STATEMAKING, CAPITALISM, AND REVOLUTION IN FIVE PROVINCES OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

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Five Provinces in 1698

In 1697 or 1698, almost every French intendant set deputies and clients in motion to help prepare a memoir for the king and his heir apparent. The memoirs for the instruction of the duc de Bourgogne, as they are known, provide a superb baseline for the study of social change during the eighteenth century. Moving forward from these reports for nine or ten decades, we can watch the whole process by which the growth of the national state and the development of capitalism transformed France. We can observe the formation of a potentially revolutionary opposition to the monarchy. Let us follow those changes in five contrasting provinces: Anjou, Burgundy, Flanders, the Ile de France, and Languedoc. The comparison will not tell us precisely why a revolution began in France in 1789, but it will clarify the connections between very large structural transformations and the consolidation of resistance to royal demands.

Miromesnil, intendant of the Generality of Tours, had to report on its three subdivisions: Touraine, Maine, and Anjou. Of Anjou, he observed that its trade "consists of supplies people gather in the countryside, of cattle (of which the whole province provides a large number to adjacent provinces) and of a few items people make here" (A.N. H1 1588 12). Miromesnil saw the trade of Angers -- mainly textiles -- in a warmer light. Angers' woolen industry linked the city with its sheep-raising hinterland.

City and country had other important bonds in Anjou. Production and sale of "white wines in great abundance" connected Saumur and other Loire Valley cities to nearby vineyards. Stock-fattening tied cattle-market towns such as Beaupréau both to the farms of the Bocage and to larger cities outside Anjou. Cottage linen production, finally, attached small commercial towns such as Cholet or Chateaugontier at once to daily farm life and to the Atlantic trade of La Rochelle, Nantes, and St. Malo. Small mines of coal and iron dotted the landscape. Nevertheless, the Anjou of 1698 turned in on itself more than did Languedoc, Burgundy, the Ile de France, or Flanders.

From a political point of view, likewise, Anjou was less impressive than most other provinces: no Estates, no Parlement, relatively few great nobles to protect or exploit the province. Except for the deplorable weakness of taxable trade, Anjou was a statemaker's ideal, docile province.

Ferrant, intendant of **Burgundy**, portrayed his region as more open than Anjou. The Duke of Burgundy, the Prince of Conde, and their clients gave the province strong ties to the royal court. Active Estates, a moderately independent Parlement, and municipalities with vestiges of autonomy gave Burgundy, in theory, the means of mounting respectful opposition to the crown.

The province, furthermore, had some commercial interest. "This beautiful province," rhapsodized Ferrant,

> produces plenty of everything essential: grain, wine, fodder. There are forests, tree farms, mines, and iron forges. The soil for grain-growing is not the same quality in all of Burgundy. The districts (bailliages) of Chalons, Beaune, Dijon, Auxonne, St. Jean-de-Lône and Verdun, and more generally all the lowlands down to the Saone, consist of good wheat land, where it usually isn't even necessary to use fertilizer. Most of the land can even grow wheat, barley, and oats in alternation. There are also turnips, which are only in the ground four or five months before being harvested, thus leaving the earth free for seeding in grain. The land can therefore produce three harvests in two years.
>
> The other districts -- Autun, Auxois, Brionnais, Châtillon-sur-Seine -- are called mountain areas. Even the Maconnais and part of the Charolais have only light soil, and produce little but rye, albeit in great quantity.
>
> Burgundy also produces plenty of high-quality wine. Some of it goes for export: wine from Beaune goes by road to the region of Liège, to Germany, to Flanders, and even to England (A.N. H1 1588 16).

Like Anjou, then, Burgundy remained overwhelmingly an agricultural region. The difference was that Burgundy had a heavier involvement in international markets, and devoted much of its effort to just two valuable cash crops: wheat and wine.

Flanders looked different. The "Flanders" of 1698 consisted mainly of lands which Louis XIV had recently seized from the Spanish; some of the territory, in fact, later returned to the Low Countries. Three different intendants -- those of Maritime (or Flemish) Flanders, Walloon Flanders, and Hainaut -- divided the territory, and the task of reporting on it. Ypres, Lille, and Mons served as capitals of the three generalities. Armies had been warring back and forth across the whole region for decades, and diplomats were then plotting ways to gain, or regain, permanent control of its rich resources.

Many of Flanders' people spoke Flemish, and some spoke Spanish as well. They drank beer and supported the Catholic Church faithfully. These traits separated them from much of France. Yet they differed most from the people of other provinces in being active and successful in trade.

Lille acted as centerpiece to all this activity. "The city of Lille," observed intendant Dugué de Bagnols,

> is the one that keeps all the others in motion. It is, so to speak, the soul of the whole region's trade, since the wealth of its inhabitants permits them to start big projects. This city's strength is hard to believe. Surely more than 100,000 people in the countryside and neighboring cities live on Lille's business (A.N. H1 1588 22).

What was Lille's business? That was the point: It included both an active manufacturing complex (especially textiles) and the trade sustained by an agriculture the likes of which did not exist elsewhere. "The effort of country people," wrote Dugué de Bagnols, "plays a large part. I dare say there is hardly a land anywhere in the world where people work so hard . . . " (A.N. H1 1588 22). Both small-scale textile production and cash-crop agriculture occupied the bourgeois, peasants, and landless laborers of the country. In peacetime, furthermore, a large share of the goods produced in Lille's region flowed across the frontier to cities of the Low Countries, and thence into world markets.

To the northwest, in Flemish Flanders, dairying and stock-raising involved a larger share of the population. To the southeast, in Hainaut, mining of coal and iron constituted the region's "greatest wealth" (B.N. Fr 22221). Here, the intendant offered one of the few complaints against the region's peasants: As mine operators, they left something to be desired; they lacked the capital to get at the less-accessible seams of coal. "Richer and more intelligent people," thought intendant Voysin, could bring in machines to extract all the coal. Nevertheless, he gave Hainaut's people high ratings for their devotion to work, especially in view of the repeated ravages they had recently suffered from French-Spanish wars (B.N. Fr 22221). All three expert observers of Flanders in 1698 described the region as industrious, prosperous, and eminently commercial. All three could quickly dispose of clergy and nobility. They were few and unimportant. These intendants were running areas populated by commoners, and run by bourgeois.

The Generality of **Paris** also had more than its share of commerce, but operated quite differently from Flanders. Intendant Phelypeaux gave the generality outside of Paris 857,000 people. Another 500,000 lived in the central city. No other generality of France approached the 40 percent of its population living in cities (Dupâquier 1979: 195-197. The 40 percent includes Paris.). The rest of the region served the capital: truck farming close at hand, Versailles and the court at arm's length, regions of wheat-growing, winegrowing, and noble residences over much of the remaining territory. Outside of Paris and its immediate surroundings, manufacturing had no more than local importance. Provins' description in 1698 will serve, mutatis mutandis, for all the Generality:

> The Election's only trade is in grain that goes by wagon to Port Montain, on the Seine two leagues from Provins. These people load it on to boats for shipment to Paris. There used to be a woolen industry in Provins, but it collapsed because of lawsuits between the Merchant Drapers and the Weavers. The weavers' gild is strong in Provins, and makes good tiretaines which sell in nearby cities (B.N. Fr 22205).

In many versions, the story repeated itself throughout the Generality of Paris. It came down to the consolidation of an economy committed to the great city's needs.

The Generality had no Estates of its own. But it more than made up for that lack: Paris and its hinterland had the country's preeminent Parlement, a proudly autonomous municipality, a massive religious establishment, and the chief instruments of national government. "The Generality of Paris is the most important in the kingdom," crowed Phelypeaux (B.N. Fr 22205). If its nobles had long since lost most of their power as seigneurs of individual parishes within the Ile de France, and if they treated their many country houses as places of entertainment and recreation rather than seats of power, the great concentration of noble, bourgeois, and ecclesiastical landlords in the capital still gave the region as a whole tremendous weight. In 1698, it was already true that "when Paris catches cold, all France blows its nose,"

As intendant Lamoignon de Basville drafted his report on **Languedoc**, he portrayed his province as a predominantly agricultural region on its way to becoming industrial. Expanding the textile industry would, he thought, "give the peoples of Languedoc a new activity; they progress by means of this sort of work, and the province can better support itself this way than by agriculture, since the greater part of the land is sterile" (A.N. H1 1588 26). As of 1698, the greatest recent progress had appeared in the sale of woolens, especially fine woolens, to the Levant via Marseille. Basville described the tough French competition with the English and, especially, the Dutch for that profitable trade. The French, he boasted, were gaining.

Inside the kingdom, woolen goods of Lodève, controlled by merchants of Lyon, clothed both soldiers and civilians. Trade in silk goods, according to Basville, was likewise relatively new -- no more than 60 years old as a significant item of production -- and growing. This trade, too, operated under Lyon's direction. The silk trade, commented Basville, "always decreases greatly in wartime, because people spend less on furniture and clothes, and because in peacetime we send a good deal of silk goods to England and Holland. The wool trade, in contrast, increases in wartime, because of the large number of troops there are to clothe" (A.N. H1 1588 26).

Basville even saw industry in Toulouse's future. "No city in the kingdom," he claimed, "is better located for trade and manufacturing" (A.N. H1 1588 26). After all, he reasoned, food was cheap, supplied for manufacturing were abundant, and the city had superb access to waterways. He had to admit, however, that as of 1698

> . . . there is little trade. The inhabitants' spirit takes them in other directions. They can't stand outsiders. Monasteries and nunneries take up half the city. The fact that becoming a Capitoul makes one noble puts an additional brake on the growth of trade. The same goes for the Parlement. All the children of big merchants would rather live as nobles or take on public office than continue their father's business (A.N. H1 1588 26).

Only the trade in French wheat and Spanish wool, in fact, kept Toulouse from being a commercial desert. One had to go to Carcassonne and to the cities of Lower Languedoc -- Montpellier, Nîmes, Lodève -- for the sort of commercial spirit that warmed an intendant's heart and filled his coffers.

The rich wheat production of Toulouse's plain, for all its concern to Basville in crisis years, didn't enter his vision of the future. Nor did Basville consider the influence of Lyon and Marseille, or the relative unattractiveness of the landscape for agriculture, as likely causes of Lower Languedoc's industrial development. Basville saw Languedoc's regional variations clearly. In thirteen years of vigorous administration, he had learned his province well. But he looked hardest at the variations which affected the success of his mission, and attributed them chiefly to differences in the leading inhabitants' spirit of enterprise.

The intendants of our five regions, then, described provinces that contrasted in important ways: with respect to the importance of trade, the prominence of cities, the extent of manufacturing, the strength of the regional nobility, the autonomy of provincial institutions. At one extreme: Anjou, with fairly weak provincial institutions, no great magnates, little manufacturing, relatively little commercial agriculture. At the other: Flanders, the very emblem of commercialization in agriculture and manufacturing, just coming under the power of the French crown, still quite distinctive in administration and fiscal structure.

If Anjou and Flanders defined the limits, however, the Ile de France, Burgundy, and Languedoc each marked off their own special spaces: the Ile de France for sheer power and wealth, Burgundy for its fine wines and great nobles, Languedoc for its Protestants, its commercial involvement in the Mediterranean world, its relatively vigorous and autonomous municipal institutions, and its sharp internal divisions. In the two dimensions of involvement with capitalism and subordination to the national state, the five regions occupied very different positions.

Capitalism and Statemaking

The eighteenth century pushed all five regions further along both dimensions: toward increased involvement in capitalism, toward greater subordination to the state. In France as a whole, both agricultural and industrial production commercialized as they increased in volume. The share of manufacturing rose. Capital accumulated, the proportion of wage-workers grew, and -- at least for such people as day-laborers and ordinary construction workers -- real wages declined. Those changes summed to the general advance of capitalism.

Capitalism grew differently in each region: through the expansion of wool and wheat trades in Languedoc, through the expansion of rural textile production and of winegrowing in Anjou, through wine and wheat in Burgundy, through industrial growth in Flanders, through the increasing commercial activity of Paris in the Ile de France. Likewise, the relations between capitalist markets and peasant communities differed from region to region. In Burgundy and Languedoc, eighteenth-century landlords were actively playing the capitalist game: consolidating property, squeezing out the rights of small peasants, reestablishing old dues, shifting to the most profitable cash crops. In Flanders, great landlords had disappeared. Large peasants themselves had exceptional strength, although they had to defend their strength against both the region's bourgeoisie and the local landless. In Anjou and Ile de France, large landlords had long since snuffed out the privileges of peasant communities; the fact that those landlords were largely absentee nobles in Anjou and often commoners in the Ile de France is quite secondary. The largest difference between the two regions lay in the fact that the cash-crop farmers of the Ile de France were producing for an immense, hungry, growing, grasping metropolis, while their Angevin counterparts continued to grow their crops largely for export. The growers of the Ile de France's great winefield shifted perceptibly to cheaper varieties for that mass market during the eighteenth century (Lachiver 1982: 132-173).

As capital increased, concentrated, and grew in power, its advances stimulated conflict. Holders of small capital fought off their manipulation by holders of large capital, workers struggled with capitalists, and -- most of all -- people whose lives depended on communal or other non-capitalist property relationships battled others who tried to extend capitalist property into those domains. They battled over rights to land, food, and labor. The eighteenth-century prevalence of the food riot expressed the struggle against merchant capital on the local scale. The rise of worker-worker and worker-owner conflicts bespoke the increasing importance of industrial capital and the increasing size of the industrial proletariat. As the eighteenth century wore on, the intensifying confrontation between landlords and peasants as well as between landlords and the rural poor followed the landlords' attempts to profit from exclusive capitalist property rights in the land.

Statemaking likewise entered a new phase: After repeated seventeenth-century challenges to the state's very survival, an eighteenth century of consolidation. Instead of settling their troops on the land, intendants increasingly taxed to pay for military expenses, and segregated soldiers from the civilian population. Instead of great regional rebellions and major claimants to national power, intendants found themselves facing dispersed resistance, village by village. Instead of dispatching

armies to cow the people of a city or a region, intendants laid down a dense net of agents and collaborators. Louis XV felt sufficiently confident of his power in the provinces to use wholesale exile as a way of controlling uncooperative officials and parlements; in the seventeenth century, exiling powerful enemies would have invited regional rebellion. Taxes themselves routinized; the crown not only built up a corps of professional revenue officers, but also avoided the imposition of new taxes, and taxes of dubious legality. A fortified, bureaucratized fiscal structure became the framework of the whole state. The state's very success generated illegal activity, such as the smuggling of salt, which ironically assumed the state's existence; without the state's effort to make money by monopolizing salt, the price would have been too low to entice smugglers.

State control grew unevenly, consolidating past gains in Anjou, Burgundy, and the Ile de France while extending dramatically in Languedoc and Flanders. In Anjou, ordinary people witnessed the consolidation of state power in the form of tightened tax collection, increased regulation of industrial production, more stringent control of smuggling and, supremely, promotion of the grain trade at the expense of local demands for food. In Burgundy, the state likewise appeared as a promoter of marketing and collector of taxes. But the state also made itself known there as the enemy of parlementary power.

In the Ile de France, people found the state invading everyday life. At least in Paris, police powers expanded significantly: agents of the state closed in on previously inviolable "free spaces" such as the enclos du Temple, required householders to light their streets, arrested beggars and vagabonds as never before, organized syndicates of many trades in order better to supervise and tax them. Jean Delamare's great handbook Traité de la Police, published for the first time by 1720, summed up the precedents and practices of the new, intense surveillance. With the heightened royal control of grain markets grew the popular idea that high officials, perhaps including the king himself, were building a grain monopoly in order to reap the enormous profits speculation could bring. With some justice, the eighteenth-century state gained a reputation as interfering and profiteering.

Yet, among our five regions, it was in Languedoc and Flanders that state power expanded most rapidly. Languedoc's intendants strove to subordinate municipalities, the Parlement, and the Estates to the crown's needs. In Flanders, royal agents sought to eliminate the privileges and special status recent conquest had given the region. On balance, the crown made great gains.

Relative to an expanding economy, however, the eighteenth-century state's demands rose much less than they had under Louis XIII and Louis XIV. Figure 1 expresses the national tax burden in terms of hectoliters of wheat per person per year; it divides taxes into direct and "indirect" (not only excise, customs, and the like, but also other incidental sources), and indicates the years in which France was involved in international wars. It was still true, on the whole, that taxes rose with international war; yet even that effect attenuated as the crown relied increasingly on longer-term loans for military expenditure. Only Napoleon's great wars after 1800 reestablished the dramatic, immediate connection between warmaking and tax increases. In real cost per capita, direct taxes actually declined slightly over the century. The fluctuations and increases concentrated on indirect sources of revenue. It is as if the king had learned how much resistance he could stir up by increasing taxes on land and property, and had shifted to taxes on trade and transactions.

Contrary to beliefs on both sides of the English Channel, French people ended the eighteenth century less heavily taxed than their British neighbors. Figure 2 shows the evolution of taxation in Great Britain and France from 1715 to 1808, expressed as a share of income per capita. The two countries began at about the same levels. But in these terms, France's tax burden per capita declined, while -- if we include Britain's enormous expenses in the Napoleonic Wars -- British taxes doubled their

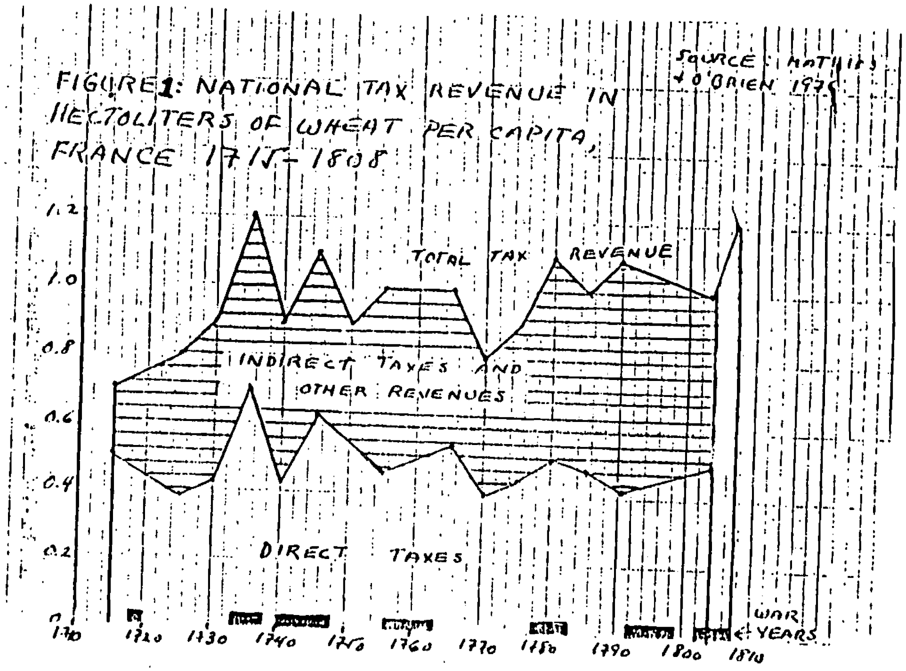
FIGURE 1: NATIONAL TAX REVENUE IN HECTOLITERS OF WHEAT PER CAPITA, FRANCE 1715-1808

SOURCE: MATHIAS + O'BRIEN 197

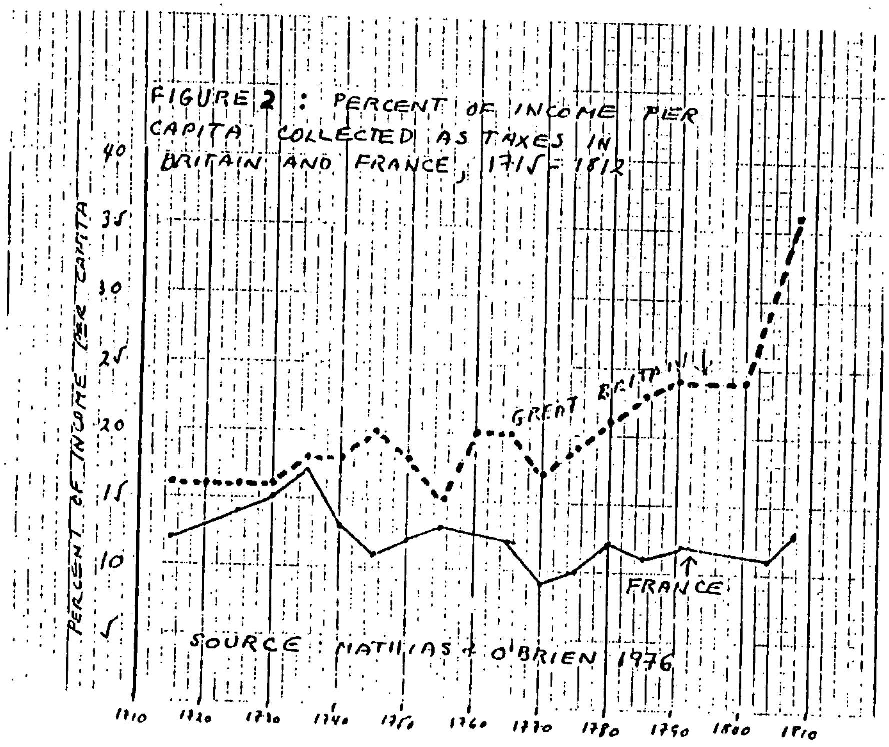

FIGURE 2 : PERCENT OF INCOME PER CAPITA COLLECTED AS TAXES IN BRITAIN AND FRANCE, 1715-1812

SOURCE : MATHIAS + O'BRIEN 1976

share of per capita income. During the eighteenth century, the British state grew faster than the economy. In France, the opposite was true: the economy grew faster than the national state.

Revenues probably came in more easily in Britain than in France; the British economy was more commercialized than the French, and the British collected a much higher share of the total as indirect taxes. Nevertheless, it is worth remembering that the Stamp Act, a tax measure designed to help pay for the debt accumulated by the Seven Years War, not only incited widespread resistance in Britain, but precipitated the first stages of Britain's most important eighteenth-century rebellion: the American Revolution.

Then the wheel turned. Despite the relatively rapid growth of the French economy, the crown's ineffectual efforts to cope with debt accumulated from the Seven Years War and the American Revolution precipitated its great struggles with the Parlements during the 1770s and 1780s. They eventually led to the calling of the Estates General in 1789. That convocation opened the way to France's own revolution.

Economic growth and taxes obviously varied from one region to another. By the eighteenth century's third quarter, the distribution of agricultural production and tax burden looked something like this:

GENERALITY	VINGTIEMES PER SQUARE LEAGUE	VALUE OF GRAIN PER SQ. LEAGUE	VINGTIEMES PER SEPTIER OF GRAIN	VINGTIEMES/ 100 LIVRES OF VALUE
Paris	6,576	55,909	1.95	11.76
Tours	1,669	45,861	0.54	3.63
Dijon	1,571	77,759	0.37	2.02
Montpellier	1,439	50,728	0.58	2.84
Lille	4,888	92,921	0.83	5.26
Valenciennes	2,280	22,729	1.63	10.03

SOURCE: Remond 1957

The vingtième, then a new tax keyed to estimates of revenue from the land, represented an attempt at reform rather than an accumulation of previous practices. Nevertheless, royal estimates of "ability to pay" still depended in part on political considerations, and on the sheer cost of collection. Although the generalities of Paris and Lille had high productivity in grain, their taxes ran disproportionately high. The Generality of Valenciennes (roughly, Hainaut and Cambrésis) paid for being a military outpost, but had some revenues from mines and metalworking to make up for it. Whether measured by taxes per volume or taxes per value, the generalities of Tours, Dijon, and Montpellier clearly had the fiscal advantage.

In one respect, statemaking and capitalism worked in opposite directions. Statemaking, broadly speaking, homogenized France and each of its regions: imposed a common language, a single administration, increasingly common systems of law, taxes, regulation, and coercion. If statemaking had an uneven impact during the eighteenth century, that was because the installation of the standard apparatus had farther to go in a Flanders than in an Anjou.

The extension of capitalist property relations, on the other hand, tended to differentiate among regions and even within them. On the whole, areas of agricultural capitalism began to lose their industry, regions concentrating on a single cash crop became more common, and where industrial capital was accumulating that accumulation speeded up. Thus eighteenth-century Anjou saw Cholet emerge as the nucleus of a small region of intensive rural linen production tied closely to the Atlantic trade, while nearby Saumur played its part as the capital of wine and wheat; the contrast between the two cities, and between their hinterlands, sharpened as the century moved on.

Statemakers continued to rely on holders of capital for their day-to-day revenues, and the capitalists continued to profit from their alliance. Speaking of special commission on tax-grabbers established by the Regent (the Duke of Orleans) shortly after his arrival in power, Angers' Canon Rene Lehoreau reminisced that:

> People claim that the commission made those scoundrels pay back more than 300 million in the year 1716 alone. The first tax-grabber (maltôtier) arrested in Angers was Verrie, receiver of Ponts-de-Ce. The commissioners of Angers, by order of those of Paris, arrested him and had him taken, feet and hands bound, to the city's royal prison, where he stayed for a long time. Through the influence of his friends, he was finally taken to Paris, where he found favor; they decriminalized his case, and turned it into a civil suit. Thus he escaped the threat of punishment for his embezzlement. They charged him 25,000 livres. What saved him was that he had dealings with our upright intendant, who, frankly speaking, told him to steal; since [Verrie] had taken care to keep his letters, he received favorable attention. Anyway, half the city was secretly involved in tax-grabbing and working with him; their fear of getting caught likewise helped him. His post was eliminated, but he has so many friends that he is still collecting and, in fact, never stopped; the only difference is that he now does it through an intermediary (Lehoreau 1967: 257-258).

Indeed, continued Lehoreau, it wasn't clear that Verrie would ever have to pay back the 25,000 livres. The maltôtier was indispensable; he had so much influence that royal officials could not afford to eliminate him. In this respect, eighteenth-century statemakers continued the practices of the seventeenth century.

An Opposition Forms

Fiscal policy was not the only sphere in which statemakers helped capitalists exploit other people, and in which exploited people turned increasingly against royal policy. The same thing happened in regard to food supply, craft monopolies, and access to land. Eighteenth-century royal officials went even farther than their seventeenth-century predecessors in promoting the nationalization of the grain trade. That meant combatting the claims of particular localities to the supply of grain currently on hand. They "freed" the grain trade as a rapidly rising share of the total population came to depend on marketed grain for everyday consumption. More and more people -- especially wage-workers in agriculture, in rural industry, or both at once -- therefore became vulnerable to shortages and price rises. Result: an unprecedented amount of contention over control of food.

Craft monopolies divided the crafts themselves. Large masters commonly evaded those portions of the old regulations that limited the numbers of their journeymen and apprentices, and that confined them to workers duly approved by the local artisans. But large masters also held jealously to their control of the market. Small masters commonly sought to maintain the corporate structure and the restrictions on quality guaranteed, with decreasing effectiveness, by gilds. Workers fought the efforts of masters and entrepreneurs to undercut them by hiring cheaper, less well-organized, outside labor. Journeymen, expelled from the gilds by their masters, formed compagnonnages to defend their rights, and continued to use them after the legal abolition of trade corporations in the 1770s. Small masters against large masters, compagnonnages against all masters, rival compagnonnages against each other, all local workers against outsiders -- as capital concentrated, conflict intensified.

With respect to land, the crown generally acted to promote its transformation into disposable property, to strengthen the rights of owners, to discourage multiple use rights in the same land. Customary hunting became poaching. Customary gleaning and gathering became trespassing. Customary scratching out of a corner of the wasteland became squatting. All became offenses to be punished by manorial and royal courts. Landlords and their managers rationalized their estates, revived old dues, brought their rent-books up to date, pushed for or against enclosure of commons depending on whether their incomes came mainly from cultivation (commons undesirable) or grazing (commons desirable). All in all, their actions reinforced the positions of the more prosperous peasants -- whether renters or owners -- and pushed smallholders toward the rural proletariat. In the agrarian world, then, large landlords fought with organized communities over dues and over control of common resources, while poor people resisted the loss of their rights to hunt, fish, glean, pasture, gather wood, and patch together an existence from a hundred clever uses of the common ground.

For France's ordinary people, the eighteenth century fused the costs of statemaking with the burdens of capitalism. A fiscal policy favoring those who loaned their capital to the state and extracted it from the people, a food policy favoring the shipment of local supplies wherever merchants could get the highest price, a strenuous effort to break monopolies of workers over local employment, an encouragement of bourgeois property in land -- all these features of government action forwarded the interests of capitalists. Among the great eighteenth-century ministers, no doubt Turgot had the clearest view of this program. He self-consciously advocated the accumulation of capital, the elimination of small farmers, and the spread of wage-labor in agriculture and industry. It would be hard to make the call for capitalism more emphatic. But all French governments of the later eighteenth century helped make such a program a reality. They trampled the interests of ordinary people.

Alliances of capitalists with statemakers produced a conglomerate opposition. On the implicit principle that the enemy of my enemy is my friend, petty producers, tradesmen, small peasants, proletarians, lawyers, officers of Parlements, and Protestants all joined in resistance to royal power. During the eighteenth century, the crown took to direct attacks on the Parlements and on other institutions blocking access to its potential income. Those attacks solidified the opposition. They helped the national network of lawyers and Parlementary officials to become the opposition's connective tissue. Several times before 1789, large parts of the opposition reached the point of sustained defiance to royal command -- reached, that is, a revolutionary situation. In 1789, the addition of a significant subsistence crisis intensified the revolutionary situation by simultaneously lining up exceptional numbers of poor people against royal officials and by displaying, yet again, the inability of those officials to put down the poor in the absence of broad support from the rich.

In all these regards, the Ile de France had pride of place. Through the latter half of the eighteenth century, the struggle of the Parlement of Paris with the crown provided the chief signal and symbol for the crown's opponents elsewhere. As the marquis d'Argenson confided to his diary for 28 November 1751:

> Yesterday morning appeared a decree of the King's Council suspending a number of consumption taxes: droits rétablis, 4 sous par livre, etc. That will make life cheaper in Paris. The preamble says the act is due to the dearness of bread, and will last until bread prices decline. All this has made people say that the government is afraid of the people, who could rebel, seeing the Parlement in revolt and giving the example; that it took the step improperly, with craven fear, that it would never have done so without the speeches against the government, without the shouts of the assembled people when the Dauphin entered Paris, and so on (Argenson 1865: VII, 47).

(When reading this analysis, it is worth remembering that the marquis' father, Voyer d'Argenson, had been Chancelor -- and scourge of the Parlement -- during the Regency of Louis XV). With the acceleration of direct taxation and governmental borrowing of the Seven Years War (1756-1763), the Parlements of France tightened their alliances, deepened their resistance, and lined up more solidly than ever beside the Parlement of Paris.

A paradoxical situation emerged. One might have thought that royal institutions and ennobling offices would bind dignitaries to the crown ideologically, as they did financially. In fact, almost the opposite occurred. On the whole, places

with Parlements and other courts full of officeholders mounted the most serious opposition to royal policy from the 1750s to the beginning of the Revolution. Note the numbers of ennobling offices, as of 1789, in the capitals of our five regions:

Paris	1055
Dijon	187
Montpellier	175
Toulouse	172
Lille	17
Angers	2

(source: Shapiro & Dawson 1972)

The list describes the approximate rank order of resistance to royal will. Where officeholders and institutions proliferated, three crucial things happened. First, in the process of creating offices and institutions, the crown also cemented rights, privileges, and veto powers. Second, the courts, assemblies, and other institutions nominally serving the king gave their occupants means of meeting, forming common programs, and broadcasting those programs to a waiting public. Third, officeholders developed a strong interest both in limiting the crown's further indebtedness and in sustaining the ability of their institutions to bargain for the payment of their salaries. To the extent that they added matters of principle and of regional rights to these considerations, the Parlements and other sovereign courts became formidable bases of opposition.

With the suspension of many Parlements, including the Parlement of Paris, from 1771 to Louis XV's death in 1774, their opposition became visible throughout the nation. The Paris Parlement even acquired a popular following in its own home territory; that following lasted until the end of 1788. At that point, the Parlement, restored to its functions after two more periods of exile and faced with popular demands for a thorough housecleaning, aligned itself with the crown in defense of its own privileges. Then the Estates General, soon to become a National Assembly, took over.

Thus occurred a series of switches worthy of the Fronde. The Parlements soon abandoned a revolution they had made possible; when ordinary people demanded the curtailing of privilege, popular demands began to threaten the Parlements' own enormous privileges. The capitalists against whom ordinary people first directed their revolutionary action divided sharply; those whose strength lay in land and fiscal privilege generally clung to the threatened monarchy, while those who took their advantage from control of capital and professional skill soon leaped over the masses to lead the opposition to the crown. Even royalty divided: The king's brother, comte de Provence, maintained his Palais Royal as an island of free speech forbidden to the police, while the duc d'Orléans (father of the Louis-Philippe who became King of the French in 1830) cast his lot decisively wth the opposition in 1787 -- and suffered exile for it before going to the guillotine, in 1793, for his ties to counter-revolution. Only the bloc of ordinary people remained more or less constant; ordinary people were certain that they wanted food at a feasible price, equitable and moderate taxation, checks on speculators, and guarantees of employment. Their alliances changed, but their interests remained the same.

What Barbier Saw, 1718-1762

No eighteenth-century observer saw all this coming. In fact, no eighteenth-century observer saw the whole range of events that might have signaled the approach of great changes. But two observant bourgeois of Paris chronicled many of the crucial conflicts before the Revolution. Between them, Edmond-Jean-François Barbier and Sebastian Hardy kept detailed journals for almost every year from 1718 through 1789.

Barbier was a lawyer who never married. He lived all his life -- from 1689 to 1771 -- in the house his father had bought in the rue Galande. From 1718 (when he was 29) to 1763 (when he was 74) he kept a journal of epigrams, songs, verses, decrees, gossip, and faits divers running seven volumes in manuscript and four in expurgated print (B.N. Fr 10285-10291; Barbier 1847-1856). He never missed a royal wedding, pregnancy, birth, malady, or death. Bad weather, high prices, juicy scandals, exceptional celebrations, and spectacular executions found their way unfailingly into his notebook. Amid the historical bricabrac, Barbier also reported the great conflicts and movements of the day: royal and ecclesiastical attempts to put down the too-rigorous Jansenists, resistance of the Parlement to wartime taxes, chains of food riots.

No substantial movement entered Barbier's record until 1720. In May of that year came a popular rebellion against the Parisian Watch. They were tramping through the city looking for vagabonds to arrest, with the strong incentive of a bounty at 100 sous per captive. The Watch made the mistake of trying their skills in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine: "Everyone came into the streets and rose up with clubs and other weapons. They fell upon the archers, who fired the pistols they were carrying. At that, the crowd beat the archers up. A dozen of them went to the Hotel-Dieu for trepanning" (Barbier 1847-1856: III, 139).

That same year the so-called Law System collapsed. For two years, the Scottish banker John Law had been working to convert French national debt into shares of the Company of the Indies, and in the process to arrange a hidden devaluation of the debt. In echoes of the Fronde, petty bourgeois and Parlementarians alike protested the attack on the guaranteed annuities (rentes) that constituted the mainstay of their income. Become Comptroller General in 1720, Law made his bank the agent of the conversion, and limited the amount of paper money anyone could withdraw. The run on Law's bank in the Palais Royal (where Barbier reported 15,000 people jammed into the narrow rue Vivienne on 17 July) first left a score of people trampled to death, then had crowds milling with threats to break into the palace.

For its opposition to Law's maneuvers, the Parlement of Paris found itself exiled to Pontoise. On the first of September, when Barbier strolled up to the Etoile with many other people to watch the fine folks return from the Bezons Fair, he saw the "lackeys" and "populace" call attention to Law's livery and stone the carriage in which Mme. Law was passing by (I, 50). Just after Christmas, Barbier noted the triumphant reentry of the recalled Parlement from Pontoise -- its popularity the more surprising because it had just given in to the king by registering the anti-Jansenist papal bull Unigenitus. He saw that the Parlement was becoming the focus of popular opposition to royal power.

To be sure, Barbier missed some of the other conflicts of 1720 in Paris and its hinterland. He failed to mention, for example, a strike of Parisian journeymen printers, and the battle with tax-collectors that stirred up Ville d'Auray on 21 January (Kaplan 1979: 39; A.N. G7 443). The following year, on the other hand, he did note a free-for-all between the servants of great nobles and the guards at the Fair of St. Germain (I, 77-78). In 1721 he also chronicled the vengeance of spectators at the whipping of a thief: When the thief's victim called for the hangman to whip harder, the crowd sacked the victim's house (I, 79-80). Barbier's journal likewise mentioned the arrival of a peasant delegation from Saint-Cloud at the Palais Royal (the Regent's seat) to ask compensation for the damage done to their fields by the crowd at a local festival; the destruction by a crowd numbering "five or six thousand people" of the stocks set up near the house of M. d'Erlach, captain of the Swiss Guards, for the punishment of a servant who had insulted Captain d'Erlach's wife; and the throngs who went to visit the captured highwayman Cartouche in prison, then watched his breaking on the wheel (I: 95, 107-115).

Through the 1720s, we find Barbier continuing to report popular vengeance against too-zealous punishment, an occasional food riot or strike, and pitched battles between rival groups of young men. He neglected, for some reason, the repeated encounters of toll- and tax-collectors with unwilling customers. Yet he kept on noting such curious conflicts as the one besetting Big Thomas, tooth-puller on the Pont-Neuf, in September 1729. Thomas proposed to celebrate the birth of a Dauphin by holding a free dinner for all comers on the bridge; after the Police Council forbade the dangerous gathering, disappointed diners who arrived broke the windows of Thomas' nearby house (I, 297-298). In the 1730s, Barbier seems to have noticed rather more public demonstrations of support for the Jansenists (in the form, for example, of mass attendance at the funeral of a prominent Jansenist priest) amid the celebrations and condemnations. An unlikely but definitive fusion of Jansenism, Gallicanism, and the defense of Parlementary privilege was occurring. It became a popular cause to the extent that it opposed the arbitrary power of pope and king.

In the 1740s resistance to conscription for the militia joined the catalog of prominent conflicts. So did attacks on the police sent out to pick up beggars; the police were rumored to be sending their victims -- men, women, and children -- off to populate Louisiana. (Recalling that moment, glazier Jacques-Louis Menétra mentioned another rumor: "They were taking young boys and bleeding them to death, so the blood could bathe a princess stricken with an illness that only human blood could cure"; Menétra 1982: 34; in Barbier's version of the same tale, the blood-bather was a prince.)

Small run-ins among police, vagrants, and people who came to the vagrants' defense were everyday affairs in Paris. On 28 January 1749, for example:

> G. Delacroix, brigadier of the Hospital Archers, was going through the rue Dauphine with his brigade this morning. They arrested a beggar, who by his shouts and résistance aroused the populace so much that for his safety, and to avoid the mistreatment they were preparing to give him, Delacroix and his brigade had to let the beggar go. When he and his brigade were passing the shop of Auger the hatter, someone threw several potfuls of water and urine from the third storey, which encouraged the populace to gather again and to throw stones (Farge 1979: 149).

The greatest of all such conflicts came in May 1750. On Friday the 22d, several Parisian crowds attacked policemen accused of seizing children, and sacked the houses in which they took refuge. On Saturday, people besieged a house sheltering a police spy near the Church of Saint-Roch. A member of the Watch shot a man in the belly. The crowd responded by smashing the house's door and windows. Finally the police gave up their spy: "The people . . . massacred him in a trice; they dragged him by the feet, head in the gutter, to the house of M. Berryer, Lieutenant-General of the police, who lives near Saint-Roch." "We haven't seen such a sedition in forty years," commented Barbier (III: 133, 136). At that point, he reported, the resistance to the "kidnapping" of beggars was spreading through the provinces, and providing the occasion for a major series of battles in Toulouse.

During that decade of the 1750s, however, Barbier's journal gave more space to the intensifying controversy over Jansenism, and to the closely-related struggle between Parlement and King. He neglected the simultaneous intensification of industrial conflict, as well as multiple conflicts over the price and supply of food. Toward the end of the decade, once the Seven Years War was underway and news of French losses in Canada coming in, Barbier was recording another triumphant return of Parlement from exile, and its resistance to the imposition of war taxes. He was also noting the claims of some provincial parlements and pamphleteers to speak for the Nation as a whole. By 1763, at war's end, he described the great struggle between the Parlement of Toulouse and the king's representative, the duc de Saint-James. During the year's last days, an assembly of dukes and peers was meeting in Paris to condemn the Parlement of Toulouse for its presumptuous treatment of one of their own (IV, 481-483). On that prophetic note, Barbier's accounts of conflicts ended.

What Hardy Saw, 1764-1789

Barbier's neighbor Sebastian Hardy took up the chronicle in 1764, and continued

to 1789. Hardy, born in Paris in 1729, entered the booksellers' gild in 1755. His shop, marked with a golden column, stood on the rue St. Jacques near the rue de la Parcheminerie, about 80 meters from the corner of Barbier's rue Galande. As a literate and well-connected shopkeeper with pignon sur rue on one of the Paris' major arteries, he could easily keep his eye on the city's comings and goings. That he did: His eight manuscript volumes for twenty-six years set down an even fuller account of Parisian affairs than Barbier's seven volumes for forty-five years (B.N. Fr 6680-6687; the one published volume contains an abridgement of the portion of the journal running from 1764 to 1773).

Like Barbier, Hardy made it a point to record rumors about public figures, seditious posters, major edicts, royal celebrations, colorful crimes, and the incessant executions at the Place de Grève. In the 1760s, he had the chance to record the dastardly doings of the marquis de Sade, just as news of Beaumarchais, Voltaire, and Benjamin Franklin entered his notebooks for the 1770s. Open conflicts only went into the journal as a small part of the news.

During the 1760s, nevertheless, Hardy caught wind of a major food riot in Rouen (1768) and a rebellion against kidnappers of children in Lyon (1769). He mentioned another exile of the Parlement of Brittany (1769). In Paris, he paid little attention to the important industrial conflicts going on during that decade, but noted the city's occasional brawls, kidnappings, and popular rebellions against municipal and royal authorities.

On 4 July 1768, for example, archers tried to arrest a young man for debts in the rue St. Honoré, and the young man fled into a shop. The archers followed, attacking both the shopkeeper and his wife. Then:

> A Body Guard who witnessed the scene was outraged to see them mistreating the woman. He took sword in hand and fell furiously upon the archers. That increased the disturbance, and many other people joined in. The battle grew, lasting three hours despite the calling of Watch squads from several neighborhoods (B.N. Fr 6680).

This was one of the two basic scenarios for the Parisian brawl: Either (as in this case) a struggle began with resistance to a repressive act by authorities, or members of two competing groups began battling after an encounter between them tripped off a dispute about precedence, deference, and honor.

In the 1770s, Hardy continued to note the brawls, but he also reported more frequent food riots, agitation over exile and recall of the Parlements, and burnings of ministers in effigy -- plus occasional news of the rebellion against England in far-off America. The 1770s did not begin auspiciously. To celebrate the marriage of Marie Antoinette of Austria to the Dauphin, grandson of the king, the city put on a great show of fireworks at the Place Louis XV. The fireworks were spectacular but, according to one count, 132 people died in the streets near the Place, crushed and trampled by the crowd (Carnavalet 1982: 77-78). The event augured the disastrous reign to come when the Dauphin, as Louis XVI, occupied the throne in 1774.

Among the many struggles over food in the 1770s, Hardy reported "popular emotions" in Caudebec, Toulouse, and Reims during July 1770, then a "considerable uprising" in Besançon during August 1771 (B.N. Fr 6680). If no food riots entered Hardy's journal for 1772, the following year made up for the omission; Aix, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Albi, and Marmande all appeared on the roster for the spring of 1773.

Yet 1774 and 1775 left the previous years far behind. At the death of Louis XV in 1774, Turgot replaced the unpopular abbe Terray as Comptroller General. True to his beliefs, Turgot tried to stimulate commerce, and therefore wealth, by freeing the grain market from local, regional, or national administrative intervention. He insisted on his principles despite the poor harvest of 1774. He took a chance, and lost.

1775, year of the Flour War (Guerre des Farines) brought a chain of local rebellions to Paris' hinterland. On the 15th of March, Hardy noted the price of bread for the first time that year; it had risen six deniers, from 11 sous 6 deniers to 12 sous for a four-pound loaf. From that time on, Hardy recorded each price rise. For the market of 26 April, he registered an increase to 13s. 6d., reported a series of provincial food riots, and singled out the one in Dijon. There, he said, "the populace invaded the house of the Sieur de Saint-Colombe, counselor of the late Maupeou Parlement, who was known to be one of the grain monopolists; they upset and broke everything, and searched for him everywhere." Well, not everywhere: Saint-Colombe managed to hide in a coalpile. The crowd also sacked Saint-Colombe's country house, carrying off the grain and fodder (B.N. Fr 6682).

Soon after followed "popular emotions" in Pontoise, Saint-Denis, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Versailles, and other places near Paris. People began to say that the king's coronation, scheduled to occur in Reims on 11 June, would be postponed because of the "fermentation". In Versailles, on 2 May, people forced bakers to sell their bread at 2 sous a pound, and declared "that the same thing would happen everywhere, including Paris" (A.N. K 1022). The Flour War's critical battle occurred in Paris itself the very next day. At the market of 3 May, the price of a four-pound loaf rose to 14 sous. People began to seize the bread in the market, then to break into the shops of bakers who did not open and yield their stocks freely. This time Hardy saw action close up: A crowd entered the house where Hardy lived in the Place Maubert, and made him turn over the key to his storeroom so they could search for hoarded grain. They broke into the shop next door to seize the bread a merchant from the local market had stored there, and likewise entered the nearby shop of Hardy's brother-in-law.

Hardy therefore had the chance to notice several interesting things about the "pillagers": that they were mainly women and children, that they took care to leave untouched other merchandise than bread, that at least some of them insisted on paying for their bread at 2 sous per pound, about three-fifths of the current market price. After a slow start, police and troops cleared the streets. Armed guards protected each bakery for about two weeks, and patrolled the markets until November. In between, a number of "seditious posters" appeared on Paris' walls. One of them read:

> Henry V was assassinated.
> Louis XV just missed.
> Louis XVI will be massacred before he is crowned (B.N. Fr 6682).

(Louis XV had been "just missed" by Damiens' assassination attempt in 1757.) Although grain riots ceased with the harvest of 1775, Paris had one last battle in the central market, over the price of eggs, in February 1776. Then, in 1776, food riots left Paris for a dozen years; they only revived in mid-1788. Outside of Paris, conflicts over food also declined. The large rebellion of Toulouse in 1778 was an exception -- and, in any case, not so much a food riot as a struggle between militia and municipality.

As the storm had grown around bread prices in town after town, a tempest had blown about the Parlements. In his New Year's Day notice for 1772, Hardy wrote that:

> Today personal letters from Rouen told me that agitation is growing from one day to the next because of the establishment of the High Council (Conseil Supérieur). Almost all members of the council had to leave town for fear of being assassinated. The cure of Saint-Maclou didn't dare leave his parsonage, where he was more or less held hostage by the poor of his parish, whom he couldn't help for lack of resources. The clergy, the nobility, indeed all the orders of Normandy seem ready to rebel against the policies of the Chancelor, which are beginning to hurt them badly (B.N. Fr 6681).

"The Chancelor" was Maupeou, whose High Councils were supposed to become an improved alternative to the recently exiled Parlements. A few days into the new year, a crowd in Rouen forced Ficquet de Wormanville, a president of the new High Council, to get out of his carriage, kneel in the mud, and promise never again to attend meetings of the unpopular body. About the same time, people had posted a death sentence and built a gallows to hang Ficquet and intendant Crosne (who also served as First President of the council) in effigy. The government sent troops to Rouen. The events of Rouen set off hopeful but false rumors of the Chancelor's firing. Later in the year, Hardy saw graffiti on Paris walls: **Maupéou scoundrel, a Chancelor for hanging, a villain to draw and quarter.**

When Maupeou finally did go into exile in August 1774, the people of Compiegne (temporary seat of the government) stoned his carriage. Soon people were burning dummies of Maupeou and Comptroller General Terray in the squares of Paris. In the Place Dauphine, the Chancelor's dummy was made of a laundry can stuffed with straw, topped with a head and bedecked with an old judicial robe; people there announced a **Decision of the Parlement, which sentences Sieur de Maupéou, Chancelor of France, to be burned alive, his ashes scattered to the winds** -- a punishment immediately visited upon the dummy. Two days later, the new Maupeou mannequin burned at Henry IV's statue on the Pont Neuf was stuffed with fireworks. On 12 September, yet another crowd at the Place Dauphine innovated; with grotesque funeral ceremonies, they buried an effigy of the abbe Terray.

In July 1774, the people of Compiegne and Paris had signaled as directly as they dared their opposition to the new king's apparent intention to maintain his late grandfather's policies: When the king's carriage passed by, they remained quite silent. ("My people are rather fickle," remarked the king, "but I forgive them. They have no idea what good things I plan to do for them": B.N. Fr 6681). But the people knew their preferences: When the king finally sacked Maupeou, crowds began to shout **Long Live the King.** When the king recalled the old Parlement in November 1774, Paris' fishwives gave their customary homage: they sent a delegation with bouquets of laurel to call on the returning dignitaries. As a focus of popular displays of support and opposition, the struggle of king and Parlement practically disappeared until the crisis of the later 1780s.

In 1775, amid the many conflicts over food, came news of the return of the provincial Parlements to their functions. Then that struggle, too, subsided for years. During the later 1770s, Hardy's journal carried more news about insurgents in North America than about any in France. In 1777, for example, the closest thing Paris saw to rebellion was the arrival in Versailles of the few members of a peasant delegation from Alsace who had escaped arrest by royal troops en route; they had set out to complain of the corvees imposed by their abbot overlord. An occasional turnout, a fight over precedence in processions, attacks on customs guards, student brawls marked the next half-dozen years.

During the early 1780s, indeed, a street-level observer would have to have been clairvoyant to know that a revolution was in the offing. The new decade did, to be sure, bring controversies over such subversive books as Choderlos de Lenclos' Liaisons dangéreuses, Mercier's Tableau de Paris, and Rousseau's Confessions. (In his entry for 17 June 1782, Hardy called the Confessions "singular and bizarre": B.N. Fr 6684.) But the great public events included the first balloon flights by the Montgolfier brothers of the Vivarais, the triumphant return of the marquis de Lafayette from the American war, the end of that war in 1783 and, the previous year, celebrations for the birth of another Dauphin.

A note of governmental caution entered the planning for those celebrations. As Hardy noted:

> To divide the people and amuse them at the same time, the Prevot des Marchands and Echevins took the precaution to place the dance halls with orchestras, the distribution of bread, wine, and meat as well as quarters of turkey in different parts of the capital, such as the new grain market in the St. Honore quarter (it was beautifully arranged), the new veal market in the Place Maubert quarter, and the old half-moon of the Boulevard Saint-Antoine, etc. etc. (B.N. Fr 6684, 21 January 1782).

Two days later, they held a masked ball in the Hotel de Ville, with illumination and fireworks in the adjacent Place de Greve.

The open conflicts of the early 1780s likewise had an almost frivolous air. Hardy noted substantial student battles with guards in 1780, 1781, and 1784, the last of them a rebellion of rhetoric students against an unpopular examination question. In the summer of 1784, night after night, there was a charivari near the Palais de Justice on the occasion of the marriage of a sixty-year-old widow fruitseller to a younger goldsmith to whom she signed over the property previously destined for her children. That winter, people snowballed the carriage of Lenoir, Lieutenant General of Police, after his efforts at organizing snow removal proved ineffectual.

At first glance, 1785 resembled its predecessors: it began with the first crossing of the Channel in a balloon, continued with the arrest of Beaumarchais for a sassy letter printed in the Journal de Paris, and ended with students of the College Mazarin beating up a wigmaker's helper as they came out of class. But 1785 also brought conflicts recalling the popular mobilization of a dozen years earlier. That year people formed English-style Klubs (as Hardy spelled them) in the free zone of the Palais Royal. A round of industrial conflicts began, and continued into the next year. At the start of May, Lenoir barely averted a small rebellion when butter in the central market went to 42 sous per pound (by November, consumers were forcing the sale of the high-priced spread below its current market value). Shortly thereafter, processions of villagers began to troop through Paris' streets to the new St. Genevieve church in order to pray for an end to the terrible drought. In June, a song set to the tune of the vaudeville of Beaumarchais' new Figaro was circulating at the expense of Lenoir's reputation. The fourth verse ran:

Voiez ce Ramas de Cuistres,
Prêtres, Moines et Prélats;
Procureurs, Juges, Ministres,
Medecins et Magistrats;
Ces Uniformes sinistres
Leur tiennent lieu de Scavoir;
Ah! Que d'ânes sous le Noir . . . Bis

(B.N. Fr 6685).

All this had the breath of revolt.

Revolt likewise appeared in the reports from Coueron, near Nantes, where early in July more than a thousand inhabitants gathered to tear down hedgerows and cut all the fodder on the land leased from the crown by four or five seigneurs. 1785 brought a large strike of construction workers, in the course of which the aggrieved journeymen turned out all the construction sites, held an assembly in the Place Vendôme, and marched to Lenoir's office to demand a hearing. Paris also produced a brawl among Swiss mercenaries, other soldiers, and civilians at the Palais Royal, and a forced sale of butter in the central market. 1785, then, was a conflict-ridden year.

So were all the years that followed, right up into the Revolution. 1786 opened up with concerted resistance of Parisian errand-boys to a new syndicate the government had organized for package delivery; the errand-boys' action included a march to Versailles, on 11 January, to complain directly to the king. Other workers followed: journeymen carpenters of Paris claiming their continued right to carry off wood scraps from the job, workers of Lyon protesting a new innkeepers' tax imposed by the bishop, on account of which the innkeepers had simply shut their doors, and so on.

Hardy Sees A Revolution

Although 1785 and 1786 certainly brought plenty of tumult, in 1787 the quality of conflict changed. It took on a revolutionary edge. In convoking the Assembly of Notables for February 1787, the king and his ministers hoped to circumvent the obstructive Parlements, discover ways of reducing or supporting the budget-breaking national debt, and introduce a program of administrative reform. They failed. Royal popularity declined. The fishwives of Paris, for example, cancelled their customary 14 August march to Versailles to give the queen a bouquet on the eve of Assumption.

Only pressure from Lieutenant General of Police Thiroux de Crosne, reported Hardy, made the fishwives go salute the king on 25 August, the feast of his namesake St. Louis.

By mid-August, the king was again exiling the Parlement of Paris -- this time to Troyes. Immediately after, he sent his brothers to hold lits de justice (sessions in which the king imposed his authority directly, personally, and arbitrarily on a legislative process) with the Chambre de Comptes and the Cour des Aides, in order to legitimate new taxes. When the Parlementaires arrived in Troyes, they received heroes' welcomes.

Law clerks, as usual, moved quickly into action. They burned edicts and wrote seditious placards, as other people attacked police spies in the street. While the clerks of the Chatelet talked of occupying that court, while the Chatelet's general assembly sent a deputation to the king deploring the exile of Parlement, troops began to patrol the courtyard and surroundings of the Palais de Justice. Meanwhile, news arrived of the Bordeaux' Parlement's exile to Libourne, and of statements supporting the exiled Parlements from their colleagues elsewhere who were still in place.

Late in September, the king gave way; he suspended the contested new taxes in favor of a supplement to the old ones, then recalled the Parlement to Paris. Predictably, celebrations -- breaking of shopfronts, setting off of firecrackers, burning of Calonne's effigy, and so on -- began around the Palais de Justice. When the special session of Parlement began, people cheered and fishwives presented their bouquets to returning judges. Thus began a new series of confrontations between Parlement and monarch, these over a great loan to cover the mounting debt. The king sought to weaken the Parlement by excluding princes and peers from its deliberations, exiling the fractious duc d'Orléans, and arresting two leading counselors. Nor did Paris have the only confrontations: As the year 1787 drew to a close, Hardy heard that Louis sent troops to Libourne. The king sought to force Bordeaux' exiled

Parlement to choose between two unpleasant alternatives: a) registering the latest decrees (this time creating provincial assemblies) and b) dissolving.

The Parlements did not give up. On 17 January 1788 the Parlement of Paris sent a full, formal deputation to the king in Versailles; they were to plead for the recall of the duc d'Orleans and the release of their two imprisoned colleagues. It was the first of many postulant parlementary parades, all of them rebuffed to some degree. From Toulouse, early in March, arrived the news that royal agents had arrested the Advocate General of that city's Parlement and forced an irregular registration of the latest tax law. Crowds in Toulouse showed their support for the Parlement, and tried to burn the house of Languedoc's military commander. Six weeks later, royal agents in Toulouse dissolved a royal regiment, many of whose officers refused to take part in the arrest of the Parlement's Advocate General.

Paris' Parlement continued to send solemn remonstrances to the king, and the king continued to bypass them. Hardy began to speak of "the future revolution" -- not the overturn of the monarchy, but on the contrary the monarchy's destruction of the Parlement. On the night of 4 May, royal police made an unsuccessful attempt to arrest two counselors in Paris. The following day, while the Parlement's delegation was in Versailles vainly seeking to protest once more, troops surrounded the Palais de Justice. They allowed no one to enter or leave. They demanded the surrender of counselors Duval and Goislard. Members of the shouted "unanimously", wrote Hardy, **WE ARE ALL DUVAL AND GOISLARD. YOU'LL HAVE TO ARREST US ALL!** (B.N. Fr 6686). After farewell speeches, nevertheless, the two counselors gave themselves up the next day, 6 May. As they rode off in a carriage, people who were gathered near the Palais de Justice almost succeeded in liberating them. (Two days later, young people chased the arresting officer, the Comte d'Argoult, from the Place Dauphine.) Reflexively, the rest of the Parlement immediately enacted a formal request for their liberation.

Confrontation was sharpening. At the lit de justice of Versailles on 8 May, the Parlement actually refused to register royal decrees involving major reorganization of France's courts and fiscal administration. About this time, Hardy began to use the word "patriot" to described principled opponents of the king.

News of patriotic opposition arrived from Toulouse, Rouen, Rennes, Aix, and especially Grenoble. In Toulouse, the Parlement went so far as to have the intendant of Orleans, bearer of the king's orders, arrested and barred from the city. Still, the central action continued to happen in Paris: unauthorized deliberations and refusals to deliberate on the part of lawyers at the Châtelet, cheers for subversive stanzas at the theater, declaration of employees of the king's own Grand Council that they would not cooperate with the proposed new courts, and so on. On 25 May, Hardy mentioned a poster at the Palais de Justice reading:

> Palace for sale,
> Counselors for rent,
> Ministers to hang,
> Crown to give away.
> (B.N. Fr 6686)

Ten days later, Hardy opined that "In the disorder caused by the current Revolution, royal securities had lost their value, and it was impossible to carry on any commercial dealing" (B.N. Fr 6686, 5 June 1788). Minor battles between police and street crowds multiplied. Although law clerks continued to spearhead the attacks, they did not work alone. On 16 June, for example, a crowd made the police release a group of migrant agricultural laborers they had arrested in the rue des Lombards.

Word came of near-insurrections in Dijon, Rennes, Pau, and Grenoble, not to mention pugnacious declarations from a half-dozen other Parlements. Of Grenoble, Hardy heard that 5,000 armed men had descended from the mountains to defend the members of the Parlement from royal sequestration, forced open the city gates, dragged the Parlement's First President back into the city, sacked part of the city, and fought royal troops in the streets Those events, which occurred on 7 June, came to be known as the Day of Tiles. In July, the king's men jailed a dozen delegates of Brittany's nobility after they arrived in Paris to lay their grievances before the king and then began to organize support for their claims; the Bretons stayed in the Bastille until September. Paris' anonymous posters began to threaten a general rebellion. What is more, Hardy started to note blockage and seizure of grain or bread in the provinces; it was a dozen years since food riots had occurred on any scale. Armed guards reappeared in the markets of Paris. The city returned to the qui-vive of the mid-1770s.

In August, noisier celebrations than ever before greeted the resignation of chief minister Loménie de Brienne and the naming of Necker as chief minister. On the 27th, people at the Place Dauphine watched a mock trial of Cardinal Brienne, complete with dummy in episcopal robes. "After having carried the mannequin to the equestrian statue of Henry IV," wrote Hardy, "and after having pushed him down on his knees before the statue, they carted him all around the square. Then, after reading him his death sentence, and making him ask forgiveness of God, the King, the Judiciary, and the Nation, they lifted him into the air at the end of a pole so everyone could see him better, and finally threw him onto an already-lighted pyre" (B.N. Fr 6687). The ringleaders -- no doubt mainly law clerks -- likewise read a mock decree against Chancelor Lamoignon, who was responsible for the sweeping judicial reorganization the government was attempting. Late that night run-ins near the Palais de Justice between troops and youngsters produced serious injuries.

Early in the evening of the 28th, the Watch blocked off entries to the Place Dauphine. La jeunesse, secondée par une populace nombreuse (as Hardy described them) attacked the blockades and killed three soldiers. About fifty people left the fray wounded (B.N. Fr 6687). By the 29th, the Watch had managed to align many

young people against it. That night, reported Hardy,

> Toward seven o'clock at night, the Foot Watch and the Horse Watch having been ordered not to appear in the Palace Quarter, and the rowdy youngsters, backed by the populace, who had planned to come declare a sort of open war on the Watch, were emboldened by their absence; the youngsters began to gather on Pont Neuf and at the Place Dauphine, in the interior of which people had to close all the shops and illuminate all the facades of all the houses along with those of the rue du Harlay. Toward nine o'clock the populace of the faubourg St. Antoine and the faubourg St. Marcel came to swell the number of the local smart alecks. The disorder grew and grew; instead of sticking to lighting firecrackers, which were already bothersome enough to the inhabitants, they then lit a big fire in the middle of the Place Dauphine. They fed the fire with anything they could find in the vicinity, such as the sentinel's guardhouse from the Pont Neuf near the statue of the bronze horse, the stands of orange and lemon merchants in the same place, which were made of simple planks, and the grills of poultry merchants from the Quai de la Vallee, all at the risk of burning the nearby houses. On that fire they burned the effigy of Monseigneur de Lamoignon, the current French Minister of Justice, after having him do public penance for his wrongdoing (B.N. Fr 6687).

Before the night ended a large crowd had confronted the Paris Guard in the Place de Greve, and seven or eight people had died (Rudé 1959: 32). With the threat of new gatherings, with an attack of the guardhouse of the Ile St. Louis, and with bread prices still rising, detachments of Watch, French Guards, and Swiss Guards were soon patrolling Paris' markets and gathering-places. Supplementary troops arrived in Paris on 5 September. Inevitably, confrontations between troops and civilians took place. A case in point is the scuffle between French Guards and a lemonade vendor at the St. Martin Gate on 13 September; when the troops ordered him to move, he resisted, and bystanders supported him.

The next day, Chancelor Lamoignon lost his job, and the festivities of the Place Dauphine began again. (Lamoignon was heir to the fief of Basville, once the seat of Languedoc's sturdy intendant Lamoignon de Basville; hence it was no great trick for the day's versifiers to turn out sarcastic eulogies dedicated "a Basville Lamoignon", which easily read aloud as "a bas, vile Lamoignon". Six months later, the rejected Lamoignon took his rifle out to the middle of his Basville estate, and shot himself to death.) This time the burning dummies represented not only

Lamoignon and Brienne but also Chevalier Dubois, commander of the Watch. When the king recalled the Parlement of Paris a week later, celebrations, parades, firecrackers, illuminations brightened far more of the city than the Place Dauphine. At once the Parlement, which had already put a ban on fireworks, issued a decree forbidding contentious gatherings.

In the days to come, nevertheless, contentious gatherings continued. News arrived of Necker's suspension of work on the controversial new customs wall ringing Paris (that suspension, for all its popularity in other quarters, put 4,000 men out of work); there was word of the return of provincial Parlements to their home towns; of a new Assembly of Notables; of more popular resistance to the Watch's policing of the streets; of ever-rising bread prices; but, for the rest of the year, not of food riots.

Food riots came in the early spring of 1789. Before the food riots, struggles between nobles and Third Estate in Rennes and Fontainebleau. Then, publication of Sieyes' temporarily anonymous pamphlet "What is the Third Estate?", which Hardy called "singularly interesting" (B.N. Fr 6687, 3 February 1789). Finally, word of "revolts" in Reims, Toulon, and Nancy "caused by the price of bread" (B.N. Fr 6687, 17 March and 3 April 1789). It was nearly time for the long-awaited Estates General. After mid-April, Paris' 60 districts met to elect their delegates and draft their complaints. Then came the turn of the city-wide assembly. The Third Estate of the prevote and vicomte of Paris assembled at the Archbishop's palace, as troops patrolled the city outside. Then and later, Paris' Third Estate rejected the efforts of nobles to join their assemblies; for the time being, they sought to keep distinct the interests of different estates.

Hardy at the Edge of Rebellion

In the midst of the meeting and negotiating came a near-insurrection. On the afternoon of Monday 27 April, in Hardy's account, "Parisians had quite a scare, to the

point that people closed their shops in a number of areas. There was a sort of popular insurrection that extended from the Faubourg Saint-Antoine to the neighborhood of Notre Dame. A considerable share of the workers supposedly from that faubourg, whipped into action by brigands, attacked Reveillon, a very rich manufacturer of figured paper, and another rich individual called Hanriot, a saltpeter manufacturer, both friends and residents of the faubourg" (B.N. Fr 6687).

Reveillon and Henriot had argued in their Third Estate electors' assemblies for restraints on workers' wages, coupled with controls on food prices to keep real wages constant. Reveillon was, in fact, engaged in the assembly's deliberations when the attack on his house occurred. It was not the first time Reveillon's name had made the news. A former worker now successfully in business for himself since the 1750s, Reveillon was well known as the buyer of La Folie Titon, a splendid house on the rue de Montreuil. With more than 400 workers, he was one of the faubourg's greatest industrialists. In 1777, he had obtained a decree from the king's council breaking a strike by paperworkers at his shop in Courtelin-en-Brie (A.N. AD xi 25, 26 February 1777). In October 1787, Reveillon's gatekeepers, man and wife, were said to have enlisted a helper and killed one of Reveillon's own workers (B.N. Fr 6686, 9 October 1787). Reveillon had gained the reputation, in short, of becoming very rich at workers' expense.

During the night of 26-27 April, angry workers gathered in the Faubourg Saint-Marceau, on the Seine's Left Bank, to complain of Reveillon and Henriot. The next day, Monday the 27th, a file of workers marched from Saint-Marceau toward the Archbishop's palace at Notre Dame; there, the electoral assemblies of clergy and Third Estate were meeting. Faced with the possible threat of a popular invasion, the clergy announced they were giving up their privileges, while the Third Estate sent a delegation to intercept the marchers at the Place Maubert. Their delegates succeeded in deflecting the march.

Next reports had the workers burning effigies of Henriot and Reveillon at the Place de Grève before moving down the rue Saint-Antoine to the faubourg. Blocked by French Guards from reaching Reveillon's house, they rushed off to sack Henriot's instead. On Tuesday the 28th, gatherings of workers formed in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, the Lieutenant-General of Police stationed 350 French Guards near Reveillon's house, another detachment of workers crossed the river from the Faubourg Saint-Marceau, and thousands of people milled in the streets. The duc d'Orleans, returning from the races, passed through. He gave an impromptu speech and distributed money to his audience. When the duchesse d'Orleans appeared in her carriage, soldiers deferred to her by opening the barricades that blocked the rue de Montreuil. Assembled workers followed her through the ruptured barricade, broke into Reveillon's house, dragged out and burned much of its contents, drank up the splendid wine cellar, and fought off the additional troops sent to stop them. Before the workers lost their battle, a dozen soldiers and several hundred invaders were dead.

Then, as night follows day, repression followed the battle's end. On the morning of 29 April, Hardy breathed a bit easier. " . . . the Faubourg Saint-Antoine," he wrote later, "had finally become a little calmer, because of the precaution of filling it with troops of every sort, and of placing two artillery pieces loaded with shrapnel at the faubourg's entry near the guardhouse of the Horse Watch, in order to intimidate them. They had also stationed a substantial armed detachment of the Royal Cravatte cavalry regiment in the Place de Greve, while seven-man patrols of French Guards and Swiss Guards circulated in various neighborhoods with bayonets on their guns" (B.N. Fr 6687). "They" took care to convict two looters (a blanket-maker and a longshoreman) the same day, and to hang them in the Place de Grève, jammed with protective troops, the day after. Interrogations and trials took almost three weeks. On 18 May, royal judges condemned to death Pierre Jean Baptiste Nicolas Mary (a twenty-four-year-old scribe

at the Palais de Justice) and Marie Jeanne Trumeau (a forty-year-old meat vendor, and wife of an errand-boy). According to the sentence:

> On the afternoon of 28 April, said Mary, at the head of a large band of people, snatched swords from two people on the main street of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, saying that he wanted to use them against the troops. Armed with the two swords, he marched at the head of the band and said things to encourage the assembling, rioting and sedition that was going on in said Faubourg Saint-Antoine. Then, still followed by a large band, he went through different neighborhoods of the city and by words, deeds, and menacing gestures alarmed and frightened those he met. He is likewise seriously suspected of having taken part in the riotous gatherings of the previous day, and (along with his accomplices, armed with faggots) even of stopping people in their carriages and announcing their intention to hurt an individual whose house (and that of another individual) were wrecked as a result of the assemblies, riot, and sedition. Said Marie Jeanne Trumeau, wife of Bertin, with words of the most violent sort, encouraged people to loot and sack Sieur Reveillon's paper factory, even though (as her testimony says) she considers Reveillon to be an upright man and a friend of the poor. At the moment of the riotous assembly she handed out faggots and clubs to various people, in fact forced some people to take them, telling them to join the band, showing them a passage leading into the factory. After the pillage, finally, she distributed pieces of wallpaper rolls, shouting **A la Reveillon** (A.N. Y 10530).

Both were to hang at the Saint-Antoine Gate. Trumeau, declared pregnant, escaped with her life, but Mary died for his deeds. Five others went to the galleys, while the 26 remaining prisoners went free after the Revolution accelerated in July. Henriot, frightened, fled to Vincennes, and then disappeared from view. Reveillon took refuge, of all places, in the Bastille. He later completed his trajectory by emigrating to England.

King vs. People

One week after the crowds cursed Reveillon and Henriot in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, the Estates General opened in Versailles. The atmosphere of Paris was ominous: After the sacking of Reveillon's house, according to Hardy, the authorities had tripled the guard. Squads of fourteen cavalrymen, sabers drawn, were patrolling the streets, as contingents of ten members of the Watch went around on foot. As rumors of maneuvers at the Estates General filtered in from Versailles, word of food riots in distant provinces reached Paris. But the troops kept Paris quiet.

The anxious calm lasted a month. On 22 May, street vendors began selling copies of the sentences given Mary, Trumeau and others convicted in the Reveillon affair. They left the Chatelet prison that day in carts bearing the words séditieux or pillards, and followed the path of ceremonial entries to the city in reverse: first to Notre Dame for public penance, then to the Place de Grève, finally down the long rue Saint-Antoine, well-protected by troops, to the Place de la Porte Saint-Antoine. There, next to the Bastille, the gibbet, stocks, and branding irons awaited them.

Nevertheless, no insurrection greeted the execution of Mary and the punishment of the other pillards. The closest Paris came to rebellion in those days was in the rue Saint-Andre-des-Arts on 25 May: Police spies arrested beggar women in the street, and bystanders forced the spies to give up their captives. The genuine rebellion developed in Versailles, where (on 19 June) the Third Estate's assembly declared itself the national assembly and later, barred from its meeting place, gathered at the Tennis Court to swear its determination to stay together.

That brought Parisians to Versailles once again. The king, making the best of a bad job, addressed the Third Estate on 23 June. Finance minister Necker, disapproving of the too-limited reforms the king then proposed, stayed away. Word began to spread that the king had dismissed Necker. That night "the worried people", in Hardy's phrase, rushed from Paris to Versailles, made their way into the castle, and demanded to see the king. Ordered to raise their weapons, the royal guard put them down instead. The crowd stood its ground. Only the appearance of Necker himself ended their siege.

That resistance of the military at Versailles started something. In the next few days, several companies of soldiers assigned to patrol Paris refused the duty. On the 28th, a mutinous group of soldiers went to the Palais Royal (by now the headquarters of popular orators) and announced their refusal to serve. When their colonel imprisoned fourteen of them, three hundred people marched from the Palais Royal to the jail, demanded their release, and brought them back to the palace for a triumphant dinner. During the next few days, two crowds freed prisoners from the hands of the police. Although the king had been building up troops around Paris from the moment of the Third Estate's defiance, the authorities began to lose internal control of the city.

Then the rumor became fact: on 11 July, the king dismissed Necker. The next day, Sunday the 12th, the orators of the Palais Royal -- including Camille Desmoulins -- were out in force, and met enthusiastic audiences. A crowd of thousands, bearing black flags and wax busts of Necker and the duc d'Orleans, paraded through the streets. The marchers fought royal troops in the Place Vendome and the Tuileries. More serious still, a detachment of French Guards joined the crowd in an attack on the German regiment that was attempting to clear the Tuileries. "It was not without indignation," reported a law clerk from the Châtelet,

> the the people saw all that military force. Everyone from the Palais de Justice went to the Place Louis XV with the busts of the duc d'Orléans and M. Necker, and approached the troops, insulted them, threatened them, and threw stones at them. The soldiers, seeing themselves attacked in this way, lost all control, fell on the people with gunfire and swords. But the people didn't give up. The stones that were there for the construction of the new bridges served them as ammunition (B.N. Fr 13713).

The German mercenaries eventually withdrew. But in the meantime Paris came close to open warfare.

The alliance of French Guards and ordinary people had not ended. That night, French Guards stood watch at the Chaussée d'Antin as "poorly-dressed people" sacked and burned the tollhouse; 40 of the city's 54 tollhouses suffered a similar fate during the night (Godechot 1965: 241). At the Picpus gate, according to the toll collectors there, around 4 A.M. on the 13th

> we saw a troop of brigands coming by the rue Saint Denis . . . They asked us whether we were with the Third Estate. We said yes. They dishonestly called for us to work with them. Far from obeying them, we hurried away and took refuge in the house of Mr. Duret, master wigmaker and owner of a house in the faubourg Saint-Antoine opposite the tollgate. Being in a room on the first

> floor of that house we saw all those brigands through the window. One held a sword, another a mace, and others various offensive weapons, with which they started to break the windows of the tollbooth, then went into the tollhouse and took the effects out of all the rooms, and stacked them up on the street. Then two of said criminals (one of whom was Coeur de Bois, known as a smuggler, and armed with a bare sword) went, with their arms, to the house of someone inside the gate and got a light. Then the two criminals came back and set the effects they had stacked on the street on fire.

By the time the Garde Bourgeoise had come to chase them away, the "brigands" had burned everything in the offices (A.N. Z 1a 886). Although we have no report of celebrations at Picpus, at other tollgates Parisians danced around the ruins. As the festivities went on, the ever-active fishwives went out beyond the customs wall, cut a young tree, carried it back into the city, and planted it at the very middle of the Tuileries, in sight of the royal palace (Ozouf 1977: 46).

Early the following morning, the 13th, French Guards joined the group of local workers and petty bourgeois who broke into the Saint-Lazare monastery, freed the prisoners detained there, drank up much of the monks' wine, carried off rich food, and took 53 wagonloads of grain to the central market for sale. Freeing prisoners was very much the order of the day: That morning, Hardy reported the appearance of a poster calling people to break open the Bicêtre prison at 5 P.M. the same day, the 13th of July. Around 11 A.M., he recorded, the keeper of the Force prison had to open his gates and liberate his prisoners. People were in action everywhere: The tocsin sounded in parish churches, calling citizens to their local assemblies. Many of the assemblies formed civic militias, and marched them through the streets to maintain order. Militias needed weapons; many of the citizen-soldiers spent their day searching for stores of arms. A delegation from the city's main electoral assembly, at the Hôtel de Ville, went to the Invalides to ask for arms; the governor stalled by sending the request on to Versailles.

At the Hôtel de Ville itself, the militiamen met with 80 deputies from the Estates General. Around 8 P.M. Hardy saw

> "seven or eight horsemen of the Third Estate, followed by about three hundred soldiers of the French Guard, of the grenadiers and other units, armed and marching to a drumbeat, led by sergeants and without officers, followed by a considerable multitude of insurgents armed in many different ways and dressed in a great variety of uniforms; they, too, had drums. They were going, people said, to the Place de Grève, to greet the eighty deputies from Versailles when they arrived at the Hôtel de Ville" (B.N. Fr 6687).

The electoral assembly at the Hotel de Ville stayed in session all night. That night, the popular militia patrolled the city's streets. During the night, under their protection, groups went to demand grain from other presumed hoarders, including the monks of the Charterhouse.

The next day, however, was the 14th of July. The tocsin sounded again, recalling citizens to their district assemblies. Early in the morning, another delegation -- this one thousands strong, including many citizens wearing blue and red cockades -- showed up to demand arms from the governor of the Invalides. After fruitless maneuvering, they broke in. The invalided veterans who manned the fortress made no more than a show of resistance; the invaders carried off their guns. Then, for ammunition, they went off to the other end of the city, to the Bastille. As Hardy told the story:

> . . . people went to the castle of the Bastille to call the governor, the Marquis Delaunay, to hand over the weapons and ammunition he had; on his refusal, workers of the faubourg Saint-Antoine tried to besiege the castle. First the governor had his men fire on the people all along the rue Saint-Antoine, while making a white flag first appear and then disappear, as if he meant to give in, but increasing the fire of his cannon. On the side of the two drawbridges which open onto the first courtyard, having pretended to accept the call for arms, he had the gate of the small drawbridge opened and let in a number of the people who were there. But when the gate was closed and the drawbridge raised, he had everyone in the courtyard shot. That included three of the city's electors . . . who had come to bargain with him. Then the civic militia, indignant over such barbarous treatment of fellow-citizens, and backed by grenadiers of the French Guard . . . accomplished the capture of the castle in less than three hours (B.N. Fr 6687).

The victors moved on to the nearby Arsenal, where they seized powder for their guns. Permanent Committee chairman Flesselles was leaving the Hôtel de Ville for the Palais Royal to defend himself against charges of betraying the city to royal troops. (Only three months earlier, the king had appointed Flesselles *prévôt des* marchands to replace Le Peletier de Morfontaine. Le Peletier had resigned in protest against the king's decision to put the election of deputies to the Estates General under the direction of the royally-controlled Châtelet rather than the Hôtel de Ville. Parisians, then, had some reasons for thinking of Flesselles as the king's creature.) In the Place de Grève, Flesselles received a mortal gunshot wound; the crowd paraded his severed head. That night the bodies of the Bastille's governor, of the powder-keeper of the Arsenal, and of two Invalids hanged for firing on the people lay exhibited at the Place de Grève. By 9 P.M. people throughout Paris had lighted their windows as they did for the celebration of royal births, marriages, and military victories. The militia had its arms, the people its castle, and the nation its next step toward revolution.

The 15th of July confirmed the popular victory. As the king made a conciliatory speech to the Estates General in Versailles, the district assemblies met again in Paris, the civic militia drilled, people began to tear down the Bastille stone by stone, and royal troops in great numbers arrived at the Place de Grève to throw in their lot with the people of Paris. Over the next few days, many troops joined them. At the end of the day members of the National Assembly arrived by carriage from Versailles, climbed down, and marched to the Hôtel de Ville surrounded by militiamen and their popular following. From there, once again mimicking the solemn old routines, they went to Notre Dame for an impromptu Te Deum.

Only two days later, the king himself followed the deputies' routine: On the 16th, he had given in to the popular demand, recalled Necker, and withdrawn the troops ringing Paris. Then, the next day, he made a pilgrimage from Versailles to Paris. On the 17th, he left his bodyguard at the city limits, got out of his carriage, and walked amid a hundred deputies and two hundred horsemen of the civic militia to the Place de Grève and the Hôtel de Ville. No Te Deum for the king: He left without going to Notre Dame. Louis XVI departed via the Place Louis XV, soon to be the Place de la Revolution.

"On thinking of the events that have happened since the beginning of the week," reflected Hardy, "it is hard to recover from one's astonishment" (B.N. Fr 6687; 17 July 1789). The insurrection, in his opinion, had saved the city from invasion and massacre by 30,000 royal troops. An uneasy alliance formed: The city's ordinary people atacked the powers of the old regime, as the city's bourgeoisie built an alternative structure of government. Assemblies, committees, militias, delegations, civic ceremonies began to supplant the forms of royal power. Paris lay at the command of its assemblies, and under the close surveillance of its various citizen militias. Theaters were closed, and the city gates remained under tight control. Poor people saw that their victory over the tyranny of tolls did not last: The taxes on goods entering Paris reappeared, now under the militia's protection.

After all the excitement, the city went into its revolutionary routines: continual meetings of its district assemblies, patrols of its new military forces, speeches and debates at the Palais Royal. Parisian authorities began a search for grain in the city's hinterland. From Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Corbeilles, and elsewhere in the surrounding region came word of insurrections over the food supply. The Parisian law clerks' militia, in fact, took part in the pacification of Corbeilles.

Another detachment of militia went off to Compiegne to fetch back Berthier de Sauvigny, intendant of Paris, who was widely accused of treason. Meanwhile, residents of the village of Viry brought in Foulon, Berthier's father-in-law and former king's councillor, reputed to have said that the hungry people could eat straw. Nicolas Ruault, a bookseller who was at the Place de Greve when Foulon arrived, said that the peasants who had captured Foulon had put a rope of straw around him in place of his sash of office. When Foulon's executioners displayed his severed head to Berthier, Foulon's mouth was stuffed with straw. Then it was Berthier's turn to die. "In an instant," wrote Ruault, "his body was slashed to ribbons. His bloody head and heart were carried into the electors' meeting room. Such a spectacle made the marquis de Lafayette tremble with horror. He immediately resigned as colonel of the bourgeois militia. But the city officials pleaded with him not to abandon them in those terrible moments; he took back his post" (Ruault 1976: 158).

For the Place de Grève, that was the end of the massacres, the start of the celebrations. The city's authorities stepped up policing around the Hôtel de Ville. When Necker came to Paris on 29 July, patriots illuminated the Palais Royal: "Under each arcade of the galeries," reported Hardy, "they had placed a chandelier surrounded by varicolored lanterns; everywhere one saw transparencies with the words **Vive le Roi, vive la Nation, Vive Mr. Necker.** The eleven arcades of the Klube (sic) were likewise lighted, but in a more unusual way: In the middle, they had placed a transparency with the words **Klub National** and on the two sides transparent portraits of the king and Mr. Necker" (B.N. Fr 6687). A concert capped the celebration. The next day, a great crowd greeted Necker at the Place de Grève, and the city as a whole illuminated.

Over the next two months, Paris and its region witnessed a remarkable contrast. On the one hand, within the city group after group publicly pledged its allegiance to the popular cause. Beginning with the second week of August, for example, many trades and parishes sent processions -- militia, banners, drums, and festively-clothed civilians -- into the streets. Trades sent their members in marching order, while parishes commonly sent a priest with their women and girls in white, bearing blessed bread. Just as the time-honored ceremonial march from Paris to Versailles took on a certain assertiveness, the parish processions synthesized the old penitential parades for divine intercession in drought or famine with the new declarations of popular allegiance to the movement of resistance. The processions' most common path led from the group's regular locale to the church of St. Genevieve, to Notre Dame, and then to the Hotel de Ville; that was, for example, the route of the fishwives of the central market on 18 August. Some of these processions combined their affirmations of faith with demands for work, food, or civil rights; thus bakers' helpers paraded to the Hôtel de Ville on 14 August, asking for work, and servants went to the Palais Royal on 29 August to ask for full citizenship.

Outside the city, on the other hand, one place after another produced a fight over food. On 2 August, a crowd in St. Denis decapitated the deputy mayor when he resisted the sale of bread at below market price. On the 25th, "brigands" (in Hardy's word) kept the millers of Pontoise from grinding their grain. In Charenton, on the 27th, a crowd tried to burn the local mill. Versailles saw an "insurrection" against a baker on 15 September, Chaillot the capture of five wagons of grain on the 16th. In Paris, meanwhile, armed guards reappeared in the markets and at bakeries. On 17 September, a group of women marched to the Hôtel de Ville to complain about bakers' profiteering. On the 18th, as Belleville sent its procession to St. Geneviève, a crowd at the Pont au Change complained of hunger and called for an insurrection, and bakers struck back by breaking into the shop of a bookseller on the rue Saint-André-des-Arts who had published a pamphlet attacking them. Through it all, the Parisian militias spent much of their time on expeditions into the Ile de France, seeking hoards of grain. The classic struggle of city and country over the food supply had begun again.

The mixture of celebration and struggle continued, but the issues broadened. On 27 September, at Notre Dame, the Archbishop of Paris blessed the flags of the city's newly-formed National Guard. Lafayette commanded and, by Hardy's estimate, eight or nine thousand people attended. On the 29th, a crowd gathered at the church of St. Jacques de la Boucherie to protest the fees asked for the burial of a journeyman carpenter, and forced the guard who tried to block them to do penance at the poor man's coffin. The next day some of the same people returned to the church with a cantor who claimed he had unjustly lost his job, and demanded that the cure rehire the cantor.

Yet these conflicts were nothing as compared to the women's rising of 5 October. Women of the markets went to the Hôtel de Ville, entered, and seized a stock of guns there before rushing off to capture the law clerks' cannon. The tocsin sounded, and National Guards by the thousands gathered in the Place de Grève. Then they went their way to Versailles, demanding "bread and the constitution". Lafayette had little choice but to go with them and tell the king about the city's troubles. He and a great mass of his National Guard accompanied several thousand women to Versailles. The following day triumphant women brought the royal family back to the Place de Grève. During the next few days crowds thronged the Tuileries to catch a glimpse of the captured king. On the night of the 9th, according to Hardy's journal, the National Guard patrolling the streets near the Tuileries fought "fake patrols" that were preparing to sack houses and the civic pawnshop in the neighborhood.

Soon Hardy fell silent. With extracts from the king's declaration that he would live without pomp in Paris, and -- when things were a bit calmer -- make a tour of the provinces to hear people's problems for himself, Sebastian Hardy closed his journal on 12 October 1789.

Barbier, Hardy, and Eighteenth-Century Contention

Barbier, Hardy, and other Parisian observers saw a great deal, but they did not see everything. In France's eighteenth-century contention, religious war occupied an important part of the scene; Barbier and Hardy saw none. Tax rebellions and smaller-scale resistance to taxation declined from their seventeenth-century intensity, but continued nonetheless. The attacks on Paris' tollgates were only a faint echo of action elsewhere. Smugglers and revenue officers fought repeatedly on the provincial and national frontiers; they had little to do with each other in Paris. Conscription brought on resistance in village after village. Communal struggles -- rival groups of artisans, adjacent villages, youth groups at each other's throats -- loomed much larger elsewhere in France than in Paris. In Paris one saw almost nothing of the repeated attempts of rural people to hold off landlords' encroachments on their common rights. Although food supply did figure importantly in Paris, one had to enter the hinterland to appreciate the frequency with which rural people blocked the departure of grain from their own territories.

During the eighteenth century as a whole, struggles of peasants and rural proletarians against landlords became more widespread and acute in Burgundy and Languedoc than in Anjou, Flanders, or the Ile de France. In Flanders and the Ile de France, capitalist agriculture had long since established its domination, and food for the rural landless was a more pressing issue than was enclosure or rackrenting. Anjou had split into areas of intensive cash-crop farming and semi-capitalist landholding, but was experiencing relatively little change in its agrarian structure; the economic news there came mainly from the growth of rural industry. Burgundy and Languedoc, on the other hand, hosted landlords who were actively expanding their control over commons, woods, wastes, and their own lands, in order to increase their sales of wines and wheat. They swept aside the rights of smallholders, who fought back as best they could. Those real issues meant little to Parisians.

Despite the absolutely crucial part played by Paris in the national revolutionary movements of 1787 to 1789, furthermore, the provinces had their own grievances and forms of action. Provincial Estates and Parlements certainly responded to signals from the Parlement of Paris, but many of them fought their own vigorous battles with intendant and king. Not only in the Ile de France, but also in Languedoc and Burgundy, the Parlement led popular resistance until late in 1788. In provinces lacking their own Estates, such as Anjou, the 1787 reforms brought in provincial assemblies, which offered the regional bourgeois a new forum for their views, and a more direct connection with royal power than they had previously enjoyed. Although the assemblies had only limited powers, and operated under the intendant's watchful eye, they rapidly became sites of contention over taxes and provincial liberties. It was not in Paris, but in smaller cities that municipal revolutions occurred; in Dijon, Lille, Toulouse, Angers, and elsewhere groups of bourgeois seized power from the previous authorities within a few weeks of the Bastille's fall.

Conflicts in smaller cities, to be sure, had something in common with those of Paris: In the hard days of July, the inability of the old municipality either to supply adequate food or to suppress the protests of poor people over food shortage typically precipitated the local crises. Dijon's people rose on 15 July, before the news of the Bastille's fall reached Burgundy. Angers had its great day of popular rebellion on 17 July, Lille on 21 and 22 July, Toulouse on the 27th. In each case, a renewal of the municipality followed. Groups that seized power ordinarily came mainly from the local bourgeoisie, drew some support from the local proletariat, and proceeded by organizing both an emergency committee and a militia. Revolutionary committees, in their turn, linked municipalities to the Parisian leadership.

If there was any quintessentially revolutionary act in France as a whole, it was the seizure of power over municipality after municipality by committees acting in the name of the Nation. Once those committees and their militias formed a national network centered on Paris, the French had temporarily succeeded in an effort of centralization the monarchy itself had never accomplished. They had substituted direct, centralized rule for the mediated, indirect rule of the old regime. With the eventual capture and freezing of that structure by the Directory, the Consulate, and the Empire, France had created a truly centralized structure extending all the way to the smallest commune. No king had ever built such a structure. The first version of that new system of government, the shaky coalition of 1789, involved an unprecedented articulation of Paris and the provinces.

Likewise, struggles in the countryside articulated with those of Paris. After the visible weakening of the monarchy in mid-July 1789, people who had accumulated grievances against merchants and landlords finally dared both to strike at presumed hoarders, to attack such scourges as nobles' dovecotes or rabbit warrens, and to burn the papers with which landlords had been backing their claims to commons, tithes, and dubious rents. Flanders and Languedoc give us our prime examples of such struggles, but Burgundy and the Ile de France were not far behind. Even Anjou followed, in its way. Paris was marvelous, but it was not the whole world.

Remember those intendants who in 1698 described their provinces for the heir-apparent to the crown. What would they have made of those provinces' condition just ninety years later, in 1788? None, surely, could have anticipated the great struggles of 1787 and after. No doubt all would have predicted a royal victory over internal opposition rather than a faceoff between a bankrupt monarchy and a fearsome coalition of its former victims and allies. Yet they had at least some elements of a valid projection. As of 1698, for example, the spectacle of a financially-overextended government seeking to maintain its credit and yet to keep on spending was all too familiar. Repairing that government, sustaining it, and minimizing the costs of its wrongdoing gave them their daily work.

In their zeal to maintain the crown's sources of credit and to generate new taxable income, furthermore, intendants were hesitantly promoting commercial and agricultural capitalism. Purchases of office, loans of money, bids to farm taxes, attempts to create new industries, efforts to increase grain exports all looked desirable, since they seemed to solve the monarchy's pressing domestic problems. Those very activities, however, placed restraints on the government. The monarchy acquired obligations to repay, to consult, to favor the generators of new income. Those activities also caused the hardships about which ordinary people became angry: encroachment on commons; local food shortages; threats to small, independent artisans; oppressive taxation; forced sales of inferior salt; prosecution for hunting, gleaning or gathering wood; shooting of smugglers.

France's government did not cause these evils on its own; indeed, administrators had enough concern about all of them to mitigate their effects when they could. Of the eighteenth century's great popular grievances, only the imposition of conscription, the raising of taxes for war, and the attempt to enforce religious conformity grew mainly from royal initiatives. For the rest, commercial and agricultural capitalists bore significant responsibilities. But by collaborating with those capitalists and authorizing their profit-taking, the French monarchy took on the stigma of their misdeeds. King Louis and his agents paid the price.

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