

**H.T.A.V EXAMINATION PREPARATION
SESSION,
2011**

SESSION 2

**FOR STUDENTS DOING
FRANCE IN SECTION B**

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**WHAT MIGHT BE THE MOST HELPFUL REVISION
FOR YOU AT THIS POINT?**

- Contents for today's presentation:
- Examiners' suggestions about the examination in general. Apparently very obvious, but clearly still very necessary. Be patient ...
- One sample answer on Section B, Part 1, an image for AOS 1: Revolutionary Ideas, Leaders, Movements and Events.
- Three sample answers on Section B, Part 2, the short essay for AOS 2: creating a New Society.
- Revision of the key issues covered by AOS2.

**WHAT MIGHT BE THE MOST HELPFUL REVISION
FOR YOU AT THIS POINT?**

- Suggestions about analytical writing and historiography.

YOUR 2011 EXAMINATION

First, let's listen to what the examiners suggest ...

These practical hints are the basics for coping well with the examination ...

GOLDEN RULES:
Obvious but clearly still necessary

- Each year, the examiner's reports make it clear that numerous students under-perform simply because they are not aware of some of the basic understandings of an examination.
- These suggestions will seem very obvious as we sit here today, and yet it seems they are often forgotten in the pressure of the examination situation.
- May I therefore ask you to be patient while I mention, in advance, some of the common mistakes *before* you do the exam, not *after*.

GOLDEN RULE 1:

Walk into the exam with a time strategy, and stick to it!

**GOLDEN RULE: HAVE A TIME STRATEGY, AND
STICK TO IT**

- Make sure you have a time strategy for the examination.
- The 'official advice' is 4 x 30 minute equal sessions, but ...
- Some students favour 'shaving off' another 8-10 minutes for the essay. Discuss this with your teacher.
- Make sure you have chosen which will be your Revolution A and B, and prepare your notes accordingly.

**GOLDEN RULE: HAVE A TIME STRATEGY, AND
STICK TO IT**

- Your strategy could also include a plan to do the paper in your preferred order.
- The 'official advice' is that it is better to do the examination in the order it is written (1 > 2 > 3 > 4)
- Some students favour writing their essay first (4 > 1 > 2 > 3).
- Some students like to write a document first (2 > 1 > 3 > 4).
- You may like to leave one section while you think about the question ... but do remember to return to it!

GOLDEN RULE 2:

Know the paper!

GOLDEN RULE: KNOW THE STRUCTURE OF THE PAPER

- Make sure that you know the architecture and layout of the paper.
- Although it has recently been redesigned to make it user-friendly, an alarming number of students in 2009-2010 still answered the wrong parts of the paper.
- In some cases, students have been so confused that they have attempted to answer all questions ... and have of course, failed. Others have missed whole sections of a question.
- The only way to do this is to download an actual paper from the VCAA website, complete with other revolutions such as China and America, and to practice finding the sections you are going to fill out.

GOLDEN RULE 3:

Know what the examiners want!

GOLDEN RULE: KNOW THE MIND OF YOUR EXAMINER

- Make absolutely sure you have read the examiner's report on the 2009 and 2010 examination.
- It can be downloaded from the VCAA website.
- This report works through last year's examination section by section, revealing the errors that students made, and explaining what the examiners actually wanted from each question.
- Although the questions may not be repeated in your exam paper this year, this report gives you an insight into what the examiners are looking for, and why students fail to give the required responses.

GOLDEN RULE 4:

Making the most of reading time!

GOLDEN RULE: USE READING TIME FOR INTENSE STRATEGIC THINKING

- A current examiner has stated that he believes many students do not use reading time effectively.
- He suggests that you read ALL THE PAPER for your two revolutions, because the parts you are not doing may contain useful details that you can quote in your answers.
- He also suggests that you 'mentally highlight' the command terms ('Analyse', 'Explain'), the key indicators ('political', 'economic') and date guidelines (by August 1789). You cannot actually mark your paper in any way in reading time.
- Then, when you are allowed to write, spend a minute actually highlighting key terms.

GOLDEN RULE: USE READING TIME FOR INTENSE STRATEGIC THINKING

For example:

- "Explain the extent to which financial problems contributed to the development of a revolutionary situation by June 1789."

should become:

- "Explain the extent to which (this means that it is partial, so you will have to actually say 'how much') financial problems (what about other problems?) contributed to the development of a revolutionary situation by June 1789 (your 'goalposts' of time are therefore all the way from 1781 to June 1789)."

GOLDEN RULE 5:

ATBQ!

GOLDEN RULE: ATBQ!

- Examiners frequently report that they mark answers in which the student has simply written down everything they know, in the hope that it will somehow answer the question.
- For some examinees, it is as if they have laid out a number of facts then handed them to the examiner, asking the examiner to work out for themselves how the facts answer the question.
- This is probably the worst cause of disappointment and frustration for examiners, who have no choice but to give low marks.
- Many would exclaim in anger: ATBQ! (ask your teacher ...)

You can put yourself far ahead of weaker students by explicitly addressing the terms of the question, and by concluding clearly how your facts actually answer the problem posed.

- "Explain the extent to which financial problems contributed to the development of a revolutionary situation by June 1789."
- 'Umbrella sentence': "The financial problems caused by France's heavy national debt and crippling interest repayments were one of the most significant amongst a number of causes of tension and conflict in the late eighteenth century, in conjunction with new political ideas on representation and the birth of public opinion."
- {GIVE ANSWER}

- 'Clinging sentence': "Thus, financial problems were indeed a prime contributor to a revolutionary situation by June 1789, because they necessitated a series of attempts at reform of the taxation system which, in conjunction with new ideas about taxation and representation, prompted the impasse at the Estates General and the constitutional revolution of the Tennis Court Oath."

• {YOU HAVE NOW ACTUALLY TOLD THE EXAMINER WHY YOU THINK FINANCIAL PROBLEMS WERE A CAUSE, AND HE/SHE CAN GIVE YOU A GOOD MARK}

**GOLDEN RULE 6:
REMEMBER TO
COMMUNICATE CLEARLY**

**GOLDEN RULE:
MAKE THE EFFORT TO COMMUNICATE TO YOUR
EXAMINER**

- Does written expression and presentation *really* matter? Short answer: Yes, it is crucial! The examiners regard it as your responsibility to communicate what you know clearly.
- They do not have the time or the responsibility to decipher illegible scripts.
- The Examiner's reports frequently complain about students who either cannot, or will not, write on a page in an orderly way.
- It is clear that students who are careless are seriously disadvantaging themselves.

**GOLDEN RULE:
OBSERVE THE MOST BASIC WRITING
COURTESIES**

- Remember, as you write, that somebody has to actually read your text.
- Write in full sentences, never use dot points.
- Write historical names fully, don't use abbreviations (you lose marks).
- Avoid, if possible, extensive crossings out and additional texts joined by lines and arrows.
- Remember to use indents to indicate where a new paragraph begins.

**GOLDEN RULE:
OBSERVE THE MOST BASIC WRITING
COURTESIES**

- Investigate the options for good pens. You should write in black or blue (not pencil!).
- Have a look at the so-called ink-gel pens, which write much more smoothly.
- Many students find the two hours of writing to be physically tiring. Be aware that there are pens with 'ergonomic' forms, and that these do make a significant difference to your comfort.

**GOLDEN RULE 7:
SHOW A COMMAND OF KEY
NAMES, DOCUMENTS,
EVENTS, DATES**

**GOLDEN RULE:
COMMAND OF KEY TERMS**

- The examiner has noted "A significant reduction in factual knowledge": The examiner noted that students still haven't understood that their first marks will come from an accurate factual knowledge of people, places, events and documents in the revolution. In some cases they could not even spell them.
- Make sure that you can spell key names, events and documents correctly. Examiners have received exam answers talking about Lois XVI in France and Lennon (John of the Beatles?) in Russia.
- Errors can make you lose marks directly (under the criterion of knowledge).

**GOLDEN RULE:
COMMAND OF KEY TERMS**

- Worse than that, they create the impression that you don't know what you are talking about. This is unfair, but it is so.
- To avoid this problem, make up a glossary page of all key names, especially terms in French (eg *philosophes*, *parlements*), and get their spelling correct from the start.

**GOLDEN RULE:
COMMAND OF KEY TERMS**

- In general, try to minimise the number of foreign words you have to learn. There is no need to remember 'cahiers de doléances' when you can write 'Books of Grievances'.
- There are just a few terms that you must learn in French, because they don't translate. Many students make up a hit-list of such terms, ensuring that they get the spelling right before learning them.
- These would include words like: 'parlements', 'sans-culottes', 'journée', 'Thermidor', 'Prairial', *fédéré*.

GOLDEN RULE 8:**LEARN TO COMBINE
ANALYSIS, EVIDENCE AND
HISTORIOGRAPHY IN ONE
ANSWER****GOLDEN RULE:
COLOUR CODE YOUR REVISION NOTES
THE FOUR BASES OF AN EXCELLENT ANSWER**

- As you prepare to make your study notes, it will be helpful if you remember the components that will make up a good answer:
- **BASE 1 IS FACTUAL KNOWLEDGE:** You will get your first marks simply by getting names, dates, events and sequences of events right!
- **BASE 2 IS THE STUDY DESIGN:** You will get further marks if you understand the issues raised in the Study Design, and if you can conduct your discussion using its terms.

**GOLDEN RULE:
COLOUR CODE YOUR REVISION NOTES
THE FOUR BASES OF AN EXCELLENT ANSWER**

- **BASE 3 IS ANALYSIS BACKED BY EVIDENCE:** You will get significant marks by conducting analysis, that is, breaking something down into its parts, explaining why something happened, what its effects were.
- **BASE 4 IS RELEVANT HISTORIOGRAPHY:** You will get top marks if you can quote a range of historians' opinions about an event or the document. Many examiners regard historiography as the 'discriminator', that is, the sign of an excellent answer.
- (And let us not forget clear expression and clear presentation!)

**GOLDEN RULE:
COLOUR CODE YOUR REVISION NOTES
THE FOUR BASES OF AN EXCELLENT ANSWER**

- Your revision notes will be more effective if you set them up with different colours.
- The notes in this presentation have been coloured in this way:
- Blue puts the focus on the Study Design.
- Purple puts the focus on historiography.
- Red puts the focus on analytical statements.
- Green puts the focus on key terms and names.

REMEMBER TO USE ANALYTICAL LANGUAGE

- Your answers will be more effective if you train yourself to actually use analytical terms, so you sound like a professional historian.
- The most important cause ...
- The most immediate cause ...
- This was the catalyst ...
- This crisis was heightened by ...
- Give a sense that you are building up an argument step by step: furthermore, moreover, consequently, nonetheless, subsequently ...

**GOLDEN RULE:
COLOUR CODE YOUR REVISION NOTES
THE FOUR BASES OF AN EXCELLENT ANSWER**

- Brown puts the focus on factual evidence.
- Important note: This presentation will often use abbreviations (for example, DORMAC for The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen). This can be a useful technique in your own personal study notes, providing you remember NOT to use them in formal writing such as SACs and the examination. While DORMAC is a useful way of remembering the full title of the document, it will mean nothing to an examiner. They may withhold marks, or even take marks off.

**GOLDEN RULE:
THE IMPORTANCE OF FACTUAL EVIDENCE**

- Your factual evidence is now the crucial discriminator. A current examiner has confirmed that students are now answering the historiography quite well, but that many are just not putting in any factual evidence.
- Be sure to **DELIBERATELY SHOW** that you know key names, primary sources and statistics. If you forget to mention them, the examiner will assume that you do not know them.

**GOLDEN RULE:
QUOTATIONS, DIRECT AND INDIRECT**

- **Should you use quotes?**
- The examiners do not require quotes, but say that you may use them if you wish to, providing that you make them relevant to the argument.
- Most students would probably have difficulty memorising more than one brief quote, and you should not overcharge your memory. You might, however, paraphrase a famous quote, using the word 'that' to indicate that the sentence is not a direct citation. For example, 'William Doyle's argument that it is resistance that makes revolutions become violent ...' works perfectly well to introduce a key idea.

**GOLDEN RULES
SUMMING UP**

- **TOP MARKS 1:** Write legibly and lay your work out carefully. Somebody has to read it, and they WILL NOT decipher a jumble of words!
- **TOP MARKS 2:** Write in full sentences, and NEVER use the abbreviations you used in study notes.
- **TOP MARKS 3:** Write analytically, using phrases such as "The prime cause was ...", "Consequently ...".
- **TOP MARKS 4:** After general points, insert names, dates, statistics as evidence. ("Evidence for this is ...")

YOUR 2011 EXAMINATION

Now, let's listen to what the examiners say about the techniques for Section B Part 1 ...

These practical hints are based on comments made and published by the examiners ...

SECTION B, PART 1

DOCUMENT QUESTION FOR FRANCE

(TEXT OR IMAGE)

AOS 1

Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events

PRACTICAL HINTS FOR SECTION B, PART 1

- Section B part 1 will test you on AOS 1 Revolutionary Ideas, Leaders, Movements and Events.
- Before writing, check that you are now writing on your SECOND REVOLUTION, different to the one in Section A part 1.
- This part should be written in 30 minutes.
- The task will require you to change gear. You will have to read and analyse an image or a quite a long extract, then answer four questions about it.
- The document image could be a primary source (such as a speech by a revolutionary), a commentary (such as a diary or a letter by a witness such as an ambassador), an image or an interpretation (such as an historian's opinion).

THE CHIEF EXAMINER'S SUGGESTIONS FOR DOCUMENTS

- Before you attempt the examination, make sure you understand that the main 'discriminators' (for top level answers) was the use of the visual or printed documents:
- The classic problem was that students often wrote very general answers, but forgot to refer to the actual document or to quote relevant phrases. Without paraphrasing the document, you need to 'mine' it for its key points.
- Secondly, students often neglected to put the document in the context of a range of historians' opinions.
- Thirdly, remember to use the 'given' information about a document.

PRACTICAL HINTS FOR SECTION B, PART 1

- Note that the chief examiner has SAID (but not printed) that it is in this section that you would be expected to show your knowledge of historiography.
- The first two questions (a,b) are short, and test your comprehension of the document. Look at how few marks and lines there are, and be guided by that: even if you know much more, just write enough to guarantee the couple of marks, and then move on promptly.
- Question 'c' then asks you to explain the context of the document in the revolution as a whole, using your own knowledge. You have 12 lines to score 6 marks, and you will get these marks by going straight to the time frame relevant to the document, and straight to the exact aspect of the revolution that is relevant.

PRACTICAL HINTS FOR SECTION B, PART 1

- If, for example, your document was a talking about Great Fear in France, you would need to identify that this was the period of the great rural revolt of July-August 1789.
- Look out for commands, such as "Using your own knowledge and the representation, explain ...". If it asks you to do both, you must do both. You should signpost this: "*The representation clearly shows ...*"

PRACTICAL HINTS FOR SECTION B, PART 1

- Question 'd' goes to the next level of difficulty, asking you to 'explain the usefulness/reliability of this extract' in understanding an aspect of the revolution.
- This time, you have 20 lines to score 10 marks. This longer answer is the discriminator that will allow good students to show their knowledge and gain marks. Your answer should say how it *is* reliable, and how it *is not*.
- The question may or may not mention historians' opinions or other views, but this is where you should do so.
- If this is an extract from an historian, you could try to identify which group the historian belongs to, then state what other historians have said about the revolution.

DOCUMENT QUESTION FOR FRANCE AOS 1: RILME

- Section B will contain one document question on France AOS 1, Revolutionary ideas, leaders, movements and events.
- VCAA 2009 sample: This was a printed document, and a primary source: Arthur Young travelled through France and observed conditions there before the revolution.

DOCUMENT QUESTION FOR FRANCE AOS 1: RILME

- A. Identify two comments made by Young that are evidence of economic difficulty.
- 1. Young mentions that "the want of bread is terrible".
- 2. He mentions "riots and disturbances" requiring military intervention.

DOCUMENT QUESTION FOR FRANCE
AOS 1: RILME

- B. Identify two criticisms made by Young about the way the grain situation has been managed.
- 1. Young argues that the high price of bread is "beyond their faculties".
- 2. He criticises "the stupid and ridiculous regulation" of having to buy equal measures of barley.

DOCUMENT QUESTION FOR FRANCE
AOS 1: RILME

- C. Using your own knowledge and the extract explain why economic difficulty was important in June 1789.
- Focus on extract:
 - Mention that this extract is an eye-witness account of the misery and alarm caused by food shortages and economic crisis.
 - Mention that the prices were too high to be afforded, that special measures also created rumour and panic.
 - Mention that educated people were aware of Necker's interference in the grain trade.

DOCUMENT QUESTION FOR FRANCE
AOS 1: RILME

- c. cont'd Focus on own knowledge: Harvest crises occurred repeatedly (eg 1769-1771, 1778-1779) but the worst was July 1788 (massive thunderstorms destroyed crops) resulting in the highest spike of wheat prices by July 1789.
- Increases in bread prices could quickly become disastrous. In a good year, a common person might spend 45-60% of their income on the basic food of bread. In a bad year, it could rise to 90%. Beyond that, any further price rises could mean actual starvation and death.
 - Evidence: Historian D. G. Sutherland says that the cost of living for an ordinary man might have increased 60% over the century.
 - These economic problems in country areas often led to decreased purchasing of manufactured goods, creating further unemployment in urban areas.

DOCUMENT QUESTION FOR FRANCE
AOS 1: RILME - question d.

- Question d. Evaluate to what extent this extract presents reliable evidence of the difficulties confronting France at this time. Refer to other views in your response.
- "The historiographic debate about the causes of the French Revolution focuses on a number of interlocking tensions and conflicts which caused the downfall of the absolute monarchy in France."
- First, confirm that the economic crisis observed by Young *did* cause popular unrest in France during the 1780s, building to crisis point in the year after the bad harvest of July 1788.

DOCUMENT QUESTION FOR FRANCE
AOS 1: RILME - question d.

- Historian Gwynne Lewis (*The French Revolution. Rethinking the debate* 1993, p. 23) argues that political problems in France were *aggravated* by economic crisis:

"No wonder that during the summer of 1788 the political crisis [...] began to assume revolutionary proportions. During the next twelve months, hundreds of thousands of starving and unemployed French men and women would be recruited to its colours as economic recession and harvest failure transformed a political crisis into a political and social revolution."

DOCUMENT QUESTION FOR FRANCE
AOS 1: RILME - question d.

- Second, suggest that the crisis of the old regime began as a financial crisis (explain national debt), which became a fiscal crisis (explain problems with tax system), which expanded into a political crisis (explain the need for approval from some representative body).

DOCUMENT QUESTION FOR FRANCE
AOS 1: RILME - question d.

- Analysis: "While poverty and misery amongst working people can help create a revolutionary situation, it is also true that wealth and prosperity can generate tensions in society."
- Mention that 18th C France saw the growth of a large, wealthy and ambitious bourgeoisie from commerce, trade and some industry
- Explain the Marxist view, that the French Revolution was primarily a social revolution, or a class struggle between a ruling feudal nobility and a new, capitalist bourgeoisie.
- Briefly quote Soboul, "a classic model of bourgeois revolution."

DOCUMENT QUESTION FOR FRANCE
AOS 1: RILME - question d.

- Analysis: "While the Marxists argued that the causes of the revolution were social, other historians argue that the cause was not a class struggle between nobles and bourgeois but a financial crisis which escalated into a crisis of the entire regime."

DOCUMENT QUESTION FOR FRANCE
AOS 1: RILME - question d.

- Analysis:
- "The Revisionist victory over the Marxist interpretation has allowed new approaches to the causes of the revolution.
- Recent historians such as Alan Forrest propose that a number of causes came together in the 1780s to create a crisis of the absolute monarchy in France.
- In particular, their attention has focused on the ruling classes and upon the factor that weakened their ability to respond to challenges.
- The crisis of the old regime was that, arguably, it was beginning to lose faith in itself."

DOCUMENT QUESTION FOR FRANCE
AOS 1: RILME - question d.

Alan Forrest (*The French Revolution*, 1995, p. 13) argues that, while there was long-term political discontent, the prime moving cause of the crisis was the financial problem:

"During the last years of the old regime there was widespread dissatisfaction, at many different levels of society, with the manner in which France was governed. But that dissatisfaction did not of itself cause the overthrow of the absolute monarchy. Rather it was the severity of the financial crisis of the 1780s, triggered by France's costly participation in the American War of Independence, which made the continuance of the status quo an unattainable aim. By the later 1780s even many of the privileged members of society were prepared to concede that they must sacrifice some of their privileges if the monarchy and the social system were to survive."

Synthesis:

By the 1990s-early 2000s, historians tended towards a conclusion that the crisis of 1789 was:

PRIMARILY CAUSED by a severe national financial crisis (of the sort the monarchy had had before) ...

COMPOUNDED BY new social conditions (the birth of public opinion) and by new political ideas (representation, accountability, equality vs privilege, liberty of the person) ..

AGGRAVATED BY an economic crisis created by bad harvests, the worst being the disastrous harvest of July 1788, causing bread prices to peak in July 1789.

Synthesis:

Therefore, this document gives an insight into just one of a number of inter-related problems that helped cause the revolutionary situation in France at this time.

THE CHIEF EXAMINER SUGGESTIONS
 Responses to documents

- When you 'read' a visual or printed document, remember to read it twice, first for what is in it, secondly for what is not shown in it.
- For example, an image might show the bourgeois members of the Third Estate taking action, but it does not show the importance of the action of urban working people.
- When you examine a visual document, look carefully at the clothing of the figures as evidence of the social group they belong to. Ask your teacher how to identify a bourgeois, an urban worker and a peasant. The examiner expects you to be able to do this.

SECTION B, PART 2

SHORT ESSAY QUESTION FOR FRANCE

AOS 2

CREATING A NEW SOCIETY

CONTRACT: "Historians debate/evaluate the nature of the new society"

- Has a completely new order been established?. Has there been total change, or are there continuities?
- Has there been a significant change of ruling group and ideology?
- Have ordinary people achieved new freedoms?
- Have ordinary people achieved a better standard of living?
- Has a new set of values/revolutionary ideals been established?

THE SHORT ESSAY

- Section B part 2 will test you on AOS 2 Creating a New Society.
- Before writing, check that you are still writing on THE SAME REVOLUTION as in Section B part 1. You cannot change revolutions here.
- This part should be written in 30 minutes.
- The task will give you just ONE topic, specific to your revolution, about the new society. You must write a short essay response to it.
- It is believed that most students might only have time to write 2-3 pages, even though more blank pages are provided. This means that a 'short essay' is truly a short piece, so do not try to write something as long as an essay that you might have written at school.

THE SHORT ESSAY

- You should consider:
- A brief introduction (5 minutes max)
- A body of 2 or 3 paragraphs, depending on what your topic is asking you (20 minutes, more if you have saved time elsewhere)
- A conclusion (5 minutes max): Be sure to leave time for this because you gain marks specifically for synthesis and conclusion. Be sure to 'flag' your conclusion by using the tag 'in conclusion ...'

THE SHORT ESSAY

- You are strongly advised not to try to prepare a 'prefabricated answer'. The only way to answer the essay topic is to think about the question and to muster your material meaningfully to answer it.
- You can, however, expect certain recurring types of topic such as:
 - the 'changes and continuities' type question
 - the 'resistance and response' type question
 - the 'original goals/actual outcomes' type question
 - the 'compromise/actual consolidation' type question
 - 'the new regime just like the old one' type question

THE SHORT ESSAY

- During reading time, you should also consider which three-part template will best suit the essay topic:
- 1. Organise body of essay by category: For example, the classic political, social, economic.
- 2. Organise body of essay by timeframe: For example, the division of the revolution into its moderate, reforming stage (1789 -1791), its radical, emergency stage (1792 - July 1794) and the final settlement of the revolution (July 1794 - 1795).
- 3. Organise body of essay by an aspect suggested by the actual topic in this year's examination. Although templates can be useful, keep an open mind and let the actual topic suggest another way of arranging your information.

SHORT ESSAY QUESTION FOR FRANCE

AOS 2

CREATING A NEW SOCIETY

EXAMPLE 1: THE UNEXPECTED

The Revolution was "a tragedy of gigantic proportions".

THE ESSAY ON THE NEW SOCIETY IN FRANCE

- Topic: "Some historians argue that the Revolution was a tragedy of gigantic proportions. What is your view of the new society? Use evidence to support your answer." [VCAA sample 2009]
- Some initial thoughts during strategic reading time:
- Not a very helpful topic: 'tragedy' is a literary term, but its meaning for History is not very clear, so you will have to firmly define it.
- 'Some historians' is very vague, but this gives you the opportunity to set up your own interpretation eg minimalists vs maximalists.

THE INTRODUCTION - 1

- Engage with terms of question:
- Topic sentence: "If we define 'tragedy' simply as a catastrophic event causing a loss of human life and extensive human suffering, then the French Revolution must inevitably be seen as tragic."
- Mao Tse Tung stated that "a revolution is not a tea party", and dismissed suffering as an unfortunate aspect of making change by violent action.
- For France, the international war and civil war alone cost a total 2 million lives between 1792 and 1815.
- Terror caused 30,000 official executions.
- **Civil war in the Vendée cost another 400,000 lives.**

THE INTRODUCTION - 2

- Problematisé (= set up a problem):
- For historians, however, the debate is not *whether* the revolution caused human suffering, but whether the outcomes were sufficient to justify the risk of remaking society entirely.
- Marxist historians such as Albert Soboul would tend to maximize the transforming impact of the revolution as a transition from a feudal to a bourgeois society
- Revisionist historians such as William Doyle would question whether it really changed the lives of ordinary people very much.
- This historiographic debate is fundamental to all evaluations of the French Revolution.

STEP ONE:
STATE MINIMALIST POINT OF VIEW - 1

- Topic sentence: "The argument that the Revolution was a 'tragedy' corresponds closely to the point of view of historians whom Peter McPhee has characterised as 'minimalists', and who challenge the assumption that the revolution changed everything for the better."
- They do not actually deny the achievements of the revolution altogether.
- Cannot deny the changes to the political system: absolute monarchy to democracy.
- Cannot deny the administrative reorganisation of France.
- Cannot deny redefinition of human rights.
- Just argue that in terms of the material issues of everyday life - landowning, food, employment, income etc - ordinary people did not benefit.

STEP ONE:
STATE MINIMALIST POINT OF VIEW - 2

- Historiographic quote: Revisionist historian, Roger Price (*Economic History of Modern France*, 1975) does not deny the enormous change to political structures and to civic rights, but asserts that no changes occurred for most ordinary people:

"In political and ideological terms the Revolution was no doubt of crucial importance, but humanity itself was not transformed thereby.

Most of the population continued to be subject to the age-old constraints of their environment.

At the end of all the political upheavals of the Revolution and the Empire, little had changed in the lives of most Frenchmen."

STEP TWO:
INVESTIGATE ACTUAL OUTCOMES - 1

- Quickly move to specifics of the Study Design: what changes and continuities the revolution brought about in the structure of government.
- Minimalists admit these were definitive and significant, because the absolute monarchy was first replaced by:
 - a constitutional monarchy (Constitution of 1791, with elections based on a property qualification distinguishing between 'active' and 'passive' citizens),
 - a republican government (the Constitution of 1793, based upon broad, democratic suffrage and recognising the right to insurrection) and
 - a moderate republic (the Constitution of 1795, which used various property qualifications and age qualifications to restrict access to political life to men of wealth and experience).

STEP TWO:
INVESTIGATE ACTUAL OUTCOMES - 2

- Secondly, move to the social changes: the French Revolution also fundamentally changed the organisation of society, and its values.
- 'Shopping list':
- Mention the legal abolition of the corporate society (in which different groups in the old regime had 'special agreements' with the King, especially regarding law and taxation)
- Mention the abolition of 'privilege' and the removal of a 'culture of deference' (by which noble birth conferred honorific superiority over 'commoners').
- Mention that the DORMAC stated that there would still be social distinctions, but based now on personal merit and social utility, not the honorific bases of noble lineage.

INVESTIGATE ACTUAL OUTCOMES – 4
THE FORMER PRIVILEGED ORDERS

- Analysis: The French Revolution reduced (did not eliminate) the power of the former two privileged classes, the clergy and the nobility.
- McPhee notes that while priests and nobles were allowed to return to France in 1795, they came back to a society that had been totally changed.

INVESTIGATE ACTUAL OUTCOMES – 5
THE CLERGY

- Analysis: The Catholic Church survived revolution, but with significant loss of power and wealth.
- Politically, it was no longer a mainstay of an absolute monarchy ('rule by divine right').
- Economically, suffered a massive loss of lands and buildings, which could not legally be reversed.
- Lost 50% of personnel to death or emigration.
- Evidence: 3,000 priests killed, 920 executed publicly and officially. Another 40,000 emigrated.

INVESTIGATE ACTUAL OUTCOMES – 6
THE NOBLES

- Analysis: The nobles did survive to return to France in 1794-5, but privilege was now illegal, feudal dues no longer existed, and land that had been lost could not be regained.
- Their status in society would never again be the same as under the old regime.
- Minimalist historians argue that the nobles retained much economic power. Land still the main source of wealth in France, and nobles still the main landowners. They joined with wealthy bourgeois during the 19th C to form a new class of 'notables'.
- Evidence: Numerically, not decimated by the Terror: of 400,000 nobles, only 1,150 had been killed, while 16,400 (15% of all nobles) had emigrated, many to return later.
- Evidence: by 1804, when Napoleon Bonaparte chose his governors of the departments, 41% were nobles.

INVESTIGATE ACTUAL OUTCOMES – 7
ORDINARY WORKING PEOPLE

- Thirdly, we need to examine economic outcomes: the distribution of wealth and the conditions of everyday life.
- For working people in town and country, life had changed.
- Mention the reform of the entire administrative framework of France, creating the structures that have survived to the present day.
- Using an organisational grid of 83 (later 86) departments, subdivided into cantons, the revolutionaries reformed local government, the legal system and the administration of the church, ensuring that all French people had equal access to government, legal and religious institutions.
- Inequalities such as the differing legal systems for nobles, priests and commoners were abolished.

INVESTIGATE ACTUAL OUTCOMES – 8
PEASANTS

- For peasants, there had been some gains and some losses.
- Majority of peasants were disappointed in their hopes of buying church land.
- Peasants still made three significant gains:
- First, mention the final abolition of feudalism, 1793. Feudal dues had taken up 20-25% of peasant income, which was now available for their own use.
- Secondly, mention that rich peasants did buy church land.
- Evidence:
- 15%-20% of French land was sold, and doubled the number of landowners.
- Peasant landholdings increased by 33%-40% as a result of land sales across France as a whole.

INVESTIGATE ACTUAL OUTCOMES – 9
PEASANTS

- Peter McPhee cites the example of the Thomassin family, who in 1786 owned merely 3.86 acres and then had to rent 180 more hectares from their local lord. During the revolution, they bought church lands, and by 1822 they owned over 150 hectares. (*The French Revolution, 1789-1799*, pp. 191-192.)
- Thirdly, the end of feudal courts gave peasants access to more impartial justice, which was especially important in land disputes.

INVESTIGATE ACTUAL OUTCOMES – 10
URBAN WORKERS

- For urban working people, Revolution brought fewer gains.
- Their very ascendancy during the period of emergency (1792-1794) and their close allegiance with the Jacobins might have worked against them in the long-term.
- The men of 1795 aimed to discourage popular radicalism and political participation. Evidence of this is their smashing of the 48 'Sections' of Paris and their replacement by the new system of 'arrondissements'.
- They were anxious to avoid recurrence of the Jacobin 'Economic Terror', such as the Law of the Maximum.
- Workplace legislation continued the spirit of the Le Chapelier Law of 1791, heavily in favour of the employer over the employee.

INVESTIGATE ACTUAL OUTCOMES – 11
URBAN WORKERS

- Peter McPhee concludes:
- *"Among the initial supporters of the revolution, perhaps urban working people had sacrificed the most and gained the least. The sans-culottes of Paris, Marseilles and other cities had been the backbone of the Revolution, but they gained few tangible benefits."*

STEP THREE:
CONCLUSION

- Analysis: *"In conclusion, the Revolution cannot be seen simplistically as a tragedy of gigantic proportions", because this is to ignore that there were equally significant sectional gains and sectional losses. Most importantly, it must be seen as a triumph for the range of social groups, termed 'the bourgeoisie', who originated the revolution."*
- Karl Marx declared the French Revolution "the greatest revolution in the history of the world", but conceded it was only a bourgeois-style revolution.

**STEP THREE:
CONCLUSION**

- Peter McPhee similarly argues that the revolution represented a triumph of the things the bourgeoisie believed in:
- *"For them, the revolution represented the changes to political structures and dominant social values necessary to recognise their importance in the life of the nation. The Revolution was their triumph. The cultural values of post-revolutionary France were to be characterised by an amalgam of bourgeois and aristocratic values in a culture of 'notables'. (The French Revolution, 1789-1799, p. 196).*

**WHAT OTHER ESSAY TOPICS MIGHT WE EXPECT
IN SECTION 'B'?**

- The essay format was new in 2009, and we currently have four sample essay topics from the VCAA, and the two new topics used on the actual examination in 2009-2010.
- We may expect that the examiners will make the most of having topics specific to each revolution, and offer a specific quote, a specific event or aspect of the revolution for comment.
- However, the examples we have still suggest that the obvious question about a specific event might contain an implicit question asking you to sum up what the new society achieved.
- Questions must still match the Study Design ...

SHORT ESSAY QUESTION FOR FRANCE

AOS 2

CREATING A NEW SOCIETY

EXAMPLE 2: A CURRENT FAVOURITE

- "Compromise of original ideals"
"Original aims, actual outcomes"**

**CONTRACT: "The changes and continuities that the
revolution brought about ..."**

- The Study Design specifically instructs us to explain:
- "the changes and continuities that the revolution brought about in the structure of government"
- "the organisation of society, and its values"
- "and the distribution of wealth and the conditions of everyday life."
- In the past, some examination essay topics have asked us to **EVALUATE THE DEGREE TO WHICH** the revolution brought change (or, by implication, continuity).

CONSOLIDATION/ COMPROMISE

Did the revolutionaries achieve their original goals?

- The Study Design asks us to evaluate whether "the revolution has been successful in establishing a different set of values that fulfilled the ideals of the revolutionaries."
- In previous years, essay topics have often asked about how the revolutionaries compromised, or later achieved, their original goals/ideals/principles. We do not know whether this sort of topic will reappear on future papers.
- To answer this sort of question, you can neatly locate the 'original ideals' as the principles of 1789, then identify how and why they were compromised in 1792-1794, then analyse the extent to which they were realised in 1795.

CONSOLIDATION/ COMPROMISE

Did the revolutionaries achieve their original goals?

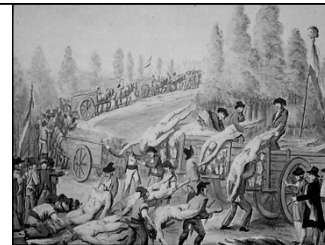
- Topic: "In order to consolidate the new society, the revolutionaries were forced to compromise many of their original ideals." What is your view of the new society? Use evidence to support your answer." [VCAA sample 2009]
- Some initial thoughts during strategic reading time:
- A very neat topic: You could answer this in the three main timeframes of the revolution, so a chronological approach will work well.
- It will be easy to link this to historiography, because the question is really about the concept of emergency government, revolutionary violence and revolutionary systems of justice.

THE INTRODUCTION - PROBLEMATISING

- Engage with terms of question, set up a problem:
- Historian William Doyle has commented that *'it is resistance that makes revolutions become violent.'*
- This interpretation would suggest that, in times of crisis, a revolutionary government will resort to authoritarian measures and coercion in order to consolidate the new society. The cost of doing so, however, is the compromise of many of the original ideals related to personal liberty and legal rights.
- The contrary argument is that violence is somehow inherent in revolutions and that, as historian Simon Schama claims, *'violence was the motor that drove the revolution.'*

THE INTRODUCTION - DEFINING

- For the purposes of this essay, the 'original ideals' of the French Revolution will be defined as the essential freedoms and rights first stated in the August Decrees (4-11 August 1789) then in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (August 1789) and translated into the political structures of the Constitution of 1791.
- The 'compromise of original ideals' will be defined as the set of emergency measures introduced progressively during the crisis of 1792-1794, justified by Robespierre's Theory of Revolutionary Government and implemented through the special committees, laws and courts of The Terror.



Historians cannot lightly dismiss the human cost of revolution

Topic sentence: During the second, more radical phase of the revolution (1792–1794), leaders were forced to modify their original ideals in order to deal with the complex, interlocking series of crises which threatened the very existence of the revolution, including war and foreign intervention, civil war, factionalism and radicalisation of the popular movement.

The suspension of the democratic Constitution of 1793, with its exceptional clauses legitimising the right to insurrection, also meant the suspension of its prologue, the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen*, and specifically of its careful definition of personal liberty and the guarantee of freedom of opinion.

Topic sentence: The first great 'patriot' ideal to be compromised was that of personal liberty.

To deal effectively with international war and civil war, the revolutionaries were forced to embrace progressively arbitrary forms of justice.

- the adoption of government by terror (5 September 1793)
- the declaration of the theory of revolutionary government (10 October 1793).
- specific laws that made allowance for prompt, but unregulated, arrest, trial and execution of opponents or suspects. The Law of Suspects (17 September 1793), the Law Constituting Revolutionary Government (or the Law of Frimaire, 4 December 1793) and the Law of 22 Prairial (10 June 1794) are examples.

Topic sentence: The second important 'patriot' ideal to be compromised was the principle of constitutionality, particularly in the matter of representation.

In the Declaration, sovereignty was stated to derive from the nation, and to be indivisible...

Mention that these principles were reiterated in the Constitution of 1793.

Note, however, that first the Girondins then the Jacobins responded to the crisis of 1792-1794 by resorting to executive government.

Although the Convention was never closed down, the two war emergency committees, the CPS and the CGS, were not accountable to the assembly.

Topic sentence: The third important 'patriot' ideal to be compromised was the tolerance of divergent opinions, be they political, social or religious beliefs.

In the Declaration, articles 10 and 11 guaranteed the freedom to hold one's own opinions and to speak and write freely.

Evidence for this fundamental principle is visible in David's later painting of *The Tennis Court Oath*, where one deputy is seen defending the right of Martin d'Auch to refuse the vote.

By 1792–1793, as the emergency period of the revolution deepened, and as Terror was used to discourage opposition, the Factional Terror developed.

Evidence for this is ...

- elimination of individual and groups who held different political opinions to those of Robespierre and the 'Mountain' (a parliamentary coalition of the Jacobins and the Cordeliers clubs).
- elimination of the rival political bloc of the Girondins (tried and executed in October 1793)
- elimination of the radical left-wing group of the Hébertistes (March 1794)
- elimination of Danton, Desmoulins and the so-called 'Indulgents', simply because they had suggested that the Terror could be wound down (April 1794). Note the closed trial conducted by Fouquier-Tinville, was the greatest violation of the great legal principles of 1789.

Topic sentence: The fourth important 'patriot' ideal to be compromised was the commitment to economic liberalism and free trade.

The 'patriots' of 1789 first took this to mean the removal of vexatious internal customs barriers in France to create a vigorous national market.

They also removed controls on the trade of grain.

They abolished the tax barriers around Paris. The d'Allarde Law (April 1790) abolished guilds.

The Le Chapelier Law (14 June 1791) later abolished the right of the labour movement to organise and to take strike action.

For the 'patriots', freedom meant the ability to engage in economic activity without restraint, thus in a *laissez-faire* (unregulated) economy.

By the time of the emergency of 1792–1794, however, the Jacobins understood that, to fight a war on multiple fronts, they would need the support of the working people of France.

The popular revolutionary movement, now calling itself the *sans-culottes*, aided by the radical women's movement, was now more vocal and more militant in demanding that the government address their economic grievances by means of deliberate and effective government intervention in the economy.

The international war was soon compounded by a violent civil war in the Vendée (beginning March 1793) and the Federalist Revolt in sixty of France's eighty-three departments (beginning April 1793).

By May 1793, the Jacobins had responded to popular demands with the First Law of the Maximum, putting a cap on the prices of basic foods.

They also decreed the death penalty for hoarding grain (26 July 1793), a General Law of the Maximum (29 September 1793) and, finally, wage fixing in Paris (the Law of the Minimum). In this way, the Jacobins won the radical Parisian revolutionary movement to their cause, but in doing so had compromised their core values of economic liberalism.

SHORT ESSAY QUESTION FOR FRANCE

AOS 2

CREATING A NEW SOCIETY

EXAMPLE 3:

A current essay topic: "the extent of change achieved"

CONTRACT: "The changes and continuities that the revolution brought about ..."

- The Study Design specifically instructs us to explain:
 - "the changes and continuities that the revolution brought about in the structure of government"
 - "the organisation of society, and its values"
 - "and the distribution of wealth and the conditions of everyday life."
- In the past, some examination essay topics have asked us to **EVALUATE THE DEGREE TO WHICH** the revolution brought change (or, by implication, continuity).

Historiography:
Maximalists vs Minimalists

- The Study Design's requirement that we analyse to achievement of the new society matches the main debate amongst historians.
- Some historians, many of them Marxists, are 'maximalists' because they maximise the French Revolution, seeing it as a total change, and all for the better.
- Other historians, many of them Revisionists, are 'minimalists' because they question how much change really occurred, and specifically whether it actually benefited ordinary people.

Changes: Political

- The first and most obvious change was to the political system: France had been taken from an absolute monarchy, through a brief constitutional monarchy, to a republic.
- Evidence: Democratic traditions had been established in France strongly enough that even the Restoration Monarchy (1815-1830) could not eliminate them. (Peter McPhee, *The French Revolution, 1789-1799*, p. 179).
- French people had also had an experience of political participation and debate which they never lost.

Changes: Civic

- The second great change was to the definition of the rights of the citizen. Although the principles of the DORMAC were violated during the Terror, the idea of 'the citizen' had been born, and would endure.
- Evidence: It is clear that a political culture' had been born in France from the outpouring of pamphlets, plays, songs and revolutionary images. (Peter McPhee, *The French Revolution, 1789-1799*, p. 179).

Changes: Administrative

- In organisational terms, one of the most important changes to everyday life was made by the Constituent Assembly to reform the entire administrative framework of France, creating the structures that have survived to the present day.
- Using an organisational grid of 83 departments, subdivided into cantons, the revolutionaries reformed local government, the legal system and the administration of the church, ensuring that all French people, however remote, had equal access to government, legal and religious institutions.
- Inequalities such as the differing legal systems for nobles, priests and commoners were abolished. Injustices such as the multiple benefices of the higher clergy were removed.

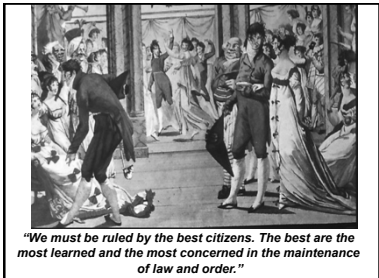
Change/continuity
Inequality, but on a new basis - 1

- Under the old regime, inequality was a legal part of society, guaranteed by privilege. It was enshrined in employment (birth over merit) and in social manners (culture of deference).
- By 1795, all privileges had been abolished, but the aim was not socio-economic equality.
- The DORMAC had stated that there would always be inequalities of fortune between people, due to inequalities of their talents and merits, but henceforth social distinctions would be based on social usefulness, not the accident of being born a noble.

Change/continuity
Inequality, but on a new basis - 2

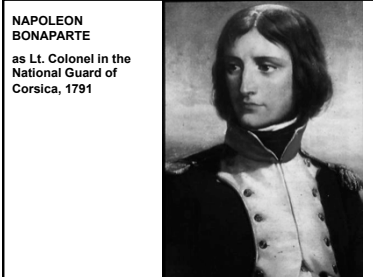
- Boissy d'Anglas believed in the classic conservative agenda, that government is better entrusted to the 'better sort of people' (he meant rich ones):

"Absolute equality is an illusion. If it existed, one would have to assume a complete equality in intelligence, virtue, physical strength, education and fortune in all men... We must be ruled by the best citizens. The best are the most learned and the most concerned in the maintenance of law and order. Now, with very few exceptions, you will find such men only among those who own some property, and are thus attached to the land within which it lies, to the laws which protect it and to the public order which maintains it. You must therefore guarantee political rights for the well-to-do and deny undeserved political rights to men without property."



Has a new set of values/revolutionary ideals been established?
The principle of merit over birth

- Historians have argued that the greatest change created by the revolution was the destruction of privilege, the culture of deference and particularly the primacy of 'birth over merit'.
- Both the August Decrees and the DORMAC stated this principle in 1789, and it survived until 1795.
- In government, administration and the army, the top posts could no longer be dominated by those of noble birth; promotion was by personal merit.
- In the army, the best example is the Corsican corporal Napoleon Bonaparte.



Has a completely new order been established? Has there been total change, or are there continuities?

- Karl Marx commented that the French Revolution was the greatest revolution in human history, and yet even he would admit that it was only a bourgeois revolution.
- It never promised to change everyday life for working people, in the way the Russian Revolution would later do.

Has there been a significant change of ruling group and ideology? - 1

- The Marxist interpretation of the revolution had suggested that it marked the transition from the feudal stage of society to the capitalist phase.
- While this has been largely disproved by the Revisionists, it has since become acceptable to see this as a 'bourgeois' revolution in a more general sense.
- The French bourgeoisie were numerous, active and capable in driving the revolution forward.
- The 'settlement of 1795' was essentially for a 'bourgeois republic', with political power entrusted to men of property.

Has there been a significant change of ruling group and ideology? - 2

- **POLITICALLY**, absolutism has been replaced by a liberal, parliamentary democracy.
- **SOCIALLY**, the old hierarchy of deference to noble birth has been officially replaced by an ethos of distinction based on merit and social usefulness.
- **ECONOMICALLY**, the sale of church land has benefited the bourgeoisie, as has equality in employment. (Note, however, that the bourgeoisie also suffered losses from the disruption of the French economy during the revolution.)

Change/continuity:
The Church - 1

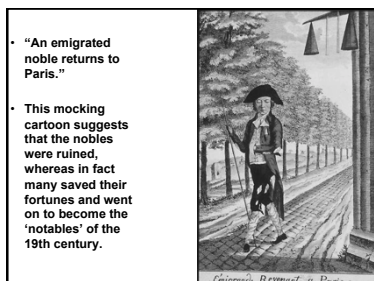
- The Church survived the revolution, but with massive loss of power and wealth.
- Politically, no longer involved in 'rule by divine right'.
- Economically, suffered a massive loss of lands and buildings.
- Lost 50% of personnel to death/emigration. Evidence: About 3,000 priests were killed, of whom 920 were executed publicly and officially. About 40,000 emigrated. (Peter McPhee, *The French Revolution, 1789-1799*, p. 199).

Change/continuity:
The Church - 2

- The Catholic Church did enjoy a religious revival after Thermidor; but it no longer had a monopoly on religion: Jews and Protestants now had rights.
- The Church suffered a lack of presence in people's lives. Evidence: thousands of villages simply didn't have a priest from 1791-1801. As a result, regular churchgoing declined.
- The Church's position was finally regularised and accepted by Napoleon Bonaparte in Concordat of 1801, which defined Catholicism simply as the religion of most French people.

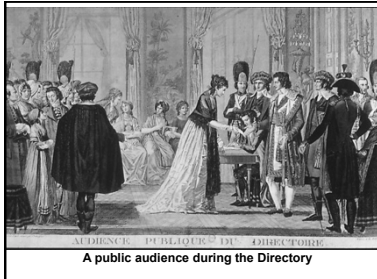
Change/continuity:
The nobles - 1

- The nobles survived to be allowed to return to France in 1794-5, but the important point is that they returned to a country where the rules had been changed for ever.
- Privilege was now illegal, feudal dues no longer existed, and land that had been lost could not be regained.
- Numerically, they were not decimated by the Terror: of 400,000 nobles, only 1,150 had been killed, while 16,400 (15% of all nobles) had emigrated, many to return later.
- Their status in society would never again be the same as under the OR.



Change/continuity:
The nobles - 2

- The minimalist historians would still point out, however, that the nobles retained much of their economic power. Land remained the main source of wealth in France, and nobles were the great majority of landowners. They simply joined wealthy bourgeois to form a new class of 'notables'.
- Peter McPhee admits that the nobles, though much fallen from their prestige during the old regime, did survive to merge with the wealthy bourgeoisie to form a new class of notables. Evidence: by 1804, when Napoleon Bonaparte chose his 'Prefects' as governors of the departments, 41% were nobles.



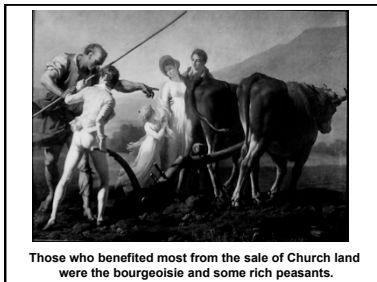
AUDIENCE PUBLIQUE DU DIRECTOIRE
A public audience during the Directory

**Change/continuity:
The nobles - 3**

- However, McPhee argues, their privilege and power had been reduced.
- First, they had lost a great deal of wealth from feudal dues and other sources. Evidence: The Marquise de la Tour du Pin estimated that her annual income had been reduced from 80,000francs to 22,000 francs. (Peter McPhee, *The French Revolution, 1789-1799*, p. 198).
- Second, the nobles lost a great deal of their prestige when the noble courts and the *parlements* were abolished, and when they were subjected to equal laws. Evidence: When the lord of Bruny tried to deny people their traditional right to collect wood from his forest, they took him to court, as his legal equals. (Peter McPhee, *Ibid*, p. 198).

**Those who gained from the revolution:
The bourgeoisie - 1**

- Arguably the greatest economic change made by the revolution was the sale of the enormous reserves of excellent land previously owned by the Church and by some nobles.
- The main people who benefited from this sale were the bourgeoisie and some rich peasants.
- When the nobles and priests were allowed to return, they did so on the condition they accepted 'the revolutionary guarantee': the land could never be taken back.



Those who benefited most from the sale of Church land were the bourgeoisie and some rich peasants.

**Those who gained from the revolution:
The bourgeoisie - 2**

- Historian Peter McPhee argues that the revolution represented a triumph of the things the bourgeoisie believed in: "*For them, the revolution represented the changes to political structures and dominant social values necessary to recognise their importance in the life of the nation. The Revolution was their triumph. The cultural values of post-revolutionary France were to be characterised by an amalgam of bourgeois and aristocratic values in a culture of 'notables'.* (*The French Revolution, 1789-1799*, p. 196).

Has there been a significant change of the distribution of wealth and the conditions of everyday life? - 1

- The Study Design's mention of 'everyday life' directs our attention to what the majority of working people gained.
- Remember the key words: EVALUATE (to weigh up the value of) and THE EXTENT TO WHICH (suggesting that there there must be some change, but not total change)..
- In essence, the French Revolution changed the political system, the legal system and the administrative structures of France, but it did not change the economic system.

**Those who gained from the revolution:
The peasantry - 1**

- While the majority of peasants were disappointed in their hopes of buying church land, they still made three gains:
- The final abolition of feudalism in 1793. Feudal dues had taken up 20-25% of peasant income, which was now available for their own use.
- Rich peasants did buy church land. Some 15%-20% of French land was sold, and doubled the number of landowners. Also later generations got access to more land.
- The end of feudal courts, and access to more impartial justice (important for land disputes etc).

**Those who gained from the revolution:
The peasantry - 2**

- Evidence is that peasant landholdings increased by between 33% and 40% as a result of land sales across France as a whole.
- Peter McPhee cites the example of the Thomassin family, who in 1786 owned merely 3.86 acres and then had to rent 180 more hectares from their local lord. During the revolution, they bought church lands, and by 1822 they owned over 150 hectares. (*The French Revolution, 1789-1799*, pp. 191-192).

**Those who lost from the revolution:
The urban workers**

- Peter McPhee: "Among the initial supporters of the revolution, perhaps urban working people had sacrificed the most and gained the least. The *sans-culottes* of Paris, Marseilles and other cities had been the backbone of the Revolution, but they gained few tangible benefits."

Those who lost from the revolution:
Women - 1

- Finally, the Minimalists would argue that everyday life for some 50% of the population - women - was not significantly improved.
- McPhee argues, however, that reforms in 1792 allowed women the right of divorce, and that about 30,000 women took advantage of this. This still existed in 1795, but abolished by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1816. (*The French Revolution*, p. 185).
- McPhee adds that women did gain some legal status: equal inheritance with males in the family(1793), and the right to sign contracts (if not married).

Those who lost from the revolution:
Women - 2

- Feminist historians such as Lynn Hunt would argue that women's inferior status was actually made worse by the revolution.



Those who lost from the revolution:
The poor - 1

- One of the most important criticisms of the achievements of the French Revolution came from Revisionist historian Alfred Cobban: "Whoever won the French Revolution, the poor lost."
- Before the revolution, the poor relied on charity given voluntarily by the Church and by private donors; it was never enough.
- The French Revolution stated the important principle of systemic social welfare, that is, that all those in need had a right to help from the state.

Those who lost from the revolution:
The poor - 2

- By abolishing the tithe and taking church lands, the new regime took away the Church's capacity to help the poor.
- Evidence: The Bishop of Mende used to use the tithe to buy 10,000 loaves of bread each year, to be given to the poor in the city. After 1789, neither he nor anybody else could do so. (McPhee, *The French Revolution*, p. 194).
- The revolutionaries genuinely intended to set up aid for the poor, but when a commission discovered the millions of poor, the new government was unable to raise the revenue to care for them.