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The Fall of the Bastille: The Voice and Power of Paris

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When the research began into the fall of the Bastille on July 14, 1789, which has been called the beginning of the French Revolution that led to the fall of Louis XVI, the events that culminated in the storming of the Bastille was the combination of massive failures in agriculture, the use of military force in Paris, and the nobility’s efforts to undermine the commoners. The goal of this paper is to show the lengths humanity will go to bring about change and explain how the combinations of these events led to the storming of the Bastille.

Prior to the fall of the Bastille, life within France was not one of commonality, "For all the patriots’ talk about 'the nation,' there was little in the social and economic life of that nation that bound it together. Life experience was quite limited."[1] The statement shows the immensity of the events of July 14, which unified classes of people who had little in common before.

The life of the peasantry in 18th century France was one of constant and unending oppression forced upon them by the nobility and King Louis XVI. As stated by Professor Leo Gershoy, "One would not easily deny the authority of the king or of the king’s men, for the king was the symbol of national unity and not all of the king's officials were as bad as the system they served; nor was the system equally vicious everywhere. It functioned, but it was criticized, sullenly by the privileged caste that battened upon it, crossly by its conscientious servants, and bitterly, with passion, by the people that suffered it."[2] The life of a French peasant was one of struggle. Prior to the revolution, we see a system wrought with corruption and zeal in bringing despair to the populace of France. The peasantry fell into a monotonous and bleak existence prior to the Revolution of 1789, where the dominant classes, being of the First and Second Estate and made up of the clergy and the nobility of France, often took advantage of the Third Estate, which was the peasantry. These classes also made up the

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Estates General,[3] which had not been in session since 1614, but were still separated by the class distinction and felt the divide between the classes of French citizens.

France had seen, with the dissolution of serfdom, many peasants attain the land they had worked for years, "in the intervening centuries the descendants of the medieval serfs had gradually acquired the land from the feudal nobles. Seventy percent or more of the peasants of the Old Regime considered themselves, and were in one form or another, the real proprietors of the land that they cultivated."[4] One constant throughout this time was the ever threatening agricultural crises that could take hold at any moment bringing about an enormous amount starvation and desperation. The partial failure of the grain harvest in 1788, quickly followed by one of the harshest winters in France's history, brought untold suffering to the peasants and economic and social hardships to the people of Paris, who felt the weight of the crop failure with the prices of grain increasing to astronomical amounts. During the period of 1788-89, the prices of staples of the French diet increased to a cost unobtainable by the majority of the French population, "Wheat prices increased by 66 per cent; rye, a common staple, by 71 per cent; meat by 58 per cent; firewood by 91 per cent."[5] The rise of grain prices and the constant struggle to find a voice that could be carried to the monarchy were the building blocks of dissent. The peasantry dealt with the crises first hand, but the repercussions of the agricultural disaster of 1789 were really brought on by the commoners of Paris who saw their way of life affected greatly by the crop failure.

The commoners were being force-fed the necessity of increased prices, while having this directly coincide with a decrease in their wages. The French monarchy was deep in the midst of a financial crisis that stemmed from the support of the American Revolution that took place in the years prior to the French Revolution, "The aid that France extended to the American revolutionists alone accounted for an increase of about 2,000,000,000 livres[6] in
the public debt. Between 1774 and 1789 the debt was increased three-fold, the annual interest alone amounting from 93,000,000 to 300,000,000. The total annual revenue did not exceed 500,000,000; in other words, the payment of interest on the debt absorbed more than half of the annual budget."[7] We can see the building blocks of resistance and the seeds of discontent being planted within the cities of France as their inhabitants began to voice their displeasure with the monarchy and demand the reinstatement of the Estates General. The astounding fact is the loudest voices of change was not from the rural peasantry of France, "How can one imagine, in any case, that in a country where ninety-two percent of the population were peasants a great social, economic, and political revolution could have taken place without the participation of the rural masses?"[8] This statement is eye-opening to say the least; the individuals who dealt with the agricultural crisis first were mere bystanders to the immense change coming to the capital of France. The voice of change that would be at the forefront of the revolution would be the urban commoners with limited support from a few nobles.

The working class of Paris was the hardest hit by the increased taxes and lack of grain within the city. The situation was exacerbated by the philosophes [9] of eighteenth century who called for change to the tax structure of the clergy and nobility of France, "Turgot, Necker, Calonne, and Brienne, each in turn, reached identical conclusions: the clergy and the nobility had to give up their tax exemptions if the bankruptcy of the state was to be averted."[10] This call for reformation was the galvanizing force behind the commoners of Paris, they used the voice of the philosophes and the backing of some liberal nobles to call on the King to assemble the Estates General. The king’s judicial nobility granted the proposal as a means to quell the uprising over the fiscal mishandlings that had led to the calling for the Estates General. This monumental victory of the people of Paris had become the means of change

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within the country of France and the issue of financial wrongdoing had already been replaced with the desire for true political change, "When that assembly met in May, 1789, the question of finance had already become secondary; the question of giving France a constitution, of establishing a new regime by bringing privilege and arbitrary government to an end, was uppermost in men’s thoughts."[11] As with previous revolutions throughout history, the reasoning behind the beginning of the movement quickly evolved from simply being heard to bringing about true social, economic, and political change to the individuals who have been placed under the boot of oppression for numerous years.

Upon the granting on the assembly of the Estates General, the corresponding groups developed cahiers,[12] a draft of all the grievances and suggestions of the people from surrounding areas to be read to the Estates General who would decide on the cahiers that would be taken to Versailles and be presented to Louis XVI for discussion. The majority of the cahiers followed the same line, "The monarchy was to be retained, but as a limited and constitutional monarchy. France should have a representative assembly, meeting periodically and endowed with control of financial legislation."[13] The desire of the people was that taxes should be equal and that the crown should concede power to the assemblies. As with the many kings before, Louis XVI refused to give a response to the people's demand in an effort to retain his authority. In doing so, however, he infused the populace of Paris with a desire to rid itself of the monarchy and control its own fate.

By June 1789, the Estates General had been meeting for a month and had little to show in the realm of reform. The Third Estate had seen this method of stalling numerous times before from the King and was becoming more and more skeptical of the true reason behind the Estates General. This stalling was further exacerbated with the death of the oldest son, the dauphin, who had passed away on June 4th, leading Louis XVI to retreat to this estate at...
Marly further removing himself from changes happening in Versailles. It is during this period that the Third Estate became desperate for real change to occur, "During this time of grief, the king refused to meet with representatives from the Third Estate, communicating with them only through ministers. But his doors of were, of course, open to his conservative younger brother, Artois, and to other nobles and clergy, who continued to counsel intransigence."[14] During this period it is not known if the Third Estate was willing to compromise if an alternative was given, but the thought that the king was siding with the nobility brought the commoners to an act that was clearly illegal in the eyes of the monarchy.

After being spurned by Louis XVI, the Third Estate called for a "last invitation" to have the fellow groups join them and on June 12th began a roll call. After the roll call had been concluded, only three priests had answered the call, which as Sieyes stated, "the Third Estate had cut the cables,"[15] thus giving themselves the power to act alone. The National Assembly[16] was formed June 17, 1789, coincidentally that same day Jacques Necker[17] had finally convinced Louis XVI to take the initiative within the Estates General calling for a Royal Session to be held June 23rd where Louis XVI would layout his plans for people of France. Louis XVI, who had his distrust amongst the nobility, had at first sided with the Third Estate and was willing to work with them, all this being pursued by Necker, who was adored by the people of France. Going against the power-sharing advice of Necker, Louis XVI followed the advice of his queen, his brother, and clergyman he implemented a compromise program that would give constitutional rights to the people of Paris but retain his absolute power and veto.

The lack of communication by Louis XVI and the handling of the message led to one of France's seminal moments in the revolution of 1789, "Without informing the Third
Estate of its intentions, the government ordered that the hall in which the Third Estate met be closed so that it could be prepared for a joint session (it was the only hall large enough to hold them all). When the Third Estate deputies arrived on the morning of June 20th and found the hall locked, they reacted with fear and anger.\[18\] The seeds of change were now firmly planted amongst the commoners of Paris, they had seen the king implement a plan that gave him full autonomy and then they had been refused entry into the hall, in an act of defiance the delegates of the Third Estate refused to leave the grounds, “the Third Estate met in the indoor tennis court and vowed to stay at their posts, ‘until the constitution of the kingdom is established and consolidated upon firm foundations.’ The Tennis Court Oath\[19\] made attempts at compromise even less likely to succeed.”\[20\]

Up until now the revolution was only the limited voice of the commoners of Paris and their desire to bring about limited social change and gain a voice in the government of France. The act of the Tennis Court Oath, however, turned this from a small championing of rights to a full-fledged assault on the monarchy and the toppling of the government. Undeterred by the actions of the Third Estate, Louis XVI continued preparing for the Royal Session. During his speech he stressed the importance that the orders of the Estates General be separated and that this was essential for the constitution of France. When it came to recognizing the newly assembled National Assembly, “he annulled the actions taken to create the National Assembly. But he formally recognized that no taxes would be raised without the ‘consent of the representatives of the nation.’”\[21\] Louis XVI presentation was a mix of Jacques Necker’s desire to appease the common people of France and the conservative views of the nobility and clergy which he favored greatly over the desire of the people of France.

Louis XVI had not been prepared for the discontent that would come from the Third

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Estate, who might have felt the plan laid out by the king as favorable months earlier, but, over
the course of a couple of months, the desire for true social and political change was at hand,
"The members of the National Assembly were offended by the paternalistic tone and the
king’s concluding threat to proceed on his own to bring benefits to the nation should they
'abandon’ him."[22] The underlying threat was the final straw for the members of the Third
Estate. The time for reform was upon them and as Mirabeau[46] stated to the king, "I declare
that if you have been ordered to make us leave you must seek orders to employ force, for we
shall not leave except by the force of bayonets."[23] The French Revolution had its defining
moment and was quickly followed by the people of Paris taking to the streets to eventually
end the monarchy once and for all.

Jacques Necker had refused to attend the Royal Session and had submitted his
resignation to the king based solely on the fact that the king had refused his council and
follow the advice of the more conservative views within the Estates General. Louis XVI,
realizing that Necker had not attended his Royal Session and had submitted his resignation,
was furious with the disloyalty shown. Realizing, however, Necker's position within the
community, he begged Necker to stay at his post as the people of France gathered at the
Royal Palace in support of the minister. The continued negligence of the king was a
galvanizing force on the people of Paris. He had continuously chosen the wrong method to
address the demands of the people all in an effort to keep the powers that had been
associated with the crown for hundreds of years. The will of the National Assembly pushed
through on June 25th with forty-seven nobles within the Second Estate. Their initial goal was
to bring about conciliation. Louis XVI followed the example of the nobles and yielded on June
27th and told the members of the first two estates to follow suit and join the National
Assembly. The people of Paris had won a monumental step in their desire to obtain a new
government.

The feeling of victory was short lived, however, and soon to be replaced with the immense feeling of fear. The newly formed National Assembly was far from a peaceful group, but one of the constant motivations by the new members was to keep reforms from reaching the king. The nobles declared that they had been instructed to maintain the class distinction, "Many nobles continued to meet as a separate order in the evenings instead of attending the meetings of the committees of the National Assembly."[24] Within a few weeks the Third Estate, who had fought for their voice to be heard by the king, now feared for their lives as the uncertainty surrounding the newly formed National Assembly was magnified by the rumors circulating throughout Paris that the king was readying his troops to shut down the National Assembly. The nobles and clergy took strives for Louis XVI to take action solely based on the king's nature of procrastination, "different factions at court recommended different expedients and because those who advocated aggressive measures, knowing how difficult it was to get the king to make a decision, were not sure whether they could convince him to take action."[25] Louis XVI was determined to institute his measures from the Royal Session and his goal was not one of violence but defense from the demonstrations within the city of Paris, "the actual orders issued to the commander of the troops in Paris were entirely defensive. Indeed some of the troops were not scheduled to arrive in the area until July 18th."[26] As we have seen throughout this paper, the lack of communication between Louis XVI and his officials within his court and the deputies of the First and Second Estate was a major contributor to the violence that would erupt in the capital of France.

Louis XVI continually made missteps throughout the initiation of the National Assembly and the subsequent calling of troops to Paris in the weeks leading to the Fall of the Bastille. In the preceding weeks there had been continued outbreaks of mutiny and uprisings
which the crown and his deputies continually ignored or blatantly denied, "All the signs should have made the King and his circle cautious. They had no such effect."[27] The crown instead gave the people of France the ammunition to bring about change on their own terms and on July 11th, with the removal of Jacques Necker and three other ministers, the king gave the people of Paris the galvanizing moment to bring change to the country of France. Louis XVI continued to show his negligence throughout this whole process and nowhere more than with the dismissal of Necker, "Louis XVI had only vague ideas of what he would do after Necker’s dismissal; for him, this was merely an incident like the fall of Turgot, and Brienne after Calonne."[28] The king’s inability to see the importance of Necker amongst the populace of Paris would be his greatest misstep on the eve of the revolution.

The wind of change was firmly blowing into Paris the morning of July 12th, when the citizens of Paris awoke to the news of Necker's dismissal by Louis XVI. As historian Jacques Godechot states, "It immediately aroused an intense emotional reaction. People assumed that Necker’s dismissal would have threefold consequences: the transfer of the Assembly to the provinces and, presumably, its imminent dissolution; a still higher rise in the price of grain and bread, since Necker was considered a man who held food-hoarders at bay; and finally, national bankruptcy, as a consequence of which investments would cease to pay."[29] The citizens of France had gained their moment to validate the use of violence, and revolution was the means to an end. On July 13th, the citizens of Paris were in desperate search of arms to protect themselves from the troops stationed around Paris by Louis XVI. The soldiers’ efforts throughout the days prior to the Fall of the Bastille were less than fruitful, however. It was determined by the crowd, now swelling to some 48,000, that they would raid the Invalides,[30] "It was thus indispensable, in order to arm the militia, to take possession of the 32,000 muskets stored at the Invalides, and the cartridges which had been transferred from the
Arsenal to the Bastille."[31] In obtaining the armaments from the Invalides, the crowd turned its attention to this Bastille which was the fortress turned prison that housed nearly 10,000 pounds of powder and cartridges. During the morning of the July 14th, the immense crowd stood at the gates of the Bastille clamoring for the surrender of the prison from Governor Marquis de Launay[12] who had used the previous days to strengthen his defenses and keep the crowd at bay.

As historian Jacques Godechot states, "the Bastille was equipped with efficient artillery, fifteen eight-pounder cannon (firing eight-pound cannon balls) standing on the towers and inside the foot of the walls, but mounted on naval gun-carriages which were difficult to maneuver."[33] The armaments that the Bastille had at its disposal were a point of contention with the gathering crowd, who worried that an order from Louis XVI would be used to level the surrounding area and condemn them to a life of oppression by the crown. One of many overlooked situations by Louis XVI and his new minister of defense were the soldiers who were sympathetic to citizens of Paris over their loyalty to the crown. During the day on July 14th there was a constant smattering of musket-fire between the soldiers stationed at the Bastille and the ever-growing crowd outside its drawbridge. During a stalemate that lasted most of July 14th, there would finally be a breakthrough in the Revolution of 1789, "The decisive moment came in the mid-afternoon, when the French Guards, hidden in the smokescreen of burning straw brought up in carts, breached the outer defenses and trained cannon, taken from the Invalides, on one of the drawbridges leading to the inner courtyards. De Launay threatened to blow up the powder magazines and with them half the neighborhood but wiser counsels prevailed, and he ordered the main drawbridge lowered. The fortress had surrendered."[34]

In the aftermath of the Fall of the Bastille, the casualties were lower than many
would have thought. The people of Paris had taken the Bastille with minimal deaths and
destruction to the surrounding area. The most grisly death was that of Governor de Launay
who held the Bastille as stated, "De Launay, whom the crowd suspected of treachery in the
earlier negotiations, was dragged through the streets, beaten, stabbed and shot; his head
was hack off with a pocketknife and paraded through the streets on the end of a pitchfork
because, as the man who did later claimed 'in his job as a cook, he knew how to work on
meat.'"[35] The rule of the Old Regime in Paris had been reversed with the cities residents
enacting their own sense of judgment and calling to an end of Low's XVI reign. The Bastille
had been viewed as the epitome of royal absolutism and, in overrunning it, the citizens of
Paris gained their voice in the New France, "A general joyfulness prevailed; everyone kept
repeating: 'The Bastille has fallen, its gates are open!'"[36] The citizens of France knew they
had changed their lives and political voice, but with the crown still holding thousands of
troops still on the edge of Paris waited with fear, "The significance of the victory that had
been won was still unknown. While awaiting a morrow that was rich with promise but also
heavy with threats, people were content to keep on patrolling Paris all night, to the sound of
the tocsin, which incessantly reminded them of danger, and to the sound of the volleys fired
by the artillery, celebrating the victory, but also warning Versailles of the resolution of the
people of Paris."[37]

The people of France had begun to change the course of history and in doing so also
created a world of uncertainty and fear. The anarchical rule that had taken hold in Paris was
one wrought with fear and terror as the citizens of France awaited the response from Louis
XVI. But as history has told us, the actions at the Bastille destroyed the King's plans that were
set forth at the Royal Session and galvanized the National Assembly. When Louis XVI got
word of the uprising within Paris and the fall of the Bastille his response was one of
uncertainty; taking the advice of his newly employed Minister of War Broglie \[38\] "he could not count on the loyalty of the troops. The only other option was flight, but Broglie again could not guarantee the king's safety, and flight would have led to civil war."\[39\] In the two weeks that followed his speech at the Royal Session, Louis XVI had not only lost control of Paris, but of the citizens he ruled; the machine of revolution could not be stopped. Louis XVI later confided in a close associate, "Ah, we are in private and can talk freely. I know everybody blames me for weakness and indecision, but nobody has ever been before in a position like mine. ...I know I missed my chance on 14 July; I should have left then"\[40\] This revisionist history is one that plagued the monarchy throughout the revolution. The king had lost many aspects of his power and issued a decree accepting the creation of the National Assembly, and withdrew his troops. He would arrive in Paris three days after the fall of the Bastille to a city brimming with pride and demanding a greater voice in the government.

By the time Louis XVI arrived in Paris, the National Assembly had formed a new government organized around the electoral districts, and had created a National Guard in order to protect property and keep the peace. Upon arriving at the Hotel de Ville, the king was greeted with disdain and anger, "at the Hotel de Ville the king was received with solemn severity; when the people is in an angry and threatening mood, it does not pay court or flatter."\[41\] Louis XVI, realizing the will of his people, accepted the tricolor flag of the new nation; the white of the Bourbon monarchy had been added to the red and blue the colors of Paris and the emblem of Paris was created through the revolution of July 14th. The citizens of Paris, beaten down by the constant struggle to feed themselves and find a voice with the monarchy, had changed the course of French history in a matter of days. As the British ambassador wrote to the Foreign Minister in England, "the greatest revolution known to history had taken place with relatively little bloodshed that France was now a free country
where the King's powers were limited and the nobility was on a level with the rest of the nation."[42] The Fall of the Bastille was the galvanizing force behind the revolution and the end of royal authority in France.

In the annals of history, the fall of the Bastille is viewed as the people of France using liberty to overthrow despotism, and is celebrated in the same way we celebrate Independence Day here in America. But, as with many revolutions, the years that followed were wrought with indecision and undermining by individuals striving for power. As one of the revolutionaries of August 1789 later stated, "Not a man understood the Revolution nor reckoned its course, nor gave the least thought to the external obstacles it would have to overcome."[43] Seeing the fall of everything the revolutionaries fought for during the days of July 1789 into what would become known as the "October Days"[44] and "The Terror"[45] shows the delicate balance a nation must find in the name of freedom. The revolution of 1789 was the unified voice of the citizens of France in their desire to better their lives and status in society, but as we have seen throughout history the streets of revolution are teeming with discord and malcontent views, and this would affect the decisions and implementation of policies of the newly formed government and proved more difficult than any of the revolutionaries could have foreseen.
ENDNOTES


3. *Estates General*: A general assembly representing the French estates: the clergy (first estate), the nobles (Second Estate), and the common people (Third Estate).


6. *Livre*: A silver coin used in France in 1789 that was worth nineteen and half cents.


9. *Philosophes*: French intellectuals of the 18th century Enlightenment; used the application of reason to most areas of learning.


11. Ibid; p.11


15. Ibid; p.66

16. National Assembly: was the name of the revolutionary assembly formed by representatives of the Third Estate; formed of June 17th, 1789. See. Britannica

17. Jacques Necker. was Louis XVI popular Minister of Finance, and supported the Third Estate in their request for more egality. His removal by Louis XVI was a galvanizing force for the revolutionaries to overthrow the crown. See. Bastille-Day.com


19. Oath of the Tennis Court. June 20-1789 the Third Estate found themselves locked out of their meeting place and in so gathered in a nearby tennis court and vowed that they would continue to meet until they had established a new constitution for France. See. www.mtholyoke.edu/courses/rschwart/hist255/kacanna/tennis.html


21. Ibid; p.67

22. Ibid; p.68

23. Ibid; p.68

24. Ibid; pp.67-68

25. Ibid; p.68

26. Ibid; p.68

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28. Ibid; p.186

29. Ibid; p.187

30. *Invalides*: the housing of wounded soldiers returning from wars. Overrun by the revolutionaries in an effort to obtain the muskets stored within. See. Bastille-Day.com


32. *Marquis de Launay*: Governor of the Bastille the night it was overrun by revolutionaries July 14th, 1789. Was eventually taken in to custody and murdered by the mob enveloping Paris, parading his head upon a pitchfork for everyone to see the end of the Old Regime.


35. Ibid; p.60


37. Ibid; p.246

38. *Vicior-Francois de Broglie*: During the 1789 revolution was appointed Louis XVI, Minister of War, until his flight from France following the fall of the Bastille. Was a
renowned soldier in many early French wars.


40. Ibid; p.76


42. Ibid; p.261


44. *October Days*: October 5th, 1789 crowds of Parisian women met at city hall to demand bread and when they refused marched the 12 miles to the Palace of Versailles to confront the royal family. The crowd demanded the royal family be escorted back to Paris surrounded by his guardsmen heads on pikes, and show he would bend to the power of the people.

45. *The Terror*: the period of the French revolution from March, 1793 to July 1794, during which many French citizens were executed by the ruling faction. Louis XVI would be dealt the same fate as hundreds of thousands of French citizens, death by the guillotine.

46. Gabriel Riqueti, comte de Mirabeau: electorate of the Third Estate whose desire it was to bridge the National Assembly and the Monarchy and be the voice of the people.
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