***“By referring to the representation, and using your own knowledge, explain the events that led to the Tennis Court Oath on June 20, 1789.***

*Firstly, from their arrival at the Hall of Mirrors on May 5 1789, the Third Estate were treated as second (or third) class citizens. However, the Third Estate refused to check the credentials of its’ members until the issue of voting by head was resolved.  Secondly, during the 3 week stalemate, the Third Estate deputies debated their place within the Estates General. Soon, leaders such as Bailly and Mirabeau (represented in the foreground) began to emerge.  For them, the Third Estate were the true representatives (96%) of the nation. Thirdly, during this time, the Third Estate invited members of the First Estate to join them, however they initially voted not to 133 to 114. On the 13th and 14th of June, a number of Clergyman joined the Third Estate.  On 17th June, the group of ‘commons’ announced themselves to be the National Assembly.  As seen in the David’s representation, the First Estate were welcomed with open arms and to great applause. Finally, On June 20th, following a séance royal from Louis XVI, the National Assembly locked themselves on the famous Tennis Court in Versailles, refusing to disperse until France had a Constitution. (192)*

***“Evaluate to what extent the representation is useful in explaining the role of the second and third estates in the French Revolution. Refer to other views in your response”***

*David’s “The Tennis Court Oath” is one of the most revealing, and therefore, useful explanations of the role of the second and third estate in the revolution. Here we can see the union made by the clergy and bourgeoisie to give France a constitution. The 2nd estate, however, still chose to remain separate from the other two estates.  As seen during the meeting of the Assembly of Notables and Parlements of Paris (1787-88), historians remain divided over the nobilities’ true desire for power.  We know they resented King Louis XIV and XV’s attempts to restrict their say in government. Historians like Rude and Soboul believe the noble’s main purpose was to “defend their own privileges.” Whereas Simon Schama acknowledges the liberal cahiers of the Second Estate that called for an end to unequal taxation.  Leaders such as liberal noble Lafayette, a member of the Society of Thirty, would come to join the cause of the revolution and Third Estate, on June 27th 1789, including the King’s cousin Duc D’Orleans, joining the rebels in the National Assembly.  This was a truly revolutionary act.  However, historian Andress, believes while the nobles “were finding new ways of thinking”, they still had no intention of giving up their privileges in the ‘social order.’ While the revolution started as an ‘aristocratic revolution’ in the Assembly of Notables and Parlements of Paris, it soon became a ‘bourgeoisie revolution’, by 1789. As the 2nd estate lost popularity with the Third estate it would soon become the hungry, sometimes violent urban workers of Paris that would be seen as a potential threat to lives of the nobility, during events such as the Reveillion Riots of April 27th 1789 and Fall of the Bastille July 14, 1789.  (288)*

***“By quoting from the representation, and using your knowledge, explain why the Cahiers doleances came to be drafted in 1789”***

*In the years leading to the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789, the French economy faced a number of crises.  Firstly, Frances finances were in turmoil.  The American War of Independence (1778-83) cost the government over 1060 billion livre and in 1788 left them with a deficit of 126 million livres, causing Louis XVI to declare bankruptcy in Aug. 1788.  Secondly, the government finances, along with the bad harvests of 1788, put strain on the French people, especially the poorer members of the Third Estate.  With bread prices rising to 14-15 sous a loaf, equating to 80% of a peasants income.  Thirdly, with the government on the verge of bankruptcy, Calonne proposed a reform strategy that involved equal taxation for each Estate.  The Assembly of Notables of 1787 refused suggesting only the Estates-General could approve new taxes.  For liberal nobles such as the Nobility of Blois, “happiness ought not be confined to a small number of men.” Finally, when the Parlements of Paris were ‘exiled’ for refusing Briennes reforms in 1787, and Louis XVI’s lit de justice “it is legal because I will it” caused an aristocratic revolt and the Day of Tiles (7 June 1788).  The King had no choice but to declare the meeting of the Estates General for May 1789 requiring a list of cahiers to be drawn up by each estate. (225)*

***“Explain to what extent the representation presents a reliable view of the range of grievances in France of the ancien regime up to May 1789. Refer to other views in your response.”***

***“****The representation provides a reliable view of the grievances of the liberal nobility. While there were many liberal nobles, such as those in the Society of Thirty, desiring an end to “exclusive privilege”, from taxes and desiring equality for all citizens of France under the law, including personal liberties, there were many nobles that did not. These were the conservative nobles, who as McPhee points out sought a “wider political role for themselves”, while sharing power with elite members of the Third Estate. At the meeting of the Estates General, for example, when the nobility voted on the issue of voting by head or by order, they were claiming to be a separate estate. Both Rude and Soboul claim that while the aristocracy did revolt against the monarchy in 1787-1788 in the Assembly of Notables and Parlements, the clergy and nobility were making a “bid for an extension of power.” However, this initial push was then taken over by the rising bourgeoisie and common people. Simon Schama’s interpretations differ greatly stating the Assembly of Notables were the first revolutionaries and wanted to bring about “a more liberal political and economic regime.” Dylan Rees research also shows of “282 cahiers from the nobility, 90 reflected liberal ideas.” So while prominent nobles like Lafayette and Mirabeau were leaders of the revolution, the majority of nobles sought to defend their privileges. Furthermore, the Church, while divided on internal issues, sought to defend its monopoly on religion. Finally, the document does not reveal the peasants radical calls for an end to absolutism and seigneurialism, grievances Markoff points out the nobles rarely mentioned in their cahiers. (271)*

**c. Using your knowledge and the representation outline the events of July-August 1789 that led to the Night of Patriotic Delirium.**

**Firstly**, the food crisis of 1789 hit a critical level with bread costing around 12.5 sous per loaf and 35 000 troops were deployed around Paris (11th July, 1789), tension in the capital was rising between the King and the urban workers (represented as wearing trousers) and peasants. **Secondly**, the fall of the Bastille (14th July 1789) signified to the rest of France that the power of the monarchy could be defied by ordinary people. **Thirdly**, the fall of the Bastille inspired similar rural revolts around France in July and August, in places such as Bordeaux, Dijon and Nantes, where peasants took on a role by looting and destroying chateaux and grain stores as symbols of power, as seen in the representation on the ground. But this soon led to the Great Fear (July-August 1789) and peasants started arming themselves against imagined brigands as paranoia spread throughout the countryside. **Finally**, both the King and the National Assembly now had no control over France by the time of the Great Fear and the latter sought to end the rioting. However, when the National Assembly met to draw up plans on the 4th August 1789 (the Night of Patriotic Delirium) the more radical members, proposed to abolish the whole system of privilege, including serfdom, the corvée and feudal dues. (217)

**d. Evaluate to what extent this representation presents reliable evidence of the causes of the Night of Patriotic Delirium. Refer to other views in your response.**

*This primary visual source provides a very reliable insight into the role of the urban worker and peasants leading up to the Night of Patriotic Delirium. This cartoon, which depicts peasants destroying the symbols of the feudal nobility and the Catholic Church, seems to imply that the Great Fear (July – August 1789) brought down feudal society in the French countryside. Given the scale of the uprising, the nobles thought it best to relinquish feudal privileges rather than risk their property and their land, which were far more valuable.*

*Rudé concurs with this argument, stating that the peasant riots “compelled the Assembly to end feudal privileges”. Soboul and Lefebvre, however, argue that the bourgeois deputies in the newly formed National Assembly (June 17, 1789), concerned about the chaos in the countryside and the precedent that might be set through attacks on property, urged liberal members of the Second Estate to “renounce their privileges as an example to the conservative nobles.”*

*Schama disagrees and argues that the nobility in France were actually “citizen-nobles, inspired with patriotic liberty”. They were waiting for an opportunity to demonstrate their willingness to make sacrifices for the benefit of the nation, and the peasant uprisings provided just such a chance.*

*Therefore, while this document usefully depicts the role played by the peasantry in the collapse the feudal regime, it neglects to mention the role played not only by the bourgeois deputies but also the liberal and, perhaps somewhat more reluctantly, the conservative nobility. (237 words)*

1. **The cartoon refers to taxes and excises imposed on the people, using your knowledge and the representation; outline the extent of taxation that the Third Estate endured in the period up to 1789.**

*French citizens of the ancien regime were subject to an overwhelming burden of taxes and dues that were a part of their daily life. Firstly, this cartoon makes reference to the taille, the national income tax, as well as the corvee, goods and services that had to be exchanged in lieu of paying tax which could also be a form of conscripted labour that the third estate would do for their second estate landlords. Secondly, the Third estate paid a tenth of their income to the Church in the form of the tithe. Thirdly, the King could impose special taxes to deal with national debt such as the vingtieme, for example during 1781-87 to pay for the spiralling cost of France’s involvement in the American War of Independence (1778-1783). Finally, they were often forced to pay seignurial dues to the landlords of the second estate. For the poorest of the third estate, taxes and excises could amount to as much as 80-90% of their total income. (166)*

1. **Evaluate the extent to which this representation is useful in understanding the role of privilege as a contributor to the outbreak of Revolution in France by 1789. Refer to other views in your answer.**

*This cartoon offers some use in that it visualises many of the grievances that plagued the Third Estate as a result of privilege that was inherent in the estates system of the ancien regime. Specifically, the symbolism of the third estate carrying the burden of the other two estates and the entire nation. Noticeably, the peasant is also accompanied by the implements of agriculture with the plough. Furthermore, it’s useful because it clearly illustrates the division that existed between the three estates, and the unity between the 1st and 2nd estate who actively show no desire to assist the struggling peasant. Most Marxist historians would agree with the cartoonists depiction of the third estates injustices and inequities in the estates system that would lead to revolution by 1789. As Soboul notes, by the time of the writing of the cahiers, the bourgeoisie saw itself as “carrying the burdens of the nation as a whole.” In contrast, many historians would dispute the usefulness of this image because it shows an inaccurate distance between the estates. That is, not all third estaters were oppressed by privilege, with some even exploiting it for their own ends attempting to buy their way into the nobility. Furthermore, not all 1st and 2nd estaters were guilty of exploiting their privilege, such as liberal nobles such as Abbe Sieyes. The compte de Mirabeau, too, actively advocated for the rights of the third estate. George Taylor, a revisionist historian states, “the nobility and bourgeoisie shared the same values, they formed part of the same elite.” It was true that many wealthy bourgeoisie were attempting to buy their way into nobility, not eradicate it. (275)*