

THE REVOLUTION IN THE PROVINCES: Paris dominated the history of the French Revolution, but many important events, from the Great Fear of 1789 to counterrevolutionary uprisings, occurred far away from the capital, and even in France's overseas colonies, as this map shows. The ability of the revolutionary government to establish control over the provinces was decisive in determining the Revolution's outcome.
 Credit: Richard Gilbreath.



0073231 ROBESPIERRE, 1794.
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French Revolution

The Violence: Internal and External

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La Revolution Francaise: La Violence

- In our last discussion, we defined revolutions as big bang moments. For the French Revolution, we can debate if the big bang moment was the Third Estate transforming the Etats Généraux into the first-ever Assemblée Nationale or the people capturing and demolishing the royal arsenals of weapons in Paris on July 14, 1789. In both hypotheses, France had changed forever. Historian Popkins titled his book about the French Revolution more broadly as *A New World Begins*.
- After decades of absolutism and vertically embedded social stratification, people realized that radical change was possible and most energetically sought to realize it. They had different ideas of change, however. These were uniform to a point, beyond which the modes of settling divergences remained vulnerable to the use of excessive force and violence, which had both internal and external sources. We will look at them separately.

References

- C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989).
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- Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000* (New York: Random House, 1987).
- Georges Lefebvre, *The Thermidorians and the Directory: Two Phases of the French Revolution*, trans. Robert Baldick (New York: Random House, 1964)
- Electronic resources are hyperlinked to the related information.

The Violence, Internal: Ancien Régime

- The Ancien Régime faced an unanticipated challenge to its authority and survival as the Assemblée Nationale fixed as its objective: giving the nation a constitution. In 1791, they delivered on that promise, transforming France into a constitutional monarchy, ending hereditary privileges, and moving towards greater equality for its citizens.
- Constitutional monarchy failed to take root in France, given deep distrust between the monarchy and increasingly assertive public opinion expressed in the streets and parliament alike. This distrust made the street skeptical about the Royal family's Austrian connection. French absolutism failed to embrace a constitutional persona. The street increasingly viewed it as a potential threat to the growing achievements of the revolution.

The Violence, Internal: Ancien Régime

- We noticed this distrust manifested in the July 14, 1789, attack on the Bastille, and the October 5, 1789, women's march on Versailles, resulting in the royal family moving to Paris.
- In June 1791, the failed Royal escape to Varennes turned the monarchy literally into prisoners at the Jardins de Tuileries. Since then, the King owed his crown to the Assemblée Nationale, which suspended the monarchy on the morning of his disappearance, and he remained in that status until the Assemblée restored him to the throne on July 15, 1791, only after a thorough investigation.

The Violence, Internal: Ancien Régime

- The King's attempts to exercise his suspensive veto powers provoked an insurrection, which ironically not only made him a prisoner in August 1792 of the Legislative Assembly of 1791 but also ended its life as the Constitutional Monarchy ceased to exist.
- The Legislative Assembly held elections for a National Convention to meet in September 1792 and draft a new Constitution. The National Convention abrogated the monarchy and drafted a Republican Constitution for France in 1793.
- The National Convention also prosecuted the former King and punished his anti-revolutionary actions with capital punishment.

The Violence, Internal: The Legislative Divide

- The Assembly had moved to Paris in October 1789. In Salle de Manège, the members would sit with like-minded groups. Their location within the Salle became their identity, gradually:
 - Les Jacobins, or the Montagnards
 - Les Girondins
 - The Plain
- Outside the Salle, they began to meet in separate locations. Entry to these clubs became expensive and exclusive, requiring conformity and loyalty, and developed various degrees of hostility toward non-members and non-conformists.



The Violence, Internal: The Legislative Divide

- The achievements of the three Assemblies, 1789-1793, in this non-party house were brilliant. The Assemblée Nationale 1789-91 ended hereditary privileges and opened several avenues for social mobility. It also gave France a constitutional monarchy. The Legislative Assembly of 1791 expanded on the liberties of the people and managed the French transition from a constitutional monarchy to a Republic by convening a National Convention, which crafted the first Republican Constitution of the French Republic in 1793.
- While the French legislatures of 1789 to 1793 codified the essence of the French Revolution, unfortunately, they also became the source of the most brutal violence, both internal and external, during the Revolutionary years.

The Violence, Internal: The Legislative Divide

- The traditions of feisty debates became sources of aggressive antagonism during and after the Constitutional Monarchy, and because of social issues that exposed deep divergences in the house.
- During the Constitutional Monarchy, divergences pivoted on paranoid suspicion of either faction cooperating with the King and his Austrian relatives to sabotage the Revolution.
- The vote on the former King's trial and his final destiny exposed deep divisions: On January 1, 1793, the Convention found him guilty 691:27, but on January 16, the final vote on his execution or not was 380: 310.
- Similarly, on religious matters, the house bared sharp divisions: the vote on expropriation of the Church land was 510:345, and, on rejecting the designation of Catholicism as the dominant religion in France, was 495:400. Opinions on the Civic Oath of Clergy were also far from unanimous.

The Violence, Internal: The Legislative Divide

This is one example of how conflict played out: The King attempted an escape on June 20, 1791. His Austrian brother-in-law, the Emperor Leopold II, joined the Prussian monarchy to issue the Pilnitz Declaration of August 1791, a warning to the French for the safety of the Royal family.

The Assembly felt a threat from the Royalist émigrés living in the border towns of France's neighbors. The King exercised his veto power to suspend a decree targeting them. The Girondin Ministry was then instrumental in declaring war on Austria in April 1792, to circumvent the impact of the King's veto. Opponents, though small, saw a conspiracy in King's double standards: delaying the decree on the emigres but approving the war. One interpretation was that the King, alone or along with the Girondins, wanted France to lose, and consequently restore the monarchy with victorious Austria's assistance.

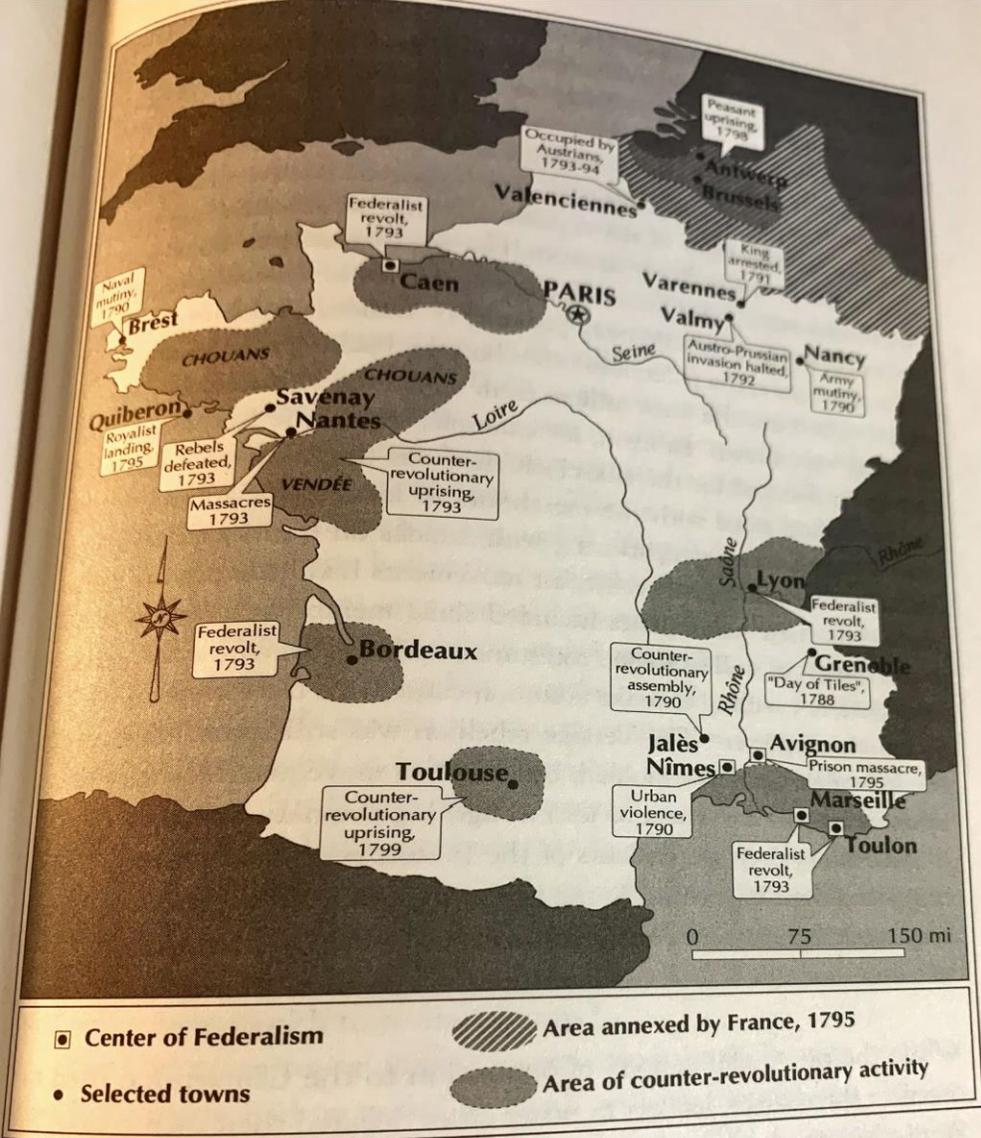
Les Girondins also attracted suspicions because of their positions on the insurrection of August 10, 1792, ending the constitutional monarchy era.

The Violence, Internal: The Legislative Divide

Federalism was another subject that antagonized the Jacobins. They viewed the Girondins as supporting multiple “federal units,” power centers in the Province, as our title map shows.

The Girondins enjoyed public support in these areas, which the Jacobins interpreted as weakening the concept of one and indivisible Republic and its Revolution.

A strong center finally prevailed, although regional assemblies have since become resourceful centers of development.



THE REVOLUTION IN THE PROVINCES: Paris dominated the history of the French Revolution, but many important events, from the Great Fear of 1789 to counterrevolutionary uprisings, occurred far away from the capital, and even in France's overseas colonies, as this map shows. The ability of the revolutionary government to establish control over the provinces was decisive in determining the Revolution's outcome.

Credit: Richard Gilbreath.

The Violence, Internal: The Legislative Divide

France became a Republic during a war. The National Convention leaders encountered an extraordinary situation full of dangers for the security of the newfound entity. In March 1793, the Convention abrogated the parliamentarians' immunity against allegations of anti-revolutionary conduct.

France approved their revolutionary Republican Constitution of June 24, 1793, but in October 1793, the Convention decided to extend its legislative life until the threat to the nation was over. The Convention created a Committee of the Public Safety in April 1793.

This is how it began, what we know as the Reign of Terror. The Convention launched a nationwide legal search for patriots, conspirators, and counterrevolutionaries, and delivered, what it called "justice" to them most brutally.

In April 1793, the Paris Commune asked for the expulsion of 22 Girondins from the Convention. By June, twenty-nine of them were expelled from the house. In June 1793, several targeted Girondin members were jailed by the Public Safety Committee established earlier in the year to defend against the counterrevolutionaries. In October 1793, twenty-two of them were guillotined. In their absence, the Jacobins dominated the Convention.

The Violence, Internal: The Legislative Divide

- In July 1793, the Convention deputed Maximilien Robespierre to the Committee. He believed in using all violent means to protect the revolution, as he and the Parisian Commune groups supporting him understood it. In the Paris Commune Assembly, he had labelled Brissot and several of his Girondin associates as “perfidious intriguers.”
- By September 1793, the Convention legislated a search for the counterrevolutionary suspects and the creation of surveillance committees to trace them. These committees were to issue certificates of civicism to the citizens. In the same month, they created Revolutionary Armies to enforce their regulations.
- By the summer of 1794, under the Convention legislation, half a million citizens had been imprisoned at least once. Until Robespierre was guillotined on July 27, and the Convention ended the Reign of Terror, the political courts had killed 80,000 French citizens.

The Violence, Internal: The Church

- The First Estate had a key role in transforming the tri-sectional Etats-Généraux into the Assemblée Nationale. They played a crucial role in the revolution, but the Catholic cure de village also continued to hold an eminent place in rural France. The Papal, Royal, and practicing Catholics' resentment against the revolutionaries intruding into the sacred spaces frustrated many believers in France.
- The Assemblée Nationale, nonetheless, expropriated the Church lands, realigned the diocese to the revised administrative map, required election of the priest and mandated that they took civic oath, banned the orders of monks and nuns, moved the état civil, registration of birth, weddings, and deaths from the diocese to the elected municipal officials, and in 1795, completed the church-state separation by cancelling all payments to the priests or churches.

The Violence, Internal: The Church

- The Pope threatened to suspend priests who would take the civic oath.
- The Royal helplessness to intervene on behalf of the Church frustrated the King.
- Rural France resented changes to their dioceses or the pressure their clergy had to endure.
- In another major social change, a patriarchal and Catholic France faced upheavals in family units as the revolution empowered spouses to divorce on an equal basis.
- Divergence of opinion on these religious issues could attract charges of anti-revolutionary behavior.

The Violence, Internal: The Economy

- The revolution had increased the revenue base of France as the exemptions ended, and the number of taxpayers increased. The hangover of the massive outstanding debt and debt servicing from the days of a spendthrift monarchy continued to throttle growth.
- Differences between the new decision makers and the street expectations, however, persisted as people coped with the burden of taxes and rising commodity prices. The movement of grain across the nation and its prices turned out to be a major sticking point. Should the Assembly regulate it and fix a maximum price was an inflammatory discussion, prone to more incidents of violence if bad weather resulted in a bad harvest, regionally or nationally.

The Violence, Internal: The Economy

- The Assembly's sale of expropriated church lands posed fiscal challenges as the transaction involved the sale and purchase of bonds whose prices fluctuated, either because of market forces or speculation. Efforts to regulate such instruments triggered violent actions against individuals viewed as sabotaging the system.
- French farmers failed to benefit from the sale of the church, royal, or nobility lands because not only were the procedures complex, but they also lacked the resources to finance the opportunities that opened.

The Violence, Internal: The Street

- The French Revolution began in the fortress of absolutism at Versailles. In the most crucial standoff of May-June 1789 with the King and the holdouts of the First and the Second Estate, the Third Estate won because of its perseverance. The awareness of this phenomenal possibility to change their destiny galvanized the street, as we saw on July 14 and October 5, 1789, and later on August 10, 1792.
- We can argue that until 1792 and the imprisonment of the Royal family, the street was a pressure group targeting the ancien régime. Once the monarchy ended, they initially served as adjuncts to the Assemblée but then became the driving force behind legislative actions.

The Violence, Internal: The Street

- The street principally operated through the Paris Commune, the municipality, which, with its 48 sections and Paris National Guard, had remained a radical force since 1792.
- The Commune rooted for the first creation of a Revolutionary Tribunal, purge of suspected “traitors,” and supported the September 1792 Massacres.
- The September 1792 massacres were a horrible example of the street taking over the role of the prosecutor, judge, and executioner amid war against Austria.

The Violence, Internal: The Street

- The Commune responded to the war effort with a high degree of patriotism, but suspected that recent inmates of Parisian prisons, for various reasons such as being anti-revolutionaries or clergy refusing the civic oath, or being a royalist, could become collaborators if enemy troops reached Paris or if they found Paris poorly defended, the National Guard being moved to the frontier. The street, with the consent of the Commune, took over the prisons, created people's tribunals, and punished the convicts on the spot, taking hundreds of lives, justifying themselves on the pretext that they could not leave their families to the whims of these dangerous elements in their absence from Paris for the war.
- Paris and the Province mobilized for the war effort. By February 1793, the municipalities raised about 150,000 troops. Later, the levee en masse for Troops in met seventy percent of its target. The street reversed the tide of the Austrian invasion, but hundreds of culprits of the September massacres in Paris went scot-free.

The Violence, Internal: The Street

- By June 1793, the Commune had allied with the Jacobins, the Montagnards to secure the arrest of the Girondin members and pursue radical economic and security measures during the Reign of Terror.
- The elements that radicalized the Commune included the members of the Cordeliers Club, the sans-culotte group, a random cross-section of people dressing up in long pants instead of silk stockings. They were ardent proponents of the civic oath for the clergy and price controls.

The Violence, Internal: The Street

- During the Reign of Terror, the Jacobin extremists and their street allies functioned through “revolutionary tribunals,” the extraordinary criminal courts, especially the Paris Revolutionary Tribunal. The first tribunal was established in August 1792, but in March 1793 the Convention revived and expanded it on a larger scale on the Paris Commune’s demand.
- These tribunals prosecuted alleged political offenders, discriminating against the accused in diverse ways. The National Convention made it legally easier to label individuals as political offenders and under political control, standardized the composition of the tribunals. Several of these tribunals functioned throughout the country under flexible arrangements:
 - A bench of three to five judges, a prosecutor, and a nine to twelve politically chosen juries of citizens whose guilt or innocence decisions could not be challenged in any other court. By June 1794, the Convention reduced possible verdicts to acquittal or death.

The Violence, Internal: The Street—Thermidor Reaction

Table I: The French Revolutionary Calendar

Season	Month	Meaning	Correlation
Fall	Vendémiaire	Vintager	Sept. 22 - Oct. 21
	Brumaire	Foggy	Oct. 22 - Nov. 20
	Frimaire	Chilly	Nov. 21 - Dec. 20
Winter	Nivôse	Snowy	Dec. 21 - Jan. 19
	Pluviôse	Rainy	Jan. 20 - Feb. 18
	Ventôse	Windy	Feb. 19 - March 20
Spring	Germinal	Of the sprouts	March 21 - April 19
	Floréal	Flowery	April 20 - May 19
	Prairial	Grassy	May 20 - June 18
Summer	Messidor	Harvester	June 19 - July 18
	Thermidor	Heat-giver	July 19 - Aug. 17
	Fructidor	Fruit-giver	Aug. 18 - Sept. 16
	Jour de la Vertu	Day of Virtue	Sept. 17
	Jour du Génie	Day of Engineering	Sept. 18
	Jour du Travail	Day of Work	Sept. 19
	Jour de l'Opinion	Day of Opinion	Sept. 20
	Jour des Récompenses	Day of Rewards	Sept. 21
	Jour de la Révolution	Day of Revolution	
		(Only in leap years)	Sept. 22

- The National Convention adopted a new French calendar beginning on September 22, 1792, the day the Republic was established. The opponents of the Terror overthrew Robespierre on 9 Thermidor, Year II (27 July 1794). With him, many Communards were also arrested and executed.
- Robespierre's execution date lends its name to the Thermidor Reaction, which means that the Constitution of 1795 sought to eliminate all sources of radicalism, regulating public activities in multiple ways to suppress radicalism in Paris or elsewhere.
- Napoleon restored the Gregorian calendar Jan 1, 1806.

The Violence, Internal: The Street—Thermidor Reaction

- After the Thermidor, the Convention dismantled the radical Paris Commune. In May 1795, the “sans-culottes” demanded bread and restoration of the 1793 constitution but failed to prevail. Loyal National Guard and army units crushed the revolt.
- The Thermidorians resolved not to restore the 1793 constitution but replace it with a more conservative 1795 version, the Constitution of Year III. The Royalist forces rose against it on 5 October 1795. This time, the Convention deployed Napoleon Bonaparte to suppress it.

The Constitution of 1795: The Street

- The Constitution of 1795 responded to the fear that the Reign of Terror had generated and the abuse of power that stemmed from the organized groups outside the Assembly.
- The Convention removed from the Declaration, “Men are born and remain free and equal in rights.” Liberty was in the state, maintaining law and order. They dropped the right to insurrection as well (Lefebvre: 176-177).

The Constitution of 1795: The Street

- For the referendum on the constitution, the Thermidorians kept a liberal voting regime: if you were 21, a resident for a year, and a taxpayer, you were an active citizen and could vote. The public response, however, was least enthusiastic.
- The rate of participation remained low. Less than one million voters approved it, while over forty-one thousand opposed. Specifically, on the two-thirds decree requiring reelection of the Convention members, only over 167,000 voters approved, while over 95,000 rejected.
- The Convention had sufficient force in place to prevail and enforce it.

The Violence, Internal: Saint-Domingue

- Saint-Domingue in the latter half of the eighteenth century had been a source of the ancien regime's pride for its economic contribution. It was the biggest French producer of coffee and sugar, and a colonial prize.
- France's coastal towns had thrived on the colonial trade, and a "maritime elite" had emerged, benefiting from the profits. This elite owned colonial plantations and lobbied with the Assembly to retain its biggest asset, 500,000 enslaved persons, and the slave trade, Saint Domingue being the biggest single unit of slave trade destinations in the region.
- Beginning in 1791, enslaved persons' revolt threatened all these advantages.



THE CARIBBEAN



The Violence, Internal: Saint-Domingue

- From the French perspective, Saint-Domingue straddled both internal and external conflict and violence.
- Internally, revolutionary France, under the influence of planters, strived to crush the enslaved persons' struggle for emancipation.
- Both sides used the means of violence they possessed. The French army used technologically advanced guns and artillery. The enslaved persons' biggest weapon was to deprive the planters of their labor and destroy the chains of production and supply, which they viewed as a source of their miseries. They burnt down whatever they could. In the long run, it harmed them as well because food shortages and famine struck them.

The Violence, Internal: Saint-Domingue

Externally, Saint-Domingue's eastern neighbor, Spain, sought to acquire more slaves. They aided the leaders of the revolt, including Toussaint L'Ouverture.

Spain, however, signed the Treaty of Basel in 1795 with France, ceding their part of Hispaniola to France, to regain the territory they lost in the Pyrenees during the Revolutionary Wars.

In the second stage, Great Britain, using its colonial base in Jamaica to the west of Hispaniola, attempted to seize the Island and its enslaved labor.

Faced with a defeat at the hands of Spain and Britain, the local French military commander declared emancipation for the enslaved persons. Toussaint L'Ouverture refused to believe them, but when the National Convention legislated it on February 4, 1794, he switched camps.

The Violence, Internal: Saint-Domingue

- Toussaint L'Ouverture joined the French struggle against the United Kingdom. As the number of French forces declined, he took a leading role. In 1796, the French Directory confirmed him as General of the Division. He drove the British out of the Island by 1799. They suffered losses greater than the Peninsular War in Iberia: by 1796, they lost 80,000 soldiers, half of them dead. Kennedy maintains that the loss in life and expenses was greater than the Peninsular War the British later fought against Napoleon in alliance with Portugal and Spain.
- Toussaint completed the British expulsion in 1798. He also turned on the Spanish part of the Hispaniola and took control.

The Violence—External, The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars

- Only two external powers interfered in the American Revolution, one against and one in favor: England and France. The denouement was quick. The British lost, and by 1783, they concluded peace with their former subjects on highly favorable terms.
- France was in an extremely difficult situation. The Revolution had created a Constitutional Monarchy in the heart of Europe.
- Six European coalitions combatted France from 1792 to 1815, on various dates and outcomes.

The Violence—External, The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars

This is how the six coalitions formed:

- First Coalition (1792–1797): Austria / Habsburg Monarchy, Prussia, Great Britain, Dutch Republic, Spain, Portugal, Kingdoms of Sardinia (Piedmont–Sardinia) and Naples / Two Sicilies, and several German and Italian states aligned with the Holy Roman Empire
- Second Coalition (1798–1802): Great Britain, Austria, Russia, Ottoman Empire, Portugal, Naples / Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Kingdom of Sardinia (residual forces in Italy), several German and Italian states (including Tuscany, some Swiss and Maltese participation).
- Third Coalition (1803–1806): Britain, Austria, Russia, Sweden, and eventually the Kingdom of Naples/Sicily.
- Fourth Coalition (1806–1807): Prussia, Russia, Great Britain, Saxony, Sweden, and allied German states.
- Fifth Coalition (1809): Britain, Spain, and Portugal.
- Sixth Coalition (1813–1814): Russia, Prussia, Austria, Great Britain, Sweden, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, and many German states.

The Violence—External, The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars

The French Revolutionary Wars (1792–1802) and Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815) figure into our discussion only to show how violence spread all over Europe and to the French colonial world.

Essentially, we must note three important points:

- First, initially French Revolutionary Wars reversed the tide of Austrian aggression and stabilized the Revolution, but coinciding with that period, the Reign of Terror played havoc with the lives of ordinary citizens.
- Second, both the revolutionary France and Napoleon's operations in the Caribbean were counterrevolutionary, as they attempted but failed to suppress the most successful slave rebellion in the world. Saint-Domingue gained independence and became the Republic of Haiti in 1803.
- Third, although revolutionary and Napoleonic France scored several territorial gains, the Napoleonic adventurousness lost them all. By 1815, the European coalition partners reversed all those gains and restored the Bourbon monarchy in France under Louis XVIII.

The Violence—External, The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars

These are some significant details about the two phases of the wars:

- In April 1792, the Girondin ministry succeeded in getting the King's assent to the declaration of war against Austria to circumvent his vetoes on decrees targeting emigres.
- By September, Austrian forces had crossed the French border and reached Verdun. The Assembly mobilized French resistance to reverse the tide. The key French victory at Valmy (September 1792) stabilized the Revolution.

The Violence—External, The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars

- Between 1792–1793, the French campaigned in the Austrian Netherlands and along the Rhine. Between 1793–1794, the First Coalition against France widened as Britain, Spain, and others joined the war on the continent and the colonies. The French levée en masse enabled her to go on the offensive.
- The five-member Directory during 1795–1797 undertook war initiatives that forced Prussia, Spain, and others to make peace; the Treaty of Campo Formio (1797) confirmed French dominance in Italy and the Rhineland.
- A year later, the war resumed with Napoleon's Egyptian expedition (1798–1799). Napoleon deserted his troops in Egypt in the face of a looming defeat and returned to stage a coup against the Directory. In 1799, he seized power as Consul and waged campaigns in Italy and Germany.
- In 1802, the Peace of Amiens between France and Britain marked the formal end of the French Revolutionary Wars.

The Violence—External, The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars

Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815)

- Under Napoleon, a new series of wars began with Britain in 1803 as the Peace of Amiens broke down. These wars led to four European coalitions battling France, from the Third to the Sixth.
- In 1805-07 and 1809, Napoleon was victorious in his battles against Austria, Russia, and Prussia, together or apart. He reorganized Germany as the holy Roman Empire collapsed because of these wars.
- In 1807, Russia dropped out of the coalition and entered an alliance with Napoleon under the Treaty of Tilsit.

The Violence—External, The Napoleonic Wars

- Napoleon conducted 60 campaigns, 58 inside Europe, and one each in North Africa and the Middle East, and the Caribbean.
- The last campaign did not aim at exporting a revolution, but rather killing the one by the enslaved persons of the French plantation of Saint-Domingue, Haiti, as we now know it.
- By 1801, Toussaint L'Ouverture had given Saint-Domingue a constitution which stopped short of declaring independence from France.

The Violence—External, The Napoleonic Wars

- Napoleon decided to teach a lesson, nonetheless, not only to a “revolted slave,” but also to those French slave colonies where the National Convention had abolished slavery in 1794. The Law of 1802 restored slavery and the slave trade first in Martinique and Reunion and later in Guadeloupe. For Saint-Domingue, he had a different plan. The same year, he dispatched a 35,000-strong professional army under Leclerc, his brother-in-law. Leclerc had secret instructions to restore slavery once he had brought the freed black population and its leaders under control.
- Leclerc found himself in an extremely difficult situation on arrival. Before he could restore slavery, leaders in Guadeloupe began their resistance and alerted the black population in Saint-Domingue. Not only did the resistance resume, but the yellow fever struck Leclerc’s force without impunity. Within a year, Leclerc lost about four-fifths of his army. Historian James refers to long excerpts of his correspondence with Napoleon’s officials seeking reinforcement, but gets no help.

The Violence—External, The Napoleonic Wars

Historian James claims that Toussaint L'Ouverture had reached a truce with Leclerc and resumed his plantation life, but Leclerc deceived him and staged his arrest, fulfilling Napoleon's wish of seeing Toussaint L'Ouverture in chains (James: 336-338).

James also notes a rising power struggle within Black Leaders, which disheartened Toussaint L'Ouverture. Before he died, Leclerc dispatched him to France.

- Napoleon was cognizant of the reaction that killing Toussaint L'Ouverture could provoke. He deliberately jailed him in the very cold climate of Franche-Comte near the Swiss frontier at Chateau de Joux, where poor medical support and low supplies of wood for heating killed him. According to Popkin, Napoleon personally determined the quantity of heating wood he would get.
- Born a slave at a Le Cap plantation in Saint-Domingue, on May 20, 1743, a liberator of himself and the largest French slave holding, Toussaint L'Ouverture breathed his last on April 7, 1803, the year black leaders would kill Napoleon's Caribbean-American dream.



The Violence—External, The Napoleonic Wars

- Leclerc's successor, Rochambeau, got new troops and enforced Napoleon's secret instructions for the restoration of slavery in Saint-Domingue. The reversal injected a new vigor into the Black struggle. Violence reached new peaks. The French forces surrendered to a British fleet in search of safety.
- Towards the end of 1803, Dessalines could claim that Blacks had liberated Saint-Domingue. Historian James would note that the world's largest and most successful slave revolt came to an end.
- Dessalines established the second Republic in the western hemisphere, after the first, Saint Domingue's neighbor to the north and northwest, the United States of America. He gave it a new name, Haiti.

The Violence—External, The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars

- Beginning in 1806-07, Napoleon launched the continental embargo plan, the Continental System, forbidding the centuries-old trading practices of the European states. Although Britain suffered from this level of hostility, the embargo thwarted European economies as well. Refusal of Portugal and Russia to join the Continental System finally began the downfall of an overstretched Napoleon seeking to punish the violators.
- From 1808 to 1814, Napoleon waged the Peninsular War in Spain and Portugal against Britain, Spain, and Portugal. In 1812, the catastrophic invasion of Russia sealed his fate. The Sixth Coalition forced him to abdicate in April 1814 and exiled him to Elba. In 1815, he escaped from Elba and returned to France. The Coalition finally defeated him at Waterloo (18 June 1815) and exiled him to Saint Helena, ending the Napoleonic Wars.

Conclusion

- The biggest victim of the internal violence was the Constitution of 1793. It was never implemented. Instead, the Thermidorians imposed, dubiously approved, the 1795 Constitution on a seven-year-old revolutionary nation.
- It imposed several restraints on civic organizations: Corporations and associations that are contrary to public order may not be formed. No assembly of citizens may call itself a popular society. No private society which concerns itself with political questions may correspond with another, or affiliate therewith, or hold public sessions composed of the members of the societies and of associates distinguished from one another, or impose conditions of admission and eligibility, or arrogate to itself rights of exclusion, or cause its members to wear any external insignia of their association.

Conclusion

- Citizens may exercise their political rights only in the primary or communal assemblies. They can address petitions but only individually and respectfully.
- Every armed gathering is an attack upon the Constitution; it shall be dispersed immediately by force. Every unarmed gathering, likewise, shall be dispersed, at first by verbal command, and, if necessary, by the deployment of armed force.
- Several constituted authorities may never unite for the purpose of deliberating together; no instrument emanating from such a union may be executed. No one may wear distinctive symbols indicative of duties formerly performed or services rendered.
- France was getting ready for Napoleon.

Conclusion

- Externally, the counterrevolutionary expeditions against the Saint-Domingue revolt of the Black Jacobins miserably failed. Toussaint L'Ouverture and his lieutenants defeated three major powers, Spain, England, and France, to establish the first Black Republic in the world.
- The gains of external violence within Europe disappeared by 1815.
- The French Revolution broke several chains, competing against a cross section of its citizens who wanted some of them to stay, especially in their colonies. In Saint-Domingue, they failed irreversibly. At home and in Europe, the struggle continued.