, a shift which is clearly reflected in the discourse of the club. The importance of the natural law tradition in Enlightenment discourse was not maintained by the Société, while Rousseau's innovative identification of law and will became the dominant model by which law and legitimacy were discussed, even when the authors disagreed with the identification. Finally, droits suggests a different mechanism, again of movement between the Enlightenment and the Société. In this case, droits are important to eighteenth-century authors and members of the Société. There is a significant degree of overlap in usage as well, but the most important and frequent constructions in each sample are missing from the others. Whereas the Société relied on arguments based on the notion of natural rights, the writers of the period before 1788 referred to the rights of humanity. This suggests that many of the most familiar constructions of the early Revolution were prepared for by Enlightenment writers, but were forged in the American political tradition and brought back to France in the years just before the Revolution.

Comparison of the three central keywords with their appearance in the large ARTFL sample of texts suggests that the relationship between the political language of the Société and the Enlightenment writers is strong but complex. Three mechanisms which will be identified in this chapter suggest some ways in which this discourse permeated the intellectual

environment, by offering examples of competing and contrasting traditions as well as the possibility of the transformation of rhetoric across language barriers. The intellectual preparation for the Revolution was less the adoption of particular ideas than the adaptation of a rhetoric to meet the practical situation of Parisian politics.

- I -

The discourse of the Société de 1789 was considerably more practical than the critics of the club, both contemporaries and historians, would have us believe. We have already seen that the editors of L'Ami des Patriotes in the obituary of the club, suggested that one of its main failings was that most of its discussions dealt with "metaphysical questions." Similarly, La Fayette wrote that the club, in early 1791, was losing itself in philosophical speculations.² Historians have echoed this sentiment in their discussions of the Société de 1789. Claude Perroud, in his short study of the club, approvingly cites Fouquières' assertion that the Société was committed to "l'étude abstraite des questions métaphysiques" and goes on to argue that their interests were really "métaphysiques politiques." Perroud also suggests that the "caractère de discussions abstraites ressort d'ailleurs de la seule lecture des sommaires du Journal de la Société."³ Similarly, Gottschalk suggests that the Société "never became much more than a gentleman's social and debating

society."⁴ P.F. Willert asserts that the patriotism of the Société was manifested in the attempt to "educate public opinion by expounding the principles of social and political science in a journal edited by the philosophic Condorcet."⁵ Augustin Challamel, as we have seen, suggests that the club was "almost an academy," implying that it was concerned with propagating social and political theories. The suggestion that the club was too philosophical for the politically charged environment of Paris in 1790 and 1791 may be related to the broader and always controversial view that the Enlightenment was, in general, an abstract philosophical movement incapable of concrete political policies and that these abstract principles were to some extent responsible for the Terror.⁶

There is certainly some merit to the charge, considering the degree to which the club's constitution attempted to orient it less toward partisan politics than to the contemplation of l'art social. Condorcet's goal in editing the Journal de la Société de 1789 was to propound Enlightened principles of political and social policy. The degree to which Condorcet dominated the publications of the club, however, is questionable, since many others members published on rather more mundane topics, including the organization of the navy, the printing of assignats, and contemporary foreign affairs. Thus, while the official position of the Société certainly stressed the diffusion of l'art social, it seems that the discussion of abstract philosophical principles was less important than contemporaries and historians have

thought. Furthermore, there is no reason to suppose that philosophes and those attracted to Enlightened ideas were unable to formulate policy options in clear, unambiguous language.

One simple test of the degree to which a discourse is structured in particular ways is to examine the terms that are used far more frequently than would be expected in a general sample of the discourse of the period.⁷ Figure Six-One shows the top 360 words (reduced from 500 by excluding numbers, proper names, function words, words that occur in Société de 1789 less than 5 times) that occur more frequently than expected in the discourse of the Société de 1789 as compared with the sample of the ARTFL database from 1750 to 1799. Figure Six-One is sorted in reverse order of standard deviation, showing the degree that the actual frequency of a word in the discourse of the Société de 1789 deviates from its expected frequency, calculated from its frequency in the main corpus, where significance is greater than four. The first entry in the table is "assignats 15 347 960.3." The word assignats occurs 15 times in the 18 million words in the ARTFL database between 1750 and 1799, 347 times in the 160 thousand words of our sample of discourse from the Société de 1789, and is given a standard deviation of 960.3.⁸ Obviously, assignats is a word of particular importance during the early Revolutionary period, and it stands to reason that the term would be more important in a sample from the early Revolution than in samples from other periods. The comparative method, which involves looking both at words that occur far more frequently and

those that occur far less frequently than expected, allows us to isolate some general characteristics of the discourse of the Société de 1789 compared to a broad range of language from the ancien régime and Revolution.

The most prominent category of words that occur significantly more frequently in the sample of 1789 than in the baseline corpus of French from 1750 to 1799 are words associated with finances. Seventeen percent of the top 360 words are clearly related to finances, particularly finances of the state. Not only do words like assignats and dette appear, but also more general financial terms like capitalistes, liquidation, créancier(s), and capitaux. The financial vocabulary is the most specific to the Société de 1789, demonstrated by the fact that nearly half of the fifty most over-represented words in the sample are clearly related to financial dealings. And the importance of financial vocabulary remains important throughout the vocabulary unique to the Société: banqueroute, prêteur and débiteurs being good examples from the bottom of the list. Another very prevalent group of terms in Figure Six-One is political terms. Thirty-one of the top one hundred terms can be classified as political terms, such as nationaux, constitution, loi, and exécutif. The Société de 1789 claimed as members most of the members of the committee drafting the constitution, so it is not surprising to find that four forms of the word constitution are found in the thirty most over-represented words in the vocabulary of the club. Words that occur in the discourse

of the club that are not found in the sample of texts from 1750 to 1799, shown in Figure Six-Two, also tend to be grouped in constitutional and financial areas. Noticeably absent from Figure Six-One are words associated with the Enlightenment, such as all the forms of raison, lumière, science, progrès, nature, humain, and philosophie.⁹ Clearly, the most important elements of the vocabulary of the Société de 1789 that distinguish it from a very large sample of French from the second half of the 18th century reflect reactions to problems posed by the Revolution: constitutional/political issues and financial issues.

The categories of words that are very significantly under-represented in the vocabulary of the Société de 1789 when compared to the sample drawn from 1750 to 1799 indicate several important features distinguishing this discourse. Most striking in the list found in Figure Six-Three are the personal pronouns and possessives -- je, j', vous, me, m', mes, moi, il, elle-- suggesting that the discourse of the Société de 1789 was particularly impersonal compared to the ARTFL sample from 1750 to 1799. The speakers refer to themselves (je, j', me) or their audience (vous) relatively rarely. The only pronoun used with near average frequency is nous (sd = -1.5), suggesting that the attempt to identify with the audience as either members of the club or, as we shall see, as members of a broader political collectivity, was seen as more important than other forms of address. The relative infrequency of the first person singular in the discourse of the Société de 1789 may be paralleled by

other categories of words that are significantly under-represented, particularly introspective and moral terms. Words like coeur, âme, ami, chère, and plaisir, are all words that may be associated with literary representations of introspection. Similarly, all the references to virtue -- vertu (-4.7), vertus (-2.9), vertueux (-1.7) -- as well as moeurs (-5.0) are very infrequent in the discourse of the Société when compared to the fifty-year sample. This suggests, but certainly does not prove, that the rhetorical patterns of Rousseau and those influenced by him may have had limited impact on the writers of the Société de 1789.

Largely the same pattern of word frequency distribution appears when the writings of the Société are compared to the ARTFL holdings dating from 1789 to 1800, which includes Sieyès' Tiers Etat, pamphlets by Marat, many of Robespierre's speeches, poetry by Chenier, and letters from Mme. de Staël. Figure Six-Four shows the strong representation of words pertaining to economics and political organization. There are several interesting variations between tables Six-One and Six-Four. The forms loi and loix are more over-represented by comparison with Revolutionary language than with that of the entire period 1750 to 1799; loix is the 27th most over-represented word in the vocabulary of the club when compared to the Revolutionary sample and 88th when compared to the period 1750 to 1799 while the singular loi moves from 42nd to 29th most over-represented. And it seems that financial terms are concentrated even more at the

head of the list of over-represented terms. This is confirmed by examining the list of words that occur frequently in the discourse of the Société de 1789 but not at all in our sample of general Revolutionary language (Figure Six-Five). The majority of these are financial terms, used to debate the creation of the assignats and the stabilization of the national debt. Words that are not common in the discourse of 1789 but common in the general Revolutionary sample are far more interesting. The members of the Société de 1789 did not refer to themselves as individuals (je, i', m', me, mon, moi, ma), to an audience (vous, votre), or even to the self-referential collective (nous) nearly as frequently as in the sample of Revolutionary discourse. The appearance of nous in this list is particularly important, since it was used only slightly less frequently by the Société de 1789 than expected by comparison with the period 1750 to 1799 and may reflect an important development in Revolutionary rhetoric. The adoption of the more impersonal form may be a result of the type of discourse but also seems to reflect a degree of rhetorical abstractness not found in other Revolutionary writers, notably Marat and Robespierre.¹⁰ Strongly emotive terminology is also systematically avoided in the discourse of the Société de 1789: thus, words like coeur, amour, âme, mort, ciel, plaisir, and bonheur are all infrequently used by the members of the club. Family relations (mère, père, fils), frequently evoked by other Revolutionary writers, are also avoided by Société de 1789 writers. The avoidance of strongly emotive and moralizing

terminology by members of 1789 is consistent with their emphasis on the application of rationality to political issues.

In general, it seems that the vocabulary of the Société de 1789 does not have the characteristics that would be expected in discussions concerned primarily with abstractions. In fact, the dominant characteristics of the most over-represented words in the discourse of 1789 are very practical, raising issues of finances and political arrangements. Words that are traditionally associated with Enlightenment thought are, in almost all instances, under-represented when compared to the sample of discourse in the ARTFL database from 1750 to 1799. Words that were used significantly less frequently, compared with the sample of 1750 to 1799 and the Revolutionary texts, tend to be personal pronouns and emotionally charged images. The rather impersonal style of the discourse of 1789 may simply be a function of genre -- relatively careful discussions of issues of the day -- or may reflect important rhetorical differences arising from an increasing emphasis on introspection and the personal in French letters. The selection of genre is, of course, a substantive issue since the framing of questions in an impersonal style reflects a concern for the establishment of a more rational conception of politics. Marat's personal and exhortatory style, for example, would have been quite inappropriate to a club concerned with the clear discussion of current affairs. Thus, the style of the discourse of 1789, as indicated by the selection of words, was certainly impersonal,

avoiding introspective terminology; but it was not confined to abstractions and did not use most typical Enlightenment code words more than was normal during the second half of the eighteenth-century.

Conversely, the vocabulary of the Société de 1789 is also distinguished from that found in our sample of the general Cahiers de doléances in several important ways. Although the discourse of 1789 was impersonal compared to that found in the ARTFL database for the period 1750 to 1799, the Cahiers are far more impersonal: the two most significantly over-represented words in the sample from the Société -- using the Cahiers as the standard -- are je (+194.4) and vous (+96.2), while nous is 18th with a deviation of +35.7. The differences in rhetorical situations are also clearly indicated by the words that are under-represented in the Société; such as sa majesté, the form of address used; états-généraux, the body to whom instructions were being given; and députés, who were to carry the doléances to the King, representing the demands of the three états, references to which are, not surprisingly, far more frequent in the Cahiers. Direct references to the political, and particularly to political abstractions, are far more limited in the Cahiers than in the language of the Société. Strong characterizations of political dissatisfaction which are relatively common in the discourse of the Société de 1789 are not found at all in the Cahiers. Examples include words such as despotisme (26 occurrences in 1789), tyrannie (24), inégalité (22), tyrans (13), oppression

(13), and inégalités (8). And it would seem that certain abstractions, particularly associated with the Enlightenment, are far more common in the discourse of the Société than in the Cahiers. Homme (sd +34.1) and hommes (+41.2), for example, are far more frequent in the discourse of the Société, as are the words vérités (sd +29.3), idée (+28.6), loi (+26.6), esprits (+25.7), constitution (+20.0), and humaine (+19.5).

The words most under-represented in the discourse of the Société reflect differences in the unique rhetorical political situation of the Cahiers. Thus, for example, demande (-9.8), demandent (-8.1), demander (-6.5) are among the most under-represented verb forms in the language of the Société de 1789, rivalled by the forms of supprimer, such as suppression (-11.8), supprimés (-9.0), and supprimer (-7.7). Rather than arguments from abstractions, the Cahiers' requests for suppression of certain aspects of the ancien régime rests on identification of particular features of contemporary society. There is a wide range of words that appear in this context -- such as privilèges (-9.6), charges (-10.7) and charge (-8.6), frais (-9.9), and droits (-10.9) -- that are uncommon in the discourse of 1789. This suggests that while the discourse of the Société de 1789 was not dominated by abstractions, as suggested by the most frequent words in the vocabulary of the second half of the eighteenth-century, such abstractions were conspicuously absent from the Cahiers of 1789.

The Cahiers are more impersonal than the language of 1789

and ignore abstractions such as homme and hommes to a surprising degree, considering the extent to which these words were used in the second half of the eighteenth century. The situation in which the Cahiers were drafted seems to have produced a particularly conservative type of document, even when compared with the standard language of the eighteenth-century. Any comparison of the language of the Cahiers and that of 1789 must, of course, be mitigated by the dramatic events of 1789 and the unique political contexts in which the two documents were drafted. The Cahiers were written to instruct delegates and make requests to the monarch, while the documents of 1790 were written to deal with a rapidly evolving situation marked by instability.

Set in the context of the periods 1750 to 1799 and 1789 to 1799, the vocabulary of the Société de 1789 is not dominated by what would be considered to be typical Enlightenment abstractions. Indeed, the Société de 1789 tends to avoid many of the abstractions that were common to the period. Even by comparison with our sample of the general Cahiers de doléances, the language of the Société does not appear to be overly abstract. The tone of most of the writings included in the sample of the Société reflects the genre the club wished to adopt: careful, rational consideration of the issues of the day.

- II -

The Société de 1789, as we have seen, was not an effective political force. It failed to define a clear role and strategy because of the infighting of many of its most influential members and the inherent difficulty in maintaining a rapidly shrinking middle course between the right and the left. The club's failure to establish a clear political role seems to have resulted from contradictory notions about the nature of the club and the nature of Revolutionary politics. Indeed, the club retained an ancien régime model of enlightened politics, according to which a small group of rational men would advise the monarch and operate his bureaucracy. The failure of the leaders of the Société to adapt to themselves the new realities of French politics in 1790 is startling, and opens the question of just how the members of the club defined themselves, and their situation, in 1790 and early 1791.

The self-definition of a group is a supremely political act, for it relies on the creation of a hierarchy of inclusion and exclusion and is accomplished in several ways. We have already examined, in Chapters Two and Four, the institutional and consciously ideological elements of the foundation and operation of the club. Equally important is the rhetorical and discursive self-definition that underlies all political texts. Examining the political uses of nous and its possessives, nos and notre, as rhetorical devices is particularly effective in reconstructing

the implicit organization of political space. Very simply, as Zinoviev comments, "il est admis que le monde se partage très rigoureusement en deux parties: 1. nous; 2. tout le reste."¹¹ Self-definition is never so simple, however, for nous has no set meaning and can range from an individual to the widest levels of inclusion. The meaning of nous is set entirely in the context of its use. Louis Guespin comments that

le significant nous ne devient signe que dans l'interaction, comprenant énonciateur, lecteur, texte et conditions de production du discours. ¹²

Several levels of signification of the nous politique can be distinguished, and are frequently found in the same text.¹³ The members of the Société de 1789 could use nous to refer to the members of the club, members of the Constituent Assembly, the French nation, citizens of France, the editorial nous of learned discourse, and so on.

Nous and its possessives were used in the discourse of the Société de 1789 about as frequently as in that of other important revolutionary publicists; they appear slightly more frequently than in either Siéyès and Marat but considerably less often than the later discourses of Robespierre (see Figure Six-Seven). It is important to note that there is more variation in the use of nous between some individual authors of the Société de 1789 than is evident between the discourse of the club as a whole and that of Siéyès, Marat or Robespierre. As shown in Figure Six-Eight, the distribution of the use of nous and its possessives among the 43 texts in our sample from the Société is relatively even. Only

16 of the 43 texts varied from the expected distribution by more than plus or minus two percent, and only two texts vary by more than six percent: they are Du Pont's Considérations sur la position politique de la France, de l'Angleterre et de l'Espagne (with six times the expected frequency) and Chenier's Avis au peuple François sur ses véritables ennemis. The rhetorical situations of these two texts are peculiar, for Du Pont is considering the situation of France in Europe while Chenier is appealing directly to the French people rather than addressing the audience at the Société de 1789.

The possessives of nous -- nos, notre and notres -- tend to project the political collective onto the nation, defined as either the people of the nation or the institutions/government of France. This is an implicit process, which presupposes that the collective "owner" has all the characteristics of the nation or people of France. The writers of the Société de 1789 refer to notre constitution fifteen times; nos législateurs eight times, notre commerce seven times; including several references to notre commerce avec l'étranger; nos voisins five times, meaning neighboring states, such as the declaration that some interests may excite contre nous les états voisins. All of these constructions place the possessive before something that no individual or club could own or possess, except when making a rhetorical identification as a member of the nation. In fact, almost all of the most frequent words following possessives of the first person plural are abstractions applicable to the

broadest definition of nous: that is the French nation or France as a political/institutional entity:

<u>constitution</u> 13	<u>législateurs</u> 8	<u>loix</u> 7	<u>commerce</u> 7
<u>système</u> 6	<u>assignats</u> 5	<u>voisins</u> 5	<u>manufactures</u> 5
<u>frères</u> 5	<u>forces</u> 5	<u>révolution</u> 4	<u>relations</u> 4
<u>pères</u> 4	<u>jugemens</u> 4	<u>ennemis</u> 4	<u>colonies</u> 4
<u>alliés</u> 4 14			

Most of these uses of the possessive refer to institutional structures -- parts of the state -- rather than to the abstraction of the nation as the people living in it. Allies and colonies are structural features of the state and tend to be discussed at the institutional level. The identification of fathers and brothers, however, is less clear. In cases of "our brothers," the reference is to like-minded individuals inside or outside of France. For example, Marron refers to "patriotes généreux, ô vous, nos amis, nos frères dans toute l'étendue du globe."¹⁵ Chenier uses the expression to indicate those men who adopt certain "eternal truths":

Quand nous serons tous bien imbus de ces vérités éternelles, et devenues triviales parmi tous les hommes qui pensent, il nous sera facile de conclure que tous ceux qui nous inculquent sans relâches, ces préceptes, source de tout bien, sont nos amis et nos frères. 16

Although brothers tends to be defined ideologically and in a rather more cosmopolitan sense, the expression "our fathers," falls more clearly on national grounds, providing an important linkage to earlier times in both positive and negative ways. Du Pont argues, for instance, that the economic capital, the industry, "toutes ces sources de puissance, tous ces moyens de richesse, sont l'héritage que nos pères nous ont transmis."¹⁷

But "our fathers," in the sense of the previous generation of Frenchmen, also set bad examples and made mistakes that the current generation should learn from.

The possessives of nous are typically associated with national interests and institutions, with the nation being defined in terms of the government, economy, and institutions of France. There is little identification either of the members of the Société alone or of the ideological divisions in France at the time as important collectivities. This is an important contrast to the usage of Robespierre and Marat, for whom the possessives of nous are dominated by ideological distinctions. Annie Geoffroy reports that 66 of the 302 occurrences of nos in Robespierre occur with ennemis, followed by principes (15), armées (11), maux (10), and soldats (8).¹⁸ This definition of the political collectivity by opposition to internal or external enemies is not merely a response to the military threat of the later Revolution. Robespierre used the expression nos/notre ennemi/ennemis at about the same rate in his speeches in the early Revolution as in the later period: 38 times in 75,000 words of text, or about twenty times as often as the Société de 1789. In the seventy-five thousand words of Marat's pamphlets (of 1789 and 1790), he used the expression nos/notre ennemi/ennemis ten times, about six times the relative frequency as found in the discourse of the Société de 1789. The Société clearly had a well-developed sense of the nation, at least in terms of an identifiable geographic and governmental entity that had distinct

interests and obligations which members of the club identified with rhetorically. The collectivity, however, was not defined in the same ideological or oppositional terms as Marat and Robespierre.

The reasonably clear use of nous and notre as a means of defining the collectivity in the discourse of the Société de 1789 is not so clear in the Société's usage of nous. Nous was used to indicate the club itself on several occasions. Du Pont, for example, sets up the rhetorical space by identifying the other, as "the English ministry," nous as the interpreters of the ministry's actions, and himself as "translator" of the ministry's intention:

Le ministère Anglais ne disant pas encore nettement ce qu'il veut, c'est à nous de le deviner dans ses préparatifs; et je vais le dire à sa place. 19

Here nous, his audience, refers to the club and places it in the position of having to fathom the secrets of the English intentions. Nous is also sometimes used self-referentially, providing a rhetorical linkage between speaker and audience. Ramond, for example, concluded a section of his discourse on constitutional law as follows:

Dans les trois titres qui précèdent, nous nous sommes graduellement élevés des droits de chacun aux pouvoirs de tous, des volontés isolées à la volonté publique, des individus à la nation. 20

The editorial "we" is used here to include the audience in the structure of his argument. André Chénier uses nous in a way that would become a very important rhetorical device later in the Revolution, as means of contrasting patriots with either internal

or external enemies:

J'admets que nous soyons menacés par des millions d'ennemis extérieurs et intérieurs; avons-nous pensé que l'on acquéroit la liberté sans obstacles? Je vois, dans toutes les histoires des peuples libres, leur liberté naissante attaquée de mille manières; et, je ne vois pas que les issues de presque toutes ces guerres, doivent trop abattre notre courage. 21

Here, nous is contrasted with the opposition and placed within an historic context of the courageous struggle to attain liberty. Thus, nous is a very supple term, subject to multiple readings, even in the same text. The chemist and tax farmer Lavoisier clearly distinguishes between himself as speaker and the collectivity:

Mais je le répète, nous sommes loin d'atteindre au danger d'une trop grande circulation, & je crois au contraire, que nous avons à redouter le danger opposé. 22

But the composition of the collectivity here is more difficult to ascertain. It is certainly not the Société de 1789. Lavoisier might mean either economically active Frenchmen, or -- and this is more likely -- policy makers and/or representatives of the nation whose policies he is attempting to influence. There is, then, an important series of inclusions defined by the various usages of nous in the discourse of the Société de 1789.

The most frequent identification of nous, however, is with the nation, la France. Du Pont asks a question, which forms the title of a section of his discussion of foreign affairs, "Ce que doit vouloir la France?" and immediately responds that

Nous devons vouloir ne pas perdre notre commerce avec l'Espagne, qui est le plus avantageux de tous ceux que fait la France. Nous devons vouloir qu'il ne passe pas à une puissance rivale. 23

Nous here is clearly identified with the guardians of the national interest. As in the example from Lavoisier, the collective is clearly operating at a national level and in the national interest. The construction of Du Pont's definition would suggest that he is making a direct, rather than an indirect, linkage between la France and nous.

The 700 occurrences of nous in the discourse of the Société de 1789 are dominated by the national usage and the use of the editorial "we." Sixty percent (420) of the usages of nous correspond to the national collectivity and twenty-nine percent (205) have their main designation as an editorial usage. Compared to these usages, the other levels of inclusion are much less significant: direct implications of the Société de 1789 accounted for forty uses; the ideological use of the term, that makes a strong linkage to patriots as a group as we saw in Chenier's appeal account for only twenty uses; and the broadest collectivity, humanity, accounts for a dozen. Surprisingly, this breakdown resembles Robespierre's use of nous. In more than 1,000 occurrences of nous, Robespierre used it in a national sense forty-six percent of the time; in its editorial sense thirty-two percent of the time; and at the other extreme, in a "transnational" sense only twenty times.²⁴

The terms most highly correlated with nous in the discourse of the Société de 1789 and Robespierre's early speeches indicate some important differences in usage. Figure Six-Nine suggests that the Société de 1789 uses nous in a far more active sense.

Seventeen of the sixty most frequent words following nous (defined as the first two words after nous) are verbs, compared with only seven in Robespierre's speeches. The Société de 1789 also uses the exhortatory form, nous devons, twice as frequently as Robespierre. The nonverb forms collocated with nous in the writings of the Société de 1789 emphasize the competition among nations more than does Robespierre's usage. In both discourses, guerre appears as a highly correlated term: with a z-score of 11.5 in Robespierre's writing and 11.1 in the discourse of the Société de 1789. Words significantly correlated with nous in Robespierre's speeches include maux (z-score = 10.5), circonstances (7.3), tems (7.1), ennemis (6.9), and peine (6.9). For the Société de 1789, the most highly correlated terms include alliés (15.8), étranger (9.5), nations (9.2), numéraire (9.0) and argent (6.9). These figures suggest that the Société de 1789's use of nous establishes 'an identification with the national collectivity, as does Robespierre's. An important distinction, however, is that Robespierre's nous is postulated in opposition to enemies conspiring against the nation from both inside and outside. The Société de 1789's use of nous at the national level implies that economic and geo-political competition is the most important level of distinction.

The importance of the nous politique for the Société de 1789 should not be underestimated, for their consistent identification of the political collective with the nation -- or with national structures of government and economy -- suggests that the members

of the Société de 1789 were not only comfortable with considering the interests and problems of the nation, but that they had been doing just that for a long period of time. Their identification of nous within the political collective is frequent and automatic.

Conversely, this self-definition is important precisely because it is so general. The members of the club did not identify the club, or even the political alignments of 1790 and early 1791, as essential levels of collectivity. Indeed, we do not see in their writings the strong sense of ideological self-definition that is prominent in the discourses of more radical Revolutionaries, such as Marat and Robespierre. The club members did not distinguish themselves in any way from political competitors. Indeed, the consistent use of nous in its broadest national sense ignored cleavages that were apparent to most observers. The nationalism of the members of the Société de 1789 was both more active and more abstract than the collective identification of Robespierre, although it was considerably less clear-cut. In particular, the nationalism of 1789 was more active in the sense that it had identifiable institutions and interests that needed to be protected and encouraged, all of which required the action of government.

The identification of the fundamental political collectivity at the national level by a group as moderate and "Enlightened" as the Société de 1789 is somewhat unexpected. The historiography of both the Enlightenment and the French Revolution have

suggested that nationalism was a development of the Revolutionary situation and that the chauvinism associated with nationalism is distinctly "anti-Enlightenment." Cobban, for instance, argues that the end of the eighteenth century

witnessed a partial transition from an individualist to a collectivist view of society; but this was not a continuation but a break away from the ideas of the Enlightenment. The Revolution ends the age of individualism and opens that of nationalism. 25

Cobban associates this movement with the romantic notion of "organic unity," which fostered a more emotional kind of politics. The clear identification of moderate and elite figures who were closely linked to the Enlightenment suggests that some forms of nationalism were not antithetical to the Enlightenment. Indeed, it seems that nationalism became part of late Enlightenment thought precisely when the Enlightenment became legitimate -- that is, when many of its proponents began to work for the monarchy. Jacques Godechot argues that it was the Physiocrates who transformed a rather neutral idea of the nation into one suggesting reform of the state. He writes,

Les physiocrates et les économistes ont, semble-t-il, joué un rôle dans cette évolution en employant, dans leurs ouvrages, couramment les expressions "consommation nationale", "commerce national" [...] Véron de Forbonnais, dans les Eléments du commerce, publié en 1766, parle souvent de "l'approvisionnement national"; Mercier de la Rivère, dans L'Ordre naturel et essentiel des sociétés politiques, édité en 1767, mentionne les agents nationaux du commerce. Nation et national se trouvent ainsi liés à l'idée d'une réforme de l'Etat. 26

Du Pont de Nemours' national perspective on the competition with foreign powers demonstrates the style of thinking one would expect from an individual already involved in governmental

affairs. As the Enlightenment became part of the ancien régime government, it began to identify itself with the realm and lost the focus both on "individualism", emphasized by Cobban, and the earlier cosmopolitanism of Voltaire and other Enlightenment figures. This was, evidently, a rather different conception of nationalism which Rousseau had advocated and which would be developed during the Revolution. Thus, it would seem that the Société's elaboration of issues concerning the nation, expressed in terms of nationalism, does not constitute a break with the Enlightenment; rather it seems to have established a clear linkage with the reform movement after 1776, particularly from that resulting from Turgot's ministry.

- III -

The identification of the membership of the Société de 1789 with the nation in their rhetorical uses of nous suggests that the nation was the fundamental unit of political organization around which all the other elements of constitutional monarchy could be construed. This self-definition indicates that the Société de 1789 attempted to avoid ideological distinctions, preferring to define the collective in terms of existing institutions, geo-political interests, and economic activities. The nation which 1789 identified with was not, as will be suggested in Chapter Seven, the nation of American political

discourse, nor that of traditional French political discourse. Rather, the members of the Société de 1789 have a clear, if rarely articulated perspective towards the nation which colors many of their other ideas.

Nation is used more frequently by members of the Société de 1789 than in a number of other samples of text from the ARTFL database. Figure Six-Ten shows that the usage of nation and all forms of nation, such as national(e) and nations, occurs at approximately the same frequency as in Marat and Robespierre. Interestingly, the rate of use of nation in Siéyès' Le Tiers-Etat, which occur 5.3 and 7.2 per thousand words, is between two and three times the rate found in other samples. Patrie, on the other hand, remains far more closely associated with Marat and Robespierre, suggesting that it has more radical connotations, even in 1790, than the word nation.²⁷

Although the Société de 1789 used the word nation at about the same rate as Marat and Robespierre, this rate is far greater than is typical of French discourse for the period. Figure Six-Eleven shows the occurrences of nation and all its forms in the ARTFL database by half century periods. The second half of the eighteenth-century shows a striking increase in the use of the word (in all its forms) and a decline afterwards. The Société de 1789 uses the word about ten times more frequently than the average for 1750-99. The high rate of usage of nation in the second half of the eighteenth-century is not due, however, exclusively to the French Revolution. In fact, the increase in

the use of nation during the French Revolution is surprisingly modest. Figure Six-Twelve shows the frequency of all the forms of nation, broken down by period in the second half of the eighteenth century. The frequency of nation increases by only 28 percent between the periods 1750 to 1775 and 1789 to 1799, from a rate of .25 per 1000 words to .32 per 1000 words.

Clearly, nation is hardly a term unique to the French Revolution. The authors of works published during the second half of the eighteenth-century in which nation most frequently appear were some of the most important intellectuals of the period. Figure Six-Thirteen shows the frequency of use among authors of works published between 1750 and 1799, a list led by Voltaire, Helvétius and Montesquieu. Although nation is relatively infrequent in the works of Voltaire,²⁸ some Enlightenment authors use it very frequently. Helvétius, for example, uses nation slightly less than once per thousand words and all forms of nation 2.9 times per thousand, figures approaching the rates of usage found in Revolutionary publicists.²⁹ Montesquieu uses nation .63 times per thousand words and all forms of nation 1.1 times per thousand, both figures significantly above the average usage during the eighteenth century (indicated in Figure Six-Eleven).

The members of the Société de 1789 had a considerable number of Enlightened sources from which to derive their conception of nation. Figure Six-Fourteen shows the words most significantly correlated with nation in the discourse of the Société de 1789.

These terms indicate that the nation is depicted as an active entity, its will being expressed through representatives (#2, 24). As might be expected, there are numerous references to representatives of the nation. Twenty-eight of the fifty collocations of all the forms of nation (758 tokens) and all the forms of représent* (156 tokens, including verb and noun forms) follow the general form représentant de la nation, including variations such as représentant de la volonté nationale. Other constructions are less precise, but equally easy to identify, such as Grouvelle's reference to "un corps représentatif permanent, organe du vœu national, appuyé par l'opinion publique."³⁰ Pezous argues that laws are made for the nation by its representatives: "il est de la dignité de la nation d'avoir un code nouveau & uniforme, fait pour elle & par ses représentants."³¹ Du Pont poses the rhetorical question, in his discussion of the royal veto: "L'assemblée représentative faite-elle seule la loi? Peut-elle seule exprimer la volonté nationale?"³² The nation is almost always assumed to be active, though the problems of a constitutional monarchy with two legitimate sources of authority were frequently discussed.

It is clear that for members of the Société, politics are organized around the nation. Representatives take actions in the name (nom #3) of the nation as a whole (entière #4). Condorcet mentions "les pouvoirs exercés au nom de la nation entière"³³ while Casaux contrasts previous assemblies, based on the Estates, with the National Assembly, which represents the entire nation:

Six mois avant qu'elle existât, je prouvois qu'il seroit scandaleux de donner ce nom à une assemblée de gens qui croiroient n'être que de tristes représentans de leurs ordres au lieu de se considérer comme les augustes représentans de la nation entière. 34

The nation is the central element of the state, a point suggested by the fact that the most highly correlated term, lèse, is a direct transposition of the crime of lèse-majesté: a crime against the nation even at this early stage of the Revolution takes on the same magnitude as the ancien régime crime against the King or God. Crimes against the nation replace crimes against the monarch as the essential basis of high treason, suggesting that, even for the constitutional monarchists of 1790, the nation had become the organizing principle of the society. Chenier makes this connection clear when he declares,

lorsque la constitution donne un moyen légal de réformer une loi que l'expérience a montré fautive, l'insurrection contre une loi est le plus grand crime dont un citoyen puisse être coupable; par ce crime il dissout la société autant qu'il est en lui. C'est là le vrai crime de lèse-nation. 35

This would seem to be a revolutionary construction. The ARTFL database contains 39 occurrences of lèse between 1700 and 1749, thirty-three of these are lèse-majesté, while one refers to the crime of lèse-mari. Only one of the 103 occurrences of lèse in the ARTFL database from 1750 to 1788 refers to the nation. The vast majority refer to lèse-majesté though there are uses of expressions like lèse-humanité, lèse-comédie, lèse-société, and lèse-équité magistrale, all of which suggest the increasing flexibility of the term. The one use of lèse-nation in the ARTFL database before the French Revolution is by Mirabeau, in his

Lettres écrites du donjon, in a description of the sordid married life of his sister, designed to protest the writer's innocence by comparison:

Certainement je n'ai pas deux poids et deux mesures; certainement toute invocation de lettre-de-cachet me paraît un crime de lèse-nation, et je n'approuve pas plus celle de ma soeur que la mienne, quoiqu'il y ait entre nous, j'ose le croire, une furieuse distance. mais du moins elle a été jugée et condamnée. Et pouvait-elle ne pas l'être? 36

This is, however, more interesting as an example of Mirabeau's gall than of the systematic rewriting of the nation. Thus, crime, singular and plural (#16 and #5), is significantly collocated with nation, an indication of the abstract discussion of the crime of treason.

The nation, according to the usage of the Société de 1789, is free (libre #13) and has its own definable interests (#12), rights, laws, and, will. The expression la nation libre is defined by Condorcet as follows:

Une nation est libre quand elle n'obéit qu'à des lois conformes aux principes du droit naturel reconnus par elle, faites par ses représentans suivant une forme consacrée par une loi antécédente. 37

The importance of law (#8, #10) and droit (#11) in this definition is confirmed by the frequent collocations shown in Figure Six-Fourteen. The right of the nation to make laws and, conversely, the King's inability to make laws, is expressed in clear terms by Grouvelle, who argues that the right to declare war belongs to the nation:

L'exercice du droit de paix et de guerre, est la manifestation du voeu général de la nation. Or, le roi ne peut exprimer ce voeu. Car, ordonner la guerre, c'est faire une loi; et le roi ne peut pas faire des lois. 38

Law, as we shall see, is one of the most important foci of the political rhetoric of the Société de 1789, being frequently used by speakers on all subjects. The link between law and the definition of the nation is clear in this discourse. Casaux provides a definition which stresses, and indeed, almost encircles, the nation in a legal environment. "Gentlemen," he says,

il faut à la France une constitution, c'est-à-dire ce très petit nombre de lois générales qui assurent à la France l'enaction successive et l'exécution ponctuelle de toutes les lois dignes de gouverner une nation déjà éclairée de ce grand principe que toute loi nécessaire est toujours nécessairement constitutionnelle. 39

Law, however, is not abstract, for it is the means by which the national will is expressed. As shown in Figure Six-Fifteen, volonté nationale is frequently used to indicate something akin to Rousseau's volonté générale [which is found eight times in the discourse of the Société de 1789]. The national will in one sense replaces the will of the King in much the same way that lèze-nation simply replaced the King as the object of high treason. However, as we shall see in the next section, the idea of national will implied the linkage of will and law, elements of governance that had frequently been considered to be opposites. Guidardet, for example, argued that the national guard had been formed by the people in order to

défendre leur liberté, leur propriété, mais sur-tout pour protéger l'exécution de leur volonté. Cette volonté, quand elle n'est que la volonté d'une nation, s'appelle loi chez cette nation; mais quand elle est la volonté de deux ou de plusieurs nations, elle se nomme traité, pacte, convention, etc. La loi est le traité, le pacte, la convention, faite entre les individus d'un même peuple; et les traités sont la

loi de peuples différens. 40

The nation expresses its will in law, which is protected and enforced by the national guard. The tensions in the constitutional monarchy that was supported by the Société de 1789 are apparent in the relationship of will and the nation as formulated in several speeches. Ramond declares that

le roi est le représentant de la volonté nationale, comme le corps législatif est celui de l'intelligence nationale. Et de ce qu'il est le représentant de la volonté nationale, il résulte qu'il représente éminemment la nation envers chaque partie de la nation. 41

The distinction between royalty as the national will and the legislature as the national intelligence may be a reflection of, as we have seen in Chapter Four, the importance many members of the Société de 1789 placed on the raison commune or raison publique as an alternative to will.⁴² The connection between will and the nation was not made frequently during the Enlightenment. Indeed, from among the authors collected in the ARTFL database only R.-L. d'Argenson used the term in the eighteenth-century before the Revolution, and this in a description of the politics of the parlements in the 1750s:

Cette manière de suspendre m'est nouvelle, et je ne crois pas qu'il l'ait encore employée. Il n'y a que l'amour que nous devons tous aux progrès de la volonté nationale qui puisse y faire applaudir, et fournir des arguments à tout royaliste qui ne manquera pas de s'en scandaliser. 43

The nation, in the discourse of the Société de 1789, takes on many of the attributes of royalty, and is endowed with a sovereign will.

The nation forms the centre of political organization and

action for the members of the Société de 1789. This is not the case in traditional French political discourse as found in the General Cahiers de doléances of 1789. The Cahiers depict the nation in largely passive terms, but the men of 1789 are far more concerned with actively defending the nation's interests and with maintaining its new political position. The nation in the Cahiers, however, is a political force. The three most frequent collocates, assemblée (#1), états (#2) and généraux (#3), shown in Figure Six-Sixteen, indicate the importance of the nation assembled in the Estates General. Some of these references use assemblée to refer to the Estates General directly, as in the following passage:

Nul impôt ne sera légal et ne pourra être perçu qu'autant qu'il aura été consenti par la Nation dans l'Assemblée des Etats généraux. 44

However, more often the terms nation and assemblée refer to the act of assembly rather than the institution. The fundamental laws of the nation cannot be changed without "le consentement de la nation légalement assemblée."⁴⁵ The nation assembled has particular political rights, although these are very explicitly shared with the Crown, as indicated in the following declaration:

Que la puissance législative soit déclarée appartenir au Roi et à la Nation assemblée, et que la nécessité de leur concours soit bien constatée, pour former la loi et la rendre obligatoire. 46

The relationship between the nation and the monarch appears deliberately vague in the Cahiers. The nation is not sovereign, but expresses itself to the souverain (#4), appealing at times to the "coeur patriotique du Souverain et des représentants de la

Nation."⁴⁷ The sovereign and the nation, the latter meeting in its assemblies, the Estates General and Provincial Estates, decide on matters of taxation, finance and representation. The discourse of the Cahiers, while asserting that the nation has the right to make decisions regulating taxation and finances, sees the nation's actions as modified by the power and authority of the king.

There are some discrepancies between the assumptions regarding the role of the king and that of the nation in the Cahiers of the three Estates. The Second and Third Estates of Marseilles, for example, seem to draw the contrast in rather different ways. The Cahiers of the Third Estate assumes that "le Souverain forme avec la Nation un lien de concorde et de force,"⁴⁸ while the Second Estate called for a patriotic monument to be erected in honor of the "Souverain bienfaisant, le Restaurateur de la fidèle Nation."⁴⁹ In all of the Cahiers, however, the nation never takes on the kind of active role found in the discourse of the Société de 1789.

The Cahiers from all three estates stipulate that the nation be represented, in the Estates General, by freely elected deputies (#5, and representatives, #15, 18) and that les ministres de Sa Majesté sont responsables de leur conduite à la nation assemblée en Etats Généraux (#6, 19)⁵⁰. Ministerial accountability is frequently invoked, almost as part of a formula, by all three estates, usually with the statement that

En cas de malversations, prévarications ou vexations des dits receveurs ou même des ministres ils en seront comptable

envers la nation. 51

The greatest issue to be considered by the nation is the state of finances and taxes (#9, 11) and there are frequent references to the disorder of finances. The Third Estate of Toulon, for instance, asks whether "le désordre des finances du Royaume est-il tel que, pour préserver la Nation de l'opprobre d'une banqueroute"⁵² would require reform of the tax system. There does not seem to be a distinction in the minds of the drafters of this Cahier to be made between the finances of the kingdom and the bankruptcy of the nation, which leaves the status of the nation somewhat unclear. According to the Cahiers, the nation must, at the very minimum, consent to law (#10, 20), but it may not itself make law. The Third Estate of Toulon declared "toute loi dérivant essentiellement de la nation et de son Chef,"⁵³ and we have already seen that the Third Estate of Bourbonais suggested that legislative authority be shared by the Crown and the assembled nation. For the drafters of the Cahiers, law is clearly not the simple will of the nation, as seems to be the case in the discourse of the Société; rather, the national will is exercised through the nation's chief.

The conservative view of the nation in the Cahiers, even those of the Third Estates from the largest towns, with the exception of Paris, suggests that the Société adopted a discourse concerning France derived from more radical sources. The Enlightenment ideas of nation may well be such a source, for as we have seen, the idea of nation was very common in many

Enlightenment writings.

Helvétius' frequent use of the term nation is particularly interesting because the philosophe places it within his general materialistic philosophy, using it to stress a form of utilitarianism. Figure Six-Seventeen shows the most frequent collocates of nation in Helvétius' De l'esprit and De l'Homme. Helvétius' perspective concerning the nation seems to be that of an outside observer.⁵⁴ Many of the most frequent collocates, constructions such as chaque nation, suggest that he is looking at many nations. There are several important features of Helvétius' use of nation suggested by the collocations. Economic activity is a primary attribute of nations. Six of the collocates in Figure Six-Seventeen refer to economics: luxe (#7), argent (#8), riche (#17), commerce (#20), aisance (#25), and industrie (#28). Helvétius argues that increasing economic productivity is a good thing, because it increases the strength of the nation and the respect other nations have for it. In De l'Homme, he argues against numerous saints' days:

L'homme qui travaille fête et dimanches, ne s'enivre point, il ne court point les femmes; il ne nuit à personne; il sert son pays, il accroît l'aisance de sa famille; il augmente le commerce de sa nation. 55

Wealth, by analogy, is the blood of the nation, and must be circulated continuously. The body of the nation may be subject to the dangers of this circulation, which in the long run can destroy the morals -- moeurs -- of the nation. When wealth is concentrated into the hands of the few, public-mindedness is weakened:

La circulation du sang ossifie à la longue les vaisseaux: elle en anéantit les ressorts, et devient un germe de mort. Cependant qui la suspendroit en seroit sur le champ puni. La stagnation d'un instant seroit suivie de la perte de la vie. Il en est de même de l'argent. Le désire-t-on vivement? Ce désir vivifie une nation, éveille son industrie, anime son commerce, accroît ses richesses et sa puissance; et la stagnation si je l'ose dire, de ce désir, seroit mortelle à certains états. Mais les richesses en abandonnant les empires où elles se sont d'abord accumulées, n'en occasionnent-elles pas la ruine, et tôt ou tard rassemblées dans un petit nombre de mains, ne détachent-elles pas l'intérêt particulier de l'intérêt public? 56

Although he feared the dangerous effects of luxury on the morals of the nation, Helvétius sees wealth as a central determinant of the power of a nation. Power is the second important element of nation, as suggested by the collocates: fort (#14), puissante (#16), and nombreuse (#24) which are used in the sense of competition between nations, though not necessarily in the military arena. Power is a function of commerce, for Helvétius makes this linkage a number of times as in "que les ténèbres de la bigoterie s'étendent encore en France, son industrie diminuera et sa puissance s'affaiblira journellement."⁵⁷ Power, however, can be sapped by despotism or arbitrary power. He comments, "le souverain d'une nation puissante a-t-il ceint la couronne du pouvoir arbitraire? Cette nation s'affaiblit de jour en jour."⁵⁸

The fear of despotism or arbitrary power, with particular concern for the individuals within the nation, is a consistent theme in Helvétius. He observes that

une nation n'est que l'assemblage des citoyens qui la composent; que l'intérêt de chaque citoyen est toujours, par quelque lien, attaché à l'intérêt public. 59

The contrast between the individual (particulier #3, #29) and the

collective is made frequently, as in the following passage where Helvétius asserts that in a well-run nation it will be impossible to confuse public and private interests:

Dans les pays libres et gouvernés par des loix sages, nul homme sans doute n'a le pouvoir d'appauvrir sa nation pour enrichir quelques particuliers. 60

Helvétius suggests that the inequality of wealth in these countries will slowly be reduced, since it is despotisme (#13) that creates inequality in the distribution of wealth. The word pouvoir (#5) is frequently used to designate pouvoir arbitraire,⁶¹ and is contrasted with the power of a free nation (#23) which is considerably more powerful. He writes,

Les peuples qui gémissent sous un pouvoir arbitraire n'ont donc que des succès momentanés, que des éclairs de gloire: ils doivent, tôt ou tard, subir le joug d'une nation libre et entreprenante. 62

There is a strong relationship in Helvétius' use of the word nation between economic activity, freedom from arbitrary power, and the strength of the nation in its relationship with other nations.

The linkage of commercial and industrial concerns to an elaboration of the nation and liberty is not, however, found in other Enlightenment thinkers, such as Voltaire. Voltaire's use of nation is concentrated in his historical works⁶³ and is less abstract than that of Helvétius. Only two commercial terms are collocated with nation in Voltaire. As shown in Figure Six-Eighteen, these are commerce (#27) and commercante (#40). There are frequent collocates depicting particular nations, such as the Jewish, English, and French nations. What is interesting,

however, in Voltaire's use of nation, in terms of the Société de 1789, is the degree of emphasis he places on certain institutions, such as the parlement (#5, #18), the assemblies (#22, #33) and the royal administration (couronne #28, juges #35). Voltaire's concern in writing of the parlements is to contrast the royal law courts with real parliaments, which he asserts were part of the ancient constitution of France:

C'est une équivoque puérile, une logomachie, un vrai jeu de mots de prendre une cour de justice appelée Parlement pour les anciens parlemens de la nation Française. 64

And it is clear that Voltaire thinks that the nation ought to be represented in the anciens parlemens. In earlier times, Kings convoked "assemblées de la nation des citoyens, qui sont en effet le corps de la nation."⁶⁵ Voltaire goes on to make the connection between the anciens parlemens and the Estates General, arguing that:

Les Etats-Généraux étaient véritablement l'ancien parlement de toute la nation, auxquels on ajouta les députés des communes. 66

Voltaire's diatribes against the Royal law courts assume that the real parlement was a representative institution, where the nation was assembled. The status of the nation for Voltaire is rather more difficult to determine, for he often uses the term interchangeably with peuple (#7). Thus, for example, Voltaire writes in his Précis du siècle de Louis XV,

Je ne crois pas qu'il y ait un peuple qui revienne plus difficilement de ces anciennes impressions, que la nation hollandaise. 67

In this usage, nation is frequently equated to a particular

ethnic group or nationality, such as la nation hollandaise. Another example is the following, where nation is equated with the peuple helvétique:

Il y a dans notre Europe une nation célèbre par son équité et pour sa valeur, qui ne paye aucune taxe, c'est le peuple helvétique. 68

In other instances, the connection is left indefinite. When writing of the Jewish nation in ancient times, Voltaire suggests that famine "força tout le peuple à vendre ses terres à Pharaon; et toute la nation se fit esclave pour avoir du blé."⁶⁹ Writing about Charlemagne, Voltaire comments that "il est clair qu'il est né chez une nation nombreuse, formée en corps de peuple par une longue suite de siècles."⁷⁰ And writing of a successful warrior nation, he comments, "les succès de ce peuple conquérant semblent dûs plutôt à l'enthousiasme qui les anime, et à l'esprit de la nation."⁷¹ Thus, for Voltaire, a nation is an ethnic group, an identifiable people. He also frequently makes the connection between the nation and its institutions, particularly representative institutions. But this is not to suggest that Voltaire's nation is active in its own right, for the nation must be led. Noticeable by their absence in Figure Six-Eighteen are almost all terms indicating leadership, for only chefs (#39) and couronne (#28) are present. The following table (Figure Six-Nineteen) suggests that almost all terms designating leadership are either not significantly related to nation or negatively related to nation. Terms indicating royalty are very

Figure Six-Nineteen

Negative Correlation of nation and terms
denoting royalty and leadership in Voltaire

Collocate	Total Freq.	Coll. Freq.	Std. Dev.
roi	4610	33	-.46769
rois	921	9	0.69106
prince	1217	9	-.14652
chef	256	5	2.13631
reine	589	4	-.26829
princes	579	3	-.70558
royaume	753	3	-1.1774

frequent in Voltaire, and co-occur with nation with some regularity, but not more than would be expected in a random distribution of words throughout the sample. Although Voltaire writes of the nation in his historical and philosophical works, it is kings and princes who occupy the main role in his other writings.

The ideal relationship between the nation and its leader is, for Voltaire, found in England:

La nation anglaise est la seule de la terre, qui soit parvenue à régler le pouvoir des rois en leur résistant, et qui d'efforts en efforts ait enfin établi ce gouvernement sage, où le prince tout puissant pour faire du bien, a les mains liées pour faire le mal, où les seigneurs sont grands sans insolence et sans vassaux, et où le peuple partage le gouvernement sans confusion. La chambre des pairs et celle des communes sont les arbitres de la nation, le roi est le sur-arbitre. 72

The nation here is led by the Lords and the Commons, but the King is the leader with final authority. Voltaire's observation that the English prince is "all-powerful" to do good but limited in his capability to do bad suggests that, for him, the nation does not act directly. He writes that

Un roi honoré et riche, tout-puissant pour faire le bien, impuissant pour faire le mal, est à la tête d'une nation libre, guerrière, commerçante et éclairée. Les grands d'un côté, et les représentants des villes de l'autre, partagent la législation avec le monarque. 73

Rather, the institutions of the government representing the nation prevent arbitrary action. Representation of the nation is not, as in the French revolutionary conception, the representation of will or even the "people," for "la nation est à la vérité représentée légalement par la Chambre des Communes, mais elle l'est aussi par un roi et par les pairs."⁷⁴ The nation, which Voltaire never clearly defines beyond the ethnic-political expression of an identifiable population, is not active in Voltaire's conception, but it is represented in various institutions as a curb on royal power. It is royal power which is active and necessary for government, for without a monarchy anarchy frequently results. The horrors of civil war and anarchy can drive "la nation au point de désirer un roi":⁷⁵

Ici la royauté et la liberté subsistaient ensemble par un accord qui paraît impossible dans d'autres états; les agriculteurs avaient part à la législation, aussi-bien que les grands du royaume; et un jeune prince donnait les plus grandes espérances d'être digne de commander une nation libre. 76

The English example, which for Voltaire is unique, gives the nation only a minor role in governance.

The Enlightenment sources of the Société de 1789's use of nation are numerous. There is no shortage of references to nation in the eighteenth century, and even Voltaire, whose support for strong monarchs is well known, saw some role for the nation in the government of the realm. Voltaire's use of nation

is close to the model found in the General Cahiers de doléances of 1789, according to which the nation has the right to be consulted, but is not central to the organization of the state and serves primarily as a restraint on the will of the monarch. More interesting is Helvétius's use of nation which stresses the importance of commerce and institutions in the formation of the nation. The nation here is seen to be in competition with other nations, in commercial and military domains. This usage is far closer than Voltaire's to the one found in the writings of the Société de 1789, in their definitions of nous, which frequently places the nation in such a competitive situation; and their definitions of nation, which stress the role of institutions. The centering of the public sphere on the nation, rather than the crown, is not evident in Voltaire or Helvétius. Both writers suggest that arbitrary power or despotism is a danger and can weaken the nation, but there are no appeals to the nation as the primary source of law or action in history. Conversely, the impact of the events of the Revolution, particularly the crises of 1793 and 1794, fostered the development of a more patriotic and radical conception of the nation which seems to have been alien to the members of 1789. The image of the nation that seems to have been adopted by 1789 was neither sufficiently exclusive nor sufficiently demanding of individuals to rally Frenchmen to the national defense that was seen as imperative by the Jacobins.

- IV -

The discourse of the Société de 1789 was dominated by the discussion of law. The vast majority of the texts made reference to law, either supporting or opposing proposed laws, or discussing the nature of law in the abstract.⁷⁷ Loi (363) and loix (239) -- with lois (20) -- are among the most frequent words in the sample of the Société de 1789 texts. The only content word which is more frequent in the discourse of 1789 is the term assignats (369 occurrences), but when all forms of loi are considered, it is far more frequent than all the forms of assignat (622 to 424) or any other content word.

We have already seen that law, promulgated by the appropriate authority, was considered by writers of 1789 to be the clearest expression of the national will, and it is not surprising to find that volonté is the second most frequent collocate of loi (shown in Figure Six-Twenty), following vous. In his argument supporting equal division of estates, Pezous writes that "la volonté de la loi, toujours juste, toujours impartiale, est substituée à la volonté arbitraire de l'homme."⁷⁸ And there is a clear identification of the will of the nation, which was sometimes equated with the general will and law. Thus, for example, Guiraudet argues that a nation's internal defense is to "protéger l'exécution de sa volonté individuelle, que nous appellons loi."⁷⁹ In his criticism of the contemporary notions

of lawmaking, Grouvelle argues that it is assumed that a proposal is to be "une volonté et une loi complète, au moment qu'il sorte de la majorité législative."⁸⁰

The will of the law, which seems to have been a rewriting of the will of the monarch in direct terms, is not always as unambiguous as Pezous' example implies, for several commentators in the Société de 1789 suggested that the will is fallible and arbitrary, or that it is inadequate for the creation of law. The anonymous author of a speech on the assignats opened the possibility of la loi [...] prononcée contre la volonté générale; & dans ce cas, où sera la garantie de son exécution?"⁸¹ The general will (and it is important to note that générale is collocated with loi, #26 in Figure Six-Twenty) is not always the source of legitimacy in the creation of laws: Grouvelle, as we have seen, argued that the law was never simply an expression of the general will, but must be the view of the raison publique.⁸² Following Condorcet, André Chenier argues that individuals will obey a law which they do not agree with because it is likely to conform to the truth of a situation. Further, he argues that

Une loi est une détermination générale, dont les preuves ne peuvent varier d'un jour à l'autre. Cette raison subsisteroit encore pour une nation qui délibéreroit elle-même sur ses loix, ou il faudroit convenir que la minorité, en se soumettant au voeu de la pluralité, ne cède qu'à la force, et que la loi exprime une volonté et non un jugement.

83

Will is here contrasted with judgement which is a process of reasoning. The public reason is contrasted with the general will. The status of will of kings and the nation, instigated by

the absolutist emphasis on the bon plaisir of the king dominated discussions of law, even among those who disagreed with the use of the notion.

The linkage of volonté and loi has a long history to it, and the Société de 1789 adopted a discourse which developed during the Enlightenment. Clearly, it was Rousseau's emphasis on the general will which inspired some of the writers of the Société de 1789. For the period 1750 to 1788, for example, 26 of the 83 sentences containing the words loi and volonté in the ARTFL database are from works by Rousseau. There was, however, a more general discussion of will and the formulation of law which may have influenced members of 1789. This discussion started earlier in the century, and suggests that the identification of will as law indicated political and personal despotism. The typical political usage, in the first half of the eighteenth-century, is found in Abbé Dubos' declaration that "ces tyrans qui gouvernoient arbitrairement, n'auront pas voulu entendre parler d'autre loi que de leur volonté."⁸⁴ The suggestion that tyranny comes from the identification of law and will was also made frequently in the personal domain. J.-F. Melon wrote in 1729 that "elle me réduiroit dans l'esclavage, par-ce-que sa volonté doit me servir de loi."⁸⁵ Finally, in the first half of the eighteenth century, the linkage between will and law was seen to be an act of submission: "je lui protestai que sa volonté me tenoit lieu de loi, et qu'elle pouvoit compter sur ma discrétion."⁸⁶ Thus, will as law appears in the eighteenth

century, to go no further back, as the most extreme level of arbitrary rule or complete submission, be it in political or in personal relations.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, there was a continuation of an absolutist evaluation of the linkage of will and law. In 1767, Marmontel argued that "toute domination tend vers la tyrannie: car il est naturel à l'homme de prétendre que sa volonté fasse loi."⁸⁷ Montesquieu made this assertion frequently, as can be seen in the following passages from De l'esprit des loix: "le despotique, un seul, sans loi et sans règle, entraîne tout par sa volonté et par ses caprices"; and "dans le despotisme, [...] la loi n'est que la volonté du prince."⁸⁸ In 1771, P.-A. Guys comments that les turcs puissans et en place, sont dangereux; ils ne connoissent pour loi qu'une volonté despotique."⁸⁹ Will as law was most frequently used to designate despotic or arbitrary rule. While this connection remains important through the second half of the eighteenth century, it is Rousseau who seems to rehabilitate will as a legitimate element of law by generalizing it in the concept of volonté générale. It would seem that Rousseau's strategy was not merely to replace the will of the monarch with a more legitimate will, but also to open a discourse concerning will as the fundamental source of law, which until the early 1760s had been seen as contradictory components of governance. Argensen writes, in 1757, that

le despotisme est l'autorité trop absolue, indépendante de toute loi fondamentale, ou particulière: elle dégénère

souvent en tyrannie qui est l'abus de fait du pouvoir que le despotisme n'a que de droit et à sa volonté. 90

Rousseau's conception of will as the source of law seems to be an overturning of this traditional notion of the separation of will and law: "la loi réunissant l'universalité de la volonté."⁹¹ And nearly two decades later, in his Considerations on the Government of Poland, he declared that "la loi, [...] n'est que l'expression de la volonté générale."⁹² Many Enlightenment thinkers followed this reorientation of the relationship of will and law. In 1765, Abbé Mably declared that "la loi n'est autre chose que la volonté de la nation, publiée sous le nom du prince."⁹³ By 1776, Louis Mercier seems to have eliminated the role of the prince in formulation of law:

la loi n'est-elle pas l'expression de la volonté générale; et comment confier à un seul homme un dépôt aussi important? 94

Holbach linked law to will on several occasions: la loi [...] est l'expression de la volonté générale" and "la volonté publique fait la loi."⁹⁵ Thus, it would seem that Rousseau instigated a shift in the notion of law that was particularly important for later Enlightenment thinkers.

Before Rousseau, law and will were typically considered to be opposites: law was seen to be rational and static; will, arbitrary and capricious. Helvétius illustrated the traditional Enlightenment distinction between the regularity of law and the instability of will in writing,

Dans les états où la loi seule punit et récompense, où l'on n'obéit qu'à la loi, l'homme vertueux, toujours en sûreté, y contracte une hardiesse et une fermeté d'âme qui s'affoiblit

nécessairement dans les pays despotiques, où sa vie, ses biens et sa liberté dépendent du caprice et de la volonté arbitraire d'un seul homme. 96

Rousseau's abstraction of will to a higher level of generality and his synthesis of the general will with law was certainly picked up by some of the members of the Société de 1789, as is indicated by the degree to which they relied on the notion of law as an expression of the will of the nation. Although individual members might have disagreed with the idea, almost all of them formulated their responses in the same terms, typically by attempting to rationalize Rousseau's abstract will -- in the public reason or intelligence -- and by attempting to eliminate the arbitrariness of will in its traditional usage.⁹⁷ Indeed, Condorcet's conception of the common or public reason, which informed so much of his political thought, can be seen as a direct response to Rousseau's legitimation of will as law.

If the Société de 1789 was subject to the discourse of will in the definition of loi, it cannot be said that the idea of nature, which derived from the Enlightenment reverence for everything scientific, played a particularly important role in the use of loi. As shown in Figures Six-Twenty and Six-Twenty-One, the collocations of the plural and singular forms of loi with nature and naturelles are not very frequent. The collocation of naturelle with loi is only the 33rd most frequent, and only moderately related (z-score = 8.0). The plural is the 27th most frequent collocation, but is strongly related, as naturelles tends to occur only with lois in the language of 1789.

More surprisingly, the item nature is not found on either list. This contrasts markedly with the use of loi in the second half of the eighteenth century as found in the ARTFL database. The word loi occurs 4884 times in the texts published between 1750 and 1799. The second most frequent collocate of loi is nature (280 occurrences, sd. = 18.8) and the fourth is naturelle (224 occurrences, sd. = 58.4). Similarly, for the same period in the ARTFL database, the most frequent collocate plurals of loi-- lois and loix (2525 and 5902 occurrences respectively) -- is nature (709 occurrences, sd. = 43.5). The term naturelles is 79th on the collocation list with 72 occurrences but strongly correlated (sd. = 24.6). The low ranking of naturelles is due to the relative rarity of the word in general (651 total occurrences as opposed to 14,862 occurrences of nature). Natural law played an important role in the discourse of the period 1750-1799 but does not seem to have been an important part of the discussions of law in the Société de 1789.

Two factors may be at work here. The first is the suggestion that practical arguments from natural law and relating it to the creation of a constitution or even more concrete laws-- such as proposals dealing with the establishment of a militia or printing of assignats -- may have been considered rather tenuous. This suggestion is supported by the fact that the vast majority (24) of occurrences of the 36 collocations of the forms of loi with all forms of nature occur in Ramond's Opinion énoncée à la Société de 1789 sur les loix constitutionnelles, leurs

caractères distinctifs, leur ordre naturel. This is 59% over-represented when compared to a normal distribution in the texts of 1789. Further, all of the occurrences of loi naturelle occur in this single text. This is a particularly theoretical work, which covers a broad number of abstract issues in the creation of a workable constitution for France. For Ramond, there is a clear linkage between natural law and other types of law, including constitutional law:

J'ai renvoyé à la loi naturelle tout ce que nulle société ne peut refuser de reconnaître, et abandonné aux dispositions réglementaires tout ce que chaque société peut adopter ou rejeter, quelle que soit son organisation. 98

Natural laws are not only predictable regularities, reflecting the order of nature, but are also normative, constituting those elements of civil society which must be included in all well regulated states. The absence of discussions of natural law may be a result of the retention of technical and detailed discourse that many of the members of 1789 had used during the ancien régime. This is not to suggest that the members of the Société would have rejected arguments based on natural law, but only that such arguments were either assumed or simply irrelevant to the practical discussions in which the members were involved.⁹⁹ In any event, the obvious importance of natural law in the Enlightenment is not reflected in the language of the Société de 1789.

There are a number of other expressions common to French discourse in the second half of the eighteenth-century which are not found in the discourse of the Société de 1789. The writings

of 1789 contain few references to old laws. By contrast, for the period 1750 through 1799 there are numerous references to older laws, particularly by Montesquieu and Voltaire. For example, salique is the 15th most frequent collocate of loi (freq 119, sd. = 141.9), referring to the law excluding women from the succession of crown. And the laws of other peoples are mentioned very frequently, as shown by the appearance of francs (41, sd. = 15.9), romaine (62, sd. = 36.2), lombards (31, 38.9), bourguignons (27, 36.5) and juifs (26, 7.0).¹⁰⁰ More generally shared among Enlightenment writers than ethnic groups, but mentioned only rarely by members of the Société de 1789 is the relationship of moeurs and loix. Indeed, the third most frequent collocate of loix, after nature and nos, in the ARTFL database between 1750 and 1799 is moeurs (448, sd. = 57.8). The construction is used by a variety of authors through the period,¹⁰¹ frequently in such a way as to attribute the historical formation of particular laws to the customs of a people. This linkage, however, was made only twice by the Société de 1789, and then in rather vague terms.¹⁰² Similarly, in the sample from 1750 to 1799, the words homme and hommes are very frequently collocated with loi (3rd most frequent, 271, sd = 6.0) and loix (5th most frequent, 402, 13.4) respectively. The frequent use of homme(s) in discussing law suggests that the sample found in the ARTFL database is particularly abstract, dealing with the general examples of men or a man. However, the writers of the Société de 1789, as shown in Figures Six-Twenty

and Six-Twenty-One, did not use this construction. Finally, the Société avoided references to religion or God in their discussions of law, an omission which is not typical of the ARTFL sample. In 1750-1799, dieu (168, sd. = 8.3) is the seventh most common collocate of loi and religion (98, 11.5) is the 18th, while religion is the 15th most frequent collocate of loix.

Thus, the Société de 1789 avoided many of the most typical usages of the word loi as found in the ARTFL database in texts published between 1750 and 1799. Many of the primary elements of the Enlightenment discussions of law are missing, as is the emphasis on natural law, the traditional emphasis on custom and morals, and the historical view of law, with examples drawn from the classical and French past. The Société's use of loi in is focussed on particular laws. It is not surprising to find that constitutionnelles is the most frequent collocate of loix (z-score = 41.1) and constitutionnelle is the 12th most frequent collocate of loi (z-score = 21.8). The majority (30 of 36) of uses of constitutionnelle(s) are found in the two discussions of the proposed constitutions by Ramond and Cazaux¹⁰³. By contrast, the collocation of constitution and loix is not particularly strong (z-score = 3.2) and falls in the 12th place, while loi and constitution are not significantly related. Other terms that are frequently collocated suggest the tentative nature of laws being proposed during the period of the early Revolution. Such terms include titre (Figure Six-Twenty, #6), décret (#23), proposée (#25), as well as terms suggesting the concrete nature of the

laws under discussion, such as presse, (Figure Six-Twenty-One, #17) and jurés (#38), none of which are significantly collocated in the ARTFL sample of texts from 1750 to 1799.

There are, however, several collocations with loi that are comparable to general usage in the eighteenth-century. It is interesting to note that loi and lois are frequently collocated with both peuple (#4 and #13) and citoyens (#15 and #15), as shown in Figures Six-Twenty and Six-Twenty-One. Peuple ranks 9th among collocates of loix(s) (274 sd. = 17.7) in the second half of the eighteenth-century and 12th among collocates of loi (136, sd. = 10.0). And this connection was even stronger in the first half of the eighteenth-century, when peuple was the 3rd most frequent collocate of loi (101, sd. = 17.4) after salique and suivant. The Société's connection between loi(s) and peuple does not indicate the role of the people in making laws. Rather, the most frequent linkage between people and law is based on respect and obedience. Casaux asked

Que vous importe s'il le nom de loi suffit pour apprendre à tous, roi comme peuple, gouvernans comme gouvernés, les limites précises dans lesquelles tous, tous, peuvent et doivent agir jusqu'au moment où une autre loi les aura étendues ou restreintes? 104

And it is not surprising to see calls from the club for the people to obey the laws, in its praise for the loyal troops at Nancy and attacks against the "seditious" radicals. The marquis de Pange denounced the radical press in no uncertain terms:

Ce désordre s'est accru sans bornes; des feuilles coupables ont excité le peuple à l'effusion du sang, au renversement des loix, au mépris de ces chefs légitimes. 105

Pange's use is an interesting contrast to the more general use of peuple by the Société de 1789, discussed in the following chapter. The club adopts a rather traditional conception of the people, emphasizing the subservience of the people to the law rather than the notion of the people being the source of authority. The data in the ARTFL sample confirms that the general eighteenth-century usage of loi(s) and peuple frequently reiterates the importance of popular obedience to law. Senac de Meilhan notes with approval "le peuple plein de respect pour la loi et pour ses organes."¹⁰⁶ Respect for law is necessary, according to Enlightenment figures, because the people cannot be expected to control themselves. Holbach, for instance, makes this point very clear when he writes on the importance of law, as opposed to religion, to maintaining order.

D'abord je ne crois pas qu'un livre puisse être dangereux pour le peuple. Le peuple ne lit pas plus qu'il ne raisonne; il n'en a, ni le loisir, ni la capacité: d'un autre côté, ce n'est pas la religion, c'est la loi qui contient les gens du peuple, et quand un insensé leur droit de voler ou d'assassiner, le gibet les avertiroit de n'en rien faire. ¹⁰⁷

Law controls the violent tempers of the people, but it is not arbitrary. Rather, there are numerous statements to the effect that law must be made to benefit the people, even if the people do not make the law. Bernardin de Saint-Pierre comments,

Salus populi suprema lex esto, disoient les anciens: le bonheur du peuple est la loi suprême, parce que son malheur est le malheur général. Cet axiome doit être d'autant plus sacré aux législateurs et aux réformateurs, qu'aucune loi ne peut être durable, et qu'aucun plan de réforme ne peut avoir lieu, que préalablement le bonheur du peuple ne soit établi. ¹⁰⁸

Law, in the eighteenth-century, seems to have been related to the people, and was largely seen as a means of controlling and organizing the masses. Good laws benefit the people, but are not necessarily created by the people. This usage was continued by the Société de 1789 even though the Revolutionaries adopted a more populist notion of government, perhaps under the influence of American rhetoric, which stressed the active nature of the people in government.

To summarize, the Société de 1789 borrowed important elements of the Enlightenment discourse on loi. Most importantly, the writers of the Société adopted Rousseau's recasting of law in terms of will. Earlier Enlightenment figures, it seems, had seen a strong opposition between law and will, with law being stable and rational while will, as a principle of government, was transitory and arbitrary. Rousseau's recasting established the terms of the debate for members of the Société, so that those who disagreed with Rousseau's notion of general will attempted to replace it with another, less irrational, form of volition, such as the common reason or public intelligence. The other common Enlightenment abstraction concerning law, natural law, is only infrequently used by the Société de 1789. This suggests that natural law theory was 1) too abstract to be of use to the discussion of particular laws, or 2) that the importance of natural law had been replaced by the notion of will, and attempts to find legitimate expressions of national will, as the source of law.

The central role of volonté in the elaboration of loi supports the latter view. The role of law in restraining the impetuosity of the peuple and in preserving order was also retained from Enlightenment discourse, even though other uses of peuple stress the active and important role that the people play in government. Finally, the Société abandoned an historical perspective on laws. There are few references to earlier legal systems or laws, so common in general use of the eighteenth-century.

-- V --

If laws are the expression of the national will then, according to the writers of the Société de 1789, rights constitute the protection afforded the individual from the power of the state. While not as frequent as the discussion of law, droit(s) is used frequently in the texts of the club: droit 186 times and droits 167 times. The word droits is used in a consistent and clear fashion, as indicated in Figure Six-Twenty-Two. The most frequent collocates include hommes (#1) and homme (#4), and naturels (#2) as well as references to political rights (#14) and the déclaration (#10) of rights. Given the importance of natural rights and the rights of man to the French Revolution, the frequency of homme and naturels is not particularly surprising. What is surprising is the strength of this rhetoric in the Société and the relative absence of other, more concrete,

kinds of rights. The most likely source, as will be shown, of the natural rights argument is the American example. But even the American Revolutionaries did not use the language of natural rights with such regularity or concentration as the writers of 1789.¹⁰⁹

The writers of the Société refer to droits regularly and in a variety of contexts.¹¹⁰ References to the rights of man are the most common and serve two distinct rhetorical purposes. The first is a rather mundane oratorical flourish, which serve to identify the character of the government and the revolution without forming an important part of an argument. In his discussion of the assignats, for example, the anonymous author of the Théorie des assignats refers to the nature of the government in a short-hand:

Mais sous un gouvernement qui a écrit les droits de l'homme sur ses bannières, le plus léger manquement aux principes établis, produit une commotion de révolte qui se fait sentir d'un bout de l'empire à l'autre, & nous allons, n'en doutez pas, devenir aussi vigilans sur notre fortune que sur notre liberté. 111

More substantial, however, are the references to the rights of man in other texts. Condorcet's celebrated argument for voting rights for women, for example, is premised on the universality of human rights. He opens with the declaration that:

Les droits des hommes résultant uniquement de ce qu'ils sont des êtres sensibles, susceptibles d'acquérir des idées morales, et de raisonner sur ces idées; ainsi les femmes ayant ces mêmes qualités, ont nécessairement des droits égaux. 112

In 1790, the restoration of rights was seen as one of the great achievements of the Revolution. André Chenier wrote that the

eyes of all Europe were on France and that the Revolution was a great experiment of all humanity ("on peut dire que la race humaine est maintenant occupée à faire sur nos têtes une grande expérience"). If we succeed, he continues, the rest of Europe will change: "les hommes rentrent dans leurs droits; les peuples rentrent dans leurs souveraineté usurpée."¹¹³ The restoration of the rights of man, according to Chenier, is the most important component of the noble experiment of the French Revolution. Human rights are also inextricably linked to natural rights in the discourse of the Société. The editor of the Journal de la Société de 1789 introduced Du Pont's Considérations sur la position politique de la France, de l'Angleterre et de l'Espagne by asking the question:

Le pacte connu sous le nom de pacte de famille, peut-il être ratifié par une nation libre, par une nation qui connoit les droits naturels de l'homme, et qui veut les défendre? ¹¹⁴

Here again is the clear suggestion that France is the nation that respects human rights, and that human and natural rights are almost interchangeable terms. The foundation of particular rights, be they civil, political, property, or taxation rights, always returns to the fundamental discourse concerning natural human rights.

This emphasis is a significant shift away from the traditional discourse concerning rights. The ARTFL database indicates that droits has been used frequently throughout the eighteenth century. As shown in Figure Six-Twenty-Four, the rate of usage in the period between 1750 and 1775 (.18 per thousand

words) is only moderately below the usage in the French revolutionary sample (.22 per thousand). The frequency of the term droits is more than twice as great in the Cahiers de doléances as in the Société de 1789: 1.02 to 2.34

Figure Six-Twenty-Four
Frequency and proportion of the word droits in the ARTFL database during the eighteenth-century.

Date	Word	Freq.	/1000
1700-1749:	droits	1000	0.1057
1750-1775:	droits	1830	0.1802
1776-1788:	droits	829	0.1434
1789-1800:	droits	557	0.2271
	TOTAL:	4216	0.1514

per thousand words.

The contrast between the usage of droits by the Société de 1789 and in the General Cahiers de doléances of 1789 is particularly sharp, reflecting a significant movement away from traditional political rhetoric. There are no references to human rights in the sample of the Cahiers de doléances and only one, abstract reference to droit naturel:

6.--Le régime de la milice est infiniment onéreux à la classe la plus malheureuse, [...] contraire à la liberté individuelle et asservissant les personnes contre le droit naturel, qu'il soit supprimé à perpétuité [...]. 115

Figure Six-Twenty-Five indicates the words most frequently associated with droits in the Cahiers, the most highly correlated of which include anciens (#3), tarif (#8), and seigneuriaux (#30). The most frequent collocates suggest the traditional, particularistic conceptions of droits, which frequently link them with privilèges (#2). The frequent collocation of supprimés (#1)

and suppression (#6) suggests that many rights were regarded quite unfavorably, and, in fact, many appeals were made to the Crown for elimination of particular rights, frequently on very practical grounds. The Third Estate in Marseilles, for instance, proposed:

La suppression des droits d'entrée sur les objets servant à la teinture, pour favoriser les progrès des manufactures nationales. 116

Rights were not always regarded as bad by any means, however, for many of the traditional rights and privileges were to be protected and even extended. The Ten Imperial Villages expressed in their cahier the desire to maintain the rights and privileges which they claim date back to the sixteenth century. They call on

Sa Majesté de bien vouloir les maintenir dans leurs droits, libertés, et privilèges légués par leurs pères et dont elles jouissent depuis le seizième siècle sous la protection de leurs gouverneurs (préfets) sans que la nouvelle organisation qui appartiendra à chacune des dites villes [...] sera uniforme pour toutes, ne porte aucun préjudice auxdits droits et privilèges. 117

The clergy of Bourmont made a similar historical argument concerning the restoration of their rights, which presumably had been abrogated at an earlier date, asking,

Sa Majesté d'ordonner que nous soyons déchargé des réparations usufutières et rétablis dans nos anciens droits. 118

The Cahiers reflect a most traditional conception of rights, linking them to the agreements of corporation, provinces and other entities in regard to particular liberties and exemptions. Rights are particular arrangements, apparently open to

negotiation and compromise. There is no hint in any of these documents of a more general conception of rights, human or natural. This is the case even for the Cahiers from the Third Estates of towns like Marseille and Toulon, which might have been expected to couch local demands in more universal language.

Such language was certainly available; indeed, the debate concerning droits is well represented in the writings of the most important authors of the second half of the eighteenth century. Comparing the use of droits in the Cahiers and in the ARTFL database from 1750 to 1788 (Figures Six-Twenty-Five and Six-Twenty-Six), however, reveals very little similarity in the most frequent collocates. Only the words droits, privilèges and seigneurs appear on both lists, with privilèges appearing as the 29th most frequent collocate in the ARTFL sample compared to second in the sample of the Cahiers. Anciens is collocated with droits in the ARTFL database 22 times (sd. = 4.9). Terms

Figure Six-Twenty-Seven
Terms referring to the seigneurial regime collocated with droits in the ARTFL database, 1750-1788. Shown in descending order of st. dev. with rank among all words.

Rank	Word	Total	Col	Std. dev.
7:	seigneuriaux	8	6	33.8
73:	seigneurs	889	27	12.6
226:	seigneuries	46	3	6.6
472:	seigneur	2528	21	3.5

referring to the seigneurial regime are infrequent, but significantly collocated with droits. Thus, seigneuriaux, for example, is the 7th most highly correlated term with droits, but

occurs very infrequently. Seigneurs is the 45th most frequent significant collocate, shown in Figure Six-Twenty-Six, while suppression, number 6 among the collocates in the Cahiers but occurs only 7 times with droits (sd = 10.6). This suggests that the use of droits in the General Cahiers de doléances is particularly traditional in outlook, compared with the general use of the term between 1750 and 1788.

By contrast, the language of the Société de 1789 has many more parallels with the general usage in the second half of the eighteenth-century, though there are significant variations. A comparison between Figures Six-Twenty-Four and Six-Twenty-Six shows that there are several words common to both samples, including loix, liberté, nation, droit, société, and citoyens. In addition, there are a number of collocations that are similar in function. The second most frequently collocated word, after vos, in the ARTFL sample, is nature. Equally as important in establishing the general conception of droits are terms like humanité, peuple, and sacré, all of which suggest the universality and inalienability of rights which parallels the sense of the term in the writings of the Société de 1789. In 1755, for example, the marquis de Mirabeau contrasted the love of liberty with the love of wealth, stressing the importance of these rights:

Je parle de l'amour de la liberté, et de celui des richesses. De ces deux principes, le premier est éclairé, quoique souvent fougueux, il a le bien pour objet, quoiqu'il sçache rarement s'arrêter au cran du bien possible qui est le seul réel: il retrace sans cesse à l'homme les droits de l'égalité, de la justice, de l'humanité enfin. 119

Nearly thirty years later, the construction droits de l'humanité continued to have currency among Enlightened thinkers. Mercier wrote in his La destruction de la Ligue that,

nos voisins sont sortis triomphants avec la liberté, de ces mêmes guerres où s'agitoient leurs nobles courages. L'Angleterre, la Hollande, la Suisse, etc. ont racheté de leur sang les droits de l'humanité. 120

J.B. Louvet de Couvray, the future member of the Convention, wrote in 1787 as follows:

Je vois l'une des premières nations du monde sortir d'un long sommeil, et redemander à ses oppresseurs son honneur et ses droits antiques, ses droits sacrés, imprescriptibles, ceux de l'humanité. 121

Thus, the language of universal rights, inalienable rights of humanity, had significant use before the Revolution.

The linkage between the Enlightenment and the Société is far from exact, however, since both homme(s) and naturels are missing from Figure Six-Twenty-Six. Neither homme or hommes are strongly correlated with droits in the ARTFL sample of 1750 to 1788. Of 16,984 occurrences of hommes, only 81 are collocated with droits making it the 807 most significant correlation (sd. = 1.8). Homme is even less closely related with a standard deviation of .5. Naturels, on the other hand, is strongly correlated with droits (sd. = 14.8), but is relatively infrequent, with 601 total occurrences and 25 collocations with droits. There is surprisingly little shift in the words associated with droits between the periods 1750-1775 and 1776-1788 that could be attributed to the American Revolution. Naturels is the 70th most frequent collocate of droits, in 1776-1788, with only 5 of 186

occurrences modifying droits and a surprisingly low standard deviation of 5.5. Similarly, homme(s) is not used with droits any more consistently, being used relatively frequently but with very low standard deviations: hommes is collocated 33 times out of 5656 occurrences ($sd = 3.1$) while homme modifies droits 46 times ($sd = 2.8$). The majority of the close collocations of droits and naturels, such as "droits plus naturels" or "droits assez naturels," occurs in works published earlier in the period from 1750 to 1788. Only two of the twenty-one uses appeared after 1776, in Mirabeau's Lettres écrites du donjon and Volney's Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte.¹²² This suggests that the few usages of the expression droits naturels found in the ARTFL database predated the American Revolution, and that the expression was not in general use in the years before the French Revolution.

The Société adopted a notion of droits which was completely antithetical to the traditional representation as found in the Cahiers de doléances. The emphasis on natural rights and the rights of man, as an important element in the great experiment of the Revolution, was in some ways an echo of the eighteenth-century notion of droits. The linkage to the Enlightened usage of droits is not complete, as indicated by the fact that the most important constructions used by writers of the Société do not appear frequently in the ARTFL sample for the period 1750 to 1788. And there is some evidence that references to natural rights and the rights of man may occur less frequently in the

period following the outbreak of the American Revolution than in the years between 1750 and 1776. As will be suggested in the following chapter, this may be evidence of a strong influence the American example had on members of the Société that was not more generally shared.

-- VI --

A systematic examination of several elements of the political language of the Société de 1789 points to several conclusions. The first is that the common charge that members of the Société, and the philosophes in general, spent inordinate amounts of time in idle philosophical speculation is not warranted. The language of the Société is marked by a relative absence of certain scientific and philosophical terms that were common to educated Frenchmen of the period. Indeed, the Société's language is marked by frequent reference to contemporary issues and an absence of philosophical language.

The membership of the Société had a strong conception of the role and identity of the nation. Their self definition, as indicated by their use of nous and its possessives, is marked by frequent and automatic definition of themselves as Frenchmen. They saw the nation as having an active voice, interests, and clearly identifiable institutions. The frequent reference to "our" commerce, industry, and other interests suggests that their notion of the nation developed out of a the physiocratic emphasis on trade as being a means of competition between nations. The

Enlightenment discourse concerning the nation varies widely. The usage varies from Voltaire's general definition of the nation as an identifiable people or race to Helvétius' conception of which stressed the commercial and diplomatic elements of nationhood. The Société's use of nation is considerably closer to that of Helvétius than other authors who used the term frequently. Again, the contrast between the Société and the Cahiers de doléances could hardly be more complete, for the Cahiers depict the nation as largely passive, appealing to the monarch for particular grievances. The Société's conception of the nation, however, seems to be related more to the Enlightenment tradition represented by Helvétius than to either traditional political discourse or, as we shall see in the following chapter, the language of the American Revolution.

For the writers of the Société, both loi and droits were central to the organization of the nation. The notion of loi adopted by members of 1789 was based on the identity of will and law which had been proposed by Rousseau. Many other Enlightenment figures, particularly those writing earlier in the century, had developed a sharp contrast between volonté and loi. Rousseau's idea of the general will became the paradigm of discussions for law, even when individuals like Chenier and Condorcet attempted to replace will with a less arbitrary force, such as the common reason. Noticeable by its absence in the discourse of the Société is reference to natural law. Earlier in the Enlightenment, it had been a central conception of law, both

scientific and civil, but there are few explicit references to it in the writings of the Société de 1789. This absence may be due to the fact that Rousseau's rehabilitation of volonté had reduced the importance of arguments based on natural law or that such arguments were simply too abstract to be helpful in developing constitutional law or laws governing the press.

If natural law was not important for the writers of the Société, the same cannot be said for natural rights, which constituted an informing principle for a number of writers. Because the members of 1789 saw it as one of the fundamental elements of the Revolution, their use of droits ran completely counter to the frequent use of droits in the Cahiers. The source for 1789's use of droits seems to be both the Enlightenment conception of rights that stretched back to Voltaire and earlier writers, and the American appeals to the rights of man and natural rights. The Société relied heavily on the construction droits with homme(s) and naturels which were not common in the period from 1750 to 1788. It is clear that the Enlightenment had a well-developed notion of droits, which is found in the language of the Société de 1789. It would also seem that the Société was particularly influenced by American rhetoric in this case, even though it is not common in texts published in the period between the American and French revolutions. This may be a case of the rhetoric of the Enlightenment being filtered through American political language and returning to France in a more refined form.

The relationship between the language of the Société de 1789 and earlier Enlightenment political language is not linear. It is clear, however, that the Société chose elements of its discourse from a range of political discourses coming out of the Enlightenment. The use of meanings from various sources did not occur without contradiction. The Société's strongly commercial and active conception of the nation was presaged in several writers, notably Helvétius. But it is not clear how this competitive and commercial image of the nation fits into the arguments concerning the nature of law and representation resulting from the general will. It is also clear that the Société simply dropped important elements of Enlightenment thought, such as natural law, as either irrelevant or assumed.

The Enlightenment and traditional French political discourse were not the only sources of political rhetoric for the members of the Société de 1789. The members of the Société were particularly cosmopolitan in their experience and outlook. Many were refugees from other countries while others active in national and international finance, trade and politics. They were particularly aware of the events going on in Europe, and more importantly for our purposes, in America. An important complement to the political language of the Enlightenment may therefore be American political language.

Notes

1. M. Marron, "Article relatif à la Constitution: fragmens d'un discours prononcé le 18 juillet 1790 dans l'oratoire des protestans, au musée de la rue Dauphiné. Par M. Marron, membre de la société de 1789" Journal de la Société de 1789 9 (29 July 1790): 23.
2. See above, Chapter 2, pp. 87-9 and p. 134.
3. Claude Perroud, "Quelques notes sur le Club de 1789" Révolution française: Revue d'histoire contemporaine 39 (1900): 261.
4. Louis Gottschalk and Margaret Maddox, Lafayette in the French Revolution: From the October Days through the Federation (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), p. 319.
5. P.F. Willert, Mirabeau (London: Macmillan, 1904), p.184.
6. See above, Chapter 1, p. 25-6. Carl Becker's The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932) is a particularly provocative rendition of this view. Peter Gay attacked Becker, in particular, and the idea of the philosophes as a collection of other worldly, impractical thinkers long ago (first published in 1959), in his Voltaire's Politics: The Poet as Realist, 2nd edition, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).
7. Robert F. Allen, "The Stylo-Statistical Method of Literary Analysis" Computers and the Humanities 22 (1988): 1-10. Also see the discussion of vocabulary in G.W. Turner's, Stylistics (London: Penguin, 1973), pp.109-33.
8. Standard deviation is calculated as:

$$X = \text{Observed Frequency}$$

$$E = \text{Expected Frequency}$$

$$SQ(E) = \text{Square Root of } E$$

$$SD = \frac{(X - E)}{SQ(E)}$$
- Expected frequency in this implementation is calculated as a simple proportion.
9. Science is slightly (though statistically insignificantly) under-represented in the texts of the Société, sd = -1.1; sciences has a standard deviation of +2.2 (it is slightly over-

represented in 1789. Four of five forms of philosophie are under-represented in 1789: philosophe (-2.6), philosophie (-1.8), philosophes (-.9), philosophiques (-.5), with only philosophique being slightly over-represented (sd. = +2.2). Some of the forms of raison are significantly correlated with the texts of 1789, as indicated in the following table:

<u>raisonnablement</u>	90	6	5.89679
<u>raisonnement</u>	516	13	4.01796
<u>raison</u>	10378	116	2.70882
<u>raisons</u>	2070	22	0.94172
<u>raisonnables</u>	274	3	0.39957
<u>raisonnemens</u>	390	4	0.33007
<u>raisonner</u>	506	4	-.19115
<u>raisonnable</u>	850	6	-.51231

Raisonnement, raisonnement, and raison are all significantly, though weakly, correlated with 1789. There is no correlation with the other forms. Progrès is slightly correlated with 1789 (sd. = 3.0). Nature is less frequent than is expected (-2.5). None of the forms of humain are significantly correlated with 1789: humanité (+2.1), humaine (+1.6), humaines (+.06), humain (-.7). Finally, the term lumières is rather strongly correlated with 1789 (sd. = +8.6) while the singular form, lumière is slightly negatively correlated (sd. = -1.7).

10. See below, pp. 385ff.

11. Cited in Annie Geffroy, "Les nous indistincts" MOTS 10 (1985): 5. This is the introduction to the special number of MOTS titled Le nous politique. Several useful essays treating the political uses of nous are found there, notably Louis Guespin, "Nous, la langue et l'interaction" (pp.45-62); Annie Geffroy, "Les nous de Robespierre ou le territoire impossible" (pp. 63-90); and Jacques Guilhaumou, "Nous/vous/tous: La fête de l'union du 10 août 1793" (pp. 91-108).

12. Louis Guespin, "Nous, la langue et l'interaction," p.58.

13. Guespin suggests that there are four distinct uses of nous which can occur in political discourse. He sees their occurrence in a nous/vous pairing that is far more linguistically flexible than the analogous je/tu pair. Nous can denote two or more speakers who take responsibility for a speech act; it can unify the speaker and the audience (the same as je and vous); it can "unit destinataire et non-personne (l'émetteur peut s'ajoinde une non-personne, singulière ou plurielle)," presumably an institution or social abstraction such as 'la France'; and is found in many instances where the speaker is evidently singular, the nous of royal edicts and scholarly articles.

14. Differences between these numbers and those cited at the

beginning of the paragraph result from taking the next literal word following nos, notre, notres in this case. There are two occurrences of notre constitution, for example, which have adjectives inserted.

15. Marron, "Fragmens d'un discours" p. 23.

16. André Chenier, "Avis au peuple françois sur ses véritables ennemis" Journal de la Société de 1789 12 (28 August 1790): 39-40.

17. P.S. Du Pont de Nemours, "Considérations sur la position politique de la France, de l'Angleterre, et de l'Espagne" Journal de la Société de 1789 4 (26 June 1790): 14.

18. Annie Geffroy, "Les nous de Robespierre" pp. 82-6. This is for all the speeches of Robespierre, from 1789 to 1794, in the Saint Cloud sample. The ARTFL sample holds about half of these.

19. Du Pont de Nemours, "Considérations sur la position politique," p. 8.

20. L. Ramond, Opinion énoncée à la Société de mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf, sur les lois constitutionnelles, leurs caractères distinctifs, leur ordre naturel, leur stabilité relative, leur revision solennelle, par M. Ramond. Membre de cette Société. Première partie (Paris: Belin, 1791), p. 37.

21. André Chenier, "Avis au peuple françois," p. 13.

22. Antoine Lavoisier, Opinion sur les assignats, par M. L***, (Paris: Imp Potier de Lille, 1790), p. 21.

23. Du Pont, "Considérations sur la position politique," p. 12.

24. Annie Geffroy, "Les nous de Robespierre," p. 76.

25. Alfred Cobban, "The Enlightenment and the French Revolution" in W.F. Church, ed., The Influence of the Enlightenment on the French Revolution (Lexington, Mass, 1974), p. 191.

26. Jacques Godechot, "Nation, patrie, nationalisme et patriotisme en France au XVIIIe siècle" Annales historiques de la révolution française 43 (1971): 491.

27. This is an interesting contrast, since the word patrie occurs in the ARTFL database at comparable frequencies as the word nation. In 1750-99, nation occurs .23 per thousand while patrie, as shown below, occurs .17 per thousand words. The distinction in frequencies between the Société and more radical revolutionaries is significant.

Date	Word	Freq.	/1000
=====			
1600-1649:	patrie	215	0.0335
1650-1699:	patrie	336	0.0445
1700-1749:	patrie	1215	0.1285
1750-1799:	patrie	3088	0.1688
1800-1849:	patrie	2209	0.1175
1850-1899:	patrie	1419	0.0684
1900-1949:	patrie	1374	0.0477
1950-1970:	patrie	260	0.0795
=====			
	TOTAL:	10116	0.0893

28. Voltaire uses all forms of nation (only three in his case) .59 times per thousand words. Interestingly, Diderot and Rousseau both use the terms far less frequently, .16 and .21 times per thousand words respectively. Voltaire leads the raw frequency list because of the number of his works contained in the ARTFL database.

29. ARTFL: C.-A. Helvétius, De L'Esprit. (Paris, Durand, 1758); De L'Homme. (Londres, Societe Typographique, 1773). These texts contain 347,020 words. "ARTFL:" indicates a citation and reference from the ARTFL database following the title, edition, spelling, and pagination conventions of the ARTFL Project database.

30. M. Grouvelle, "Sur la délégation de l'exercice du droit de la guerre et de la paix" Journal de la Société de 1789, 1 (5 June 1790): 44.

31. Jean-Pierre Pezous, Motion sur l'abrogation des testaments en ligne directe, lue à la Société de mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf, par Jean-Pierre Pezous, député du département du Tarn à l'Assemblée nationale, le 19 novembre 1790 (Paris: Imp. Nationale, S.o.), p. 5.

32. M. Grouvelle, "Considérations sur le décret du 22 Mai" Journal de la Société de 1789 2 (12 June 1790): 20.

33. Condorcet, "Sur le préjugé qui suppose une contrariété d'intérêts entre la capitale et les provinces" Journal de la Société de 1789 6 (10 July 1790): 9.

34. M. Casaux, Aperçu de la constitution française, par un homme d'Amérique, et réponse sommaire à tout ce qu'on a écrit et écrira en France et en Angleterre pour, sur et contre cette constitution (Paris: Imp. Lejay fils, s.d. [1790]): 35-6.

35. André Chenier, "Avis au peuple françois," p. 39.

36. ARTFL: H. Mirabeau, Lettres Ecrites du Donjon, (Paris, Garnery. Strasbourg, Treuttel. Londres, de Boffe, 1792), p. 209. This text was originally published in 1780.

37. Condorcet, "Aux amis de la liberté, sur les moyens d'en assurer la durée" Journal de la Société de 1789, 10 (7 August 1790): 1.

38. Grouvelle, "Sur la délégation de l'exercice du droit de la guerre," p. 32

39. Casaux, Aperçu de la constitution française, p. 33.

40. M.T. Guiraudet, "Sur l'organisation de la Garde Nationale" Journal de la Société de 1789 10 (7 août 1790): 17-18.

41. Ramond, Opinion énoncée à la Société de mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf, sur les lois constitutionnelles, pp. 27-8.

42. See above Chapter Four, pp. 238-35 and 244ff.

43. ARTFL: R.-L. d'Argenson, Journal et Mémoires 1755-1757 (Paris, Renouard, 1867), p. 112. This search was for the co-occurrence of 6128 uses of *volont** and 503 uses of *nationa** in the ARTFL database from 1700 to 1788. Three occurrences of *volont* de la nation** are found in the ARTFL database from 1700 to 1788, one in Mably and two in Rousseau's Considerations on the Government of Poland (out of 6128 occurrences of *volont** and 9429 of *nation**).

44. Fournier, J. ed., Cahiers de doléances de la Sénéchaussée de Marseille pour les Etats Généraux de 1789 (Imprimerie Nouvelle, Marseille, 1908), pp. 363-4

45. "CAHIER GENERAL ET REDUIT DU BAILLIAGE D'AVAIL EN FRANCHE-COMTE CONTENANT SES VOEUX ET DOLEANCES" in Beatrice Fry Hyslop, A Guide to the General Cahiers of 1789 with Texts of Unedited Cahiers (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), p. 208

46. Dominique Chassenieux, ed., Les Elections, les députés et les cahiers de doléances des trois ordres de la province du Bourbonnais aux Etats-généraux de 1789 (Moulins: Editions des Cahiers bourbonnais, 1979), p. 51.

47. "CAHIER DES DOLEANCES PLAINTES ET RECLAMATIONS DU TIERS-ETAT DU BAILLIAGE DE LONGUYON" in Hyslop, A Guide, p. 320.
48. Fournier, J. ed., Cahiers de doléances, p. 382.
49. Ibid., p. 415
50. "CAHIER GENERAL ET REDUIT DU BAILLIAGE D'AVAIL EN FRANCHE-COMTE CONTENANT SES VOEUX ET DOLEANCES" in Hyslop, A Guide, p. 212.
51. "CAHIER DES PLAINTES, DOLEANCES ET REMENTRANCES QUE L'ORDRE DU CLERGÉ DU BAILLIAGE ROYAL DU BASSIGNY SCEANT A BOURMENT" in Hyslop, A Guide, p. 230.
52. "CAHIER DES DOLÉANCES ARRETÉES DANS L'ASSEMBLÉE DU TIERS-ÉTAT DE LA SÉNÉCHAUSSEE DE TOULON POUR ETRE PORTÉ A L'ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE DES TROIS SÉNÉCHAUSSEE DE TOULON BRIGNOLES, ET HYERES" in Hyslop, A Guide, p. 432.
53. Ibid., p. 421.
54. This is suggested because of the different articles (or pronouns) used with nation. Helvétius uses a wide array of articles with nation: la (75 occurrences), une (109), cette (18), chaque (18), sa (35) and notre (3). By contrast, Revolutionary writers tend to use la nation to the exclusion of other constructions. Robespierre uses la 132 times out of 154 occurrences of nation in the ARTFL database, une eight times and only one each of cette and sa nation. Voltaire falls between these extremes, using la nation over half the time (316 out of 534 occurrences), une nation 87 times, cette 32, sa 34, and aucune 13.
55. ARTFL: Helvétius, De L'Homme, p. 248.
56. Ibid., p. 123.
57. Ibid., p. 397.
58. Ibid., p. 51.
59. ARTFL: Helvétius, De L'Esprit, p. 93.
60. ARTFL: Helvétius, De L'Homme, p. 107.
61. Fifty-four of the 306 occurrences of pouvoir in Helvétius are with arbitraire, frequently with additional modifiers, such as pouvoir le plus arbitraire.
62. ARTFL: Helvétius, De L'Esprit, p. 406.

63. Voltaire's use of nation is concentrated in his historical works, as indicated by the following table showing the top ten titles containing nation. (Titles follow ARTFL conventions).

<u>Freq.</u>	<u>Title</u>
187	Essay sur L'Hist. Generale
55	La Bible Enfin Expliquee
52	Histoire du Parlement de Paris
49	Precis du Siecle de Louis XV
29	Lettres Philosophiques
28	Dictionnaire Philosophique
18	Correspondance, T. 90-92
17	Hist. Empire de Russie, T. 1
16	Hist. Empire de Russie, T. 2
14	La Princesse de Babylone

64. ARTFL: Voltaire, Histoire du Parlement de Paris, (Amsterdam, J.-J. du Fay: 1769), p. 28.

65. ARTFL: Voltaire, Essay sur L'Histoire Generale, (Geneve, Cramer: 1756), p. 196.

66. Ibid., p. 197.

67. ARTFL: Voltaire, Precis du Siecle de Louis XV, (Geneve, 1770), p. 268.

68. ARTFL: Voltaire, L'Homme Aux Quarante Ecus, (Paris, Cie des Libraires Associes: 1768), p. 28.

69. ARTFL: Voltaire, Dictionnaire Philosophique, Ed. J. Benda, R. Naves, (Paris, Garnier: 1954), p. 263.

70. ARTFL: Voltaire, Essay sur L'Histoire Generale, p. 12.

71. Ibid., p. 47.

72. ARTFL: Voltaire, Lettres Philosophiques, Ed. G. Lanson, (Paris, Hachette: 1915-1917), p. 89.

73. ARTFL: Voltaire, La Princesse de Babylone, In Contes et Romans, Ed. Van Tieghem, vol. 3. (Paris, F. Roches: 1930), p. 158.

74. ARTFL: Voltaire, Essay sur L'Histoire Generale, p. 173.

75. Ibid., p. 188.

76. ARTFL: Voltaire, La Princesse de Babylone, p. 150.

77. The frequencies of loi, lois, and loix (622 occurrences) are evenly distributed in the Société de 1789, with Ramond's

discussion of the constitution showing the greatest degree of over-representation.

Book	Frequency		-- Percentages --	
	Count	Actual	Expect	Difference
J SC Decret Mai 22	28	5%	2%	3%
J SC Angleterre	1	0%	3%	-3%
J SC Amis de liberté	59	9%	2%	7%
J SC Presse	64	10%	3%	7%
Casaux Constitution	49	8%	5%	3%
Casaux Reflexions	0	0%	3%	-3%
Lavoisier Reflexions	2	0%	4%	-4%
Opinion par L***	3	0%	3%	-3%
Observations Paiemen	0	0%	5%	-5%
Ramond Loix	131	21%	8%	13%
Théorie Assignats	5	1%	5%	-4%

78. Jean-Pierre Pezous, Motion sur l'abrogation, p. 3.

79. M.T. Guiraudet, "Sur l'organisation," p. 21.

80. M. Grouvelle, "Considérations sur le décret du 22 Mai," p. 21.

81. Assignats. Discours prononcé, le 3 septembre 1790, à la Société de mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf, par un de ses membres, sur l'émission de deux milliards d'assignats, sans intérêt, proposée à l'Assemblée Nationale (Paris: Potier de Lille, 1790), pp. 7-8.

82. See above, Chapter 4, pp. 235ff.

83. M. de Condorcet, "Aux amis de la liberté," p. 2.

84. ARTFL: Abbe J.-B. Dubos, Histoire Crit. Etabl. Monarchie, (Paris, Nyon Fils: 1742), p. 605.

85. ARTFL: J.-F. Melon, Mahmoud le Gasnevide, (Rotterdam, Chez Hofhoudt: 1729), p. 154.

86. ARTFL: A.-R. Lesage, Aventures du Chev. de Beauch., (Paris, Renouard: 1821), p. 237.

87. ARTFL: J.-F. Marmontel, Belisaire, (Paris, Merlin: 1767), p. 170.

88. ARTFL: Montesquieu, De L'Esprit des Loix, vol. 1, Ed. J. Brethe de la Gressaye, books 1-9, (Paris, Les Belles-Lettres: 1950), p. 35 and p. 128.

89. ARTFL: P.-A. Guys, Voyage Litt. de la Grece, (Paris, Vve

Duchesne: 1783), p. 15.

90. ARTFL: Argenson, Consid. sur Gouvern. Anc. Pr., p. 6.

91. ARTFL: J.-J. Rousseau, Du Contrat Social, Ed. B. de Jouvenel, (Geneve, C. Bourquin: 1947), p. 225.

92. ARTFL: Rousseau, Consid. sur Gouv. de Pologne, In Oeuvres Completes (Paris, Gallimard: 1964) 3:984.

93. ARTFL: Abbé de Mably, Observ. sur L'Histoire de France, (Paris, Bossange, Masson et Besson: 1797), p. 167.

94. ARTFL: L.-S., Mercier, L'An Deux Mille Quatre Cent Q., (Londres, S.N.: 1774), p. 289.

95. ARTFL: P.-H. d'Holbach, Systeme de la Nature, (Londres, 1771), p. 247 and p. 302.

96. ARTFL: Helvétius, De L'Esprit, p. 394.

97. The idea of volonté may well have undergone significant changes in the 18th century. Between 1700 and 1749, the most frequently collocated word with volonté was dieu (std. dev. 23.4) which dropped to fifth in 1750-99 (10.8). This may be due to a politicization of the idea of will in general. There is far less concern in the second half of the 18th century with entendement, as in understanding inscrutable will (which drops from 4th to 19th collocate by frequency, though both remain very strongly correlated), moral categorizations such as mauvaise (8th to 20th collocation) and pure (which is not present in the second half of the 18th century), and elements of law and power.

98. Ramond, Opinion énoncée, pp. 59-60.

99. Dupont de Nemours is a good case of linguistic specialization. A physiocrate, he had particularly refined notion of natural law, which he assumed would be the foundation of economic behavior. In his ARTFL: Origine et Progres Sc. Nouv. [In Coll. des Princ. Economistes, vol. 2 (Paris, Guillaumin, 1846)], he uses the expression lois de l'ordre naturel seven times and lois naturelles ten times along with many other references to natural law. He does not, however, make a single reference to natural law in his writings for the Société de 1789.

100. The historical treatment of laws is even more prevalent in the first half of the century, where salique is the most frequently collocated term of loi (total frequency 1744), and where franc, ripuaire(s), romain(s), bourguignons, tribuns, gombette, visigots and juifs all occur within the first 50 collocates.

101. The collocation of lois(x) and moeurs was common in the second half of the 18th century. The following shows the number of occurrences of phrases containing lois(x) and moeurs by author and year. There is a noticeable decline in use over the period.

Rank	Frg.	Author	Years	Frg.
1.	135	Montesquieu	1750-1759	290
2.	83	Barthelemy Abbe J.-J.	1760-1769	160
3.	74	Voltaire	1770-1779	223
4.	58	Rousseau J.-J.	1780-1789	176
5.	56	Mably Abbe de	1790-1799	80
6.	49	Helvétius C.-A.		
7.	46	Holbach P.-H. d'		
8.	36	Mirabeau V. Marquis		
9.	35	Raynal Abbe		
10.	34	Marmontel J.-F.		

102. M.T. Guiraudet declared that "la révolution doit, affoiblir sans doute, mais changer les moeurs d'une nation est le travail des siècles bien plus encore que celui des lois" ("Sur l'organisation de la Garde Nationale," p. 32). Pezous suggests the heterogeneity of laws in the following passage: "pour un autre pays & pour un autre peuple, pour un gouvernement & pour des moeurs toutes différentes; par des lois presque toutes formes de décisions particulières." (Jean-Pierre Pezous, Motion sur l'abrogation des testaments en ligne directe, p. 4).

103. Ramond, Opinion énoncée and Casaux, Aperçu de la constitution française.

104. Casaux, Aperçu de la constitution française, p. 10.

105. Marquis Fr. de Pange, "Observations sur la loi relative aux délits qui peuvent se commettre par la voie de la presse" Journal de la Société de 1789 13 (August 21, 1790): 4.

106. ARTFL: Senac de Meilhan, L'Emigre in Romanciers du 18E S., Ed. Etiemble, (Paris, Gallimard, 1965), 2:1897

107. ARTFL: P.-H. d'Holbach, Le Christianisme Devoile, (Londres, 1756), p. v.

108. ARTFL: J.-H. Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, Etudes de la Nature (Paris, Deterville, 1804), 3:252.

109. See Olsen and Harvey, "Contested Truths" pp. 657-8.

110. The word droits is used in 35 of the 45 texts in the database of the Société. The following table shows those texts which vary by more than ± 3 percent of expected frequencies. Condorcet's appeal for women's voting rights and Ramond's discussion of constitutional law are the most over-represented.

Casaux's discussion of the constitution has fewer references to droits than expected.

Use of droits in the Société de 1789.

Book	Frequency Count	-- Percentages --		
		Actual	Expect	Difference
Condorcet Femmes	17	10%	1%	9%
Casaux Constitution	2	1%	5%	-4%
Casaux Reflexions	0	0%	3%	-3%
Opinion par L***	0	0%	3%	-3%
Observations Paiemen	0	0%	5%	-5%
Ramond Loix	34	20%	8%	12%
Théorie Assignats	1	1%	5%	-4%

111. Théorie et pratique des assignats. Mémoire lu à la Société de mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf, les 5 et 6 septembre 1790 (Paris: Imp. Vezard et Le Normand. S.d.), p. 38.

112. Condorcet, "Sur l'admission des femmes au droit de cité" Journal de la Société de 1789 4 (26 June 1790): 2.

113. André Chenier, "Avis au peuple françois," p. 1.

114. Du Pont, "Considérations sur la position politique," p.1.

115. "PETITIONS PARTICULIERES DU TIERS-ETAT DU BAILLIAGE DE LANGRES" in Hyslop, A Guide, p. 305.

116. Fournier, Cahiers de doléances, p. 378.

117. DOLÉANCES OU CHEFS D'ACCUSATION DES DIX VILLES IMPÉRIALES DU GOUVERNEMENT ROYAL DE HAGUENAU, in Hyslop, A Guide, p. 272.

118. "CAHIER DES PLAINTES, DOLEANCES ET REMENTRANCES QUE L'ORDRE DU CLERGÉ DU BAILLIAGE ROYAL DU BASSIGNY SCEANT A BOURMENT" in Hyslop, A Guide, p. 228.

119. ARTFL: V. Mirabeau, L'Ami des Hommes (Avignon, 1756), p. 329

120. ARTFL: L.-S., Mercier, La Destruction de la Ligue (Amsterdam, 1782), p. vii.

121. ARTFL: Louvet de Couvray, Une Année Dans la Vie du Chev., In Romanciers du 18E S., Ed. Etiemble, (Paris, Gallimard, 1960), 2:588. He continues with almost a prediction of the Revolution:
Je vois dans une immense capitale, longtemps avilie,
deshonorée par toutes les espèces de servitudes, une foule
de soldats se montrer citoyens, et des milliers de citoyens

devenir soldats. Sous leurs coups redoublés la bastille s'écroule; le signal est donné d'une extrémité de l'empire à l'autre: le règne des tyrans est fini...

122. The following table shows the close collocations of droits and naturels by author and year the work was published.

<u>Author</u>	<u>Freq</u>	<u>Year Work Published</u>
Voltaire	4	1756 (2), 1769, 1773
Prevost	3	1751 (3)
Holbach	3	1770 (2), 1776
Riccoboni	2	1767
Mirabeau	1	1780
Mirabeau	1	1755
Rousseau	1	1776
La Harpe	1	1771
Raynal	1	1770
DuPont	1	1768
Volney	1	1787
Mercier	1	1774

Chapter Six Figures

Figure Six-One

Words occurring more frequently than expected in the discourse of the Société de 1789 compared with the sample of the ARTFL database from 1750 to 1799. Top 500, excluding numbers, proper names, function words, words that occur in Société de 1789 less than 5 times, 360 words. List is sorted in reverse order on Standard deviation (accents stripped).

Word	Frequencies		Std.	Word	Frequencies		Std.
	corpus 1789		dev.		corpus 1789		dev.
===== assignats	15	347	960.3	effectif	9	16	56.9
assignat	4	52	278.6	executif	94	52	56.6
emission	11	76	245.3	assemblee	1968	241	54.1
exigible	4	40	214.2	creanciers	181	69	53.7
nationaux	66	136	178.7	millions	996	165	53.1
numeraire	45	91	144.8	decret	384	100	52.8
nationale	400	232	122.5	remboursement	50	34	50.8
territorial	2	16	121.1	representans	200	68	50.2
legislatures	3	18	111.2	loi	4884	362	49.0
constitutionnel	11	34	109.6	municipalites	19	20	48.7
reflechissantes	1	10	107.1	liquider	5	10	47.7
remboursemens	5	22	105.2	domaines	248	69	45.5
arrieree	3	17	105.0	capitaux	37	26	45.2
constitutionnel	9	29	103.3	hypothèque	10	13	43.7
liquidation	13	32	94.8	initiative	3	7	43.1
comite	116	92	90.5	milliard	5	9	42.9
responsabilite	6	20	87.3	circulation	376	80	42.4
delegation	3	14	96.5	liberation	8	11	41.4
delegations	1	8	85.6	decreter	29	21	41.3
reglementaire	1	8	85.6	impot	289	68	41.3
decretes	6	18	78.5	creance	71	33	41.2
constitution	1217	239	70.2	paiemens	10	12	40.3
exigibles	4	13	69.5	capitalistes	15	14	38.3
plusiers	2	9	68.1	desarmement	4	7	37.3
leze	28	33	66.3	sanctionne	4	7	37.3
monnoie	335	116	66.2	departemens	29	19	37.3
milliards	32	35	65.8	representatif	38	21	35.9
dette	208	86	62.5	provisoire	20	15	35.5
quittances	16	23	61.2	nation	4217	249	35.0
constitutionnel	11	19	61.1	vente	228	49	33.3
legislatif	104	59	61.0	civils	102	32	33.0
creancier	59	44	60.7	agens	173	42	33.0
paiement	79	50	59.4	legislature	39	19	32.0
pouvoirs	187	77	59.1	inviolabilite	4	6	31.9

stipulations	4	6	31.9	fonctions	823	67	22.3
surveillance	28	16	31.9	ventes	86	20	22.2
prime	16	12	31.7	interets	2189	116	22.2
contrats	90	28	30.7	interet	5316	197	22.1
rembourses	8	8	30.0	contributions	71	18	22.1
nationales	146	35	29.9	veto	65	17	21.8
biens	2343	155	29.8	national	195	30	21.7
citoyens	2940	176	29.7	delegates	19	9	21.7
finance	230	44	29.6	defaveur	6	5	21.6
capital	111	30	29.5	liberer	24	10	21.4
acquittement	5	6	28.5	discredit	29	11	21.4
administratifs	5	6	28.5	seroit	7917	246	21.3
rembourser	44	18	28.4	pluralite	133	24	21.2
creances	20	12	28.3	proposee	88	19	20.8
jures	62	21	27.8	decrete	108	21	20.6
decrets	352	51	27.3	valeur	1602	91	20.6
billets	329	49	27.2	egalite	707	57	20.5
acquisition	134	30	26.7	pouvoir	6417	209	20.5
papier	865	80	26.4	enseignement	17	8	20.4
provisoirement	8	7	26.2	paiera	44	13	20.3
loix	5902	239	26.1	valeurs	75	17	20.2
payer	1273	98	26.1	seront	3101	132	20.2
impots	390	51	25.8	capitale	1181	75	20.1
banque	126	28	25.6	deficit	10	6	20.0
publique	1988	124	25.6	directoire	10	6	20.0
droits	3201	163	25.6	aggregation	7	5	20.0
quotite	11	8	25.5	legislateurs	378	39	19.6
directs	26	12	24.7	fonds	965	64	19.1
armemens	9	7	24.7	caisse	161	24	19.0
discussion	270	40	24.5	electeurs	66	15	19.0
delits	103	24	24.4	million	191	26	18.8
comites	23	11	24.1	supposerai	8	5	18.6
disponible	7	6	24.0	droit	5696	181	18.6
libere	7	6	24.0	echanger	78	16	18.6
totalite	82	21	24.0	confection	12	6	18.2
somme	1035	81	23.9	indirects	12	6	18.2
titres	725	66	23.7	elections	72	15	18.1
eligibles	5	5	23.7	seroient	1766	86	18.0
hypotheques	5	5	23.7	operation	486	41	17.8
titulaires	5	5	23.7	fonctionnaires	17	7	17.8
navale	20	10	23.5	fournisseurs	17	7	17.8
accumulation	10	7	23.4	municipaux	42	11	17.5
delegue	10	7	23.4	constituant	9	5	17.5
municipalite	52	16	23.1	finalement	9	5	17.5
ecus	620	59	23.0	insubordination	9	5	17.5
escompte	17	9	23.0	division	400	36	17.4
sanction	98	22	22.9	titre	1967	89	17.3
liberte	5778	212	22.8	sociale	177	23	17.2
inconveniens	384	45	22.7	considerations	312	31	17.1
suspensif	8	6	22.4	evaluation	14	6	16.8
transactions	8	6	22.4	payables	14	6	16.8
finances	463	49	22.4	rentrees	14	6	16.8

proprietaire	201	24	16.8	institutions	403	29	13.6
legale	31	9	16.8	opinion	2644	88	13.5
guerre	4644	147	16.7	public	3751	110	13.5
resultant	10	5	16.6	neccessairement	1306	57	13.5
france	5892	170	16.5	appel	189	19	13.5
successive	56	12	16.4	popularite	15	5	13.4
porteur	179	22	16.3	territoriale	15	5	13.4
exclusivement	156	20	16.0	influence	824	43	13.3
peuple	9313	221	15.5	total	175	18	13.3
depenses	510	37	15.4	denomination	96	13	13.3
classe	868	50	15.4	majorite	96	13	13.3
desastreux	29	8	15.4	convertir	142	16	13.2
messieurs	1332	64	15.3	representant	159	17	13.2
emprunt	86	14	15.3	legal	22	6	13.2
journalier	87	14	15.2	principes	3894	111	13.2
agioteurs	17	6	15.2	maritimes	112	14	13.1
echanges	155	19	15.2	contribution	85	12	13.0
doivent	3448	113	15.1	civique	16	5	13.0
subordination	113	16	15.1	dettes	432	29	13.0
acheteurs	38	9	15.0	impositions	100	13	13.0
annee	2156	84	15.0	surveiller	31	7	12.9
armement	56	11	15.0	bases	116	14	12.9
execution	840	48	15.0	constituee	32	7	12.7
district	104	15	14.8	provinces	1296	54	12.7
proprietaires	270	25	14.7	juges	1339	55	12.7
publics	659	41	14.7	insurrection	42	8	12.6
acquisitions	49	10	14.6	departement	121	14	12.6
neccesite	2002	78	14.5	actifs	106	13	12.5
industrie	1236	58	14.4	judicature	33	7	12.5
salaires	33	8	14.3	payes	157	16	12.5
arrerages	19	6	14.3	politique	2554	81	12.4
immeubles	19	6	14.3	offices	217	19	12.4
achat	51	10	14.3	arbitraire	356	25	12.4
debiteur	73	12	14.2	ameliorer	54	9	12.4
libre	2490	88	14.2	repartition	66	10	12.4
rachat	26	7	14.2	alienation	34	7	12.3
achats	52	10	14.1	imperieusement	55	9	12.3
tribunaux	450	32	14.1	militaires	338	24	12.2
quelconque	268	24	14.1	vendre	665	35	12.1
regime	332	27	14.1	admission	26	6	12.1
attribution	14	5	13.9	systeme	2441	77	12.1
comptables	14	5	13.9	commerce	4006	106	12.0
existera	35	8	13.9	solde	115	13	11.9
moyens	3354	104	13.8	assemblees	711	36	11.9
classes	665	39	13.8	examinerai	47	8	11.8
ministres	1352	59	13.7	propriete	694	35	11.7
taux	66	11	13.7	civilisation	73	10	11.7
preteurs	36	8	13.7	neccesaire	3720	99	11.7
pourroit	2801	92	13.7	volonte	2044	67	11.6
francois	2071	76	13.6	acheter	638	33	11.6
societe	4862	131	13.6	politiques	740	36	11.6
imposition	56	10	13.6	marine	511	29	11.6

arbitrairement	49	8	11.6	argent	4225	97	9.9
concurrence	202	17	11.4	tribunal	757	32	9.9
prerogative	124	13	11.4	patriotisme	182	14	9.8
social	323	22	11.4	preteur	38	6	9.8
voeu	524	29	11.4	depense	538	26	9.8
responsables	29	6	11.4	evidemment	408	22	9.7
masse	833	38	11.4	faudroit	1064	39	9.7
proprietes	560	30	11.3	porteront	67	8	9.7
generale	1829	61	11.3	calomnie	381	21	9.7
compatibles	21	5	11.2	convenance	187	14	9.7
immediates	21	5	11.2	pourra	1596	50	9.6
distinctions	307	21	11.2	deperissement	53	7	9.6
direct	129	13	11.2	demcitre	557	26	9.6
cette	58103	756	11.1	citoyen	1464	47	9.6
articles	612	31	11.1	revolution	1367	45	9.6
angleterre	2536	74	11.0	debiturs	40	6	9.5
convention	314	21	11.0	epoque	1238	42	9.5
navales	31	6	11.0	base	802	32	9.4
pourroient	726	34	11.0	inegalite	428	22	9.4
garantie	82	10	10.9	dispositions	893	34	9.4
resulteroit	42	7	10.9	actuel	369	20	9.3
etablissemens	269	19	10.8	discuter	174	13	9.3
seditieux	117	12	10.8	amelioration	42	6	9.3
importance	818	36	10.8	partie	6955	133	9.3
organisation	606	30	10.7	membres	1225	41	9.2
pretee	23	5	10.7	moyen	3409	80	9.2
actuels	87	10	10.6	suspension	57	7	9.2
armee	2279	67	10.5	exiger	590	26	9.2
prochaine	340	21	10.4	travail	2235	60	9.1
restreint	34	6	10.4	individus	753	30	9.1
acquereur	24	5	10.4	exclusion	113	10	9.0
delit	166	14	10.4	royaute	182	13	9.0
nombre	6358	133	10.4	oppositions	115	10	8.9
payee	90	10	10.4				
propose	1471	50	10.4				
code	263	18	10.3				
revenu	865	36	10.3				
libelle	75	9	10.3				
comptant	266	18	10.3				
exercer	719	32	10.2				
evident	507	26	10.2				
acquitter	242	17	10.2				
banqueroute	77	9	10.1				
recevront	36	6	10.1				
question	2615	71	10.1				
patriotique	79	9	10.0				
libres	825	34	10.0				
richesse	747	32	10.0				
danger	1541	50	9.9				
denrees	397	22	9.9				
individuelle	64	8	9.9				
echange	337	20	9.9				

Figure Six-Two

Words in the sample of the Société de 1789 texts not found in the texts in the ARTFL database from 1750-1799 with frequency in the Société de 1789 sample where frequency > 3 (Accents stripped).

millards: 11	municipalities: 5
cautionnemens: 11	emettre: 5
exigibilite: 9	decretees: 5
remboursable: 8	comparaison: 5
reglementaires: 7	eventuels: 4
liquidee: 7	domainaux: 4
franklyn: 7	deleguera: 4
acquisition: 6	constitutionnelle: 4
territoriaux: 5	conscription: 4
suppleans: 5	

Figure Six-Three

Words that occur significantly less frequently in the sample from the Société de 1789 than expected when compared to the ARTFL database holdings from 1750-1799 (accents stripped).

Word	<u>Frequencies</u>		Std.	Word	<u>Frequencies</u>		Std.
	corpus 1789		dev.		corpus 1789		dev.
je	204023	624	-27.3	lettre	8786	15	-7.0
vous	160459	592	-21.5	homme	29318	147	-6.7
me	78173	124	-21.3	mort	8111	14	-6.7
m	78053	147	-20.4	jours	9315	21	-6.6
mon	56504	49	-19.9	fit	8384	16	-6.6
ma	39206	26	-17.0	o	5718	3	-6.6
lui	77236	249	-16.3	avait	19898	87	-6.5
j	70581	214	-16.1	yeux	12827	43	-6.4
moi	36672	35	-15.8	maitre	5727	4	-6.4
et	449210	3036	-13.9	jour	12854	44	-6.4
ai	43511	118	-13.3	ciel	6416	8	-6.3
son	77683	338	-12.9	etoit	24979	123	-6.3
mes	26528	34	-12.9	tete	7777	17	-6.1
etait	18648	5	-12.3	avec	61156	392	-6.0
suis	18626	18	-11.3	vers	9067	25	-6.0
sa	60331	271	-11.0	veux	5820	8	-5.9
avait	15222	5	-11.0				
dit	29199	80	-10.9				
coeur	17599	23	-10.5				
pere	14009	12	-9.9				
votre	29803	102	-9.7				
amour	13280	20	-8.8				
ame	12425	16	-8.8				
fut	20833	62	-8.8				
femme	10475	7	-8.8				
vie	14257	29	-8.5				
il	275630	1984	-8.4				
temps	14124	32	-8.1				
fil	8228	3	-8.1				
mere	8560	5	-8.0				
ah	8632	6	-7.9				
monde	12697	28	-7.8				
elle	101566	651	-7.8				
ami	7983	8	-7.3				
fait	41737	223	-7.3				
fort	9860	18	-7.3				
chere	6767	3	-7.2				
plaisir	6926	4	-7.2				
jeune	6549	3	-7.1				
aime	7721	9	-7.0				
air	6669	4	-7.0				

Figure Six-Four

Words occurring more frequently than expected in the discourse of the Société de 1789 compared with the sample of the ARTFL database from 1789 to 1780. Top 500, excluding numbers, proper names, function words, words that occur in Société de 1789 less than 5 times, 397 words. List is sorted in reverse order on Standard deviation (accents stripped).

Word	<u>Frequencies</u>		Std.	Word	<u>Frequencies</u>		Std.
	corpus 1789		dev.		corpus 1789		dev.
assignats	15	347	350.7	capitaux	7	26	37.9
assignat	1	52	203.8	seroit	514	246	36.8
emission	3	76	171.8	capital	10	30	36.4
monnoie	10	16	143.1	comite	87	92	36.3
nationaux	18	136	124.7	banque	9	28	35.8
creancier	2	44	121.7	milliard	1	9	35.0
quittances	1	23	90.0	decret	120	100	33.0
numeraire	18	91	83.1	debiteur	2	12	32.9
liquidation	3	32	72.0	billets	32	49	32.5
dette	23	86	69.1	ecus	46	59	32.4
arrieree	1	17	66.4	impots	35	51	32.3
creanciers	18	69	62.7	biens	287	155	31.5
territorial	1	16	62.5	million	10	26	31.4
millions	108	165	59.6	responsabilite	6	20	31.4
circulation	28	80	57.9	rembourses	1	8	31.1
finance	9	44	56.8	salaires	1	8	31.1
milliards	6	35	55.4	payer	129	98	30.9
domaines	23	69	55.2	legislatif	50	59	30.9
delegation	1	14	54.7	effectif	4	16	30.8
impot	24	68	53.2	pouvoirs	83	77	30.8
creance	6	33	52.2	decreter	7	21	30.4
leze	6	33	52.2	taux	2	11	30.1
paiement	14	50	51.5	seroient	109	86	29.6
nationale	276	232	50.5	paiera	3	13	29.0
rembourser	2	18	49.6	citoyens	416	176	28.6
contrats	5	28	48.5	capitale	90	75	28.6
loix	313	239	48.5	tems	347	156	28.1
creances	1	12	46.8	nation	788	249	27.6
loi	714	362	46.3	papier	109	80	27.4
acquisition	7	30	43.8	navale	2	10	27.3
constitution	373	239	43.6	desarmement	1	7	27.2
liberation	1	11	42.9	titres	79	66	26.8
vente	21	49	40.8	directs	3	12	26.7
representatif	4	21	40.7	jures	9	21	26.7
legislatures	3	18	40.3	offices	8	19	25.6
constitutionnel	8	29	39.5	civils	22	32	25.5
constitutionnel	11	34	39.3	delits	13	24	25.2
assemblee	457	241	38.8	droit	528	181	25.0

subordination	6	16	25.0	auroit	301	104	19.1
libelle	2	9	24.6	judicature	2	7	19.0
representans	100	68	24.1	perdroit	2	7	19.0
capitalistes	5	14	24.0	sanctionne	2	7	19.0
interets	265	116	23.8	provisoire	9	15	18.8
fonds	94	64	23.4	finances	83	49	18.7
elections	6	15	23.4	discredit	5	11	18.7
arrerages	1	6	23.2	pluralite	23	24	18.4
confection	1	6	23.2	concurrence	12	17	18.3
debiteurs	1	6	23.2	liberte	996	212	18.3
evaluation	1	6	23.2	commerce	330	106	18.2
preteur	1	6	23.2	denrees	20	22	18.1
rentrees	1	6	23.2	seront	484	132	17.9
stipulations	1	6	23.2	juges	110	55	17.9
inconveniens	50	45	23.1	emprunts	3	8	17.6
contributions	9	18	22.7	proprietaires	27	25	17.5
departemens	10	19	22.7	tribunaux	43	32	17.4
valeur	189	91	22.4	decrets	102	51	17.2
titre	184	89	22.2	anglois	22	22	17.2
achats	3	10	22.2	acquisitions	5	10	16.9
liberer	3	10	22.2	elire	5	10	16.9
porteur	14	22	22.1	industrie	131	58	16.9
publique	339	124	21.7	totalite	21	21	16.8
constitutionnel	11	19	21.6	proprietaire	27	24	16.8
longtems	7	15	21.5	articles	44	31	16.6
droits	557	163	21.0	operation	74	41	16.5
taxe	4	11	21.0	proposee	18	19	16.4
messieurs	113	64	20.9	jugemens	20	20	16.4
executif	78	52	20.8	municipalites	20	20	16.4
pourroit	219	92	20.6	commercans	2	6	16.2
somme	176	81	20.5	equivalent	2	6	16.2
prime	5	12	20.4	monnoies	2	6	16.2
depenses	43	37	20.4	paient	2	6	16.2
provinces	87	54	20.3	payables	2	6	16.2
interet	798	197	20.1	recevront	2	6	16.2
convertir	9	16	20.1	regir	2	6	16.2
echanger	9	16	20.1	transactions	2	6	16.2
discussion	51	40	20.1	pourroient	57	34	15.7
nationales	40	35	20.1	public	425	110	15.6
faudroit	49	39	20.0	neccessairement	144	57	15.5
cens	3	9	19.9	decrete	24	21	15.5
pair	3	9	19.9	peuvent	708	151	15.4
agens	57	42	19.9	armemens.	3	7	15.4
sanction	17	22	19.8	provisoirement	3	7	15.4
appel	13	19	19.7	achat	6	10	15.4
manufactures	12	18	19.5	vendre	63	35	15.2
fonctions	137	67	19.4	acheteurs	5	9	15.2
francois	171	76	19.4	marchandise	5	9	15.2
payoit	1	5	19.3	marchandises	25	21	15.2
quittance	1	5	19.3	guerre	694	147	15.1
supposerai	1	5	19.3	payement	4	8	15.1
territoriale	1	5	19.3	prejudice	4	8	15.1

doivent	461	113	15.1	demonstre	51	26	12.4
emprunt	12	14	14.9	france	1044	170	12.4
legislateurs	79	39	14.9	valeurs	24	17	12.3
seditieux	9	12	14.9	exclusion	9	10	12.3
execution	115	48	14.8	augmentation	17	14	12.2
electeurs	14	15	14.7	maritimes	17	14	12.2
necessite	265	78	14.6	exclusivement	33	20	12.2
argent	378	97	14.6	enseignement	6	8	12.1
pouvoir	1217	209	14.6	depense	53	26	12.1
impositions	11	13	14.5	representant	25	17	12.0
doit	1416	231	14.5	annee	377	84	12.0
convenance	13	14	14.3	citoyen	150	47	11.9
distinctions	28	21	14.2	armee	267	67	11.9
royaume	136	51	14.1	reellement	87	34	11.9
payes	17	16	14.1	evident	55	26	11.8
imposition	7	10	14.1	legale	8	9	11.7
revenu	75	36	14.1	delegue	5	7	11.7
national	55	30	13.9	initiative	5	7	11.7
prerogative	12	13	13.8	resulteroit	5	7	11.7
assistance	6	9	13.7	arbitraire	53	25	11.6
libre	348	88	13.7	payee	10	10	11.6
division	79	36	13.6	comites	12	11	11.5
acheter	68	33	13.6	surveillance	24	16	11.5
considerations	61	31	13.5	propose	173	50	11.5
attribution	2	5	13.5	question	304	71	11.5
compatibles	2	5	13.5	echanges	33	19	11.5
comptables	2	5	13.5	total	30	18	11.5
eligibles	2	5	13.5	delit	19	14	11.4
mechanisme	2	5	13.5	organisation	75	30	11.3
arbitrairement	5	8	13.4	caisse	51	24	11.3
examinerai	5	8	13.4	deficit	4	6	11.2
quotite	5	8	13.4	inviolabilite	4	6	11.2
dettes	55	29	13.4	navales	4	6	11.2
successive	11	12	13.3	restreint	4	6	11.2
devroit	34	22	13.3	revocation	4	6	11.2
accumulation	4	7	13.2	assemblees	104	36	11.2
repartition	8	10	13.1	avantage	228	58	11.2
accusateur	3	6	13.1	voudroient	15	12	11.1
achetent	3	6	13.1	prix	450	89	11.0
disponible	3	6	13.1	armement	13	11	11.0
indirects	3	6	13.1	comptant	32	18	11.0
auroient	88	37	13.0	marine	74	29	11.0
egalite	186	57	12.9	perception	9	9	11.0
feroit	39	23	12.8	richesse	83	32	11.0
trouveroit	10	11	12.8	commodite	3	5	10.8
publics	108	41	12.8	defaveur	3	5	10.8
classe	152	50	12.7	indubitable	3	5	10.8
agriculture	46	25	12.7	pretee	3	5	10.8
rentes	12	12	12.7	classes	127	39	10.7
net	14	13	12.6	cas	354	74	10.6
escompte	7	9	12.6	actifs	19	13	10.5
credit	85	35	12.5	solde	19	13	10.5

deperissement	6	7	10.5	creation	42	16	9.2
dispositions	103	34	10.5	conversion	15	10	9.1
necessaire	553	99	10.5	benefice	10	8	9.1
etablissemens	38	19	10.5	objections	21	12	9.1
exiger	66	26	10.4	avantages	209	47	9.0
exercer	95	32	10.4	regime	86	27	9.0
dirois	8	8	10.3	faudra	103	30	9.0
imperieusement	10	9	10.3	juste	369	68	9.0
peuple	1720	221	10.3	liquides	6	6	8.9
legislature	39	19	10.3	rentres	6	6	8.9
declaration	59	24	10.3	responsables	6	6	8.9
effet	835	130	10.2	statuer	6	6	8.9
perte	176	46	10.2	roi	1049	142	8.9
opinion	479	88	10.2	consequent	146	37	8.9
principes	673	111	10.1	discuter	25	13	8.9
importance	119	36	10.1	angleterre	421	74	8.9
article	83	29	10.1	tribunal	116	32	8.9
clerge	98	32	10.1	prochaine	58	21	8.8
militaires	61	24	10.0	voudra	49	19	8.8
voudroit	30	16	10.0	livres	432	75	8.8
echange	45	20	9.9	aura	492	82	8.8
decisions	13	10	9.9	ecu	22	12	8.8
denomination	21	13	9.9	consommation	29	14	8.8
accusateurs	5	6	9.9	code	45	18	8.8
administratifs	5	6	9.9	administration	124	33	8.7
agioteurs	5	6	9.9	municipaux	19	11	8.7
journaliers	5	6	9.9	moyens	695	104	8.7
propriete	117	35	9.9	distinction	74	24	8.7
evidemment	54	22	9.8	declarer	69	23	8.7
injustice	108	33	9.8	proposer	69	23	8.7
police	59	23	9.7	distribution	26	13	8.7
sociale	59	23	9.7	particulieres	108	30	8.6
travail	281	60	9.7	superiorite	56	20	8.5
fournisseurs	7	7	9.7	acquitter	43	17	8.5
maritime	9	8	9.7	veto	43	17	8.5
porteront	9	8	9.7	charges	105	29	8.4
contribution	19	12	9.6	particuliere	117	31	8.4
ministres	277	59	9.6	office	14	9	8.4
libres	116	34	9.6	calomnie	62	21	8.4
politique	453	81	9.5	absurdite	31	14	8.4
nombre	918	133	9.5	civil	31	14	8.4
contre	1709	211	9.5	district	35	15	8.4
journalier	26	14	9.4	abus	157	37	8.3
generale	298	61	9.4	nettement	9	7	8.3
proprietes	97	30	9.4	pretention	24	12	8.3
paie	20	12	9.3	force	1303	161	8.3
ameliorer	12	9	9.3	direct	28	13	8.2
delegates	12	9	9.3	soient	382	66	8.2
conferer	4	5	9.3				
couteux	4	5	9.3				
interpretations	4	5	9.3				
regie	4	5	9.3				

Figure Six-Five

Words in the sample of the Société de 1789 texts not found in the texts in the ARTFL database from 1750-1799 with frequency in the Société de 1789 sample where frequency > 4 (accents stripped).

exigible: 40	franklyn: 7
remboursement: 34	difficile: 7
remboursements: 22	alienation: 7
ventes: 20	libere: 6
decretes: 18	immeubles: 6
hypothèque: 13	acquittement: 6
exigibles: 13	acquisition: 6
paiemens: 12	titulaires: 5
millards: 11	territoriaux: 5
cautionnements: 11	suppleans: 5
reflechissantes: 10	perdront: 5
liquider: 10	municipalities: 5
exigibilite: 9	hypothèques: 5
remboursable: 8	finaleme: 5
reglementaire: 8	excluerait: 5
preteurs: 8	emettre: 5
delegations: 8	decretees: 5
reglementaires: 7	comparaison: 5
rachat: 7	aggregation: 5
liquidee: 7	acquireur: 5

Figure Six-Six

Words that occur significantly less frequently in the sample from the Société de 1789 than expected when compared to the ARTFL database holdings from 1789-1800 (accents stripped).

Word	<u>Frequencies</u>		Std.	Word	<u>Frequencies</u>		Std.
	corpus 1789		dev.		corpus 1789		dev.
=====	=====		=====	=====	=====		=====
je	26109	624	-26.0	o	871	3	-7.1
me	10698	124	-21.6	serait	975	8	-6.9
m	11218	147	-21.5	mort	1114	14	-6.8
mon	7632	49	-20.0	fiis	814	3	-6.8
vous	19092	592	-18.3	cote	1179	17	-6.8
et	63423	3036	-16.8	nord	858	5	-6.7
j	9749	214	-16.6	ciel	910	8	-6.6
ma	4978	26	-16.5	air	788	4	-6.5
moi	5005	35	-16.0	aime	924	9	-6.5
etait	3755	5	-15.2	nuit	777	5	-6.3
lui	9018	249	-13.8	plaisir	727	4	-6.2
avait	3018	5	-13.6	saint	780	6	-6.2
mes	3575	34	-12.9	nous	13523	693	-6.2
ai	5293	118	-12.1	mouvement	1178	22	-6.2
son	9686	338	-11.5	avec	8220	392	-6.1
temps	2890	32	-11.3	fit	1009	16	-6.1
sa	7758	271	-10.3	yeux	1621	43	-6.0
vie	2316	29	-9.8	route	676	4	-6.0
dit	3544	80	-9.8	bonheur	1234	27	-6.0
suis	1994	18	-9.7				
coeur	2121	23	-9.7				
mere	1360	5	-8.8				
pere	1469	12	-8.5				
etaient	1238	6	-8.2				
votre	3475	102	-8.2				
fut	2575	62	-8.1				
jours	1555	21	-7.9				
homme	4299	147	-7.9				
amour	1515	20	-7.8				
jour	2090	44	-7.8				
femme	1155	7	-7.8				
vers	1619	25	-7.8				
jeune	1024	3	-7.7				
ah	1107	6	-7.7				
ame	1377	16	-7.7				
ami	1160	8	-7.7				
monde	1678	28	-7.7				
lettre	1316	15	-7.6				
avaient	964	3	-7.5				
degres	1043	6	-7.4				
terre	2456	65	-7.4				

Figure Six-Seven
Absolute and relative frequencies of nous, nos, and notre in works of the Société de 1789, Siéyès Tiers Etat, the 1790 pamphlets of Marat and the speeches of Robespierre from the ARTFL database.

	nous		nos		notre	
	freq	/1000	freq	/1000	freq	/1000
<u>Société de 1789</u>	701	4.3	248	1.5	159	1.0
<u>Siéyès, Tiers Etat</u>	122	4.9	14	0.6	6	0.2
Marat, 1790	242	3.2	97	1.3	37	0.5
Robespierre	462	6.1	160	2.1	98	1.3

Marat J.-P., 1790. Les Pamphlets--1790, Ed. C. Vellay. (Paris, E. Fasquelle, 1911); Robespierre M. de, 1793. Discours, Ed. M. Bouloiseau, G. Lefebvre, A. Soboul, T.6, 7, 8, 9. (Paris, P.U.F., 1950-1958); Siéyès E., 1789. Le Tie's-Etat, Ed. E. Champion. (Paris, Soc. de L'Hist. de la Revolution Francaise, 1888).

Figure Six-Eight
Frequency of nos, notre, notres, and nous (total = 1115) in texts where the variation from expected frequency is great than plus or minus 2 percent.

Book	Frequency -- Percentages --			
	Count	Actual	Expect	Difference
J SC Admin-Fin	5	0%	2%	-2%
J SC Angleterre	212	19%	3%	16%
J SC Capitale	4	0%	2%	-2%
J SC Décret 18 juin	12	1%	3%	-2%
J SC Capitale	15	1%	3%	-2%
J SC Amis de liberté	3	0%	2%	-2%
J SC Garde natl	47	4%	2%	2%
J SC Avis peuple	86	8%	4%	4%
J SC Avis	120	11%	3%	8%
J SC Casaux assignat	2	0%	3%	-3%
Assignats 3 Sept	61	5%	2%	3%
Casaux Constitution	9	1%	5%	-4%
Casaux Reflexions	7	1%	3%	-2%
Observations Paiemen	89	8%	5%	3%
Ramond Loix	38	3%	8%	-5%
Théorie Assignats	26	2%	5%	-3%

Figure Six-Nine
Verb forms in the top sixty terms following
nous in position one or two. Rate is per 100
occurrences of nous (accents stripped).

<u>Société de 1789</u> nous = 701			<u>Robespierre</u> nous = 462		
term	freq	rate	term	freq	rate
avons	54	7.7	avons	31	6.7
sommes	26	2.7	sommes	27	5.8
devons	26	2.7	pouvons	11	2.4
pouvons	17	2.4	devons	7	1.5
trouvons	8	1.1	etions	5	1.1
aurons	8	1.1	voulons	3	0.7
pourrons	7	1.0	soyons	3	0.7
pourrions	6	0.9			
allons	6	0.9			
ayons	5	0.7			
voyons	4	0.6			
serons	4	0.6			
savons	4	0.6			
osons	4	0.6			
ferons	4	0.6			

Figure Six-Ten
Absolute and relative frequencies of nation, all forms
of nation (nation*), and patrie in works of the Société
de 1789, Siéyès Tiers Etat, the 1790 pamphlets of Marat
and the speeches of Robespierre (ARTFL database).

	<u>nation</u>		<u>nation*</u>		<u>patrie</u>	
	freq	/1000	freq	/1000	freq	/1000
<u>Société de 1789</u>	256	1.6	760	4.6	29	0.2
Siéyès, <u>Tiers Etat</u>	131	5.3	180	7.2	2	0.08
Marat, 1790	165	2.2	301	4.0	94	1.3
Robespierre	154	2.0	272	3.6	66	0.9

Marat J.-P., 1790. Les Pamphlets--1790, Ed. C. Vellay. (Paris, E. Fasquelle, 1911); Robespierre M. de, 1793. Discours, Ed. M. Bouloiseau, G. Lefebvre, A. Soboul, T.6, 7, 8, 9. (Paris, P.U.F., 1950-1958); Siéyès E., 1789. Le Tiers-Etat, Ed. E. Champion. (Paris, Soc. de L'Hist. de la Revolution Francaise, 1888).

Figure Six-Eleven
Frequencies and rate per thousand words of the single form nation and all forms of nation (such as nations and nationale) with number of forms in the ARTFL database broken down by half century periods.

Date	Word/Root	Freq.	/1000	Freq.	/1000	Forms
1600-1649:	nation	213	0.0332	428	0.0667	8
1650-1699:	nation	340	0.0451	818	0.1085	5
1700-1749:	nation	1616	0.1709	2774	0.2934	10
1750-1799:	nation	4217	0.2306	8216	0.4492	13
1800-1849:	nation	2451	0.1304	5712	0.3040	15
1850-1899:	nation	884	0.0426	2779	0.1340	15
1900-1949:	nation	1091	0.0378	3824	0.1327	29
1950-1970:	nation	606	0.1855	2799	0.8569	21
TOTAL:		11418	0.1008	27350	0.2414	

Figure Six-Twelve
Absolute and relative frequencies of nation, all forms of nation (nation*) in the ARTFL database. Also shown is the size of each sample in number of words and number of unique words (types).

Date	nation		nation*		Forms	Sample Size	
	freq	/1000	freq	/1000		Tokens	Types
1750-75	2552	.25	4552	.45	12	10154061	92858
1776-88	889	.15	2072	.36	7	5779357	78371
1789-99	788	.32	1594	.65	7	2452542	54048

Figure Six-Thirteen

Authors with the most uses (raw frequency) of the word nation in published works 1750-1799 in the ARTFL database (accents stripped).

496	Voltaire	98	Comte de Volney
346	C.-A. Helvétius	84	Anonymous
251	Montesquieu	68	A.-L. Thomas
224	Abbe Raynal	56	R.-L. d' Argenson
207	Abbe J.-J. Barthelemy	48	Rivarol
206	L.-S. Mercier	43	Abbe F. Galiani
194	J.-P. Marat	42	Abbe de Condillac
160	Abbe de Mably	40	F. de Chateaubriand
159	V. Marquis Mirabeau	38	P.-A. Guys
154	M. de Robespierre	37	H.-J. Dulaurens
131	E. Sieyes	35	Mme de Genlis
122	D. Diderot	33	A. Condorcet
119	J.-H. Bernardin de Saint-Pierre	32	Delisle de Sales
117	J.-J. Rousseau	29	L'Abbe Prevost
103	P.-H. d' Holbach	28	Senac de Meilhan

Figure Six-Fourteen

Collocates of the item nation (255) in Société de 1789
 Documents where span = 6, Zscore ≥ 3.0 and
 collocation frequency ≥ 3 (accents stripped).

Item	Collocate	Total Freq.	Collocate Freq.	Z-score
1	leze	33	24	42.5
2	representans	68	21	25.5
3	nom	79	14	15.4
4	entiere	46	13	19.1
5	crimes	43	12	18.2
6	partie	138	11	8.5
7	doit	237	11	5.8
8	loix	239	10	5.1
9	fait	230	10	5.3
10	loi	363	10	3.5
11	droit	186	10	6.2
12	interets	119	10	8.4
13	libre	88	9	9.0
14	toute	197	8	4.5
15	assemblee	246	8	3.7
16	crime	47	7	9.8
17	toujours	162	7	4.4
18	peuple	222	7	3.4
19	doute	118	6	4.6
20	veut	97	6	5.3
21	roi	142	6	4.0
22	seule	93	5	4.4
23	aujourd	98	5	4.2
24	representant	17	4	9.6
25	nombreuse	16	4	9.9
26	pouvoirs	78	4	3.8
27	mot	40	4	5.9
28	tandis	20	3	6.4
29	rebelles	4	3	15.2
30	eclairee	10	3	9.4
31	francaise	11	3	9.0
32	gens	57	3	3.3
33	milieu	21	3	6.3
34	exercent	8	3	10.6
35	francoise	13	3	8.2
36	depenses	37	3	4.5
37	national	30	3	5.1
38	culte	23	3	5.9
39	voeu	30	3	5.1
40	exercice	37	3	4.5

CETTE REVOLUTION N'EST POINT L'OUVRAGE DE QUELQUES VOLONTES
ISOLEES; QUE LA NATION ENTIERE EN A EU BESION, L'A VOULUE, L'A
OPERE: ET QUE PAR CONSEQUENT LES (J SC Avis peuple 1:6)

DEPLOYER UNE RIGEUR NECESSAIRE; ENFIN, N'AYANT PU CORROMPRE LA
VOLONTÉ NATIONALE, DIVISER AU MOINS LA FORCE PUBLIQUE ET METTRE
 AUX MAINS TOUS LES FRANCOIS, (J SC Nancy 1:2)

Nationale peut seule prononcer: mais je crois très-possible si
 l'Assemblée Nationale en témoigne la volonté de réduire à un
 capital de 1200 millions, (Lavoisier Reflexions 1:15)

ne soit pas l'expression de la volonté générale; car si, en
 déclarant à la nation qu'elle lui livre un papier égal à de
 l'argent, cette même nation dément la loi,
 (Assigants Anon 1:7)

du choix, il résulte d'abord que le roi est le représentant de la
volonté nationale, comme le corps législatif est celui de
 l'intelligence nationale. (Ramond Loix 3:20)

Et de ce qu'il est le représentant de la volonté nationale
 (Ramond Loix 3:20)

un caractère aussi imposant, car le roi représente éminemment la
volonté nationale; nulle autre ne paraîtrait plus volontaire, car
 c'est lui qui a voulu que la (Ramond Loix 3:29)

de tous, des volontés isolées à la volonté publique, des
 individus à la nation. Les tendances particulières sont désormais
 soumises à la tendance générale; les (Ramond Loix 3:37)

Figure Six-Sixteen

Collocates of the item nation (157) in Cahiers de doléances where span = 11, Zscore ≥ 3.0 and collocation frequency ≥ 5 (accents stripped).

Item	Collocate	Total Freq.	Collocate Freq.	Z-score
1	assemblee	210	30	16.0
2	etats	545	29	7.9
3	generaux	384	20	6.4
4	souverain	45	13	15.8
5	deputes	256	11	4.0
6	ministres	48	10	11.5
7	toute	130	10	6.2
8	droit	249	9	3.0
9	finances	64	8	7.6
10	loix	60	8	7.9
11	impots	102	8	5.6
12	roi	116	7	4.3
13	administration	126	7	4.0
14	partie	94	7	5.0
15	representants	24	7	11.6
16	nous	156	7	3.3
17	general	98	7	4.9
18	representans	15	6	12.8
19	ministre	17	6	12.0
20	loi	79	6	4.7
21	justice	132	6	3.1
22	voeux	40	6	7.4
23	encore	120	6	3.4
24	subsides	38	6	7.6
25	force	39	6	7.5
26	doit	83	6	4.5
27	voeu	69	6	5.2
28	gouvernement	55	5	4.9
29	accorder	43	5	5.7
30	seule	38	5	6.2
31	assemblees	35	5	6.5
32	public	71	5	4.1
33	abolition	38	5	6.2
34	auront	78	5	3.8
35	maniere	71	5	4.1
36	liberte	99	5	3.1
37	charge	92	5	3.3
38	pouvoir	59	5	4.6
39	objet	52	5	5.1
40	pourront	77	5	3.8
41	pourra	44	5	5.6
42	confiance	30	5	7.1
43	interet	56	5	4.8

Figure Six-Seventeen

Collocates of the item nation (346) in the works of Helvétius in the ARTFL database where standard deviation ≥ 3.0 and collocation frequency ≥ 5 .

Item	Collocate	Total Freq.	Collocate Freq.	Std. Dev.
1	chaque	180	27	11.0
2	toute	360	20	3.9
3	particulier	137	18	8.2
4	peuple	315	18	3.8
5	pouvoir	306	18	4.0
6	état	283	16	3.6
7	luxe	166	16	6.1
8	argent	124	15	7.0
9	partie	120	14	6.6
10	chez	183	13	4.1
11	prince	215	13	3.5
12	mœurs	181	12	3.7
13	despotisme	123	9	3.5
14	fort	100	8	3.6
15	porte	72	7	4.0
16	puissante	13	7	12.1
17	riche	86	7	3.4
18	siècle	99	7	3.0
19	bientôt	74	6	3.2
20	commerce	67	6	3.5
21	composent	29	6	6.4
22	françois	78	6	3.0
23	libre	64	6	3.6
24	nombreuse	11	6	11.2
25	aisance	25	5	5.7
26	avilie	6	5	12.9
27	devenue	16	5	7.5
28	industrie	36	5	4.5
29	particuliere	44	5	3.8

Figure Six-Eighteen

Collocates of the item nation (534) in the works of Voltaire in the ARTFL database where standard deviation ≥ 3.0 and collocation frequency ≥ 6 .

Item	Collocate	Total Freq.	Coll. Freq.	Std. Dev.
1	toute	1338	40	9.1
2	étaient	2116	33	4.0
3	chez	1245	29	6.2
4	toujours	1732	25	3.1
5	parlement	1108	24	5.2
6	nation	534	23	9.2
7	peuple	1300	23	4.0
8	aucune	399	21	10.1
9	état	1107	20	3.8
10	esprit	934	20	4.7
11	angleterre	893	19	4.5
12	anciens	323	16	8.5
13	reste	640	16	4.9
14	grande	758	14	3.3
15	juive	72	13	16.6
16	partie	576	13	4.0
17	aurait	609	12	3.3
18	parlemens	75	12	14.9
19	anglaise	77	11	13.4
20	chaque	425	11	4.2
21	mœurs	292	11	5.7
22	assemblées	93	10	10.9
23	droits	295	10	5.0
24	entiere	85	10	11.4
25	français	526	10	3.0
26	malgré	464	10	3.3
27	commerce	349	9	3.8
28	couronne	321	9	4.1
29	esclave	193	8	5.3
30	exemple	365	8	3.0
31	généraux	245	8	4.4
32	pairs	218	8	4.8
33	tiers	71	8	10.0
34	française	113	7	6.5
35	juges	232	7	3.8
36	moitié	225	7	3.9
37	origine	101	7	7.0
38	service	165	7	5.0
39	chefs	136	6	4.8
40	commerçante	19	6	15.2
41	dépens	73	6	7.2
42	entière	77	6	6.9
43	guerrière	15	6	17.2
44	intérêts	148	6	4.5
45	représentaient	7	6	25.5

Figure Six-Twenty
 Collocates of the item loi (363) in Société de 1789
 where span = 12, Zscore ≥ 3.0 and collocation
 frequency ≥ 9 (accents stripped).

Item	Collocate	Total Freq.	Collocate Freq.	Z-score
1	vous	607	31	3.6
2	volonte	68	25	17.2
3	toute	197	25	8.6
4	faire	336	24	5.0
5	point	291	23	5.4
6	titre	90	23	13.2
7	donner	133	22	9.7
8	liberte	212	22	6.8
9	fait	230	20	5.5
10	nation	255	20	5.0
11	roi	142	20	8.3
12	constitutionnelle	29	20	21.8
13	peuple	222	19	5.3
14	doit	237	18	4.6
15	citoyens	176	18	6.1
16	contre	215	17	4.7
17	presse	34	16	15.8
18	droits	167	16	5.4
19	execution	48	16	13.0
20	pouvoir	212	15	3.9
21	peuvent	153	14	4.9
22	nom	79	14	8.1
23	decret	103	13	6.1
24	jamaïs	113	13	5.7
25	proposee	21	12	15.2
26	generale	63	12	7.9
27	toujours	162	12	3.6
28	moyens	108	12	5.3
29	force	171	11	3.0
30	delits	24	10	11.6
31	corps	124	10	3.6
32	seule	93	10	4.7
33	naturelle	37	9	8.0
34	indifferent	10	9	16.8
35	coupable	24	9	10.4
36	ordre	101	9	3.8
37	respect	29	9	9.3
38	jures	21	9	11.2
39	laquelle	50	9	6.6
40	commettre	16	9	13.1
41	determine	23	9	10.7
42	premier	106	9	3.6
43	pourroit	97	9	3.9
44	seulement	90	9	4.2
45	commune	32	9	8.8
46	publique	125	9	3.0
47	donne	69	9	5.2

Figure Six-Twenty-One

Collocates of the items loix and lois (259) in Société de 1789 where span = 12, Zscore ≥ 3.0 and collocation frequency ≥ 7 (accents stripped).

Item	Collocate	Total Freq.	Collocate Freq.	Z-score
1	constitutionnelles	35	33	41.1
2	ordre	101	22	15.1
3	force	171	19	9.1
4	peuple	222	17	6.5
5	toutes	310	16	4.4
6	fait	230	14	4.9
7	france	173	13	5.6
8	point	291	13	3.4
9	doivent	114	13	7.7
10	nation	255	13	3.9
11	nos	248	13	4.1
12	constitution	243	11	3.2
13	capitale	75	11	8.3
14	bonnes	13	11	22.4
15	citoyens	176	11	4.4
16	premiere	76	11	8.3
17	nombre	134	10	4.9
18	raison	118	10	5.4
19	caracteres	13	9	18.2
20	execution	48	9	8.8
21	peuvent	153	9	3.8
22	necessaire	99	9	5.4
23	civiles	13	9	18.2
24	droit	186	9	3.1
25	societe	135	9	4.2
26	objet	96	9	5.5
27	naturelles	8	8	20.8
28	auxquelles	12	8	16.8
29	dignes	15	8	15.0
30	respect	29	8	10.4
31	autorite	46	8	7.9
32	provinces	54	8	7.2
33	dire	133	8	3.6
34	quels	39	8	8.7
35	quelles	19	8	13.2
36	titre	90	8	5.0
37	simplement	7	7	19.5
38	egalite	57	7	5.9
39	libre	88	7	4.3
40	delits	24	7	10.0

Figure Six-Twenty-Two
 Collocates of the item droits (167) in Société de 1789
 where span = 12, Zscore ≥ 3.0 and collocation
 frequency ≥ 5 (accents stripped).

Item	Collocate	Total Freq.	Collocate Freq.	Z-score
1	hommes	237	21.	11.2
2	naturels	18	19.	41.7
3	loi	363	17.	6.3
4	homme	151	13.	8.6
5	nation	255	13.	5.9
6	egalite	57	12.	14.1
7	liberte	212	12.	6.2
8	societe	135	11.	7.6
9	constitution	243	11.	5.0
10	declaration	24	11.	20.6
11	premier	106	10.	8.0
12	assemblee	246	10.	4.3
13	citoyens	176	10.	5.7
14	politiques	36	8.	11.9
15	pouvoir	212	8.	3.6
16	loix	239	8.	3.2
17	impots	51	8.	9.8
18	civils	32	7.	11.0
19	sous	154	7.	4.0
20	principes	115	7.	5.0
21	publique	125	7.	4.7
22	droit	186	7.	3.3
23	chaque	86	7.	6.1
24	ordre	101	6.	4.5
25	autrui	12	6.	15.9
26	libre	88	6.	5.0
27	exercer	32	6.	9.4
28	francois	76	6.	5.5
29	garantis	3	5.	27.0
30	rachat	7	5.	17.5
31	proprietes	30	5.	8.0
32	propriete	35	5.	7.3
33	public	110	5.	3.3
34	naturelle	37	5.	7.1
35	individu	22	5.	9.5
36	femmes	36	5.	7.2
37	espece	54	5.	5.6
38	jouissance	13	5.	12.6
39	exercice	37	5.	7.1

Figure Six-Twenty-five
 Collocates of the item droits (299) in Cahiers de doléances where span = 11, Zscore ≥ 3.0 and collocation frequency ≥ 8 (accents stripped).

Item	Collocate	Total Freq.	Collocate Freq.	Z-score
1	supprime	70	22.	15.0
2	privileges	86	20.	11.9
3	anciens	38	18.	17.1
4	royaume	202	17.	5.1
5	toutes	312	17.	3.1
6	suppression	125	17.	7.6
7	forets	74	16.	10.1
8	tarif	22	16.	20.4
9	droit	249	15.	3.3
10	cuir	20	14.	18.7
11	encore	120	13.	5.6
12	sous	158	13.	4.4
13	impôts	102	13.	6.3
14	usage	38	12.	11.1
15	etablis	43	12.	10.3
16	seigneurs	63	11.	7.3
17	retablissement	33	10.	9.8
18	contrôle	14	10.	16.0
19	perception	46	10.	8.0
20	nom	47	10.	7.9
21	art	149	10.	3.1
22	denier	20	10.	13.1
23	contrôle	16	10.	14.8
24	seigneuriales	23	9.	10.8
25	onéreux	27	9.	9.9
26	percus	9	9.	18.1
27	reintegration	9	8.	16.0
28	domaniaux	9	8.	16.0
29	traites	26	8.	8.9
30	seigneuriaux	8	8.	17.1
31	sauf	48	8.	6.0
32	contre	89	8.	3.7
33	fixes	22	8.	9.8
34	reunis	34	8.	7.5

Figure Six-Twenty-Six

Collocates of the item droits (2,659) in the works of published between 1750 and 1788 in the ARTFL database where standard deviation ≥ 5.0 and collocation frequency ≥ 27 .

Item	Collocate	Total Freq.	Coll. Freq.	Std. Dev.
1	vos	12578	136	12.4
2	nature	13065	130	11.1
3	droits	2659	120	34.1
4	roi	11471	88	6.5
5	devoirs	1913	87	29.2
6	loix	5591	78	12.0
7	mêmes	8276	70	6.6
8	liberté	4795	69	11.6
9	humanité	1618	62	22.2
10	peuple	7541	61	5.8
11	avoient	5369	59	8.3
12	justice	3721	58	11.4
13	sacrés	488	53	37.1
14	autorité	2655	49	12.0
15	droit	5182	49	6.4
16	valoir	538	47	31.0
17	empire	3431	43	8.1
18	parlement	3041	42	8.7
19	sang	3870	41	6.7
20	société	4108	40	6.0
21	peuples	4439	39	5.2
22	estime	2603	38	8.7
24	quels	1739	37	11.6
25	amitié	3462	36	6.1
26	rois	2776	36	7.6
27	nation	3441	35	5.9
28	nouveaux	2067	35	9.5
29	privilèges	450	35	24.5
30	furent	3675	34	5.2
31	soutenir	1533	34	11.5
32	acquis	509	33	22.0
33	citoyens	2530	33	7.4
34	église	2167	32	8.1
35	entrée	848	32	15.8
36	chacun	3118	31	5.4
37	conseil	2137	30	7.5
38	réclamer	154	30	38.0
39	intérêts	1868	29	8.0
40	reconnaissance	1261	29	10.9
41	défendre	1357	28	9.9
42	princes	1905	28	7.5
43	couronne	1012	27	11.6
44	prétentions	540	27	17.2
45	seigneurs	889	27	12.6

Chapter Seven

American Political Language in the Discourse of the Société de 1789.

Monsieur, au milieu des agitations de notre révolution, j'ai toujours partagé la douceur que trouvait M. de La Fayette à suivre vos traces, à devoir à vos exemples et à vos leçons les moyens de servir sa patrie, et à songer avec quelle satisfaction vous en apprendrez le succès. (Mme de la Fayette to Washington, January 14, 1790)¹

The pro-American sentiment that developed in France after the events of 1776, and which was cemented during the successful campaigns leading to the victory at Yorktown in 1781, was an important factor in the intellectual preparation for the French Revolution. The initial interest of the French government and many of the French soldiers who fought as volunteers in the American Revolution came less from the ideals of former colonies' rhetoric as from a desire to avenge the humiliating peace of 1763 and discomfort the British in any way possible without starting a general European war. The humiliation of the British, the lofty nobility of American rhetoric, and the French admiration of American "simplicity" -- personified by Benjamin Franklin² during his tenure as the American envoy -- gave high standing to

American representatives in Paris as well as to ideas and individuals that claimed some link to the American cause.

The six years between the treaty of Versailles and the Fall of the Bastille saw a veritable flood of French publications concerning the new republic. These works magnified

le mythe d'une Amérique généreuse et accueillante, terre d'asile et d'espoir, offrant des ressources illimitées aux immigrants, d'une république agricole et pastorale et donc naturellement vertueuse, d'un pays où règneraient la liberté politique, l'égalité des conditions et la tolérance religieuse. 3

Indeed, the utopian descriptions concerning the wealth and hospitality of the new republic were so extreme that Franklin was prompted to write "A Warning to Those Who Wish to Go to America" in 1784 to discourage hopeful emigrants.

Whatever the government may have been able to do in the past, it may at present enter into no agreement to help any person establish himself in the United States, whether by paying his passage, or giving him land, negroes, tools, herds, or any other kind of emolument. And finally, America is a land of workers and in no way what the French call a "land of plenty" where the streets are paved with loaves of bread, the houses covered with omelettes and where already roasted chickens fly about crying "Eat me!" 4

Omelettes and roast chickens aside, the American Revolution filled an important ideological role, for it demonstrated to Enlightenment thinkers the possibility of human progress and the power of enlightened men to establish reasonable government. Peter Gay argues that

The splendid conduct of the colonists, their brilliant victory, and their triumphant founding of a republic were convincing evidence, to the philosophes at least, that men had some capacity for self-improvement and self-government, that progress might be a reality instead of a fantasy, and that reason and humanity might become governing rather than merely critical principles. 5

A more important, although less openly stated, lesson was also understood. The American example seemed to demonstrate that a government and society could be created without reference to history or tradition, but solely from the principles of "reason and humanity." As Lynn Hunt has pointed out, the central conceptual revolution, which discounted historical arguments as legitimate grounds for the reform of the government,⁶ was completed in France before the Estates General was convened. Opening the possibility of reforming the French government was, according to Durand Echeverria, the most important component of French "Americanism."

The American war was for the ancien régime a sort of Pandora's Box out of which poured a cloud of books and articles advocating equality, republicanism, liberty, and constitutionalism, and attacking both the aristocratic principle and monarchical absolutism. Unquestionably the popular support of the United States was in large part actually a disguised demand for reform of the existing French social and political order. 7

The high regard for things American was to no small degree a reflection of the desire for reform on the part of a number of French literary and political figures.

This ancien régime pro-American sentiment undoubtedly played some role in the formation of French revolutionary ideology and political language. Mme de La Fayette's comments to President Washington concerning her husband's well-known affection for, and admiration of, the American leader is only one example of the connection between America and France. Many of the most influential figures of the early Revolution, such as La Fayette, Sieyès, Mirabeau, LaRochefoucauld d'Enville and Du Pont de

Nemours were openly pro-American. In 1789, the American model of government was used to attack those who, on the authority of an older Enlightenment tradition stemming from Montesquieu, were successfully promoting the applicability of the English constitution in France. "The anglomanes," Joyce Appleby considers,

posed a serious threat to those Frenchmen who had long ago weighed the institutions of England and found them wanting. Good as she was in comparison to other European monarchies, she was not good enough in their enlightened day, and the need to prove her false appeared urgent if France was to be saved from a serious blunder. These critics of England were the ones who introduced a model of America as an alternative to England. 8

"Americanism" in Paris during the early period of the French Revolution was not centered on a political party, for it was too diffuse an ideological position for a party to be formed around. Echeverria argues, however, that

there were certain foyers of Americanism such as Mme Helvétius' salon at Auteuil, Mme d'Houdetot's circle, the [Masonic] Lodge of the Nine Sisters, the revolutionary Société de 1789, which met at the Palais Royal, Brissot's Société Gallo-Américaine, and the Musée. All of these groups were interlocked by common members and together formed a closely knit body in which Americanism was one of the governing ideas. Out of this elite, Americanism, both as a philosophical and political doctrine, radiated and influenced a host of minor intellectuals, both in Paris and in the provinces. 9

Thus many literary and political figures of the early Revolution continued to look to America for an example and for ammunition to use against their political enemies in Paris.

Beyond this general assertion of "influence," a clear definition of the role that the American example and ideology played in the elaboration of French Revolutionary ideology is

uncertain and has been open to debate for a long time. Indeed, the debate concerning the importance of the American example for the patriotes during the first years of the French Revolution began almost with the Revolution itself, and even today shows little sign of abating. In this debate, the lines of demarkation are typically drawn between French nationalist historians, frequently of the so-called "orthodox school," and historians from other countries. For example, R. R. Palmer's Cold War vision of America leading France and the rest of the "free world" to democracy in his Age of Democratic Revolution can be instructively contrasted with Georges Lefebvre's insistence that Revolutionary actions and ideas were direct responses to social necessities and past abuses, without reference to the United States. Lefebvre argues, for example, that the "negative" tone of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen arises from its "historical" attempt to prevent a continuation of the abuses of the ancien régime. Palmer, on the other hand, devotes an entire appendix to displaying, article by article, the similarities of the Virginia Declaration of Rights and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen.¹⁰ Bernard Groethuysen has argued that, despite the obvious attraction of the American example, American influence was limited because of the cultural and physical distance separating the new republic from France. He writes,

Pour les Français, les Américains étaient des hommes d'un autre monde, des coloniaux, qui avançaient dans la brousse, conquérant un nouveau pays dans des conditions de vies inconnues, des coloniaux qui avaient formé sur une terre

nouvelle une union plus ou moins durable entre différents Etats. On pouvait leur emprunter des idées, des formes juridiques nouvelles, leur exemple pouvait aussi donner une nouvelle confiance dans la possibilité d'appliquer dans la pratique des principes de droit restés jusqu'alors théoriques. Mais ce que voulait la France, c'était à elle à réaliser. Point n'était besoin qu'elle imitât d'autres pays. 11

The very flexibility of Groethuysen's formulation -- he notes that French revolutionaries did not imitate the Americans but could have borrowed ideas from them -- suggests that the problem of the relationship of one revolution to the other is hardly resolved in his mind. Lynn Hunt also suggests that, in spite of the "Atlantic Republican tradition," the French revolutionaries adopted little of the language of revolution from the Americans:

French revolutionaries learned the language of reform and opposition from the philosophes and the parlementaires [...] but had to invent the language of revolution themselves. The sparsely populated colonies across the ocean in America declared their independence; the most populous nation in Western Europe was self-consciously making something radically new in the world, a revolution, a word that before 1789 -- even in America -- usually stood for a return back to a previous state rather than for a leap into the future. There was no historical or religious Golden Age in the French past that the radicals might hope to recapture; there was only bravery in the face of an unpredictable future and unstable present. 12

Thus, the problem of the relationship of the French revolution to the American continues to provoke debate and a wide variety of responses.

-- I --

The Société de 1789, was the largest and most politically active of the "foyers of Americanism" described by Echeverria, and so it is an interesting case study of the impact of American political ideology. Of course, the members of the club were hardly unique in their admiration of America from 1776 to the first years of the Revolution, for the new republic enjoyed widespread support in France. But the Société de 1789 as an institution claimed a particularly strong relationship to the American cause, and many of the members of the Société had strong personal and/or intellectual ties to America. These bonds had been forged in the period before the Revolution and continued intact as the years passed. In 1797, for example, Emmanuel Pastoret attacked the "anti-American" decrees of the Directory, arguing forcefully for a rapprochement with France's sister Republic.¹³ Like many émigrés, the économiste Pierre-Samuel Dupont de Nemours and his two sons emigrated to America after Fructidor, resuming his communications with Jefferson and overseeing his sons' establishment of a powder manufacture.¹⁴ Many members of the Société de 1789 retained the "Americanism" of their pre-revolutionary days well into the Revolution.

Members of the Société took pains, in 1790, to point out the importance of American ideas for contemporary French politics. The death of Benjamin Franklin on April 17, 1790, was

marked by the Société de 1789 as well as by many other institutions and clubs in France. On June 13, the duc de la Rochefoucauld gave the club a bust of Franklin and read a long eulogy about his good friend. This bust was placed in the chambers of the club with the following inscription: "Hommage rendu par le voeu unanime de la société de 1789 à Benjamin Franklyn, objet de l'admiration et des regrets des amis de la liberté."¹⁵ In his eulogy, La Rochefoucauld argued that it was Franklin alone, after the American war, who had discerned the faults of the British constitution and proposed a simpler and more effective system:

Tout le monde n'a pas également réfléchi sur l'essai hardi de Franklyn en législation. Après avoir déclaré leur indépendance, et s'être placées au rang des nations, les différentes colonies, aujourd'hui Etats-Unis de l'Amérique, se donnèrent chacune une forme de gouvernement; et presque toutes en conservant leur antique admiration pour la constitution Britannique, composèrent les leurs des mêmes élémens, diversement modifiés. Franklyn seul, débarrassant la machine politique de ces rouages nombreux, de ces contrepoids admirés qui la compliquoient, proposa de la réduire à la simplicité d'un corps législatif unique; cette grande idée effraya les législateurs de Pennsylvanie, mais le philosophe en rassura la moitié, et décida ensuite l'adoption de ce principe, dont l'Assemblée Nationale a fait la base de la constitution française. 16

La Rochefoucauld adds an aside to the eulogy in which he goes on to underline the importance of the single-chamber legislature as well as his faith that this form of government will become the main example for the rest of Europe. He traces the history of the idea of the single chamber from Franklin to the National Assembly, through his own translation of the state constitutions, and a few others, including Turgot and Condorcet:

L'unité du corps législatif est en économie politique le maximum de la simplicité: Franklin a le premier osé proposer de mettre cette idée en pratique: le respect des Pennsylvaniens la leur fit adopter; mais elle effraya les autres états, et même la constitution de Pennsylvanie a depuis été changée. En Europe cette opinion a eu plus de succès, mais il a fallu du tems. Lorsque j'eus l'honneur de présenter à Franklin la traduction des constitutions de l'Amérique, les esprits n'étoient guère mieux disposés en deçà qu'au-delà de la mer Atlantique; et si l'on excepte le docteur Price en Angleterre, et en France Turgot et M. de Condorcet, presque tous les hommes qui s'occupoient alors d'idées politiques n'étoient pas de l'avis du philosophe Américain. J'ose dire que j'étois du petit nombre de ceux qui avoient été frappés de la beauté du plan simple qu'il avoit tracé, et que je n'ai pas eu besoin de changer d'avis, lorsqu'à la voix des penseurs profonds, et des orateurs éloquens qui ont traité devant elle cette importante question, l'Assemblée Nationale a établi pour principe de la constitution française, que la législation seroit confiée à un corps unique de représentans[...]. La France ne rétrogradera pas vers un système plus compliqué, et sans doute elle aura la gloire de maintenir celui qu'elle établit: et de lui donner une perfection sur laquelle le spectacle d'une grande nation heureuse fixera les yeux de l'Europe et du monde entier. 17

According to la Rochefoucauld, Franklin's influence on the political and ideological development of the French Revolution was both substantial and lasting. A principal component of Americanism in France was the adoption of the single chamber, a battle that had been won on September 10, 1789, when the bicameral system had been soundly defeated.

Franklin's thought was also used by the Société de 1789 as a direct attack on the nobility. On July 24, 1790, the Journal de la Société de 1789 published a slightly re-worked translation of Franklin's "Letter on the Cincinnati" to his daughter, Mrs. Sarah Bache, dated Passy, January 26, 1784.¹⁸ Franklin had drafted the letter as part of his campaign against the Society of the Cincinnati, a "quasi-aristocratic" veterans' association open to

American and French officers. The Society of the Cincinnati was, on its foundation, a hereditary order, for which it was attacked by a wide range of American and French critics. Franklin convinced the younger Mirabeau and Chamford to write openly against the society, since he, as the representative of the American government in France, could not attack an institution whose membership included Washington and La Fayette, an action that would indicate his contempt for an important French institution, hereditary nobility.¹⁹ Mirabeau's attack, in Considérations sur l'Ordre de Cincinnatus, was not only quite successful in undermining the Order of the Cincinnati, but also effectively called into question the entire second order in France.²⁰ Franklin's letter -- which was translated by the abbé Morellet -- was circulated clandestinely among Franklin's supporters and friends in Paris until it was published by the Société de 1789 on July 24, 1790 and seems to have had some influence. La Fayette wrote to Washington on March 9, 1784, that "la plupart des Américains qui sont ici sont animés contre l'association [...] Jay, Adams, et tous les autres blâment vivement l'armée."²¹ In May, 1784, on the advice of Washington, the American branch of the Order of the Cincinnati repealed the hereditary membership.

Franklin's powerful attack on the aristocratic nature of the Order of Cincinnatus was used effectively against the aristocracy in France by the editors of the Journal de la Société de 1789. Antoine-Phillippe Grouvelle, the writer who was secretary of the

Société de 1789, introduced Franklin's letter in "Lettre au Rédacteur." He suggests that,

Au moment où les sages François achèvent de nous guérir de cette infirmité sociale, qu'on appeloit noblesse, il n'est pas sans intérêt d'observer quelle impression fit sur le sage Américain l'apparition des premiers symptômes de cette maladie, parmi ses concitoyens, libres alors et égaux comme nous. 22

In another extended eulogy of Franklin, Grouvelle argues that the National Assembly, by preparing the law abolishing the nobility, was fulfilling the debt incurred by its public declarations honoring Franklin's memory;

autrement cet hommage funèbre n'auroit été qu'une sorte de charlatanisme; car les sages veulent être honorés par la pratique des vérités, comme les dieux par la pratique des vertus. 23

Franklin, Grouvelle continues, attacked not only "la superstition nobilaire," but the entire range of symbols and decorations that are part of "préjugés féodaux."²⁴ The wisdom of Franklin, Grouvelle concludes, was "aussi bien constitué un peuple naissant, qu'un peuple perfectionné ou corrompu par sa vieille civilisation."²⁵

The conscious reliance on Franklin's arguments concerning the best form of a constitution and the abolition of nobility--two issues that had quickly become of capital importance during the early Revolution -- indicates that the membership of the Société de 1789 felt more than a passing attraction to the example of the American Revolution. The origins of the attraction of the membership of the Société de 1789 to America were varied. The club's registers included William Short,

Jefferson's former secretary and friend in the American embassy, whom Jefferson had left in charge of the Paris delegation when the Virginian had returned to America in October 1789, to become Washington's Secretary of State.²⁶ The club also boasted a number of officers who had fought in America. In addition to La Fayette, Louis-Saint-Ange de Lacolombe, his friend and aide-de-camp in the American campaign beginning in 1777, was a member of the Order of the Cincinnati and continued his service to La Fayette as an "aides-major" in the National Guard.²⁷ Other officers who had seen action in America included: Adam-Phillipe, marquis de Custine, who had served with distinction at Yorktown; Jean-Baptiste Gouvion, who had fought under La Fayette with the rank of captain; and the duc de Montmorency-Laval, who had fought under the orders of Washington. Other members had lived in the United States for extended periods of time. The Italo-American doctor and agent for the king of Poland (in 1790), Fillipo Mazzei, had lived before the French Revolution in the United States, near Montecello, and was close to many luminaries of American politics, including Jefferson and Madison.²⁸ Joseph Mandrillon, a writer and merchant, had established himself in America and written extensively about American life and politics, returning to France shortly before the Revolution. Thus, several of the members of the Société de 1789 had direct personal relations with America, either as returned soldiers or inhabitants.

Many more members of the club had gone on record in favor of

the American Revolution and had contributed to the flood of publications describing America during the decade following the end of the American war. The most important of these works, according to Durand Echeverria, was Condorcet's "De l'influence de la révolution d'Amérique sur l'Europe," published in pamphlet form in 1786 and reprinted two years later in Mazzei's Recherches historiques et politiques sur les Etats-Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale.²⁹ Echeverria argues that the essay is of

special interest [...] because there exists no clearer or more forceful expression of the idea, be it true or not, that the United States served as a model and inspiration for the French Revolution. 30

The philosophe was quite certain, in 1786, that the example of the American Revolution -- and we might notice Condorcet's use of the word révolution -- marked a starting point not only for the political reform of Europe, but for social and economic regeneration as well. Reform, in Condorcet's opinion, would come from above, since France was in a position to benefit more than any other European state from the American example. He argues that

France will profit more than any other European nation from the sound ideas Americans have on property rights and natural liberty, for, while being in greater need of such ideas than England, France has reached a stage of enlightenment which permits her to profit from them, and she enjoys a constitution which presents few obstacles to useful reforms, certainly far fewer than are to be found in England. 31

Condorcet kept his faith in the American example during the pre-Revolutionary period and throughout the Revolution itself.³² In 1787, he published Lettres d'un bourgeois de New-Haven à un

citoyen de Virginie sur l'inutilité de partager le pouvoir législatif entre plusieurs corps and his Lettres d'un citoyen des états-Unis à un français sur les affaires présentes a year later.³³ In both of these texts, he adopted the identity of an American commenting on contemporary American and French politics in order to defend his particular conception of natural rights and rational politics.³⁴ Condorcet's Americanism remained with him until the end of his life. In the Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain (1794), he suggested that "simple bon sens" had informed American colonists that they had the same rights as other men, and that they understood, "mieux que les Européens," the universality of natural rights. In Condorcet's opinion, France would complete the revolution begun in America. "La révolution américaine," he concluded,

devait [...] bientôt s'étendre en Europe; et s'il y existait un peuple où l'intérêt pour la cause des Américains eût répandu plus qu'ailleurs leurs écrits et leurs principes, qui fût à la fois le plus éclairé et un des moins libres, celui où les philosophes avaient le plus de véritables lumières, et le gouvernement une ignorance plus insolente et plus profonde; un peuple où les lois fussent assez au-dessous de l'esprit public, pour qu'aucun orgueil national, aucun préjugé ne l'attachât à ses institutions antiques; ce peuple n'était-il point destiné . . . à donner le premier mouvement de cette révolution. 35

The American revolution was completed by the French ("elle a été plus entière que celle de l'Amérique") because the Americans had fought only against the tyranny of the mother country while the French had overthrown despotism, feudalism and tyranny in Europe. French laws and institutions were, for Condorcet, more pure and "profond" than those of America, because the colonists had fallen

into the error of the constitutional separation of powers and giving primacy to political interests. He argued before and during the Revolution, however, that the American revolution did open a new beginning for France, even if in the final analysis, the Americans had failed to fulfill all of the requirements of liberty.

Other members of the Société de 1789 also described the importance of the American example for France before the Revolution. In 1787, the Genevan financier Etienne Clavière and Jean-Paul Brissot³⁶ published an extensive work entitled De la France et des Etats-Unis, ou l'Importance de la révolution de l'Amérique pour le bonheur de la France.³⁷ There was little doubt in the authors' minds that the American Revolution was an event that would have a profound impact on Europe:

Eclairés par cette révolution, les gouvernemens d'Europe seront forcés de réformer insensiblement leurs abus, de diminuer leurs fardeaux, dans la juste appréhension que leurs sujets, las d'en supporter le poids, ne se réfugient dans l'asile que les Etats-Unis leur offrent. 38

Brissot and Clavière's approach to the benefits France could gain from the American revolt was to stress, far more than the aristocratic Condorcet, the importance of economic freedom to the development of political liberty. France could gain an important trading partner, at the expense of the British, since the Americans were a simple, rural people who could supply raw materials and provide a growing market for French manufactured goods.

Clavière and Brissot defend post-Revolutionary America

against charges (not altogether inaccurate in the late 1780s) circulating in London and Paris that the federation had degenerated into anarchy. They claim that it is French prejudice that gives credence to these accusations, and they support American republicanism by arguing that the federation is functioning well as a republic. Where critics saw anarchy in the often hostile public exchange of political opinion, Brissot and Clavière argue that diversity of opinion is required in a free government.³⁹ The republic guarantees law, property, and individual security better than European governments because the Americans have attacked poverty, the root cause of social disorder.⁴⁰ Americans are destined, they continue, to "régénérer la dignité de l'homme," and their government gives the impression of a large, united, and completely happy family.⁴¹

Brissot and Clavière also appended the prospectus of the Société Gallo-Américain in the London edition of De la France et des Etats-Unis.⁴² The Société Gallo-Américain was founded in January, 1787, by Brissot, Clavière, Crèvecoeur, and the Parisian lawyer Nicolas Bergasse in order to "promote friendly relations between the two peoples and to seek out everything in America's experience and institutions that might be of use to reform in France."⁴³ The club attracted a few important members, such as La Fayette,⁴⁴ in Paris and was promoted by Brissot in the United States when he visited America in 1788, although it seems to have halted its activities by early 1789. Modeled after the Masonic lodge, it was semisecret and resembled other forms of association

of the period in that it combined typical enlightenment social and political perspectives with more esoteric forms of association and belief.⁴⁵ The Prospectus declared that France had, by force of arms, supported the existence of the United States. The Société Gallo-Américain, the prospectus continues, was being formed in order to promote relations between the two states, by encouraging a formal agreement and by disseminating information between the two nations on a wide range of issues, including developments in agriculture, new canals, and the progress of industry and the human spirit, as well as providing French members with legislative and political news culled from publications coming from "Amérique libre." The club would promote more than the mere rapprochement of "l'individu François de l'individu l'Américain." Rather, the prospectus declares that

Il faut [...] qu'en France on sache tout ce qui passe dans les Etats-Unis, qu'on y enregistre tout ce qui s'y fait d'utile, qu'on le répande & qu'ensuite la Société emploie toute son influence pour faire adopter les institutions utiles. 46

Brissot and Clavière wanted to form an institution that would actively follow the American example and inform reform-minded individuals in France of the most useful inventions and institutions found in America.

Many other members of the Société de 1789 also published works on America before and during the French Revolution. Filippo Mazzei's Recherches historiques et politiques sur les Etats-Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale,⁴⁷ a four-volume compendium of material covering a wide range of issues and which

was signed "par un citoyen de Virginie" on the title page, that stands as "the first accurate history of the American Colonies in French."⁴⁸ The Recherches was aimed primarily at correcting abbé Mably's Observations sur le gouvernement et les lois des Etats-Unis d'Amérique (1784) and Raynal's Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes (1770, new ed. 1780).⁴⁹ Mazzei argues that Mably in particular is responsible for the lies circulating in London and Paris about the United States, since he carries great authority among Frenchmen. Mazzei devotes the entire final section of the Recherches to defending America against the charge of anarchy and confusion, which, he claims, "a few men, jealous, resentful, and impudent, have used [...] to describe a difference of opinion."⁵⁰ The book was not widely read because of its rather tedious style, the fact that it debunked many popular extravagances written about the United States, and most importantly, the fact that it had the misfortune of appearing at the outbreak of the Revolution.

Members of the Société de 1789 were also active in propagating the message of Americanism in other ways. After the demise of the club, Trudaine de la Sablière, for example, edited and published the French translation of the Federalist Papers as Le Fédéraliste, ou Collection de quelques Ecrits en faveur de la Constitution proposée aux Etats-Unis de l'Amérique.⁵¹ It was this publication that revealed the names of the authors of the Federalist Papers, which until then had been a closely guarded

secret.⁵² We have already seen that it was the duc de La Rochefoucauld who in collaboration with Franklin, translated the state constitutions in 1783,

The pro-American sympathies of notable members of the Société were also used against the club by critics on the right. In June, 1790, there appeared an anonymous pamphlet carrying the title, Dénociation à toutes les puissances de l'Europe d'un plan de conjuration contre sa tranquillité générale. Par une association formée à Paris sous le nom de club de la propagande⁵³. The anonymous author wildly denounces an American-based "conspiracy" to de-stabilize Europe. We have seen, the author declares,

le spectre pâle et maigre de l'insurrection, sortant d'une terre ingrate, & du milieu d'enfans rebelles & patricides, croître & s'élever en un colosse fastueux, qui posant un de ses pieds sur l'hémisphère qui l'enfanta, essaya de l'autre de franchir l'Océan, pour porter ses ravages sur celui-ci.
54

By preaching equality and liberty, the Americans believe they can increase their population and strength at the expense of the European powers; that is "le projet de soumettre l'ancien au nouveau monde".⁵⁵ Already this conspiracy has destroyed France and, by implication, upset the balance of power in Europe. He argues that it is pro-American propoganda that tricked the people:

Les monstres! Ils ont égaré le peuple par deux mots qui l'ont toujours rendu la dupe des fourbes = égalité, & désobéissance = l'un, ils le lui ont présenté comme un droit naturel; l'autre, comme un moyen légitime d'y rentrer. = Il ne connoit pas, ce malheureux peuple, le pouvoir magique de ces deux mots, qui ont couvert la terre de crimes & de sang. 56

To this denunciation the author appends a slightly annotated copy of the first ten pages of the Ebauche d'un nouveau plan de Société patriotique, adopté par le Club de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf by l'abbé Siéyès under the title Plan de la société prétendue patriotique, qui s'est formée à Paris, sous le nom de Club de la Propagande. The author of this denunciation of an American "conspiracy" implicates the Société de 1789 as one of the associations through which this dangerous ideology will be propagated.

-- II --

Both as an institution and through its membership, the Société de 1789 was a prominent conduit of "Americanism" in Paris during the first years of the French Revolution. It is indisputable that the members of the Société de 1789 were influenced by the American example. This fact, however, does not detract from the view that the French perspective concerning America was more "mirage" than reality. Durand Echeverria convincingly argues that the Americanism found in France between 1784 and 1794 had far more to do with French intellectuals using America as a screen onto which they could project their own aspirations and fears than any "objective" assessment of the American social or political situation. The idealization of America, he suggests, was due to a fear of "impending

catastrophe" in France and an urge to escape to a land of greater opportunity and less tension. Echeverria points out that Dr. Guillotin's sentiment, expressed in a letter to his good friend Franklin, is typical of the forboding felt by many contemporaries in 1787:

We are all of us enemies of tumult, of the disorder, the intrigue and extravagance now consuming our cities. We are revolted by the unreasonableness of our laws and that contradiction with tradition and custom which often places a man in the cruel dilemma between appearing ridiculous and committing a crime. We are distressed by the sad and discouraging spectacle of vice everywhere shameless, feted and honored, and of timid virtue crippled and despised. Above all, we are frightened by the horrors spawned by despotism and superstition. Hence have we resolved to flee this poisoned land where a man can find only trouble, disgust, worry, disappointment, and danger. We have formed a plan of establishing a settlement in the United States, and particularly in the Ohio region. 57

Echeverria argues that America acted as an "imaginary anti-thesis" of France, embodying much that was ideal for any society. Even the pessimists of the time, of whom there were many, were content to exclude America from their general disbelief in human progress and potential. "The American mirage," Echeverria continues, "was not only an expression of faith in human progress; it was also a compensation, a fictitious consolation for those who had already lost faith in progress." The French image of America, Echeverria concludes, "remained a symptom of France's own maladies."⁵⁸

Echeverria raises the important point that the feeling expressed by many members of the Société de 1789 concerning the importance of the American example was more a projection of their own aspirations than a real borrowing from the lessons derived

from the American experiment. It may be possible to distinguish between the pervasive mirage and the actual borrowings through a systematic comparison of the languages used to represent the political issues by members of 1789 and American revolutionaries. Certain common modes of representation should indicate that constructions peculiar to American political discourse had been incorporated -- either through conscious rhetorical strategy or as new linguistic features of the language -- into French political discourse. If French intellectuals had simply projected their ideals onto America, there would be little expectation that they imported American political language. The presence of American meanings, however, would suggest that not only did French intellectuals read American writings, but also incorporated keywords into their own writings, which would indicate a significant degree of contact between the two Revolutions. The principal obstacle to any systematic comparison of the vocabularies of the Société de 1789 and its American predecessors is the necessary transference of constructions across language barriers. These barriers to cross-cultural communications are profound and, some would argue, completely unbridgable. Indeed, Benjamin Whorf's strong thesis regarding the formative role language plays in thought presumes the untranslatability of meaning from one language to another. The word "space," Whorf argues, cannot mean the same thing to the physicist and psychologist

any more than Englishmen could use in English the word "sentiment" in the meanings which the similarly spelled but

functionally different French utterance le sentiment has in its native French.

Now this does not simply breed confusions of mere detail that an expert translator could perhaps resolve. It does something more perplexing. Every language and every well-knit technical sublanguage incorporates certain points of view and certain patterned resistances to widely divergent points of view. 59

Despite Whorf's thesis, however, commencing a systematic comparison of political vocabularies with cognates may provide some control for differences in modes of representation. The cognates "sentiment," to continue Whorf's example, can be examined in both languages in an attempt to determine the degree to which their meanings are consistent. The closer the meanings of two cognates are in both languages, the more likely it is that they derived this similarity through direct or indirect borrowing.

Cognates are obviously two things related by birth or descent, in this case words with related origins. It is striking that many political terms in French and English are cognates. An incomplete list of such terms would certainly include "nation," "liberty," "people," "authority," "equality," and "constitution." The examination of cognates can help set some standards for comparison between languages, but may also lead to another problem: similar uses of cognates may be due to stable patterns of meaning across both languages over time, independent of any short-term influence in one direction of the other. This problem may be eliminated by comparing the degree to which cognate use varies between samples taken from texts which would be expected to be highly influenced by the second language and those that

would not be expected to be influenced significantly. In our case, the English cognates in the language of the Société de 1789 can, for the reasons presented above, be expected to exhibit stronger resemblance than the French taken in a baseline corpus, a sample of the General cahiers de doléances. We will also test for evidence of changing patterns in the use of political cognates in the texts contained in the ARTFL database published from 1750 to the beginning of the French Revolution. The use of two different control samples will enable us to look at language use that is not expected to be influenced by American political language as well as to establish longer term trends in the development of French political language.

-- III --

Wide differences in the frequencies of cognates between the samples are apparent in Figure Seven-One. Many of the abstractions commonly associated with political discourse-- "constitution," "property," "public," "people," "representatives," "government" -- occur more frequently in the American sample. This is not always the case, however, for certain abstractions -- such as nation and law -- are more frequent in the discourse of the Société de 1789 than in our American sample. Some of these differences may be due to the types of documents found in the samples. The American emphasis

on "constitution" is not at all surprising, since the sample contained many documents that concern the establishment of a federal constitution. Other discrepancies are not so easily explained. The frequent American use of "authority" is not echoed by frequent use of autorité in either the documents drawn from the Société de 1789 or the cahiers de doléances. Other cognates, such as "liberty/liberté" are relatively evenly distributed, as a proportion per thousand words, across all three samples.

Broad differences in the frequency of cognate use can indicate important contrasts in the representation of the political realm in the samples. The word "government" is very frequently found in American political discourse, occurring 1,335 times in the American sample of 331,000 words, or about 4.18 times per thousand occurrences. "Gouvernement" is, by comparison, infrequently used in two French samples, occurring 57 (.35 per thousand) times in the documents of the Société de 1789 and 52 (.43 per thousand) times in the sample of the cahiers de doléances. The tenfold difference in this single example is instructive, for it signals an important difference in the ways American and French political actors represented the public sphere. It is equally significant, however, that the term gouvernement was used relatively frequently during the second

Figure Seven-Two

Raw and relative frequencies of gouvernement in the ARTFL database in the Eighteenth century.

Date	Word	Freq.	/1000
1700-1749:	<u>gouvernement</u>	1683	0.1780
1750-1775:	<u>gouvernement</u>	2883	0.2839
1776-1788:	<u>gouvernement</u>	877	0.1517
1789-1800:	<u>gouvernement</u>	565	0.2303
	TOTAL:	6008	0.2158

half of the eighteenth-century, as indicated by the texts in the ARTFL database. Figure Seven-Two indicates that the use of gouvernement was about half as frequent as in the samples from the cahiers and the Société de 1789. This is surprising when one considers the relatively limited number of explicitly political texts in the ARTFL sample. Similarly, the most frequent use of gouvernement occurs in the period just before the American Revolution. Thus, it seems that although the drafters of the cahiers and writers associated with the Société seldom used the term gouvernement, the word was commonly used during the second half of the eighteenth century.

The American use of the word "government" suggests that they considered it an abstract category of discussion. The word was used almost uniformly through the sample with only slight differences in the amount of use in the three major document groups.⁶⁰ Figure Seven-Three shows the most frequent collocates of "government" in the American sample. The data suggests that "government" can have different forms (See Figure Seven-Three, form #4, forms #26) and that these forms can be distinguished and

compared.⁶¹ It is assumed throughout the corpus that "republican form of government"⁶² is obviously the most desirable.⁶³ The vociferous debate over the nature of the central government, a debate which threatened the new republic, is also clearly reflected in the use of the word "government." The three most frequent collocates, "federal," "national," and "general" are distributed very unevenly in the corpus, as shown in Figure Seven-Four. The collocations of "federal" and "national" with government are far more prevalent in the Federalist Papers than in the other texts or the state and federal constitutions. The collocation of "general government," on the other hand, is under-represented in the Federalist Papers and reflects the more ambiguous image of the central government held by opponents of the federal constitution in 1787.⁶⁴ In addition to appearing in abstract considerations of government, as in the "forms of government," the term is also used to denote internal political realities, such as the level of government, its branches (#45), administration (#17), the seat of government (#18), and its efficiency (#46), as shown in Figure Seven-Three. Thus government is, in the American discourse, the object of abstract discussion as well as practical detail, which is not, as we shall see, the case with the French usage.

The word "gouvernement" is not only far less frequently used but in the sample of texts from the Société de 1789, but also less evenly distributed in the corpus. It is not surprising that two texts which deal with constitutional issues contain about

forty percent of all of the occurrences of gouvernement.⁶⁵ Several other discussions of constitutional issues, including Condorcet's famous argument for female suffrage and de Pange's treatment of treason, do not use the word gouvernement at all.⁶⁶ In this sample of documents, there is far less concern with the definition and elaboration of government than in the American corpus, even though one fourth of the members of the club were also members of the National Assembly, which was then in the process of drafting a new constitution. As shown in Figure Seven-Five, the most frequent collocate of "gouvernement" is "représentatif." Representative government is the converse of "gouvernement arbitraire" or "despotisme." As in the American discourse, government is founded by the people: "le peuple," Ramond argues, are the "seul fondement réel du gouvernement représentatif."⁶⁷ The strength of the relationship between peuple and gouvernement in the Société de 1789 is moderate ($z = 5.8$) and only slightly weaker than the collocation correlation of people and government in the American sample ($z = 6.6$). There is, however, little further elaboration of "gouvernement" in the discourse of the Société de 1789.⁶⁸

If the Société de 1789 avoided extensive discussion of gouvernement in the abstract, this is not true for Enlightenment thinkers in general. Furthermore, it seems that the representation of government, in the period between 1750 and the American Revolution, shared some characteristics with the usage in American English. The word gouvernement in the second half of

the eighteenth-century was used not to define the order of internal politics -- as can be seen in the American concentration on federal, national, and general government -- but rather as a means of classifying kinds of governments. The terms most highly correlated with gouvernement in the ARTFL database (shown in Figure Seven-Six) include féodal, monarchique, and despotique.

Figure Seven-Six
Ten collocates most highly correlated with
gouvernement in the ARTFL database, 1750-99.

Collocate	Total Freq.	Collocate Freq.	Std. Dev.
féodal	141	117	136.0
monarchique	145	77	87.9
despotique	226	84	76.5
républicain	129	61	73.7
forme	3809	298	62.6
aristocratique	77	32	50.0
populaire	223	51	46.3
démocratique	55	23	42.5
mixte	80	21	31.9
civil	320	42	31.3
modéré	209	32	29.7

By contrast, the only form of government explicitly discussed in the American corpus is the "republican" (Figure Seven-Three, #8). The impact of the American Revolution on the French use of gouvernement seems to have been limited. Comparing Figures Seven-Seven and Seven-Eight suggests that there were few important changes between the periods from 1750 to 1775 and from 1776 to the French Revolution. It is true that some modifiers, such as commerce (#36 to #12), became more important, while other terms, such as desptique and féodal declined in importance. But there is little indication that the term gouvernement was used in any more concrete sense after the outbreak of the American

Revolution than it had been before.

-- IV --

The contrasting usages and frequencies of "government/gouvernement" suggest that the institutional issues surrounding the constitutional debates in both countries were more important in the United States than in France, because of the fact that French writers had a much clearer notion of the "nation" as the center of the government than American writers. "Government" was used as a term to designate political arrangements being made in the United States and also an abstraction used to describe possible forms of political organization, usage that does not seem to have been common in France. The debate over the American constitution centered on how precisely to build a nation out of a large group of fractious former colonies through the establishment of a set of balanced institutions. The French nation, on the other hand, already existed in the minds of the intellectuals of the Société de 1789, and this nation had originally been centered on the person of the King. The principal problem for constitutional monarchists in the Société de 1789 was how create a constitution that would adequately enfranchise and protect the nation while maintaining the monarchy as the central symbol of the government. As shown in Figure Seven-One, the word "nation" occurs far more frequently in both samples of French political discourse than in the American

sample: 1.55 occurrences per thousand words in the texts of the Société de 1789 and 1.21 occurrences per thousand in the sample of the cahiers de doléances of 1789 compared with 0.45 occurrences per thousand in the American constitutional documents.

The word "nation" is distributed unevenly in the American corpus, appearing more frequently in the Federalist Papers than in the other texts and the constitutional documents.⁶⁹ It is not surprising, considering the fact that America was a former colony still celebrating its War of Independence, that "nation" is normally used in the context of discussions of international relations and comparisons with other countries. The most frequent collocates, shown in Figure Seven-Nine, include "another" (#1), "foreign" (#6), "great" (#8), "independent" (#11), "war" (#16), and "peace" (#29). The possessive "our" is also frequently used in defining international relations when it is collocated with "nation." John Jay makes this usage explicit when he declares,

As a nation we have made peace and war; as a nation we have vanquished our common enemies; as a nation we have formed alliances, and made treaties, and entered into various compacts and conventions with foreign states. 70

In 1796, Washington advised against the "attachment of a small or weak toward a great and powerful nation [because doing so] dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter."⁷¹ The "interests" of the nation, when not defined in opposition to private "interests," are defined in terms of external relations. In the Federalist Papers, Alexander Hamilton refers to "betraying the

interests of the nation in a ruinous treaty"⁷² as grounds for impeachment.

In clear contrast to the American definition of the nation in international terms, the French publicists of the Société de 1789 defined the nation as the center of internal politics. Figure Seven-Ten which lists the most frequent collocates of nation, shows the inward nature of the French definition of nation. These collocates include lèze (#1), représentans (#2), représentant (#24), entière (#4), française (two forms, #31 and 35) and nom (#3). The term most frequently collocated with nation is lèze, which transforms the construction lèze-majesté as high treason against the crown into high treason against the nation. Particular examples again confirm these readings. The marquis de Pange, attacking the legally vague crime of lèze-nation, makes this transformation clear, arguing,

Chez des hommes esclaves dans cette vie, et fort attachés aux dogmes qui en promettent une autre, les persécuteurs trouvèrent dans ces mots, sacrilège et lèze-majesté-divine, des instruments de leurs desseins. Chez un peuple plus occupé de la vie présente où il possède la liberté, c'est avec les mots haute-trahison et lèze-nation qu'ils obtiendroient les mêmes succès. 73

Crimes [crimes (#5) and crime (#16)] against the nation must be committed from the inside, since attacks on the nation from without are acts of war, or foreign aggression. The deputies of the National Assembly, Casaux suggests, are "les augustes représentans de la nation entière," (#4)⁷⁴ called together to discuss the interests of the nation and to balance the various interests of localities and individuals:

Parmi ces gens capables de discuter, de développer, de défendre les intérêts de la nation, les intérêts de toutes les classes d'hommes qui la composent. 75

The nation is seen as the source of all political power, a reflection of the shift in institutions that had been brought about in the first year of the Revolution. André Chenier, for example, suggests that power is exercised "au nom de la nation:"

L'assemblée nationale est le seul pouvoir qui existe en pleine activité; elle seule peut mettre en mouvement les autres pouvoirs constitués par elle au nom de la nation. Tous les pouvoirs anciens avoient été détruits. 76

This clear declaration of the nation's authority, however, was balanced by the role that the monarch must play in the constitutional monarchy that was adopted by the National Assembly. The relationship between the prince and the people, as will be discussed below, clouded the issue about what really constituted the center of the nation. But it is clear that discussions of the "nation," for the writers of the Société de 1789 were largely limited to the internal politics of the country, in contrast to the American definition of the nation in terms of external relations.

-- V --

The examples of "government/gouvernement" and "nation/nation" suggest that French and American English cognates retained distinct meanings in the 1780s and early 1790s in spite of the marked acceleration of communications between the two countries. This finding is not unexpected, since the historical

and political situations of the two countries required distinctive representations of the political realm. One important point of contact between the two, however, is the movement of American populism to France, which can be seen in the use of the word peuple. The use of this word reflects an important link between American political language and the political discourse of the Société de 1789, and which is not found in the cahiers de doléances. As shown in Figure Seven-One, "people/peuple" occurs 2.81 times per thousand (frequency = 896) in the American texts, 1.35 (222) in the writings of the Société de 1789 and 0.50 (60) in the cahiers de doléances. The frequent and, as we shall see, clear use of the word "people" in the American discourse is shared by the Société de 1789.

The word "people" is used consistently throughout the American discourse. The "people," in our sample, play a central role in the rhetorical elaboration of the public domain. Figure Seven-Eleven shows that the most highly correlated modifiers of "people," such as "representatives," "right," "liberties," "confidence," and so on, stress the active political role of the people. It is the "great body of the people" (a phrase that recurs 35 times in the American corpus) that constitutes the core of the political domain. Madison, for example, asserts that "the real welfare of the great body of the people, is the supreme object to be pursued."⁷⁷ This image of the "people" is universalistic, as is indicated by the frequent expression of "the people at large," an expression which is used to include all

citizens in a jurisdiction. For example, Richard Henry Lee declares that the "happiness of the people at large must be the great object with every honest statesman."⁷⁸ A clearly national or federal use of the phrase "people of America," which serves as some replacement for the less frequently used word "nation," is found almost exclusively in the Federalist Papers. The frequent self-reflexive collocation of "people" and "themselves" only serves to reinforce this image of a political domain that is centered on the "people." Madison, when he wishes to distinguish between the people's representatives and the actual source of their authority, uses this construction:

It is to be the assent and ratification of the several States, derived from the supreme authority in each State,--the authority of the people themselves. 79

The word "people" also often has a series of moral and other attributes, such as "free," "good," and "united." Richard Henry Lee refers to "a free and enlightened people"⁸⁰ as the source of authority. The Virginia Declaration of Rights, drafted in 1776, is introduced in the name of the "good people":

A Declaration of Rights made by the Representatives of the good People of VIRGINIA, assembled in full and free Convention. 80

John Jay refers to "our people free, contented, and united,"⁸¹ seemingly settled in a land by a Providence that "has been pleased to give this one connected country to one united people -- a people descended from the same ancestors."⁸²

The use of "people" in the American constitutional documents centers on a moral and political definition of the people as the

source and justification of the public power. The people are free and united, served by representatives whose final authority is drawn from them.

The usage of "people" is echoed in the documents of the Société de 1789. As suggested by Figure Seven-Twelve, the people of France in 1790 are also free, have an active role in the public realm, identifiable interests and enemies, and particular moral qualities. The French, for the writers of the Société de 1789, are a free people, as indicated by the fact that the first and fourth most frequent collocates of peuple are liberté and libre. For example, in his discussion of foreign and military policy with respect to England, Du Pont de Nemours poses the following rhetorical question: "les Guerres d'un peuple libre peuvent-elles réussir si elles ne sont pas populaires?"⁸³ Respect for the law, André Chenier declared in the summer of 1790, is a necessary condition for liberty: "Un [...] peuple [without such respect] ne peut espérer de conserver sa liberté."⁸⁴

According to the writers of 1789, public authority is also derived from the people. But the mechanisms of this derivation are open to distinct interpretation. The king, for example, is "le représentant du peuple vis-à-vis des autres nations"⁸⁵ as well as a special representative of the people in legislative matters. The marquis de Casaux makes the distinction between the two representatives of the people clear by arguing as follows:

Un décret de l'Assemblée Nationale ne peut être aujourd'hui rien de plus aux yeux du peuple François, qu'un fait personnel à cette Assemblée; il n'obtiendra dans la nation le caractère sacré de loi qu'après qu'il aura obtenu la sanction de cet autre représentant du peuple, qui n'est rien sans le peuple, et qui est avec lui [sic], comme par lui, et pour lui. 86

As in the American usage, the representatives of the people are typically said to be found in the convention of delegates chosen by the people. The words representative and people can, however, be used interchangeably, as in Ramond's declaration that constitutional laws are exclusively those "loix tant naturelles que conventionnelles, qu'un peuple ou ses représentans doivent déclarer ou peuvent faire."⁸⁷ Thus, whether through the King or the National Assembly, power must be exercised by representatives of the people.

The French people are addressed directly by André Chenier, in his Avis au Peuple François sur ses véritables ennemis, where he warns them against the enemies plotting against their interests. Similarly, the club attacks the "ennemis pervers et implacables du peuple et des nouvelles institutions"⁸⁸ who are turning the people against their own representatives, and in effect turning the people against themselves and their own interests. This close identification of the people with their representatives and with the new institutions is reinforced by the frequent collocation of the items peuple and prince. In his defense of the constitutional monarchy, Casaux argues for the complete identification of the two; that

le prince n'est rien de moins que le peuple considéré dans un seul individu, et le peuple n'est rien de plus que le

prince considéré dans l'ensemble de ses parties. 89

Like the American people, the people of France, as defined by the writers of the Société de 1789, are the central pole of the public realm. However, unlike the Americans, the people of France share, in some usages, this central position with the monarch.

The people of the cahiers de doléances are in a radically different position. Significant collocations include "poor," "ruin," "onerous," "relief" and "happiness" (see Figure Seven-Thirteen); and the meaning of these collocations is clear. The cahiers, in a very traditional rhetorical construction, appeal to the monarch to relieve the people of unduly heavy burdens. There is, in the cahiers, no obvious conception of the people as having a particular political role, such as is found in the documents of the Société de 1789.

The most frequent term collocated with people in the cahiers de doléances is état, which has two distinct meaning. One indicates that the people comprise the Third Estate, while the second shows the essential unity of the interests of the people with those of the state. For example, the clergy of the Bailliage d'Étain demanded "qu'on simplifie la perception des impôts, ruineuse pour le peuple, onéreuse et inutile à L'État," while the nobles of Marseille attacked a local abuse as "contraire tout à la fois le bien de l'état et l'avantage du peuple."⁹⁰ The Third Estate of Marseille instructed its deputies to defend the interests of the people with respect to the other

orders, suggesting that the notion of the "interests of the people" has a national sense: the deputies must "défendre d'égal à égal avec les autres Ordres, les intérêts et la dignité du peuple."⁹¹ This coincidence of the interest of the people and the state can, according to the cahiers from all the orders, be best relieved by reducing taxes or other onerous impositions. Figure Seven-Fourteen shows the collocation of peuple with soulager. In these examples, relief is sought from onerous taxes like the gabelles, and from the ruin which will overtake the people from any number of causes.

The appeals are made to the King, which suggests that although the people are capable of recognizing and articulating their interests, there is a minimal claim to political power. The king is requested to preserve the interests of the people, who, according to the cahier of the Third Estate of Longwy, are obligated by a sort of social contract: "le nom de contrat ou d'acte social entre le Souverain et son peuple."⁹² But this contract does not constitute an abstract set of rights. Rather, rights are the specific obligations owed, as it were, by particular groups. The clergy of Draguignan, for example, called for "moyens pour assurer les droits des décimateurs sans être vexatoires pour le peuple."⁹³ There is no call for any actions based on the abstract political or economic rights of the people in the cahiers.

The traditional formulas regarding the "peuple" found in the General cahiers de doléances stress the passive and dependent

role of the people in the requests they put to the king. This role is in particular contrast to the image of the people found in the discourse of the Société de 1789 and in our sample of American political language. It is unlikely that this image of the people came from Enlightenment thought, since that discourse has been shown to be frequently hostile to the people.⁹⁴ Indeed, an examination of some uses of the word "peuple" by major Enlightenment figures suggests that they adopted a rather distrustful stance toward the lower classes. Diderot, for example, writes of the "peuple imbécille," "un peuple [qui] se trompe," and "le peuple baloté par ses passions et par ses erreurs."⁹⁵ The philosophe is also not optimistic that the people can make progress,⁹⁶ and he depicts the people as violent, superstitious and wholly unable to govern themselves. Because they are easily led by agitators and seditious priests, the menu peuple can overturn social order.⁹⁷ Turgot also felt that the people were made cruel and unable to act as jurors in criminal cases:

The people is hardened by its misery. It is almost indifferent to life, exposes itself to death over the smallest matters, and sees death approach without emotion. No matter what is said, the sentiments of nature are much less alive among it than among men of a higher station. Love itself is weak among our peasants, and often they will miss their cow more than their wife or son. 98

The peuple, according to the philosophes, should benefit from government, and an enlightened administration would govern for the people's benefit. The philosophes, Harry Payne concludes, assumed that power and responsibility would remain in the hands

of an elite and that "this elite could best serve itself and its trust by giving to the people the most it could afford, short of abjuring its own power."⁹⁹ The mainstream of the Enlightenment, particularly those influenced by the ideas of the physiocrats, did not see the peuple playing a major political role.

Although it is certain that the philosophes had a negative image of the peuple, it is important and interesting to note that the general usage of the word was not nearly so negative as Payne reports. Few of the words collocated with the 7,541 occurrences of peuple in the ARTFL database from 1750 to 1788, shown in Figure Seven-Fifteen, suggest the kind of negative evaluation that Payne proposes. Of the 88 most frequent collocates in Figure Seven-Fifteen, only three, foule, barbare, and fureur, suggest the irrationality of the peuple, of which Payne argues the philosophes were convinced. The most highly correlated terms, shown in Figure Seven-Sixteen, suggest that the more typical description of the peuple focussed on the particular histories of peoples like the Romans and Jews -- indicated by terms like sénat (#2), romain (#3), juif (#7), and tribun(s) (#5, 17); and, indeed, that such descriptions frequently included favorable evaluations, like as civilisé (#12) and industrieux (#15). Peuple can, in many instances, be used interchangeably with nation. Many of the characterizations found in Figure Seven-Fifteen suggest that the peuple are considered as a unit of political or economic action, always led by the king or an other leader. And with the negative characterizations of peuple are

found many positive evaluations, such as grand, heureux, riche, éclairé, puissant and vertueux (see Figure Seven-Fifteen). The correlation of peuple and éclairé is particularly unexpected, since this correlation flies in the face of the attitude described by Payne and stated by several philosophes. In fact, there are many examples, in the writings of the philosophes, of the idea that the peuple was not necessarily bound by the traditional negative image, that peoples in the past had become enlightened, and that such progress was possible for all peuples. Even Diderot, for example, leaves open the possibility of progress in his Réfutation [...] d'Helvétius, writing,

Il dit: C'est la législation, le gouvernement qui rendent seuls un peuple stupide ou éclairé.
 Dites: Je l'accorde de la masse; mais il y eut un Sâadi, de grands médecins, sous les califes.
 Il dit: Le caractère dépend entièrement des circonstances.
 Dites: Je crois qu'elles le modifient. 100

Helvétius, in particular, was convinced not only that the peuple could be enlightened, but that it was in the best interest of monarchs to educate their subjects.¹⁰¹ Holbach also held out the prospect that the people could be made reasonable:

le souverain éclairé développe la raison de son peuple; rien de plus aisé que de gouverner des sujets raisonnables; rien de plus difficile que de contenir des hommes ignorants et privés de raison. 102

Even the uncouth inhabitants (by European standards) of the British colonies during the Revolution were considered to be an enlightened people by the philosophes.¹⁰³ The negative image of peuple drawn by many philosophes was not monolithic and admitted more positive evaluations.

There is little evidence, however, to suggest that the philosophes saw an active political role for the peuple. The frequent collocation of terms like roi, prince, souverain, rois, magistrats, chefs, and monarque (Figure Seven-Fifteen) suggests that they believed that the people must be led and formed by the laws given by an individual or small group. The peuple rarely exercise autorité, as the term is used in the eighteenth-century, although they may frequently threaten it.¹⁰⁴ Argenson makes a distinction between authority that is exercised and the sources of authority, which in true democracies can be the peuple. False democracies, he argues, fall into anarchy -- the government of the multitude -- while true democracies function by representation:

La fausse démocratie tombe bientôt dans l'anarchie, c'est le gouvernement de la multitude; tel est un peuple révolté; alors le peuple insolent méprise les loix et la raison; son despotisme tyrannique se remarque par la violence de ses mouvemens et par l'incertitude de ses délibérations. Dans la véritable démocratie on agit par députés, et ces députés sont autorisés par l'élection; la mission des élus du peuple et l'autorité qui les appuie, constitue la puissance publique: leur devoir est de stipuler pour l'intérêt du plus grand nombre des citoyens pour leur éviter les plus grands maux et leur procurer les plus grands biens. 105

It is evident that, even in democracies, the peuple cannot be given authority or power, for the peuple are not rational enough to act appropriately. More frequent is the delegation of autorité to nonelective offices, again in contrast to the peuple. Mercier presents the contrast between the authority of the French king and the subservient position of the peuple through the eyes of a fictional English commentator:

Le roi de France jouit d'une autorité presque indéfinie; il a le fer dans une main, l'or dans l'autre; il fait ployer les corps intermédiaires avec une feuille de papier; il est sûr que la noblesse sera à ses ordres quand il le voudra; la magistrature lui apporte des remontrances, et se retire; le peuple n'a aucune voix, aucune force; il a livré ses biens et sa personne à son maître. 106

Thus, the philosophes -- with the exception of Rousseau -- rarely see the peuple to be active in the political history of nations. The most that many philosophes might concede is that authority comes from the peuple, but that it must be exercised from above. Authority is typically used in contrast to the peuple, suggesting that the philosophes might be willing to ascribe more positive characteristics to the people than has sometimes been argued, but that they still viewed the peuple as a force to be contained by authority.

There seems to be considerable slippage between the image of the people as described in general by eighteenth-century writers, and specific examples of popular ferocity and irrationality that disturbed Voltaire and Diderot. The uses found in the ARTFL database tend to portray the peuple in a national context, and frequently in more positive light than the specifically political references to French popular culture that have been stressed by Payne.

The emphasis on the role the peuple play in government found in the discourse of the Société de 1789 may have been inherited from American rhetoric, which stressed the importance of the authority of the "people themselves." References to the active political role of the peuple does not occur in the traditional

political discourse of the ancien régime or the social and political thought of the Enlightenment. Moderate American populism as found in our sample of Constitutional documents, may be the strongest link between the political language of the United States and that of the Société de 1789. Many other cognates, as we shall see, share common meanings, but do not suggest the same pattern of change which one can detect in the impact of the American Revolution on the development of French political language.

-- VI --

The cognates "liberty/liberté," for example, occur with regularity in all three samples in this study: Figure Seven-One shows that liberty occurs 0.80 times per thousand words in the American sample, 1.29 in the Société de 1789 and 0.75 in the cahiers de doléances. The average usage in the eighteenth-century, as found in the ARTFL database, is 0.3 per thousand occurrences, with a peak of 0.4 during the French Revolution. The plural, libertés, appears rarely in both French samples (twice in the writings of 1789 and five times in the cahiers de doléances¹⁰⁷), while "liberties" occurs far more frequently in the American texts (59 occurrences or .18 times per thousand words). Liberté for the French writers represented in both the Société de 1789 and cahiers de doléances was a unitary abstraction, rarely divided into its various components. The

plural form is similarly rare in the eighteenth-century sample in

Figure Seven-Seventeen
Frequencies of liberté and libertés in the
ARTFL database for the 18th century.

Date	Word	Freq.	/1000
1700-1749:	liberté	2391	0.2529
1750-1775:	liberté	3305	0.3254
1776-1788:	liberté	1490	0.2578
1789-1800:	liberté	996	0.4061
	TOTAL:	8182	0.2939

Date	Word	Freq.	/1000
1700-1749:	libertés	49	0.0051
1750-1775:	libertés	117	0.0115
1776-1788:	libertés	29	0.0050
1789-1800:	libertés	11	0.0044
	TOTAL:	206	0.0073

the ARTFL database, declining to a mere 11 occurrences in the Revolutionary period (see Figure Seven-Seventeen).¹⁰⁸

Liberty of the press is a frequent construction in all three samples, being the most frequent use of liberté in the cahiers de doléances and the third most frequent in the sample of 1789 and in the American documents (Figures Seven-Eighteen to Seven-Twenty). The call for freedom of expression -- represented by demands for liberty of the press -- was a central element in both the Enlightenment and the American Revolution, and it is not surprising to find that the Société de 1789 also frequently mentions this form of liberty. It is important to note, however, that the general discourse between 1750 and 1788, presse is relatively infrequently collocated with liberté, appearing 60th in the terms most frequently associated with liberté as shown in

Figure Seven-Twenty-two (though highly correlated with $sd = 14.2$). Helvétius, for instance, argues that "la liberté de la presse" is one of the four or five laws to which the English "doivent leur bonheur et l'assurance de leur propriété et de leur liberté."¹⁰⁹ "La liberté de la presse," Mercier declared in his L'An Deux Mille Quatre Cent Quatre, "est la vraie mesure de la liberté civile."¹¹⁰ All three Estates demanded liberty of the press in their respective Cahiers de doléances, as is indicated in Figure Seven-Twenty-one. It is clear that, except in the Clergy of Etain's declamation against "excessive" liberty of the press, the role of a free press is seen to be central in a reformed monarchy. Indeed, the Third Estate argued in their cahiers that a free press was the only defense against the abuse of power. The importance accorded to liberty of the press is one of the very few points of contact among all three samples of political text -- the writings of the Société de 1789, the cahiers, and the documents from the American Revolutionary--reflecting the crystallisation of a demand made far less frequently in general discourse of the second half of the eighteenth-century. There is no indication that the American Revolution made this phrase more popular, since it was used almost as regularly in the period from 1750 to 1775 as from 1776 to 1788 (45 as opposed to 37 occurrences of liberté and presse in the same sentence), with Helvétius using it most frequently (13 occurrences).

Liberty/liberté is strongly correlated in American and

Enlightenment discourse with property/propriété. In the American discourse (Figure Seven-Twenty), "property" is the fifth most important modifier of liberty and is strongly correlated (z-score = 17.5). The pairing of liberty and property in the American discourse is frequently part of the slogans deriving from "life, liberty and property." The relationship between liberté and propriété is not as strong in any of the French samples, ranking 14th in the writings of the Société de 1789 (Figure Seven-Eighteen) and 28th in the ARTFL database from 1750 to 1788 (Figure Seven-Twenty-two). The relationship between propriété and liberté is particularly strong in the ARTFL sample, being the most highly correlated term (sd = 29.4). This is not the case, however, in the texts of 1789 where propriété is only moderately correlated with liberté. The ARTFL sample contains texts in which the linkage between property and liberty is made far more explicit than in the American sample, most notably in the work of Du Pont de Nemours. Du Pont and Helvétius used the collocation of propriété and liberté far more frequently than other Enlightenment figures, and in ways that suggest a strong elaboration of Locke's notion of property. Indeed, Du Pont seems to suggest a kind of proprietary notion of individual identity when he writes that

les droits de chaque homme, antérieurs aux conventions, sont la liberté de pourvoir à sa subsistance et à son bien-être, la propriété de sa personne, et celle des choses acquises par le travail de sa personne. Ses devoirs sont le travail pour subvenir à ses besoins, et le respect pour la liberté, pour la propriété personnelle et pour la propriété mobilière d'autrui. 111

Ownership of one's person implies a level of personal liberty and legitimizes ownership of goods and land as an extension of the fundamental right of owning oneself. Thus, according to Du Pont, liberty and property are completely inseparable:

Les lois sociales, établies par l'être suprême, prescrivent uniquement la conservation du droit de propriété, et de la liberté qui en est inséparable. 112

Du Pont was certainly not the only eighteenth century writer to make such declarations. The Abbé Galiani (1770), for example, likened property ownership to the body of the political entity and liberty to its soul:

La propriété et la liberté sont des droits sacrés à l'homme; ils sont les premiers des droits, ils sont en nous, ils constituent notre essence politique comme le corps et l'âme constituent notre physique; excepté les liens qui nous attachent à la société, rien ne doit les troubler. 113

Similarly, Helvétius equates despotism with "nonsociety" because of the fact that neither preserves property or liberty, and he also makes the important connection of property and liberty through the notion of ownership of oneself.¹¹⁴ The importance of property rights and the liberty to enjoy wealth -- even to the protection of luxury -- was explicitly recognized by several Enlightenment figures.¹¹⁵ The ARTFL sample of texts contain many explicit and extensive references to the relationship of liberty and property. The Société de 1789, on the other hand, rarely touches the issue at all, and the vast majority of uses in the American sample are formalistic references rather than part of substantive discussions.

The most frequent collocate of liberté in the discourse of

the Société de 1789 is peuple (Figure Seven-Eighteen). In arguing against the restrictions imposed by the Electoral Laws of 1790, Condorcet suggested that the people had already elected the creators of its liberty:

ce sont ces mêmes élections qui ont donné au peuple François les créateurs de sa liberté, les restaurateurs de ses droits, qui ont appelé dans l'assemblée des représentans de la nation tant d'hommes distingués par leurs lumières. 116

The notion that the people had already recovered their liberty was frequently expressed by the writers of the Société. The frequent collocation of peuple/people with liberté/liberty is also typical of both the American sample (#8 in Figure Seven-Twenty) and the ARTFL sample of texts published between 1750 and 1788 (#7 in Figure Seven-Twenty-two). The fact that peuple is frequently connected to liberté in American and French discourse in the second half of the eighteenth century is not startling. What is surprising is that there are no parallels to the apparent importance of individual liberty and the liberty of citizens in the language of the Cahiers de doléances (items 2, 3, and 4 in Figure Seven-Nineteen). The term individuelle is the second most frequently and the most significantly collocated term with liberté, and both citoyen and citoyens are very significantly collocated with liberté. The Second Estate of Marseille, for example, declared that

La liberté individuelle sera garantie à tous les Français, de manière qu'aucun ordre ou lettre close ne puisse y porter atteinte que pour le moment qui précéderait la rémission du prisonnier à son juge naturel. 117

The terms citoyen and citoyens are typically used in the cahiers

as shorthand for individuelle, since they were used in connection with efforts to prevent arbitrary actions against individuals and citizens alike. For example, the First Estate of Étain instructed its deputies to insure that the Estates General protect the property and liberty of all citizens:

2. -- Qu'elle assure la propriété et la liberté de tout Citoyen, de manière qu'aucun Sujet du Roy ne puisse être privé de sa Liberté, qu'en vertu des Loix protectrices du repos public. 118

Liberty of all three Estates, in the cahiers, is clearly thought of as an affair of individuals, whereas the general use is to represent liberty/liberté in a far more collective fashion. The terms citoyens and citoyen are significantly collocated with liberté in the ARTFL sample dating from 1750 to 1788, but they appear relatively infrequently, occupying rank 29 and 35 respectively (Figure Seven-Twenty-two), while individuelle does not appear at all.¹¹⁹ None of the three terms -- citoyen, citoyens, or individuelle -- appear collocated with liberté in the discourse of the Société de 1789, and the only term which comes close to referring to individual liberty in the American discourse is the reference to "personal" (#36 Figure Seven-Twenty).¹²⁰

There is little to indicate that the American usage of "liberty" played an important role in the definition of the term in the discourse of the Société. There is, however, a considerable degree of similarity in many of the constituent elements of liberty/liberté in all the sources under examination. More surprisingly, the clearest declaration of individual liberty

is not in the American discourse, but in the cahiers de doléances, where the issue was of immediate concern. The American sample and the sample drawn from the ARTFL database are less specific in defining liberty. The importance of proprietary rights as the foundation of liberty is stressed on the grounds that they are an extension of the ownership of oneself and the guarantee of free enjoyment of one's labor.

-- VII --

We have already seen that American notions of the people probably played an important role in the formation of Société's use of the term, since neither the traditional usages of the eighteenth century nor the traditional political discourse as represented by the cahiers can be said to have played a significant role. The notion of "citoyen/citizen" establishes the membership of the body politic, assigning to those who are included certain rights and responsibilities. Figure Seven-One indicates that "citoyens/citizens" is used relatively frequently in the American Constitutional Documents and the writings of the Société de 1789, but not very frequently in the sample of the cahiers de doléances.

The Société de 1789's use of the terms citoyen and citoyens occurs after the National Assembly had enacted the electoral laws, in October 1789, distinguishing between active and passive citizens on the basis of wealth measured by the amount of taxes

assessed on each individual. The fourth most frequently collocated term of citoyens, and the most highly correlated word as shown in Figure Seven-Twenty-three, is actifs. Similarly, the singular form, citoyen, is also frequently used with actif. The distinction between kinds of citizens established by the National Assembly effectively erased a large proportion of the French population from view, for they are only referred to indirectly by members of the club, and never by the formal term citoyen passif. The only direct reference to citizens without the franchise is in a reference to the qualifications required to become members of the National Guard, using the construction citoyens non-actifs. Those excluded from the National Guard include

les vieillards, les infirmes, les citoyens non-actifs, les hommes accoutumés à des fonctions paisibles, ceux qui ne pourroient faire les fraix du costume militaire, etc.; enfin, à peu-près les trois quarts de la nation ne feroient réellement jamais partie de cette troupe, quoique le service fût très-rare, très-peu pénible, et sans dangers. Il seroit toujours rempli, ou par des jeunes gens pleins de zèle, ou par des hommes que chacun paieroit à son tour. 121

This does not, of course, suggest that members of the club agreed with the distinction between citizens. Indeed, the first number of the Journal de la Société de 1789 reprinted Condorcet's attack on property qualifications which was presented to the National Assembly on April 20, 1790. The decision creating distinctions between citizens, the Address to the National Assembly declared, is one against which

s'élèvent presque'universellement les réclamations des citoyens moins ambitieux d'obtenir des places qu'humiliés d'en être exclus par la loi, et blessés de voir au moment même où la richesse a cessé de pouvoir conduire à la noblesse, qui n'étoit qu'une simple distinction, cette même

richesse conférer le droit bien plus précieux, bien plus cher à leur coeur, de servir leur province ou leur ville, et de défendre la liberté et les intérêts de la patrie dans les assemblées augustes où réside la majesté du peuple. 122

The fact remains that the distinction was quickly adopted by members of 1789, and, more importantly, it effectively removed passive citizens from their discourse. Citizenship, in the rhetoric of the Société, admitted many classes (#16 Figure Seven-Twenty-three), although not all were graced with the same rights. The shorthand for referring to disenfranchised citizens was to call them "the most numerous class of citizens":

si l'on voit sur-tout un faux esprit, de faux principes fermenter sourdement, et presque avec suite dans la plus nombreuse classe de citoyens. 123

This last class of citizens, to use André Chenier's expression, knows nothing, owns nothing, takes interest in nothing, and knows only enough to sell to those who can pay. Given the distinctions among citizens, it was necessary to indicate explicitly when all citizens were being referred to, such as in the following declaration: "la morale fasse partie d'une éducation publique commune à toutes les classes de citoyens."¹²⁴ Thus, while citizenship was supposed to be universal, and all were supposed to enjoy many rights, the members of the Société used the term selectively, adding to the notion of citoyen a number of economic and moral qualifications.

There are few collocations of peuple and citoyen(s) in the discourse of the Société, and those that do occur suggest that there are important distinctions between the people and citizens. The hypothetical voting situation described below sees the people

voting for citizens:

Supposons, par exemple, qu'une place est vacante, et que les regards du peuple qui doit y nommer, se partagent entre quatre citoyens. 125

Chenier was particularly graphic in his distinction between citizens and the people. Citizens are moral, patriotic individuals whose actions and example will teach the people its interests and the duties of liberty:

Puisse-t-il réveiller par toute la France beaucoup de citoyens aussi respectables qui prennent sur eux un si noble, un si patriotique emploi! Qu'ils instruisent le peuple, qu'ils lui montrent son bonheur, sa liberté dans ses devoirs. 126

Thus, the distinctions that cut through the notion of citoyens in the discourse of 1789 were derived from the fact that electoral distinctions had been made and that these distinctions were accepted by many members of the club as a buffer against what some members, such as Chenier, saw as popular ignorance.

The distinctions, both electoral and moral, between citizens run counter to the general statements of the club concerning the status of citizens. The Prospectus of the club advertises that the discussion of l'art social will attempt to resolve issues stemming from the application of laws in France,

d'après les principes constitutifs du nouveau droit public françois, et sur-tout d'après les règles invariables puisées dans la nature des choses et dans les droits des citoyens. 127

The rights of citizens and "the nature of things" are the primary guides for evaluation of public policy and, presumably, the most important guides for legislation. The rights of citizens (#9 and #10 in Figure Seven-Twenty-three), are central to the formation

of government. In these uses, citoyens is universal in almost all cases, since rights of citizens are finally derived from the rights of man:

la distribution des pouvoirs est une opération politique, par laquelle les conventions constituantes doivent chercher à assurer aux citoyens la jouissance de leurs droits, des lois justes et sages, équitablement appliquées, et les avantages d'une administration douce, active, éclairée sur-tout à l'abri de la corruption. 128

The rights of citizens, in this construction, belong to all individuals without fiscal or moral limitations. Similarly, the most frequent and highly correlated word around citoyen in the discourse of the Société is chaque (sd = 26.4). In these uses, the term citoyen is almost perfectly synonymous with people or inhabitants. For example, "l'intérêt de chaque citoyen est de jouir de la sûreté, de la liberté, de la paix, de n'avoir rien à craindre pour sa propriété."¹²⁹ The use of citoyens in the discourse of the Société de 1789 thus reflects two rather distinct notions of citizenship. The first is a universal one, that all inhabitants of the nation are citizens. The second uses a series of fiscal and moral distinctions to suggest that citizenship admits of degrees and qualities, seen in terms of electoral competence, education, and even morality.

Our sample American political discourse shows many of the same characteristics, with some important differences. "Citizen" is a more inclusive term than the French citoyen as we have seen it used by the Société. For example, the form "fellow-citizens," a rhetorical form of address which is used as a description of individuals and is very frequent in the American

sample (36 occurrences, #5 Figure Seven-Twenty-four) and relatively rare in the writings of the Société de 1789 (concitoyens occurs only 6 times). The use of "classes of citizens" (#23 and 26, Figure Seven-Twenty-four) in the American discourse does not carry with it the same distinctions as in the usage of the Société de 1789. Rather, the phrase is used to distinguish -- almost exclusively by Hamilton and Madison-- between occupational and economic categories of society. Madison, for example, attacks the suggestion that the House will favor the elite classes of citizens more than the less favored by asking whether the Constitution

is not, on the contrary, strictly conformable to these principles, and scrupulously impartial to the rights and pretensions of every class and description of citizens?

Who are to be the electors of the federal representatives? Not the rich, more than the poor; not the learned, more than the ignorant; not the haughty heirs of distinguished names, more than the humble sons of obscurity and unpropitious fortune. 130

The term "class" here is equated with "description," and Madison makes it clear that the category citizen includes all possible descriptions of citizens. The characterization of citizens by occupation is not a negative process in American discourse. Hamilton, for example, mentions "that valuable class of the citizens who are employed in the cultivation of the soil." 131

The American discourse use of distinctions between citizens was not the profound demarkation scheme that we have seen in the language of 1789, but it did see relations between citizens as an area of government activity that the French did not mention. The terms "between," "different" and "another" are all frequent

collocates of "citizens" (Table Seven-Twenty-four, #3, 4, 8). The interests of citizens from different States and economic sectors must be balanced by the Federal government through wise legislation and through the judiciary. Hamilton argues that the means of resolving disputes between citizens of various States is central to the preservation of peace:

The power of determining causes between two States, between one State and the citizens of another, and between the citizens of different States, is perhaps not less essential to the peace of the Union than that which has been just examined. History gives us a horrid picture of the dissensions and private wars which distracted and desolated Germany prior to the institution of the Imperial Chamber by Maximilian. 132

The 80th Federalist by Hamilton discusses the nature of judicial powers in the Union, outlining the Federal role in arbitrating disputes between States and between citizens of particular States. It is precisely this explicit statement regarding citizenship that distinguishes the American from French discussions of the citizen. The language of 1789 assumes the identity of the nation of which one is a citizen; the citizen is a member of the French nation. The first two collocates of "citizens," however, in the American discourse are "state" and "states." In this discourse, the citizen is seen foremost as a citizen of a particular state. In the writings of the Société de 1789, the third most frequent collocate of citoyens is nation and the 21st is français, but these are not nearly as frequent by comparison to the American sample, and they are only moderately related to citoyen. In the American discourse, citizens are distinguished by class, though these distinctions do not seem to

be as rigid as in the language of 1789, and by state. Indeed, citizenship in the nation does not seem to be possible in the American context, since the Federal government exists, by definition, to moderate conflicts between citizens of different states.

The members of the Société de 1789 seem to have more readily adopted the eighteenth-century French usage of citoyens than the American use of "citizen." The ARTFL sample of texts published between 1750 and 1788 shows that the term citoyen was used consistently during the second half of the eighteenth-century.

Figure Seven-Twenty-five

Date	Word	Freq.	/1000	Word	Freq.	/1000
1700-1749:	citoyen	350	0.0370	citoyens	788	0.0833
1750-1775:	citoyen	845	0.0832	citoyens	1554	0.1530
1776-1788:	citoyen	473	0.0818	citoyens	976	0.1688
1789-1800:	citoyen	150	0.0611	citoyens	416	0.1696
TOTAL:		1818	0.0653		3734	0.1341

The use of citoyen (shown in Figure Seven-Twenty-five) declines moderately in the period 1789 to 1800 from its peak in the twenty-five years before the American Revolution, while the use of the plural citoyens increases slightly after the American Revolution.

The words classe and classes (Figure Seven-Twenty-six #12, 17) are very highly correlated with citoyens in the ARTFL sample. The use in the ARTFL sample is considerably closer to that which we have seen in the Société than the American usage, for here the classes of citizens seem to be more clearly and irremediably

distinct. Diderot, for instance, argues that

la société se divise en deux classes: une classe très-étroite des citoyens qui sont riches et une classe très-nombreuse des citoyens qui sont pauvres. 133

Abbé Raynal is even more insistant on the irremedial distinction that wealth places between citizens:

Les riches et les pauvres, les propriétaires et les mercenaires, c'est-à-dire les maîtres et les esclaves, forment deux classes de citoyens, malheureusement opposés. En vain quelques écrivains modernes ont voulu par des sophismes établir un traité de paix entre ces deux conditions. 134

Helvétius also argues that citizens are distinguished by wealth:

il n'est dans la plupart des royaumes que deux classes de citoyens; l'une qui manque du nécessaire, l'autre qui regorge de superflus. 135

In another passage, he argues that stability can be maintained in a state -- such as England -- if one can establish an equilibrium of power between the "différentes classes des citoyens." 136 The degree of division between classes of citizens, in Enlightenment discourse, extends to knowledge and language. Condillac writes that

Comme dans chaque classe de citoyens les observations tendent à se mettre en proportion avec les besoins, le recueil des observations de toutes les classes tend à se mettre en proportion avec les besoins de la société entière. Chaque classe, à mesure qu'elle acquiert des connoissances, enrichit des mots qu'elle croit propres à les communiquer. 137

The body of knowledge, found in society as a whole, is extended by the observations and discourses created by each class of society. Classes of citizens designate fundamental differences between groups of inhabitants in a nation, differences which do not, as in the American example, get swept away under the rubric

of citizen. The distinctions between citizens identified by the Société de 1789 seem to be consistent with Enlightened discourse and to run counter to the American usage.

Citizenship seems to require acknowledgement of the entity in which one is a citizen. In the American usage of citizen, that entity is a State, while the Société de 1789 assumes the essential identity of the French nation. The fifth most frequent collocate of citoyens in the ARTFL sample of texts published before the French Revolution is patrie, and the 22nd is nation (Figure Seven-Twenty-six). This is interesting for several reasons. The first is that, as we have seen in Chapter Six¹³⁸, the Société de 1789 did not frequently use the term patrie although it was commonly used between 1750 and 1788, and the occurrences of citoyens in the writings of the club are missing an important element of identification of citizen with "fatherland" that was common to pre-Revolutionary discourse. This also sets a further distinction between the French and American political discourses, since in France citizenship was clearly identified with a "fatherland." This identification is most clearly associated with Rousseau, whose numerous declarations of the need to have and serve a patrie are well known:

un état où tous les particuliers se connoissant entr'eux, les manoeuvres obscures du vice ni la modestie de la vertu n'eussent pû se dérober aux regards et au jugement du public, et où cette douce habitude de se voir et de se connoître, fit de l'amour de la patrie l'amour des citoyens plutôt que celui de la terre. 139

The linkage between citoyen and patrie predates Rousseau, for it is also found in many eighteenth-century writers. Helvétius, for

example, argues that the respect of one nation for another comes from,

sans contredit, le nombre, la vigueur de ses citoyens, leur attachement pour la patrie, et enfin leur courage et leur vertu. 140

Helvétius makes the connection between the patrie and the moral qualities of its citizens -- a central distinction in the use of citoyens in 1789 -- explicit and direct. For him, the strength of la patrie is a function of the morals and courage of its citizens. Montesquieu sees much the same relationship between the morals of the citizens. He defines good morals as the rendering of service to la patrie. He writes that

L'amour de l'égalité, dans une démocratie, borne l'ambition au seul désir, au seul bonheur de rendre (à sa patrie de plus grands services) que les autres citoyens. 141

Thus, the citizens of a patrie are defined by their virtue. The words bons and vertueux are frequently collocated with citoyens (See Figure Seven-Twenty-six #8, #2C). The moral component of citizenship, as defined by many Enlightenment figures and particularly when this component is linked to patrie, suggests that the origins of the Société de 1789's seemingly exclusive definition of citoyen has little to do with the American Revolution.

-- IX --

Many members of the Société de 1789 were convinced that the American example was of capital importance to the French Revolution, and that it served as a model and inspiration for

many of the actions of 1789 and 1790. The Société de 1789 has been identified as one of the most consistently pro-American institutions of the early Revolutionary period. There is, however, relatively little indication that the American example played an important role in modifying French political language during the second half of the eighteenth century. An examination the ARTFL database for the periods corresponding to the American pre-Revolutionary phase (1750-1775), the years between the American and French Revolutions, and the samples drawn from the Société de 1789 in 1790 indicate more distinctions in cognate use than strong similarities. The diachronic shifts of the French political lexicon do not correspond -- in any meaningful way-- to the chronology of political events. And even in the strongest case of such a movement, the changing use of the word peuple, there is little indication of a shift in usage after 1776. Rather, the Société de 1789 seems to have adopted a mild sort of populist rhetoric that had not been common before the French Revolution. This suggests that the influence was a direct result of the American contacts of certain prominent members of the club, rather than the result of any consistent cultural contacts. Conversely, the use of the term citoyen by the Société does not seem to follow the American usage. Rather, the members of the club seem to follow the meaning of citoyen that was common among French writers in the half century before the Revolution. Thus, there seems to have been some points of contact between the discourses of the Société and the American Revolutionary

rhetoric, but in relatively small and isolated areas.

This is not to say that the perception held by members of the Société regarding the importance of the American example is incorrect, for there are several considerations which limit the effectiveness of the approach used in this chapter. For instance, there has not been, to our knowledge, any systematic examination of cultural contact based on cognate use in previous historical or political research. It is clear that many members of the club, possibly far more than any other group in the early Revolutionary period, were aware of the American Revolution and its literature. The degree to which changing cognate meanings reflect the borrowing of ideas and political discourses across cultural and linguistic barriers is not clear. In addition, American political rhetoric was itself heavily influenced by Enlightenment ideas and language. Determining the exact source of a particular notion may not be possible using the methods employed in this chapter. Patterns of similarity and contrast cannot prove points of contact, although they do suggest such links across languages and cultures.

The language used by the Société does not seem to have been heavily influenced by the American Revolution. Where there are signs of contact, it is also possible that members of 1789, under the pressure of the Revolution, were simply borrowing from an Enlightenment tradition that was reflected back to France after having been transformed in America. The importance of the political mirage in the west and as an example for the behavior

of particular individuals, such as La Fayette, is indisputable. However, the role of American political language in the creation of French Revolutionary discourse seems to been less pronounced.

Notes

1. André Castelot, ed., My friend Lafayette, mon ami Washington, (Paris: Union Générale d'Editions, 1975), p. 254.

2. Franklin's popularity is, of course, well known. Jefferson commented on this in 1791, where he suggested that succeeding Dr. Franklin at the Court was "an excellent school of humility." He writes:

There appeared to me more respect and veneration attached to the character of Franklin in France, than to that of any other person in the same country, foreign or native. I had frequent opportunities of knowing particularly how far these sentiments were felt by the foreign ambassadors and ministers at the court of Versailles." [cited in John Bigelow, ed., The Life of Benjamin Franklin written by Himself, 3 vols., (Philadelphia: Lippincott and Co., 1881), 3:297.

See James Leith, "Le Culte de Franklin en France avant et pendant la Révolution française" Annales Historiques de la Révolution française 48 (1976): 543-71.

3. G. de Bertier de Sauvigny in "Présentation" in Michel-Guillaume-Jean de Crèvecoeur, Lettres d'un cultivateur Américain, (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1979), [Paris, 1784], n.p. See Bernard Fäy, Bibliographie critique des ouvrages français relatif aux Etats-Unis (1770-1800), (Paris, 1925) for a helpful chronological presentation of the many works that appeared between 1770 and 1800.

4. Cited in Yvon Bizardel, The First Expatriates: Americans in Paris During the French Revolution, translated by J. P. Wilson and C. Higginson, (New York: Holt Rinehard and Winston, 1975), p. 24. Also see Susan Alsop, Yankees at the Court: The First Americans in Paris (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1982). Franklin's warning was not heeded by many Frenchmen. Indeed, during the Revolution many émigrés wound up in the republic, attempting to establish new towns in the wilderness. La Fayette's brother-in-law, the vicomte Louis-Marie de Noailles, was only one of these pioneers. In the years following his flight from France in 1792, he and several other former aristocrats established the town of Azylum on the banks of the Susquehanna river. It lasted longer than most of these "utopias," collapsing in 1803, the year after Bonaparte proclaimed the general amnesty. See Françoise Kermina, "Azylum, l'utopique cité de la Révolution," Historia 496 (April, 1988): 50-59.

5. Peter Gay, The Enlightenment: An Interpretation, 2 vols., (New York: Knopf, 1966), 2:555.

6. See Lynn Hunt, "The 'National Assembly,'" in K.M. Baker, ed., The Political Culture of the Old Regime (Oxford: Pergamon, 1987). She cites Rabaut Saint Etienne's attack on the importance of historical precedence in his Second avis important à la nation:

If the form of our government has been vicious since the beginning of the monarchy; if the composition, the holding and the deliberation of the Estates General have been irregular, does it follow that, in the most enlightened century that ever was, we should go back to the times when France and all Europe were covered in darkness, and adopt the usages that are defective and contrary to reason? (p. 408)

7. Durand Echeverria, Mirage in the West: A History of the French Image of American Society to 1815, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957), p. 42.

8. Joyce Appleby, "America as a Model for the Radical French Reformers of 1789," William and Mary Quarterly 28 (1971): 272-3.

9. Durand Echeverria, Mirage in the West, p. 145

10. R. R. Palmer, The Age of Democratic Revolution, 2 vols., (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964), 1:518-521. Georges Lefebvre, The Coming of the French Revolution, trans. R.R. Palmer, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1947), pp. 173-181. See Gilbert Chinard, "Notes on the American Origins of the 'Declaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen'," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society XCVIII: (1954). Also see more recent treatments including the collection of essays in La Révolution Américaine et l'Europe. 21-25 février 1978, Paris-Toulouse, (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1979). The Annales Historiques de la Révolution française devoted the number 48 (1976) to studies of the European influence of the American Revolution; Yvon Seren, "L'Exemple américain dans les institutions issues de la Révolution française. Les déclarations américaines et la déclaration française des Droits de l'homme et du citoyen de 1789" in Annales de Bretagne 84 (1977): 281-92; Patrick Thierry, "De la Révolution Américaine à la Révolution française: Paine, Burke, et les Droits de l'Homme," Critique 481-482 (1987): 476-505.

11. Bernard Groethuysen, Philosophie de la Révolution française, (Paris: Editions Gonthier, 1956), p. 181.

12. Lynn Hunt, Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1984), p. 34.

13. Durand Echeverria, Mirage in the West, p. 233.

14. See Ambrose Saricks, Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours, (Lawrence, Kansas, University of Kansas Press, 1965), and R.F. Betts, "DuPont de Nemours in Napoleonic France: 1802-1815" in French Historical Studies 5 (1967-1968). It was Pierre Samuel's youngest son, Eleuthère-Irénée, who had worked under Lavoisier at the Poudrierie nationale.

15. "Extraits des registres des délibérations de la Société de 1789," Journal de la Société de 1789 3 (June 19, 1790): 34. See Bernard Fäy, The Revolutionary Spirit in France and America, trans. Ramon Guthrie, (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1966): 286-296, for descriptions of a number of ceremonies honoring Franklin after his death.

16. "Extraits des registres des délibérations de la Société de 1789," p. 43

17. "Extraits des registres des délibérations de la Société de 1789," pp.44-45. The translations were of all of the state constitutions which La Rochefoucauld and Franklin published under the title Constitutions des treize Etats-Unis de l'Amérique (Paris, 1783).

18. The English text is found in John Bigelow, ed., The Life of Benjamin Franklin, vol. 3, pp. 247-255. The French translation is found in "Lettre de Franklyn, du 25 Janvier 1784," Journal de la Société de 1789 8 (July 24, 1790): 9-16.

19. This is described in Carl van Doren, Benjamin Franklin (New York: The Viking Press: 1938), pp. 707-710. On March 16, "Franklin wrote that it [the letter] would probably never appear till after his death, if then." (709)

20. See Guy Chaussinand-Nogaret, Mirabeau, (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1982): pp.100-103.

21. André Castelot, ed., My friend Lafayette, p. 209. Jefferson also opposed the Order, see Gilbert Chinard, Thomas Jefferson: The Apostle of Americanism, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1957), p. 152.

22. "Lettre au Rédacteur," Journal de la Société de 1789 8 (July 24, 1790): 1.

23. Ibid., p.2.

24. Ibid., p.6.

25. Ibid., p.8.

26. See Chinard, Thomas Jefferson, pp. 275-85.

27. La Fayette wrote of Lacolombe, "Mon aide de camp (qui s'est distingué) dans celle d'Amérique, employé depuis au service de la cause populaire où il a beaucoup fait et beaucoup risqué." [cited in Paul Robiquet, Le personnel municipal de Paris pendant la Révolution: période constitutionnelle, (Paris: Maison Quantin, 1890), p. 154]. See also U. Rouchon, Un ami de La Fayette: le chevalier de la Colombe, (Paris: Champion Ed., 1924).

28. See P. Mazzei, My Life and Wanderings, translated by S. E. Scalia, (Morristown, NJ: American Institute of Italian Studies, 1980), and R.C. Garlick, Philip Mazzei, Friend of Jefferson: His Life and Letters, (Baltimore, 1933).

29. See Durand Echeverria's translation of "Condorcet's The Influence of the American Revolution on Europe" in William and Mary Quarterly, 25 (1968): 85.

30. Ibid., p.86.

31. Ibid., p.102.

32. Condorcet's strong reaction to the American revolution has been discussed by a number of scholars. See L.M. Gidney, L'Influence des Etats-Unis d'Amérique sur Brissot, Condorcet et Mme. Roland (Paris: Rieder, 1930). See also the interesting discussion of Franklin and Condorcet by Horst Dippel, "Franklin and Condorcet: Revolution and Social Order; Some remarks on their Social Theories" in La Révolution Américaine et l'Europe, pp. 431-447. A.O. Aldridge has stressed the relationship between Paine and Condorcet in "Condorcet et Paine: leurs rapports intellectuels" Revue de littérature comparée 32 (1958): 47-65.

33. "Lettres d'un bourgeois de New-Haven à un citoyen de Virginie sur l'inutilité de partager le pouvoir législatif entre plusieurs corps" in Condorcet, Oeuvres, IX pp.1-93 "Lettres d'un citoyen des Etats-Unis à un français sur les affaires présentes" in Condorcet, Oeuvres, IX pp. 97-123. See also his Sentiments d'un républicain (Oeuvres, IX pp. 127-143) including the subtitle, "suite des lettres d'un citoyen des Etats-Unis à un français sur les affaires présentes."

34. American style constitutional conventions, Condorcet argues, cannot be used in France because of the pretensions of the various Orders. These "conventions supposent une certaine confiance dans les principes de la raison naturelle, [and] la connaissance et l'amour des droits généraux et essentiels de l'humanité." ("Lettres d'un citoyen des Etats-Unis à un français sur les affaires présentes," p. 122).

35. Condorcet, Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain, eds. Monique and François Hincker, (Paris: Editions sociales, 1971): 223, 225.

36. See Robert Darnton, "A Spy in Grub Street" in The Literary Underground of the Old Regime, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), pp. 41-70.

37. Jean-Paul Brissot de Warville and Etienne Clavière, De la France et des Etats-Unis, ou l'Importance de la révolution de l'Amérique pour le bonheur de la France, (London, 1787). This was translated into English as the second volume of Jacques-Pierre Brissot de Warville's, On America (London: J.S.Jordon, 1794) which contains a life of Brissot, but excludes the Société Gallo-Américain prospectus.

38. Ibid., p. xxxii.

39. Ibid., p. 305.

40. Ibid., pp. 309-10.

41. Ibid., p. 325.

42. Ibid., pp. 340-342. Brissot's trip to America resulted in yet another book, Nouveau Voyage dans les Etats-Unis, in 1791. In 1785, Echeverria writes, Brissot had begun to "consider seriously the idea of emigrating to the United States with his wife." "Introduction" in, J.P. Brissot de Warville, New travels in the United States of America, ed. Durand Echeverria, trans M. S. Vamos and Durand Echeverria, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. xiii.

43. Bernard Fäy, The Revolutionary Spirit in France and America, p. 240. Eloise Ellery writes that "the membership was to be limited, consisting of twelve persons in Paris, twenty-four in the provinces, the same number in the United States, and of an indefinite number in other foreign countries. For admission to resident membership a unanimous vote was necessary. Quality, rather than quantity, was thus emphasized, perhaps with a further idea of making the society attractive by reason of its exclusiveness." Eloise Ellery, Brissot de Warville. A Study in the History of the French Revolution, (New York: AMS Press, 1970), pp. 62-63.

44. See Robert Darnton, Mesmerism and the End of the Enlightenment in France, (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 89.

45. Nicolas Bergasse was a convinced Mesmerist and developed education and political theories that combined Rousseauist views of the ideal natural life with the "scientific" theories of animal magnetism, resulting in a "vaguely democratic tone" that stressed the importance of the simple rural life which preserved the "physico-moral strength" of the common man. See *ibid.*, pp.

115-122.

46. Jean-Paul Brissot de Warville and Etienne Clavière, De la France et des Etats-Unis, p.340.

47. Filippo Mazzei, Recherches historiques et politiques sur les Etats-Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale, Où l'on traite des établissemens des treize Colonies, de leurs rapports et de leurs dissensions avec la Grande-Bretagne, de leurs gouvernemenns avant et après la révolution, etc., (Paris: Froullé, libraire, 1788). See also Philip Mazzei, Researches on the United States, trans. C. D. Sherman, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1976).

48. R.C. Garlick, Philip Mazzei, p. 115.

49. Phillip Mazzei, Researches, p. 2.

50. Ibid., p. 297.

51. Le Fédéraliste, ou Collection de quelques Ecrits en faveur de la Constitution proposée aux Etats-Unis de l'Amérique, 2 vols., (Paris: Chez Buisson, Libraire, 1792)

52. Roy Fairfield writes, "the authors' identities were kept a close secret. In fact, not until the appearance of the first French edition of 1792 were the three men publicly identified with the project." "Introduction" in Roy Fairfield, ed., The Federalist Papers, (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1961), p. ix.

53. Anonymous, bearing the imprint Au congrès des souverains, 1790.

54. Ibid., p. 2

55. Ibid., p. 4.

56. Ibid., pp. 15-16.

57. Echeverria, Mirage in the West, p.172.

58. Ibid., pp. 173-4.

59. Benjamin Whorf, "Language, Mind and Reality" in John B. Carroll, ed., Language, Thought and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf, (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1956), pp. 246-247.

60. As shown in the following Figure, the Constitutional documents, State constitutions, Federal proposals, and declarations of rights, are slightly underrepresented in their use of "government" when compared to the Federalist Papers and

other texts included in the sample.

Range Names	Frequency		-- Percentages --	
	Count	Actual	Expect	Difference
Federalist Papers	827	60%	57%	3%
Other Texts	394	28%	23%	5%
Constitutions	167	12%	20%	-8%

61. See John Adams, Thoughts on Government, (Provo, UT: ETC, 1987), [THGHTS ON GOVERNMENT Adams:3]. Please note that references to the American Constitutional Document collection use computer generated citations encoded by the publishers. These are placed in square brackets and usually include the title, author and paragraph number.

62. Alexander Hamilton, Federalist Papers 85, (Provo, UT: ETC, 1987), [FEDERALIST 85 Hamilton:3]

63. See John Adams, Thoughts on Government, (Provo, UT: ETC, 1987), [THGHTS ON GOVERNMENT Adams:9]

64. The following shows the over-representation of the collocation of general and government in Richard Henry Lee Letters from the Federal Farmer to the Republican (1787) an anti-federal constitution tract.

Range Names	Frequency		-- Percentages --	
	Count	Actual	Expect	Difference
Federal Farmer Letters	33	36	5	31

65. Thirty-nine percent of the 57 occurrences are found in L. Ramond, Opinion énoncée à la Société de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf, sur les lois constitutionnelles, leur caractères distinctifs, leur ordre naturel, leur stabilité relative, leur revision solennelle, par M. Ramond, membre de cette Société. Première partie, (Paris: Belin, 1791) and Casaux, Aperçu de la constitution française, par un homme d'Amérique, et Réponse sommaire à tout ce qu'on a écrit et écrira en France et en Angleterre pour, sur et contre cette constitution. (Paris: Imp. Lejay fils, s.d. [1790]).

Book	Frequency		-- Percentages --	
	Count	Actual	Expect	Difference
Casaux Constitution	6	11%	5%	6%
Ramond Loix	16	28%	8%	20%

66. See Condorcet, "Sur l'admission des femmes au droit de cité," Journal de la Société de 1789 4 (26 June 1790) and M. le chevalier de Pange "Sur le crime de lèze-nation," Journal de la Société de 1789 2 (12 June 1790).

67. L. Ramond, Opinion énoncée à la Société de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf, sur les lois constitutionnelles, p. 11.

68. This relatively infrequent use of "gouvernement" may be typical of early Revolutionary discourse. Sieyès uses it only 16 times in Qu'est ce que le Tiers Etat and none of these in the context of discussions of forms of government. Later in the Revolution, Robespierre uses the word far more frequently, 84 times in the ARTFL sample of his speeches.

69. The word "nation" is substantially over-represented in the Federalist Papers. Only one text, Washington's Farewell Address is over-represented by more than 5%. Both "nations" and "national" are NOT included in this discussion.

Range Names	Frequency	-- Percentages --		
	Count	Actual	Expect	Difference
Federalist Papers	97	67%	57%	10%
Other Texts	41	28%	23%	5%
Constitutions	6	4%	20%	-16%

Document	Frequency	-- Percentages --		
	Count	Actual	Expect	Difference
WASHS FAREWELL ADDR	18	13%	2%	11%

70. John Jay, Federalist Papers 2, (Provo, UT: ETC, 1987), [FEDERALIST 2 Jay:8]

71. George Washington, Farewell Address, (Provo, UT: ETC, 1987), [WASHS FAREWELL ADDR Sep 1796:34]

72. Alexander Hamilton, Federalist Papers 66, (Provo, UT: ETC, 1987), [FEDERALIST 66 Hamilton:11]

73. M. le chevalier de Pange, "Sur le crime de lèse-nation," Journal de la Société de 1789 2 (12 June 1790): 17-18.

74. Casaux, Aperçu de la constitution française, o.36

75. Ibid., p.20.

76. André Chenier, "Avis au peuple françois sur ses véritables ennemis," Journal de la Société de 1789 10 (28 August 1790): 26.

77. James Madison, The Federalist 45, (Provo, UT: ETC, 1987), [FEDERALIST 45 Madison:2]

78. Richard Henry Lee, Letters from the Federal Farmer to the Republican, (Provo, UT: ETC, 1987), [FED FARMER LETTERS 1:10]

79. James Madison, The Federalist 39 (Provo, UT: ETC, 1987), [FEDERALIST 39 Madison:12]
80. Richard Henry Lee, Letters from the Federal Farmer to the Republican, (Provo, UT: ETC, 1987), [FED FARMER LETTERS 2:5]
80. "Virginia Constitution," in American Constitutional Documents, (Provo, UT: ETC, 1987), [VIRGINIA-Const Rights:1]
81. John Jay, The Federalist 4, (Provo, UT: ETC, 1987), [FEDERALIST 4 Jay:17]
82. John Jay, The Federalist 4, (Provo, UT: ETC, 1987), [FEDERALIST 2 Jay:6]
83. P.-S. DuPont de Nemours, "Considérations sur la position politique de la France, de l'Angleterre, et de l'Espagne" Journal de la Société de 1789 4 (26 June 1790): 4.
84. André Chenier, "Avis au peuple françois sur ses véritables ennemis," Journal de la Société de 1789 10 (28 August 1790): 4.
85. M. Grouvelle, "Sur la délégation de l'exercice du droit de la guerre et de la paix," Journal de la Société de 1789, 1 (5 June 1790): 37.
86. Casaux, Aperçu de la constitution française, p.13.
87. L. Ramond, Opinion énoncée a la Société de 1789 sur les LOIX CONSTITUTIONNELLES, p. 58.
88. "Extraits du procès-verbal des séances de la Société de 1789, du vendredi 3 Septembre 1790," Journal de la Société de 1789, 15 (15 September 1790): 2.
89. Casaux, Aperçu de la constitution française. p. 16.
90. "L'ORDRE DU CLERGE DU BAILLIAGE D'ETAIN. Plaintes, Doléances, et Remontrances du Clergé du Bailliage d'Étain," in Hyslop, A Guide to the General Cahiers of 1789 with the texts of Unedited Cahiers, (Columbia University Press: New York, 1936), p.293. "CAHIERS DES DOLEANCES ET INSTRUCTIONS ARRETEES DANS L'ASSEMBLEE DE LA NOBLESSE DE MARSEILLE ET REMIS A SES DEPUTES AUX ETATS GENERAUX, LE 2 AVRIL 1789" in Joseph Fournier, ed. Cahiers de doléances de la Sénéchaussée de Marseille pour les Etats Généraux de 1789, (Marseille: Imprimerie Nouvelle, 1908).
91. "PLAINTES ET DOLEANCES DE LA VILLE DE MARSEILLE" in Fournier, ed. Cahiers de doléances de la Sénéchaussée de Marseille, p. 401.

92. "CAHIER DES DOLEANCES PLAINTES ET RECLAMATIONS DU TIERS-ETAT DU BAILLIAGE DE LONGUYON" in Hyslop, A Guide to the General Cahiers of 1789, p. 319.

93. "No. 12. The Clergy of the Seneschaussee of Draguignan" in Hyslop, A Guide to the General Cahiers of 1789, p. 286.

94. See Harry Payne's study, The Philosophes and the People (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), for a good discussion of the social thought of main Enlightenment figures.

95. ARTFL: Diderot D. Pensées Philosophiques, Ed. R. Niklaus, (Geneva: Droz, 1950), p. 38, 32. "ARTFL:" indicates that the citation is from the ARTFL database. Bibliographic, spelling and pagination conventions from the database are used.

96. He writes, for example: "Les progrès de la lumière sont limités ; elle ne gagne guère les faubourgs. Le peuple y est trop bête, trop misérable et trop occupé." ARTFL: Diderot D. Lettres A Sophie Volland, vol. 1. Ed. A. Babelon, (Paris: Gallimard, 1950), p. 79.

97. Diderot writes:

"... quant au menu peuple, il paroît que ce sont ses chefs qui fomentent en lui l'esprit de sédition, furieux qu'ils sont des bornes que nous avons mises à leurs pouvoirs: car nous les avons bannis de nos tribunaux , et ils n'ont plus la commodité de disposer des testaments, de supplanter les héritiers légitimes, et de s'emparer des successions ... c'est pourquoi nous défendons à ce peuple de s'assembler en tumulte et de cabaler chez ses prêtres séditieux ... que cet édit fasse la sûreté de nos magistrats que les mutins ont insulté plus d'une fois, et mis en danger d'être lapidés ... qu'ils se rendent paisiblement chez leurs chefs, qu'ils y prient, qu'ils s'y instruisent, et qu'ils y satisfassent au culte qu'ils en ont reçu ; nous le leur permettons : mais qu'ils renoncent à tout dessein factieux ... si ces assemblées sont pour eux une occasion de révolte... ." ARTFL: Diderot D. Lettres A Sophie Volland, pp. 79-80.

98. Cited in Harry Payne, The Philosophes and the People, p. 25.

99. Ibid., p. 190.

100. ARTFL: Diderot D., Refutation...d'Helvetius, In Oeuvres Completes, T.2. (Paris, Garnier, 1875), p. 357.

101. ARTFL: Helvetius C.-A., De L'Homme, (Londres, Societe Typographique, 1773), p. 282.

102. ARTFL: Holbach P.-H. d', La Morale Universelle, (Amsterdam, M.M. Rey, 1776), p. 65.

103. ARTFL: Raynal Abbe, Histoire Philos. et Polit. T. 6, (La Haye, 1776), p. 423.

104. ARTFL: Argenson R.-L. d', Journal et Memoires 1755-1757, (Paris, Renouard, 1867), p. 249.

105. ARTFL: Argenson R.-L. d', Consid. sur Gouvern. Anc. Pr., (Amsterdam, Rey, 1764), p. 7.

106. ARTFL: Mercier L.-S., Tableau de Paris, T. 5 à 8, (Amsterdam, 1783), p. 246.

107. Four of the five uses were from the baillage of "des dix villes impériales du gouvernement royal de Haguenau" under the direction of the governor-general. This document proclaims the hope that the nobility and the clergy will give up their privileges and liberties:

"... dans l'espoir que la noblesse et le clergé animés du même désir, renonceront à leurs privilèges et libertés, et par conséquent se soumettront volontairement aux mêmes formes d'impôts que ceux qui sont répartis sur chaque habitant du royaume, proportionnellement à la fortune."
 DIX-VILLES in Hyslop, A Guide to the General Cahiers of 1789, p. 267.

One of the two uses in the Société de 1789 sample refers to the liberties of the English Commons.

108. Libertés occurs 117 times in the period 1750-1775 in the ARTFL database. Of these, Abbé Prevost used the term 59 times and Voltaire 23 times. No other author used libertés more than a half a dozen times. Surprisingly, Montesquieu uses libertés only three times in all of his works, and these are found in his Lettres Persanes. By contrast, he used the word liberté 336 times in his works.

109. ARTFL: C.-A. Helvetius, De L'Homme. (Londres: Société Typographique, 1773), p. 186.

110. ARTFL: L.-S. Mercier, L'An Deux Mille Quatre Cent Quatre, (Londres, S.N., 1774), p. 50.

111. ARTFL: Dupont de Nemours P., Origine et Progres Sc. Nouv., in Coll. des Princ. Economistes, T.2. (Paris, Guillaumin, 1846), p. 342

112. Ibid., p. 347.

113. ARTFL: Galiani Abbe F., Dialogues sur Commerce Bleds, (Londres, 1770), p.210.

114. ARTFL: C.-A. Helvetius, De L'Homme. (Londres: Société Typographique, 1773), p. 280

115. ARTFL: Marmontel J.-F., Belisaire, (Paris, Merlin, 1767), p.187.

116. Condorcet, "Adresse à l'Assemblée Nationale," Journal de la Société de 1789 1 (June 5, 1790): 17.

117. "CAHIERS DES DOLÉANCES ET INSTRUCTIONS ARRETÉES DANS L'ASSEMBLÉE DE LA NOBLESSE DE MARSEILLE ET REMIS A SES DÉPUTÉS AUX ÉTATS GÉNÉRAUX, LE 2 AVRIL 1789," in Joseph Fournier, ed. Cahiers de doléances de la Sénéchaussée de Marseille, p. 408

118. "L'ORDRE DU CLERGE DU BAILLIAGE D'ETAIN. Plaintes, Doléances, et Remontrances du Clergé du Bailliage d'Étain" in Hyslop, A Guide to the General Cahiers of 1789, p.292.

119. The collocation of liberté and individuelle does not occur in the ARTFL database between 1750 and 1788. There are only 18 occurrences of liberté and all forms of individu*. Some of these references clearly refer to individual liberty, such as Ramond de Carbonnais' comments on democracy:

Si l' on regarde comme le meilleur des gouvernemens, celui qui assure la plus grande portion de bonheur à la plus grande partie d'une société d'hommes, il est incontestable que celui de ces petits états, nonobstant les inconvéniens qui tiennent à l'essence de la constitution démocratique, doit réunir tous les suffrages; la liberté de tous les individus, l'indépendance la plus absolue, l'exemption totale des taxes arbitraires, sont des avantages inestimables, et qui compensent bien le manque d'un degré de plus de civilisation et la privation de quelques raffinemens de jouissance dus à l'opulence et au luxe. [ARTFL: Carbonnais Ramond de, Lettres de W.Coxe A W.Melmoth, (Paris, Belin, 1781), p. 70.]

120. There are no occurrences of the expression "individual liberty" or "individual liberties" in our sample of American constitutional documents.

121. M. T. Guiraudet, "Sur l'organisation de la Garde Nationale," Journal de la Société de 1789, (7 August 1790): 22.

122. Condorcet, "Adresse à l'Assemblée Nationale," Journal de la Société de 1789, 1 (5 June 1790): 25.

123. André Chenier, "Avis au Peuple François sur ses véritables ennemis," Journal de la Société de 1789, 13 (28 August 1790): 4.

124. "Sur le décret du 13 avril 1790," Journal de la Société de 1789, 2 (12 June 1790): 8.

125. F. de Pange, "Observations sur la loi relative aux délits

qui peuvent se commettre par la voie de la Presse," Journal de la Société de 1789, 12 (21 August 1790): 23.

126. André Chenier, "Avis au Peuple François sur ses véritables ennemis," p. 37.

127. Prospectus, p. 5.

128. Condorcet, "Des lois constitutionnelles sur l'administration des finances," Journal de la Société de 1789 3 (19 June 1790): 31.

129. Condorcet, "Sur le préjugé qui suppose une contrariété d'intérêts entre la capitale et les provinces," Journal de la Société de 1789, 6 (10 July 1790): 14.

130. James Madison, The Federalist 57 (Provo, UT: ETC, 1987), [FEDERALIST 57 Madison:5-6].

131. Alexander Hamilton, Federalist Papers 66, (Provo, UT: ETC, 1987), [FEDERALIST 12 Hamilton:19].

132. Alexander Hamilton, Federalist Papers 66, (Provo, UT: ETC, 1987), [FEDERALIST 80 Hamilton:7].

133. ARTFL: Diderot D., Refutation...d'Helvetius, In Oeuvres Completes, T.2. (Paris, Garnier, 1875), p.415.

134. ARTFL: Raynal Abbe, Histoire Philos. et Polit. T. 6, (La Haye, 1776), p.400.

135. ARTFL: Helvetius C.-A., De L'Homme, (Londres, Societe Typographique, 1773), p. 206.

136. Ibid., p.281.

137. ARTFL: Condillac Abbe de, Cours Instruction du Prince, (Geneve, Dufart. Lyon, Bruyset, 1789), p. 130.

138. See pp. 395 and note, Chapter 6 above.

139. ARTFL: Rousseau J.-J., Disc. Orig. et Fond. Inegalite, In Oeuvres Completes, T.3. (Paris, Gallimard, 1966), p. 112.

140. ARTFL: Helvetius C.-A., De L'Esprit, (Paris, Durand, 1758), p. 25.

141. ARTFL: Montesquieu, 1755. De L'Esprit des Loix, T. 1, Ed. J. Brethe de la Gressaye, Livres 1-9. (Paris, les Belles-Lettres, 1950), p. 97.

Chapter Seven Tables

Figure Seven-One

Raw frequency and occurrence per thousand of selected cognates of political terminology in the samples drawn from the American Constitutional Papers, the Société de 1789 and the General Cahiers de doléances of 1789.

Type	American Constitution		Société de 1789		Cahiers de doléances	
	frq.	prop.	frq.	prop.	frq.	prop.
authority	415	1.30	46	0.28	32	0.27
citizen	67	0.21	47	0.29	30	0.25
citizens	234	0.73	176	1.07	36	0.30
civil	168	0.53	27	0.16	61	0.51
commerce	114	0.36	107	0.65	156	1.30
constitution	788	2.47	145	0.88	51	0.43
empire	48	0.15	55	0.33	9	0.08
enemy	23	0.07	18	0.11	1	0.01
ennemies	39	0.12	58	0.35	2	0.02
equal	153	0.48	29	0.18	22	0.18
equality	29	0.09	57	0.35	13	0.11
government	1385	4.18	57	0.35	52	0.43
governments	268	0.84	3	0.02	2	0.02
governor	302	0.95	2	0.01	8	0.07
interest	166	0.52	203	1.24	56	0.47
interests	165	0.52	119	0.72	42	0.35
law	417	1.31	363	2.21	70	0.58
laws	493	1.54	259	1.58	100	0.84
legal	32	0.10	15	0.09	7	0.06
liberties	59	0.18	2	0.01	5	0.04
liberty	254	0.80	212	1.29	90	0.75
nation	144	0.45	255	1.55	145	1.21
national	387	1.21	410	2.50	82	0.68
nations	164	0.51	64	0.39	6	0.05
order	149	0.47	101	0.61	176	1.47
people	896	2.81	222	1.35	60	0.50
power	928	2.91	212	1.29	55	0.46
powers	472	1.48	78	0.47	24	0.20
prince	29	0.09	20	0.12	5	0.04
property	184	0.58	35	0.21	37	0.31
public	461	1.44	110	0.67	64	0.53
representatives	392	1.23	73	0.44	36	0.30
representation	118	0.37	12	0.08	13	0.11
representative	77	0.24	41	0.24	12	0.10
social	17	0.05	46	0.28	1	0.01
society	122	0.38	115	0.70	8	0.07

Figure Seven-Three

Collocates of the item "government" (1385) in American constitutional documents where span = 6, Zscore ≥ 5.0 and collocation frequency ≥ 10 .

Item	Collocate	Total Freq.	Collocate Freq.	Z-score
1	federal	426	112	30.9
2	national	391	110	31.9
3	general	641	93	19.1
4	form	280	87	30.1
5	powers	482	79	19.2
6	people	913	55	6.6
7	free	198	50	20.1
8	republican	100	47	28.0
9	constitution	822	47	5.7
10	should	558	46	8.5
11	proposed	221	41	15.0
12	union	448	39	8.2
13	ought	498	38	7.1
14	good	264	37	11.7
15	united	555	37	6.1
16	new	403	28	5.6
17	administration	123	28	14.1
18	seat	83	28	17.9
19	support	156	27	11.6
20	necessary	336	27	6.3
21	principles	188	26	9.7
22	essential	127	21	9.9
23	established	134	20	9.0
24	officers	233	18	5.0
25	best	132	18	8.0
26	forms	69	18	12.3
27	adequate	41	17	15.7
28	over	211	17	5.0
29	then	179	17	5.8
30	consolidated	18	15	21.6
31	itself	170	15	5.1
32	parts	123	15	6.7
33	popular	62	15	10.7
34	object	139	14	5.6
35	just	116	14	6.4
36	whatever	113	14	6.6
37	security	158	14	5.0
38	hands	105	14	6.9
39	end	82	13	7.6
40	vested	83	13	7.5
41	preservation	65	12	8.1
42	establish	78	12	7.1
43	structure	22	11	14.0
44	instituted	26	11	12.7
45	branches	68	11	7.0
46	efficient	15	10	15.6
47	energy	28	10	11.0
48	secure	67	10	6.4

Figure Seven-Four

Distributions of government and three most frequent collocates, federal, national and general in the American constitutional documents.

7-4-A: federal and government

Range Names	Frequency		-- Percentages --	
	Count	Actual	Expect	Difference
Federalist Papers	101	92%	57%	35%
Other Texts	9	8%	23%	-15%
Constitutions	0	0%	20%	-20%

7-4-B: general and government

Range Names	Frequency		-- Percentages --	
	Count	Actual	Expect	Difference
Federalist Papers	43	47%	57%	-10%
Other Texts	47	52%	23%	29%
Constitutions	1	1%	20%	-19%

7-4-C: government and national

Range Names	Frequency		-- Percentages --	
	Count	Actual	Expect	Difference
Federalist	104	95%	57%	38%
Other Texts	6	5%	23%	-18%
Constituts	0	0%	20%	-20%

Figure Seven-Five

Collocates of the item "gouvernement" (57) in Société de 1789 documents where span = 5, Zscore ≥ 4.0 and collocation frequency ≥ 2 .

Item	Collocate	Total Freq.	Collocate Freq.	Z-score
1	representatif	21	5	25.9
2	peuple	222	4	5.8
3	pouvoirs	78	4	10.4
4	force	171	4	6.7
5	françois	76	4	10.6
6	sous	154	4	7.2
7	ancien	30	4	17.2
8	moyens	108	3	6.4
9	doit	237	3	4.0
10	seul	83	3	7.5
11	arbitraire	25	3	14.1
12	unes	11	2	14.3
13	accepter	4	2	23.8
14	convention	22	2	10.0
15	voir	63	2	5.7
16	ordre	101	2	4.3
17	despotisme	26	2	9.1
18	loin	43	2	7.0
19	organisation	30	2	8.5

Figure Seven-Seven

Collocates of the item "gouvernement" (2883) in the ARTFL database from 1750 to 1775 where span = 11, standard deviation ≥ 5.0 and collocation frequency ≥ 38 .

Item	Collocate	Total Freq.	Collocate Freq.	St. Dev.
1	forme	2144	224	57.3
2	gouvernement	2883	180	38.0
3	où	18492	177	5.6
4	état	8466	150	13.2
5	loix	4451	150	23.0
6	sous	7990	142	12.9
7	peuple	4483	139	20.8
8	doit	7211	121	11.2
9	féodal	117	103	119.2
10	toute	9311	98	5.1
11	mœurs	2744	97	19.2
12	prince	3845	78	10.9
13	politique	1634	75	20.2
14	despotique	181	69	63.6
15	corps	5160	67	6.0
16	force	4633	67	7.0
17	seul	5448	67	5.5
18	pays	3946	65	8.0
19	peuples	2931	65	10.8
20	principe	1471	65	18.3
21	religion	3683	63	8.2
22	france	4004	61	7.1
23	nation	2552	59	10.7
24	principes	2218	59	12.0
25	monarchique	103	58	71.2
26	part	3551	58	7.5
27	autorité	1981	55	12.0
28	liberté	3305	50	6.4
29	pouvoir	3883	50	5.1
30	souverain	1170	50	15.7
31	chaque	3788	49	5.1
32	républicain	78	46	65.0
33	empire	2414	45	7.6
34	constitution	649	44	19.7
35	établi	615	44	20.4
36	commerce	2567	43	6.6
37	éducation	1364	43	11.7
38	loi	3211	43	5.0
39	citoyens	1554	42	10.3
40	rois	1867	42	8.8
41	sujets	1776	39	8.3
42	monarchie	435	38	21.3

Figure Seven-Eight

Collocates of the item "gouvernement" (887) in the ARTFL database from 1776 to 1788 where span = 11, standard deviation ≥ 5.0 and collocation frequency ≥ 9 .

Item	Collocate	Total Freq.	Collocate Freq.	St. Dev.
1	sous	4884	61	11.0
2	forme	1091	51	24.7
3	peuple	3058	48	11.8
4	état	3089	41	9.5
5	moeurs	1289	29	11.8
6	gouvernement	877	25	12.8
7	citoyens	976	23	10.9
8	loix	1140	23	9.8
9	principe	506	23	16.3
10	nation	889	22	11.0
11	autorité	674	21	12.4
12	commerce	1114	21	8.9
13	liberté	1490	21	7.1
14	peuples	1508	20	6.6
15	constitution	219	18	20.1
16	mauvais	805	17	8.7
17	populaire	57	16	36.1
18	principes	1038	16	6.7
19	religion	903	16	7.4
20	démocratique	18	14	56.7
21	empire	1017	14	5.7
22	sage	1041	14	5.6
23	établir	388	13	10.2
24	aristocratique	24	12	42.0
25	démocratie	91	12	21.1
26	despotique	33	12	35.7
27	féodal	16	12	51.6
28	militaire	206	12	13.6
29	monarchique	20	11	42.2
30	citoyen	473	10	6.6
31	despotisme	185	10	11.9
32	magistrats	371	10	7.8
33	politique	530	10	6.1
34	administration	255	9	8.8
35	croyoit	132	9	12.8
36	devroit	346	9	7.2
37	équitable	52	9	21.1
38	tyrannie	253	9	8.8

Figure Seven-Nine

Collocates of the item "nation" (144) in American constitution documents where span = 6, Zscore $\geq$ 3.0 and collocation frequency $\geq$ 3.

Item	Collocate	Total Freq.	Collocate Freq.	Z-score
1	another	253	8	9.0
2	our	649	7	4.0
3	without	409	7	5.7
4	representatives	405	6	4.8
5	interests	172	6	8.2
6	foreign	219	6	7.1
7	whole	238	5	5.5
8	great	445	5	3.5
9	ought	498	5	3.2
10	whose	138	4	6.0
11	independent	123	4	6.4
12	between	345	4	3.2
13	powerful	55	4	10.1
14	over	211	4	4.6
15	yet	188	4	5.0
16	war	206	4	4.7
17	favors	8	3	20.6
18	illusion	3	3	33.8
19	favorite	24	3	11.7
20	real	75	3	6.3
21	affairs	95	3	5.5
22	wise	55	3	7.5
23	individual	84	3	5.9
24	composing	18	3	13.6
25	existence	61	3	7.1
26	majority	162	3	3.9
27	note	140	3	4.3
28	find	81	3	6.0
29	peace	225	3	3.1
30	enlightened	31	3	10.2
31	now	215	3	3.2
33	head	86	3	5.8
34	community	135	3	4.4
35	security	158	3	4.0
36	forming	28	3	10.8
37	themselves	239	3	3.0

Figure Seven-Ten

Collocates of the item "nation" (255) in Société de 1789 documents where span = 6, Zscore ≥ 3.0 and collocation frequency ≥ 3 (accents stripped).

Item	Collocate	Total Freq.	Collocate Freq.	Z-score
1	leze	33	24	42.5
2	representans	68	21	25.5
3	nom	79	14	15.4
4	entiere	46	13	19.1
5	crimes	43	12	18.2
6	partie	138	11	8.5
7	doit	237	11	5.8
8	loix	239	10	5.1
9	fait	230	10	5.3
10	loi	363	10	3.5
11	droit	186	10	6.2
12	interets	119	10	8.4
13	libre	88	9	9.0
14	toute	197	8	4.5
15	assemblee	246	8	3.7
16	crime	47	7	9.8
17	toujours	162	7	4.4
18	peuple	222	7	3.4
19	doute	118	6	4.6
20	veut	97	6	5.3
21	roi	142	6	4.0
22	seule	93	5	4.4
23	aujourd	98	5	4.2
24	representant	17	4	9.6
25	nombreuse	16	4	9.9
26	pouvoirs	78	4	3.8
27	mot	40	4	5.9
28	tandis	20	3	6.4
29	rebelles	4	3	15.2
30	eclairée	10	3	9.4
31	française	11	3	9.0
32	gens	57	3	3.3
33	milieu	21	3	6.3
34	exercent	8	3	10.6
35	françoise	13	3	8.2
36	depenses	37	3	4.5
37	national	30	3	5.1
38	culte	23	3	5.9
39	voeu	30	3	5.1
40	exercice	37	3	4.5

Figure Seven-Eleven

Collocates of the item "people" (896) in American constitution documents where span = 6, Zscore $\geq$ 3.0 and collocation frequency $\geq$ 13.

Item	Collocate	Total Freq	Collocate Freq	Z-score
1	representatives	405	53	17.8
2	government	1389	50	5.6
3	america	201	47	23.9
4	state	1400	45	4.5
5	states	1412	42	3.8
6	right	297	41	16.2
7	body	297	40	15.8
8	great	445	36	10.5
9	large	128	34	21.9
10	themselves	239	33	14.6
11	ought	498	33	8.6
12	power	939	30	3.6
13	rights	288	27	10.1
14	were	431	25	6.6
15	among	207	25	11.6
16	should	558	25	5.1
17	free	198	25	11.9
18	good	264	24	9.3
19	elected	177	23	11.7
20	country	243	23	9.4
21	united	555	22	4.2
22	happiness	94	21	15.5
23	representation	121	19	12.0
24	liberties	59	17	16.2
25	confidence	83	16	12.4
26	majority	162	16	8.1
27	between	345	16	4.3
28	when	370	16	3.9
29	governments	275	15	4.8
30	authority	419	15	3.0
31	made	383	14	3.0
32	liberty	271	14	4.4
33	called	108	14	9.1
34	whole	238	14	5.0
35	common	250	14	4.8
36	being	341	14	3.5
37	chosen	144	14	7.5
38	very	304	13	3.5
39	security	158	13	6.4
40	derived	52	13	13.0
41	sense	131	13	7.3

Figure Seven-Twelve

Collocates of the item "peuple" (222) in Société de
1789 documents where span = 6, Zscore $\geq$ 3.0 and
 collocation frequency $\geq$ 3 (accents stripped).

Item	Collocate	Total Freq	Collocate Freq	Z-score
1	liberte	212	11	7.0
2	representans	68	9	11.3
3	francois	76	9	10.6
4	libre	88	9	9.7
5	chez	46	8	12.4
6	aucun	81	8	9.0
7	ennemis	52	8	11.6
8	pouvoir	212	7	4.0
9	prince	20	6	14.4
10	encore	259	6	2.6
11	seul	83	6	6.4
12	partie	138	6	4.5
13	contre	215	6	3.2
14	grand	126	6	4.9
15	forcé	171	5	3.0
16	toujours	162	5	3.2
17	classe	51	5	7.1
18	notre	159	5	3.2
19	representant	17	5	13.0
20	roi	142	5	3.5
21	guerre	147	5	3.4
22	donne	69	5	5.9
23	gouvernement	57	4	5.1
24	choisis	10	4	13.7
25	derniere	37	4	6.7
26	amis	35	4	6.9
27	institutions	29	4	7.7
28	bientot	53	4	5.2

Figure Seven-Thirteen

Frequent collocates of the item *peuple* in the texts of the General Cahiers de doléances. Frequency = 60, span = 6 (accents stripped).

Collocate	Total Freq.	Collocate Freq.	Z-score
etat	367	7.	5.6
droits	272	4.	3.5
soulagement	17	3.	13.0
art	149	3.	3.8
ruine	23	3.	11.1
occasion	8	3.	19.1
servent	6	2.	14.7
voeu	62	2.	4.1
cultive	4	2.	18.1
surcharge	14	2.	9.5
veut	11	2.	10.8
tiers	178	2.	2.0
souverain	45	2.	5.0
amour	13	2.	9.9
etablissement	65	2.	4.0
charge	91	2.	3.2
commerce	156	2.	2.2
onereuse	9	2.	11.9
peu	53	2.	4.6
general	93	2.	3.2
assemblees	34	2.	5.9
trone	22	2.	7.5
pauvre	8	2.	12.7
moyens	83	2.	3.5
vous	13	2.	9.9
bonheur	16	2.	8.8
bien	127	2.	2.6
interets	38	2.	5.5

Figure Seven-Fourteen

KWICS of peuple and forms of ruin* and soulag* in the
cahiers de doléances.

instruit des besoins de son peuple et des moyens de le soulager,
 un tort considérable au peuple, sans apporter aucun soulagement à
 sommes quelconques, le peuple en sera soulagé et le Gouvernement
 à l'Etat et au soulagement du peuple le plus pure maxime l'Eglise
 diminution de la dette publique, le peuple y verra un soulagement

est une occasion du ruine pour le peuple;
 qui ordinairement ruinent le pauvre peuple par les frais immenses la
 ruine du peuple qui est en général dévalisé par l'usure
 lorsqu'elles seront pour le peuple une occasion de ruine.
 des impôts, ruineuse pour le peuple, onéreuse et inutile à
 place de ces droits Ruineux pour le peuple sans être
 ne servent qu'a vexer et ruiner le peuple notamment les huissiers

Figure Seven-Fifteen

Frequent collocates of the item *peuple* in the ARTFL database, 1750-1788. Frequency ≥ 34 , span = 11, Stand deviation ≥ 5.0 .

Collocate	Frg	Col	Std D.	Collocate	Frg	Col	Std D.
peuple	7541	655	61.6	chefs	959	64	16.1
chez	9182	353	24.4	droits	2659	63	5.9
toujours	18651	292	5.5	noblesse	1255	63	12.9
roi	11471	271	12.3	seigneur	2528	61	6.0
dieu	12155	244	9.0	esclave	1014	60	14.3
grand	13818	225	5.4	riche	1694	59	9.0
loix	5591	191	16.0	langue	1864	58	8.0
gouvernement	3760	177	20.6	assemblée	1515	55	9.1
mœurs	4033	160	16.9	juif	364	55	25.0
prince	5140	157	12.9	nombreux	494	54	20.4
pays	6011	155	10.5	vit	2344	53	5.1
grands	6559	148	8.5	politique	2164	51	5.3
sénat	684	139	47.1	barbare	1003	50	11.4
petit	5438	137	9.6	intérêts	1868	50	6.2
gens	6988	129	5.6	romains	1460	49	7.9
liberté	4795	127	9.8	anciens	2056	48	5.1
nation	3441	123	13.4	spectacle	1878	48	5.7
loi	4269	118	10.0	monarque	863	47	11.9
souverain	1651	117	22.7	éclairé	650	45	13.8
heureux	5578	112	6.1	lie	318	45	21.8
parmi	3738	112	10.7	assemblé	179	44	29.4
droit	5182	105	6.0	puissant	1182	44	8.3
libre	2158	104	16.0	riches	1422	44	6.9
romain	558	104	38.8	prêtres	1479	41	5.9
puissance	2605	98	12.6	fureur	1513	40	5.5
devant	5014	97	5.3	luxue	1537	40	5.4
guerre	3979	95	7.4	citoyen	1318	39	6.2
religion	4586	88	5.0	république	1282	39	6.4
foule	1987	85	13.1	trône	1484	39	5.4
milieu	3390	85	7.5	tyrans	723	39	10.7
rois	2776	84	9.3	soumis	887	38	8.8
rome	2485	83	10.3	chef	1441	37	5.1
nations	2774	82	9.0	industrie	1108	37	6.9
autorité	2655	80	9.1	joug	772	37	9.5
gloire	3924	80	5.3	étranger	1345	36	5.3
entier	1457	78	15.1	juifs	1034	36	7.0
magistrats	1132	78	18.2	vertueux	1391	36	5.1
citoyens	2530	77	9.0	égypte	1066	35	6.6
commerce	3681	76	5.3	culte	891	35	7.8
empire	3431	76	5.9	capitale	1091	34	6.1
dieux	2563	70	7.6	fêtes	755	34	8.7
cris	1444	68	12.7	multitude	1240	34	5.3
immense	1003	65	15.9				
arts	2050	64	8.4				

Figure Seven-Sixteen

Most highly correlated collocates of the item "peuple" (7541) in ARTFL database, 1750-1788 where span = 11, Standard Deviation ≥ 5.0 and collocation frequency ≥ 5 .

Item	Collocate	Total Freq	Collocate Freq	Std. Dev.
1	peuple	7541	655	61.6
2	sénat	684	139	47.1
3	romain	558	104	38.8
4	assemblé	179	44	29.4
5	tribuns	50	21	27.1
6	police	81	25	25.1
7	juif	364	55	25.0
8	chez	9182	353	24.4
9	souverain	1651	117	22.7
10	acclamations	130	28	21.8
11	lie	318	45	21.8
12	civilisé	49	16	20.7
13	gouvernement	3760	177	20.6
14	nombreux	494	54	20.4
15	industrieux	151	26	18.5
16	magistrats	1132	78	18.2
17	tribun	32	11	17.6
18	démocratie	226	30	17.1
19	moeurs	4033	160	16.9
20	aristocratie	159	24	16.5
21	chefs	959	64	16.1
22	libre	2158	104	16.0
23	loix	5591	191	16.0
24	immense	1003	65	15.9
25	ouang	12	6	15.9
26	centuries	27	9	15.7
27	curies	22	8	15.5
28	contract	86	16	15.2
29	entier	1457	78	15.1
30	innombrable	135	20	14.9
31	agricole	30	9	14.8
32	gouverné	181	23	14.6
33	assemble	115	18	14.6
34	ignorant	352	33	14.5
35	esclave	1014	60	14.3
36	samuel	148	20	14.1
37	éclairé	650	45	13.8
38	corrompu	266	27	13.8
39	nation	3441	123	13.4
40	mosé	198	22	13.1
41	foule	1987	85	13.1
42	prince	5140	157	13.0

Figure Seven-Eighteen

Collocates of the item liberté (212) in Société de 1789 documents where span = 6, Zscore ≥ 3.0 and collocation frequency ≥ 4 (accents stripped).

Item	Collocate	Total Freq	Collocate Freq	Z-score
1	peuple	222	11.	7.0
2	point	291	10.	5.1
3	presse	34	9.	16.9
4	loi	363	9.	3.6
5	civile	13	8.	24.8
6	nos	248	7.	3.6
7	notre	159	7.	5.2
8	egalite	57	7.	9.8
9	contre	215	6.	3.3
10	doit	237	6.	3.1
11	conscience	27	6.	12.6
12	prix	89	5.	5.1
13	sous	154	5.	3.4
14	propriete	35	5.	9.0
15	justice	79	5.	5.6
16	conserver	39	5.	8.5
17	vraie	20	5.	12.3
18	publique	125	5.	4.1
19	paix	65	5.	6.3
20	patriotisme	14	4.	11.8
21	notions	14	4.	11.8
22	religieuse	7	4.	16.9
23	lumieres	52	4.	5.6
24	seule	93	4.	3.8
25	ennemis	52	4.	5.6
26	grande	127	4.	3.0
27	progres	25	4.	8.6
28	zele	20	4.	9.7
29	ennemi	16	4.	10.9
30	amis	35	4.	7.1
31	long	54	4.	5.5
32	peuples	44	4.	6.2
33	patrie	29	4.	7.9
34	defendre	31	4.	7.6

Figure Seven-Nineteen

Collocates of the item liberté (99) in Cahiers de doléances where span = 5, Zscore $\geq$ 3.0 and collocation frequency $\geq$ 3 (accents stripped).

Item	Collocate	Total Freq	Collocate Freq	Z-score
1	presse	22	19.	64.7
2	individuelle	19	18.	65.9
3	citoyen	34	11.	29.9
4	citoyens	40	10.	24.9
5	generaux	384	6.	3.7
6	art	149	6.	7.1
7	chaque	180	4.	3.9
8	contraire	41	4.	9.6
9	honneur	27	4.	12.0
10	faire	220	4.	3.4
11	surete	32	4.	11.0
12	assurer	31	4.	11.2
13	commerce	156	4.	4.3
14	publique	58	4.	7.9
15	français	25	4.	12.5
16	garantie	6	4.	26.0
17	royaume	202	4.	3.6
18	convient	6	3.	19.4
19	mesure	32	3.	8.1
20	communautes	125	3.	3.6
21	loix	60	3.	5.7
22	generale	80	3.	4.8
23	propriete	39	3.	7.3
24	ban	32	3.	8.1
25	personnelle	10	3.	15.0
26	entiere	19	3.	10.7
27	nationale	58	3.	5.8
28	aucun	121	3.	3.7

Figure Seven-Twenty

Collocates of the item "liberty" (270) in American constitution documents where span = 6, Zscore $\geq$ 3.0 and collocation frequency $\geq$ 5.

Item	Collocate	Total Freq	Collocate Freq	Z-score
1	ought	498	21.	11.9
2	life	74	21.	34.3
3	press	31	20.	50.9
4	government	1389	18.	4.3
5	property	189	18.	17.7
6	security	158	17.	18.4
7	dangerous	80	15.	23.3
8	people	913	14.	4.5
9	public	485	14.	7.5
10	law	430	10.	5.4
11	essential	127	9.	10.6
12	against	476	9.	4.3
13	peace	225	9.	7.5
14	your	151	9.	9.6
15	deprived	21	9.	27.7
16	standing	64	8.	13.7
17	danger	160	7.	7.0
18	kept	61	7.	12.2
19	armies	78	7.	10.7
20	restrained	36	7.	16.2
21	civil	170	7.	6.7
22	free	198	7.	6.1
23	blessings	16	7.	24.7
24	republican	100	6.	7.8
25	give	166	6.	5.7
26	country	243	6.	4.4
27	principles	188	6.	5.2
28	preservation	65	6.	10.0
29	rights	288	6.	3.8
30	man	257	6.	4.2
31	subject	298	6.	3.7
32	nor	266	6.	4.1
33	secure	67	6.	9.9
34	greater	143	5.	5.1
35	where	254	5.	3.3
36	personal	79	5.	7.4
37	love	33	5.	12.0
38	estate	51	5.	9.5
39	judgment	103	5.	6.3
40	endangered	6	5.	29.0
41	happiness	94	5.	6.7
42	enjoyment	17	5.	17.0
43	preserve	38	5.	11.1
44	never	158	5.	4.8

Figure Seven-Twenty-one

Collocation of liberté and presse in the cahiers de doléances. The Second and Third Estates use the construction almost the same number of times. The Clergy of the Etain, however, declaims "excessive" liberty of the press. References are to the data set, indicating location, estate, and paragraph number.

La liberté de la presse, sauf les réserves qui peuvent être faites
par les états généraux (Marseille 3rd 1:1)

La liberté de la presse, avec la réserve de la signature de
l'auteur ou de l'imprimeur. (Marseille 2nd 1:1)

de concourir à l'établissement de toutes les lois nécessaires pour
assurer la liberté personnelle, la liberté de la presse, la sûreté des
propriétés, (Marseille 2nd 1:1)

Suppression de la censure et liberté de la presse, sauf
l'administration des lois. (AVAL 3RD 1:25)

On désire la liberté de la presse, mais de telle sorte que, sans
priver la nation des enseignements (DIX-VILLES 1:13)

Que la Liberté excessive de la presse soit réprimée, et que les
anciennes ordonnances (ETAIN 1ST 1:3)

la liberté indéfinies de la presse soit autorisée.
(LONGUYON 2ND 1:7)

Que la Liberté de la presse, comme étant le plus sûr rempart
qu'on puisse opposer aux abus en (LONGUYON 3RD 1:7)

La liberté de la presse comme le seul rempart qu'on puisse opposer
aux abus (LONGWY 2ND 1:4)

Qu'on jouisse dans tout le Royaume de la Liberté indéfinie de la
presse sous les modifications néanmoins que les états généraux
(LONGWY 3RD 1:137)

l'avis des Etats Généraux sur la mesure de liberté qui convient
d'accorder à la presse et à la publicité des ouvrages relatifs à
(MENDE 2ND 1:3)

Art. 32. La liberté de la presse à la condition que l'auteurs
signera si minute qu'il (NOMENY 3RD 1:17)

Que la liberté indéfinie de la presse soit établie, par la
suppression de la censure (ST.DIE 3RD 1:10)

11.-- La Liberté légitime de la presse. (TOULON 3RD 1:6)

Majesté est impatiente de recevoir l'avis des Etats-Généraux sur la
mesure de liberté qu'il convient d'accorder à la presse, et à la
publicité des ouvrages (Bourbonnais Clergy:1)

Majesté est impatiente de recevoir l'avis des Etats-Généraux sur la
mesure de liberté qu'il convient de donner à la presse et à la
publicité des ouvrages (Bourbonnais Nobility:1)

Que les Etats-Généraux s'occupent d'une loi qui assure la liberté
légitime de la presse et qui ordonne que le secret de tout écrit de
confiance (Bourbonnais Nobility:1)

Que la liberté de la presse soit admise, mais restreinte, ainsi
que les Etats-Généraux croiront (Bourbonnais Third:1)

Figure Seven-Twenty-two

Frequent collocates of the item *liberté* in the ARTFL database, 1750-1788. Frequency ≥ 23 , span = 11, Standard deviation ≥ 5.0 .

Collocate	Frg	Col	Std D.	Collocate	Frg	Col	Std D.
liberté	4795	212	30.7	jouir	1257	43	11.5
toute	14575	182	7.8	prends	804	43	15.7
vie	12001	159	8.1	puissance	2605	43	5.7
commerce	3681	150	24.4	sujets	2466	43	6.1
contre	11604	134	5.8	civile	504	41	19.9
esprit	11552	129	5.3	consiste	792	39	14.1
peuple	7541	129	10.4	laissé	1520	39	8.6
loix	5591	125	13.6	repos	1992	39	6.6
droit	5182	97	10.0	esclaves	1277	38	9.7
rendre	7476	90	5.1	états	2161	37	5.6
peuples	4439	87	10.0	sûreté	782	37	13.4
laisse	2806	86	14.9	jouit	573	36	15.9
pays	6011	84	6.4	perte	1366	35	8.2
laisser	2564	83	15.3	agir	1027	34	9.9
pouvoir	5542	83	7.0	ôter	866	34	11.3
grande	6621	82	5.2	presse	615	34	14.2
libre	2158	82	17.1	abus	1170	33	8.6
pris	4556	80	8.4	défendre	1357	33	7.6
penser	2741	76	12.9	entière	987	33	9.9
veut	5664	76	5.7	villes	1905	33	5.3
gouvernement	3760	74	9.2	accorder	971	29	8.5
droits	2659	72	12.3	licence	297	29	18.6
biens	2069	68	14.0	italie	1460	28	5.5
patrie	2598	68	11.6	choisir	737	27	9.6
entiere	645	64	27.9	esclave	1014	27	7.4
esclavage	625	63	27.9	jaloux	1125	27	6.8
propriété	571	63	29.4	libres	713	27	9.8
citoyens	2530	61	10.2	constitution	868	26	8.0
usage	3831	56	5.6	tyrannie	692	26	9.5
politique	2164	55	10.2	indépendance	376	25	13.7
prix	3669	55	5.7	laissoit	358	25	14.1
publique	1689	53	11.9	absolue	380	24	13.0
citoyen	1318	52	14.0	aisance	389	24	12.8
servitude	473	52	26.7	disposer	481	24	11.2
volonté	1773	52	11.2	égalité	523	24	10.6
choix	1799	51	10.8	fers	561	24	10.1
nation	3441	50	5.2	laissez	1078	24	5.9
conserver	1356	47	12.1	prise	983	24	6.5
naturelle	1796	47	9.6	république	1282	24	5.0
demander	2261	46	7.5	tyrans	723	24	8.4
écrire	2435	46	6.9	joug	772	23	7.5
conscience	1061	45	13.7	jouissent	283	23	14.9
pleine	692	45	18.2				

Figure Seven-Twenty-three

Collocates of the item "citoyens" (176) in Société de 1789 where span = 12, Zscore ≥ 3.0 and collocation frequency ≥ 5 (accents stripped).

Item	Collocate	Total Freq	Collocate Freq	Z-score
1	loi	363	19.	6.6
2	nombre	134	13.	8.5
3	nation	255	12.	4.7
4	actifs	13	12.	28.8
5	faire	336	12.	3.6
6	loix	239	11.	4.5
7	constitution	243	10.	3.8
8	contre	215	10.	4.3
9	droit	186	10.	4.8
10	droits	167	10.	5.3
11	impot	68	9.	8.6
12	corps	124	8.	5.0
13	force	171	8.	3.8
14	publique	125	8.	5.0
15	nom	79	8.	6.9
16	classes	41	8.	10.2
17	peuvent	153	7.	3.5
18	representans	68	7.	6.5
19	partie	138	7.	3.9
20	voeu	30	7.	10.6
21	françois	76	6.	5.0
22	doivent	114	6.	3.7
23	contraire	64	6.	5.6
24	pluralite	24	6.	10.2
25	grand	126	6.	3.4
26	soldats	18	5.	9.8
27	nationales	35	5.	6.7
28	moyens	108	5.	3.0
29	commerce	107	5.	3.0
30	systeme	78	5.	3.9
31	premier	106	5.	3.1

Figure Seven-Twenty-four

Collocates of the item "citizens" (234) in American constitution documents where span = 12, Zscore $\geq$ 3.0 and collocation frequency $\geq$ 5.

Item	Collocate	Total Freq	Collocate Freq	Z-score
1	state	1400	102.	25.3
2	states	1412	99.	24.3
3	between	345	76.	41.5
4	different	265	43.	26.3
5	fellow	43	36.	57.4
6	rights	288	24.	13.3
7	government	1389	24.	3.2
8	another	253	21.	12.4
9	our	649	20.	5.8
10	privileges	61	18.	23.6
11	free	198	17.	11.4
12	cases	321	16.	7.7
13	public	485	15.	5.1
14	foreigners	17	14.	35.4
15	foreign	219	14.	8.6
16	thereof	127	14.	12.0
17	number	368	13.	5.3
18	against	476	13.	4.2
19	body	297	13.	6.3
20	union	448	12.	3.9
21	entitled	84	12.	12.9
22	ought	498	11.	3.1
23	classes	41	11.	17.5
24	among	207	11.	6.7
25	individual	84	10.	10.6
26	class	71	10.	11.7
27	federal	426	10.	3.1
28	common	250	10.	5.1
29	immunities	18	10.	24.5
30	lands	39	10.	16.3
31	two	439	10.	3.0
32	america	201	9.	5.3
33	persons	233	9.	4.7
34	less	286	9.	4.0
35	her	160	9.	6.3
36	country	243	9.	4.6
37	grants	24	9.	18.9

Figure Seven-Twenty-six

Frequent collocates of the item citoyens (2530) in the ARTFL database, 1750-1788. Frequency $\geq$ 37, span = 11, Standard deviation $\geq$ 5.0.

Item	Collocate	Total Freq	Collocate Freq	Std. Dev.
1	état	11555	193	23.5
2	hommes	16984	134	9.3
3	nombre	5471	119	22.4
4	loix	5591	96	16.9
5	patrie	2598	84	24.4
6	peuple	7541	78	9.8
7	contre	11604	75	5.1
8	bons	1703	74	27.5
9	droit	5182	71	12.1
10	étoient	6979	67	8.4
11	gouvernement	3760	67	14.5
12	classes	533	65	45.6
13	ville	4928	65	11.2
14	magistrats	1132	64	29.7
15	citoyens	2530	60	16.9
16	parmi	3738	58	12.1
17	classe	700	57	34.4
18	liberté	4795	56	9.3
19	doivent	3017	55	13.4
20	vertueux	1391	55	22.4
21	pays	6011	53	6.7
22	nation	3441	52	11.3
23	avoient	5369	50	7.0
24	partie	5842	50	6.3
25	république	1282	50	21.1
26	grands	6559	48	5.0
27	richesses	1826	48	16.2
28	soldats	1333	48	19.7
29	justice	3721	47	9.2
30	plusieurs	5935	47	5.5
31	pouvoir	5542	45	5.6
32	principaux	699	45	26.8
33	riches	1422	44	17.2
34	ordre	5079	43	5.8
35	loi	4269	41	6.5
36	ordres	1761	41	13.8
37	former	1876	39	12.4
38	nations	2774	39	9.2
39	uns	3143	39	8.2
40	rome	2485	38	9.7
41	enfants	4377	37	5.3
42	publique	1689	37	12.5

Conclusion

The Politics of the Enlightenment in the French Revolution.

The Société de 1789 failed in its political and intellectual missions for many reasons. The club was torn apart by internal dissension, outmanoeuvred by rival organizations, and relegated to unimportance and impotence by the end of the fall of 1790. The most important reason for the collapse of what should have been a most powerful alliance of individuals was a complete inability of the leadership of the club to recognize that party and popular politics had replaced the politics they had learned during the ancien régime. This is partially reflected in the failure of moderates to reach a consensus and accommodation to which the large majority of Frenchmen and Parisians would rally. The well-known animosity between Mirabeau and La Fayette was symptomatic of this political failure. The failure was not merely political, however, but came from the basic assumptions concerning liberal politics that can be found in the organization of the club. The Société de 1789 was patterned after the institutions of the ancien régime, such as the Academies, to which many members of 1789 had belonged. The membership of the Société de 1789 was blind to the development of mass politics.

The presentation of scholarly discussion papers to a small, elite group of influential individuals was an essential mechanism of reform during the ancien régime, but was ill-adapted to the new Revolution. It was adherence to old forms of political discourse and political sociability that prevented the Société from recognizing and responding to the political culture being developed in the Jacobin clubs and in the sections of Paris.

The membership of the club had considerable experience in the government of the ancien régime. Indeed, this experience was not limited to the bureaucrats, lawyers and financiers who made up a substantial portion of the membership of the club. Rather, many of the intellectuals in the Société de 1789, such as DuPont de Nemours, Condorcet, and Lavoisier had extensive experience in government. The typical assertion that the Enlightenment was abstract and impractical was not true of the generation of philosophes and their protégés who took control of the academies and the bureaucracy. The expertise of late Enlightenment intellectuals became an asset for a reforming monarchy. Further, a large proportion of the members of 1789 had experience dealing with the government, in the financial services supporting the Crown, the judiciary, and even the military. The politics they learned, however, was that of the bureaucracy and corridors of influence. Condorcet's positions in the Academy and the Mint, for example, were results of the patronage of famous and powerful men -- Turgot and d'Alembert in his case -- who lobbied other influential men in bureaucracy and cultural institutions. If it

can be said that the intellectuals of 1789 were adept in bureaucratic politics, it comes as no surprise that the financiers and lawyers who joined 1789 were even more comfortable in dealing with the monarchy before the Revolution. As men who exercised influence and power within many of the arenas of royal government, the members of the Société de 1789 learned, to their cost, that the nature of politics changed dramatically with the formation of the National Assembly and the creation of political clubs in Paris.

The collapse of 1789 -- due in part to the end of ancien régime political culture based on influence and control of bureaucratic institutions -- may have also effectively ended the organized role that philosophes and intellectuals played in politics. The recent historiography of the late Enlightenment, examined in Chapter One, suggests that the philosophes had become dependent on government largesse and institutional support. In return, the philosophes gave advice and a certain weight of propagandistic support in favor of the reforms. Indeed, it would seem that the political role of the philosophes changed dramatically after 1776, becoming more overtly political and working to reform the monarchy from within. Robert Darnton's argument that the late Enlightenment was split between these well-connected intellectuals and minor writers living without influence in Paris is particularly important. The publicists and theorists of the more radical Revolution did not come from this educated elite. Rather, radicals were drawn from those hopeful

writers and intellectuals who were attracted to Paris to pursue a literary career but who never broke through the barriers of privilege and connections. The Parisian "Grub Street," according to Darnton, was the home of the rage and populism that informed radical revolutionaries.¹ Marat's hatred of Condorcet in many ways typified the cleavage between the philosophes and the men with literary and scientific ambitions who never became members of the elite.² The Société de 1789 appears to have been an attempt to continue a traditional relationship of the intellectual to power and prestige, and an attempt of an established cultural elite to consolidate its position in the post-Revolutionary world.

The political and social conservatism, some would say elitism, of the Société de 1789 fostered the formulation of political theories in support of established elites. As we have seen in Chapter Four, the members of 1789 supported a notion of politics that seems to have been based on an explicitly rationalist theory of representation and political process. The suggestion that politics was a rational process, whose institutions should be protected from irrational influence and debates, eliminated the mass of the population from political representation. Ideally, the most enlightened men in the nation -- for Condorcet's ideas concerning female suffrage were not held by many of his contemporaries -- would meet in reasonable institutions. Law and government policy could then be thought of as true statements put into practice. Reason would be the

arbiter of government policy. Members of 1789 feared the irrational passions of the masses. While the people may have had the right to rule through representatives, many members of the club continued to fear popular unrest and insurrection. What the elite, represented by men in the Société, possessed that the populace did not was "reason" and "enlightenment." It would seem that the members of the club were unable to get beyond the Enlightenment's fear of the people.

Such an elitist notion was diametrically opposed to the Rousseauist notion of virtue, which many more radical writers adopted as the Revolution developed. Indeed, the idea of the "common" or "public" reason was an attempt by Condorcet, Grouvelle and other intellectuals attached to the club to develop an alternative to Rousseau's General Reason. All men, regardless of education or intelligence, could possess virtue. The poor, uneducated man was often considered more likely to be virtuous than the wealthy, educated, and influential individual. The theory of the common reason represented a continuation of Enlightenment rationalism applied to the political realm. In practical terms, many of the proponents of this notion in the Société had already attempted to apply these ideas before the Revolution. The movement from Enlightened reformer to Enlightened revolutionary did not entail adopting Rousseauist models of virtue and populism. The intellectual conflicts in the late 18th century suggest that the rationalist Enlightenment was already distinct from the impact of Rousseauist notions of virtue

and primitive simplicity which were adopted by many of the "Grub Street" writers. Thus, the Société may be thought to represent one side of this intellectual chasm coming out of the Enlightenment, while Robespierre, the Jacobins and other radicals stood on the other.

Many of the members of the Société de 1789, men of prestige and influence, regained positions and consolidated control of cultural institutions after Thermidor. In this sense, the Société de 1789 may be a particularly interesting example of Tocqueville's continuity thesis at two levels: suggesting 1) that there are strong lines of intellectual continuity from the Enlightenment to the end of the century and beyond; and 2) that there are strong links between the bureaucracy of the monarchy and the regimes following the Terror. The notion that the French Revolution was not an absolute break with the past has been generally applied to political figures by recent historians and to larger processes, such as centralization and social pulverization, by Tocqueville and his commentators. The careers of a majority of the members of 1789 demonstrate surprising resiliency to the disaster that befell many of them during the Terror. It would seem that many of the intellectuals associated with 1789 went on to dominate the cultural institutions of the Directory and Empire. Indeed, the philosophical and political doctrines of Ideology and many of the ideas of Condorcet were developed and found expression in the Institut, which was, as we have seen, dominated by former members of 1789. Though beyond

the scope of this thesis, the example of the Société de 1789 suggests that there may be long-term intellectual continuities of late Enlightenment, through the Société de 1789, to Ideology under the Directory and early Empire to the development of French liberalism and sociology in the first decades of the 19th century. Continuity may well extend to the intellectual history of the Revolution and post-Revolutionary regimes, suggesting that this element of the Enlightenment may have remained an important force in political and social thought well beyond the traditional terminal dates of the High Enlightenment.

There is a similar continuity of members of 1789 in bureaucratic, financial, political and military positions from the ancien régime to the end of the Revolution. The number of members of the Société involved in the reforms of the monarchy before the Revolution, discussed in Chapter Three, suggests that there are strong lines of connection from the personnel of the reforming monarchy, to members of 1789 who attempted to control the Revolution in 1790, and who later returned to power after Thermidor. It also seems that these members of the club continued to think of government in much the same terms. The example of Roederer, a reforming magistrate in the 1780s, is instructive, as he considered the revolution of 1789 a continuation of reforms under the monarchy. While that enlightened movement was derailed in the following years, he argued many years later that the ideals were still applicable. The linkage of late Enlightenment thought to Ideology is

paralleled, in some ways, by the continuity of the reform movement through the Revolution. The Société de 1789 was one of the conduits through which these two related movements -- late Enlightenment thought and monarchical reform -- coalesced and moved outward to a wide range of destinations after Thermidor.

The Société de 1789 failed as a disseminator and implementor of the social and political ideology of the Enlightenment because its members retained traditional notions of political culture, which proved ineffective in the Revolution. This again suggests that the club was one interesting element of continuity between the reforming monarchy, the late Enlightenment, and the Revolution. The linkages that we have pointed out between the late Enlightenment, the reforming monarchy, and the Revolution are, in the first half of this work, based on the continuity of individual careers, connections of ideas, and on what has been called political sociability. In the second half of this work, we attempt to develop computer-based linguistic methods to analyze political discourse and other types of textual data. The theoretical and methodological issues raised by systematic analysis of textual data are considered in the context of analyzing the impact of Enlightenment and American Revolutionary discourses on the language of 1789.

The High Enlightenment did not leave a particular political program or philosophy to be "implemented" by later reformers or revolutionaries. Rather the Enlightenment provided a context in which to debate political issues. The style and language used

for the discussion of contemporary politics tells us more about the impact of the Enlightenment than would an attempt to trace ideas back to a "source." Thus, the analysis of the political language of the Société de 1789 is an important element in determining the nature of the Enlightenment influence on the club.

Our examination of the political language of the Société de 1789 also reveals important elements of continuity between the Enlightenment and Revolution as well as distinct differences between the rhetoric of more radical revolutionaries and the rationalist tradition of the Enlightenment. Indeed, the Société did not adopt the new language of politics that has been identified by recent scholars.³ The language of politics is an interesting illustration of the way in which members of the Société incorporated Enlightened notions into politics. The incorporation was, to a certain extent, unconscious, for the members of the club already possessed a political language which had developed during the ancien régime.

There are two important elements in the political language of the Société. The first is the degree to which this discourse borrowed from the Enlightenment. Not surprisingly, there are many points of contact, not all of which can be examined to the same degree of detail. For example, the language of nationalism pervades the discourse of the Société. It would seem that members of the club defined themselves as a national unit, using the term nous to include the nation very frequently. This

nation, however, is not the same as that of Robespierre and Saint-Just, whose emphasis was on patriotism and enemies; rather it is a commercial and institutional conception. Examination of the term nation in the 18th century suggests that this was a common usage of writers strongly influenced by physiocratic ideas, paralleling the suggestion in Chapter Four that rationalistic notion of politics was inherited by the same group of thinkers. The frequent identification of the nation by members of 1789 as an economic and institutional entity is clearly opposed to Rousseau's more organic nationalism that was of such tremendous influence during the Revolution. A similar contrast can be suggested for the use of the idea of loi. The members of the club tended to avoid Rousseau's positive identification of law and will, following the earlier opposition of law and will, where will was seen to be capricious and volatile while law was thought to be stable and universal. Rousseau's identification of law and will was, however, so important that even commentators like Condorcet and Chenier, who attempted to reverse Rousseau's notion, had to respond in Rousseau's terms. Enlightenment political language was in some ways transformed by Rousseau's thought, even though many later writers did not agree with his arguments. Thus points of contact to various elements of Enlightenment language can be established by the application of computer-assisted linguistic techniques to groups of writers or chronologically defined periods.

The second important element of the language of the Société

de 1789 is the degree to which it was influenced by American language. Members of the club seem to have been influenced, and more importantly claimed to have been influenced, by the example of the American Revolution. There is little doubt that the Revolution on the western horizon was important in many areas to the development of French Revolutionary ideology. With few exceptions, however, American political language, measured through language use, does not seem to have played an important role in the deployment of the political discourse of the Société. It may be that the rhetoric of populism stemmed from American political language, since there is little evidence that there are many sources of it in the 18th century tradition, and none in the sample of the cahiers de doléances. Discounting the direct influence of American political language suggests that the Société's discourse was, by default, developed out of the Enlightened tradition, under the pressure of events. Turning to America for an example is not the same, it would seem, as borrowing the language of political representation.

The language of the Société seems to be strongly related to particular elements of the Enlightenment; most particularly the physiocratic and mechanistic writers of the second half of the century. There seems to be a frequent tension between the tradition arising from Rousseau and the wider sample of writers found in the ARTFL database. This suggests that the ideological conflicts found in the Revolution have some origins in the conflicts of the 18th century. This is a tentative hypothesis

since, as we have seen, the relationship of ideas and social position of individual writers at the end of the ancien régime may be involved in these cleavages. Rousseau's political ideas and language may have proven to be more attractive to the disenfranchised writer than to those who were already part of the literary establishment in Paris.

In some ways, methodological considerations are the paramount factor in the organization and argument of this thesis. We have attempted to use a variety of methods, ranging from the traditional to the relatively novel, in an effort to point to the different approaches that can be fruitfully applied to the study of the relationship of the Enlightenment to the Revolution. The objects of study reflect the assumption that connecting ideas to events requires analysis of the mechanics of the linkage-- people, event contexts and language -- for ideas themselves cannot move without mechanisms of distribution and application which are moderated by historical accident. The failings of early examinations of the relationship of the Enlightenment to the Revolution seem to be a result of an abstract notion of how linkages between ideas and events can be drawn. We have been concerned here to follow people and words through events, and have attempted to develop quantitative methods to assist in tracking and explaining the movement and development of ideas.

A substantial portion of this work depends on an attempt to introduce computer-assisted textual analysis to political language, using very large samples of text and a combination of

quantitative and qualitative methods. Use of computer assisted textual analysis does not require quantitative analysis or the application of methods drawn from linguistics. This is suggested by the use of ARTFL database to trace the history of the notion of common or public reason in Chapter Four and our use of textbase technology to examine the writings of the Société de 1789. Full-text retrieval forms an important tool for the interpretation of texts, for it allows one to compare and examine ideas among a wide range of texts. The three final chapters outline the main elements of computer assisted textual analysis and attempts to apply those methods in a systematic fashion to two different problems, outlining the most important structures of the political language of the Société de 1789 and its Enlightenment origins, and examining the degree to which American discourse played a role in the formation of the political language of the club.

The computer-assisted analysis of text data used in this study has demonstrated a number of significant advantages. The first is the isolation of patterns of language use, and by extension, patterns of thought, that are not completely obvious to the writer. The use of highly frequent terms, such as nous, and some frequent political terms, such as nation and peuple, seem to have meanings and associations that play a significant role in structuring political discourses. These techniques allow the researcher to comment on long-term trends, such as the evolution of the relationship between will and law during the

eighteenth-century, in ways that are not possible using traditional methods. While subject to several limitations, discussed below, these methods introduce a degree of verifiability and rigor that resembles other forms of quantitative analysis. The importance of introducing systematic methods into cultural and intellectual history cannot be underestimated, since it has been shown in other disciplines, such as linguistics and literary criticism, that text is a form of data that can and should be examined in as scientific fashion as possible. By defining samples of text, presenting a clear indication of methods and assumptions, and using quantitative methods in so far as appropriate, it is our opinion that systematic methods can introduce a level of verification to the discussion of intellectual and cultural history that is not generally practiced at this time.

Since these methods are still being developed, it is appropriate here to note several weaknesses we have found in this approach. The first is what might be referred to as the problem of generalization. There is no systematic way to move from a discussion of a single word or group of words to form more general conclusions. This is a particular weakness of the lexicographic approach. It may be possible to generalize fields of meaning, but preliminary attempts using collocation algorithms have not been very successful. The move from words to ideas or meaning, particularly in political language where meaning is frequently nuanced, has proven to be more complex than originally

anticipated. The subtlety of political discourse, which is subject to important short term changes, is not so common in other domains. Our recent work in the representation of gender in French from 1700 to the present has not encountered the problems of the complex meanings of political words and the potential that writers are using political language in ironic ways. Work is continuing to resolve the problems posed by political language, focussing on two areas: application of more complex linguistic methods and development of statistics that might permit a more sophisticated representation of word clustering. We have developed a morphological analyzer, which lemmatizes words into stem forms, reducing the variations of words and identifying parts of speech. Thus, we will be able to isolate verbs, adjectives and other root words. This technology may also allow identification of certain syntactic structures which will lead to a considerable refinement of results.

The second problem is a traditional one in a modern guise. Quantitative methods, in general, rely on comparison of known samples or sub-samples, looking for patterns of similarity and contrast. Influence is assumed, in this case, when one can show a pattern of similar usage. As in all intellectual and cultural history, the notion of influence is not causal and is difficult to define. By comparing three samples of text drawn from different sources, such as in the use of peuple by the club, the cahiers, and American discourse, one can assert a connection. The logic of the argument is weak, however, since it must rely on

the negative proof: "where else could they have gotten it?" The low level precision of quantitative methods -- counting words in this case -- does not correct for the higher level conceptual imprecision of socio-cultural history.

Finally, there is considerable theoretical difficulty in isolating conscious manipulation of political language as opposed to patterns or structures which are used "unconsciously" by the writer. This is a particular problem in a study of a small corpus of texts, such as the writings by the Société de 1789. All discourse is, at one level, a "speech act," entailing a context, intentions, auditors, and so on. The methods used in this study have not examined these in systematic ways. Examinations of highly frequent terms, all denoting power, such as gender words, do not seem to exhibit the same rhetorical flexibility as political language. Lexicographic analysis may be better suited to a low level analysis of highly frequent, generally used terms than terms which can be varied in rhetorical impact.

The application of linguistic methods in this work is considered a preliminary effort, based on simple statistical models and essentially without linguistic processing. Results from this study, as well as others undertaken by the author, are encouraging though not sufficiently well developed to be convincing on their own. Development in certain key areas of methodology is required and will form an important extension of this work.

Several substantive issues also remain outstanding. We have not examined the reactions of key individual members to the series of events after 1790-91. Considerably more work needs to be performed in the area of extending the collective biography of the Société from vital data and other relatively hard information, to an accumulation of opinions on issues and a tracing of shifting attitudes. The examples of Roederer and Pastoret, who started their careers in remarkably similar ways and ended in diametrically opposed positions, suggest that a collective biography must attempt to resolve the question of why, at least in the case of key individuals, men developed political opinions as they did. There is nothing predictable about this one case from social or economic origins of the two men. The second area requiring more work seems to be the clarification of the relationship of early Revolutionary ideas, as expressed by members of 1789, to later liberal thought, especially that of the Ideologues. This is an important, if frequently ignored, component of the intellectual history of the Revolution.

Within the methodological and theoretical limits suggested above, the examination of the Société de 1789 offers an interesting perspective on a very old problem. By providing a sample of texts and individuals who span the chasm of the Revolution, the club seems to one of several institutions which may be well suited to examining the relationship between two large movements in detail. It is in the details of individual lives, events, and words that the linkages can be drawn with

certainty. Ascertaining the degree to which such a micro-study can be related to the general problem is more difficult and may probably always be answered only partially and with reservations.

Notes

1. This important distinction is made in Robert Darnton's, "The High Enlightenment and the Low-Life of Literature" in The Literary Underground of the Old Regime (Cambridge: Harvard U.P., 1982).
2. Louis Gottschalk goes further to suggest that Marat's exclusion from the ranks of the privileged philosophes was an important element in the formation of his Revolutionary attitudes. "It is not difficult," he writes, to imagine what would have been the result if Marat had obtained the coveted seat in the Academy. During the years preceding the Revolution, instead of a man nursing a grudge, he would have gone on living contentedly in the prestige thus bestowed upon him. Had he taken any part in the Revolution at all, then, it would probably have been in the moderate and contained manner that characterized the activities of Academicians such as Bailly, Condorcet, and Lavoisier. [Jean-Paul Marat: A Study in Radicalism, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), p. 30.] Marat's particular animosity for Condorcet is described in Elisabeth and Robert Badinter, Condorcet: un intellectuel en politique, (Paris: Fayard, 1988), pp. 162-5.
3. See Lynn Hunt, Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984); Carol Blum, Rousseau and the Republic of Virtue: The Language of Politics in the French Revolution, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986); M.E. Blanchard, La Révolution et les mots: Saint-Just et Cie, (Paris: Librairie A.-G. Nizet, 1980).

Appendix One

Function words omitted in most processing by collocation program. Accents have been stripped in this file and are stripped dynamically during input of text data.

a	dit	mes	seroit
abord	donc	moin	seront
ai	dont	moins	ses
ailleurs	du	mon	si
ainsi	effet	montre	soit
ait	elle	n	son
alors	elles	ne	sont
apres	en	ni	sur
assez	enfin	non	t
au	entre	on	ta
aura	est	ont	tant
auroit	et	or	tel
aussi	etait	ou	telle
autant	ete	oui	tes
autre	etoit	par	tien
autres	etre	parce	tous
aux	eut	pas	tout
avait	eux	peut	tres
avant	fin	pire	un
avec	fut	plus	une
avoir	hui	pour	vers
avoit	ici	pu	y
avons	il	puis	
bon	ils	puisque	
bonne	j	q	
c	je	qu	
car	jusqu	quand	
cas	l	quant	
ce	la	que	
cela	le	quel	
celle	les	quelle	
celles	lesquels	quelque	
celui	leur	quelques	
ces	leurs	qui	
cet	lieu	quoi	
cette	lorsqu	quoi	
ceux	lorsque	rien	
comme	lui	s	
d	m	sa	
dans	ma	salle	
de	mais	sans	
deja	me	se	
des	meme	sera	
deux	memes	seroient	

Appendix Two

Sample output and source code of Z-Score Generation Program. The program reads text input files generated by the Brigham Young University Concordance Program and uses the BYU item frequency files to calculate Z-scores. Output can be sorted by word or collocation frequency and directed to the printer, screen or disk. This version is written in SNOBOL4+ for the IBM-PC.

Z-score Generation Program 11-01-86 23:32

Journal de la Société de 1789

Poleword --:raison:-- : 80 Total words: 85857.
 Minimum Collocation frequency: 4 Span: 12
 Total number of collocates: 964

Collocate	Total Freq.	Collocate Freq.	Z-score
esprit	22	4.	7.6
notre	112	4.	2.5
autorite	12	4.	10.5
interets	57	4.	4.2
votre	33	4.	6.0
toujours	98	4.	2.8
avoir	87	4.	3.1
fut	30	4.	6.4
autre	70	4.	3.7
nos	168	4.	1.6
ami	5	5.	21.1
hommes	190	5.	2.0
autres	80	5.	4.4
liberte	190	5.	2.0
conscience	26	5.	8.8
encore	147	6.	3.4
sens	23	6.	11.4
comme	262	6.	1.8
justice	45	7.	9.2
nous	460	8.	1.3
loix	158	8.	4.7
avec	211	8.	3.7

Program Source Code for Text Analysis
 SNOBOL4+ source code for Z-Score Generation Program.
 This program will not operate on mainframe versions
 of the SNOBOL programming language and requires
 random disk access functions to operate properly.

```

*
*      Call Standard Input/Output Routines and Patterns.
*
-INCLUDE 'c:/compiler/STDIO.SNO'
*
*      Initial Declarations and subroutine definitions.
*
      SP10 = DUPL(' ',10)
      SP20 = DUPL(' ',20)
      DEFINE('SQRT(NY)T,ERR,SLOPE')
      DEFINE('DISKFIND(TARGET,UNIT)')
      LASTREC = 0.0
*
*
*      set up of zscore generating tables, constants and files
*
*
      TOTALFRQ = TABLE(100)
      COLFRQ = TABLE(100)
      FILTER = TABLE(100)
      WSPAN = 0.0
*
*      Start Main program. Prompts user for file information,
*      keyword or (in other implementations) keywords and
*      other run parameters. The program then processes the
*      input file until EOF is reached. User is then presented
*      report generation options in a simple menu.
*
*
      WRITE = '      NUMERIC CONCORDANCE GENERATOR'
      WRITE =
      WRITE = 'This program reads entire text files in order to generate'
      WRITE = 'a table of collocates, relative frequencies and z-scores.'
      WRITE = 'The program requires that a complete BYU word occurrence'
      WRITE = 'be used. This must have total words, and frequency of each'
      WRITE = 'word. Span is calculated from input references.'
      WRITE =
*
*      Get files -- loop until valid file is found.
*
FX1  WRITES = 'Name of text input file:- '
      INFIL = READ
      INPUT('CONWORD',10,80,INFIL)                                :F(ERRX)
*
*      Get Poleword: leading or trailing spaces are indicated by

```

```

*   the period (.). Leading and trailing blanks indicate full
*   word search. Trailing blank indicates match on all suffixes
*   while leading blank matches of prefixes. This is used to
*   verify results from searches with the BYU concordance program.
*
WRITES = '          Pole word:- '
PWORD = READ
PWORD = REPLACE(PWORD, &UCASE, &LCASE)
PWORD = REPLACE(PWORD, '.', ' ')
WRITE = 'Pole word is --:' PWORD ':-- ' SIZE(PWORD) ' characters.'
WRITE =
WRITES = SP10 'Text name:- '
TEXTNAME = READ
FX2 WRITES = 'Name of Frequency File:- '
INFIL = READ
INPUT('FRQWORD',11,80,INFIL) :F(ERRY)
WRITES = 'Minimum collocation frequency:- '
MINFREQ = READ
MINFREQ = CONVERT(MINFREQ,'REAL')
*
*   Read stopword file. Used to eliminate function words.
*
FX3 WRITES = '          Name of filter file:- '
INFIL = READ
INPUT('FILTWORD',12,80,INFIL) :F(ERRZ)
WRITE =
I = 0
FILT WORD = FILTWORD :F(ENDFILT)
I = I + 1
WRITES = SP10 'Reading filter file: ' I CR
FILTER<WORD> = 5 :F(FILT)
ENDFILT ENDFILE(12)
*
*
*   Main text processing loop.
*
POLECNT = 0
LINECNT = 0
refend = break('(') break(':') break(')')
sentence = conword
sentence = conword
temp =
MAIN WRITES = SP10 'Reading text file -- lines so far: ' LINECNT
+ 'Polewords: ' POLECNT CR :F(ENDMAIN)
SENTENCE = CONWORD :s(main_a)
LINECNT = LINECNT + 1
SENTENCE refend :s(main_a)
SENTENCE = REPLACE(SENTENCE, &UCASE, &LCASE)
SENTENCE = REPLACE(SENTENCE, '?!?.,;-', ' ')
SENTENCE = REPLACE(SENTENCE, 'éâàçèèïîôûÉ', 'eaaceeioué')
temp = temp ' sentence :F(main)
main_a TEMP PWORD :F(MAIN2)

```

```

MAIN1      polecnt = polecnt + 1
           TEMP WPAT =                      :F(MAIN2)
           GT(SIZE(WORD),2)                  :F(MAIN1)
           EQ(FILTER<WORD>,5)                :S(MAIN1)
wspan = wspan + 1.0
COLFRQ<WORD> = COLFRQ<WORD> + 1              :(MAIN1)
main2      temp =                          :(main)
ENDMAIN    ENDFILE(10)
           WRITE =
           WRITE = SP20 'End of input file reached . . .'
           WRITE =
           I = 1
           SENTENCE = FRQWORD
           SENTENCE = FRQWORD
           SENTENCE NPAT =
           TOTALWORDS = CONVERT(NUMBER, 'REAL')
           WRITE = SP20 'Total words in file = ' TOTALWORDS
           WRITE =
           COLLOCATES = CONVERT(WSPAN, 'INTEGER')
           WSPAN = CONVERT((WSPAN / POLECNT), 'INTEGER')

*
*      Main report loop menu.  Calls subroutines after initial
*      processing.
*
REPORT      COLFRQ = CONVERT(COLFRQ, 'ARRAY')
           WRITE = SP20 'Z-score Report Function Module'
           WRITE = '<S>ort, <R>eport, <M>emory, <Q>uit, <C>hange Minfreq'
           WRITES = SP20 'Command:- '
           IN = READ
           IN = REPLACE(IN, &UCASE, &LCASE)
           IDENT(IN, 'q')                    :S(END)
           IDENT(IN, 'r')                    :S(LISTOUT)
           IDENT(IN, 's')                    :S(FILESORT)
           IDENT(IN, 'c')                    :S(CHGMIN)
           IDENT(IN, 'm')                    :S(MEMCHECK)
           WRITE = SP20 'Invalid option. . . ' :S(REPORT)

*
CHGMIN      WRITES = 'Enter minimum collocate frequency:- '
           IN = READ
           MINFREQ = CONVERT(IN, 'INTEGER')   :S(REPORT)F(CHGMIN)

*
MEMCHECK    WRITE = 'Free Memory = ' COLLECT(1) * 5 ' bytes' :S(REPORT)

FILESORT    WRITES = SP10 'Sort on words (1) or frequency (2):- '
           IN = READ
           IN = CONVERT(IN, 'INTEGER')
           WRITES = SP20 'Sorting collocates. . .' CR
           eq(in,1)                          :s(filesort1)
           colfrq = rsort(colfrq,in)          :f(filesort)s(report)
filesort1    COLFRQ = SORT(COLFRQ,IN)         :F(FILESORT)S(REPORT)

*
LISTOUT     WRITES = SP20 'Name of output device:- '

```

```

IN = READ
OUTPUT('COLOUT',10,80,IN)                                :F(LISTOUT)
S7 = '
COLOUT
COLOUT = SP20 'Z-score Generation Program:      ' DATE()
COLOUT =
COLOUT = SP10 TEXTNAME
COLOUT =
COLOUT = S7 'Poleword --:' PWORD ':-: ' POLECNT SP20
+      'Total words: ' TOTALWORDS
COLOUT = 'Minimum Collocation frequency: ' MINFREQ SP20
+      'Span: ' WSPAN
COLOUT = SP20 'Total number of collocates: ' COLLOCATES
COLOUT =
COLOUT =
COLOUT = '          Collocate          Total Freq.  Collocate'
+      ' Freq.      Z-score'
I = 1
LISTLOOP WORD1 = COLFRQ<I,1>                                :F(ENDLIST)
FRQ1 = CONVERT(COLFRQ<I,2>, 'REAL')
I = I + 1
LT(FRQ1, MINFREQ)                                          :S(LISTLOOP)
TARGET = WORD1
TFRQ1 = DISKFIND(TARGET, 11)                              :F(FINDERR)
ZZ = 0.0
P = 0.0
NY = 0.0
E = 0.0
P = TFRQ1 / (TOTALWORDS - POLECNT)
E = P * POLECNT * WSPAN
Q = 1.0 - P
NY = E * Q
ZZ = (FRQ1 - E) / SQRT(NY)
COLOUT = SP10 RPAD(WORD1, 15) LPAD(TFRQ1, 6) LPAD(FRQ1, 15)
+      LPAD(ZZ, 20) :(LISTLOOP)
ENDLIST          ENDFILE(10)                                :(REPORT)
*
*
*
ERRY WRITE = 'Unable to open file: ' INFIL                :(FX2)
ERRX WRITE = 'Unable to open file: ' INFIL                :(FX1)
ERRZ WRITE = 'Unable to open file: ' INFIL                :(FX3)
FINDERR WRITE = 'Unable to find ' WORD1 ' returned value = ' TFRQ1 +
                                                    :(LISTLOOP)
*
*      Square Root procedure from Gimpel's Alogrithms.
*
*      Definition call -- must be placed at top of program
*
*      Procedure returns square root of the argument
*
SQRT      LT(NY,0)                                :S(FRETURN)

```

```

EQ(NY,0)                                     :S(FRETURN)
SQRT = LT(NY,0.05)  1. / SQRT(1. / NY)      :S(RETURN)
SQRT = GT(NY,4096)  SQRT(NY / 4096.) * 64.  :S(RETURN)
SQRT = GT(NY,16)   SQRT(NY / 16.) * 4.      :S(RETURN)
SQRT = (NY + 1.) / 2.
T = SQRT
SQRT1  ERR = SQRT * SQRT - NY
        SLOPE = 2. * SQRT
        SQRT = SQRT - (ERR / SLOPE)
        T = LT(SQRT,T) SQRT                  :S(SQRT1)F(RETURN)

*
*      Binary Search Disk Procedure -- SNOBOL4+ implementation
*      Searches sorted list of items using binary search
*      algorithm.  Used to look up total frequency of a word
*      in the data file.
*
DISKFIND  GT(LASTREC,0)                       :S(DISK1)
          SEEK(UNIT, 0, 2)                     :F(FRETURN)
          LASTREC = TELL(UNIT)
DISK1     RECORD = CHOP(LASTREC / 2)
          SEEK(UNIT)
          LOWREC = 1
          HIGHREC = LASTREC
DISKLOOP  GT(HIGHREC - LOWREC, 100)             :F(LINEAR)
          SEEK(UNIT, RECORD, 0)
          DISKIN = FRQWORD
          DISKIN = FRQWORD
          DISKIN NPAT =
          DISKIN WPAT =
          IDENT(WORD, TARGET)                   :S(FOUND)
          LGE(TARGET, WORD)                     :S(LISTDOWN)F(LISTUP)
LISTDOWN  LOWREC = RECORD
          RECORD = CHOP(LOWREC + ((HIGHREC - LOWREC) / 2)) :((DISKLOOP)
LISTUP     HIGHREC = RECORD
          RECORD = CHOP(LOWREC + ((HIGHREC - LOWREC) / 2)) :((DISKLOOP)
LINEAR     DCOUNT = 0
          SEEK(UNIT, LOWREC, 0)
          DISKIN = FRQWORD
LINEAR1    DISKIN = FRQWORD
          DISKIN NPAT =
          DISKIN WPAT =
          IDENT(WORD, TARGET)                   :S(FOUND)
          DCOUNT = DCOUNT + 1
          GT(DCOUNT, 20)                       :F(LINEAR1)S(FRETURN)
FOUND      DISKFIND = CONVERT(NUMBER, 'INTEGER') : (RETURN)
END

```



```

#!/bin/sh
#
#           Collocation Program -- UNIX Shell Script.
#   Uses the same Standard Deviation measure as MARTIX_SD
#   User must set MAINFILE to a word list for the corpus defined
#   in the philis program. This word list must be compatible with
#   mlook and have the total frequency as the third field of the
#   last line (generated with mark/bin/wordcount).
#
#   User must enter philis commands after THE_END. Current version
#   uses the KWIC size as context. Context can be set in length.awk.
#   This also combines left/right contexts.
#
MAINFILE="femme/diderot.freq"
#
TESTFILE="CONCGEN_TEMP"
echo $TESTFILE > MATRIX.CONTROL
tail -1 $MAINFILE | awk '{ print $3 }' >> MATRIX.CONTROL
#
#   User added philis script to
#       a) set corpus
#       b) generate hitlist from word or word list
#       c) print kwic for each hit.
#
(cat <<THE_END
(let corpus "author=diderot")
(let hitlist (sort (match (gimme corpus) "artiste"))))
(apply kwic 80 hitlist)
THE_END
) | /usr/tira/bin/philis |
#
#   Generate word list, sorted by frequency, of contexts
#   including left and right contexts.
#
postfix |
/gh/mark/bin/kwic1 |
tr A-Z a-z |
tr -d "-_().,;?!" |
awk -f /gh/mark/bin/length.awk |
sort |
uniq -c |
sort -r |
awk '{ print $0 }
    { s += $1 }
    END { print "zzzzz TOKEN: " , s , "TYPES: " , NR } ' > $TESTFILE
#
#   write total frequency of contexts to control file for read by
#   maxtrix_sd
#
tail -1 $TESTFILE | awk '{ print $3 }' >> MATRIX.CONTROL
#

```

```

#   Perform matrix analysis.   Pipe context words to mlook in order to
#   get frequency in corpus.   matrix_sd opens $TESTFILE as well.
#
cat $TESTFILE |
awk '{ n = $2 " "
      print n }' |
mlook $MAINFILE |
awk '{ print $1 "\n" $2 }' |
/gh/mark/bin/matrix_sd |
#
#           Optional Filters:   to activate remove hash mark.
#           No filter -- table will be in order of TESTFILE
#   Option 1: include only words in TESTFILE occurring more than 2.
#           Sort by Standard deviation, removing words not in MAINFILE.

grep -v NOT | awk '{ if ( $3 > 2 ) print $0 }' | sort +3rn
#
rm MATRIX.CONTROL
rm $TESTFILE

```

```

#!/bin/sh

#                               UNIX Shell Script
#
# Generates standard deviate file each word in
# the input files.  Calls mlook to look up words
# in MAINFILE and matrix_sd to generate table.
#
# Both MAINFILE and TESTFILE must have total frequency
# as third field in last line.  MAINFILE must be a
# sorted word list of the baseline corpus with "word"
# followed by frequency.  TESTFILE is comparison
# corpus with freq followed by word.  See OPTIONS below.
#
MAINFILE="/gh/mark/soc89/freq_lists/1776-88.no_accs"
TESTFILE="/gh/mark/soc89/freq_lists/soc89.byfreq"
#
#
echo $TESTFILE > MATRIX.CONTROL
tail -1 $MAINFILE | awk '{ print $3 }' >> MATRIX.CONTROL
tail -1 $TESTFILE | awk '{ print $3 }' >> MATRIX.CONTROL
#
cat $TESTFILE |
awk '{ n = $2 " "
      print n }' |
mlook $MAINFILE |
awk '{ print $1 "\n" $2 }' |
/gh/mark/bin/matrix_sd |
#
#       Optional Filters:  to activate remove hash mark.
#       No filter -- table will be in order of TESTFILE
#       Option 1: include only words in TESTFILE occuring more than 2.
#       Sort by Standard deviation, removing words not in MAINFILE.
#
grep -v NOT | awk '{ if ( $3 > 2 ) print $0 }' | sort +3rn
rm MATRIX.CONTROL

```

```

#                                     matrix_sd.icon
# Icon source code to generate matrices. This is called
# by the two previous programs.

procedure main()
  local line, word, word1, freq, tfreq, i, j
  number := '0123456789'
  if not (control_file := open("MATRIX.CONTROL"))
    then stop("cannot open control file")
  inlist_name := read(control_file)
  balzac := read(control_file) * 1.0
  peau_freq := read(control_file) * 1.0
  if not (inlist := open(inlist_name))
    then stop("cannot open input list")
  while word := read() do {
    tfreq := read()
    word1 := ""
    while (word ~= word1) do {
      line := read(inlist)
      i := upto(number, line)
      j := many(number, line, i)
      freq := line[i:j]
      word1 := line[j+1:0]
      if (word ~= word1)
        then write("NOT IN MAIN FILE: ", word1, ": ", freq)
    }
    x := (tfreq / balzac) * peau_freq
    z := (freq - x) / sqrt(x)
    write(left(word, 15), right(tfreq, 6), right(freq, 5), " ", left(z, 7))
  }
end

procedure sqrt(x)
  return (0.0 <= numeric(x)) ^ 0.5
end

```

Appendix Three

Bibliographies of text samples

Texts included in database from the Société de 1789

- Addition aux observations de M. Lavoisier, député suppléant du baillage de Blois, sur la liquidation de la dette exigible ou arriérée. S.l. n.d.
- Adresse de la Société de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf à MM Julien et Mestre, membres de cette Société. S.l. n.d.
- "Adresse à l'Assemblée Nationale" rédigée par M. de Condorcet dans Journal de la Société de 1789. 5 juin 1790.
- Aperçu de la constitution française, par un homme d'Amérique, et Réponse sommaire à tout ce qu'on a écrit et écrira en France et en Angleterre pour, sur et contre cette constitution. Paris: Imp. Lejay fils, s.d. [1790].
- Assignats. Discours prononcé, le 3 septembre 1790, à la Société de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf, par un de ses membres, sur l'émission de deux milliards d'assignats, sans intérêt, proposée à l'Assemblée nationale. Paris: Potier de Lille, 1790.
- "Aux amis de la liberté, sur les moyens d'en assurer la durée" de M. de Condorcet dans Journal de la Société de 1789. 7 août 1790.
- "Avis au Peuple François sur ses véritables ennemis" par André Chenier dans Journal de la Société de 1789. 28 août 1790.
- "Considerations sur le décret du 22 Mai" de M. Grouvelle dans Journal de la Société de 1789. 12 juin 1790.
- "Considerations sur la positions politique de la France, de l'Angleterre, et de l'Espagne" par M. DuPont, député du bailliage de Nemours à l'Assemblée Nationale, dans Journal de la Société de 1789. 26 juin 1790.
- "Considérations sur le décret du 18 Juin, et sur l'opinion de M. Necker à ce sujet", par M. Grouvelle dans Journal de la Société de 1789. 10 juillet 1790.
- De la liquidation de la dette exigible. Lu à la Société de Mil-huit-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf, par un membre de cette Société, le 15 septembre 1790. S.l., 1790.
- "Des lois constitutionnelles sur l'administration des finances" de M. de Condorcet dans Journal de la Société de 1789. 12 juin 1790.
- "Des classes des gens de mer, ou nouvelles réflexions sur la plus importante de nos institutions maritimes." de M. Kersaint dans Journal de la Société de 1789. 29 juillet 1790.
- Ebauche d'un nouveau plan de Société patriotique, adopté par le Club de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf. Paris: Imp. Nationale, s.d. [1790].
- Extrait des registres de la Société de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf. Imp. V° Hérissant, S.d.

"Extraits du procès-verbal des séances de la Société de 1789, du vendredi 3 Septembre 1790." dans Journal de la Société de 1789. 15 septembre 1790.

Faut-il des assignats de petites sommes? Par M. M..., membre de la Société de mil-huit-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf. Lu à cette Société le 15 septembre 1790. Paris: Potier de Lille, S.d.

"Fragments d'un discours prononcé le 18 juillet 1790 dans l'oratoire des protestans, au musée de la rue Dauphine. Par M. Marron, membre de la société de 1789." dans Journal de la Société de 1789. 29 juillet 1790.

Idées de circonstances, soumises à la Société de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf, par un de ses membres, le vendredi 14 janvier 1791. Imp. du Postillon, S.d.

"Lettre au Rédacteur" de M. Grouvelle dans Journal de la Société de 1789. 24 juillet 1790.

Motion de M. de Villette, au Club de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf, le 17 juin 1790. S.l. n.d.

Motion sur l'abrogation des testaments en ligne directe, lue à la Société de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf, par Jean-Pierre Pezous, député du département du Tarn à l'Assemblée nationale, le 19 novembre 1790. Paris: Imp. Nationale, S.d.

"Observations sur la loi relative aux délits qui peuvent se commettre par la voie de la Presse" par M. Fr. de Pange dans Journal de la Société de 1789. 21 août 1790.

"Observations sur le décret constitutif de l'armée de mer, du 26 Juin, rendu sans discussion", par M. de Sh[K]ersaint, chef de division de l'armée navale" dans Journal de la Société de 1789. 17 juillet 1790.

Opinion sur les assignats et Proposition d'un autre mode de libération, prononcé à la Société de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf, par un de ses membres. Paris: imp. Potier de Lille, 1790.

Opinion énoncée à la Société de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf, sur les lois constitutionnelles, leur caractères distinctifs, leur ordre naturel, leur stabilité relative, leur revision solennelle, par M. Ramond, membre de cette Société. Première partie. Paris: Belin, 1791.

Opinion sur les assignats, par M. L***. Paris: imp Potier de Lille, 1790.

Plan de liquidation, par un membre de la Société de 1789. Paris: imp. du Patriote française, 1790.

"Prospectus" in Journal de la Société de 1789. 5 juin 1790.

Réflexions sur la somme d'impôt territorial que demande le comité de l'imposition, adressées et lues, le 24 septembre, à la Société de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf, par M. de Casaux, membre de cette Société. Paris: Imp. Lejay fils, 1790.

"Réflexions sur les assignats" dans Journal de la Société de 1789. 15 septembre 1790.

"Reflexions sur la dette dite exigible et sur les moyens proposés pour la rembourser" par M. de Casaux dans Journal de la Société de 1789. 4 septembre 1790.

Réflexions sur les assignats et sur la liquidation de la dette exigible ou arriérée, lues à la Société de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf, le 29 août 1790, par M. Lavoisier, député suppléant du baillage de Blois.
Paris: Clousier, s.d.

Société de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf. S.l. n.d.

"Suite de l'article sur l'organisation de la Garde Nationale" par M.T. Guiraudet dans Journal de la Société de 1789. 14 août 1790.

"Suite de l'article du précédent numéro sur le préjugé qui suppose une opposition d'intérêts entre la capitale et les provinces" par M. de Condorcet dans Journal de la Société de 1789. 17 juillet 1790.

"Sur le préjugé qui suppose une contrariété d'intérêts entre la capitale et les provinces" de M. de Condorcet dans Journal de la Société de 1789. 10 juillet 1790.

"Sur l'admission des femmes au droit de cité" de M. de Condorcet, dans Journal de la Société de 1789. 26 juin 1790.

"Sur le crime de lèse-nation" de M. le chevalier de Pange dans Journal de la Société de 1789. 12 juin 1790.

"Sur le décret du 13 avril 1790" dans Journal de la Société de 1789. 12 juin 1790.

"Sur la délégation de l'exercice du droit de la guerre et de la paix" de M. Grouvelle dans Journal de la Société de 1789. 5 juin 1790.

"Sur les Assignats" discours prononcé par M. Huskisson, Anglois et membre de la Société de 1789 dans Journal de la Société de 1789. 4 septembre 1790.

"Sur l'organisation de la Garde Nationale" par M.T. Guiraudet dans Journal de la Société de 1789. 7 août 1790.

"Sur les tribunaux d'appel" par M. de Condorcet dans Journal de la Société de 1789. 29 juillet 1790.

Theorie et Pratique des assignats. Mémoire lu à la Société de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf, les 5 et 6 septembre 1790. Paris: Imp. Vezard et Le Normand. S.d.

Ultimatum, par un membre de la Société de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf, lu à la dit Société, le 26 septembre 1790. Paris, imp. du Patriote française, S.d.

Cahiers de doléances used in this study.

1. Arches and Charlesville: EXTRAIT DES FEUILLES ET LAISSE DU GREFFE DE L'HOTEL DE VILLE DE CHARLEVILLE.

2. Third Estate of the Bailliage of AVal: CAHIER GENERAL ET REDUIT DU BAILLAGE D'AVAl EN FRANCHE-COMTE CONTENANT SES VOEUX ET DOLEANCES.

3. Clergy of the Senechaussee of Beziers: CAHIER DES DOLÉANCES DU CLERGÉ.

4. Clergy of the Bailliage of Bourmont:
CAHIER DES PLAINTES, DOLEANCES ET REMENTRANCES QUE L'ORDRE DU
CLERGÉ DU BAILLIAGE ROYAL DU BASSIGNY SCÉANT A BOURMONT
CONVOQUÉ EN LA DITTE VILLE PAR ORDRE DU ROYS A
L'HONNEUR DE PRÉSENTER A SA MAJESTÉ ET
AUX ÉTATS GÉNÉRAUX DU ROYAUME.

5. Nobles of the Baillage of Bourmont:
CAHIER DES PLAINTES DOLÉANCES ET
REMONSTRANCES DE L'ORDRE DE LA NOBLESSE DU BASSIGNY SÉANT
A BOURMONT.

6. Nobles of the Baillage of Bruyeres: DOLÉANCES POUR L'ORDRE DE LA NOBLESSE DU BAILLAGE DE BRUYERES EN LORRAINE.

7. Third Estate of the Senechaussee of Carhaix:
PLAINTES DOLÉANCES ET REMONSTRANCES DE L'UNIVERSALITÉ DES
RESORTS OU JURISDICTIONS DE CHATEAULIN, CHATEAUNEUF, CARHAIX
GOURIN ET QUIMPERLE REPRESENTES PAR LEURS ÉLECTEURS EN
L'ASSEMBLEE TENUE EN CETTE VILLE LE SEPT DE CE MOIS AUX
TERMES DE
L'ARTICLE QUATRE DU REGLEMENT DU 24 JANVIER DERNIER ET DE
L'ARTICLE 4 DU REGLEMENT DU 16 MARS SUIVANT A LA RÉDACTION ET
RÉDUCTION DESQUELLES A ÉTÉ VACQUÉ PAR NOUS--VINCENT SAMUEL
BILLETTE ANNE-JACQUES-BERNARD-FRANCOIS-CARQUET URBAIN-MARTE
DE
LEISSEGUES DE LEGERVILLE, JEAN MARIE LE GOLIAS
FRANCOIS-JUILLIEN
LE LEDAN SAMSON BIENVENU JEAN-FRANCOIS LE CORNEC,
FRANCOIS-MARIE-ALLAIN DE LAUNAY, JEAN-MAURICE-RÉNÉ-MARIE
FOUEFF
DE MONTALEMBERT, ET LAURENT CAURAUT--COMMISSAIRES NOMMÉS A LA
SÉANCE DE

L'ASSEMBLÉE DUDIT JOUR, COMME SUIT.

8. Nobles of the Bailliage of Chatel-sur-Moselle:
CAHIER DE PLAINTES DOLÉANCES, ET REMONSTRANCES DE MESSIEURS

DE LA NOBLESSE DU BAILLIAGE DE CHATEL SUR MOZELLE FAIT EN EXECUTION DES LETTRES ET REGLEMENT DU ROY DU 14E JANVIER ET 7E FEVRIER DERNIER PAR MONSIEUR LOUIS JOSEPH DE GAUDEL CHEVALIER SEIGNEUR DE NOMESECY, ANCIEN SOUS-LIEUTENANT A LA SUITE DU REGIMENT DE DAUPHIN CAVALERIE ET MONSIEUR DIEUDONNÉ HENRY JOSEPH COSSERAT DE ROUVEROIS ECUYER SEIGNEUR DU DIT FIEF ET DUDIT CHATEL LIEUTENANT GÉNÉRAL CIVIL, ET CRIMINEL AU DIT BAILLAGE TOUS DEUX NOMMÉS COMMISSAIRES A CET EFFET.

9. Third Estate of the Baillage of Chatel-sur-Moselle: BAILLAGE DU CHATEL SUR MOZELLE.

10. Nobles of the Island of Corsica:
CAHIER DES DEMANDES DOLÉANCES ET REPRÉSENTATIONS DE L'ORDRE DE LA NOBLESSE DE L'ILE DE CORSE, ARRETÉ PAR L'ASSEMBLEE GÉNÉRALE DE CET ORDRE CONVOQUÉ A BASTIA LE 18 MAI 1789

11. The Ten Imperial Cities:

DOLÉANCES OU CHEFS D'ACCUSATION
des dix villes impériales du gouvernement royal de Haguenau, rendus à l'assemblée tenue à Schlestadt, à la suite de la circulaire royale pour la prochaine assemblée, concernant le décret du 7 fevrier, 1789, et celui du 24 janvier précédent. Ordonnance de M. le gouverneur général, Maréchal de Stalville, sous la présidence de M. le Sous-gouverneur Depons, chevalier, brigadier des armées royales, et des commandants de la ville de Haguenau.

12. The Clergy of the Senechaussee of Draguignan: CAHIER DE DOLÉANCES

13. The Clergy of the Bailliages of Etain:

L'ORDRE DU CLERGE DU BAILLIAGE D'ETAIN
Plaintes, Doléances, et Remontrances du Clergé du Bailliage d'Etain assemblé aux termes de la Convocation donnée à Versailles, le 24 janvier, de la présente année, 1789, et suivant l'ordonnance de Monsieur le Lieutenant-Général audit Bailliage, rendue en conséquence, le deux du mois de Mars de la dite année.

14. Third Estate of the Bailliage of Etain:

CAHIER DES PLAINTES, DOLÉANCES ET REMONTRANCES DU TIERS-ÉTAT DU BAILLAGE D'ETAIN POUR ESTRE PORTÉ A L'ASSEMBLEE QUI SE TIENDRA A BAR LE 31 MARS PRÉSENT DU MOIS ET FAITES A SA MAJESTÉ DANS LES ETATS GÉNÉRAUX QUI SE TIENDRONT A VERSAILLES, LE 27 AVRIL PROCHAIN

15. Third Estate of the Bailliage of Langres: PETITIONS PARTICULIERES DU TIERS-ETAT DU BAILLIAGE DE LANGRES.

16. Third Estate of Lixheim:
 PROCES VERBAL DE RÉDUCTION DES CAHIERS EN UN SEUL, DES VILLES, VILLAGES, ET COMMUNAUTÉS DU RESSORT DU BAILLIAGE DE LIXHEIM
 CAHIER DE PLAINTES DOLEANCES ET PÉTITIONS DU TIERS ETAT DU RESSORT DU BAILLIAGE DE LIXHEIM POUR METTRE SOUS LES YEUX DU ROI ET DES ETATS GÉNÉRAUX

17. Clergy of the Bailliage of Longuyon:
 Les Commissaires de l'ordre du Clergé au nombre de cinq, présidés par Monsieur le Doyen de la Chrétiennoté de Longuyon curé de Grand-failly, et chargés de rédiger le cahier des demandes plaintes et Doléances selon l'invitation qui en est faite par la lettre du Roy à tous les ordres de son Royaume, demandent et se plaigent comme s'ensuit.

18. Nobles of the Bailliage of Longuyon:
 La Noblesse résidente dans l'arrondissement du Bailliage de Longuyon, s'étant assemblée conformément aux lettres de Sa Majesté daté du 7 février 1789.

19. Third Estate of the Bailliage of Longuyon:
 CAHIER DES DOLEANCES PLAINTES ET RÉCLAMATIONS DU TIERS-ETAT DU BAILLIAGE DE LONGUYON

20. Nobles of the Bailliage of Longwy:
 L'intention du Roy étant pleinement démontrée par la seule convocation des états généraux, dans une sage proportion des trois ordres qui les composent.
 L'ordre de la noblesse du baillage de Longwy: Pénétrée d'amour, de reconnaissance, et animée du plus grand zèle à concourir aux vues bienfaisantes de sa Majesté.

21. Third Estate of the Bailliage of Longwy:
 DOLEANCES ET REMONTRANCES DES HABITANS DE LA VILLE ET BANLIEUE DE LONGWY

22. The Colony of Martinique: TENEUR DU CAHIER A REMETTRE AUX DÉPUTÉS DE LA MARTINIQUE.

23. Nobles of the Sénéchaussée of Mende.

24. Third Estate of the Seneschausee of Mont-de-Marsan:
 CAHIER GENERAL DES DOLEANCES DU TIERS ETAT DE MARSAN, TURSAN ET GABARDAZ 22 AVRIL 1789

25. The Lower Clegy of the Diocese of Nantes:
 DEMANDES ET REMONTRANCES DE L'ASSEMBLÉE DIOCÉSAIN DE NANTES, POUR LES ETATS-GÉNÉRAUX DE 1789

26. Third Estate of the Bailliage of Nomeny:

CAHIER DES REMONTRANCES PLAINTES ET DOLÉANCES, MOYENS ET AVIS
DES DÉPUTÉS DU TIERS ÉTAT DE LA SILLE DE NOMENY ET DE CEUX
DES COMMUNAUTES DU BAILLIAGE DE LA DITTE VILLE RÉDÈGE
PARDEVANT

MONSIEUR LE LIEUTENANT GÉNÉRAL PRÉSIDENT.

27. Third Estate of the Seneschaussee of Auvergne at Riom:

Approuvé par l'assemblée générale du Tiers-État de la
Sénéchaussée d'Auvergne pour servir de cahier général
d'instructions et pouvoirs aux députés aux Etats Généraux, le
12 Mars 1789, Signés,

28. Third Estate of the Siege Royal of Rochefort-sur-mer,
secondary of the sénéchaussée of La Rochelle:

PÉTITION PARTICULIERE DE LA VILLE DE ROCHEFORT.

29. (Number 29 in Hyslop's collection is corrections to the
version printed in the Archive Parlementaires (vol. V, 597-
602).)

30. Third Estate of the Bailliage of Sarreguemines:

DOLÉANCES ET PROPOSITIONS DU TIERS ETAT DU BAILLIAGE
DE LA VILLE DE SARREGUEMINES.

31. Clergy and Nobles of the Bailliage of Sarrelouis:

3 MARS 1789

EXTRAIT DU PROCÈS-VERBAL DE LA RÉDUCTION
DES CAHIERS DU CLERGÉ ET DE LA NOBLESSE EN UN SEUL

32. Third Estate of the Bailliage of St. Die:

CAHIER DES DOLÉANCES, PLAINTES REMONTRANCES ET DEMANDES DU
TIERS ÉTAT DU BAILLIAGE ROYAL DE ST. DIEZ EN LORRAINE, A
PORTER A L'ASSEMBLÉE DES ETATS-GÉNÉRAUX DU ROYAUME, CONVOQUES
PAR SA MAJESTÉ POUR LE 27 AVRIL 1789

33. Colony of Saint Dominique:

ADRESSE DES DÉPUTÉS DE LA COLONIE DE
ST. DOMINIQUE PAR LAQUELLE ILS DEMANDENT D'ÊTRE ADMIS AUX
ETATS GÉNÉRAUX. 8 JUIN 1789

34. Third Estate of the Sénéchaussée of Toulon:

CAHIER DES DOLÉANCES ARRÊTÉES DANS L'ASSEMBLÉE DU TIERS-
ÉTAT DE LA SÉNÉCHAUSSEE DE TOULON POUR ÊTRE PORTÉ A
L'ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE DES TROIS SÉNÉCHAUSSEE DE TOULON
BRIGNOLES, ET HYERES

35. Third Estate of the Bailliage d'Ustaritz:

CAHIER DES VOEUX ET DES INSTRUCTIONS DES BASQUES-FRANCOIS DU

LABOURT, POUR LEURS DÉPUTÉS AUX ÉTATS
GÉNÉRAUX DE LA NATION.

36. Clergy of the Sénéchaussée of Bourbonnais:
CAHIER DE L'ORDRE DU CLERGE
DU BOURBONNAIS
Remis à MM. Tridon, curé de Rongères
Aury, curé d'Hérisson; Laurent, curé d'Heuillaux
1789.
37. Nobles of the Sénéchaussée of Bourbonnais:
CAHIER DE L'ORDRE DE LA NOBLESSE DU BOURBONNAIS.
38. Third Estate of the Sénéchaussée of Bourbonnais:
CAHIER GÉNÉRAL DES PLAINTES ET DOLEANCES DU TIERS ÉTATS
DE LA PROVINCE DU BOURBONNAIS.
39. Third Estate of the city of Marseille:
PLAINTES ET DOLEANCES DE LA VILLE DE MARSEILLE.
40. Nobles of the city of Marseille:
CAHIERS DES DOLEANCES ET INSTRUCTIONS ARRÊTÉES DANS
L'ASSEMBLÉE DE LA NOBLESSE DE MARSEILLE ET REMIS À SES
DÉPUTÉS AUX ÉTATS GÉNÉRAUX, LE 2 AVRIL 1789.
41. Clergy of the Sénéchaussée of Marseille:
CAHIER DE DOLEANCES DE L'ORDRE DU CLERGÉ DE LA
SÉNÉCHAUSSEE DE MARSEILLE.

American Constitutional and Political documents from the The Constitution Papers: Bicentennial Edition, 1787-1987 (Electronic Text Corporation: Provo, Utah, May 1987) included in this study. The selected documents reflect development of constitutional theory and discourse from the 1750's to the mid-1790's.

The Constitution of the United States, 1787.
 The Pinckney Plan, 1787.
 The Albany Plan of Union, 1754.
 Declaration and Resolves of the First Continental Congress, 1774.
 Thoughts on Government, John Adams, 1776.
 Common Sense by Thomas Paine, 1776.
 Resolution for Independence, 1776.
 Constitution of Virginia, 1776.
 The Virginia Bill of Rights, 1776.
 Constitution of New Jersey, 1776.
 Declaration of Independence, 1776.
 Constitution of Maryland, 1776.
 Articles of Confederation, 1777.
 Constitution of North Carolina, 1776.
 Constitution of Massachusetts, 1780.
 Virginia Statute of Religious Liberty, 1786.
 Objections to the Federal Constitution, 1787.
 The Virginia or Randolph Plan, 1787.
 The Paterson or New Jersey Plan, 1787.
 Hamilton's Plan of Union, 1787.
 Letters of a Federal Farmer by Richard Henry Lee, 1787.
 The Federalist Papers, Madison, Jay, Hamilton, 1787-88.
 The Address and Reasons of Dissent of the Minority of the Convention of the State of Pennsylvania to their Constituents, 1787.
 Washington's First Inaugural Address, 1789.
 The Judiciary Act of 1789.
 Constitution of South Carolina, 1790.
 Cod Fishery Debates, U.S. House of Representatives, 1792.
 Constitution of New Hampshire, 1792.
 Property by James Madison, 1792.

Texts used for comparisons from the ARTFL database, 1700-1799. Bibliography is sorted in order of date of original publication (as determined by INaLF) and author last name.

- Dangeau Ph de, 1700. Journal T. 7 1699-1700, Paris, F. Didot, 1850. [Jour7]
- Regnard J.-F., 1700. Le Retour Imprevu, In Oeuvres, T.3. Paris, A. Lequien, 1820. [ReImp]
- Boileau-Despreaux N., 1701. Satires 1664-1701, Paris, Droz, 1932. [Satrs]
- Boursault E., 1701. Esope et la Cour, In Repertoire Gen. du Theatre Fr., T.32. Paris, Menard et Raymond, 1813. [EsoCo]
- Fenelon, 1702. Examen Consc. sur Dev. Royaute, In Lettre A Louis XIV, Neuchatel, Ides et Calendes, 1961. [DeRoy]
- Bossuet J.-B., 1704. Meditations sur L'Evangile, Paris, Vrin, 1966. [MedEv]
- Bossuet J.-B., 1704. Elevation sur les Mysteres, Paris, Vrin, 1962. [ElMys]
- Bossuet J.-B., 1704. Meditations sur L'Evangile, Paris, Vrin, 1966. [MedEv]
- Bossuet J.-B., 1704. De la Connaissance de Dieu, In Oeuvres Completes, T.23. Paris, L. Vives, 1864. [ConDi]
- Bossuet J.-B., 1704. Meditations sur L'Evangile, Paris, Vrin, 1966. [MedEv]
- Regnard J.-F., 1704. Les Folies Amoureuses, In Oeuvres, T.3. Paris, A. Lequien, 1820. [FolAm]
- Crebillon P.-J. Pere, 1706. Idomenee, In Oeuvres, T.1. Paris, Lebigre, 1831. [Idome]
- Fenelon, 1706. Sermons et Entretiens, In Oeuvres, T.17. Paris, Impr. de J.-A. Lebel, 1823. [SerEn]
- Crebillon P.-J. Pere, 1707. Astree et Thyeste, In Oeuvres, T.1. Paris, Didot, 1818. [AsThy]
- LaMotte A. de, 1707. Discours sur la Poesie, In Oeuvres, T.1. Paris, Prault, 1754. [DiPoe]
- Vauban S. de, 1707. Projet d'Une Dixme Royale, S. L., 1707. [PrRoy]
- Regnard J.-F., 1709. La Provencale, In Oeuvres, T.1. Paris, A. Lequien, 1820. [Prove]
- Flechier V.-E., 1710. Memoires Grands-Jours Auvergne, Paris, Hachette, 1862. [MeAuv]
- Leibniz G., 1710. Essais de Theodicee, Paris, Aubier, 1962 [EsThe]
- Tyssot de Patot S., 1710. Voyages et Avantures J. Masse, L'Utopie, Chez Jaques L'Aveugle, 1760. [JMass]
- Boileau-Despreaux N., 1711. Satire XII sur L'Equivoque, In Satires, Paris, E. Droz, 1932. [SaXII]
- Crebillon P.-J. Pere, 1711. Rhadamiste et Zenobie, In Repertoire Gen. du Theatre Fr., T.8. Paris, Menard et

- Raymond, 1813. [RhZen]
- Charles R., 1713. Les Illustres Francoises, Paris, les Belles Lettres, 1959. [IllFr]
- Dangeau Ph de, 1713. Journal T. 14 1711-1713, Paris, F. Didot, 1858. [Jou14]
- Fenelon, 1713. Traite de L'Existence de Dieu, In Oeuvres, T.1. Versailles, Impr. de J-A. Lebel, 1820. [TrExD]
- Dacier Mme, 1714. Causes Corruption du Goust, Paris, Rigaud, 1714. [CaCor]
- LaMotte A. de, 1714. Discours sur Homere, In Oeuvres, T.2. Paris, Prault, 1754. [DiHom]
- Fenelon, 1715. Dialogues sur L'Eloquence, Paris, Dezobry, Magdeleine, 1846. [DiElo]
- Fenelon, 1715. Dialogues des Morts, Paris, F. Didot et J. Didot, 1819. [DiMor]
- Fenelon, 1715. Lettre A L'Academie, Geneve, Droz, 1970. [LeAca]
- LaMotte A. de, 1716. Reflexions sur la Critique, Paris, G. Dupuis, 1716. [RefCr]
- Crebillon P.-J. Pere , 1717. Semiramis, In Repertoire Gen. du Theatre Fr., T.9. Paris, Menard et Raymond, 1813. [Semir]
- LaMotte A. de, 1719. Fables, In Oeuvres, T.9. Paris, Prault L'Aine, 1754. [Fable]
- Vertot R. de, 1719. Histoire des Revolutions, Paris, F. Barois, 1719. [HiRev]
- Voltaire, 1719. Oedipe, In Oeuvres Completes, T.2. Paris, Garnier, 1877. [Oedip]
- Hamilton A., 1720. Les Quatre Facardins, Paris, J-F Josse, 1730. [qFaca]
- Hamilton A., 1720. Histoire de Fleur d'Epine, In le Cabinet des Fees, T.20. Geneve, Barde, Manget et Cie, 1786. [HisFE]
- Hamilton A., 1720. Le Belier, S.L., S.N., 1749. [Belie]
- Racine L., 1720. La Grace, Paris, J-B Coignard, J. Desaint, 1742. [Grace]
- Montesquieu, 1721. Lettres Persanes, Ed. E. Carcassonne. Paris, F. Roches, 1929. [LetPe]
- LaMotte A. de, 1722. Les Machabees, In Oeuvres, T.4. Paris, Prault, 1754. [Macha]
- Piron A., 1722. Arlequin-Deucalion, In Oeuvres Choiesies. Paris, Garnier, 1883. [ArlDe]
- LaMotte A. de, 1723. Ines de Castro, Paris, G. Dupuis, 1723. [InesC]
- Marivaux, 1723. La Surprise de L'Amour, In Theatre Complet, Ed. F. Deloffre, T.1. Paris, Garnier, 1968. [SupAm]
- Marivaux, 1723. Arlequin Poli Par L'Amour, In Theatre Complet, Ed. Deloffre, T.1. Paris, Garnier, 1968. [ArlPo]
- Rousseau J.-B., 1723. Odes, Paris, Didot, An 7-1799. [Odes]
- Marivaux, 1724. Le Spectateur Francais, In Journaux et Oeuvres Div., Ed. Deloffre et Gilot. Paris, Garnier, 1969. [SpeFr]
- Marivaux, 1724. La Double Inconstance, In Theatre Complet, Ed. M. Arland. Paris, Gallimard, 1949. [DoInc]
- Marivaux, 1725. L'Ile des Esclaves, In Theatre Complet, Ed. F. Deloffre, T.1. Paris, Garnier, 1968. [IIEsc]

- Lesage A.-R., 1726. Le Diable Boiteux, In Romanciers du 18E S., Ed. Etiemble, T.1. Paris, Gallimard, 1960. [DiaBo]
- Montesquieu, 1726. Discours Acad. Sc. Bordeaux, In Oeuvres Compl., Ed. R. Caillois, T.1. Paris, Gallimard, 1949. [AcBo]
- Boissy L. de, 1727. Le Francais A Londres, In Repertoire Gen. du Theatre Fr. T.43. Paris, Menard et Raymond, 1813. [FrLon]
- Marivaux, 1727. Le Prince Travesti, In Theatre Complet, Ed. F. Deloffre, T.1. Paris, Garnier, 1968. [PrTra]
- Marivaux, 1727. L'Indigent Philosophe, In Journaux et Oeuvres Div., Ed. Deloffre et Gilot. Paris, Garnier, 1969. [IndPh]
- Montesquieu, 1727. Refl. sur Monarchie Univ. Eur., In Oeuvres Compl., Ed. R. Caillois, T.2. Paris, Gallimard, 1951. [MonUE]
- Ramsay A.-M. de, 1727. Les Voyages de Cyrus, Paris, G. F. Quillau, 1727. [VoyCy]
- Lesage A.-R., 1728. Achmet et Almanzine, In le Theatre de la Foire, T.6. Paris, Vve Pissot, 1728. [AchAl]
- Marivaux, 1728. La Seconde Surprise de L'Amour, In Theatre Complet, Ed. F. Deloffre, T.1. Paris, Garnier, 1968. [sSuAm]
- Allainval L. d', 1729. L'Ecole des Bourgeois, In Repertoire Gen. du Theatre Fr. T.44. Paris, Menard et Raymond, 1813. [EcBou]
- Melon J.-F., 1729. Mahmoud le Gasnevide, Rotterdam, Chez Hofhoudt, 1729. [MahGa]
- Meslier J., 1729. Mem. Pensees et Sentiments T. 3, In Oeuvres Completes, Ed. R. Desne, T.3. Paris, Ed. Anthropos, 1972. [MePS3]
- Meslier J., 1729. Mem. Pensees et Sentiments T. 1, In Oeuvres Completes, Ed. R. Desne, T.1. Paris, Ed. Anthropos, 1970. [MePS1]
- Piron A., 1729. L'Ecole des Peres, In Oeuvres Compl., Ed. Rigoley de Juvigny, T.1. Paris, Lambert, 1776. [EcPer]
- Crebillon C. Fils, 1730. Le Sylphe, Paris, Libr. des Bibliophiles, 1873. [Sylph]
- DuMarsais C., 1730. Des Tropes, Paris, Vve Brocas, 1730. [Trope]
- LaMotte A. de, 1730. Discours sur la Tragedie, In Oeuvres, T.4. Paris, Prault, 1754. [DisTr]
- Marivaux, 1730. Le Jeu de L'Amour et du Hasard, In Theatre Complet, Ed. M. Arland. Paris, Gallimard, 1964. [JeuAH]
- Prevost L'Abbe, 1731. Le Philosophe Anglois T. 1-3, Londres, P. Vaillant, 1777. [PA1-3]
- Terrasson Abbe J., 1731. Sethos, Histoire ou Vie, Paris, H. L. Guerin, 1731. [Setho]
- Crebillon C. Fils, 1732. Lettres de la Marquise de M***, In Collection Compl. des Oeuvres, T.2. Londres, 1779. [LeMar]
- Destouches Ph, 1732. Le Glorieux, Paris, Libr. des Bibliophiles, 1884. [Glori]
- LaChaussee, 1732. Epitre de Clio, In Oeuvres, T.5. Paris, Prault, 1762. [EpiCl]

- Lesage A.-R., 1732. Histoire de Guzman d'Alfarache, Paris, Berquet, 1825. [GuzA1]
- Lesage A.-R., 1732. Histoire de Gil Blas de Sant.--1732, In Romanciers du 18E S., Ed. Etiemble, T.1. Paris, Gallimard, 1960. [Gil32]
- Lesage A.-R., 1732. Aventures du Chev. de Beauch., Paris, Renouard, 1821. [ChBea]
- Lesage A.-R., 1732. Histoire de Gil Blas de Sant.--1732, In Romanciers du 18E S., Ed. Etiemble, T.1. Paris, Gallimard, 1960. [Gil32]
- Marivaux, 1732. Les Serments Indiscrets, In Theatre Complet, Ed. F. Deloffre, T.1. Paris, Garnier, 1968. [SerIn]
- Voltaire, 1732. Zaire, Ed. M. Fontaine. Paris, E. Leroux, 1889. [Zaire]
- Dubos Abbe J.-B., 1733. Refl. Crit. Poesie Peinture, Paris, P-J Mariette, 1733. [RefPP]
- Marivaux, 1733. L'Heureux Stratageme, In Theatre Complet, Ed. F. Deloffre, T.2. Paris, Garnier, 1968. [HeStr]
- Piron A., 1733. Gustave Wasa, In Repertoire Gen. du Theatre Fr.. Paris, Menard et Raymond, 1813. [GuWas]
- Voltaire, 1733. Le Temple du Gout, Ed. E. Carcassonne. Geneve, Droz. Lille, Giard, 1953. [TemGo]
- Crebillon C. Fils, 1734. L'Ecumoire, In Collection Compl. des Oeuvres, T.2. Londres, 1779. [Ecumo]
- Dubos Abbe J.-B., 1734. Hist. Crit. Etabl. Monarchie, Paris, Nyon Fils, 1742. [HiMon]
- LaChaussee, 1734. La Fausse Antipathie, In Oeuvres, T.1. Paris, Prault, 1762. [FAnti]
- Lefranc de Pompignan, 1734. Didon, In Repertoire Gen. du Theatre Fr., T.26. Paris, Menard et Raymond, 1813. [Didon]
- Lenglet du Fresnoy, 1734. De L'Usage des Romans, Amsterdam, Vve de Poilras, 1734. [UsRom]
- Marivaux, 1734. Le Cabinet du Philosophe, In Journaux et Oeuvres Div., Ed. Deloffre et Gilot. Paris, Garnier, 1969. [CabPh]
- Marivaux, 1734. Le Paysan Parvenu 1E-4E Partie, Ed. F. Deloffre. Paris, Garnier, 1959. [Pays4]
- Voltaire, 1734. Lettres Philosophiques, Ed. G. Lanson. Paris, Hachette, 1915-1917. [LePhi]
- Bougeant G.-H., 1735. Voyage du Prince Fan-Feredin, Paris, le Mercier, 1735. [VoPri]
- DuHalde Pere J.-B., 1735. Description Empire de Chine, Paris, Lemercier, 1735. [EmpCh]
- Gresset J.-B., 1735. La Chartreuse, In la Chartreuse et les Ombres. S.L., S.N., 1736. [Chart]
- LaChaussee, 1735. Le Prejuge A la Mode, In Oeuvres, T.1. Paris, Prault, 1762. [PrejM]
- Lenglet du Fresnoy, 1735. L'Histoire Justifiee, Amsterdam, Aux Depens de la Compagnie, 1735. [HisJu]
- Marivaux, 1735. La Mere Confidente, In Theatre Complet, Ed. F. Deloffre, T.2. Paris, Garnier, 1968. [MeCon]
- Marivaux, 1735. Le Paysan Parvenu 5E Partie, Ed. F. Deloffre. Paris, Garnier, 1959. [Pays5]

- Mouhy Ch de, 1735. La Paysanne Parvenue, Amsterdam, 1739.
[Paysa]
- Tencin Marquise de, 1735. Memoires du Comte de Comminges, In Oeuvres Completes, T.1. Paris, d'Hautel, 1812. [MemCC]
- Destouches Ph, 1736. Le Dissipateur, In Oeuvres Dramatiques, T.3. Paris, Impr. Royale, 1757. [Dissi]
- Grasset J.-B., 1736. Ver-Vert, S.L., Au Perroquet, 1736.
[VerVe]
- LeMaitre de Claville C.-F.-N., 1736. Traite du Vrai Merite, Paris, Saugrain, 1736. [VraMe]
- Lesage A.-R., 1736. Le Bachelier de Salamanque, Paris, Valleyre, 1736. [BachS]
- Marivaux, 1736. Le Telemaque Travesti, Ed. F. Deloffre. Geneve, Droz. Lille, Giard, 1956. [TelTr]
- Voltaire, 1736. Alzire ou les Americains, Amsterdam, J. Desbordes, 1736. [Alzir]
- Caylus A.-C. de, 1737. Histoire de Guillaume Cocher, In Oeuvres Badines Completes, T.10. Paris, Visse, 1787. [GCoch]
- Lesage A.-R., 1737. Histoire de Gil Blas de Sant.--1737, In Romanciers du 18E S., Ed. Etiemble, T.1. Paris, Gallimard, 1960. [Gil37]
- Argens J.-B. d', 1738. Lettres Juives, La Haye, P. Paupie, 1738.
[LetJu]
- Crebillon C. Fils, 1738. Les Egarements du Coeur, In Romanciers du 18E S., Ed. Etiemble, T.2. Paris, Gallimard, 1965.
[EgCoe]
- Marivaux, 1738. Les Fausses Confidences, In Theatre Complet, Ed. F. Deloffre, T.2. Paris, Garnier, 1968. [FaCon]
- Piron A., 1738. La Metromanie, In Oeuvres Choiesies, Ed. J. Troubat. Paris, Garnier, 1883. [Metro]
- Prevost L'Abbe, 1738. Le Philosophe Anglois T. 4, Londres, P. Vaillant, 1777. [PA4]
- Rollin Ch, 1738. Hist. Anc. des Egyptiens T. 5, Paris, Vve Estienne, 1740. [HiAn5]
- Rollin Ch, 1738. Hist. Anc. des Egyptiens T. 6, Paris, Vve Estienne, 1740. [HiAn6]
- Rollin Ch, 1738. Hist. Anc. des Egyptiens T. 5, Paris, Vve Estienne, 1740. [HiAn5]
- LaNoüe J.-B., 1739. Mahomet Second, Paris, Prault, 1739.
[Maho2]
- Marivaux, 1739. Le Petit-Maitre Corrige, Geneve, Droz. Lille, Giard, 1955. [PeMaC]
- Marivaux, 1739. Les Sinceres, In Theatre Complet, Ed. F. Deloffre, T.2. Paris, Garnier, 1968. [Since]
- Prevost L'Abbe, 1739. Le Philosophe Anglois T. 5, 6, Londres, P. Vaillant, 1777. [PA5-6]
- Tencin Marquise de, 1739. Le Siege de Calais, In Oeuvres Completes, T.1 et 2. Paris, d'Hautel, 1812. [SiCal]
- Boissy L. de, 1740. Les Dehors Trompeurs, In Repertoire Gen. du Theatre Fr. T.43. Paris, Menard et Raymond, 1813. [DeTro]
- Lesage A.-R., 1740. La Valise Trouvee, In Oeuvres Completes, T.12. Paris, Renouard, 1821. [VaTro]

- Mably Abbe de, 1740. Parall. des Romains et des Fr., Paris, Didot, 1740. [ParRF]
- Mailvaux, 1740. L'Epreuve, In Theatre Complet, Ed. F. Deloffre, T.2. Paris, Garnier, 1968. [Eprou]
- Varenne J. de, 1740. Memoires du Chev. de Ravanne, Amsterdam, Aux Depens de la Compagnie, 1782. [ChRav]
- Caylus A.-C. de, 1741. Feeries Nouvelles, In le Cabinet des Fees T.24. Geneve, Barde et Mauget. Paris, Cuchet, 1786 [FeNou]
- Duclos Ch-P., 1741. Histoire de Madame de Luz, In Oeuvres Completes, T.1. Paris, Belin, 1821. [HiLuz]
- Duclos Ch-P., 1741. Les Confessions du Comte de **, In Romanciers du 18E S., Ed. Etienne, T.2. Paris, Gallimard, 1965. [ConCo]
- Favart Ch-S., 1741. La Chercheuse d'Esprit, Paris, Allouel, 1741. [CheEs]
- Prevost L'Abbe, 1741. Mem. Pour Servir A Hist. Malte, Amsterdam, F. des Bordes, 1741. [HiMal]
- Cazotte J., 1742. Les Mille et Une Fadaises, In Oeuvres Badines et Morales. Paris, J-F Bastien, 1817. [MiFad]
- Crebillon C. Fils, 1742. Le Sopha, Bruxelles, Gilliet, 1881. [Sopha]
- Lefranc de Pompignan, 1742. Ode sur la Mort de J-B R., In Oeuvres, T.2. Paris, Nyon, 1784. [OdJBR]
- Racine L., 1742. La Religion, Paris, J-B. Coignard, 1742. [Relig]
- Voltaire, 1742. Mahomet ou le Fanatisme, In Oeuvres Completes, T.4. Paris, Garnier, 1877. [Mahom]
- Aubert de la Chesnaye-Desbois, 1743. Lettres sur les Romans, Paris, Gisse, 1743. [LetRo]
- Caylus A.-C. de, 1743. Nouveaux Contes Orientaux, In Oeuvres Badines Completes, T.7. Paris, Visse, 1787. [NouCO]
- Godard d'Aucour Cl., 1743. Memoires Turcs, Londres, 1782. [MeTur]
- Montesquieu, 1743. Le Temple de Gnide, In Oeuvres Compl., Ed. R. Cailliois, T.1. Paris, Gallimard, 1949. [TemGn]
- Voltaire, 1743. Merope, In Oeuvres Completes, T.4. Paris, Garnier, 1877. [Merop]
- Duclos Ch-P., 1744. Acajou et Zirphile, In le Cabinet des Fees, T.35. Geneve, Barde, Manget et Cie, 1786. [AcZir]
- Godard d'Aucour Cl., 1744. Themidore, La Haye, Aux Depens de la Compagnie, 1744. [Themid]
- Jourdan J.-B., 1744. Le Guerrier Philosophe, La Haye, P. de Hondt, 1744. [GuePh]
- Arnaud F. d', 1745. Les Epoux Malheureux, Paris, Laporte, 1803. [EpMal]
- Diderot D., 1745. Essai sur Merite et Vertu, In Oeuvres Completes, T.1. Paris, Garnier, 1875. [EsMeV]
- Duclos Ch-P., 1745. Histoire de Louis XI, Paris, Guerin et Prault, 1745. [HiLxi]
- Dulaurens H.-J., 1745. Hist. de la Ste Chandelle, Bruxelles, H. Kistemackers, 1881. [HisSC]
- Gresset J.-B., 1745. Sidnei, In Oeuvres Completes, T.2. Paris,

- Furne, 1830. [Sidne]
 LaChaussee, 1745. L'Ecole des Meres, In Oeuvres, T.2. Paris, Prault, 1762. [EcMer]
 Marivaux, 1745. La Vie de Marianne, Ed. Deloffre. Paris, Garnier, 1966. [VieMa]
 Batteux Abbe Ch., 1746. Les Beaux-Arts, Paris, Durand, 1746. [BeaAr]
 Condillac Abbe de, 1746. Essai Origine Connaiss. Hum., Amsterdam, P. Mortier, 1746. [EsOrC]
 Diderot D., 1746. Pensees Philosophiques, Ed. R. Niklaus. Geneve, Droz. Lille, Giard, 1950. [PenPh]
 LaMorliere Ch-J., 1746. Angola. Histoire Indienne, Agra, 1747. [Angol]
 Voisenon Abbe de, 1746. Le Sultan Misapouf, In Contes. Paris, I. Liseux, 1879. [SulMi]
 Grafigny Mme de, 1747. Lettres d'Une Jeune Peruvienne, In Oeuvres Completes, Nouv. Ed.. Paris, Lelong, 1821. [LePer]
 Gresset J.-B., 1747. Le Mechant, In Oeuvres Completes, T.2. Paris, Furne, 1830. [Mecha]
 LaChaussee, 1747. La Gouvernante, In Oeuvres, T.3. Paris, Prault, 1762. [Gouve]
 Tencin Marquise de, 1747. Les Malheurs de L'Amour, In Oeuvres Completes, T.2 et 3. Paris, d'Hautel, 1812. [MalAm]
 Vauvenargues, 1747. Reflexions et Maximes, In Oeuvres, Ed. D. L. Gilbert. Paris, Furne, 1857. [ReMax]
 Vauvenargues, 1747. Introd. A Conn. Esprit Humain, In Oeuvres, Ed. D. L. Gilbert. Paris, Furne, 1857. [EspHu]
 Diderot D., 1748. Les Bijoux Indiscrets, In Oeuvres Romanesques, Ed. H. Benac. Paris, Garnier, 1965. [BijIn]
 Montesquieu, 1748. Consid. sur Causes Grand. Rom., Ed. G. Truc. Paris, Garnier, 1954. [ConCa]
 Buffon G.-L. de, 1749. Hist. Natur. Premier Discours, In Oeuvres, Ed. J.Pizetta, T.1, Paris, Parent Desbarres, 1868. [HisNP]
 Buffon G.-L. de, 1749. Hist. et Theorie de la Terre, In Histoire Naturelle T.1. Paris, Impr. Royale, 1749. [HisTe]
 Condillac Abbe de, 1749. Traite des Systemes, In Oeuvres Philosophiques, Ed. G. le Roy, T.1. Paris, P.U.F., 1947. [TrSys]
 Crebillon P.-J. Pere , 1749. Catilina, In Oeuvres, T.2. Paris, Didot, 1818. [Catil]
 Diderot D., 1749. Lettre sur les Aveugles, Ed. R. Niklaus. Geneve, Droz. Paris, Minard, 1963. [LetAv]
 Mably Abbe de, 1749. Observations sur les Grecs, Geneve, Compagnie des Libraires, 1749. [OGrec]
 Voltaire, 1749. Sermon des Cinquante, In Melanges, Ed. Van Den Heuvel. Paris, Gallimard, 1961. [Ser50]
 Voltaire, 1749. Nanine, In Oeuvres Completes, T.5. Paris, Garnier Freres, 1877. [Nanin]
 Fougeret de Monbron, 1750. Le Cosmopolite, Londres, 1753. [Cosmo]
 Fougeret de Monbron, 1750. Margot la Ravaudeuse, Paris, J-J

- Pauvert, 1965. [MarRa]
- Marivaux, 1750. La Colonie, In Theatre Complet, Ed. M. Arland. Paris, Gallimard, 1949. [Colon]
- Rousseau J.-J., 1750. Discours sur Sciences et Arts, In Oeuvres Completes, T.3. Paris, Gallimard, 1964. [DiScA]
- Alembert J. d', 1751. Disc. Prelim. de L'Encyclop., In Encyclopedie T.1. Stuttgart, F. Fromann, 1966. [DPEnc]
- Crebillon C. Fils, 1751. Ah Quel Conte, In Collection Compl. des Oeuvres, T.4. Londres, 1779. [QuCon]
- Diderot D., 1751. Lettre sur les Sourds et Muets, Ed. P.H. Meyer. Geneve, Droz, 1965. [LeSMu]
- Duclos Ch-P., 1751. Consid. sur les Moeurs, Amsterdam, Aux Depens de la Compagnie, 1751. [ConMo]
- Duclos Ch-P., 1751. Memoires Pour Servir A L'Hist., S.L., 1751. [Memoi]
- Grafigny Mme de, 1751. Genie, Paris, Cailleau, 1751. [Genie]
- Lefranc de Pompignan, 1751. Poesies Sacrees, Paris, Chaubert, 1751. [PoSac]
- Prevost L'Abbe, 1751. Lettres Angloises, T. 4, Amsterdam, Paris, 1784. [LeAn4]
- Prevost L'Abbe, 1751. Lettres Angloises, T. 5, Amsterdam, Paris, 1784. [LeAn5]
- Prevost L'Abbe, 1751. Lettres Angloises, T. 3, Amsterdam, Paris, 1784. [LeAn3]
- Prevost L'Abbe, 1751. Lettres Angloises, T. 5, Amsterdam, Paris, 1784. [LeAn5]
- Prevost L'Abbe, 1751. Lettres Angloises, T. 6, Amsterdam, Paris, 1784. [LeAn6]
- Prevost L'Abbe, 1751. Lettres Angloises, T. 3, Amsterdam, Paris, 1784. [LeAn3]
- Prevost L'Abbe, 1751. Lettres Angloises, T. 1, Amsterdam, Paris, 1784. [LeAn1]
- Prevost L'Abbe, 1751. Lettres Angloises, T. 6, Amsterdam, Paris, 1784. [LeAn6]
- Prevost L'Abbe, 1751. Lettres Angloises, T. 2, Amsterdam, Paris, 1784. [LeAn2]
- Prevost L'Abbe, 1751. Lettres Angloises, T. 1, Amsterdam, Paris, 1784. [LeAn1]
- Voisenon Abbe de, 1751. Histoire de la Felicite, In Romans et Contes. Amsterdam, 1781. [HiFel]
- Diderot D., 1752. Suite Apologie Abbe de Prades, In Oeuvres Completes, T.1. Paris, Garnier, 1875. [SApAb]
- Voltaire, 1752. Micromegas, Ed. Ira O. Wade. Princeton, Univ. Press, 1950. [Micro]
- Alembert J. d', 1753. Encyclop. Avertiss. des Edit., In Encyclopedie T.3. Stuttgart, F. Fromann, 1966. [EncAE]
- Buffon G.-L. de, 1753. Discours sur le Style, Paris, J. Lecoffre, 1872. [Style]
- Buffon G.-L. de, 1753. L'Ane, In Oeuvres, Ed. J. Pizetta, T.3, Paris, Parent Desbarres, 1868. [lAne]
- Rousseau J.-J., 1753. Le Devin du Village, In Oeuvres Completes, T.2. Paris, Gallimard, 1961. [DevVi]

- Bonnet Ch, 1754. Essai de Psychologie, In Collection Compl. des Oeuvres T.8. Neuchatel, S. Fauche, 1783. [EPsyc]
- Condillac Abbe de, 1754. Traite des Sensations, Londres, 1788. [TrSen]
- Diderot D., 1754. De L'Interpret. de la Nature, In Oeuvres Philosophiques, Ed. P. Verniere. Paris, Garnier, 1956. [InNat]
- Crebillon C. Fils, 1755. La Nuit et le Moment, In Collection Compl. des Oeuvres, T.1. Londres, 1779. [NuMom]
- Mirabeau V. Marquis, 1755. L'Ami des Hommes, Avignon, 1756. [AmHom]
- Montesquieu, 1755. De L'Esprit des Loix, T. 3, Ed. J. Brethe de la Gressaye, Livres 19-26. Paris, les Belles-Lettres, 1958 [EspL3]
- Montesquieu, 1755. De L'Esprit des Loix, T. 1, Ed. J. Brethe de la Gressaye, Livres 1-9. Paris, les Belles-Lettres, 1950 [EspL1]
- Montesquieu, 1755. De L'Esprit des Loix, T. 2, Ed. J. Brethe de la Gressaye, Livres 9-18. Paris, les Belles-Lettres, 1955 [EspL2]
- Montesquieu, 1755. De L'Esprit des Loix, T. 4, Ed. J. Brethe de la Gressaye, Livres 27-31. Paris, les Belles-Lettres, 1961 [EspL4]
- Montesquieu, 1755. Correspondance 1716-1755, Ed. F. Gebelin et A. Morize. Paris, Champion, 1914. [Corre]
- Montesquieu, 1755. Arsace et Ismenie, In Oeuvres Compl., Ed. R. Caillois, T.1. Paris, Gallimard, 1949. [ArsIs]
- Palissot de Montenoy, 1755. Le Cercle ou les Originaux, In Oeuvres Completes, T.1. Paris, L. Collin, 1809. [Cerc1]
- Prevost L'Abbe, 1755. Nouvelles Lettres Angloises, Amsterdam, Paris, 1784. [NLeAn]
- Rousseau J.-J., 1755. Disc. Orig. et Fond. Inegalite, In Oeuvres Completes, T.3. Paris, Gallimard, 1966. [DiIne]
- Voltaire, 1755. L'Orphelin de la Chine, In Oeuvres Completes, T.5. Paris, Garnier, 1877. [Orphe]
- Voltaire, 1755. La Pucelle d'Orleans, Louvain, 1755. [PucOr]
- DuMarsais C., 1756. Le Philosophe, In Oeuvres, Ed. Duchosal et Millon, T.6. Paris, Pougin, 1797. [Philo]
- Holbach P.-H. d', 1756. Le Christianisme Devoile, Londres, 1756. [ChrDe]
- Voltaire, 1756. Essay sur L'Hist. Generale, Geneve, Cramer, 1756. [HiGen]
- Voltaire, 1756. Poeme sur Desastre de Lisbonne, In Poemes sur la Relig. Nat. et sur la Destr. de Lisbonne. Paris, 1756. [DesLi]
- Voltaire, 1756. Essay sur L'Hist. Generale, Geneve, Cramer, 1756. [HiGen]
- Voltaire, 1756. La Religion Naturelle, In Poemes sur la Relig. Nat. et sur la Destr. de Lisbonne. Paris, 1756. [RelNa]
- Voltaire, 1756. Essay sur L'Hist. Generale, Geneve, Cramer, 1756. [HiGen]
- Voltaire, 1756. Zadig ou la Destinee, Ed. G. Ascoli, J. Fabre.

- Paris, Didier, 1962. [Zadig]
- Voltaire, 1756. Essay sur L'Hist. Generale, Geneve, Cramer, 1756. [HiGen]
- Argenson R.-L. d', 1757. Journal et Memoires 1755-1757, Paris, Renouard, 1867. [JouMe]
- Argenson R.-L. d', 1757. Consid. sur Gouvern. Anc. Pr., Amsterdam, Rey, 1764. [CSGAP]
- Diderot D., 1757. Entret. sur le Fils Naturel, In Oeuvres Esthetiques, Ed. P. Verniere. Paris, Garnier, 1966. [EntFN]
- Diderot D., 1757. Le Fils Naturel, In Oeuvres Completes, Ed. J. Assezat, T.7. Paris, Garnier, 1875. [FilsN]
- LaNoue J.-B., 1757. La Coquette Corrige, In Choix de Pieces de Theatre. Paris, Cazin, 1787. [CoqCo]
- Palissot de Montenoy, 1757. Petites Lettres, In Oeuvres Completes, T.1. Paris, L. Collin, 1809. [PeLet]
- Riccoboni Mme, 1757. Lettres de Fanni Butler, In Coll. Compl. des Oeuvres, T.1. Neuchatel, Soc. Typ., 1773. [LeFan]
- Colardeau Ch-P., 1758. Lettre d'Heloise A Abailard, S.L., Au Paraclat, 1758. [LetHe]
- Diderot D., 1758. Le Pere de Famille, In Oeuvres Completes, Ed. J. Assezat, T.7. Paris, Garnier, 1875. [PeFam]
- Diderot D., 1758. De la Poesie Dramatique, In Oeuvres Esthetiques, Ed. P. Verniere. Paris, Garnier, 1966. [PoeDr]
- Guimond de la Touche, 1758. Iphigenie En Tauride, In Repertoire Gen. du Theatre Fr., T.26. Paris, Menard et Raymond, 1813. [Iphig]
- Helvetius C.-A., 1758. De L'Esprit, Paris, Durand, 1758. [Espri]
- Riccoboni Mme, 1758. Histoire du Marquis de Cressy, Paris, Didot Aine, 1814. [Cress]
- Rousseau J.-J., 1758. Lettres A M. d'Alembert, Ed. M. Fuchs. Lille, Giard. Geneve, Droz, 1948. [LeAle]
- Alembert J. d', 1759. Lettre A M. Rousseau, In Melanges de Litterature, T.2. Amsterdam, Z. Chatelain et Fils, 1759. [LeRou]
- Lacurne de Sainte Palaye J.-B. de, 1759. Memoires sur L'Anc. Chevalerie, Paris, Duchesne, 1759. [MemAC]
- Riccoboni Mme, 1759. Lettres de Milady J. Catesby, Amsterdam, Paris, S.N., 1759. [LeCat]
- Voltaire, 1759. Candide ou L'Optimisme, Ed. A. Morize. Paris, Hachette, 1913. [Candi]
- Voltaire, 1759. Hist. Empire de Russie, T. 1, S.L., 1761. [EmRu1]
- Palissot de Montenoy, 1760. Les Philosophes, Paris, Duchesne, 1760. [Philo]
- Prevost L'Abbe, 1760. Le Monde Moral, Amsterdam et Paris, S.N., 1784. [MonMo]
- Saurin B.-J., 1760. Spartacus, In Chefs d'Oeuvre de Saurin et Beauchamps, T.1. Paris, Billois, 1810. [Spart]
- Voltaire, 1760. L'Ecosaise, In Oeuvres Poetiques. Paris, L. de Bure, 1826. [Ecos]
- Barbier E.-J.-F., 1761. Chronique de la Regence T. 7, Paris,

- Charpentier, 1866. [ChrR7]
- Boufflers S.-J. de, 1761. La Reine de Golconde, S.L., 1761. [RGolc]
- Chevrier F.-A., 1761. Le Colporteur, Londres, J. Nourse, S.D. [Colpo]
- Colardeau Ch-P., 1761. Caliste, In Repertoire Gen. du Theatre Fr., T.26. Paris, Menard et Raymond, 1813. [Calis]
- Diderot D., 1761. Eloge de Richardson, In Oeuvres Esthetiques, Ed. P. Verniere. Paris, Garnier, 1966. [ElRic]
- Marmontel J.-F., 1761. Contes Moraux, T. 3, Paris, Dabo-Butschert, 1826. [CMor3]
- Marmontel J.-F., 1761. Contes Moraux, T. 2, Paris, Dabo-Butschert, 1826. [CMor2]
- Marmontel J.-F., 1761. Contes Moraux, T. 1, Paris, Masson et Yonet, 1829. [CMor1]
- Robinet J.-B., 1761. De la Nature, Amsterdam, E. Van Harreveld, 1761. [Natur]
- Rousseau J.-J., 1761. La Nouvelle Heloise, Ed. D. Mornet, T.2 A 4. Paris, Hachette, 1925. [NHelo]
- Saurin B.-J., 1761. Les Moeurs du Temps, In Chefs d'Oeuvre de Saurin et Beauchamps, T.2. Paris, Billois, 1810. [MoeTe]
- Voltaire, 1761. Tancrede, In Theatre. Paris, Garnier, 1868. [Tancr]
- Bonnet Ch, 1762. Consid. sur les Corps Organ., Amsterdam, M.M. Rey, 1768. [CorOr]
- Diderot D., 1762. Lettres A Sophie Volland T. 1, Ed. A. Babelon. Paris, Gallimard, 1950. [LeSV1]
- Favart Ch-S., 1762. Les Trois Sultanes, In Theatre Choisi, T.3. Paris, L. Collin, 1809. [tSult]
- Rousseau J.-J., 1762. Emile ou de L'Education, In Oeuvres Completes, T.4. Paris, Gallimard, 1969. [Emile]
- Rousseau J.-J., 1762. Du Contrat Social, Ed. B. de Jouvenel. Geneve, C. Bourquin, 1947. [ConSo]
- Rousseau J.-J., 1762. Emile ou de L'Education, In Oeuvres Completes, T.4. Paris, Gallimard, 1969. [Emile]
- Adanson, 1763. Art. Genres, Especies..., In Famille des Plantes, Paris, Vincent, 1763. [GenEs]
- Bachaumont L. de, 1763. Memoires Secrets Depuis 1762, Londres, Adamson, 1784. [MemSe]
- Barbier E.-J.-F., 1763. Chronique de la Regence T. 8, Paris, Charpentier, 1857. [ChrR8]
- Cazotte J., 1763. Ollivier, In Oeuvres Badines et Morales, T.1. Paris, J-F Bastien, 1817. [Olliv]
- Colle Ch, 1763. Dupuis et des Ronais, In Theatre de Societe, T.3. la Haye et Paris, P-F Gueffier, 1777. [DupRo]
- Crebillon C. Fils, 1763. Le Hasard du Coin du Feu, Bruxelles, Ch. Gilliet, 1880. [HasCF]
- Mably Abbe de, 1763. Entretiens de Phocion, In Oeuvres Completes, T.10. Paris, Bossange, Masson et Besson, 1797. [EnPho]
- Marmontel J.-F., 1763. Poetique Francaise, Paris, Lesclapart, 1763. [PoeFr]

- Rousseau J.-J., 1763. Lettre A C. de Beaumont, Amsterdam, M. M. Rey, 1763. [LeBea]
- Voltaire, 1763. Traite sur la Tolerance, In Melanges, Ed. Van Den Heuvel. Paris, Gallimard, 1961. [Toler]
- Voltaire, 1763. Hist. Empire de Russie, T. 2, S.L., 1763. [EmRu2]
- Arnaud F. d', 1764. Le Comte de Comminge, Paris, Vve Duchesne, 1780. [CoCom]
- Bonnet Ch, 1764. Contemplation de la Nature, In Oeuvres T.4. Neuchatel, S. Fauche, 1781. [ConNa]
- Chamfort N.-S., 1764. La Jeune Indienne, In Oeuvres Completes, T.4. Paris, Chaumerot Jeune, 1824. [JeInd]
- Colle Ch, 1764. Partie de Chasse de Henri IV, Paris, Vve Duchesne, 1766. [ChaHe]
- Poinsinet A.-A., 1764. Le Cercle, Paris, Duchesne, 1764. [Cerc1]
- Riccoboni Mme, 1764. Histoire de Miss Jenny, In Oeuvres Completes, T.1. Paris, Foucault, 1818. [Jenny]
- Rousseau J.-J., 1764. Lettres Ecrites de la Montagne, In Oeuvres Completes, T.3. Paris, Gallimard, 1964. [LeMon]
- Sedaine M.-J., 1764. Rose et Colas, In Oeuvres Choiesies. Paris, Hachette, 1860. [RoCol]
- Voltaire, 1764. Dictionnaire Philosophique, Ed. J. Benda, R. Naves. Paris, Garnier, 1954. [DicPh]
- Belloy P.-L., 1765. Le Siege de Calais, In Repertoire Gen. du Theatre Fr. T.27. Paris, Menard et Raymond, 1813. [SgCal]
- Dulaurens H.-J., 1765. Imirce, Paris, Flammarion, S.D. [Imirc]
- Mably Abbe de, 1765. Observ. sur L'Hist. de France, Paris, Bossange, Masson et Besson, 1797. [OHiFr]
- Sedaine M.-J., 1765. Le Philosophe Sans le Savoir, Paris, Libr. des Bibliophiles, 1880. [PhSav]
- Buffon G.-L. de, 1766. De la Degeneration des Animaux, In Oeuvres, Ed. J. Pizetta, T.4, Paris, Parent Desbarres, 1868. [DegAn]
- Dorat C.-J., 1766. La Declamation Theatrale, In Oeuvres, T.4. Neuchatel, Impr. de la Soc. Typographique, 1775. [DecTh]
- Dulaurens H.-J., 1766. Le Compere Mathieu, Paris, Chez les Marchands de Nouveautes, 1831. [CoMat]
- Voltaire, 1766. Le Philosophe Ignorant, In Melanges, Ed. J. Van Den Heuvel. Paris, Gallimard, 1961. [PhIgn]
- Lemierre A.-M., 1767. Guillaume Tell, Paris, Vve Duchesne, 1770. [GTel1]
- Marmontel J.-F., 1767. Belisaire, Paris, Merlin, 1767. [Belis]
- Riccoboni Mme, 1767. Lettres d'Adelaide de Damm., In Oeuvres Completes, T.4. Paris, Foucault, 1818. [LeAde]
- Voltaire, 1767. L'Ingenu, Ed. W.-R. Jones. Geneve, Droz. Paris, Minard, 1957. [Ingen]
- Voltaire, 1767. Le Diner du Comte de Boulainv., In Melanges, Ed. J. Van Den Heuvel. Paris, Gallimard, 1961. [CBoul]
- Arnaud F. d', 1768. Euphemie, In Oeuvres, T.11. Paris, Laporte, 1803. [Euphe]
- Barthe N.-T., 1768. Les Fausses Infidelites, In Repertoire Gen.

- du Theatre Fr. T.48. Paris, Menard et Raymond, 1813. [FaInf]
- Buffon G.-L. de, 1768. Nomenclature des Singes, In Oeuvres, Ed. J.Pizetta, T.4, Paris, Parent Desbarres, 1868. [NomSi]
- Colle Ch, 1768. La Verite Dans le Vin, In Theatre de Societe, T.2. la Haye et Paris, P-F Gueffier, 1777. [VeVin]
- Colle Ch, 1768. La Tete A Perruque, In Theatre de Societe, T.2. la Haye et Paris, P-F Gueffier, 1777. [TePer]
- Diderot D., 1768. Salon de 1767, Ed. J. Seznec et J. Adhemar. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1963. [Salon]
- Dupont de Nemours P., 1768. Origine et Progres Sc. Nouv., In Coll. des Princ. Economistes, T.2. Paris, Guillaumin, 1846. [OrPro]
- Holbach P.-H. d', 1768. Theologie Portative, Londres, 1768. [ThePo]
- Linguet N.-S., 1768. Histoire Impart. des Jesuites, S.L., 1768. [HisJe]
- Saurin B.-J., 1768. Beverley, In Repertoire Gen. du Theatre Fr., T.29. Paris, Menard et Raymond, 1813. [Bever]
- Voltaire, 1768. La Princesse de Babylone, In Contes et Romans, Ed. Van Tieghem, T.3. Paris, F. Roches, 1930. [PrBab]
- Voltaire, 1768. L'Homme Aux Quarante Ecus, Paris, Cie des Libraires Associes, 1768. [Ho40E]
- Bonnet Ch, 1769. La Palingenesie Philosophique, Geneve, Philibert et Chirol, 1769. [PalPh]
- Delisle de Sales, 1769. De la Philosophie de la Nature, Amsterdam, Arkstee et Merkus, 1770. [PhNat]
- Lemierre A.-M., 1769. La Peinture, In Oeuvres, Ed. R. Perrin, T.3. Paris, Maugeret, 1810. [Peint]
- Mercier L.-S., 1769. Jenneval, Paris, Cailleau, 1770. [Jenne]
- Saint-Lambert J.-F. de, 1769. Les Saisons, Amsterdam, 1769. [Saiso]
- Sedaine M.-J., 1769. Le Deserteur, In Oeuvres Choisies. Paris, Hachette, 1860. [Deser]
- Voltaire, 1769. Histoire du Parlement de Paris, Amsterdam, J.-J. du Fay, 1769. [PaPar]
- Voltaire, 1769. Precis du Siecle de Louis Xv, Geneve, 1770. [LouXV]
- Voltaire, 1769. Histoire du Parlement de Paris, Amsterdam, J.-J. du Fay, 1769. [PaPar]
- Beaumarchais P.-A. de, 1770. Les Deux Amis, In Theatre, Ed. M. Allem. Paris, Gallimard, 1934. [2Amis]
- Belloy P.-L., 1770. Gabrielle de Vergy, In Oeuvres Complettes, T.4. Paris, Moutard, 1788. [GabVe]
- Belloy P.-L., 1770. Gaston et Bayard, In Oeuvres Complettes, T.3. Paris, Moutard, 1779. [GasBa]
- Delille J., 1770. Les Georgiques, Trad., In Oeuvres, Ed. P-F Tissot, T.1. Paris, Furne, 1832. [Georg]
- Diderot D., 1770. Addition Aux Pensees Philos., In Oeuvres Completes, T.1. Paris, Garnier, 1875. [AdPPh]
- Diderot D., 1770. De la Suffisance de la Relig., In Oeuvres Completes, Ed. J. Assezat, T.1. Paris, Garnier, 1875. [SuRel]

- Dorat C.-J., 1770. Les Baisers, La Haye et Paris, Lambert, 1770. [Baïse]
- Galiani Abbe F., 1770. Dialogues sur Commerce Bleds, Londres, 1770. [DiCom]
- Holbach P.-H. d', 1770. Système de la Nature, Londres, 1771. [SysNa]
- LaHarpe J.-F. de, 1770. Melanie, Paris et Basle, J. Schweighauser, 1770. [Melan]
- Lemierre A.-M., 1770. La Veuve du Malabar, In Repertoire Gen. du Theatre Fr., T.28. Paris, Menard et Raymond, 1813. [VeMal]
- Raynal Abbe, 1770. Histoire Philos. et Polit. T. 1, La Haye, 1776. [HPhP1]
- Raynal Abbe, 1770. Histoire Philos. et Polit. T. 6, La Haye, 1776. [HPhP6]
- Raynal Abbe, 1770. Histoire Philos. et Polit. T. 1, La Haye, 1776. [HPhP1]
- Raynal Abbe, 1770. Histoire Philos. et Polit. T. 6, La Haye, 1776. [HPhP6]
- Crebillon C. Fils, 1771. Lettres Atheniennes, Londres et Paris, Delalain, 1771. [LeAth]
- Diderot D., 1771. Correspondance T. 11, Paris, Ed. de Minuit, 1964. [Cor11]
- Dorat C.-J., 1771. Les Sacrifices de L'Amour, In Coll. Compl. des Oeuvres, T.2. Neuchatel, Impr. de la Soc. Typ., 1775. [SacAm]
- Goldoni Ch, 1771. Le Bourru Bienfaisant, In Repertoire Gen. du Theatre Fr., T.48. Paris, Menard et Raymond, 1813. [BouBi]
- Guys P.-A., 1771. Voyage Litt. de la Grece, Paris, Vve Duchesne, 1783. [VoyGr]
- Helvetius C.-A., 1771. De L'Homme, Londres, Societe Typographique, 1773. [Homme]
- LaHarpe J.-F. de, 1771. Eloge de Fenelon, In Fenelon les Aventures de Telemaque, T.1. Paris, Impr. Crapelet, An IV. [EloFe]
- Palissot de Montenoy, 1771. La Dunciade, Londres, S.N., 1771. [Dunci]
- Rousseau J.-J., 1771. Consid. sur Gouv. de Pologne, In Oeuvres Completes, T.3. Paris, Gallimard, 1964. [GoPol]
- Arnaud F. d', 1772. Epreuves du Sentiment, Paris, le Jay, 1773. [EprSe]
- Dorat C.-J., 1772. Les Malheurs de L'Inconstance, In Coll. Compl. des Oeuvres, T.3. Neuchatel, Impr. de la Soc. Typ., 1775. [MalIn]
- LaHarpe J.-F. de, 1772. Eloge de Racine, In Racine Oeuvres Completes, T.1. Paris, Pourrat, 1847. [EloRa]
- Bernardin de Saint-Pierre J.-H., 1773. Voyage A L'Ile de France, In Oeuvres Posthumes, T.1. Paris, le Dentu, 1840. [Voile]
- Diderot D., 1773. Les Deux Amis de Bourbonne, In Quatre Contes, Ed. J. Proust. Geneve, Droz, 1964. [dAmBo]
- Diderot D., 1773. Entretien d'Un Pere, In Oeuvres Philosophiques, Ed. P. Verniere. Paris, Garnier, 1956. [EntPe]

- Mercier L.-S., 1773. Du Theatre, Amsterdam, E. Van Harreveld, 1773. [Theat]
- Thomas A.-L., 1773. Essai sur les Eloges, In Oeuvres Completes, T.3 et 4. Paris, Desessarts, 1802. [EsElo]
- Voltaire, 1773. Les Lois de Minos, In Oeuvres Completes, T.7. Paris, Garnier, 1877. [LoiMi]
- Beaumarchais P.-A. de, 1774. Memoires Contre M. Goetzmann, In Oeuvres Completes T.3. Paris, Burne, 1828. [MemGo]
- Chamfort N.-S., 1774. Eloge de la Fontaine, In Oeuvres Completes, Ed. P.R. Auguis, T.1. Paris, Chaumerot Jeune, 1824. [EloFo]
- Diderot D., 1774. Lettres A Sophie Volland T. 2, Ed. A. Babelon. Paris, Gallimard, 1950. [LeSV2]
- Diderot D., 1774. Refutation...d'Helvetius, In Oeuvres Completes, T.2. Paris, Garnier, 1875. [RefHe]
- Diderot D., 1774. Lettres A Sophie Volland T. 2, Ed. A. Babelon. Paris, Gallimard, 1950. [LeSV2]
- Leonard N.-G., 1774. La Nouvelle Clementine, La Haye, Paris, Manony, 1774. [NouC1]
- Mercier L.-S., 1774. L'An Deux Mille Quatre Cent Q., Londres, S.N., 1774. [A2400]
- Voltaire, 1774. Le Taureau Blanc, Ed. R. Pomeau. Lyon, Impr. du Sud-Est, 1956. [TauB1]
- Bernard-Gentil P.-J., 1775. L'Art d'Aimer, In Oeuvres. Paris, Dabo, Tremblay, 1819. [ArAim]
- Carmontelle L., 1775. Le Prisonnier, In Theatre de Campagne T.1. Paris, Ruault, 1775. [Priso]
- Carmontelle L., 1775. Le Chat Perdu, In Theatre de Campagne T.1. Paris, Ruault, 1775. [ChPer]
- Carmontelle L., 1775. La Chanson, In Theatre de Campagne T.2. Paris, Ruault, 1775. [Chans]
- Carmontelle L., 1775. L'Aubergiste, In Theatre de Campagne T.3. Paris, Ruault, 1775. [Auber]
- Carmontelle L., 1775. Le Bal de Province, In Theatre de Campagne T.4. Paris, Ruault, 1775. [BalPr]
- Condillac Abbe de, 1775. Cours Instruction du Prince, Geneve, Dufart. Lyon, Bruyset, 1789. [CInst]
- Gerard Abbe Ph-L., 1775. Le Comte de Valmont, Paris, Moutard, 1787. [CoVal]
- Gilbert N.-J.-L., 1775. Le Dix-Huitieme Siecle, Amsterdam, 1775. [dhSie]
- Voltaire, 1775. Correspondance, T. 90-92, Ed. T. Bestermann. Geneve, Institut et Musee Voltaire, 1964. [Cor92]
- Voltaire, 1775. Histoire de Jenni, In Romans et Contes, Ed. H. Benac. Paris, Garnier, 1963. [Jenni]
- Voltaire, 1775. Correspondance, T. 90-92, Ed. T. Bestermann. Geneve, Institut et Musee Voltaire, 1964. [Cor92]
- Cazotte J., 1776. Le Diable Amoureux, In Romanciers du 18E, T.2. Paris, Gallimard, 1965. [DiaAm]
- Condillac Abbe de, 1776. Le Commerce et le Gouvernement, Amsterdam et Paris, Jombert et Collot, 1776. [ComGo]
- Gilbert N.-J.-L., 1776. Le Jugement Dernier, In Oeuvres

- Completés. Paris, Dalibon, 1823. [JugDe]
 Holbach P.-H. d', 1776. La Morale Universelle, Amsterdam, M.M. Rey, 1776. [MorUn]
 Lespinasse J. de, 1776. Lettres A M. de Guibert, Paris, Charpentier, 1876. [LetGu]
 Lespinasse J. de, 1776. Lettres A Condorcet, Paris, E. Dentu, 1887. [LetCo]
 Lespinasse J. de, 1776. Lettres A M. de Guibert, Paris, Charpentier, 1876. [LetGu]
 Mercier L.-S., 1776. Jezennemours, Amsterdam, 1776. [Jezén]
 Restif de la Bretonne N., 1776. Le Paysan Pervers, Amsterdam, 1776. [PayPe]
 Rousseau J.-J., 1776. Rousseau Juge de Jean-Jacques, Paris, A. Colin, 1962. [RoJug]
 Voltaire, 1776. La Bible Enfin Expliquée, Geneve, 1776. [Bible]
 Denon D.-V., 1777. Point de Lendemain, Paris, I. Liseux, 1876. [PoLen]
 Marmontel J.-F., 1777. Les Incas, Paris, Lacombe, 1777. [Incas]
 Buffon G.-L. de, 1778. Des Epoques de la Nature, In Histoire Naturelle T.5. Paris, Impr. Royale, 1778. [EpNat]
 Chamfort N.-S., 1778. Mustapha et Zeangir, In Oeuvres Complètes, T.4. Paris, Chaumerot Jeune, 1824. [MustZ]
 Diderot D., 1778. Essai sur la Vie de Senèque, In Senèque Oeuvres, T.7. Paris, Chez les Frères de Bure, 1779. [EsVSe]
 Gilbert N.-J.-L., 1778. Mon Apologie, La Haye, S.N., 1778. [MApol]
 Rousseau J.-J., 1778. Les Reveries du Promeneur Sol., Ed. M. Raymond. Lille, Giard. Geneve, Droz, 1948. [RevPr]
 Voltaire, 1778. Irene, In Oeuvres Complètes, T.7. Paris, Garnier, 1877. [Irene]
 Voltaire, 1778. Epitres, In Oeuvres Complètes, T.10. Paris, Garnier, 1877. [Epitr]
 Voltaire, 1778. Lettres... A Son Imprimeur, Ed. B. Gagnebin. Geneve, Droz. Lille, Giard, 1952. [LeImp]
 Voltaire, 1778. Epitres, In Oeuvres Complètes, T.10. Paris, Garnier, 1877. [Epitr]
 Voltaire, 1778. Lettres... A Son Imprimeur, Ed. B. Gagnebin. Geneve, Droz. Lille, Giard, 1952. [LeImp]
 Brun P.-D. le, 1779. Ode A M. de Buffon, In Oeuvres, Ed. P-L Guinguene, T.1. Paris, G. Warea, 1811. [OMBuf]
 Diderot D., 1779. Le Neveu de Rameau, Ed. J. Fabre. Geneve, Droz, 1950. [NeRam]
 Lemierre A.-M., 1779. Les Fastes, In Oeuvres, Ed. R. Perrin, T.3. Paris, Maugeret, 1810. [Faste]
 Loaisel de Tregoaite, 1779. Lucile et Milcourt, Paris, le Prieur, An Vi, 1798. [LuMil]
 Roucher J.-A., 1779. Les Mois, Paris, Impr. Quillau, 1779. [Mois]
 Mirabeau H. Comte de, 1780. Lettres Ecrites du Donjon, Paris, Garnery. Strasbourg, Treuttel. Londres, de Boffe, 1792. [LetDo]
 Barruel Abbe A., 1781. Les Helviennes, Paris, Poilleux, 1830.

- [Helvi]
Bernardin de Saint-Pierre J.-H., 1781. L'Arcadie, Livre 1 les Gaules, In Etudes de la Nature, T.4. Paris, Deterville 1804.
[Arcai]
- Carbonn Ramond de, 1781. Lettres de W.Coxe A W.Melmoth, Paris, Belin, 1781. [LeCox]
- Carmontelle L., 1781. Les Deux Filoux, In Proverbes Dramatiques, Nouv. Ed. T.3. Paris, Delongchamps, 1822. [dFilo]
- Carmontelle L., 1781. L'Uniforme de Campagne, In Proverbes Dramatiques, Nouv. Ed. T.4. Paris, Delongchamps, 1822.
[UniCa]
- Parny E. de, 1781. Poesies Erotiques, In Oeuvres Completes. Paris, Hardouin et Gattey, 1788. [PoEro]
- Delille J., 1782. Les Jardins, Paris-Rheims, Valade et Cazin, 1782. [Jardi]
- Genlis Mme de, 1782. Adele et Theodore, Paris, M. Lambert, 1782.
[AdThe]
- Laclos, 1782. Les Liaisons Dangereuses, In Oeuvres Completes, Ed. M. Allem. Paris, Gallimard, 1951. [LiDan]
- Lesuire R.-M., 1782. L'Aventurier Francois, Londres, Paris, Quillau, 1782. [AvFra]
- Mercier L.-S., 1782. Tableau de Paris, T. 1 A 4, Amsterdam, 1782. [TP1-4]
- Mercier L.-S., 1782. La Destruction de la Lique, Amsterdam, 1782. [DesLi]
- Berquin A., 1783. L'Ami des Enfants, Paris, Mame-Delaunay, 1822.
[AmiEn]
- Ducis J.-F., 1783. Adapt. le Roi Lear, In Oeuvres, Vol.1, T.2. Paris, Nepveu, 1818. [Roile]
- Florian J.-P.-C. de, 1783. Galatee, Paris, A.A. Renouard, 1820.
[Galat]
- Loaisel de Tregoate, 1783. Dolbreuse ou L'Homme du Siecle, Amsterdam, Paris, Belin, 1783. [Dolbr]
- Mercier L.-S., 1783. Tableau de Paris, T. 5 A 8, Amsterdam, 1783. [TP5-8]
- Mirabeau H. Comte de, 1783. Le Libertin de Qualite, Paris, Bibliotheque des Curieux, 1911. [LibQu]
- Bernardin de Saint-Pierre J.-H., 1784. Etudes de la Nature, T. 1, Paris, Deterville, 1804. [ENat1]
- Bernardin de Saint-Pierre J.-H., 1784. Etudes de la Nature, T. 2, Paris, Deterville, 1804. [ENat2]
- Bernardin de Saint-Pierre J.-H., 1784. Etudes de la Nature, T. 3, Paris, Deterville, 1804. [ENat3]
- Bernardin de Saint-Pierre J.-H., 1784. Etudes de la Nature, T. 1, Paris, Deterville, 1804. [ENat1]
- Bernardin de Saint-Pierre J.-H., 1784. Etudes de la Nature, T. 3, Paris, Deterville, 1804. [ENat3]
- Bernardin de Saint-Pierre J.-H., 1784. Etudes de la Nature, T. 2, Paris, Deterville, 1804. [ENat2]
- Diderot D., 1784. Suite de L'Entretien, In Oeuvres Philosophiques, Ed. P. Verniere. Paris, Garnier, 1961.
[SEntr]

- Diderot D., 1784. Entret. Entre d'Alembert et D., In Oeuvres Philosophiques, Ed. P. Verniere. Paris, Garnier, 1961. [EntAl]
- Diderot D., 1784. Le Reve de d'Alembert, In Oeuvres Philosophiques, Ed. P. Verniere. Paris, Garnier, 1961. [RevAl]
- Diderot D., 1784. Elements de Physiologie, Ed. J. Mayer. Paris, Didier, 1964. [ElPhy]
- Diderot D., 1784. Paradoxe sur le Comedien, In Oeuvres Esthetiques, Ed. P. Verniere. Paris, Garnier, 1959. [PaCom]
- Diderot D., 1784. Suppl. Au Voyage de Bougainv., Ed. H. Dieckmann. Geneve, Droz. Lille, Giard, 1955. [SVoyB]
- Diderot D., 1784. La Religieuse, Ed. R. Mauzi. Paris, Colin, 1961. [Relig]
- Diderot D., 1784. Est-Il Bon Est-Il Mechant, Ed. J. Undank. Geneve, Institut et Musee Voltaire, 1961. [BonMe]
- Diderot D., 1784. Jacques le Fataliste, In Oeuvres Romanesques, Ed. H. Benac. Paris, Garnier, 1965. [JaFat]
- Restif de la Bretonne N., 1784. La Paysane Pervertie, La Haie, Paris, Vve Duchesne, 1784. [PayPe]
- Rivarol, 1784. De L'Universalite Langue Fr., Berlin et Paris, Bailly, 1784. [UnLFr]
- Beaumarchais P.-A. de, 1785. La Folle Journee, In Theatre, Ed. M. Allem. Paris, Gallimard, 1934. [FolJo]
- Bertin A. de, 1785. Les Amours, In Oeuvres Completes. [Amour]
- Carmentelle L., 1785. Le Seigneur Auteur, In Proverbes Dramatiques, Nouv. Ed. T.1. Paris, Delongchamps, 1822. [SeAut]
- Marat J.-P., 1785. Eloge de Montesquieu, Libourne, G. Maleville, 1883. [ElMon]
- Piis P.-A. de, 1785. L'Harmonie Imitative, Paris, P.D. Pierres, 1785. [HarIm]
- Collin d'Harleville J.-F., 1786. L'Inconstant, In Theatre, T.1. Paris, Dumenil-Lesueur, 1805. [Incon]
- Florian J.-P.-C. de, 1786. Numa Pompilius, Paris, Didot Aine, 1786. [NuPom]
- Sedaine M.-J., 1786. Richard Coeur-de-Lion, In Oeuvres Choiesies. Paris, Hachette, 1860. [Richa]
- Beckford W., 1787. Vathek, Conte Arabe, Paris, J. Corti, 1946. [Vathe]
- Bernardin de Saint-Pierre J.-H., 1787. Paul et Virginie, In Romanciers du 18E, Ed. Etiemble, T.2. Paris, Gallimard, 1965. [PaVir]
- Charriere I. de, 1787. Caliste ou Lettres de Lausanne, Paris, J. Labitte, 1845. [Calis]
- Ligne Prince de, 1787. Lettres A la Marq. de Coigny, Paris, Libr. des Bibliophiles, 1886. [LeCoi]
- Louvet de Couvray, 1787. Une Annee Dans la Vie du Chev., In Romanciers du 18E S., Ed. Etiemble, T.2. Paris, Gallimard, 1960. [VieCh]
- Parny E. de, 1787. Chansons Madecasses, In Oeuvres Completes, T.2. Paris, S.N., 1833. [ChMad]

- Volney Comte de, 1787. Voyage En Syrie et En Egypte, Paris, Volland, 1787. [VoSyE]
- Barthelemy Abbe J.-J., 1788. Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, Paris, de Bure, 1788. [JnAna]
- Cazotte J., 1788. L'Honneur Perdu et Recouvre, In Oeuvres Badines et Morales, T.2. Paris, J-F Bastien, 1817. [HonPR]
- Collin d'Harleville J.-F., 1788. L'Optimiste, In Theatre, T.1. Paris, Dumenil-Lesueur, 1805. [Optim]
- Florian J.-P.-C. de, 1788. Estelle, Paris, Impr. de Monsieur, 1788. [Estel]
- Loaisel de Tregoate, 1788. Ainsi Finissent les Gdes Pass., Paris, Poincot, 1788. [Finis]
- Rivarol, 1788. Petit Almanach Grands Hommes, In Oeuvres Completes, T.5. Paris, Collin, 1808. [AlGrH]
- Sieyes E., 1789. Le Tiers-Etat, Ed. E. Champion. Paris, Soc. de L'Hist. de la Revolution Francaise, 1888. [tiEta]
- Stael G. de, 1789. Lettres de Jeunesse--1789, In Correspondance Generale, Ed. B. W. Jasinski, T.1. Paris, Pauvert, 1962 [LetJe]
- Marat J.-P., 1790. Les Pamphlets--1790, Ed. C. Vellay. Paris, E. Fasquelle, 1911. [Pam90]
- Saint-Martin L., 1790. L'Homme de Desir, Lyon, J. S. Grabit, 1790. [HoDes]
- Bernardin de Saint-Pierre J.-H., 1791. La Chaumiere Indienne, Paris, Furne, 1829. [ChaIn]
- Sade Marquis de, 1791. Justine, Paris, J-J Pauvert, 1966. [Justi]
- Stael G. de, 1791. Lettres de Jeunesse--1791, In Correspondance Generale, Ed. B. W. Jasinski, T.1. Paris, Pauvert, 1962 [LetJe]
- Volney Comte de, 1791. Les Ruines, Paris, Dugour et Durand, An Vii (1799). [Ruine]
- Collin d'Harleville J.-F., 1792. Le Vieux Celibataire, In Theatre et Poesies Fugitives, T.2. Paris, Duminil-Lesueur, 1805. [VCeli]
- Florian J.-P.-C. de, 1792. Fables, Paris, Didot, 1792. [Fable]
- Marat J.-P., 1792. Les Pamphlets--1792, Ed. C. Vellay. Paris, E. Fasquelle, 1911. [Pam92]
- LaMarteliere, 1793. Robert, Chef de Brigands, Paris, Maradan et Barba, 1793. [Rober]
- Laya J.-L., 1793. L'Ami des Loix, Paris, Maradan, Lepetit, 1793. [AmLoi]
- Robespierre M. de, 1793. Discours, Ed. M.Bouloiseau,G.Lefebvre,A.Soboul, T.6,7,8,9. Paris, P.U.F., 1950-1958 [Disco]
- Chamfort N.-S., 1794. Maximes et Pensees, In Maximes et Pensees, Ed. L. Ducros. Paris, Larousse, 1928. [MaxPe]
- Chamfort N.-S., 1794. Caracteres et Anecdotes, In Maximes et Pensees, Ed. L. Ducros. Paris, Larousse, 1928. [CarAn]
- Chenier A., 1794. Bucoliques, In Oeuvres Completes, Ed. Dimoff, T.1. Paris, Delagrave, 1919. [Bucol]
- Chenier A., 1794. L'Invention, In Oeuvres Completes, Ed. Dimoff,

- T.2, Poemes. Paris, Delagrave, 1920. [Inven]
- Chenier A., 1794. L'Amerique, In Oeuvres Completes, Ed. Dimoff, T.2, Poemes. Paris, Delagrave, 1920. [Ameri]
- Chenier A., 1794. Epitres, In Oeuvres Completes, Ed. Dimoff, T.3. Paris, Delagrave, 1919. [Epitr]
- Chenier A., 1794. Odes, In Oeuvres Completes, Ed. Dimoff, T.3, Poemes. Paris, Delagrave, 1919. [Odes]
- Chenier A., 1794. Elegies, In Oeuvres Completes, Ed. Dimoff, T.3. Paris, Delagrave, 1919. [Elegi]
- Chenier A., 1794. Iambes, In Oeuvres Completes, Ed. Dimoff, T.3. Paris, Delagrave, 1919. [Iambe]
- Condorcet A., 1794. Esquisse d'Un Tableau, Ed. O. H. Prior. Paris, Boivin et Cie, 1933. [EsTab]
- Stael G. de, 1794. Lettres Ined. A L. de Narbonne, In Correspondance Generale, Ed. B.W. Jasinski, T.2. Paris, Pauvert, 1960. [LeNar]
- Stael G. de, 1794. Lettres Diverses, In Correspondance Generale, Ed. B. W. Jasinski, T.2. Paris, Pauvert, 1965 [LetDi]
- Stael G. de, 1794. Lettres Ined. A L. de Narbonne, In Correspondance Generale, Ed. B.W. Jasinski, T.2. Paris, Pauvert, 1960. [LeNar]
- Genlis Mme de, 1795. Les Chevaliers du Cygne, Paris, Maradan, 1811. [ChCyg]
- Dupuis Ch, 1796. Abrege Origine Cultes, Paris, H. Agasse, An Vi, (1797). [OrCul]
- Dusaulx J., 1796. Voyage A Barege, Paris, Impr. Didot Jeune, 1796. [VoyBa]
- Laplace P.-S., 1796. Exposition du Systeme du Monde, Paris, Bachelier, 1836. [ExSyM]
- Restif de la Bretonne N., 1796. Histoire de Sara, In Monsieur Nicolas, T.12. Paris, I. Liseux, 1883. [HSara]
- Anonymous, 1797. Voyage de la Perouse, Ed. L.M.A. Milet-Mureau. Paris, Impr. de la Republique, 1797. [VoPer]
- Chateaubriand F. de, 1797. Essai sur les Revolutions, In Oeuvres Completes, T.1 et 2. Paris, Ladvocat, 1826. [EsRev]
- Senac de Meilhan, 1797. L'Emigre, In Romanciers du 18E S., Ed. Etiemble, T.2. Paris, Gallimard, 1965. [Emigr]
- Fiegee J., 1798. La Dot de Suzette, Paris, Werdet et Lequien, 1826. [DotSu]
- Pixerecourt R.-C. Guilbert de , 1798. Victor ou L'Enfant de la Foret, Paris, Barba, 1798. [Victo]
- Cottin Mme, 1799. Claire d'Albe, In Oeuvres Completes, T.1. Paris, Rapilly, 1825. [ClAlb]
- Marmontel J.-F., 1799. Essai sur les Romans, In Oeuvres Completes, T.10. Paris, Verdier, 1819. [EsRom]
- Senancour E.-P. de, 1799. Reveries..., Ed. J. Merlant, T.1. Paris, Droz, 1939. [Rever]

Appendix Four

Membership of the Société de 1789

The original list was published in June of 1790, consisting of the last names of the individuals and their home or business addresses. See Règlement de la Société de 1789 et Liste de ses membres, (Paris: Lejay fils, 1790). Occupation field is taken from a number of sources. French terms are drawn from specific references. English terms are used to designate an occupation where there are no specific references. Status field indicates the probable rank of the individual, where 1 is clergy, 2 is Second Estate and 3 is Third Estate.

Abbema, Balthazar-Elie rue Neuve des Mathurins, 48 rue de Ménars, 5 (moves there in 1791) Clubs: Feuillants Dates: 1738- Status: 3	banquier
Agasse de Cresne, Henri rue Pavée St-Andree Arts, 12 rue Crois des Petits Champs, 12 Clubs: Feuillants, Société des Amis des Noirs Dates: 1752 - Status: 3 Elected: National Assembly (3rd)	employee AN
Albisson, Jean rue Neuve des Capucines, Status: 3 Elected: Tribunal.	avocat (de Montpellier)
Alexandre, Charles Alexis Hotel du Roi, Carrouzel Clubs: Jacobins Dates: 1759-1825 Status: 3	banquier
Amelot de Chaillou, Antoine-Léon-Anne rue Neuve des Mathurins Dates: 1760-1824 Status: 2	caisse extraordinaire
Andre, Antoine-Balthazar-Joseph d', rue Royale-Butte-Saint Clubs: Feuillants, Jacobins, Reunion Dates: 1759-1825	seigneur de Bellevue

{variants: Barbentane, Barbartane-Puget}

Palais-Royal

Clubs: Valois, Jacobins

Dates: 1754-1828

Status: 2

Elected: National Assembly (2nd, suppléant)

Barrère, Bertrand de Vieusac

parlementaire Toulouse

rue des Filles-Saint-Thomas

Clubs: Jacobins

Dates: 1755-1841

Status: 3

Elected: National Assembly (3rd), Convention

Barrin, Augustin-Félix-Elisabeth

Barrin, comte de La

Gallissonnière

maréchale de camp

rue de Touraine au Marais

Clubs: Feuillants

Dates: 1757-1828

Status: 2

Elected: National Assembly (2nd)

Bassoncourt {Bazoncourt, M. de}

soldier

rue de Grammont

Clubs: Jacobins

Dates: - 1790

Status: 2

Baudouin, François-Jean

imprimeur

rue du Foin St-Jacques, 31 elector

Clubs: Jacobins, Saint-Chapelle

Dates: 1759-1838

Status: 3

Elected: Elector of Paris, National Assembly (3rd suppléant)

Baux, Jean-Louis

financier, assurances

rue Traversiere, 40

rue de Richelieu, 40

Clubs: Jacobins

Status: 3

Beauchesne, Edme-Pierre Chauvot de

médecin en chef de

rue et Ecuries de Monsier

l'hôpital de la garde
nationale.

Clubs:

Dates: 1749-1824

Status: 2

Beauharnois, Alexandre-François-Marie, vicomte de, General

rue des Petits-Augustins, 33

Clubs: Jacobins, Feuillants

Dates: 1760-1794 (executed)

Status: 2

Elected: National Assembly (2nd)

Beaume or Baume
rue Thevenot, 8
Status: 3

Beaumetz, Bon Albert Briois de,
rue Saint-Honore
Dates: 1759-1800
Status: 2
Elected: National Assembly (2nd)

député procureur

Benard, Eugène-Balthazar-Crescent
dit de Moussinières
cour de l'arsenal
Clubs: Feuillants
Dates: 1758-1833
Status: 3

homme de loi

Elected: Mayor of the 8th arrondissement, Year XIII, Chambre des
représentans (100 days).

Benfeild, Paul
rue et hotel Université
Dates: 1741-1810

banker/financier

Berard, Jacques-Charles, jeune
hotel Compagnie des Indes
rue de Grammont, 10
Dates: 1764 -
Status: 3

caisse extraordinaire
trésor nationale

Berard, Jacques-Louis, l'aine
hotel Compagnie des Indes
rue de Grammont, 10
Clubs: Feuillants
Dates: 1757 -
Status: 3

caisse extraordinaire
trésor nationale

Bergerot, Jérôme
hotel des Fermes
Clubs: Société des Amis des Noirs
Dates: 1748 -
Status: 3

fermier

Bergon, Joseph-Alexandre
rue de la Michodiere
Clubs: Société des Amis des Noirs
Dates: 1741 - 1824
Status: 3

finances

Biderman, Jacques-Antoine
rue des Jeunuers, 3

négociant

Clubs: Jacobins, Cercle Social, Société des Amis des Noirs
 Dates: 1751 - 1817
 Status: 3

Biencourt, Charles, marquis de, military/officier
 rue Neuves-petits-champs soc. royale agric
 Dates: 1747-1824
 Status: 2
 Elected: National Assembly (2nd)

Biron, Armand-Louis de Gontaut, duc de Lauzun et de ...
 rue de Grenelle-St-Germaine mérechal de camp
 Clubs: Feuillants, Valois
 Dates: 1747 - 1794 (executed)
 Status: 2
 Elected: National Assembly (2nd)

Bitaubé, Paul Jeremie littérature
 rue Sainte-Anne, 62
 Clubs: Jacobins
 Dates: 1732 - 1808
 Status: 3

Blin, François-Pierre doctor
 quai de l'Ecole
 Dates: 1756 - 1834
 Status: 3
 Elected: National Assembly (3rd)

Blondel, Jacques avocat
 rue des Vieux-Augustins, 26
 Dates: 1749-1813
 Status: 3
 Elected: Elector (Paris 1789, 90)

Blondel, Antoine-Jean-Charles avocat.
 rue Sainte-Avoye
 rue des Vieux-Augustins, 26
 Dates: 1760-
 Status: 3
 Elected: Elector (Paris, 1789, 90)

Bodkin Fitz-Gerald, Robert-Etienne-Patrice
 rue Sainte-Dominique p. de Paris
 Clubs: Jacobins
 Dates: 1766 -
 Status: 3
 Elected: National Assembly (3rd suppleant)

Boetzelaire
 rue Faubourg Poissonniere

Boissy D'Anglas, François-Antoine parlementaire
 rue de l'Université
 Clubs: Jacobins
 Dates: 1756-1826
 Status: 3
 Elected: National Assembly (3rd), Convention, Cinq-Cents,
 Tribune, Sénat conservateur, Chambre haute.

Bondeville, négociant
 rue Vivienne, 16
 Clubs: Feuillants
 Status: 3

Bonfils, Gabrert de
 place des Victoires, 3
 Clubs: Feuillants
 Status: 2
 Elected: Legislative Assenbly

Bory, Gabriel de chef d'escadre des armes
 quai Conty, 6 navales
 Clubs: Jacobins, Sainte-Chappelle?
 Dates: 1720 - 1801
 Status: 3

Boscary de Villeplaine, Jean-Baptiste banquier, négociant
 rue Feydeau, 14
 Clubs: Feuillants
 Dates: 1757 - 1827
 Status: 3

Boscheron, Jacques-Guillaume-Raphael, payeur des rentes
 rue Pavée-St-Andre-Arts
 Dates: 1739 - 1825
 Status: 3

Bost banquier
 rue des Deux-Portes-Saint-Sauveur
 Status: 3

Bouillard, Augustin-Louis conseiller en la cour
 rue Sainte-Croix Bretonnerie, 57 des aides
 Dates: 1747 -
 Status: 3

Bouillon,
 quai Malaquais

Boulogne de Maganville
 Palais-Royal
 Clubs: Jacobins

Bourgoing, Jean-François
 hotel d'Angleterre
 Dates: 1745 - 1811
 Status: 3

diplomat

Boursier
 rue de Beaurepaire, 23

Boyd, Walter
 rue de Grammont
 Dates: 1754 - 1837
 Status: 3

Boyd, Ker et cie. banquier

Brissot, Jean-Paul de Warville
 rue de Gretry, 34
 Clubs: Jacobins, Société de Amis des Noirs, Réunion
 Dates: 1754 - 1793 (executed)
 Status: 3
 Elected: Legislative Assembly, Convention

Broglie, Louis-Auguste-Joseph, come de
 rue Saint-Dominique,
 Clubs: Valois, Feuillants
 Dates: 1765 - 1795 (fusillé)
 Status: 2
 Elected: Estates General (2nd, suppléant)

military

Broglie, Charles-Louis-Victor, prince de
 rue de Varennes,
 Clubs: Valois, Jacobins
 Dates: 1756 - 1794 (executed)
 Status: 2
 Elected: National Assembly (2nd)

military

Brousse, Armand-Bernard-Honoré
 rue des Quatre-Fils, 24
 Clubs: Valois, Jacobins, Feuillants
 Dates: 1756 -
 Status: 3

Brousse-Desfaucherets, Jean-Louis, see Desfaucherets

Broussonnet, Pierre-Marie-Auguste
 rue de Blancs-Manteaux, 20
 Clubs: Jacobins
 Dates: 1761 - 1807
 Status: 3

botaniste

Elected: Elector of Paris, Legislative Assembly, Corps législatif
 (1805) never confirmed.

Bruis,
 rue de Richlieu

Bry, Jean Baptiste de (Brie) régisseur général
 rue Neuve-Petits-Champs, 45
 Dates: 1724 - 1810
 Status: 3
 Elected: Elector of Paris, 1790, 91; Legislative Assembly

Bulliet

Bullion, le marquis Société d'Agriculture
 rue de l'Université,
 Status: 2

Burcau de Puzy, Jean-Xavier captain in army engineers
 rue neuve de Luxemborg, 36
 Clubs: Mazarac
 Dates: 1750 - 1806
 Status: 2
 Elected: National Assembly (2nd)

Cabanis, Jean-Pierre doctor/philosopher
 place Vendome
 Clubs: Jacobins
 Dates: 1757 - 1808
 Status: 3
 Elected: Cinq Cents, Senate

Caffin, Jean-Claude
 rue Saint Jacques, 169
 Clubs: Jacobins
 Dates: 1735 -
 Status: 3
 Elected: Elector of Paris

Caillant

Caille, société de médecine, médecin
 rue de Tournon regent, faculté de médecin
 Clubs: Feuillants
 Status: 3

Cannac, Saint-Andre
 faubourg St-Martin
 Clubs: Feuillants
 Status: 3

Canuel, Jacques-Michel homme de loi
 Chaussee-d'Antin, 3
 rue de Mirabeau, 3
 Dates: 1737 -
 Elected: Elector of Paris, 1789, 1791. Lieutenant du maire de
 Paris (1789).

Canonville
rue du Pot-de-feu

Capellen
rue du Marche

Carre, Adrien-Louis commissaire au Chatelet
Palais Royal (rue St. Honore), 310 (311)
Dates: 1742 -
Status: 3
Elected: Elector of Paris, 1789, 90.

Castellane, Boniface-Louis-André, marquis de military
rue d'Anjou
Clubs: Valois, Feuillants, MA
Dates: 1758 - 1837
Status: 2
Elected: National Assembly (2nd)

Cavailhes, Jean Raymond avocat
rue des Fosses-Monmartre
hotel de la Dauphin, rue Cocqheron
Clubs: Feuillants
Status: 3
Elected: National Assembly (3rd suppléant)

Cazaux, Charles homme de lettres
Crois des-Petits-Champs/hôtel de Bourbon
Clubs: Feuillants, Jacobins, Club constitutionnel.
Dates: 1727 - 1796
Status: 2

Certain
rue Neuve-Saint-Eustache

Cerutti, Joseph-Antoine-Joachim professor/writer
rue d'Artois, 13
Dates: 1738 - 1792
Status: 3
Elected: Elector of Paris, 1790, 91, Legislative Assembly

Chabot duc de capitaine
hotel de la Rochfoucauld
Clubs: Valois, Feuillants, Reunion
Status: 2

Chamfort, Sébastien-Roch-Nicolas de, homme de lettres
Palais Royal, 18
Clubs: Jacobins
Dates: 1741 - 1794 (suicide)
Status: 2

Chanlaire
rue Geoffroy-l'Angevin

Chapellier
rue de Richelieu

Charpentier
rue des Filles du Calvaire

Charrin
rue Saint-Anne
Clubs: Valois
Status: 3

commissaire

Charton
au Temple
Clubs: Valois?

Charton de la Terrière
Isle-Saint-Louis
Clubs: Société des Amis des Noirs?
Status: 2

Chateau-Giron
Chaussee d'Antin

Chaudot, Vivant-Jean-Baptiste,
rue Platrière, 24
rue Platrière, 40
Clubs: Sainte-Chappelle
Dates: 1740 -1794 (executed)
Status: 3
Elected: Elector of Paris, 1789, 90, 91.

notaire

Chauveau
à Passy
Clubs: Jacobins

Chauvelin
rue de Trudon

Chauvet
rue de Chaume

Chénier, André-Marie
rue de Corneille
Clubs: Feuillants
Dates: 1762 - 1794 (executed)
Status: 3

poet

Chénier, Marie-Joseph

homme de lettres

en Angleterre

Academie française

Clubs: Jacobins, Sainte-Chapelle

Dates: 1764 - 1811

Status: 3

Elected: Elector of Paris, Convention, Cinq Cents, Tribunate.

Chenneviere, pere

Cheret

conseiller de ville

rue St-Germain Auxerrois, 3

Clubs: Jacobins

Status: 3

Elected: Elector of Paris, 1789.

Clavière, Etienne

banker/administration

rue des Tournelles

rue d'Amboise, 10

Clubs: Jacobins, Société des Amis des Noirs

Dates: 1735 - 1793 (suicide)

Status: 3

Elected: Legislative Assembly (suppléant)

Clives

rue Jacob, hotel Bourbon

Cocheley Cochelet, Adrien-Pierre-Barthelemy

avocat

Dates: 1754 - 1803

Status: 3

Elected: National Assembly (appointed Jan. 1970)

Collot

rue de Richelieu, hôtel Chine

Colonb

boulevard d'Antin

Comeyras, Pierre-Jacques Bonhomme de,

avocat

rue de Clery

Clubs: Valois, Jacobins

Dates: - 1798

Status: 2

Comteval, chevalier de Saint-Louis

rue de Richilieu

Clubs: Valois, Feuillants

Status: 2

Condorcet, J-A-N-C

homme de lettres

hotel de la Monnaie

Clubs: Valois, Société des Amis des Noirs

Dates: 1743 - 1794 (suicide)

Status: 2

Elected: Legislative Assembly, Convention

Copineau
rue Fromenteau

Cottin, Jean-Louis, père régisseur
Chaussee-d'Antin
Clubs: Valois, Monarchique
Dates: 1735 -
Status: 3

Cottin, Jean-Paul-Marie, fils banquier
Chaussee-d'Antin, 6
Clubs: Société des Amis des Noirs
Dates: 1763 - 1793
Status: 3

Cretot, Jean-Baptiste de see Decretot, Jean-Baptiste

Crettet, Emmanuel directeur,
rue de Richelieu, 115 assurances
Status: 3
Elected: Anciens, sénat

Crillon, Louis-Pierre-Nolasque
rue de la Ville-Eveque
Clubs: Feuillants
Dates: 1742 - 1806
Status: 2
Elected: National Assembly (2nd)

Crillon, Félix-François-Dorothée Berton des Balbes, comte de
place Louis XV
Clubs: Valois, Feuillants, Société des Amis des Noirs
Dates: 1748 - 1827
Status: 2
Elected: National Assembly (2nd), Chambres des Pairs (1815)

Custine, Adam-Philippe, marquis de military
rue du Faubourg-Saint-Honore, 102
Clubs: Feuillants, Jacobins
Dates: 1740 - 1793 (executed)
Status: 2
Elected: National Assembly (2nd)

d'Argenson, Marc-Rénée see Argenson

d'Aubusson see Aubusson, Pierre-Alexandre d'

d'Aumont, Louis-Marie-Guy, military
rue de Caumartin
Dates: 1732 - 1799

Status: 2

Dacier, Bon-Joseph
rue de Chabannois, 18
Dates: 1742 - 1833

homme de lettres

Status: 3

Elected: Elector of Paris, 1791, Tribune (1802)

Dampiere comte de?
rue Sainte-Avoye

Status: 2

Dangirard
rue Chaussee d'Antin, 71
rue Mirabeau, 71 cul-de-sac Taitbout
Clubs: Feuillants, Valois
Status: 3

Cie des Indes, banquier

Dantonay,
rue Guénégard

Daoust, Eustache-Jean-Marie, marquis d'
rue du Faubourg-Montmart, 17

Clubs: Feuillants, Jacobins

Dates: 1741 - 1805

Status: 2

Elected: National Assembly (2nd), Convention

Darblay
rue de Bourgogne
Status: 2

Dartagnan

Dartenay
rue de Richelieu
Status: 3

David, Jacques-Louis
rue des Frondeurs, hôtel de Montpensier
Clubs: Jacobins

painter

Dates: 1748 - 1825

Status: 3

Elected: Convention, Elector of Paris

De Caseaux, see Cazaux

De La Rue
rue de Provence
Clubs: Jacobins
Status: 3

De Laage de Belle-Faye
rue Grange-Bateliere
Clubs: Valois
Status: 3

fermier

Decretot, Jean-Baptiste
rue Neuve Bons-Enfants, 7
Clubs: Feuillants, Jacobins
Dates: 1743 - 1817
Status: 3
Elected: National Assembly (3rd)

négociant

Dedrée,
rue du Colombier, hôtel du Parc-Royale

Degruyere,
rue des Fontaines, 9

Deleon, Alexandre-Louis-Auguste de ROHAN-CHABOT, prince
rue de la Harpe
rue de Seine, 42
Clubs: Valois, Société des Amis des Noirs
Dates: 1716 - 1816
Status: 2
Elected: National Assembly (suppléant 2nd)

Démeunier, Jean-Nicolas
rue Sainte Anne, 87
Clubs: Feuillants
Dates: 1751 - 1814
Status: 3
Elected: National Assembly (3rd), Tribunat, Senat

censeur royal

Depinay, George
rue Saint-Honore, 346
Clubs: Feuillants
Status: 3

régisseur des douances nationales

Depont,
rue des Filles-Saint-Thomas
Clubs: Jacobins, Feuillants?

Deprez, Pierre
place Vendôme, 23
Dates: 1726 -
Status: 3

assesseur

Des Faucherets, Jean-Louis Brousse-Desfaucherets
rue de Paradis,
Clubs: Société des Amis des Noirs
Dates: 1742 - 1808
Status: 3

littérateur

Elected: National Assembly (3rd, suppléant), Elector of Paris

Des Mottes
hôtel de La Fayette
Status: 2

Des Mousseaux, Antoine-François-Evard
place du Chevalier-du-Guet
Dates: 1757 - 1832
Status: 3

Des Prades
rue Croix des Petits Champs, 55

Des Renaudes, Martial-Borges
rue des Jacobins, hôtel d'Hambourg
Dates: 1750 - 1825
Status: 3

Deschappelles,
rue de Montmorency

Devins-Fontenay,
Isle Saint Louis

Deymar,
rue Taitbout, hôtel de Cereste

DeLaitre
Isle Saint-Louis, hôtel Bretonvilliers

Dionis du Sejour, Achille-Pierre
rue Sainte-Avoye
Dates: 1734 - 1794
Status: 2
Elected: National Assembly (2nd)

Doazan, Pierre-Eloi	fermier général
rue Saint-Honore	
Dates: 1734 -	
Status: 3	

Doazon fils
rue Saint-Honore
Clubs: Société des Amis des Noirs
Status: 3

Dosfant, Jean Antoine	député,
quai de l'Ecole	notaire
rue de l'Abre Sec	
Clubs: Feuillants	
Dates: 1724 - 1798	

Status: 3
Elected: National Assembly (3rd)

Du Châtlet, marquis
quai Malaquais, hôtel de la Briffe
Clubs: Société des Amis des Noirs, Massiac
Dates: 1727 - 1793
Status: 2

Du Roveray, Jacques-Antoine
rue l'Eveque, 1
Clubs: Société des Amis des Noirs
Dates: 1747 - 1814
Status: 3

Dubignon,
Notre-Dame des Victoires, 25
Clubs: Jacobins

Duchemin,
cloître Saint-Merry
Status: 1?

Ducuolmier,
rue Coqhéron,

Dufresne, Bertrand Council of banking and finance.
rue Villedot, 13
Dates: 1736 - 1801
Status: 3
Elected: Cinq Cents

Dufresne de Saint-Léon, Louis-César-Alexandre liquidateur
au Contrôle
Clubs: Feuillants
Dates: 1751 - 1836
Status: 3

Dufresnoy, Charles-Nicolas Duclos-Dufresnoy, notaire
rue Vivienne, 12
Clubs: Valois, Jacobins
Dates: 1733 - 1794 (executed)
Status: 3
Elected: National Assembly (3rd, suppléant), Elector of Paris,
1789, 90, 91.

Dumouchel, Jean-Baptiste rector of Université de Paris
au collège de la Marche, Montagne Sainte-Geneviève
Dates: 1747 - 1820
Status: 1
Elected: National Assembly (1st)

Dupaty
rue de Gaillon, 9

Dupont, Victor-Marie, fils aîné
rue de Petit-Musc, 17
Dates: 1767 - 1827
Status: 3

Dupont de Nemours, Pierre Samuel economist
rue de Petit-Musc, 17
Clubs: Feuillants
Dates: 1739 - 1817
Status: 3
Elected: National Assembly (3rd), Conseil des Anciens

Dupont, Eleuthère-Irénée, fils cadet
rue de Petit-Musc, 17
Dates: 1771 - 1834
Status: 3

Duquesnoy, Adrien-Cyprien avocat
rue des Gourdes, à Chaillot
Clubs: Feuillants
Dates: 1759 - 1808 (suicide?)
Status: 3
Elected: National Assembly (3rd)

Durand de Saint-André, fils député
hotel de Bretonvilliers
Clubs: Jacobins
Status: 3
Elected: Legislative Assembly

Dutour
rue Faubourg-Saint-Martin, 57
Clubs: Jacobins

Duvernay
rue Sainte Anne, 60
Clubs: Jacobins

Duveyrier Honore-Marie-Nicolas avocat/notaire
rue Saint-Jacques, 41
Clubs: Jacobins (1790)
Dates: 1753 - 1839
Status: 3
Elected: National Assembly (Paris, 3rd suppléant), Tribune

Emmery, Jean-Louis-Claude avocat
rue d'Anjou, faubourg Saint-Honoré
rue Saint Honoré, 163
Clubs: Feuillants

Dates: 1742 - 1823

Status: 3

Elected: National Assembly (3rd), Cinq Cents

Eveque d'Autun see: Perigord

Fargès de

conseiller d'état

rue de l'Université

Clubs: Valois

Status: 2

Fenouillot, de Falbaire de Quingey, Charles Georges

auteur

rue Favart, 3

dramatique

Clubs: Jacobins

Dates: 1727 - 1800

Status: 3

Fergusson

rue de Grammont, 9

Clubs: Jacobins

Fermont

Ferri (Fery), Claude-Joseph

homme de lettres

rue Saint-Dominique, hôtel d'Aguesseau

Clubs: Feuillants

Dates: 1756 - 1845

Status: 3

Elected: Convention

Feuillet

rue de Seine

Fontenay (Fontenai), Pierre-Nicolas

négociant

hotel Bouillon, quai Malaquais

Clubs: Massiac

Status: 3

Elected: National Assembly (3rd)

Fontenilles marquis de

fermier

rue Faubourg Saint-Honoré

chez M. le marquis de Clermont

Clubs: Valois

Status: 2

Fornier

rue des Jeûneurs, 6

Clubs: Feuillants

Status: 3

Foujols

rue Saint-Thomas-du-Louvre, hôtel de la Prévoté

Francklin
rue Coqheron, hôtel de la Dauphine

Fremenville, Christophe
aux Invalides

trésorier, Invalides

Frochot, Nicolas
rue de l'Université, 19
Clubs: Feuillants
Dates: 1761 - 1828
Status: 3

avocat/notaire

Elected: National Assembly (3rd), corps législative

Fulchiron, Aimé-Gabriel
rue Sainte-Anne, 106
Clubs: Feuillants, Sainte-Chapelle
Dates: 1752 -
Status: 3
Elected: Elector of Paris, 1790, 91.

banquier

Gallier,
rue Bourbon-Villeneuve, près celle Saint-Claude

Gallois, Jean-Antoine Gauvin, dit
rue du Cimetiere-St-Andre
Clubs: Société des Amis des Noirs?
Dates: 1761 - 1828
Status: 3
Elected: Tribunal, Corps Legislative

homme de lettres

Ganilh, Charles
rue du Bouloy, 49
Dates: 1758 - 1836
Status: 3

economiste,
avocat

Elected: Paris Elector, 1789; Tribunal; Chambre

Garat, Dominique Joseph
rue Louis-le-Grand
Dates: 1749 - 1833
Status: 3

avocat
homme de lettres

Elected: National Assembly (3rd); Conseil des Anciens; Chambre
des Cents Jours.

Garnier, Germain, marquis
rue des Vieilles-Etuves
Clubs: Sainte-Chapelle, Impartiaux
Dates: 1754 - 1822
Status: 2

procureur au Chatelet

Elected: Elector of Paris, 1789; National Assembly (suppléant,
3rd); Senat conservateur

Gauthier	banquier,
rue des Capucines, 21	garde du corps
Clubs: Monarchique, Valois, Feuillants	
Status: 3	

Gay,
rue des Richelieu, hôtel de Talaru

Geélvínck,
rue Neuve-des-Mathurins, Chaussée d'Antin

Geoffroy, de Charnay, Felix Pierre
rue des Deux-Portes Saint-Jean.
Clubs: Sainte-Chapelle
Dates: 1761
Status: 2
Elected: Elector, 1791

Gerardin,
rue de Grammont, vis-à-vis celle de Chabanois

Germain,
rue Sainte-Anne, 105

Ginoux
rue de Richelieu, vis-à-vis la fontaine
Status: 3

Girardet,
hôtel Colbert, rue Vivienne

Girardin,
rue Sainte-Anne

Godard, Jacques
rue des Blancs-Manteaux, 56
Clubs: Jacobins
Dates: 1762 - 1791
Status: 3
Elected: Legislative Assembly, Elector of Paris (1790-1791)

**Goddin
Palais-Royal**

Gombaut
rue de Grammont, au coin du celle de Menard.

Gouvernet, Frédéric-Séraphin, marquis de La Tour du Pin-
hotel de la Guerre, rue Grange-Batelière
Clubs: Valois, Société des Amis des Noirs
Dates: 1759 - 1837
Status: 2

Gouvion, Jean-Baptiste Cour de Princes, aux Thuileries Clubs: Jacobins Dates: 1747 - 1792 (killed in action) Status: 2 Elected: Legislative Assembly	general
Grammont, marquis de Hôtel de Noailles, rue Saint-Honoré, 451 Clubs: Valois, Feuillants Dates: 1765 - 1837+ Status: 2 Elected: Chambre (after 1815)	national guard
Grand, rue Neuve-des-Capucines Status: 3	banquier, Grand & Co
Grand, fils rue Neuve-des-Capucines Status: 3	banquier, Grand & Co
Grandmaison, Aubin-Louis Millin de rue Saint-Honoré, 444 Clubs: Jacobins Dates: - 1819 Status: 3	naturalist/antiquitarian
Granger, rue Sainte-Anne, 106 Clubs: Jacobins	
Granville, Raillard de rue Saint-Nicolas, Chaussée d'Antin Clubs: Valois Status: 2	
Grave, Pierre-Marc de rue Saint-Dominique à Saint-Joseph rue Neuve des Mathurins, 1 Clubs: Valois, Jacobins Dates: 1755 - 1823 Status: 2	écuyer
Greffulhe, Louis rue Bergère, 16 Clubs: Valois Dates: 1741 - 1810 Status: 3	banquier
Grenus, Jean-Louis	negociant

boulevard Montmartre, 26
 place des Victoires
 Clubs: Feuillants
 Dates: 1750 - 1834
 Status: 3

Grivel
 rue Sainte-Anne, 105.
 Clubs: Feuillants
 Status: 3

banquier

Grouchy comte de
 rue d'Anjou, faubourg Saint-Honoré, 123
 Clubs: Valois
 Dates: 1766 - 1847
 Status: 2

military

Grouvelle, Antoine-Philippe
 rue Neuve-des-Petits-Champs, 83
 Clubs: Valois, Jacobins, Sainte-Chappelle?
 Dates: 1757 - 1806
 Status: 3
 Elected: Elector of Paris, 1791, Corps législatif

homme de lettres

Guerchy,
 rue Saint-Dominique-Saint-Germain, 95
 Status: 2

Guillotín, Joesph-Ignace
 rue Croix-des-Petits-Champs, 55
 Clubs: Valois, Feuillants
 Dates: 1738 - 1814
 Status: 3
 Elected: Elector of Paris, National Assembly

doctor

Guiraudet, Charles-Phillipe-Toussaint
 rue de Tournon, 2
 Clubs: Jacobins
 Dates: 1754 - 1804
 Status: 3
 Elected: National Assembly?

homme de lettres

Guirault,
 rue Saint-Dominique, hôtel d'Aguesseau

Haller, Emmanuel
 rue d'Artois, 22
 Dates: 1745 - 1816
 Status: 3

banker

Hassenfratz, Jean-Henri
 rue des Bourdonnois

chemist

Clubs: Jacobins, Monarchist
 Dates: 1755 - 1827
 Status: 3

Hebray,
 rue Saint-Dominique,
 Status: 3

Hesse, Charles prince de?
 rue de Verneuil
 Status: 2

Heyden patriote hollandais
 Palais-Royal, 160
 Status: 3

Hogguer (Hoggner)
 rue d'Artois, 22
 rue Vivienne, chez M. Haller
 Clubs: Valois
 Status: 3

Huber, Barthélémy banker,
 rue Notre-Dame-Victoires, hôtel de l'Europe Cie des Indes
 Dates: 1748 - 1837
 Status: 3

Hurel, Jean-Joseph payeur des rentes
 rue Sainte-Avoye, 20
 Clubs: Valois, Feuillants, Jacobins, Sainte-Chapelle
 Dates: 1734 -
 Status: 3
 Elected: Elector of Paris

Huskisson, William banquier
 rue du Sépulchre, 28
 Status: 3

Jaucourt, Francois de military
 rue de Varennes, 81
 Clubs: Jacobins, Valois, Feuillants
 Dates: 1757 - 1852
 Status: 2
 Elected: Legislative Assembly, Tribune, Senat conservateur

Jauge, banquier
 Chaussee-d'Antin, 6
 Clubs: Valois, Feuillants
 Dates: 1745 - 1794 (executed)
 Status: 3

Jaume d'Heyres, François-Thomas bourgeois

rue Traversiere-Saint-Honoré, 21
 Clubs: Feuillants
 Dates: 1750 -
 Status: 3
 Elected: National Assembly (3rd)

Jessé, Joseph Henri military
 rue de Richelieu
 Clubs: Feuillants
 Dates: 1755 - 1794 (dies in prison)
 Status: 2
 Elected: National Assembly (2nd)

Jullien de Jully, Joesph-Jérôme
 rue des Marais, faubourg Saint-Germain, 4
 Dates: 1746 - 1819
 Status: 3

Junca
 rue Neuve-St-Eustache

Ker, John William banquier
 rue de Grammont, 9
 Clubs: Valois
 Dates: 1756-
 Status: 3

Keralio, Louis-Félix-Guinement de homme de lettres
 rue de Grammont, 17
 Dates: 1731 - 1793
 Status: 2

Kersaint, Armand-Guy-Simon, comte de marine royale
 a la Comedie-Italienne
 boulevard des Italiens, 47
 Clubs: Valois, Jacobins, Feuillants, Cercle Social
 Dates: 1742 - 1793 (executed)
 Status: 2
 Elected: Legislative Assembly, Convention

Labarbée,
 rue-Croix-des-Petits-Champs, 59

Labhaerd négociant
 rue de Clery, 38
 Clubs: Feuillants, Monarchique
 Status: 3

Lablache, Alexandre-Joseph de Falcoz, comte de
 Chaussee-d'Antin, 15
 Clubs: Valois, Monarchique
 Dates: 1739 - 1799

Status: 2
Elected: National Assembly (2nd)

Labourdonnaye, vicomte
rue des petits-Augustins, hôtel d'Orléans
Clubs: Valois
Dates: 1757 - 1839
Status: 2

Lacepède, Bernard-Germaine-Etienne, de naturaliste
au Jardin du Roi
Clubs: Jacobins, Feuillants, Société des Amis des Noirs
Dates: 1756 - 1825
Status: 3
Elected: Elector of Paris, 1790, 91. Legislative Assembly, Senat
conservateur

La Chapelle,
au Louvre
Clubs: Jacobins

Lacolombe, Louis-Saint-Ange de military
hôtel de la Fayette, rue de Bourbon
Clubs: Valois
Dates: 1755 - 180_
Status: 2

Lacoste, Pierre-Louis régisseur des domaines
rue de Caumartin, 6. nationaux
Clubs: Feuillants
Dates: 1737 - 1813(?)
Status: 3

Lacôte,
rue de Cherche-Midi, en face de celle du Regnard

Lacretelle, Pierre-Louis avocat
rue Feydeau, 18
Clubs: Feuillants, Valois, Society of Thirty
Dates: 1751 - 1824
Status: 3
Elected: National Assembly (suppléant, 3rd), Legislative
Assembly, Corps législative

La Fayette,
rue de Bourbon, faubourg Saint-Germain
Clubs: Feuillants
Dates: 1757 - 1834
Status: 2
Elected: National Assembly (2nd)

Laffon l'abbé de

rue Croix-des-Petits-Champs, 74
 Clubs: Valois
 Status: 1

Lagervezais,
 rue Traversière, hôtel de Malthe

Lalanne,
 rue Vivienne
 Clubs: Jacobins

Lallemand,
 rue de Bourbon-Saint-Germain, 96
 Clubs: Jacobins
 Status: 2
 Elected: National Assembly (2 supp)

Lamande, François-Laurent
 rue de Richelieu
 Clubs: Jacobins
 Dates: 1735 - 1819
 Status: 3

Lamarck d'Arenbourg, Auguste-Marie-Raymond
 rue du Faubourg-Saint-Honoré, 34.
 Clubs: Valois
 Dates: 1753 - 1833
 Status: 3
 Elected: National Assembly (3rd)

Lametherie [-Sorbier], Antoine de avocat
 rue Saint-Nicaise, 10
 Clubs: Jacobins, Feuillants
 Dates: 1750 - 1804
 Status: 3
 Elected: National Assembly (3rd), corps législative

Langlez,
 place Dauphin, 10

Larive, Jean Mauduit-Delarive acteur
 au gros-Caillou
 rue Saint-Dominique, 49
 Clubs: Jacobins
 Dates: 1747 - 1827
 Status: 3
 Elected: Paris Elector (1789, 90)

Laroche, Martin
 rue Poissonnière, 1
 Status: 1?

La Rochefoucauld-d'Enville, Louis-Alexandre duc
 rue de Seine
 Clubs: Valois, Société des amis des Noirs
 Dates: 1743 - 1792 (massacred)
 Status: 2
 Elected: National Assembly (2nd)

La Rochefoucauld nat'l guard
 rue de Cléry, 99, hôtel de Chastulé
 Clubs: Feuillants
 Status: 2

La Rochefoucauld
 rue de Varenne
 Status: 2

La Rochefoucauld
 rue de Varenne
 Status: 2

La Rochette,
 rue des Vieux-Augustins, 26

La Trémouille see Trémouille

Lavalette fermier
 place Vendôme, 6
 Clubs: Jacobins, Feuillants
 Status: 3

Lavoisier, Antoine-Laurent scientist fermier
 à l'Arcenal, cour des salpêtres
 Clubs: Société des Amis des Noirs
 Dates: 1743 - 1794 (executed)
 Status: 3
 Elected: National Assembly (suupléant 3rd), Elector of Paris,
 1789.

Lazoski [Lazowski], inspecteur des manufactures
 rue de Sepulcure
 rue de Varenne
 à Issy, près Paris
 Status: 3

Lechapellier, Issac-René-Guy avocat
 rue Favart
 Clubs: Jacobins, Feuillants
 Dates: 1754 - 1794 (executed)
 Status: 3
 Elected: National Assembly (3rd)

Lecoq, archives de l'A.N.

rue de la Michodiere, 7

Clubs: Jacobins?

Status: 3

Lecouteulx, l'aine

banquier

rue de Richelieu, près le Boulevard

Status: 3

Lecouteulx,

banquier

place Vendôme, 16

Clubs: Feuillants

Status: 3

Lecouteulx de Canteleux, Jean-Barthélemy

banquier

rue des Filles-Saint-Thomas

Clubs: Valois, Feuillants

Dates: 1746 - 1818

Status: 3

Elected: National Assembly (3rd), conseil des Anciens, Sénat
conservateur.

Lecouteulx de la Noraye

banquier

rue Montorgueil, 108

Clubs: Valois

Status: 3

Lefauchaux,

à l'Arcenal

Lehoc, Louis-Grégoire

finances

hôtel du Coq, Chaussée d'Antin

au château du Coq, barrière Blanche

Clubs: Valois

Dates: 1743 - 1810

Status: 3

Elected: Elector of Paris (1789, 91)

Lepousseur

hôtel royal, place du Palais royal

Leroi, Jean-Baptiste

Académie des sciences

galerie du Louvre

Clubs: Feuillants, Sainte-Chapelle

Dates: 1719 - 1800

Status: 3

Elected: Paris Elector (1789, 91)

Leroi, de Petitval

régisseur général

passage des petits Pères, 7

Clubs: Société des amis des Noirs

Status: 3

Lessert, Etienne
 rue Coqheron, 58
 Clubs: Valois
 Dates: 1735 - 1816
 Status: 3

banquier

Lêvi, [Lévis], Gaston-Marc-Pierre, duc de
 rue de Bourbon, faubourg Saint-Germain, 96
 Clubs: Valois
 Dates: 1764 - 1830
 Status: 2
 Elected: National Assembly (2nd)

Lhoste,

Liancourt, duc de
 pavillon de Marson, aux Thuilleries
 Clubs: Valois, Impartiaux
 Status: 2

Lom,
 rue des Filles-Saint-Thomas, hôtel des Trois-Evêchés

Louis, M l'abbé
 rue Christine.
 Clubs: Valois, Société de Amis des Noirs?
 Dates: 1757 - 1837
 Status: 1

conseiller au parlement

Lusignan
 Ecuries de monsieur
 Status: 2

député de Condom

Luzignem, Hugues-Thibault-Henry-jacques, marquis de
 rue de Choiseul, 1
 Clubs: Valois, Monarchique, Mon
 Dates: 1749 - 1814
 Status: 2
 Elected: National Assembly (2nd)

military

Maillet [-Duclairon], Antoine
 rue Croix-des-petits-Champs, 62
 Clubs: Feuillants
 Dates: 1721 - 1809
 Status: 3

Maisoncelle, Faipoult
 rue de la Vieille-Estrapade, 15, au coin de celles des Poules
 Status: 3
 Elected: Paris Elector (1791)

Malartic de Fondat, Abel-Louis-François

conseiller

passage des Petits-Pères, 7
 Clubs: Valois, Monarchique, Société des Amis des Noirs
 Dates: 1760 - 1804
 Status: 2
 Elected: suppléant National Assembly (2nd)

Malboissière, abbé de
 rue de Richelieu, 103
 Clubs: Valois
 Status: 1

Mallet, fils
 rue Montmartre, 235
 Clubs: Valois
 Status: 3

banquier

Mallet, jeune
 rue de Montmartre, près l'égout
 Status: 3

banquier

Mallet, François-Louis, jeune
 rue de Richelieu, près le Boulevard
 Status: 3

banquier

Mallet, Paul-Henri
 rue de Richelieu, près le Boulevard
 Clubs: Valois, Monarchique
 Dates: 1730 - 1807
 Status: 3

historian

Mandrillon, Joseph
 rue des Jeûneurs, 26
 Dates: 1743 - 1794 (executed)
 Status: 3

writer

Maranzac
 rue Saint-Dominique, près celle d'Enfer

Marcilly
 rue du Jardinot,
 Status: 3

Marignier, Augustin-Jacques Marignier de la Creuzardière, fils
 place Vendôme, 3
 Clubs: Jacobins, Feuillants
 Status: 3

Marignier, René-Augustin, père
 place Vendôme, 3
 Clubs: Jacobins, Feuillants
 Dates: 1731 -
 Status: 3

receveur générale

Maron, Paul-Henri
rue Saint-Roch-Poissonnière, 9
Clubs: Feuillants
Dates: 1754 - 1834
Status: 3

protestant minister

Marsilly, Nicolas Arnaud de
rue Chaussée-d'Antin, 54
rue Mirabeau, 54
Clubs: Feuillants, Jacobins
Status: 2

avocat

Elected: National Assembly (suppléant Saint Dominique)

Martin,

Masson,
rue du Mail, 25
Clubs: Feuillants

Maucune
hôtel Dauphin, rue Croix-des-petits-Champs

Mazzei, Filioppo
rue du Regard, 30
Clubs: Société des Amis des Noirs
Dates: 1730 - 1816
Status: 3

Polish envoy

Melon,
rue d'Artois, hôtel d'Aubeterre
Status: 2
Elected: National Assembly (2nd)

Méricourt,
rue du Mail, 29

Mestre, Mathias
rue du Colombier,
Status: 3
Elected: National Assembly (3rd)

avocat

Mezy, Dupleix de conse
rue des petits Ecuries, près celle Poissonnière
Clubs: Valois, Monarchique, Société des Amis des Noirs?
Status: 3

conseiller

Michel
petit hôtel de Bouillon, quai des Theatins
quai Malaquais
Dates: 1727 -
Status: 3

médecin au roi

Millin see Grandmaison, Aubin-Louis Millin de

Mirabeau, Honoré Gabriel Riqueti, l'aîné
 Chaussée d'Antin, 69
 Clubs: Jacobins, Société des Amis des Noirs
 Dates: 1749 - 1791
 Status: 3
 Elected: National Assembly (3rd)

Mirat
 rue Croix-des-Petits-Champs

Mollien, Nicolas-François economiste
 rue de la Michodière, 9
 Clubs: Société des Amis des Noirs
 Dates: 1758 - 1850
 Status: 3

Mommorency, [Montmorency-Laval], Mathieu-Jean-Félicité, duc de
 rue Saint-Dominique, hôtel de Luynes
 Clubs: Feuillants
 Dates: 1766 - 1826
 Status: 2
 Elected: National Assembly (2nd), Chambre des pairs

Monestier, Michel docteur
 rue Simon-le-Franc, chez M. Louis Jullien
 Clubs: Jacobins
 Dates: 1747 - 1818
 Status: 3
 Elected: National Assembly (suppléant 3rd)

Monge, Gaspard Aca science, math
 rue des Petits-Augustins, 28
 Clubs: Jacobins
 Dates: 1746 - 1818
 Status: 3
 Elected: Paris Elector (1791), Cinq Cents, Anciens, Sénat
 conservateur

Monneron, Augustin-Joseph-François négociant
 hôtel de Longueville
 Clubs: Jacobins
 Dates: 1756 - 1824
 Status: 3
 Elected: Legislative Assembly

Montagu

Montz banquier
 rue Bergère, 16

Clubs: Valois
Status: 3

Moreau de Saint-Mery, Mérédic-Louis-Elie avocat
rue Plâtrière, 12
rue Caumartin, 3
Clubs: Jacobins, Feuillants, Massiac
Dates: 1750 - 1813
Status: 3
Elected: National Assembly (Martinique)

Morel, Charles-Gilbert (de Vindde) lawyer
rue Bardubec, 9
Clubs: Sainte-Chappelle, Jacobins
Dates: 1759-1842
Status: 3
Elected: elector, deputy of Paris, 1790, 91, 96 from section
Roi de siècle.

Mourgue, Jacques-Antoine société d'agriculture
rue de Grammont, 17
Clubs: Feuillants
Dates: 1734-1818
Status: 3
Elected: elector of Paris, 1790

Narbonne (Lara), Louis-Marie-Jacques-Antoine, comte de,
au Luxembourg
Clubs: Valois
Dates: 1755-1813
Status: 2

Pajou, Augustin Académie de Peintres
au Louvre / Froidmanteau
Dates: 1730-1809

Pange, Marie-François, chevalier de homme de lettres
rue Vivienne, 19
Clubs: Feuillants
Dates: 1764-1796
Status: 2

Paris,
rue et hôtel de Richelieu, 153
Clubs: Jacobins

Pastoret, Claude-Emmanuel-Jospeh-Pierre procureur
colonade de la Place Louis XV, 3
rue du Faubourg-Saint-Honoré
rue des Capucines, 74
Clubs: Société de Amis des Noirs, SC
Dates: 1756-1840

Status: 3
Elected: Elector of Paris (1790, 91), Legislative Assembly, Cinq-Cents, Sénat conservateur, peer of France.

Payen, Jean-Baptiste commissaire des guerres
rue du Faubourg-St-Honoré, 9
Hôtel de Marbeuf, rue de faubourg Saint-Honoré, 110
hôtel en face de la rue d'Anjou
Clubs: Valois, Feuillants

Péchevin,
rue des Filles-St-Thomas, passage des Petits-Pères, 4
Clubs: Jacobins

Perier, Jacques-Constantin engineer/science
 Chaussée d'Antin, 72
 Clubs: Jacobins, Valois, Feuillants
 Dates: 1742-1818
 Status: 3
 Elected: Estates General (3rd, Paris, sup)

Perignon	avocat
rue Plâtrière, 24	
Clubs: Valois	
Status: 3	
Elected: Elector of Paris, 1789	

Perigord
hôtel de Grammont, rue de Bourbon-Saint-Germain

Perigord
rue de l'Université

Perigord, évêque d'Autun
rue de l'Université, vis-à-vis celle de Beaune.
Clubs: Jacobins
Status: 1

Perrochel
rue Saint-Dominique, à côté de Belle Chasse.

Peyrac (Peyrat) fils.
rue Poissonnière, 162, près le boulevard .
Clubs: Valois

Pillet, René Martin	aide de camp
rue du Parc Royal, 3	
Clubs: Feuillants	
Dates: 1762-1816	
Status: 2	

Pilos.

rue Sainte-Apolline

Pinon,
rue de Clery, 64
Clubs: Jacobins

Pinsot,
rue de Mail, 30

Piquet,
place Vendôme, 23

Piscatory,
rue Saint-Thomas-du-Louvre, 49
Status: 3

Pitra marchand mercier
hôtel de Grèves, rue Croix-des-Petits-Champs, 55
Clubs: Feuillants
Status: 3
Elected: Elector of Paris, 1789

Poignot, Jean-Louis négociant
rue Saint-Denis, près l'Apport-Paris
Status: 3
Elected: National Assembly (3rd Paris), elector of Paris, 1789,
district des Grands Augustins.

Pomard,

Pomaret, Jules (fils) commis de banquier
rue de Richlieu, hôtel de Chartres, 31
Clubs: Jacobins, Feuillants
Status: 3

Pommery,
rue Basse du Rempart, 6
Clubs: Valois

Pontecoulant, Gustave Douclet, comte de
rue d'Anjou-Saint-Honoré, 123
Clubs: Société de Amis des Noirs, Valois
Dates: 1764-1853
Status: 2
Elected: Convention

Potier, François
rue Rochechouart, 9
Status: 3
Elected: sup dep EG 3rd Troyes?

Praslin, Antoine-César-Félix-Choiseul, comte de

rue du Bacq, 9
 Clubs: Valois, Feuillants
 Dates: 1776-1839
 Status: 2
 Elected: Estates General (2nd sup), chambre des pairs (1814).

Prédicant,
 rue du Petit-Lion Saint-Sauveur,
 Clubs: Valois

Prony, Gaspard-Clair-François ingénieur des ponts et chaussées
 Hôtel des Invalides
 Clubs: Feuillants
 Dates: 1755-1839
 Status: 3

Quillet, fermier
 rue des Saints-Pères, hôtel de Pons.
 Status: 3

Rabaud-Saint-Etienne, Jean-Paul Protestant pastor
 no address
 Clubs: Feuillants, Jacobins
 Dates: 1743-1793 (executed)
 Status: 3
 Elected: Estates General (3rd), Convention.

Ramond de Carbonnières, Louis-François homme de lettres
 rue de Clichy, barrière blanche, 40.
 Clubs: Feuillants, Sainte-Chappelle
 Dates: 1755 - 1827
 Status: 3
 Elected: Paris Elector (1791), Legislative Assembly, Corps
 Legislatif (years vii-xiv), Chambre des Cents-Jours.

Ravel, Antoine banquier
 rue des Deux-Portes-Saint-Sauveur, 9
 Clubs: Feuillants
 Status: 3

Ravel, Louis banquier
 rue des Deux-Portes-Saint-Sauveur, 9
 Clubs: Feuillants
 Dates: 1746 -
 Status: 3

Reboul, Henri-Paul-Iréné assesseur
 rue Favart, 2
 Dates: 1763-1839
 Status: 3
 Elected: Legislative Assembly

Recamier,
rue Neuve-des-Bons-Enfants, 14

Regnier (Resnier), Claude-Ambroise, duc de Massa ecrivain
rue du Doyenné, 28
Clubs: Valois
Dates: 1736-1814
Status: 3
Elected: National Assembly (3rd), Anciens,

Reibaz, Etienne Salomon (Reybaz) minister
rue des Portes, près celle du Cheval vert
Dates: 1737-1804
Status: 3

Rhulières, Anne-Jean-Auguste (Rulhière) military
boulevard Saint-Martin
rue Melee, 29
Clubs: Feuillants, Impartiel
Dates: 1731-1792 (massacred)
Status: 2
Elected: Paris elector, 1791

Ribeyre
rue des Filles-Saint-Thomas, hotel des Trois-Evêchés

Richard médecin au roi
rue Saint-Honoré, vis-à-vis Saint-Roch
Status: 3

Rilliet l'aine banquier négociant
rue Montmartre,
Clubs: Feuillants
Status: 3

Rilliet, Hubert banquier
rue Montmartre,
Clubs: Feuillants
Status: 3

Roederer, Pierre-Louis homme de lettres,
rue Montmartre, près l'hotel d'Uzès avocat
Dates: 1754-1835
Status: 3
Elected: National Assembly (sup, 3rd), Chambre des pairs (1830)

Roucher, Antoine homme de lettres
rue des Noyers, 24
Clubs: SC(?)
Dates: 1745-1794 (executed)
Status: 3
Elected: Paris elector (1791)

Rougemont
rue Croix-des-petits-Champs
Status: 3

banquier

Rouillé (de l'Etang), Daniel Etienne,
aux colonades de la Place Louis XV
Dates: 1730-1811
Status: 3

banquier

Ruysch,
hotel de Montpensier, Palais royal

Sabatier, Guillaume
place Vendôme, 23
Dates: 1731-
Status: 3
Elected: Elector (1791)

négociant

Saint-Gervais, F.-X Veytard curé de,
no address
Dates: 1734-1797
Status: 1
Elected: National Assembly (1st)

Saint-Martin
rue des Fossés-Saint-Victor, 12

Sainte-Croix
rue du Faubourg-Poissonnnière, 18
Clubs: Valois, Monarchique
Status: 2

chevalier

Salvan
rue des Filles-Saint-Thomas, 15
Clubs: Feuillants

Sancé, Jean-Baptiste-Hyacinthe-Maris, marquis du Terte de,
rue d'Enfer, 119
Status: 2
Elected: National Assembly (2nd, supp)

Saux
à l'Hôtel Dieu

Savalette (de Lange)
rue Saint-Honoré, 329
Clubs: Société des amis des Noirs, Valois
Dates: 1746-1797
Status: 2

Garde du Trésor royal

Scherer

banquier

hotel de l'Europe, rue Notre-Dame-des-Victoires.
Status: 3

Second
rue de Caumartin, 21
Clubs: Jacobins

Semonville, Charles-Louis Hugent de,
rue Taitbout
rue Vivienne
Clubs: Valois
Dates: 1759-1839
Status: 2
Elected: Elector (1789), National Assembly (supp, 2nd)

Senover, Etienne François
ancien hotel de Cavannac
Elected: Convention

Séran
rue de Bourbon-Saint-Germain, 165

Sesseval
rue de Bourbon
Clubs: Valois
Status: 2

Shée
Palais royal

Short, William secretary to US envoy
ancienne Barrière de Chaillot
chez M de Jefferson, rue Neuve de Berry
Clubs: Société des Amis des Noirs, Valois
Status: 3

Siau, négociant
rue Neuve-des-Capucines, 74
Clubs: Feuillants, Valois
Status: 3

Sicardy,
rue Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, 19
Clubs: Jacobins

Sieyès, E. abbé
rue Saint-Honore, 273
Clubs: Feuillants, Jacobins, Valois, Amis des Noirs
Dates: 1748-1836
Status: 1
Elected: National Assembly (3rd Paris), Convention, Cinq Cents.

Suard, Jean-Baptiste-Antoine
 rue de Louis-le-Grand, 7
 Dates: 1733-1817
 Status: 3
 Elected: Elector of Paris (1789)

homme de lettres

Talon
 rue Saint-Florentin, 6

Tassin, Louis-Daniel l'ainé
 rue Neuve-Petits-Champs, 6
 Clubs: Feuillants
 Dates: 1742-1794 (executed)
 Status: 3
 Elected: Elector of Paris (1789), National Assembly (sup 3rd)

banquier

Tellez d'Acosta, Dominique-Antoine
 rue des Trois-Povillons
 Status: 2

Tellusson (Thellusson), Peter
 rue de Paradis, faubourg Poissonnière
 chaussée d'Antin, chez M. Laferté
 Clubs: Feuillants
 Status: 3

banquier

Texier, l'abbé Nicolas-Jean-Réné
 rue de Bonne Nouvelle
 rue et faubourg Poissonnier, 15
 Clubs: Feuillants
 Status: 1
 Elected: National Assembly (3rd)

chapelier de la Riene

Thiery (de Bussy)
 rue Saint-Dominique, faubourg Saint-Germain, 27
 Clubs: Jacobins
 Status: 3

doctor

Thouin, Andre
 au Jarden du Roi
 Clubs: Jacobins
 Dates: 1747-1824
 Status: 3

Académie des sciences

Elected: National Assembly (3rd supp), Elector (Paris, 1790, 91),
 administrator of the department (91).

Thouret, Jacques-Guillaume
 quai Malaquais
 hotel de Bouillon, quai de Voltaire
 Clubs: Feuillants
 Dates: 1746-1794 (executed)
 Status: 3

avocat

Elected: National Assembly (3rd)

Thouret, Michel-Augustin doctor
rue Pavée, au Marais
Clubs: Feuillants
Dates: 1749-1810
Status: 3

Toulangeon, Emmanuel-François vicomte de, député
rue Neuve-du-Luxembourg, 56
Clubs: Valois
Dates: 1748-1812
Status: 2
Elected: National Assembly (2nd), corps législatif (1802, 09)

Tourolle
rue du Temple, près l'Egoût

Tracy, Antoine-Louis-Claude-Destutt de homme de lettres
rue de Bourbon, 41
Dates: 1754-1836
Status: 2
Elected: National Assembly (2nd)

Treilhard, Jean-Baptiste avocat/député
rue des Maçons, 25
Clubs: Feuillants
Dates: 1742-1810
Status: 3
Elected: Elector (1789) National Assembly (3rd), Convention,
Cinq Cents, Director.

Trémouille, duc de la
rue Saint-Dominique-Saint-Germain
Clubs: Valois

Trial
rue Favart

Tronchin, Envoyé de Genève
rue d'Antin, 9
Clubs: Valois
Status: 3

Trudaine, Charles de conseiller
place Louis XV
rue des Franc-Bourgeois
Clubs: Valois, Monarchique, Sainte-Chappelle, Amis des Noirs
Dates: 1765-1794 (executed)
Status: 3
Elected: Elector (Paris, 1791)

- Trudaine de la Sabliere, conseiller
 place Louis XV
 rue des Franc-Bourgeois
 Clubs: Valois, Société des Amis des Noirs
 Dates: -1794 (executed)
 Status: 3
- Trudon, Joseph officier municipal
 rue de l'Abre-Sec
 Clubs: Feuillants
 Status: 3
 Elected: Elector (Paris 1789)
- Trudon des Ormes, Charles administrateur de département
 rue Sainte-Anne, 70
 Clubs: Feuillants
 Dates: 1746 -
 Status: 3
 Elected: Elector (Paris 1791)
- Valekiers (Walckiers), Edouard de banquier
 rue d'Angoulême, faubourg Saint-Honoré
 Dates: 1758-
 Status: 3
- Valence, Jean-Baptiste-Cyrus-Marie-Adélaïde de Thimrune, comte de
 rue Chaussée d'Antin, 70
 Clubs: Valois, Monarchique, Société des Amis des Noirs
 Dates: 1757-1822
 Status: 2
 Elected: National Assembly (2nd), Senat conservateur, Cent-Jours
- Vandenyver, Edme-Jean-Baptiste banquier
 rue Vivienne, 24
 Clubs: Jacobins
 Dates: 1761-1793 (executed)
 Status: 3
- Vandenyver, Jean-Baptiste, père banquier
 rue Vivienne, 24
 Dates: 1725-1793 (executed)
 Status: 3
- Vandenyver, Antoine-Augustin banquier
 rue Vivienne, 24
 Clubs: Salon Française
 Dates: 1764-1793 (executed)
 Status: 3
- Vandermonde, Alexandre-Théophile mathematician
 rue de Charonne
 Clubs: Jacobins

Dates: 1735-1796

Status: 3

Elected: Elector (Paris 1791)

Vanstaphort (Vanstaphorst)
hôtel de Beaujolais, Palais royal
Status: 3

banquier

Verdina
rue Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, 8
Clubs: Jacobins

Verrier
cul-de-sac des petits-Pères

Vieillard, Louis-Guillaume Le
à Passy
Clubs: Feuillants, Sainte-Chappelle
Dates: 1733-1794 (executed)
Status: 2
Elected: Elector (Passy 1791)

Villard
rue d'Amboise, hôtel de la Campagnie d'assurance, 12
Status: 3

Villeminant
rue de Bondy, 50
Status: 3

Villeminot, César-Louis-Marie
rue Vivienne 24
Clubs: Jacobins
Dates: 1749-
Status: 3

banquier

Villette, Charles-Michel marquis de
près le Pont royal
quai de Voltaire, 52
Clubs: Jacobins
Dates: 1736-1793
Status: 2
Elected: Convention

homme de lettres

Virly
rue Neuve-Saint-Augustine, hôtel Dannemarck.

Voisin, Henri
rue Dauphine, 4
Dates: 1733(?) -
Status: 3
Elected: Elector (Paris 1789, 90)

horloger

Witt
rue Neuve-des-Mathurins

Bibliography

Printed Primary Sources

Newspapers:

L'Ami des patriotes.
Les Actes des Apôtres.
Chronique de Paris.
Journal d'instruction sociale, par les citoyens
Condorcet, Sieyes et Duhamel.
Journal de la Société de 1789.
Moniteur.
Révolutions de France et de Brabant.
Révolutions de Paris.

Publications Sponsored by the Société de 1789:

Règlement de la Société de 1789 et Liste de ses membres.
 Paris: Lejay fils, 1790.
Projet de paix entre le Club de 1789 et la Société des Amis
de la constitution, par un membre de l'Assemblée
nationale. Paris: Imp. du Patriote française, [1790].
Société de 1789. n.p. n.d. [1790].
Ebauche d'un nouveau plan de Société patriotique, adopté par
le Club de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf. Paris: Imp.
 Nationale, [1790].
Aperçu de la constitution française, par un homme d'Amérique,
et Réponse sommaire à tout ce qu'on a écrit et écrira en
France et en Angleterre pour, sur et contre cette
constitution. Paris: Imp. Lejay fils, [1790].
Motion de M. de Villette, au Club de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-
vingt-neuf, le 17 juin 1790. n.p. [1790].
Récit Fidèle de ce qui s'est passé au grand dîner de la
société de 1789, au palais royal. Paris: Imprimerie de
 Devaux, 1790.
Réflexions sur les assignats et sur la liquidation de la
dette exigible ou arriérée, lues à la Société de Mil-
sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf, le 29 août 1790, par M.
Lavoisier, député suppléant du baillage de Blois.
 Paris: Clousier, [1790].
Addition aux observations de M. Lavoisier, député suppléant
du baillage de Blois, sur la liquidation de la dette
exigible ou arriérée. n.p. [1790].
Assignats. Discours prononcé, le 3 septembre 1790, à la

- Société de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf, par un de ses membres, sur l'émission de deux milliards d'assignats, sans intérêt, proposée à l'Assemblée nationale. Paris: Potier de Lille, 1790.
- Théorie et Pratique des assignats. Mémoire lu à la Société de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf, les 5 et 6 septembre 1790. Paris: Imp. Vezard et Le Normand., [1790].
- Opinion sur les assignats, par M. L***. Paris: Imp. Potier de Lille, 1790.
- Plan de liquidation, par un membre de la Société de 1789. Paris: Imp. du Patriote française, 1790.
- De la liquidation de la dette exigible. Lu à la Société de Mil-huit-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf, par un membre de cette Société, le 15 septembre 1790. n.p., 1790.
- Faut-il des assignats de petites sommes? Par M. M..., membre de la Société de mil-huit-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf. Lu à cette Société le 15 septembre 1790. Paris: Potier de Lille, [1790].
- Opinion sur les assignats et Proposition d'un autre mode de libération, prononcé à la Société de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf, par un de ses membres. Paris: imp. Potier de Lille, 1790.
- Réflexions sur la somme d'impôt territorial que demande le comité de l'imposition, adressées et lues, le 24 septembre, à la Société de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf, par M. de Casaux, membre de cette Société. Paris: Imp. Lejay fils, 1790.
- Ultimatum, par un membre de la Société de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf, lu à la dit Société, le 26 septembre 1790. Paris, Imp. du Patriote française, [1790].
- Extrait des registres de la Société de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf. Imp. V^e Hérissant, [1790].
- Adresse de la Société de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf à MM Julien et Mestre, membres de cette Société. n.p., [1790].
- Motion sur l'abrogation des testaments en ligne directe, lue à la Société de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf, par Jean-Pierre Pezous, député du département du Tarn à l'Assemblée nationale, le 19 novembre 1790. Paris: Imp. Nationale, [1790].
- Société de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf. n.p., [1790].
- Opinion énoncée à la Société de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf, sur les lois constitutionnelles, leur caractères distinctifs, leur ordre naturel, leur stabilité relative, leur revision solennelle, par M. Ramond, membre de cette Société. Première partie. Paris: Belin, 1791.
- Idées de circonstances, soumises à la Société de Mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-neuf, par un de ses membres, le vendredi 14 janvier 1791. Imp. du Postillon, [1791].

Collections:

Note: This does not include works consulted on the ARTFL database. The ARTFL 18th century holdings are listed in Appendix Three. A complete bibliography is available from the ARTFL Project, University of Chicago.

Aulard, F.-A. La société des Jacobins: Recueil de documents pour l'histoire du club des Jacobins de Paris. 4 vols. Paris: Maison Quantin, 1889.

Bacourt, M. Ad. de. Correspondance entre le comte de Mirabeau et le comte de La Marck. 2 vols. Bruxelles: Auguste Pagny, 1851.

Bigelow, John, ed., The Life of Benjamin Franklin written by Himself. 3 vols. Philadelphia: Lippincott and Co., 1881.

Cabanis, Pierre-Jean-Georges. Oeuvres philosophiques de Cabanis. 2 vols. Edited by Claude Lehoc and Jean Cazaneuve. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956.

_____. Oeuvres complètes de Cabanis. 2 vols. Paris: Frimin Didot, 1823.

Chassenieux, Dominique, ed. Les Elections, les députés et les cahiers de doléances des trois ordres de la province du Bourbonnais aux Etats-généraux de 1789. Moulins: Editions des Cahiers bourbonnais, 1979.

Condorcet, M.-J.-A.-N. de Caritat. Oeuvres de Condorcet. 10 vols. Edited by F. Arago and Condorcet-O'Connor. Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1847.

Fournier, Joseph, ed. Cahiers de doléances de la Sénéchaussée de Marseille pour les Etats Généraux de 1789. Marseille: Imprimerie Nouvelle, 1908.

Kenyon, Cecilia M. The Antifederalists. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1985.

La Fayette, G. Mémoires, correspondance et manuscrits du Général LAFAYETTE publié par sa famille. 4 vols. Paris: H. Fournier Aîné, 1838.

Mazzei, Filippo. Lettere di Filippo Mazzei alla corte di polonia (1788-1792): volume primo (luglio 1788-marzo 1790). Edited by R. Campini. Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1937.

_____. Philip Mazzei: Selected Writings and Correspondence. 3 vols. Edited by Marcherita Marchione. Prato: Cassa di Risparmio e Depositi di Prato, 1983.

Pange, Francois de. Oeuvres de François de Pange, 1789-1796. Edited with Introduction by L. Becq de Fouquières. Paris: Charpentier et Cie, 1872.

Vellay, Charles, ed. Les Pamphlets de Marat. Paris: Charpentier et Fasquelle, 1911.

Individual Works:

- Anonymous. Dénociation a toutes les puissances de l'europe d'un plan de conjuration contre sa tranquillité générale. Par une association formée a Paris sous le nom de club de la propagande. Au congrés des souverains, 1790.
- _____. L'abus des mots de nosseigneurs de l'assemblée des Etats généraux. Restaurateur de la Nation Française. De l'Imprimerie du Grand Inquisiteur d'Asie: A GOA, 1790.
- _____. M. de LAFAYETTE traité véritablement comme il le mérite. [signed: par un bon citoyen], Paris: n.p., 1790.
- Barère, Bertrand. Mémoires de Barère. Paris: Jules Lafitte, 1842.
- Biron, M. duc de. Rapport fait à l'Assemblée nationale au nom du comité des finances, sur les postes. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1790.
- _____. Lettres sur les Etats Généraux de 1789 ou Détail des Séances de l'Assemblée de la noblesse et des Trois ordres du 4 mai au 15 novembre. Paris: Librairie nobiliaire de Mme Bachelin-Deflorenne, 1865.
- Brissot de Warville, J.P. New travels in the United States of America. Edited by Durand Echeverria, Trans. by M. S. Vamos and Durand Echeverria. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964.
- _____. and Etienne Clavière, De la France et des Etats-Unis, ou l'Importance de la révolution de l'Amérique pour le bonheur de la France, London: n.p., 1787.
- Burke, Edmund. Reflections on the Revolution in France. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co, 1955.
- Casaux, M. de. Consideration sur quelques parties du Mécanisme des sociétés. 5 vols. London: Spilsbury, 1785-7.
- _____. Simplicité de l'idée d'une constitution et de quelques autres qui s'y rapportent, applications et conséquences. Paris: n.p., 1789.
- _____. La Proposition n'est pas neuve, il ne s'agissoit que de la démontrer. Paris: LeJay, 1789.
- Cérutti, M. Vues générales sur la Constitution française, ou Exposé des droits de l'Homme dans l'ordre naturel, social et monarchique. Paris: Desenne, 1789.
- _____. Idées simples et précises sur le papier monnaie, les assignats forcés et les biens ecclésiastiques.... Paris: Desenne, 1790.
- Chamfort, Nicolas-Sabastien. Products of the Perfected Civilisation: Selected Writings of Chamfort. Trans. and ed. by W. S. Merwin. San Francisco: North Point Press, 1984.
- _____. Chamfort: Produits de la civilisation perfectionnée; Maximes et pensées avec une notice. Paris: Société du Mercure de France, n.d. [Shortened edition of Lescure's Oeuvres Choisies de Chamfort with the original

- biography. Paris, 1879.]
- Condorcet, M.-J.-A.-N. de Caritat. Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain. Intro and Ed. by M. Hincker. Paris: Editions Sociales, 1971.
- _____. The Influence of the American Revolution on Europe. Translated by Durand Echeverria. Mary and William Quarterly 25 (1968): 85-108.
- _____. Condorcet: Selected Writings. Translated and Edited by K.M. Baker. Bobbs-Merrill Co. Inc.: Indianapolis, Indiana, 1976.
- Destutt de Tracy, A.L.C. Translation of a Letter from M. de Tracy, member of the French National Assembly, to Mr. Burke, in Answer to his remarks on the French Revolution. London: J. Johnson, 1790.
- _____. Opinion de M. de Tracy Sur les affaires de Saint-Dominique en septembre 1791. Paris: Imp. de Lailet, 1791.
- Dufourny de Villiers, Cahiers du Quatrième Ordre, celui Des pauvres Journaliers, des Infirmes, des Indigens . . . L'ORDRE SACRÉ DES INFORTUNÉS Paris: 1789.
- DuPont de Nemours, P.S., The Autobiography of DuPont de Nemours. Edited and translated by Elizabeth Fox-Genovese. Wilmington Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc, 1984.
- _____. Du Pont de Nemours on the Dangers of Inflation: An Address by Pierre Samuel Du Pont, Deputy from Nemours, Made before the National Assembly of France, September 25, 1790. Trans. E. E. Lincoln. Boston: Baker Library, 1950.
- Ferrières, Marquis de. Correspondance inédite. (1789, 1790, 1791). Edited by H. Carré. Paris: Lib. Armand Colin, 1932.
- Garat, D.-J. Memoirs of the Revolution; or, an Apology for My Conduct in the Public Employments Which I Have Held. Trans. by R. Heron. Edinburgh: G. Mundie and Son, 1797.
- Grouvelle, P.-A. De l'Autorité de Montesquieu dans la révolution presente. Paris: n.p., 1789.
- Lauzun, duc de Biron de. Memoirs of the duc of Lauzun. Trans. by C. Moncreiff. London: Routledge and Sons, 1969.
- Louis-Philippe. Memoirs: 1773-1793. Translated by John Hardman. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977.
- Mazzei, P. My Life and Wanderings. Translated by S.E. Scalia. Morristown, NJ: American Institute of Italian Studies, 1980.
- _____. Recherches historiques et politiques sur les Etats-Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale, Où l'on traite des établissemens des treize Colonies, de leurs rapports et de leurs dissensions avec la Grande-Bretagne, de leurs gouvernemns avant et après la révolution, etc.. Paris: Froullé, libraire, 1788.
- _____. Au peuple français sur les Assignats par un Citoyen des Etats-Unis d'Amérique. Paris: Desenne, Libraire

- au Palais-Royale, 1790.
- _____. Researches on the United States. Trans. C. D. Sherman. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1976.
- Mercier, L.-S. Memoirs of the Year 2500. Philadelphia: Thomas Dobson, 1795.
- Moreau de Saint-Mery, M.-L.-E. A Civilization that Perished: The Last Years of White Colonial Rule in Haiti. Edited and trans. by I.D. Spencer. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1985.
- _____. Moreau de St.-Méry's American Journey, 1793-1798. Edited and trans. by Robert and Anna Roberts. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1947.
- Morellet, A. Mémoires inédits de l'abbé Morellet, sur le dix-huitième siècle et sur la Révolution. Paris, n.p., 1822.
- Pastoret, Claude-Emmanuel-J.-P. Des Loix pénales. 2 vols. Paris: Buisson, 1790.
- Roederer, P.L. L'Esprit de la Révolution de 1789. Paris: Lachevardière, 1831.
- _____. Mémoires pour servir l'histoire de la société polie en France. Geneva: Slatkine, 1969.
- _____. Oeuvres du Comte P.L. Roederer, pair de France, membre de l'Institut [...] publiées par son fils [...]. 8 vols. Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1857.
- Rousseau, J.J. The Social Contract. Translated by C. Frankel. New York: Hafner Publishing, 1947.
- Sieyès, E.J. What is the Third Estate?. Translated by M. Blondel, Edited by S. E. Finer. London: Pall Mall Press, 1963.

Secondary Literature Consulted

General Works:

- Clubb, J.M. and Scheuch, E.K. eds. Historical Social Research: The Use of Historical and Process-Produced Data. Stuttgart: Klett-Cutta, 1980.
- Doyle, W. Origins of the French Revolution. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Febvre, Lucien. The Problem of Unbelief in the 16th century. The Religion of Rabelais. Translated. by B. Gottlieb. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982.
- Foucault, M. Power/Knowledge. Translated and edited by Colin Gordon. New York: Pantheon Books, 1980.
- Furet, F. Interpreting the French Revolution. Translated by E. Forester. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

- Greenlaw, R.W., ed. The Social Origins of the French Revolution: The Debate on the Role of the Middle Classes. Lexington, Mass: D. C. Heath, 1975.
- Hockey, Susan. A Guide to Computer Applications in the Humanities. London: Duckworth, 1980.
- Lefebvre, G. The French Revolution from its Origins to 1793. Translated by E. M. Evanson. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962.
- LaCapra, D. and Kaplan, S., eds. Modern European Intellectual History: Reappraisals and new Perspectives. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982.
- Mathiez, A. The French Revolution. Translated by C.A. Phillips. New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1964.
- Michaud. Biographie Universelle, Ancienne et Moderne. Paris: M.C. Desplaces, 1855-1869.
- Moore, J.M. The Roots of French Republicanism. New York: American Press, 1962.
- Mitterand, H. Les Mots Française. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1963.
- Oakman, R. L. Computer Methods for Literary Research. Charleston, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1980.
- Prevost, M., R. D'Amat, et.al. Dictionnaire de Biographie française. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1954-.
- Robin, Régine. Histoire et Linguistique. Paris: Armand Colin, 1973.
- Rogers, C. B. The Spirit of Revolution in 1789. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949.
- Soboul, Albert. Histoire de la Révolution française: de Bastille à la Gironde. Paris: Editions sociales, 1962.
- Talmon, J. L. The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy. New York: Mercury Books, 1952.
- Thompson, J. M. The French Revolution. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1944.
- Tocqueville, Alexis de. The Old Régime and the French Revolution. Translated by Stuart Gilbert. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1955.
- Tourneux, Maurice. Bibliographie de l'histoire de Paris pendant la Révolution française. 5 vols. Paris: Imp. Nouvelle, 1890-5.
- Traugott E. C. et al. Linguistics for Students of Literature. New York, 1980.
- Tuetey, A. Répertoire Générale des Sources Manuscrites de l'Histoire de Paris pendant la Révolution Française. Paris: Imprimerie Nouvelle, 1910.

Methodology:

- Achard, Pierre et. al., Histoire et linguistique: Actes de la Table Ronde Langage et Société, Paris, Avril, 1983, Paris, 1983.
- Berry-Rogghe, G.L.M. "The computation of collocations and

- their relevance in lexical studies." in Aitken, A.J., et. al., Eds., The Computer and Literary Studies. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1972.
- Beaugrande R.A. de, and W.U.Dressler. Introduction to Text Linguistics. London: Longman, 1981.
- Blanchard, M.E. La Révolution et les mots: Saint-Just et Cie. Paris: Librairie A.-G. Nizet, 1980.
- Bouwsma, W. J. "From History of Ideas to History of Meaning." Journal of Interdisciplinary History 12 (1981): 279-91.
- Brainerd, Barron. "On the distribution of the number of occurrences of a word in blocks of text of fixed length." in Colette Charpentier and Jean David, eds., La recherche française par ordinateur en langue et littérature. Geneva: Slatkine-Champion, 1985.
- Burke, Peter and Roy Porter, eds., The Social History of Language. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Dendien, Jacques, Gérard Gorcy and Eveline Martin. "Le Trésor Général des Langues et Parlers Français de l'Institut National de la Langue Française (I.Na.L.F.)." Computers and the Humanities 22 (1988): 67-75.
- Dieckmann, W. "Linguistics and social history" in Linguistics and Neighboring Disciplines. Edited by R. Bartsch and T. Venneman. Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing, 1975.
- Dolphin, Bernard. Vocabulaire et lexique. Geneva: Slatkine, 1979.
- Fontana, A. "Semantique et histoire: problèmes, procédures et analyse de l'ensemble" in Livre et société. vol. 2. Edited by F. Furet. Paris: Gallimard, 1970.
- Geffroy, A. "Les nous de Robespierre ou le territoire impossible." Mots, ordinateurs, textes, société 10 (1985): 63-90.
- Glatigny, M. and Guilhaumou, J. eds. Peuple et pouvoir: Essais de lexicologie. Lille: Presses Universitaires de Lille, 1981.
- Godechot, J. "Nation, patrie, nationalisme et patriotisme en France au XVIIIe siècle." Annales historiques de la Révolution française 43 (1971): 481-501.
- Griswold, Ralph and Madge Griswold. The Icon Programming Language. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1983.
- Guerreau, Alain. "Pourquoi (et comment) l'historien doit-il compter les mots." Histoire et mesure 4 (1989): 81-105.
- Gumbrecht, H.U. et.al. "Histoire et langage: travaux allemands en lexicologie historique et en histoire conceptuelle." Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine 30 (1983): 185-195.
- Harris, Zellig. "Discourse Analysis." Language 28 (1952): 1-30.
- _____. "Co-occurrence and Transformation in Linguistic Structure." Language 33 (1957): 283-340.
- Jensen, Richard. "The Microcomputer Revolution for Historians." Journal of Interdisciplinary History 14 (1983): 91-111.

- _____. "The Hand Writing on the Screen." Historical Methods 20 (1987): 35-45.
- Kenny, A. The Computation of Style: An Introduction to Statistics for Students of Literature and Humanities. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1982.
- Lafon, Pierre. Dépouillements et statistiques en lexicométrie. Genève-Paris: Slatkine-Champion, 1984.
- _____. "Analyse lexicométrique et recherches des cooccurrences." MOTS 3 (1981): 95-148.
- _____. et al. "Lexicométrie et associations syntagmatiques (analyse des segments répétés et des co-occurrences appliquée a un corpus de textes syndicaux)" in Colette Charpentier and Jean David, eds., La recherche française par ordinateur en langue et littérature. Geneva: Slatkine-Champion, 1985.
- Launay, M. "La lexicologie politique: le traitement informatique du discours historique" Bulletin de la société d'histoire moderne 78 (1979).
- Lyons John. Language, Meaning and Context. London: Penguin, 1981.
- Matoré, G. La méthode en lexicologie: domain français. Paris: Marcel Didier, 1973.
- Muller, Charles, ed. Langue française et linguistique quantitative: Recueil d'articles. Geneva: Slatkine, 1979.
- Murray, Roger. "Poetry and Collocation." Style 14 (1980): 216-34.
- Olsen, Mark. "Textbase for Humanities Applications: WordCruncher," Computers and the Humanities 21 (1987): 255-260.
- _____. "SNOBOL4+." Computers and the Humanities 19 (1985).
- _____. "TXTCOL4: String Data Collection Program." Computers and the Social Sciences 1 (1985).
- _____. "Beyond SNOBOL: The Icon Programming Language." Computer and the Humanities, 22 (1987): 61-6.
- _____. and Louis-Georges Harvey. "Computers and Intellectual History: Lexical Statistics and the Analysis of Political Discourse." Journal of Interdisciplinary History 21 (1988): 449-462.
- _____. and Louis-Georges Harvey. "French Revolutionary Forms in French Canadian Political Language." Canadian Historical Review LXVIII (1987): 374-92.
- _____. and Louis-Georges Harvey, "Contested Methods: A Discussion of Daniel T. Rodgers' Contested Truths, Keywords in American Politics Since Independence." Journal of the History of Ideas XLIX (1988): 653-68.
- _____. "The History of Meaning: Computational and Quantitative Methods in Intellectual History." in D.R. Woolf, Ed. Intellectual History: New Perspectives. Lampeter, Wales: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989.
- Robin, R. La société française en 1789: Semur-en-Auxois. Paris: Plon, 1970.

- Schottler, Peter. "Historians and Discourse Analysis." Historical Workshop Journal 27 (1989): 37-65.
- Stone, L. "Prosopography." Daedalus 100 (1971): 45-70.
- Stone, Philip. The General Inquirer. New York, 1966.
- Stubbs M. Discourse Analysis: The Sociolinguistic Analysis of Natural Language. Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1983.
- Tournier, Maurice. "Cooccurrences autour de travail." MOTS 14 (1987): 89-123.
- VanderMeer, P. "Collective Biography and the New Political History." Indiana Social Studies Quarterly 33 (1980): 2-21.

Monographs and Articles:

- Alengry, F. "La Philosophie politique de la Révolution française dans son expression la plus élevée: Condorcet." La Révolution française 13 (1938): 109-34.
- Alsop, Susan. Yankees at the Court: The First Americans in Paris. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1982.
- Alridge, A. O. "Condorcet et Paine: leurs rapports intellectuels." Revue de littérature comparée 32 (1958): 47-65.
- Amiable, Louis. Une loge maçonnique d'avant 1789: Les Neuf Soeurs. Paris: Alcan, 1897.
- Antonetti, G. Une maison de Banque à Paris au XVIIIe siècle: Greffuhle Montz et Cie, 1789-1793. Paris: Editions Cujas, 1963.
- Appleby, J. "America as a Model for the Radical French Reformers of 1789." William and Mary Quarterly 28 (1971): 265-86.
- Aulard, A. Les Orateurs de la Révolution: L'Assemblée constituante. Paris: Edouard Cornley, 1905.
- _____. History of the French Revolution. Translated by Bernard Miall. New York, 1910.
- Aubry, P.V. Monge: Le savant ami de Napoléon Bonaparte, 1746-1818. Paris: Gauthier Villers, 1954.
- Badinter, Elisabeth and Robert Badinter. Condorcet: Un intellectuel en politique. Paris: Fayard, 1988.
- Baker, K.M. ed., The Political Culture of the Old Regime Oxford: Pergamon, 1987.
- _____. "Representation" in K.M. Baker, ed., The Political Culture of the Old Regime. Oxford: Pergamon, 1987.
- _____. "On the Problem of the Ideological Origins of the French Revolution" in Modern European Intellectual History: Reappraisals and new Perspectives, Edited by LaCapra, D. and Kaplan, S., Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982.
- _____. "Condorcet: A Note on the Randomness of Ends." Condorcet Studies 1 (1984): 73-82.
- _____. "Enlightenment and Revolution in France: Old Problem, Renewed Approaches." Journal of Modern History

- 53 (1981): 281-303.
- _____. "A Script for the French Revolution: The Political Consciousness of the abbé Mably." Eighteenth Century Studies 14 (1980-1981): 235-263.
- _____. "French Political Thought at the Accession of Louis XVI" Journal of Modern History 50 (1978): 279-303.
- _____. Condorcet: From Natural Philosophy to Social Mathematics. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975.
- _____. "Politics and Social Science in Eighteenth Century France: the Société de 1789." in French Government and Society 1500-1800. Edited by J. F. Bosher. London: Athlone Press, 1973.
- _____. "Scientism, Elitism and Liberalism: the case of Condorcet." Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century. 55 (1967): 129-65.
- Barny, R. "Jean-Jacques Rousseau dans la Révolution." Dix-huitième siècle 6 (1974).
- _____. "Les mots et les choses chez les hommes de la Revolution française." La Pensée 202 (1978): 96-115.
- _____. Rousseau dans la Révolution: le personnage de Jean-Jacques et les débuts du culte révolutionnaire (1787-1791). Voltaire Foundation: Oxford, 1986.
- Bastid, P. Sieyès et sa pensée. Paris: Hachette, 1939.
- Béclard, Léon. Sébastien Mercier: Sa vie, son oeuvre, son temps. Paris, 1903.
- Bernard, J. F. Talleyrand: A Biography. New York: G.P. Putnam, 1973.
- Bernier Olivier. Lafayette: Hero of Two Worlds. New York: Dutton, 1983.
- Bertaud, J.-P. Les amis du roi: Journaux et journalistes royalistes en France de 1789 à 1792. Paris: Perrin, 1984.
- Betts, R.F. "DuPont de Nemours in Napoleonic France: 1802-1815." French Historical Studies 5 (1967-1968).
- Bingham, A.P. Marie-Joseph Chénier: Early Political Life and Ideas (1789-1794). New York: Privately Printed, 1939.
- Bigo, Robert. La caisse d'Escompte et les Origines de la Banque de France. Paris: PUF, nd.
- Bizardel, Yvon. The First Expatriates: Americans in Paris During the French Revolution. Translated by J. P. Wilson and C. Higginson. New York: Holt Rinehard and Winston, 1975.
- Blum, Carol. Rousseau and the Republic of Virtue: The Language of Politics in the French Revolution. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986.
- Bosher, John. French Finances, 1770-1795. From Business to Bureaucracy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- _____. "Alfred Cobban's view of the Enlightenment" Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture 1 (1971).
- Bouchary, J. Une famille d'agents de change... Les

- Boscary. Paris, 1942.
- _____. Les Manieurs d'Argent à Paris à la fin du XVIIIe siècle. 3 vols. Paris: Marcel Rivière, 1939.
- Branca-Rosoff, Sonia. "Luttes lexicographiques sous la Révolution Française. Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie." in Winfried Busse and Jurgen Trabant, eds., Les Idéologues: Sémiotique, théories et politiques linguistiques pendant la Révolution française. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1986, pp. 299-322.
- Brette, Armand. Les Constituants: Liste des députés et des suppléants élus à l'assemblée constituante de 1789. Paris: Société de l'histoire de la Révolution française, 1897.
- Brinton, C. The Lives of Talleyrand. New York: Norton, 1936.
- Brucker, Gene. Jean-Sylvain Bailly: Revolutionary Mayor of Paris. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1950.
- Bruguière, Michel. Gestionnaires et Profiteurs de la Révolution. Paris: Olivier Orban, 1986.
- Busse, Winfried and Jurgen Trabant, eds., Les Idéologues: Sémiotique, théories et politiques linguistiques pendant la Révolution française. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1986.
- Cahen Léon. Condorcet et la Révolution française. Paris, 1904.
- Carroll, J.B., ed. Language Thought and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf. Cambridge, Mass: 1956.
- Castelot André, ed., My friend Lafayette, mon ami Washington, Paris: Union Générale d'Editions, 1975.
- Cavanaugh, G.J. "Turgot: The Rejection of Enlightened Despotism." French Historical Studies 6 (1969): 31-58.
- _____. "The Present State of French Revolutionary Historiography: Alfred Cobban and Beyond." French Historical Studies 7 (1972): 587-606.
- Censer, J.R. Prelude to Power: The Parisian Radical Press, 1789-1791. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976.
- Challamel, Augustin. Les Clubs contre-Révolutionnaires. Cercles, comités, sociétés, salons, réunions, cafés, restaurants, et librairies. Paris: Maison Quantin, 1895.
- Champion, Edme. La France d'après les Cahiers de 1789. Paris: Armand Colin, 1897.
- Charavay, E. Assemblée Electorale de Paris. 18 novembre 1790 -- 15 juin 1791. Paris: Maison Quantin, 1890.
- Chartier, R. "Cultures, lumières, doléances: les cahiers de 1789." Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine 28 (1981).
- Chassin, Charles-Louis. Les Cahiers des curés. Etude historique d'après les brochures, les cahiers imprimés et les procès-verbaux manuscrits. Paris: Charavay Frères, 1882.
- Chaussinand-Nogaret, G. "Un aspect de la pensée nobiliaire

- au XVIIIe siècle: l'antinobilisme." Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine 29 (1982): 442-52.
- _____. Mirabeau, Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1982.
- Chinard, G. "Notes on the American Origins of the 'Declaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen.'" Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society XCVIII (1954).
- _____. Thomas Jefferson: The Apostle of Americanism. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1957.
- Chisick, H. The Limits of Reform in the Enlightenment: Attitudes Towards the Education of the Lower Classes in Eighteenth Century France. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- Church, W.F. The Influence of the Enlightenment on the French Revolution. Toronto: Heath, 1974.
- Clarke, J.A. "A Protestant Philosopher at the Constituent Assembly" The Historian 20 (May 1958).
- Clapham, J.H. The Abbé Sieyès. Westminster: P.S. King and Son, 1912.
- Cobban, A. "The Enlightenment and the French Revolution" in Aspects of the French Revolution. London: Paladin, 1971.
- Cochin, A. Les sociétés de pensée et la démocratie. Paris, 1921.
- Cope, S.R. Walter Boyd: A Merchant Banker in the Age of Napoleon. London: Alan Sutton, 1983.
- Cuny, L. Le rôle de DuPont de Nemours en matière fiscale à l'assemblée constituante. New York, Burt Franklin, 1971.
- Dakin, D. Turgot and the Ancien Régime in France. London, Methuen and Co., 1939.
- Darnton, R. The Literary Underground of the Old Regime. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982.
- , The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History. New York: Basic Books, 1984.
- _____. Mesmerism and the End of the Enlightenment in France. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1968.
- Dippel, Horst. "Franklin and Condorcet: Revolution and Social Order; Some Remarks on their Social Theories." in La Révolution Américaine et l'Europe. 21-25 février 1978, Paris-Toulouse. Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1979, pp. 431-447.
- Dougnac, Françoise, "Les sociétés linguistiques fondées par F.-U. Domergue à Paris de 1791 à 1811." in Winfried Busse and Jürgen Trabant, eds., Les Idéologues: Sémiotique, théories et politiques linguistiques pendant la Révolution française. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1986.
- Echeverría, D. Mirage in the West: A History of the French Image of American Society to 1815. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957.

- Egret Jean. The French Prerevolution, 1787-1788. Translated by W.D. Camp. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977.
- Ehard, Jean. L'Idée de nature en France à l'aube des Lumières. Paris: Flammarion, 1970.
- Ellery, Eloise. Brissot de Warville: A Study in the History of the French Revolution. New York: Burt Franklin, 1970.
- Epstein, D.M. "Mirabeau and the French Revolution: A Reappraisal." The Historian 32 (1970).
- Fabre, J. Chénier. Paris: Hatier, 1965.
- Fäy, Bernard. The Revolutionary Spirit in France and America. Translated by Ramon Guthrie. New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1966.
- _____. Bibliographie critique des ouvrages français relatif aux Etats-Unis (1770-1800). Paris, 1925.
- Fohlen, C. "The Impact of the American Revolution on France." in The Impact of the American Revolution Abroad. Washington: Library of Congress, 1976.
- Forsyth, Murray. Reason and Revolution: The Political Thought of the Abbé Sieyès. New York: Leicester University Press, 1987.
- Feuerwerker, David. "Les Juifs en France. Anatomie de 307 cahiers de doléances de 1789." Annales. E.S.C. 20 (1965): 45-61.
- Galliani, R. "Voltaire et les autres philosophes dans la Révolution: les brochures de 1791, 1792, 1793." Studies on Voltaire and the 18th Century 174 (1978).
- _____. "Voltaire cité par les brochures de 1789." Studies on Voltaire and the 18th Century 130 (1975).
- Garlick, R.C. Philip Mazzei, Friend of Jefferson: His Life and Letters. Baltimore, 1933.
- Garnham, B.G. "Who were the Ideologues?" in Studies in the French Eighteenth Century. Edited by D. Mossop et al. Durham: University of Durham Press, 1978.
- Gaudart, Michel et Humbert Lamant. Dictionnaires des Francs-Maçons Français. Paris: Editions Albatros, 1980.
- Gay, Peter. The Enlightenment: An Interpretation. 2 vols. New York: Knopf, 1966.
- Gershoy, L. Bertrand Barère: A Reluctant Terrorist. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962.
- Gidney, L. M. L'Influence des Etats-Unis sur Brissot, Condorcet, et Mme Roland. Paris, 1930.
- Gillispie, C. C. Science and Politics in France at the End of the Old Regime. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980.
- Gottschalk, L. and Maddox, M. Lafayette in the French Revolution: From the October Days through the Federation. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973.
- _____. Lafayette in the French Revolution Through the October Days. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.
- Goujard, P. and Mazauric, C. "Dans quel sens peut-on dire que

- la Révolution française fut une révolution culturelle?" in Europa 2 (1978).
- Goulemot, J. M. "De la polémique sur la Révolution et les Lumières et des Dix-huitiémistes." Dix-huitième siècle 6 (1974): 235-42.
- Granger, G. G. La mathématique sociale du marquis de Condorcet. Paris, 1956.
- Greenbaum, Louis S. "Condorcet's Mémoire sur les hopitaux (1786): An English Translation and Commentary" Condorcet Studies 1 (1984).
- _____. "The Humanitarianism of Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier." Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century. 88 (1972).
- Grimaux, E. Lavoisier d'après sa correspondance, ses manuscrits, ses papiers de famille et d'autres documents inédits. Paris, 1888.
- Groethuysen, Bernard. Philosophe de la Révolution française. Paris: Editions Gonthier, 1956.
- Guilhaumou, Jacques. "L'élite modérée et la 'propriété des mots' (1791). Propagation et usage des mots dans l'opinion publique" in Winfried Busse and Jurgen Trabant, eds., Les Idéologues: Sémiotique, théories et politiques linguistiques pendant la Révolution française. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1986.
- Guillois, A. Le salon de Madame Helvétius: Cabanis et les idéologues. Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1894.
- Gusdorf, Georges. La Conscience révolutionnaire, les Idéologues. Paris: Payot, 1978.
- Hampson, N. Prelude to Terror: The Constituent Assembly and the Failure of Consensus, 1789-1791. Basil Blackwell: London, 1988.
- Hahn, R. The Anatomy of a Scientific Institution: The Paris Academy of Sciences, 1666-1803. Berkley: University of California Press, 1971.
- _____. "Elite scientifique et démocratie politique dans la France Révolutionnaire." Dix Huitième Siècle 1 (1969).
- Hardy, C.O. "The Negro Question in the French Revolution." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1919.
- Harris, S. E. The Assignats. New York: AMS Press, 1969.
- Head, B. W. "The Origins of 'la science sociale' in France." Australian Journal of French Studies 19 (1982): 115-32.
- Higonnet, P. Class, Ideology, and the Rights of Nobles During the French Revolution. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981.
- Hofman, Amos. "The Origins of the Theory of the Philosophe Conspiracy." French History 2 (1988).
- Holtman, Robert. The Napoleonic Revolution. New York: Lippincott, 1967.
- Hudson, Nora. Ultra-Royalism and the French Restoration. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936.
- Hunt, Lynn. "The 'National Assembly,'" in K.M. Baker, ed., The Political Culture of the Old Regime. Oxford:

- Pergamon, 1987, pp. 403-15.
- _____. Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984.
- Hunter, A. J.B.A. Suard. 1925.
- Hyslop, Beatrice Fry. A Guide to the General Cahiers of 1789 with the texts of Unedited Cahiers. Columbia University Press: New York, 1936.
- _____. French Nationalism in 1789 According to the General Cahiers. Octagon Books: New York, 1968.
- Isambert, G. La vie à Paris pendant une année de la Révolution 1791-1792. Paris: Felix Alcan, 1896.
- James, Micheal. "Pierre-Louis Roederer, Jean-Baptiste Say, and the concept of industrie." History of Political Economy. 9 (1977): 455-75.
- Justin, Emile. Les sociétés royales d'agriculture au XVIII^e siècle. Saint-Lo: np, 1935.
- Kafker, F.A. "Les Encyclopedistes et la terreur." Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine 14 (1967).
- Kaiser, T.E. "The Ideologues: From the Enlightenment to Positivism." Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1976.
- _____. "Politics and Political Economy in the Thought of the Ideologues." History of Political Economy 12 (1980): 143-60.
- _____. "This Strange Offspring of Philosophie: Recent Historiographical Problems in Relating the Enlightenment to the French Revolution." French Historical Studies 15 (1988): 549-62.
- Kaplow, Jeffery. The Names of Kings: The Parisian Laboring Poor in the Eighteenth Century. New York: Basic Books, 1972.
- Kates, G. The 'Cercle Social', the Girondins, and the French Revolution. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.
- Kelly, G.A. "The Machine of the Duc D'Orléans and the New Politics" Journal of Modern History 51 (1979): 667-684.
- _____. Victims, Authority and Terror: The Parallel Deaths of d'Orléans, Custine, Bailly and Malesherbes. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1985.
- Kennedy, E. A Philosophe in the Age of Revolution: Destutt de Tracy and the Origins of Ideology. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1978.
- Kennedy, M.L. The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution: the First Years. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.
- _____. "The Foundation of the Jacobin Clubs and the Development of the Jacobin Club Network, 1789-1791." Journal of Modern History, 51 (1979): 701-33.
- Kent, C.A. "Michel Foucault: Doing History, or Undoing it?" Canadian Journal of History 21 (1986).
- Kenyon, Cecilia M. "Men of Little Faith: The Anti-Federalists

- on the Nature of Representative Government." William and Mary Quarterly XII (1955): 3-46.
- Kermina, Françoise. "Azylum, l'utopique cité de la Révolution" Historia 496 (April, 1988): 50-59.
- Kors, A.C. D'Holbach's Coterie: An Enlightenment in Paris. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.
- Langins, Janis. "Words and Institutions during the French Revolution: The case of 'Revolutionary' scientific and technical education." in Peter Burke and Roy Porter, eds., The Social History of Language. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Lebègue, E. Thouret, 1746-1794: La vie et l'oeuvre d'un constituant. Paris: Felix Alcan, 1910.
- Leith, James. "Le Culte de Franklin en France avant et pendant la Révolution française" Annales Historiques de la Révolution française 48 (1976): 543-71.
- LeMay, E.-H. "La composition de l'assemblée constituante: les hommes de la continuité" Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine 24 (1977).
- Loggins, V. André Chenier: his life, death and glory. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1965.
- Lough, J. The Philosophes and Post-Revolutionary France. Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 1982.
- Lyons, M. "M-G-A Vadier (1736-1828): The Formation of the Jacobin Mentality." French Historical Studies 10 (1977).
- Majewski, Henry. The Preromantic Imagination of L.-S. Mercier. New York: Humanities Press, 1971.
- Maldidier, D. et Robin, R. "Polémique idéologique et affrontement discursif en 1776: les grands édits de Turgot et les remontrances du Parlement de Paris." Le Mouvement sociale 85 (1973): 15-80..
- Margerison, K. P.-L. Roederer: Political Thought and Practice During the French Revolution. Philadelphia: Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 1983.
- _____. "The Legacy of Social Science: Condorcet, Roederer and the Constitution of the Year VIII" in David Williams, ed., Condorcet Studies II. New York: Peter Lang, 1987.
- _____. "P.-L. Roederer, the Industrial Capitalist as Revolutionary" Eighteenth-Century Studies 11 (1978): 473-88.
- Martin, K. French Liberal Thought in the Eighteenth Century. A Study of Political Ideas from Bayle to Condorcet. New York: Harper, 1962.
- McDonald Forrest. Novus Ordo Seclorum: The Intellectual Origins of the Constitution. Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1985.
- McKie, D. Antoine Lavoisier, Scientist, Economist, Social Reformer. London: H. Schuman, 1952.
- McNeil, G.H. "The Anti-Revolutionary Rousseau." American Historical Review 58 (1952).
- Mitchell, C.J. "Political Divisions within the Legislative

- Assembly of 1791." French Historical Studies 14 (1984).
- Moore, J.M. The Roots of French Republicanism. New York: American Press, 1962.
- Moravia, S. "La mauvaise étoile historique des Idéologues." in Winfried Busse and Jurgen Trabant, eds., Les Idéologues: Sémiotique, théories et politiques linguistiques pendant la Révolution française. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1986, pp. 3-6.
- _____. Il pensiero degli Idéologues: Scienza e filosofia in Francia (1780-1815). Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1974.
- _____. "La Société d'Auteuil et la Révolution." Dix-Huitième Siècle 6 (1974): 181-91.
- _____. Il tramonto dell'illuminismo: Filosofia e politica nella società francese (1770-1810). Bari: Editori Laterza, 1968.
- Mortier, R. "Les héritiers des 'philosophes' devant l'expérience révolutionnaire" Dix-Huitième Siècle 6 (1974): 45-57.
- Murphy, T. "Jean-Baptiste René Robinet: the career of a man of letters." Studies on Voltaire and the 18th Century 150 (1976).
- Murray, W.J. "A philosophe in the French Revolution: Dominique-Joseph Garat and the 'Journal de Paris'" in History From Below: Studies in Popular Protest and Popular Ideology in Honour of George Rudé. Edited by F. Krantz. Montreal: Concordia University Press, 1985.
- _____. The Right Wing Press in the French Revolution: 1789-92. London: Boydell Press, 1986.
- Neton, Albéric. Sieyès d'après des documents inédits. Paris: Perrin et Cie., 1900.
- Ozouf, Mona. "L'opinion publique," in K.M. Baker, ed., The Political Culture of the Old Regime. Oxford: Pergamon, 1987, pp. 419-34.
- Parker, H.T. "French Administrators and French Scientists During the Old Regime and the Early Years of the Revolution" in Ideas in History. Edited by R. Herr and H. Parker. 1965.
- _____. The Cult of Antiquity and the French Revolutionaires.
- Passy, L. Histoire de la société nationale d'agriculture de France. Paris: Philippe Renouard, 1912.
- Patrick, Alison. The Men of the First French Republic: Political Alignments in the National Convention of 1792. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972.
- Payne, H.C. The Philosophes and the People. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976.
- Péronnet, Michel. Les 50 mots clefs de la révolution française. Paris: Privat, 1983.
- Perroud, Cl. "Quelques notes sur le club de 1789." Révolution Française: Revue d'histoire contemporaine 39 (1900): 255-62.
- _____. "La société française des amis des noirs." La

- Révolution française: Revue d'histoire contemporaine 65 (1915): 122-47.
- Poisson, J.-P. "Le Notariat Parisien à la fin du 18e siècle." Dix-Huitième siècle 7 (1975).
- Popkin, Jeremy. "Recent West German Work on the French Revolution." Journal of Modern History 59 (1987): 737-50.
- Poster, Mark. Foucault, Marxism and History: Mode of Production versus Mode of Information. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984.
- Reinhard Marcel. Nouvelle histoire de Paris: La Révolution 1789-1799. Paris: Hachette, 1971.
- Reichardt, Rolf "Pour une histoire des mots-thèmes socio-politiques en France de 1680 à 1820 environ." in Actes du 2e colloque de lexicologie politique vol.3 Paris: 1982.
- Regoldo, M. "Lumières, élite, démocratie: la difficile position des Ideologues" Dix-Huitième siècle 6 (1974).
- Resnick, D. P. "The 'Société des Amis des Noirs' and the Abolition of Slavery" in French Historical Studies 7 (1972).
- Richer, Denis. "Autour des origines ideologiques lointaines de la Révolution française" Annales E.S.C. 24 (1969): 1-23.
- Ricken, Ulrich, "Refléxions du 18e siècle sur l'abus des mots." in Actes du 2e colloque de lexicologie politique. vol. 1. Paris: Librairie Klincksieck, 1982.
- Ringgold, G.B. "The French National Guard: Its Origin, Organisation and Role in the First Phase of the French Revolution." Ph.D. Disseration: Georgetown University, 1951.
- Robin, Régine. "Le Champ sémantique de féodalité dans les cahiers de doléances généraux de 1789." Bulletin du Centre d'analyse du discours de l'Université de Lille III 2 (1975): 61-86.
- Robiquet, Paul. Le personnel municipal de Paris pendant la Révolution: periode constitutionnelle. Paris: Maison Quantin, 1890.
- Rouchon, U. Un ami de La Fayette: le chevalier de la Colombe. Paris: Champion Ed., 1924.
- Roux, Philippe de. Le Marquis de Casaux: Un planteur des Antilles, Inspirateur de Mirabeau. Paris: Société de l'histoire des colonies françaises, 1951.
- Rutland, Robert. James Madison: The Founding Father. New York: MacMillan, 1987.
- Saricks, A. Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours. Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1965.
- Sauvigny, Guillaume de Bertier de. The Bourbon Restoration. Translated by Lynn Case. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966.
- Scarfe, F. André Chenier: His Life and Work, 1762-1794. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965.

- Schlieben-Lange, B. and Knapstein, F. "Les Idéologues avant et après Thermidor." Annales historiques de la Révolution française 271 (1988): 35-59.
- Schnerb, Robert. "Les Voeux des cahiers de 1789 en matière constitutionnelle d'après Clermont-Tonnerre et Calonne." Information historique 8 (1946): 139-162.
- Scott, S. F. "Problems of Law and Order during 1790, the 'Peaceful' Year of the French Revolution." American Historical Review 80 (1975).
- Seren, Yvon. "L'Exemple américain dans les institutions issues de la Révolution française. Les déclarations américaines et la déclaration française des Droits de l'homme et du citoyen de 1789." Annales de Bretagne 84 (1977): 281-92.
- Shapiro, Gilbert, John Markoff, and Sasha Weitman. "Quantitative Studies of the French Revolution" in History and Theory 11 (1973): 163-191.
- Shapiro, Gilbert and Philip Dawson, "Social Mobility and Political Radicalism: The Case of the French Revolution of 1789." in The Dimensions of Quantitative Research in History. Edited by William Aydelotte, Allan Bogue and Robert Fogel. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972.
- Shklar, J. Men and Citizens: Rousseau's Social Theory. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.
- Smeaton, W. A. Fourcroy: Chemist and Revolutionary, 1755-1809. Cambridge: Heffer and Sons, 1962.
- Smith, E. B. Jean-Sylvain Bailly, Astronomer, Mystic, Revolutionary. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1954.
- Soboul, A. "Les Philosophes, l'Ancien Régime, et la Révolution." Canadian Journal of History 12 (1982).
- . "L'Audience des Lumières sous la Révolution: Jean-Jacques Rousseau et les classes populaires" in Utopie et institutions au 18e siècle. Edited by P. Francastel. Paris, 1963.
- Starobinsky, Jean. 1789: Les emblèmes de la raison. Paris: Flammarion, 1979.
- Staum, M.S. Cabanis: Enlightenment and Medical Philosophy in the French Revolution. Prince: Princeton University Press, 1980.
- . "Images of Paternal Power: Intellectuals and Social Change in the French National Institute." Canadian Journal of History 17 (1982): 425-45.
- . "The Class of Moral and Political Sciences 1795-1803." French Historical Studies 11 (1980): 371-97.
- Stricklen, C. G. "The philosophe's political mission: the creation of an idea, 1750-1789." Studies on Voltaire and the 18th Century 86 (1971): 137-228.
- Strong, T. B. "Dramaturical Discourse and Political Enactments: Toward an Artistic Formulation for Political Space." in Richard Harvey Brown and Stanford Lyman,

- eds., Structure, Consciousness and History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.
- Talmon, J. L. Origins of Totalitarian Democracy. New York: Mercury Books, 1952.
- Taylor, G. V. "The Paris Bourse on the Eve of the Revolution, 1781-1789." American Historical Review. 67 (1962).
- _____. "Revolutionary and Nonrevolutionary Content in the Cahiers of 1789: An Interim Report." French Historical Studies 7 (1972).
- Thierry, Patrick. "De la Révolution Américaine à la Révolution française: Paine, Burke, et les Droits de l'Homme," Critique 481-482 (1987): 476-505.
- Van Doren, Carl. Benjamin Franklin. New York: The Viking Press: 1938.
- Van Duzer, C.H. The Contribution of the Ideologues to French Revolutionary Thought. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1935.
- Van Kley, D. The Damians Affair and the Unraveling of the Ancien Régime. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.
- _____. "Church, State, and the Ideological Origins of the French Revolution: The Debate over the General Assembly of the Gallican Clergy in 1765." Journal of Modern History 51 (1979): 629-66.
- Villefosse, Louis de and Janine Bouissounouse. L'opposition à Napoleon. Paris, 1969.
- Vissière, I. "L'émancipation du peuple selon Condorcet" in Image du peuple au 18e siècle. Edited by H. Couillet. Paris: Armand Colin, 1973.
- Vyverberg, Henry. Historical Pessimism in the French Enlightenment. New York: Knopf, 1958.
- Welch, Cheryl B. Liberty and Utility: The French Idéologues and the Transformation of Liberalism. New York: Columbia University Press, 1984.
- Wick, D.L. "A Conspiracy of Well Intentioned Men: The Society of Thirty and the French Revolution." Ph.D.dissertation, University of California at Davis, 1977.
- Willens, L. "Lafayette's quest for glory in the American War of Independence." Studies on Voltaire and the 18th Century 205 (1982).
- Willert, P.F. Mirabeau. Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press 1970.
- Wilson, Arthur. "The Development and Scope of Diderot's Political Thought." Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 28 (1963).
- _____. Diderot. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972.