

ABSTRACT

Title of dissertation: TERROR IN THE PYRENEES: RELIGION, REVOLUTION
AND THE NATION IN SOUTHWESTERN FRANCE, 1789-
1794

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This dissertation examines the ways in which revolutionaries in France used religion to define concepts of citizenship, belonging, and identity between the years 1789 and 1794. It contends that the religious policies of the Terror (1793-1794), which it terms the “Sacerdotal Revolution,” were an attempt to construct a new imagined national religious community centered on the worship of the Supreme Being and the nation. It demonstrates that at the beginning of the eighteenth-century, French society was divided between two mutually complementary spheres of authority: the temporal realm of kings and the spiritual realm of Church. Over the course of the century, political and religious writers put forward arguments that essentially integrated spiritual institutions into the terrestrial world, thus paving the way for the formation of a national religious community embodied in the Constitutional Catholic Church of 1791. However, the failure the Constitutional Catholic Church to provide national religious consensus and the looming threat of war, polarized and politicized identities inside and outside the French Republic, and led some revolutionaries during the Terror to embrace a type of universal patriotic religion predicated upon an exclusionary national identity. As this dissertation maintains, at the heart of the debate over religion during the French Revolution was a tension between universalism and particularism, and

the ways in which diverse religious and ethnic identities were able to relate to the universal category of French citizenship. This tension was most acute in the southwestern borderlands of France, which were characterized by ethnic and religious diversity. As a result, all those who fell outside the boundaries of the universal patriotic religion of the Sacerdotal Revolution were considered counterrevolutionary religious fanatics in need of regeneration. At the same time, the universalist discourse of the Sacerdotal Revolution also offered some ethno-religious minorities a chance to exercise their citizenship. Thus, by studying the religious debates of the French Revolution, this dissertation seeks to show how revolutionaries in southwestern France attempted to construct a new imagined religious community during a moment of religious conflict, political factionalism, and war.

TERROR IN THE PYRENEES: RELIGION, REVOLUTION AND THE NATION IN
SOUTHWESTERN FRANCE, 1789-1794

By

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Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for a degree of
Doctorate of Philosophy
2022

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Acknowledgements

I cannot think of another place in the world where I could have written my dissertation other than the University of Maryland, College Park. For nearly eleven years of my life, UMD has been a home for me, filled with a vibrant and loving intellectual community that encouraged me to push forward, in good times and in difficult ones, to write the dissertation that I dreamed of writing. At times, the endeavor of writing the dissertation was daunting and difficult. I am the child of working-class parents, who struggled through economic hardship, and most recently, a pandemic that had shut down the world. Growing up, economic precarity meant that it took me a longer time to learn how to read and write. Additionally, having a speech impediment made learning foreign languages seem impossible. After looking back on where I came from, it is with these considerations in mind that I am constantly filled with gratitude for all the people who encouraged me along the way, and who made it be possible for this first-generation doctoral candidate to believe that it is possible to pursue a graduate degree. I opened by mentioning place; but, as I hope my dissertation makes clear, in reality, places are inseparable from the people who live there.

Without a doubt, I believe that I am fortunate to have a doctoral committee full of wonderful and caring scholars and mentors. Above all, I want to thank my adviser, Stefano Villani, for all that he has done for me over the years. If it were not for him, this dissertation would not be possible. There were moments throughout the process where I would reach a roadblock and began believing that I could never finish. But nonetheless, my adviser was there, pushing me to the end. Not only has he been a constant source of support over the years, he has also, through his intellectual rigor, challenged me to be a better scholar. I could not have done this without him. Additionally, I have also had the pleasure of working with Alejandro Cañequé. Whether as an instructor or as the director of Graduate Studies at UMD, professor Cañequé has been an important

source of support over the years. Most importantly, he taught me how to think critically about categories that historians usually take for granted. I also want to thank Bernard Cooperman. His wit and humor, and his own research and scholarship has made the process of writing my dissertation a joy. As a teaching assistant, I have had the privilege of seeing professor Cooperman in the classroom. I have learned so much about pedagogy from him over the years. Most recently, I have had the fortune of working with Thomas Kaiser for the first time. His knowledge of eighteenth-century French history continues to inspire me to be a better historian, and I hope to continue working with him more in the future. Moreover, professor Kaiser has been such a kind mentor throughout the dissertation writing process. Additionally, I have had the honor of having Sarah Benharrech serve as my dean's representative on my committee. I have learned so much from her work on the Enlightenment. She was also a wonderful source of support. Finally, I want to thank Donald Sutherland. Professor Sutherland had served as my adviser when I first came to UMD and has constantly challenged the ways that I approached history as a discipline. Moreover, his knowledge and expertise helped guide me to the topic that I am studying today. I am so lucky to have worked with so many wonderful scholars over the years.

In addition to my dissertation committee, I also want to thank everyone in the history department. First, and foremost, I want to thank Jodi Hall for everything. Jodi is the heart of the graduate department, and without her knowledge and her constant support, I do not think that it would be possible to even get to candidacy. Whether it is navigating UMD's complex administration, or last-minute emergencies on the day of the defense, Jodi has been there to ensure that everything will work out in the end. Likewise, I want to thank Jon Boone for all of his help throughout the years. Jon's kindness and generosity, whether in moments of crisis or simply ensuring that the graduate students had new technology, helped ensure that we all were able to

succeed. In addition, I want to thank Gail Russell, Lisa Klein, and Courtney Dahlke for all of their help and for their friendship. I most enjoyed those early mornings before teaching, when I would go into the front office to talk about the day. Finally, I want to thank the wonderful faculty of the history department, especially, Chantel Rodriguez, Collene Ho, Anne Rush, David Sartorius, Karin Roseblatt, Christopher Bonner, Antoine Borrut, Patrick Chung, Saverio Giovacchini, Gay Gullickson, Ahmet Karamustafa, Kate Keane, Piotr Kosicki, Quincy Mills, Erin Mosely, Mircea Raianu, Marsha Rozenblit, David Sicilia, Phil Soergel, Julie Taddeo, Sabrina Baron, Rob Chiles, Rick Bell, and Thomas Zeller. Either as a student, or TA, or in the hallway in the department, I have learned from each one of you, and that has made me a better scholar and teacher. Thank you so much.

Equally essential to my time here at UMD is the vibrant graduate community in the history department. Over my eleven years here at the University, I have learned so much from my colleagues and enjoyed every moment of the friendships that I have built here. Whether in sharing ideas about pedagogy or debating scholarship or building community, the graduate student community in the history department has enriched my life so much and has changed me as a scholar and a teacher. Thank you so much for being there in my life, I could not have done it without you. Above all, thank you to Sabrina González, Jessica Wicks-Allen, Mikol Bailey, Ana Mendes, Brian Sarginger, Alex Dunphy, Eben Levey, Ayah Nuriddin, Thomas Messersmith, Kerry Tanner, Robert Bland, Derek Leininger, Adolfo Polo, Gabriela Overdorff-Ferriol, Lauren Michalak, Lucien Holness, Gamze Yavuzer, Kyle Pruitt, Charlie Fanning, Jordan Sly, and Jane Polcen. You all have taught me so much, and I am eternally grateful for our friendship. You have done so much to help encourage me along the way and finally make it to the end of the degree. In moments of self-doubt, your support and love helped push me ahead. And you all continue to

inspire me to be a better scholar, researcher, and instructor. Above all, it is my time with you all that I value the most. Thank you. Moreover, I want to thank Perri Pyle, Sebastien Carias, Luda Sharaya, Derek Litvak, Liz Hyman, Kendall Aughenbaugh, Jesse Zarley, Rachel Walker, Katie Labor, Ashley Towle, Steph Hinnershitz, Rene Staedtler, Jen Wachtel, Diego Hurtado, Roger Baily, Kader Smail, Reid Gustafson, Dustin Cranford, Alda Benjamin, Caroline Angle Maguire, Josh Klein, Kyle Stelzer, Natalie Salive, Taylor Kocher, Sophie Hess, Sam Miner, Nick Seetin, Brice Bowrey, Lauren Cain, Mauricio Restrepo, Jen Romine, Nicole Mclean, and Mischa Wolfinger. You all have helped ensure that each of my days was filled with joy. Thank you to such a great grad community.

In addition to the history department, I also have the privilege of being part the Latin American and Caribbean Studies Center. Thank you to Britta Anderson, Merle Collins, Isabella Alcañiz, Laurie Frederick, and Eric Tomalá for welcoming me into the LACS community and teaching me so much. Additionally, I want to give a special shout out to the LACS Graduate Collective. They really become a home away from home for me and will always form an essential part of my heart. Thank you to Sabrina González, Victor Hernández-Sang, Cara Snyder, Ana Mendes, Mariana Reyes, Daniela Bulansky, Cecilia Azar, Sergio Garcia, Nohely Alvarez, Kristofer Reed, Marco Polo Juarez, Sarah Dowman, Lisette Escariz Ferrá, Keisha Allan, Danielle LaPlace, Paul Iglesias, Camilla Canon, and Antonis Kyprianidis. Not only have you offered me so much support over the year, I have also learned so much from you all and have grown as a scholar and a teacher as a result. Your lessons have been invaluable, and I will keep them with me always. This is such a loving and supportive community. I have also had the pleasure and privilege to make friends with the graduate community in the department of Spanish and Portuguese. Thank you, Mariana Reyes, Daniela Bulansky, Ofelia Montelongo, Juan Diaz, Daniela Hernández, Mariluz

Bort, Cecilia Battauz, Sarah Dowman, Monica Ocasio Vega, Nelida Devesa Gómez, Vicky Herrera Arvay, Sofía Maurette, Chris Lewis, and Jackson Monzón. Thank you all for the friendship and conversations over the years. Thank you for so much joy. I also want to give a special mention to Victor Hernández-Sang, Max Yamane, and Daniel Tauscher who opened up their house, amidst power outages and storms, so that I could finish up my dissertation.

Finally, I also want to thank everyone outside of the university who supported me along the way. I want to thank my friends Daniel Regner, Adriana Overdorff, Julianne Peeling, Annie Hall, Heather Myers, Sam Lehman, and Nick Midwig. Additionally, I want to thank all the wonderful archivists in France, especially those of the Archives Départementales des Hautes-Pyrénées, des Pyrénées-Atlantiques, du Gers, and des Landes, as well as the archivists of the municipal archives of Tarbes, Pau, Bagnères-en-Bigorre, and Oloron. I also want to thank Vincent, Nadine, Jean-Louis, Philippine, Antoine, Alex and Maxime for making my stay in France comfortable and full of happiness. Finally, I want to thank my mother, Dana Brower, father, Thomas Bruce Brower, brother, Thomas Paul Brower, and sister, Mollie Brower. I do not know where I would be without all their support. I hope I made you all proud.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	ii
Table of Contents	vi
Maps	viii
Introduction: The Sacerdotal Revolution of Year II (1793-1794)	1
Chapter 1 (Re)constructing the Gallican Church, One and Indivisible	30
The Church has Neither Territory, Nor Usage of the Material Sword.....	35
The Territorialization of the Gallican Church	53
In Search of the Primitive Church	80
Charting the Social Geography of the Bon Curé	92
Towards the Reterritorialization of the Gallican Church.....	109
Chapter 2 “L’Église est dans l’État”: Religion, Nation and the Civil Constitution of the Clergy	115
Reterritorialization of the Gallican Church	119
Religious Bodies and Orders	138
The State Enters the Church	147
The Constitutional Oath and the End of Consensus	175
Constitutional Church as National Religion?	185
Chapter 3 All that is Particular Melts into One: Terror, Religion, and Nation-Building in the Pyrenees in Year II	188
Federalism and the Constitutional Clergy in the South West	196
The Unfinished Revolution?	206
Robespierre and <i>La Liberté des Cultes</i>	219

	A Funeral for Catholicism – the Sacerdotal Revolution Unbowed	224
	The Cult of the Supreme Being	232
	The Fiction of Religious Unity	241
Chapter 4	The Vapors of Fanaticism: Madness, Gender, and Religion in Year II (1793-1794)	249
	Diagnosing Fanaticism	253
	Purging the “Corrupting Miasma” of Fanaticism	269
	A Cult of Muscles	298
	The Biopolitics of Year II	317
Chapter 5	Making Citizens and Fanatics: Religion, Identity and Assimilation during the Terror (1793-1794)	321
	Ancien Régime Identities in the South West on the Eve of the Revolution	328
	Nations within a Nation	350
	The Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau	364
	“Fanaticism Speaks Basque”	379
	Towards Modernity	398
Epilogue	Building Castles in Spain: The Sacerdotal Revolution in the Age of Thermidor (1794-1795)	403
	Ambiguities of Thermidor	405
	General Conclusion	421
Bibliography		428

Maps

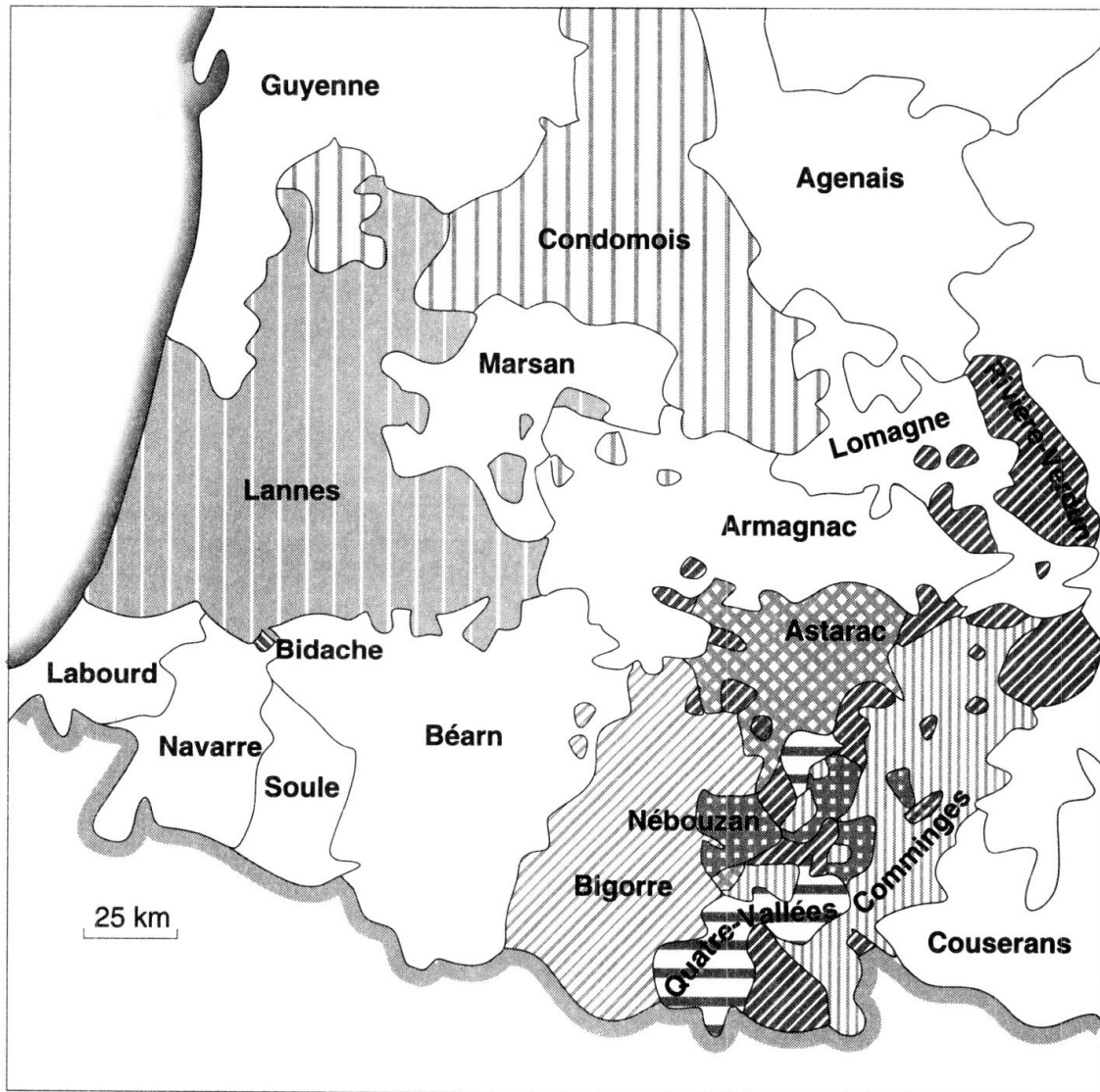


Figure 1: map of the pays d'élections and the pays d'états in southwestern France on the eve of the Revolution¹

¹ Map used from: Anne Zink, *Pays ou circonscriptions: Les collectivités territoriales de la France du Sud-Ouest sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2000), pg. 52.

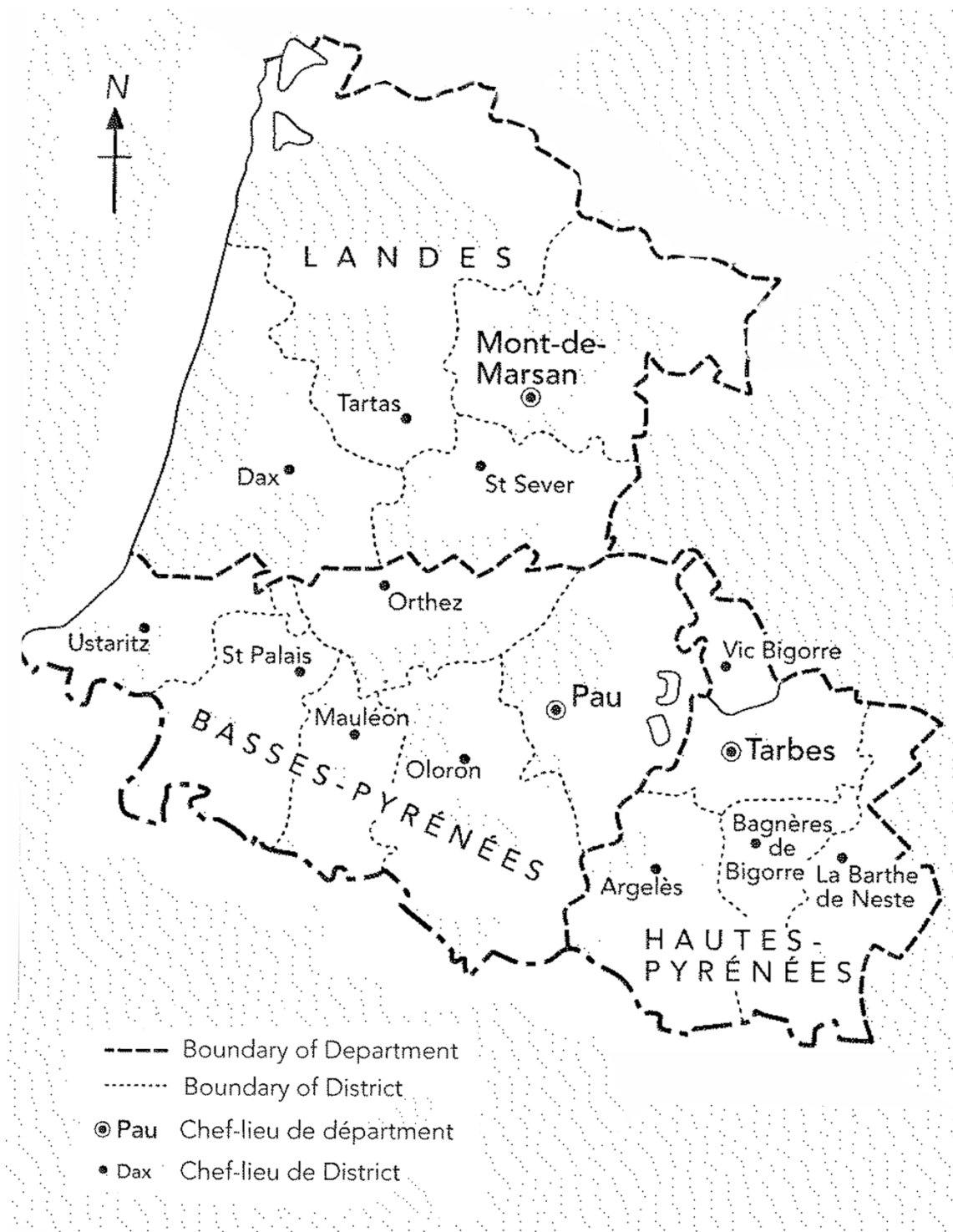


Figure 2: map of the départements and districts of southwestern France during the Revolution²

² Map used from: Alan Forrest, *The Revolution in Provincial France: Aquitaine, 1789-1799* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pg. 79. Map has been modified to focus on the départements of the Landes, Basses-Pyrénées and Hautes-Pyrénées.

Introduction: The Sacerdotal Revolution of Year II (1793-1794)

“You see, citizen colleagues, that the people have returned to reason and philosophy, as [as they did] to liberty; we only need to aid them in the Sacerdotal Revolution, which is already well advanced. Send missionaries everywhere, who by their energy propagate and maintain the principles of morality; proclaim that no religion will be paid by the nation from now on, and that the only ministers recognized by the law are the magistrates of the people... weak and cowardly men perhaps will cry impiety. Our love for the people, our wish for its complete emancipation inspires us, and in our opinion, the people can neither be happy, nor free, with priests.”
- Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac¹

“Without constraint, without persecution, all the sects must mix together in the universal religion of nature.”
- Maximilien Robespierre²

In the chilly Pyrenean foothills near the Basque village of Ainhua, news spread that some soldiers had torn down a cross. At the time, Jacobins in southwestern France were waging a war on two fronts: one against the Catholic king of Spain, and the other, an internal struggle against so-called religious fanatics. When word of the disturbance reached the camp of Belchenia, Jean-Baptiste-Benoît Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme was furious. A former constitutional priest and a radical Jacobin, Monestier was serving as a representative on mission to the Army of the Western Pyrenees to oversee the war effort. He opened up his *arrêté* with a call to brotherhood: “I come to speak to you as a fucking brother and bring to you the heights of morality.”³ Believing that the

¹ “Letter of Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac to the National Convention, 19 Brumaire Year II (9 November 1793),” in *Recueil des actes du Comité de salut public avec la correspondance officielle des représentants en mission et le registre du Conseil exécutif provisoire*, ed. François Alphonse Aulard, vol. 8 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1895), 313-314. I will abbreviate this printed collection as *RACSP* henceforth. All translations are mine, unless noted in the footnote or cited in an English translation.

² Maximilien Robespierre, “Sur les rapports des idées religieuses et morales avec les principes républicains, et sur les fêtes nationales,” in *Archives parlementaires de 1787 à 1860: Recueil complet des débats législatifs et politiques des Chambres françaises*, ed. Jérôme Mavidal, Émile Laurent, Jean-Claude Perrot and Philippe Gut, vol. 90 (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1972), 138. I will abbreviate this printed collection as *AP* henceforth.

³ Bibliothèque municipale de Pau, Ee 1912, Jean-Baptiste-Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, *Monestier (du Puy-de-Dôme), Représentant du Peuple près l’Armée des Pyrénées Occidentales et les Départemens environnans; À ses frères d’armes et aux Citoyens Républicains formant la Société Républicaine et Montagnarde d’Aignoua, District*

dispute over the demolished cross was pointless, he vented his frustration, remarking: “What the devil made you quarrel over an upright cross, or a lying cross, or a broken cross?”⁴ According to Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, the real war was against the king of Spain: “Oh my friends, let us only have rabid hate for the Spanish; war to the death against the Catholic king, his inquisition and his cretins or idiotic sycophants.”⁵ The former cleric then offered a conciliatory hand to all French citizens, regardless of their religion, and promised “friendship and fraternity to all French Catholics, Jews, Protestants, and Muslims, provided that they love and defend the unity and indivisibility of the republic, equality, and liberty.”⁶ The representative on mission then observed that everyone had come to misunderstand the true meaning of the freedom of religious worship. It did not mean that one could clutter the streets with crucifixes or grotesque statues of the saints; nor did it mean that one could circumcise a baby. True liberty was the right to worship the Supreme Being freely: “No, my good friends, that is not what the freedom religious worship consists of: that each adores the Supreme Being in spirit and truth, that is universal worship; that one does not do to another, what they would not want done to them, that is the morality of all places, times and individuals.”⁷ In other words, this universal right only applied to universal religion, not particular sects. Everything short of this was simply chicanery of priests and superstition of the faithful. Thus, the only important religious obligation was that towards the Republic, One and Indivisible.

Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme did not draw any distinctions between the war against the Spanish and the struggle against religious fanaticism. In an Hébertist flourish, the Montagnard cleric celebrated the demolition of the cross: “The cross is down, all the better, all the fucking

d’Ustarits, Département des Basses-Pyrénées (Pau: an II [1793]), 1. Bibliothèque municipale will be abbreviated as BM henceforth.

⁴ BM Pau, Ee 1912, Monestier, *Monestier (du Puy-de-Dôme) ... À ses frères d’armes*, 2.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid., 2-3.

better.”⁸ Dismissing that any harm was done in the incident, he went on to praise conduct of the soldiers as an act of revolutionary bravery: “There was also courage in breaking the bands and swaddling [of priests]. On the off chance that the soldier was not fighting against the Spanish, he did well to fight against fanaticism.”⁹ Thus, in the eyes of Jacobins like Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, breaking the power of religious fanatics was just as praiseworthy as fighting the Spanish army. Demolishing a cross was simply war by other means against the enemies of the republic, who, in this case, were charlatans attempting to keep French citizens in torpid thrall of superstition. Instead of disciplining the iconoclastic “frivolity” of French soldiers involved, Monestier threatened to punish anyone who would complain about the demolished cross: “Thus, if the slightest disturbance would arise from this occasion in the army, or between soldiers and the natives of the *pays* [country], we call on the popular society of Aignoua [sic] to denounce to us those who would defend the cross or who would support fanaticism under any pretext whatsoever.”

¹⁰The real culprits in the matter were those who would “support fanaticism.”

Monestier’s bawdy *arrêté* of 7 Frimaire Year II (27 November 1793) brings together broader themes about religion, revolution and belonging explored in the following chapters of this dissertation. First, revolutionaries in the South West came to see the true enemies of the Republic to be the kingdom of Spain and religious fanatics. Moreover, both these internal and external enemies were defined primarily by their religiosity: associations between Catholicism, Spain and the Spanish Inquisition meant that the Spain embodied a threat that was as much religious as it was political in nature. Second, revolutionaries like Monestier sought to define the citizenship of religious groups within France in patriotic and universalist terms. One can be a French Catholic or

⁸ BM Pau Ee 1912, Monestier, *Monestier (du Puy-de-Dôme) ... À ses frères d’armes*, 3.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

French Jew, so long as one was devoted to the Patrie. Additionally, religious identity was abstracted, so that one had the freedom to worship the Supreme Being, but not the freedom to exercise particular religious practices. The emergence of revolutionary religions centered on patriotic service and worship of the Supreme Being only further strengthened the association between these abstract religious categories and French citizenship. Those who rejected the universalism of the cult of Reason also rejected the Revolution, and thus were considered religious fanatics. Third, radical revolutionaries also conceptualized religion in terms of public space and exteriority: space was to be regulated and reserved only for the worship of the Supreme Being and the Patrie, not a place for particular religious practice. Finally, Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, aware of how potentially alienating such acts of iconoclasm were for the Basque community of Ainhoa, considered the local population more suspect and in need of discipline than those destroying religious symbols. Thus, Monestier's *arrêté* brings together the various around religion, revolution and national belonging during the period of the Terror in the South West.

My dissertation studies the ways in which revolutionaries in France used religion to define concepts of citizenship, belonging and identity between the years 1789 and 1794. My research addresses two fundamental questions about French religious history during the Revolution. First, why did the religious conflict of the French Revolution take a drastic and totalizing cultural form directed against all religious belief instead of just targeting the clergy opposed to the Revolution?¹¹ Second, why and how did French secularism come to embrace a universalism predicated upon an

¹¹ This question was first raised by Dale Van Kley, who observed: "But by whatever name it goes, this religious Terror spared neither Catholic constitutional nor Protestant clergies, nor even Jewish synagogues and rabbis, making its target difficult to construe as anything less than revealed religion as such. What is not clear, in other words, and what remains unexplained by any set of uniquely revolutionary "circumstances," is why "de-fanaticization" had to take this drastic and total cultural form in France rather than, say, an anticlericalism directed exclusively against the Catholic clergy or that portion of it that had defined itself against the revolution, as in the hanging of bishops who had collaborated with the Russians in the Polish independence uprising led by Tadeusz Kościuszko in 1794." Dale Van Kley, "Christianity as Casualty and Chrysalis of Modernity: The Problem of Dechristianization in the French Revolution," *The American Historical Review* 108, no. 4 (October 2003): 1098.

exclusionary national identity? My dissertation contends that during the French Revolution, religion became one of the primary means through which revolutionaries debated, contested, and negotiated the meaning of what it meant to be a French citizen. This dissertation argues that the religious conflict of the French Revolution took on a drastic and totalizing cultural form in reaction to the failure of the Constitutional Catholic Church to provide a national religious consensus and the looming threat of war that polarized and politicized identities inside and outside the French Republic. As a result, revolutionaries came to embrace a type of universalism predicated upon an exclusionary national identity precisely because war, religion, and Terror had strained the limits of national belonging and citizenship within the newly constructed Republic. At the heart of the debate over religion was a tension between universalism and particularism, and the ways in which diverse religious and ethnic groups were able to relate to the universal category of French citizenship. All those who fell outside of the universalizing embrace of revolutionary religious universalism would thus become the quintessential Other: the anti-social religious fanatic conspiring to restore the Ancien Régime. At the same time, the universal discourse also offered those formerly excluded from French political life a chance to exercise their citizenship. By studying the religious debates of the French Revolution, my dissertation demonstrates that the religious policies of the Terror (1793-1794) in southwestern France represented an attempt to construct a new imagined religious community during a moment of religious conflict, political factionalism, and war.¹²

By studying the development of national religious culture in revolutionary France, my research seeks to understand how revolutionaries attempted to resolve the conflict between belonging to the nation and belonging to a religion. At the turn of the eighteenth century, French

¹² Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised Edition (New York: Verso, 2006). I borrow the concept of “imagined community” from Anderson.

political and religious writers initially believed that there existed two types of authority: the temporal power embodied in the person of the French king and spiritual power as embodied in the Church.¹³ Although separate, these two different ontological spheres were believed to be complementary, and both ultimately derived their authority from God. However, questions still lingered over to what exact extent temporal authorities could intervene in matters of religious controversy. By the mid-eighteenth century, Jansenist and philosophe critics of ecclesiastical authority began using spatial and corporeal metaphors in order to justify temporal intervention into spiritual affairs. This had two consequences: first, temporal sovereignty was rendered territorial, material, and bodily; second, the church and its rituals were rendered exterior, public, material and thus subject to temporal regulation. Additionally, ecclesiastical historians, novelists, and philosophes also began to reimagine pastoral care in terms of *bienfaisance* and active social engagement in the world.¹⁴ This new *bon curé* would be a married man who gave practical advice to his parishioners regarding agricultural technics and the family. Likewise for women religious, domesticity, conjugal love, and the education of children were understood as a compliment to the work of the *bon curé*. Effectively, these two developments would serve as a foundation for the later territorialization, nationalization, and regeneration of the Gallican Church during the French Revolution. By reimagining the Church as composed of physical bodies and territories, revolutionaries maintained that the Church was in the State. Thus, rendered as an extension of the

¹³ For more, see: Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957); William Farr Church, *Richelieu and Reason of State* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972); Dale Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560-1791* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996); John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*, vol. 1: The Clerical Establishment and Its Social Ramifications (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

¹⁴ For more, see: Pierre Sage, *Le "bon prêtre" dans la littérature française d'Amadis de Gaule au Génie du Christianisme* (Paris: 1951); Mita Choudhury, *Convents and Nuns in Eighteenth-Century French Politics and Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004); Claire E. Cage, *Unnatural Frenchmen: The Politics of Priestly Celibacy and Marriage, 1720-1815* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2015).

new revolutionary state, the Constitutional Catholic Church sought to bring together national belonging and religious belonging in the name of the regenerated nation.

The emergence of the Sacerdotal Revolution in the South West during the Terror was a response to the failure of the Constitutional Catholic Church to resolve the conflict between national and religious identity. While the territorialization and nationalization of the Catholic Church allowed revolutionaries to integrate the Church into the new revolutionary political order, it also meant that rejection of the Constitutional Church would also manifest itself as opposition to the Revolution.¹⁵ Following the declaration of war against the Spanish kingdom and the Federalist Crisis of 1793, the National Convention sent representatives on mission to the departments to oversee the purging of local institutions of suspected counterrevolutionaries and organize war effort.¹⁶ Spatial and corporeal metaphors were used once more to justify restrictions on religious practice in the region. The representatives on mission, in collaboration with local Jacobin militants in the departmental administration, ordered the closing of religious buildings, confiscation of religious items, dismissal of religious ministers, clerical marriages, demolition of church belfries, and established the cult of Reason. Additionally, they transformed the topography of the South West by renaming roads, cities, and even individuals. Through the new cult of Reason (later replaced by the cult of the Supreme Being), radical revolutionaries exhorted their fellow citizens to fellow citizens to limit their religious devotion only to the Supreme Being and the Patrie. It was at the weekly *décadi* worship held in the temples of Reason that citizens would learn about the laws of the Republic and listen to moral lessons about republican citizenship. Thus, this

¹⁵ For more, see: Timothy Tackett, *Religion, Revolution and Regional Culture in Eighteenth-Century France: The Ecclesiastical Oath of 1791* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

¹⁶ For more, see: Antoine Richard, *Le gouvernement révolutionnaire dans les Basses-Pyrénées* (Bayonne: Éditions Harriet, 1984); Alphonse Aulard, *Le culte de la raison et le culte de l'Être Suprême (1793-1794): Essai historique* (Paris: Félix Alcan Éditeur, 1892).

“Sacerdotal Revolution” represented an attempt by these revolutionaries to resolve the conflict between feelings of religious belonging and national belonging. In other words, they sought to create a new imagined national religious community.

At the core of this new revolutionary religion was a universalist discourse that sought to transcend religious difference by grounding religious belief in the abstract notions of natural religion. Exemplary of this dynamic was the debate over the meaning of the freedom of religious belief. When confronted with claims from those who insisted on their right to practice their traditional religions, revolutionaries like Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme would reply that the freedom of religious worship only applied to universal religious belief. The culmination of this universalist logic came towards the end of Year II with the celebration of the cult of the Supreme Being. According to those like Maximilien Robespierre, religious difference was supposed to melt away under the warm aura of the Supreme Being.¹⁷ However, the true object of worship was never only the Supreme Being. As Mona Ozouf noted long ago in her work on revolutionary festivals: “Never shown, the invisible fatherland [Patrie] was nonetheless the focal point of the whole festival.... The fatherland, the commonwealth, was the true expression of collective unity.”¹⁸ Hence, the Sacerdotal Revolution offered revolutionaries in the South West and in Paris a means by which they could articulate a new sense of national belonging that transcended particular religious identities; one that was grounded in universal religion and the Patrie. Despite its universalist pretensions, the Sacerdotal Revolution also defined the limits of republican citizenship during the

¹⁷ In a speech on the new cult of the Supreme Being, Robespierre would declare: “Without constraint, without persecution, all the sects must mix together in the universal religion of nature.” Robespierre, “Sur les rapports des idées religieuses et morales avec les principes républicains, et sur les fêtes nationales,” *AP*, 90:138.

¹⁸ Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Harvard University Press, 1988), 280.

Terror: all those who rejected the new religious order were declared fanatics, and thus enemies of the French Republic in league with the Catholic tyrant of Spain and clerical émigrés.

Like the Constitutional Catholic Church before it, the Sacerdotal Revolution also failed to resolve the tension between religious identities and national identities. With the fall of Robespierre in the summer of 1794, the Thermidorian National Convention recalled many of the radical representatives on mission in the region.¹⁹ Additionally, the Thermidorian policies of purging the local administrations, along with the disarmament of Jacobin militants, meant that the Sacerdotal Revolution lost much of its activist and institutional sources of support and propagation.²⁰ Although, the Cult of the Supreme Being continued into Year III, the National Convention eventually voted for the formal separation of Church and State.²¹ Thus, in the short term, Sacerdotal Revolution failed to offer a solution to religious difference. In the long term, the legacy of the Sacerdotal Revolution was more ambiguous. For those Sephardic Jews whom the representatives on mission empowered during the Terror, the Sacerdotal Revolution offered a moment where they were able to articulate their own claims to citizenship through their anti-

¹⁹ In his analysis of the motives behind the revolt against Robespierre on 9 Thermidor, Martyn Lyons has argued that Robespierre's call for religious conciliation had angered the deputies sitting in the National Convention and on the Committee of General Security. Martyn Lyons, "The 9 Thermidor: Motives and Effects," *European Studies Review* 5, no. 2 (1975): 136-141; Mathiez likewise noted the importance of the Catherine Théot ("the Mother of God") affair as creating a serious rift between Robespierre and other members of the Committee of Public Safety. Albert Mathiez, "The Divisions in the Committees of Government on the Eve of the 9th Thermidor," in *The Fall of Robespierre and Other Essays* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1968), 139-151; For more on a historiographical discussion of the religious motives, see: Françoise Brunel, *Thermidor, la chute de Robespierre*, (Bruxelles: Editions Complexe, 1989), 52-59.

²⁰ For more on the Thermidorian reaction in the South West, see: Richard, *Le gouvernement révolutionnaire dans les Basses-Pyrénées*, 199-222; Louis Ricaud, *Les représentants du peuple en mission dans les Hautes-Pyrénées: II. Monestier de la Lozère et Auguste Izoard, Fructidor an II - Messidor an III* (Paris: H. Champion, 1902); J.C. Drouin, "De la fin de l'Ancien Régime à la chute de la royauté (1789-1848): la tempête et le calme," in *Landes et Chalosses*, ed. by Serge Lerat (Pau: Société Nouvelle d'Éditions Régionales et de Diffusion, 1984), 634-635; Gilbert Brégail, "Le Gers pendant la Révolution," *Bulletin de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie du Gers* 33, no.1 (1922), 51-63.

²¹ François-Alphonse Aulard, *Christianity and the French Revolution*, trans. Lady Frazer (New York: Howard Fertig, 1966), 135-158; Georges Lefebvre, *The Thermidorians and the Directory of the French Revolution*, trans. Robert Baldick (New York: Random House, 1964), 73-81.

Jacques Bernet, "Les limites de la déchristianisation de l'an II éclairées par le retour au culte de l'an III: L'exemple du District de compiègne," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, no. 312 (1998): 285-299.

clerical and anti-Catholic discourse – a trend that would continue into the nineteenth century.²² For the Basques of the region, who defined their identity primarily in terms of language, privileges, and local institutions, the Sacerdotal Revolution politicized their religious identity during the Terror in unprecedented ways. In the long term, Basque nationalists would look back on this period as a moment of persecution and embrace religion as a constitutive element of their identity.²³ Thus, the legacies of the Sacerdotal Revolution and its universalist discourse remained ambivalent.

In order to trace the development of this religious conflict and the inherent tension between universalism and particularism, my dissertation focuses on the debates over religion in Paris and in the south-western departments of the Basses-Pyrénées, Hautes-Pyrénées, Gers, and Landes. The South West was a diverse region, characterized by its long tradition of Marian apparitions in the Pyrenees, Protestant enclaves of Béarn, and its vibrant Sephardic community of Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne. Moreover, the boundary line dividing France from Spain was not impermeable: Basques and Catalan communities straddled both sides of the Pyrenees, and frequently moved across the border. In other words, the South West offers historians an ideal case study for how revolutionaries debated, contested and negotiated the boundaries of identity. During the height of the Terror in 1794, the region would witness one of the most drastic and unprecedented projects of regeneration.

My dissertation makes an important intervention into the historiography of the French Revolution by conceptualizing the religious policies of the Terror as the “Sacerdotal Revolution,”

²² Ari Joskowicz, *The Modernity of Others: Jewish Anti-Catholicism in Germany and France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014); See also, Jay Berkovitz, *Rites and Passages: The Beginnings of Modern Jewish Culture in France, 1650-1860* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 89-114. Berkovitz believed that the French Revolution disrupted Jewish communal life, thus slowing the pace of modernization already underway decades prior.

²³ For example, see: James E. Jacob, “The French Revolution and the Basques of France,” in *Basque Politics: A Case Study in Ethnic Nationalism*, ed. William A. Douglass (Reno: Basque Studies Program, 1985), 83-89; for an example of a nineteenth century clerical historian of the Pays Basque, see: Pierre Haristoy, *Le martyre d'un peuple ou internement des Basques sous la Terreur, suivi de chants antirévolutionnaires* (Pau: Imprimerie Vignancour, 1894). Haristoy's title does not mince words: for the curé of Ciboure, the internment of the Basques was a martyrdom.

rather than “dechristianization.” In general, historians have used the term “dechristianization” to describe a complex phenomenon during the Terror that included the seizure of religious items, closure of religious buildings, demolition of belfries, melting down of church bells, autos-de-fé, iconoclasm, compulsory clerical marriages, dismissal of religious ministers, masquerades, and various manifestations of revolutionary civic cults.²⁴ However, as other historians have noted, the term is anachronistic and not reflective of the more general measures that also affected Jewish religious practices.²⁵ Instead, my choice to use the term “Sacerdotal Revolution” is influenced by my sources. In a letter to the National Convention describing the religious policies implemented in the South West, Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac declared: “You see, citizen colleagues, that the people have returned to reason and philosophy, as [they did] to liberty; we only need to aid them in the Sacerdotal Revolution, which is already well advanced.”²⁶ For Dartigoeyte and Cavaignac, the religious policies of the Terror constituted a type of “Sacerdotal Revolution” meant to break the power of priests and refashion a new republican citizenry devoted to the Supreme Being and the Patrie. Thus, the term “Sacerdotal Revolution” helps to better capture the ways in which radical revolutionaries in the South West imagined their religious policies as a continuation and implementation of earlier revolutionary projects of regeneration. As such, the Sacerdotal Revolution manifested itself as an all-encompassing “cultural revolution” that sought to hasten the arrival of the *homme nouveau* and extirpate religious fanaticism from all corners of

²⁴ Michel Vovelle, 1793, *La Révolution contre l'Église: De la Raison à l'Être Suprême* (Bruxelles: Éditions Complexe), 13-14, 45-66; see also, Aulard, *Le culte de la raison et le culte de l'Être Suprême*.

²⁵ Bernard Plongeron, “Gouvernement révolutionnaire contre chrétienté (1793-1795),” in *Les défis de la modernité (1750-1840)*, ed. Bernard Plongeron (Paris: Desclée, 1997), 366-367. The term was first coined in 1854 by Félix Dupanloup, bishop of Orléans, to describe the general decline in religious belief and practice in the nineteenth-century France.

²⁶ “Letter of Dartigoeyte and Cavaignac to the National Convention, 19 Brumaire Year II (9 November 1793),” in *RACSP*, 8:313-314.

the country.²⁷ In other words, it was a project to construct a new imagined religious community centered on the nation.

Furthermore, my dissertation contributes to the historical debate over the religious policies of the Terror by emphasizing the ways in which radical revolutionaries in Paris and in the South West used the universalist discourse of the Sacerdotal Revolution to articulate their own ideas about the nation, citizenship and belonging. Previously, historians like Alphonse Aulard and Michel Vovelle interpreted dechristianization primarily in terms of religious belief, or lack thereof. My dissertation seeks move beyond these debates by building on the scholarship of historians of French political culture like Mona Ozouf, Lynn Hunt, David Bell and Antoine de Baecque.²⁸ These historians had argued that the religious policies of the French Revolution were part of a broader cultural projects known as “regeneration.” With the coming of the French Revolution, radical revolutionaries devised a variety of rituals, symbols, and other cultural practices to bring about the regeneration and “homogenization of mankind.” At the center of project was the belief that political will could transform France into a nation of republican citizens. From the perspective of political culture, this dissertation looks at how these revolutionaries sought to refashion new conceptions of citizenship and belonging through language of universal religion.²⁹ According to these new models of belonging proposed by revolutionaries like Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme and

²⁷ Serge Bianchi, *La révolution culturelle de l'an II, Élités et peuple, 1789-1799* (Paris: Aubier, 1982). The historian Serge Bianchi referred to dechristianization as a “cultural revolution,” in reference to the Maoist Cultural Revolution of the 1960s and 1970s.

²⁸ Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, 262-283; Mona Ozouf, “La Révolution française et la formation de l’homme nouveau,” in *L’homme régénéré: Essais sur la Révolution française* (Paris: Gallimard, 1989), 116-157; Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015), 1-86; David Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680-1800* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 1-21, 140-217; Antoine de Baecque, *The Body Politic: Corporeal Metaphor in Revolutionary France, 1770-1800*, trans. Charlotte Mandell (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 131-156.

²⁹ For more on universalism, see: Pierre Rosanvallon, *The Demands of Liberty: Civil Society in France since the Revolution*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 1-75; Maurice Samuels, *The Right to Difference: French Universalism and the Jews* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2016), 1-49; for an alternative history of history of individualism and universalism, see: Charly Coleman, *The Virtues of Abandon: An Anti-Individualist History of the French Revolution* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014), 249-298.

Maximilien Robespierre, the revolutionary religion of the Sacerdotal Revolution had the potential to create a new republican citizenry centered more on devotion to the Patrie and the Supreme Being instead of particular religious beliefs. Drawing insight from borderland historians like Peter Sahlins and Caroline Ford, I argue that revolutionaries both in Paris and southwestern France articulated, elaborated, and contested the meaning of the Sacerdotal Revolution and the limits of republican citizenship.³⁰ As this dissertation demonstrates, the Sacerdotal Revolution and its universalist discourse first emerged outside of Paris. It was only in response to the Cult of Reason that revolutionaries like Robespierre decided to intervene and offer their own vision of revolutionary religion that differed little from the earlier precedents. Thus, the central contribution that this dissertation makes is how revolutionaries in the South West and in Paris came to articulate a new understanding of citizenship and belonging grounded in the universalist discourse of revolutionary religion.

In addition to centering the importance of universalist discourse in the debates over the Sacerdotal Revolution, this dissertation makes another contribution to the scholarship by studying the exclusionary role of this discourse in the creation of religious fanaticism. While most historians have focused on the ways that revolutionaries attempted to create a new political culture in Year II (1793-1794), there has been little work on how these revolutionaries also simultaneously constructed the image of the religious fanatic.³¹ In order to conceptualize the concept of religious

³⁰ Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 1-24, 267-276; Caroline Ford, *Creating the Nation in Provincial France: Religion and Political Identity in Brittany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 3-28; Talitha Ilacqua, "Territory and the Politics of Identity in the Basque Country during the French Revolution," *French History* 31, no. 3 (2017), 329-350; for more on local initiative in dechristianization, see: Nicole Bossut, "Aux origines de la déchristianisation dans la Nièvre: Fouché, Chaumette, ou les jacobins nivernais?," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, no. 264 (1986): 181-202.

³¹ For some work that deals with religious fanaticism (or enthusiasm), see: Kay Wilkins, "Some Aspects of the Irrational in 18th-Century France," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 140 (1975): 107-201; Judith Devlin, *The Superstitious Mind: French Peasants and the Supernatural in the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 215-230; Michael Heyd, *Be Sober and Reasonable: The Critique of Enthusiasm in*

fanaticism, my dissertation draws from feminist theorists and historians like Judith Butler, Joan Landes, and Joan Scott who critique the exclusionary discourse of French universalism and secularism.³² In Enlightenment and revolutionary discourse, religious fanaticism came to represent the limits of citizenship. The fanatic was the savage who lived in the heart of Europe and threatened at any moment to topple the progress of reason with a wave of violence. For philosophes and revolutionaries alike, fanatics were the heart of darkness that hid underneath the veneer of European civilization. By the time of the Revolution, revolutionaries would associate fanaticism with priests, women, and the countryside.³³ In other words, religious fanaticism was the Revolution's Manichean double and modernity's absolute Other.³⁴ Through an investigation of the changing meanings of religious fanaticism and superstition, this dissertation fills an important gap within historical scholarship by showing how the Sacerdotal Revolution used this discourse of fanaticism to define the limits of citizenship and national belonging during the Terror. The

Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries (New York: E.J. Brill, 1995), 1-71, 165-210, 274-280; Yvan-Georges Paillard, "Fanatiques et patriotes dans le Puy-de-Dôme: La dechristianisation," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 50, no. 233 (1978), 372-404; for superstition, see: *La superstition à l'âge des Lumières*, ed. Bernard Dompnier (Paris: H. Champion, 1998); for more on Jewish critique of Catholic fanatics as the Other, see: Joskowicz, *The Modernity of Others*.

³² Judith Butler, "Restaging the Universal: Hegemony and the Limits of Formalism," in *Contingency, Hegemony, Universality: Contemporary Dialogues on the Left* (New York: Verso, 2000), 11-43; Joan Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 1-10, 93-151, 201-206; Joan Wallach Scott, *The Fantasy of Feminist History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 1-22, 91-116.

³³ For more on the gendered language of religious fanaticism in revolutionary discourse, see: Caroline Ford, *Divided Houses: Religion and Gender in Modern France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 17-36; Olwen Hufton, *Women and the Limits of Citizenship in the French Revolution* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 91-130; Suzanne Desan, *Reclaiming the Sacred: Lay Religion and Popular Politics in Revolutionary France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 165-216; for a classic account describing the countryside as wallowing in superstition on the eve of "modernization," see: Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976), 23-29; Eugen Weber, "Religion and Superstition in Nineteenth-Century France," *The Historical Journal* 31, no. 2 (1988): 399-423; historians have since added a more nuanced understanding of the rural world, and especially the ways that urban elites constructed it in discourse. For more, see: Michel de Certeau, Dominique Julia, and Jacques Revel, *Une Politique de la langue: La Révolution française et les patois: L'enquête de Grégoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), 136-154; James Leaning, *Peasant and French: Cultural Contact in Rural France During the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1-34; Amy Wyngaard, *From Savage to Citizen: The Invention of the Peasant in the French Enlightenment* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004).

³⁴ For more on this, see: Joskowicz, *The Modernity of Others*.

culmination of this process in the South West came with the demonization of Basques as religious fanatics and orders by radical revolutionaries to intern them in churches for fear of their political unreliability. Thus, this dissertation highlights the exclusionary discourse of the universalist language of the Sacerdotal Revolution in the borderland regions of the South West.

Finally, this dissertation asserts that eighteenth-century intellectuals, administrators, and revolutionaries used spatial and corporeal metaphors to think about and justify the extension of state authority over the Church.³⁵ In the past, historians like Dale Van Kley, Catherine Maire, and Jeffrey Merrick have argued that the religious controversy over Jansenism played an important role in bringing about the French Revolution, and ultimately, leading to the creation of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy in 1790.³⁶ However, one fundamental question that this dissertation asks about the Sacerdotal Revolution in 1793 is why certain revolutionaries sent on mission in the South West believed it was within the purview of their powers to both regulate public expressions of religious worship and establish revolutionary religions when their authority was limited to either overseeing the *levée en masse* or political machinery of the state.³⁷ My dissertation insists that this

³⁵ Historians have long noted the importance of space and territory in the articulation of political ideas. For example, see: Bronislaw Baczko, *Lumières de l'utopie* (Paris: Payot, 1978), 283-399; Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, 126-157; Sahlins, *Boundaries*, 61-102, 168-197; for important theological conceptions of territory and jurisdiction before the eighteenth century, see: Jotham Parsons, *The Church in the Republic: Gallicanism and Political Ideology in Renaissance France* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2004), 143-160; for more on the relationship between territoriality and temporal authority, see: Walter Ullmann, "The Development of Medieval Idea of Sovereignty," *The English Historical Review* 64, no. 250 (1949): 1-33; Tyler Lange, "The Birth of a Maxim: 'A Bishop Has No Territory,'" *Speculum* 89, no. 1 (2014): 128-147; André Bossuat, "La Formule 'Le roi est empereur en son royaume': Son emploi au XVe Siècle devant le Parlement de Paris," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* (1922-) 39 (1961): 371-381.

³⁶ Catherine Maire, *L'Église dans l'État: Politique et religion dans la France des Lumières* (Paris: Gallimard, 2019); Catherine Maire, *De la cause de Dieu à la cause de la nation: Le jansénisme au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 1998); Jeffrey Merrick, *The Desacralization of the French Monarchy in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990); Dale Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution*.

³⁷ For example, the National Conventions sent Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte on mission to enforce the *levée en masse* on 23 August 1793. It was during this mission that Dartigoeyte, alongside Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac, issued his first *arrêté* restricting public religious worship in the South West. *AP*, 72:674-680; See also, "Letter of the Committee of Public Safety to Pierre Arnaud Dartigoeyte," in *RACSP*, 6:437. In response to a letter from Dartigoeyte on 11 September 1793 concerning his mission, the Committee of Public Safety affirmed to Dartigoeyte that he had limited powers in ensuring the maintenance of the political machine: "Thus, provided as you are with unlimited powers, you have in hand all the necessary means in order to impart movement to the political machine and maintain it. The

process began with, what I term, the “territorialization of the French Catholic Church.” If, according to Benedict Anderson, a nation is an imaginary community whose boundaries are finite and limited, then formation of a national religious community necessitated the integration of spiritual institutions into the terrestrial world.³⁸ By articulating the relationship between the spiritual and temporal in terms of territories, public space, and physical bodies, philosophes, theologians, and revolutionaries made it possible to think about a new national religious community. This territorializing of temporal authority paved the way for the later nationalization of the Gallican Church under the French Revolution in the form of the Constitutional Catholic Church, in what I consider the first attempt to construct a new national religious consensus. It is no coincidence that this was also a period in which revolutionaries nationalized church property and redivided the kingdom into new departments and dioceses. Following the failure of the Constitutional Catholic Church to provide national religious consensus, radical revolutionaries mobilized similar arguments grounded in territory, public space, and the material world to justify their own religious policies. The Sacerdotal Revolution only represented a second attempt to provide a national religious consensus. Thus, thinking about the “territorialization” of state authority helps explain why certain revolutionaries insisted on the need to remove religious symbols from public space, rename cities, and even perform elaborate civic rituals around secular sacred space.³⁹ Territory undergirded all temporal authority over the spiritual. It is for this reason

Committee continues to rely on your tireless zeal, your far-sighted activity and on your prudent firmness.” Even with “unlimited powers” to intervene in the “political machine,” the intervention of the representatives on mission into the realm of religious belief would have represented an unprecedented extension of revolutionary authority, especially for one who was charged with overseeing the *levée en masse*.

³⁸ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 5-7, 12-46, 67-82, 163-185. Anderson stressed the importance of territory and delimiting territory in the process of developing an imagined community.

³⁹ To a certain extent, one can speak of the Sacerdotal Revolution as a process of deterritorialization and reterritorialization. Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 111-148.

that this dissertation argues that the regeneration of the French Catholic Church was as much spiritual as it was also bodily and spatial.

My research approaches the Sacerdotal Revolution from three different vectors of archival and printed sources. On a broad synchronic and diachronic level, my research studies the writings of political writers and cultural critics of the Enlightenment. These texts comprise a wide range of genres, including religious polemics by Jansenist authors, philosophical tracts on natural religion, ecclesiastical histories studying the primitive church, cultural pieces examining the health of the French national character, works of fictions exploring the inner lives of religious men and women, manuals on marriage, medical works meditating on the sexual lives of priests, and petitions from women religious advocating for the preservation of the monastic orders in France. While broad in their range and content, each of these texts debated the role of religion in society in ways that later influenced how revolutionaries thought about the relationship between the Catholic Church and the French state. Moreover, since eighteenth-century writers began to think about the temporal and spiritual in terms of spatial and corporeal metaphors, my dissertation will also focus on the gendered discourse used to articulate these ideas relating to the role of the Church and its clergy in secular society. If the Revolution was to bring about the regeneration of French religious society, it would take the form of reforms that were “physical, moral, and political.”⁴⁰

On another level, this dissertation studies the discourse of the national government during the Revolution. There are three main interrelated bodies of political leadership that this dissertation closely examines. First, it looks at the political debates of the various revolutionary legislatures: the National Constituent Assembly (1789-1791), the National Legislative Assembly (1791-1792),

⁴⁰ Abbé Henri Grégoire, *Essai sur la régénération physique, morale et politique des Juifs* (Paris: 1789). The abbé Grégoire’s essay on the regeneration of French Jews emphasized provisions that were physical, moral and political in nature.

and the National Convention (1793-1795). From these legislative bodies, this dissertation also studies the Ecclesiastical Committee, the Committee of Instruction (1791-1795), and most importantly, the Committee of Public Safety (1793-1795).⁴¹ While the Ecclesiastical Committee oversaw the development of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (1790) and the Committee of Instruction crafted educational policies targeting the Catholic Church, the Committee of Public Safety effectively acted as the national executive following the abolition of the monarchy. During the Terror, the National Convention also sent out its own members to oversee the implementation of revolutionary reforms in the departments. These national agents acted as the essential organs of the Revolution that linked Paris and the departments together.⁴² In theory, they were the literal manifestations of the sovereign will of the people and acted as intermediaries between the central government and the local communities.⁴³ On a more practical level, they were the “mécánicos” of the political machine. The representatives acted primarily through *arrêtés* – copies of which can be found in the departmental and national archives. Unlike the *décrets* of the National Convention, *arrêtés* promulgated by the Committee of Public Safety, Conseil Exécutif and representatives on

⁴¹ Collections of documents related to the Committee of Instruction and the Committee of Public Safety have been since published. For example, see: *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'instruction publique de l'Assemblée législative*, ed. James Guillaume (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1889); *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'instruction publique de la Convention nationale*, ed. James Guillaume, vols. 1-6 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1891-1907); *Recueil des actes du Comité de salut public: avec la correspondance officielle des représentants en mission et le registre du Conseil exécutif provisoire*, ed. François-Alphonse Aulard, vols. 1-27 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1889-1923); for more on the Ecclesiastical Committee, see: Pierre-Toussaint Durand de Maillane, *Histoire apologétique du Comité Ecclésiastique de l'Assemblée Nationale* (Paris: 1791); Jérôme Tissot-Dupont, “Le comité ecclésiastique de l'Assemblée nationale constituante (1789-1791). *De L'Histoire apologétique* par Durand de Maillane à la recherche moderne,” *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 90, no. 225 (2004): 427-452; Joseph Byrnes, *Priests of the French Revolution: Saints and Renegades in a New Political Era* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014), 37-40.

⁴² Jacques Godechot, *Les institutions de la France sous la Révolution et l'Empire* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1968), 340-346; Colin Lucas, *The Structure of the Terror: The Example of Javogues and the Loire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 257-295; Michel Biard, *Les missionnaires de la République: Les représentants du peuple en mission (1793-1795)* (Paris: Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, 2002), 17, 234-248, 253-254.

⁴³ Lucas noted: “The proconsuls were *Représentants du Peuple*, they were the repositories of the will of the sovereign people. Their authority, therefore, came not merely from a government but directly from the people; to resist a *Représentant en mission* was to resist the will of the sovereign people, and this was, *ipso facto*, counter-revolution.” Lucas, *The Structure of the Terror*, 259.

mission only carried the status of provisional and ad-hoc law.⁴⁴ In addition, representatives on mission also issued printed proclamations, circulars, and other pieces of printed literature. During the period of the Terror, it would be the representatives on mission who took lead in spreading the Sacerdotal Revolution.

The final vector of sources examined by this dissertation constitute a myriad of local institutions and organizations of the South. These sources in turn, can be divided into three groups: local administrations; surveillance committees; and popular societies. Prior to the Revolution, the South West was governed by a series of provincial assemblies that constituted the *pays d'états* of Labourd, Soule, Basse-Navarre, Béarn in the Basses Pyrénées; Bigorre in the Hautes-Pyrénées; Marsan in Landes; and Armagnac in Gers.⁴⁵ This dissertation focuses on the Biltzar of Labourd and Estates General of the Kingdom of Navarre. In addition, the Sephardic Jews of Bayonne likewise organized them into a merchant corporation known as the *Nation*.⁴⁶ Following the French Revolution, the National Assembly abolished all privileged corporate bodies and reorganized these *pays* (provincial territories) into departments.⁴⁷ In turn, the revolutionaries established

⁴⁴ Godechot, *Les Institutions de la France*, 342; Biard, *Les Missionnaires de la République*, 185. In general, only the National Convention had legislative power. The Committee of Public Safety and the representatives on mission were regarding as wielding only executive power of enforcement.

⁴⁵ Jean-Louis Masson, *Provinces, départements, régions: L'organisation administrative de la France d'hier à demain* (Paris: Éditions Fernand Lanore, 1984), 37-41; Anne Zink, *Pays ou circonscriptions: Les collectivités territoriales de la France du sud-ouest sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2000), 41-46, 49-51, 57-65; Ilacqua, "Territory and the Politics of Identity in the Basque Country," 330-331; Eugène Goyheneche, *Le Pays Basque: Soule, Labourd, Basse-Navarre* (Pau: Société nouvelle d'éditions régionales et de diffusion, 1979), 119-132, 253-302; Maïté Lafourcade, "Les assemblées provinciales du Pays Basque français sous l'Ancien Régime," *Lapurdum*, no.4 (1999): 303-329; Christian Desplat, "Louis XIII and the Union of Béarn to France," in *Conquest and Coalescence: The Shaping of the State in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Mark Greengrass (London: New York, 1991), 68-83.

⁴⁶ For an important source on the Sephardic Jews of Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne, see: *Les "Nations" juives portugaises du sud-ouest de la France (1684-1791): Documents*, ed. Gerard Nahon (Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian Centro Cultural Português, 1981); for the deliberations of the nearby Sephardic community of Bordeaux, see: *Le register des deliberations de la Nation juive portugaise de Bordeaux (1711-1787)*, ed. Simon Schwarzfuchs (Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian Centro Cultural Português, 1981).

⁴⁷ For more on the division of France into departments, see: Marie-Vic Ozouf-Marignier, *La Formation des départements: La représentation du territoire français à la fin du 18e siècle* (Paris: Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales 1989).

administrations on the level of the departments, districts, and municipalities.⁴⁸ During the Terror, local administrators played an important role in articulating and developing the Sacerdotal Revolution at the local level, in collaboration with the representatives on mission. One of the most important of these local officials was François-Michel Lantrac, who was *procureur général-syndic* of Gers and the leading figure calling for the abolition of Catholicism in the South West.⁴⁹

Alongside the local administrators were the popular societies of each department. During the French Revolution, revolutionaries organized themselves into political clubs, the most popular of which was the Jacobin clubs.⁵⁰ Jacobinism itself was a broad political ideology that combined elements of republicanism, liberalism, and communitarianism. The period of the Terror coincided with the ascendancy of the Montagnard faction of the Jacobins in the National Convention. When the representatives on mission arrived in the departments, they relied heavily on the support of the local popular societies.⁵¹ Eventually these clubs evolved into quasi-official institutions that aided Parisian authorities in reinforcing the revolutionary government in Year II. They filled three important roles: surveillance of local suspects and regular authorities, civic education, and care for the public welfare. They were largely an urban phenomenon. As auxiliaries of the revolutionary power, they represented the basic link between the revolutionary government and its citizens. Upon

⁴⁸ Godechot, *Les Institutions de la France*, 91-112, 313-325; Lucas, *The Structure of the Terror*, 220-240.

⁴⁹ Gilbert Brégail, "Un révolutionnaire gersois: Lantrac," *Bulletin de la société archéologique du Gers* 4, no. 2 (1903): 119-134.

⁵⁰ For classic interpretations of Jacobinism, see: Crane Brinton, *The Jacobins: An Essay in the New History* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930); François Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, trans. Elborg Forster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Donald M. G. Sutherland, *The French Revolution and Empire: The Quest for a Civic Order* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003); for a comprehensive institutional study of Jacobin Clubs throughout France, see: Michael Kennedy, *The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution: The First Years* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982); Michael Kennedy, *The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution: The Middle Years* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988); Michael Kennedy, *The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution, 1793-1795* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000); for more on Jacobin ideology, see: Patrice Higonnet, *Goodness Beyond Virtue: Jacobins during the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998); Jean-Pierre Gross, *Fair Shares for All: Jacobin Egalitarianism in Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

⁵¹ Kennedy, *The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution, 1793-1795*, 53-92; Godechot, *Les Institutions de la France*, 333-337; Lucas, *The Structure of the Terror*, 96-124.

entering a department, the representatives on mission usually first met with the local popular society. Furthermore, the popular societies furnished the personnel for many administrative positions in the departments, districts, and municipalities during the Terror. Finally, they were among the most active supporters of the Sacerdotal Revolution.⁵² In cities like Bayonne and Tarbes, popular societies advocated for clerical abdications, held funerary ceremonies lamenting the death of Marat and Lepeletier, celebrated civic festivals, erected patriotic altars, observed the *décadie*, opened Temples of Reason, and later composed hymns to the Supreme Being.⁵³ Thus, the meeting minutes, speeches and circulars of popular societies represent a crucial source in understanding the Sacerdotal Revolution in the South West.

In addition to the departmental authorities and popular societies, surveillance (or revolutionary) committees comprised one of the many essential organs of the revolutionary government.⁵⁴ While surveillance committees originally appeared spontaneously in 1792, they did not proliferate across France until the spring of 1793 following the law of 21 March 1793. Surveillance committees were responsible for receiving denunciations, issuing arrest warrants for suspects, and bringing suspects before the revolutionary tribunal. With the law of 14 Frimaire Year II, the revolutionary government gave the committee a more defined role within the hierarchy of government, charging them with the application of the revolutionary laws and measures of public

⁵² Kennedy, *The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution, 1793-1795*, 151-195; Vovelle, *Révolution contre l'Église*, 213-22.

⁵³ Pierre Hourmat, *Histoire de Bayonne: La Révolution, 1789-1799* (Bayonne: Société des sciences, lettres et arts de Bayonne, 1992), 196-198, 211-226.

⁵⁴ Maurice Genty, "Comités de surveillance (ou Comités révolutionnaires)," in *Dictionnaire historique de la Révolution française*, ed. Albert Soboul (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1989), 258; Lucas, *The Structure of the Terror*, 124; Godechot, *Les institutions de la France*, 326-333; Jean-François Dalbergue, "Les comités de surveillance révolutionnaire dans les Landes durant l'an II," *Les Landes et la Révolution: Actes du Colloque de Mont-de-Marsan, 29-30 septembre 1989*, ed. Bernadette Suau (Mont-de-Marsan: Conseil Général des Landes, 1992), 151-158; Antoine Richard, "Le comité de surveillance et les suspects de Dax," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 7, no. 37 (1930): 24-40; John Black Sirich, *The Revolutionary Committees in the Departments of France, 1793-1794* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1943).

safety and general security. These committees were for the most part, ideologically pure, since their membership was often very closely linked with the local popular societies and regulated periodically by purges. Documents pertaining to the surveillance committees exist in each of the four departments studied, to a varying degree. These committees provide important information on denunciations, imprisonments, and overall information collecting in the departments. They are also a crucial source of information regarding the ordinary men and women who resisted the policies of the religious Terror. In the particular case of the South West, these committees also oversaw the deportation and internment of Basques.⁵⁵ Despite their role in the repressive apparatus of the Terror, surveillance committees also provided the means for ordinary individuals to exercise their citizenship. In commune of Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne, Sephardic Jews dominated the membership of committee, and thus enabled them to use their position as a way to also advocate on behalf of other French Jews across France.⁵⁶ Thus, surveillance committees represent an important source on the development of the Sacerdotal Revolution in the South West.

Finally, the history of the Basses-Pyrénées is a history of the archives. In 1889, a fire destroyed the city hall of Bayonne, and along with it, countless documents pertaining to the French Revolution.⁵⁷ Then in 1908, another fire devastated the Archives Départementales des Basses-Pyrénées at Pau, destroying most documents of the revolutionary period. In order to overcome this lacuna in the archives, historians have turned to local municipal sources. However, creation, collection, and preservation of documents for relating to the communes like Sare, Itxassou, and

⁵⁵ Manex Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale du Pays Basque: La Révolution de 1789*, vol. 4 (Donostia: Elkarlanean, 2002), 300-302.

⁵⁶ Ernest Ginsburger, "Première Partie: Histoire," in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau / Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne. Procès-verbaux et correspondance 11 Octobre 1793 - 30 Fructidor an II*, ed. Ernest Ginsburger (Paris: Librairie Lipschutz, 1934), 8.

⁵⁷ Claude Laharie, "Avant-propos," *La Révolution dans les Basses-Pyrénées* (Pau: Archives départementales des Pyrénées-Atlantiques, 1989), 1; Richard, *Le gouvernement révolutionnaire dans les Basses-Pyrénées*, 8-10.

Ascaïn was sporadic and incomplete for the revolutionary period.⁵⁸ For example, in the commune of Itxassou there was a flurry of activity recorded in the records of the general administration of the commune for the months of Frimaire, Nivôse and Pluviôse Year II, followed by a precipitous drop in Ventôse Year II. Although the reasons for this drop in activity is not clear, it is nonetheless clear that Ventôse Year II was also the period during which Pinet and Cavaignac ordered the deportation and internment of Basques living in that commune. Researchers and historians have also turned to local histories produced before the fires of 1889 and 1908 in order to supplement the lost documents. The nineteenth century witnessed an explosion of local history writing, archaeology, historical pageants, *sociétés savants* and congresses focused on a field of memory tied to one's attachment to the local *pays*.⁵⁹ Fortunately for historians of the Basses-Pyrénées, many of these writings published and preserved these documents that would have been lost in the fire. Of great value was Louis Soulice's bibliography of archival material, where he lists and sometimes quotes documents found in the Archives Départementales des Basses-Pyrénées. Thus beyond the archival material, this dissertation also makes great use of local histories and municipal records in order to close the gaps in revolutionary history of the Basses-Pyrénées.

This dissertation is divided into two major parts. In the first part, it examines the gradual disenchantment of the eighteenth century through spatial and corporeal metaphors and the eventual construction and fall of the Constitutional Church. The second part of this dissertation then traces the emergence and development of the Sacerdotal Revolution in the South West. Each of these three chapters focuses on a particular theme of the Sacerdotal Revolution: universalism,

⁵⁸ Archives Départementales des Pyrénées-Atlantiques, pôle de Bayonne, EE dépôt Itxassou BB 3, "Registres of the Administration générale de la commune."

⁵⁹ For more on the memory and local history during the nineteenth century, see: Stéphane Gerson, *Pride of Place: Local Memories and Political Culture in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 23-69.

fanaticism, and the culmination of these two discourses in the divergent experiences of Sephardic Jews and Basques living in the region.

The first chapter is the first of two chapters of this dissertation focusing on the broad development of ideas about the relationship between the Church and State. It argues that during the eighteenth-century religious critics of the papacy and philosophes mobilized spatial and corporeal metaphors in order to justify the intervention of the state in spiritual matters affecting religious nonconformists. After providing a brief overview of the Gallican ideas relating to territory and jurisdiction in the sixteenth century, this chapter analyzes the debate over the “Exposition sur les Droits de la Puissance spiritual” published by the General Assembly of the Gallican Clergy in 1765. It was during this controversy, that Jansenists and philosophes used spatial arguments to extend the temporal authority of the state over the Church, while the Gallican Clergy expressed unease with such arguments. The effect of these debates was to render the administration of the sacraments public and “exterior” components of the Church subject to temporal regulation. Additionally, during this debate, writers like the mysterious Chevalier de Cerfvol took these arguments to their logical extreme and called for the nationalization of all church property on grounds that they fell outside the spiritual purview of the Church. While Jansenists and philosophes were busy rendering temporal authority over all that was material and territorial, writers of the period were promoted a new vision of the pastoral care that centered on the role of the priest in the world. This “bon curé movement” took many forms: either in the image of the mythic golden age of the primitive church of ecclesiastical historians, or as state officers of public morality, or as the poor parish priest of natural religion. These new models of pastoral care helped extend spatial and corporeal metaphors of the church by rendering the parish priest as more firmly part of the physical world. Thus, this chapter argues that “secularization” or the

“disenchantment” of society came about as a consequence of these spatial and corporeal metaphors and made way for the eventual nationalization of the Church under the French Revolution.

The second chapter of this dissertation traces the reterritorialization of the Gallican Church, the creation of Civil Constitution of the Clergy, and its eventual failure. This chapter argues that although spatial and corporeal discourse ultimately led to the establishment of the Constitutional Catholic Church in 1791, the logic of nationalization ultimately meant that revolutionaries would interpret all opposition to the Constitutional Catholic Church as an attack on the Revolution and thus contribute to the eventual division and failure of the Church as a vehicle of regeneration. This chapter first begins with the reterritorialization of the Gallican Church in the debates over the ownership of the ecclesiastical property. During these debates, the use of spatial and corporeal metaphors would reach their culmination with accusations or denials that one was committing “homicide” by taking away the property from the Church. Eventually, revolutionaries adopted an anticorporate discourse in order to bring about the territorial nationalization of the Gallican Church. Similarly, the debates over the abolition of religious orders were ones of bodies, both moral and physical, of the Church and nation. Finally, in the debate over the Civil Constitutional Clergy, spatial and bodily dimensions of the Church reemerged once more. Eventually, Revolutionaries like Armand-Gaston Camus would mobilize spatial arguments by insisting that the Church was *in* the State as a way to emphasize the jurisdictionally superiority of the will of the Nation over the Church. Finally, this chapter analyzes how the consequences of arguments led to the downfall of the Church. Through the nationalization of the Church, revolutionaries opened the Revolution open to attack from those who opposed its religious policies. For the South West, this would mean violence and division between supporters of the refractory clergy and those of the

Constitutional Clergy. Thus, territorialization and nationalization of the Church both helped to justify the regeneration of the Catholic Church and opposition to the Revolution.

In the third chapter, the dissertation turns to the emergence of the Sacerdotal Revolution in the South West. This chapter argues that debates over the meaning of the freedom of religious worship and the establishment of the Cult of Reason, and later the Cult of the Supreme Being, represented a debate over religious identity, citizenship, and belonging in the South West. At the heart of this debate was a tension between the particular religious identity of French citizens and their universal right to worship the Supreme Being. The Sacerdotal Revolution first emerged in the South West out of the initiative of the representatives on mission and local administrators to extend Joseph Fouché's *arrêté* prohibiting symbols of one's religious identity in public space and the establishment of a new funerary cult centered around the god Sleep. Like with earlier revolutionary attempts at religious reform, the intervention first came in spatial and corporeal terms. Eventually, Dartigoeyte, Cavaignac, and Jean-Baptiste Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme promulgated a series of *arrêtés* that ordered the closing of religious buildings, the establishment of the Cult of Reason, the confiscation of religious items, and the demolition of church belfries. These measures in turn were founded on a desire to found a new revolutionary religion centered on the worship of the Supreme Being and patriotic devotion to the Nation. When critics raised the issue of religious freedom of worship, the revolutionaries responded that one only had a right to worship the universal religion. Intervention from Maximilien Robespierre in Paris only reaffirmed the dispositions of the representatives on mission in the South West. Thus, the Sacerdotal Revolution in the South West sought to achieve what the Constitutional Catholic Church failed to do: use revolutionary religion to refashion a new regenerated citizenry devoted to the Supreme Being and the Patrie.

The fourth chapter of this dissertation then turns to issue of religious fanaticism and the exclusionary discourse of the Sacerdotal Revolution. By identifying revolutionary cults with universal religion and the national belonging, radical revolutionaries contributed to the constitution of religious opponents of the revolution as fanatics. The chapter first begins by looking at the medicalization of religious fanaticism and superstition during the eighteenth century. If religious fanaticism represented a disease that infected the mind and corrupted the body, then the process of regeneration would constitute a moral, physical, and spiritual response. The chapter then demonstrates that such a conceptualization of fanaticism and superstition continued into the Revolution: fanaticism represented a corrupting miasma that one had to purge through rituals of the Sacerdotal Revolution. This partly helps explain why revolutionaries considered clerical marriage as the solution to religious fanaticism: both bodily and moral, only the sentimental marriage was capable of regenerated corrupted souls. Additionally, if fanaticism and superstition were defined in terms of imagination during the eighteenth century, then the gendered conception of imagination helps to partly explain why women came to be associated with fanaticism. The Revolution also brought about a change in the meaning of the term: no longer simply a medicalized and hygienic concept, under the Terror, religious fanatics constituted the Other of the Revolution: celibate and refractory priests; women; and the countryside. This chapter then concludes with a consideration of what the Sacerdotal Revolution looked like in practice. Above all, it was a “cult of muscles,” devoted to masculine ideals of self-sacrifice and love for the Patrie.

The final chapter of this dissertation looks at how both the universalist and exclusionary discourse of the Sacerdotal Revolution affected religious and ethnic minorities in the South West. Through a comparative analysis of the experience of Basques and Sephardic Jews in the South West, this chapter argues that it was during the Sacerdotal Revolution when the religious identities

of these groups became politicized. Prior to the French Revolution, Basques and Sephardic Jews defined their identity in reference to a complex collection of corporate privileges, local institutions, language, and history. With the coming of the Revolution in 1789, the National Assembly fundamentally transformed these corporate collectivities into individual citizens endowed with abstract universal rights. However, it was during the Sacerdotal Revolution when revolutionaries presented these groups with a model of citizenship predicated on the universalist discourse of revolutionary religion. For the Sephardic Jews who embraced the Sacerdotal Revolution, the Terror represented a moment of political empowerment and influence in the region. The emphasis on universal religion provided an inclusive language that disregarded religious differences. In contrast, Basques who rejected the Constitutional Catholic Church and the Sacerdotal Revolution were marked as religious fanatics who threatened the security of the Patrie in the borderlands. Although political debate regarding Basques prior to the Terror emphasized either language, privileges, or corporate autonomy, it was only during the Terror that their religious belief became suspect. Revolutionaries then designed a policy of internment meant to transform Basques into good republican citizens. Thus, the experiences of the Sephardic Jews and the Basques represented to possible paths towards citizenship under the Terror. This dissertation also suggests that the Terror also left a lasting impact on both groups into the nineteenth century, through Basque nationalist embrace of Catholicism or the tendency of French Jews to stress secular citizenship.

Thus, this dissertation is a story about religion, identity, and difference during the French Revolution. At the center its narrative is the struggle to draw boundaries between the religious and the temporal in French society, whether it involved the relationship between the Church and state or tensions between religious and national feelings and forms of belonging. My dissertation hopes to demonstrate the extent to which revolutionaries attempted to use religion as a meaning of

defining the limits of citizenship in late-eighteenth century France. Although both the Constitutional Catholic Church and the Sacerdotal Revolution were short-lived projects, this dissertation hopes to show how and why Revolutionaries came to use religion as a means of defining inclusion within the new order. Therefore, this dissertation is also a reflection on how the universalist religious discourse of the Revolution came to justify the exclusion of religious minorities in public space in ways that continue today in France.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Joan Scott, *The Politics of the Veil* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

Chapter 1: (Re)constructing the Gallican Church, One and Indivisible

“Religion itself is essentially exterior and public... and if all that is exterior can be subjected to civil power, there would only be a single power, that of Kings and their Ministers which would know equally things of Heaven and those of Earth.”¹
- The General Assembly of the Clergy of France

“You see in my exposition only natural religion. It is very strange that any other is needed!”²
- Jean-Jacques Rousseau

In 1683, a preacher named Jean Soanen from the Congregation of the Oratory delivered a sermon that stressed the intimate relationship between religion, patriotism, and the state. The future Jansenist bishop of Senez extolled patriotism as a real and sublime virtue, grounded in the words and deeds of Jesus.³ According to Soanen, religious virtue and civic virtue were deeply interrelated qualities that defined a person’s character: “so that if it is impossible to be man without being a good citizen, it is similarly impossible to be a good Christian, without cherishing one’s Patrie.”⁴ In other words, patriotism was held to be a fundamentally constitutive element of being a Christian. Soanen went further to argue that it was divine providence that endowed humanity with feelings of belonging and love for one’s homeland by willing that each person be born in one place instead of another.⁵ Although the tenants of Christianity demanded that humanity love one another

¹ *Actes de l'Assemblée-Générale du Clergé de France sur la Religion* (Paris: 1765), 36-37. All translations are mine, unless noted in the footnote or cited in an English translation.

² Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Émile or On Education*, trans. Allan Bloom (New York: Basic Books, 1979), 295.

³ Jean Soanen, “Sermon sur l’amour de la Patrie,” in *Sermons sur différents sujets, prêchés devant le Roi, par le Père Soanen, Prêtre de l’Oratoire*, vol. 1 (Lyon: 1769), 454-455; for more on Jean Soanen, see: Georges Hardy, *Le cardinal de Fleury et le mouvement janséniste* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1925), 72-86.

⁴ Soanen, “Sermon sur l’amour de la Patrie,” 1:455.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1:457-458. Soanen wrote: “Providence, which gave birth to us in one country rather than in another, wanted the place of our birth to become dear and precious to us. Although we should embrace in our heart all the men of whatever nation that they may be, and as our brothers, and as members of Jesus-Christ, it is not doubtful that a love of preference towards our compatriots, is particularly recommended to us; according to the expression of a Pagan, it is this love which makes one love even the stones of his Patrie, which makes one distinguish it from all other parts of the Universe, and that one sacrifices himself for its interests, either by devoting to it his time and works, or his own life.”

regardless of national origin, Soanen insisted that divine providence demanded that each good citizen nonetheless sacrifice one's strength and time to the sovereign of one's respective Patrie: "Our first existence is that of a Citizen, and if the Lord wanted Religion to be in the State, it is to teach us to serve the State as a body of which we are truly members...."⁶ Therefore, religion and the state were intertwining entities meant to facilitate the moral development of their constitutive members. As such, religion and the state must be the focal point of each person's efforts: "Religion and the Patrie are the two great objects that must continually occupy and direct our studies as well as our work."⁷ Failure to attend to the needs of the state only would lead to a social chaos inimical to religion.⁸ Soanen's sermon on patriotism is important for two reasons. First, it was one of the earliest instances in French literature where the Patrie was understood to be an authority superior and distinct from the person of the king.⁹ Second, Soanen articulated a particular relationship between the church and state; one where a person could feel attachment to a particular material space somewhere in the universe and where the church existed *in* the state. Much of the political and religious debate of the eighteenth century would be over issue of where one was to draw the boundaries between terrestrial and spiritual authority in society.

This chapter argues that by the middle of the eighteenth century, Jansenist and philosophe critics of ecclesiastical authority began to use spatial and corporeal metaphors emphasizing the materiality of the Catholic Church as a means to justify the intervention of temporal authorities into spiritual affairs. While these spatial and corporeal metaphors long existed in French political and religious debate since the sixteenth century, my chapter suggests that renewed use of these

⁶ Soanen, "Sermon sur l'amour de la Patrie," 1:459.

⁷ Ibid., 1:461.

⁸ Ibid., 1:484.

⁹ David Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680-1800* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 10, 29.

metaphors by Jansenists and philosophes coincided with the emergence of the public sphere, the development of cartography, the spread of physiocratic ideals, and the gradual disenchantment of the world, thus allowing eighteenth-century French writers to reimagine the relationship between the temporal and spiritual spheres in more material terms. During moments of religious controversy, Jansenist and philosophe writers would claim that all matters relating to the exterior and public aspects of the church, such as the administration of the sacraments or status of ecclesiastical property, fell under the jurisdiction of temporal authorities, not the French clergy. In turn, the French Episcopate would counter that it was impossible to distinguish between exterior administration and internal administration of the Church, and that such arguments risked subjecting the entire Church to the whims of earthly powers. Parallel to these disputes over jurisdiction, another group ecclesiastical historians, novelists, and philosophes contributed to the materialization of the church through their promotion of a new model of pastoral care centered on active social engagement in the world. For men, the *bon curé* (“good priest”) could be a married man who concerned himself with the material well-being of his parishioners, while for women, domesticity served as worthy alternative to the life of the convent. By rendering the Church and its clergy more worldly, material, and territorial, writers of the eighteenth century laid the groundwork for many of the religious reforms of the French Revolution.

My own interpretation of the eighteenth-century French religious debate is deeply indebted to the works of historians Dale Van Kley and Catherine Maire.¹⁰ Both historians were prominent in arguing for the centrality of the Jansenist controversy in the political debates leading up to the

¹⁰ For the most important works of Dale Van Kley, see: Dale Van Kley, *The Damiens Affair and the Unraveling of the Ancien Régime, 1750-1770* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984); Dale Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560-1791* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996); for Catherine Maire, see: Catherine Maire, *De la cause de Dieu à la cause de la nation: Le jansénisme au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 1998); Catherine Maire, *L'Église dans l'État: Politique et religion dans la France des Lumières* (Paris: Gallimard, 2019).

French Revolution. Furthermore, in their analytical framework of the eighteenth-century Jansenist controversy, they identified three dominant discourses: that of the Jansenists, the *parti dévot* (or ultramontane clergy), and the philosophes. However, both historians offered competing interpretations of the history of the Jansenist controversy. For Van Kley, the prolonged quarrel between Jansenists and the *parti dévot* over the papal bull of *Unigenitus* and the monarchy's heavy-handed interventions into the dispute opened the French kings up to attacks from both sides that ultimately contributed to the desacralization of the monarchy. In her recent book, *L'Église dans l'État* (2019), Maire instead argues that during the seventeenth century Gallican theologians, like Edmond Richer, in alliance with the parliamentary magistrates began to defend the independence of the French church from papal control by spiritualizing the church, stripping the church of its temporal powers, and designating the temporal sovereign as the guardian of canonical rules and arbiter of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Maire contends that by the end of the seventeenth century, the church was effectively incorporated into the state. Thus, for Maire, the religious controversies of the eighteenth-century were merely the unintended consequences of the absorption of the church into the state: if the church was incorporated into the temporal sphere of authority, to what extent could spiritual authority act independently of the state? As a result, many of the religious debates would be between those who defended the independence of the church from temporal regulation, and those who asserted that the state had the right to intervene in religious matters when it was of interest to the public.

Building off the work of Van Kley and Maire, my research offers an alternative interpretation of the religious debates by looking at the ways in which Jansenist, philosophe, and *dévot* writers deployed spatial, corporeal, and territorial metaphors and ideas in order to emphasize the material aspects of the Church and its clergy. While historian Maire analyzed the ways in which

the church was “spiritualized,” I use the term “territorialization” to refer to the ways in which writers and theorists of the eighteenth-century emphasized the exterior, physical, material, and bodily qualities of the Church in order to justify the intervention of temporal authorities into ecclesiastical affairs. At a moment when jurists and state administrators were increasingly defining sovereignty in terms of territorial limits, emphasizing the spatial and physical aspects of the church in contrast to the “spiritual” not only expanded the jurisdiction of state authorities; it also had the potential to redefine the role of the church along more “secular” and worldly purposes.¹¹ Ultimately, the “territorialization” of the Catholic Church in France would effectively make way for its later nationalization under the French Revolution. In other words, by “fixing the limits” between the temporal and spiritual in more territorial, physical, material, and bodily terms, political and religious writers made possible the formation of an imagined community within finite boundaries under the French Revolution.¹²

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section provides an overview of the Gallican Church at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The second section analyzes the debate over the “Exposition sur les Droits de la Puissance spirituelle” published by the General Assembly of the Gallican Clergy in 1765. During this controversy, Jansenists and philosophes used spatial arguments to extend temporal authority over the Church, while the General Assembly expressed

¹¹ Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 93-102. Peter Sahlins noted that by the mid-eighteenth century, jurists and royal administrators began to “identify territorial boundaries as the point at which sovereignty found expression.” A consequence of this shift towards notions of territorial sovereignty were the “treaties of limits” that sought to rationalize and purify the boundaries of France; for more on notions of territorial jurisdiction in the sixteenth century, see: Jotham Parsons, *The Church in the Republic: Gallicanism and Political Ideology in Renaissance France* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2004), 143-160.

¹² Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised Edition (New York: Verso, 2006), 6-7, 9-36, 163-185. Benedict Anderson has long stressed the importance of territoriality in the development of nationalism. The “nation” as an imagined community needed to be limited and sovereign and could not encompass all of humanity like the other cultural systems such as the religious community or dynastic realm. In fact, it was the spread of vernacular language and the territorialization of sacred communities that partly made way for the rise of nationalism. In his newer edition to his classic work, Anderson called attention the ways that the census, maps, and museums helped to facilitate the development of official nationalism.

unease. In the third section, this chapter explores the changing ideals of pastoral care as embodied in eighteenth-century ecclesiastical history. In particular, it looks at how ecclesiastical historians promoted a new model of pastoral care centered on the affective bond between the priest and his flock. Additionally, the history of the primitive church also provided an image of a mythic golden age, on which later writers articulated their own ideas regarding the *bon curé* and natural religion. In the final section, this chapter discusses the *bon curé* movement of the eighteenth century and how it contributed to the spatialization of the church by extolling the image of priest as someone who existed in the physical and corporeal world.¹³

The first two chapters of this dissertation thus focus on the broad development of ideas about the relationship between the Church and State. Ultimately, the reformulation of the relationship between the Church and State by writers eighteenth century and the construction of Constitutional Catholic Church would ultimately fail to provide an enduring framework for a national religious identity. As the later chapters of this dissertation will demonstrate, the consequences of this failure would lead to the construction of a new universalist discourse in the South West during the Terror. Moreover, attempts to prohibit public worship would also be made in spatial terms of “exteriority” and “interiority.”

Section 1: The Church has Neither Territory, Nor Usage of the Material Sword

Early modern political and religious theorists believed that Christendom was governed by two types of authority: the temporal authority of the king and the spiritual authority of the

¹³ I borrow the term “bon curé movement” from historian Alyssa Goldstein Sepinwall. Alyssa Goldstein Sepinwall, *Abbé Grégoire and the French Revolution: The Making of Modern Universalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 37.

Church.¹⁴ Thus, as Soanen emphasized in his sermon, it was to “religion and the Patrie” that one owed one’s allegiance and social status. How these two types of authority were divided was less clear and constituted the central point of contention between the French monarchy and the papacy.¹⁵ In theory, the sacred authority of kings and clergy emanated directly from God who established well-ordered powers on earth. Apart from their divine origin, temporal and spiritual authorities carried out different functions. Generally, the two different jurisdictions corresponded to the different realms of human existence: civil authorities were concerned with matters relating to the present life, while religious authorities watched over matters relating to the next life. Additionally, earthly powers were primarily coercive and pertained to maintaining public order and ensuring the free exercise of religious worship in society. In contrast, ecclesiastical powers lacked physical coercion and only concerned themselves with the administration of the sacraments, religious instruction, monastic vows, religious worship, ecclesiastical discipline, and doctrines of faith. Further complicating these distinctions was the very fact that the spiritual and temporal jurisdictions often interpenetrated each other, resulting in institutions of mixed secular and religious qualities. Therefore, many of the religious controversies of the eighteenth century were in fact attempts to disentangle the sacred from the profane and render these relationships more discernable.

¹⁴ John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*, vol. 1: The Clerical Establishment and Its Social Ramifications (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press, 1998), 19-28; Jeffrey Merrick, *The Desacralization of the French Monarchy in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), 28-32; Parsons, *The Church in the Republic*, 137-184.

¹⁵ Dale Van Kley, “Church, State, and the Ideological Origins of the French Revolution: The Debate over the General Assembly of the Gallican Clergy in 1765,” *Journal of Modern History* 51, no.4 (1979): 629-666; Alain Tallon, “National Church, State Church and Universal Church: The Gallican Dilemma in Sixteenth-Century France,” in *Moderate Voices in the European Reformation*, trans. Luc Racaut, ed. Luc Racaut and Alec Ryrie (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005), 104-121; more broadly, see: Van Kley, *Religious Origins of the French Revolution*; Maire, *L’Église dans l’État*.

It was during the sixteenth century that many of the fundamental notions concerning the division between temporal and spiritual authority were consolidated for the first time.¹⁶ Though there existed a long tradition in France reaching back to the Middle Ages that asserted the independence of the monarchy from papal interference in temporal affairs, it was not until the last decades of the sixteenth century that there appeared a more systematic attempt to clearly define the rights and prerogatives of each respective authority. Jurists, theologians, and political theorists of the period like Jean Du Tillet (d. 1570), Charles Faye d'Espesses (1547-1617), and Étienne Pasquier (1529-1615) asserted that there existed a set of “liberties” that guaranteed temporal autonomy of the French kings and the ecclesiastical autonomy of the French Catholic Church- or “Gallican Church.”¹⁷ Yet, the two most influential writings on Gallican liberties and the relationship between temporal and spiritual authority would come amidst an explosion of writings on the subject under King Henri IV (r.1589-1610).¹⁸ Although writing from different moments of Henri IV's reign – his conversion to Catholicism and his assassination – both the jurist Pierre Pithou (1539-1596) and theologian Edmond Richer (1559-1631) were critical in defining the parameters of the political and religious debate in France between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁹ By articulating the relationship between temporal and spiritual spheres of authority in

¹⁶ Parsons, *The Church in the Republic*, 3-8, 10-12, 96-136; Maire, *L'Église dans l'État*, 10-20; Tallon, “National Church, State Church and Universal Church,” 104-121; Jonathan Powis, “Gallican Liberties and the Politics of Later Sixteenth-Century France,” *The Historical Journal* 26, no. 3 (1983): 515-530.

¹⁷ For more, see: Jean Du Tillet, *Mémoire et aduis de M. Jean du Tillet, Protenotaire et Secretaire du Roy tres-Chrestien, Greffier de sa Cour de Parlement. Faict en l'an 1551. Sur les libertez de l'Eglise Gallicane* (1594); Étienne Pasquier, *Les recherches de la France: Reveuës et augmentées de quatre Liures par Estienne Pasquier, Conseiller et Advocat General du Roy en la Chambre des Comptes de Paris* (Paris: Jamet Mettayer, et Pierre L'huillier, 1596); Charles Faye, *Discours des raisons et moyens pour lesquels Messieurs du clergé, assemblez en la ville de Chartres, ont déclaré les bulles monitoiriales, decernées par Gregoire XIII, contre les ecclesiastiques et autres, tant de la noblesse que du Tiers Estat, qui sont demeurez en la fidelité du Roy, nulles et injustes* (Tours: Jamet Mettayer, 1591).

¹⁸ Parsons, *The Church in the Republic*, 123. Jotham Parsons noted “it was not until 1590 that the floodgates of Gallican propaganda began to creak open.”

¹⁹ Maire, *L'Église dans l'État*, 10-20. This is specifically the argument of Catherine Maire; Joseph Bergin, *The Politics of Religion in Early Modern France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 68. Bergin likewise highlighted these two text specifically for their Gallican stance.

terms of, what I term, “spatial metaphors,” Gallican theorists like Pithou and Richer consolidated a political and religious discourse that placed the boundary between the religious and temporal jurisdictions on the ontological sphere dividing the earthly, material, and territorial world from the otherworldly and spiritual realm.

By the 1590s, French jurists, theologians, and political writers began publishing a myriad of works on the liberties of the Gallican Church and the relationship between temporal and spiritual authorities in order to stabilize French political and religious life. The most prominent of these works was Pierre Pithou’s *Les Libertez de l’Eglise Gallicane* (1594). Like Henri IV, Pithou was a former Calvinist who narrowly escaped the Saint Bartholomew Day’s Massacre and reconverted to Catholicism in the aftermath of the violence.²⁰ Over the next following decades, Pithou became an enthusiastic supporter of Henri III of Navarre (later, Henri IV of France), attacking the Catholic League, who were opposed to Henri, in the scathing satire, *Satyre Ménipée* (1594).²¹ Pithou composed his *Les Libertez de l’Eglise Gallicane* following Henri IV’s abjuration of Protestantism, but prior to the lifting of excommunication by Pope Clement VIII in 1595.²² Above all, his text represented an attempt to assert the independence of the French monarchy in relationship to the papacy and establish the absolutist monarch as a source of stability that existed above confessional strife. Additionally, Pithou also played an important role in publishing a series of official documents containing laws and Church canons, as well republishing earlier works with a more

²⁰ Nancy Lyman Roelker, *One King, One Faith: The Parlement of Paris and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 31.

²¹ Maire, *L’Eglise dans l’État*, 14-15; H.M. Salmon, “Gallicanism and Anglicanism in the Age of the Counter-Reformation,” in *Renaissance and Revolt: Essays in the Intellectual and Social History of Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 172-173.

²² David Wooton, *Paolo Sarpi: Between Renaissance and Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 55-56; for more on the accession of Henri IV to the throne and his papal absolution, see: Mack P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 156-164.

explicitly Gallican orientation.²³ A consequence of his publications, Pithou was responsible for constructing a narrative of a continuous Gallican tradition that stretched from the period of the Great Schism, through Du Tillet, to French jurists and theologians of the 1590s. Furthermore, publications on Gallican liberties also grow into a new genre.

To clarify the relationship between spiritual and temporal authorities, Pithou adopted a territorial understanding of jurisdiction in his taxonomy of Gallican liberties.²⁴ In his book, Pithou reduced the “liberties of the Gallican Church” to two principles. The first was that “...the Popes can neither command nor order anything, either in general or in particular, concerning temporal affairs in the countries and lands of obedience and sovereignty of the Most Christian King; and if they order or decree anything there, the subjects of the King, even though they were clerics, are not bound to obey them.”²⁵ In other words, Popes were prohibited from interfering with territorial sovereignty of temporal authorities. As historian Jotham Parsons noted, it was typical for Gallican jurists during this period to understand questions of temporal jurisdiction in terms of territoriality.²⁶ The second principle stated that “although the Pope is recognized as suzerain in spiritual matters: however, in France the power of the Pope is not absolute and infinite, but instead is restricted and

²³ Pierre Pithou, *Ecclesiae Gallicanae in schismate status. Ex actis publicis. Estat de l'Eglise Gallicane durant le schisme. Extraict des Registres et actes publiques* (Paris: Mamert Patisson, 1594); Du Tillet, *Mémoire et aduis de M. Jean du Tillet*; Parsons, *The Church in the Republic*, 126-130. According to Parsons, Pithou most likely played an important role in the publication of Du Tillet's *Mémoire* in 1594.

²⁴ Parsons, *The Church in the Republic*, 126-128.

²⁵ Pierre Pithou, *Les Libertez de l'Eglise Gallicane* (Paris: Mamert Passion, 1594), 2. Note regarding pagination: both the front and back of each page are given a single number. All citations of this text will refer to the number given to the front of each page.

²⁶ Parsons, *The Church in the Republic*, 143-160; for more on the relationship between territoriality and temporal authority, see: Walter Ullmann, “The Development of Medieval Idea of Sovereignty,” *The English Historical Review* 64, no. 250 (1949): 1-33; Tyler Lange, “The Birth of a Maxim: ‘A Bishop Has No Territory,’” *Speculum* 89, no. 1 (2014): 128-147; André Bossuat, “La Formule ‘Le roi est empereur en son royaume’: Son emploi au XVe Siècle devant le Parlement de Paris,” *Revue historique de droit français et étranger (1922-)* 39 (1961): 371-381. As Bossuat noted, the concept that the “king is emperor in his kingdom” stressed that the principle of territoriality of the State. Jurists would invoke this principle in their defense of Gallican liberties; see also Pierre Dupuy's commentary on Pithou's text: Pierre Dupuy, *Commentaire sur le traité des libertez de l'eglise gallicane* (Paris: Sebastien Cramoisy, 1652), 19-28. According to Dupuy, Pithou is stating in this principle that the king is emperor in his own kingdom, thus expressing the idea of territorial sovereignty.

limited by the canons and rules of the ancient councils of the Church admitted into this kingdom: *et in hoc maxime consistit libertas Ecclesia Gallicana...*²⁷ Here, Pithou again emphasized a territorial understanding of papal authority. In addition to stating that popes were subject to the authority of the general Church council, the Gallican jurist also emphasized that canons and rules also needed to be “admitted” (“receus”) into the kingdom.²⁸ Thus from these two principles, Pithou provided a fundamental framework that sought to define the boundaries between temporal and spiritual authorities in terms of territorial sovereignty, as was characteristic of sixteenth-century Gallican writings.²⁹

The remainder of Pithou’s text was spent tracing the consequences of his principles and territorial interpretation of jurisdiction. Many of the eighty-three articles Pithou in his short work further served to emphasize the territorial sovereignty of French kings.³⁰ From the first maxim, Pithou asserted that popes could not send legates to France with the faculty of reforming, judging, conferring, dispensing and other powers granted by papal bulls without the consent of the king and written promise that they shall only uses these powers in the territories of the kingdom as long as it pleases the king.³¹ Furthermore, prelates of the Gallican Church could not leave the kingdom of France, even if they are commanded by the pope, without the permission of the king.³² With

²⁷ The original text: “Le seconde, Qu’encores que le Pape soit recogneu pour suzerain és choses spirituelles: toutesfois en France la puissance absolüe et infinie n’a point de lieu, mais est retenue et bornees par les canons et regles des anciens conciles de l’Eglise receus en ce royaume: *et in hoc maxime consistit libertas Ecclesia Gallicana...*” Pithou, *Les Libertez de l’Eglise Gallica*, 2-3.

²⁸ Notably, there was fierce opposition to accepting the Tridentine reforms in France. For opposition to the Council of Trent, see: Victor Martin, *Le gallicanisme et la réforme catholique: Essai historique sur l’introduction en France des décrets du concile de Trente (1563-1615)* (Genève: Slatkine-Megariotis Reprints, 1975), 344-405; Robert M. Kingdon, “Some French Reactions to the Council of Trent,” *Church History* 33, no. 2 (1964): 149-156; Thomas I Crimando, “Two French Views of the Council of Trent,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 19, no. 2 (1988): 169-186; Sophie Nicholls, “Gallican Liberties and the Catholic League,” *History of European Ideas* 40, no.7 (2014): 940-964.

²⁹ Parsons, *The Church in the Republic*, 155-167.

³⁰ Dupuy, *Commentaire sur le traité des libertez de l’eglise gallicane*. In his commentary on Pithou’s *Les Libertez de l’Eglise Gallicane*, jurist and librarian Pierre Dupuy divided Pithou’s work into eighty-three articles. See also, Parsons, *The Church in the Republic*, 127.

³¹ Pithou, *Les Libertez de l’Eglise Gallica*, 6.

³² *Ibid.*, 7.

regards to benefices, Pithou claimed that the pope was forbidden to levy taxes on benefices or benefices to the other members of the clergy without the consent of the king.³³ He further added that all candidates to ecclesiastical positions needed to be French.³⁴ The papacy was also prohibited from excommunicating any officers of the king who were performing the duties of their office.³⁵ Pithou additionally restricted the Papacy to judging any cases that were “purely Ecclesiastical” or “mixed” (involving members of the clergy), and not the laity.³⁶ From the second maxim, Pithou asserted that “the Gallican Church does not admit all the Canons and Decretals with indifference” and that bulls or Apostolic Letters could not be executed in France without the a letter of *pareatis* from the king authorizing their execution in the territory of the kingdom.³⁷ Finally, Pithou argued that there were four ways in which kings were to defend the liberties of the Gallican Church: maintaining a friendly relationship with the papacy, examining papal legislation coming from Rome to ensure that did not contain anything contrary to the rights and liberties of the Gallican Church, appealing to the a general Church council, and finally judicial processes like the *appel comme d’abus*.³⁸ In each of these articles, Pithou defined the independence of French kings from papal interference and the liberties of the Gallican church in language of territorial sovereignty. Thus, the jurisdiction of temporal authority appeared to correspond to the limits of the French kingdom. Overall, Pithou’s definition of Gallican liberties provided a framework for later authors to develop more radical positions that territorialized temporal authority and spiritualized the authority of the church and its clergy.

³³ Pithou, *Les Libertez de l'Eglise Gallica*, 7, 10-11.

³⁴ Ibid., 13.

³⁵ Ibid., 8.

³⁶ Ibid., 11.

³⁷ Pithou, *Les Libertez de l'Eglise Gallica*, 14; for more on letters of *pareatis*, see: Marie Seong-Ha Kim, *Custom, Law, and Monarchy: A Legal History of Early Modern France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 142.

³⁸ Pithou, *Les Libertez de l'Eglise Gallica*, 24-26.

While Gallican jurists and theologians in the 1590s were primarily concerned with stabilizing political and religious life following an extended period of religious civil war in France, controversies over tyrannicide and the subsequent assassination of Henri IV in the 1610s led some authors to embrace a more radical interpretation of Gallican liberties that reinforced the authority of temporal rulers over the church.³⁹ The most influential of the works to emerge was Edmond Richer's *La puissance ecclesiastique et politique* (Latin: 1611; French: 1612). In contrast to Pithou, Edmond Richer was formerly a zealous supporter of the Catholic League who eventually rallied to support Henri IV.⁴⁰ Between 1608 and 1612, Richer served as the syndic of the Theology Faculty of the University of Paris. While at the University of Paris, Richer sought to reinvigorate the Gallicanism of the Faculty of Theology by publishing the collected works of conciliarists such as Jean de Paris, Jean Gerson, Jacques Almain and John Mair and establishing their ecclesiological theories as the official doctrine of the faculty.⁴¹ However, it was following the assassination of Henri IV by François Ravailac on 14 May 1610 that Richer would publish his most rigorous defense of temporal authority. Shortly after the death of Henri IV, the appearance of *De potestate summi Pontificis in rebus temporalibus* by Cardinal Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621) sparked controversy in France.⁴² In his work, Bellarmine argued that temporal authorities were subject to the spiritual authorities in the Christian commonwealth and that popes could intervene in temporal

³⁹ Roland Mousnier, *The Assassination of Henry IV: The Tyrannicide Problem and the Consolidation of the French Absolute Monarchy in the Early Seventeenth Century*, trans. Joan Spencer (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), 251-280; Francis Oakley, "Bronze-Age Conciliarism: Edmond Richer's Encounters with Cajetan and Bellarmine," *History of Political Thought* 20, no.1 (1999), 65-86; Bergin, *The Politics of Religion in Early Modern France*, 69-71.

⁴⁰ For more on the background of Edmond Richer, see: Edmond Préclin, "Edmond Richer, 1559-1631: Sa vie, son oeuvre, le richérisme," *Revue d'histoire moderne* 5 (1930): 241-269, 321-336; Monique Cottret, "Edmond Richer, 1539-1631: Le politique et le sacré," in *L'état baroque: Regards sur la pensée politique de la France du premier XVIIe siècle*, ed. Henry Méchoulan (Paris: J. Vrin, 1985), 62-77.

⁴¹ Oakley, "Bronze-Age Conciliarism," 73.

⁴² Maire, *L'Église dans l'État*, 16-17; for a translation of the Latin text, see: Robert Bellarmine, "On the Temporal Power of the Pope. Against William Barclay," in *On Temporal and Spiritual Authority*, trans. Stefania Tutino (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2012), 123-405.

matters in cases relating to schism or danger to religion.⁴³ Incensed by such a bold assertion of papal authority so soon after the death of the king and fearing that such arguments could justify future regicides, the Parlement of Paris condemned the text. With the support of the president of the Parlement, Richer published *De la puissance ecclésiastique et politique* to refute the arguments of Bellarmine and forcibly restate the liberties of the Gallican Church. Like Pithou's earlier treatise, Richer would draw on Gallican tradition to assert the independence of temporal authorities and to thoroughly spiritualize the powers of the Church.

In *De la puissance ecclésiastique et politique*, Richer opened by arguing that ecclesiastical authority belonged to the entire Church.⁴⁴ According to Richer, when Jesus gave Saint Peter the keys of to the kingdom of Heaven, he gave sovereign Apostolic authority to the Church as a collective unity, rather than to only one individual: "Every soul is subject to superior powers, it does not say to the superior power, as only [one person], but to superiors, as many."⁴⁵ As a consequence, Richer argued that the Church was a mixed institution, comprised of a "monarchical state" and an "aristocratic government." In his treatise, Richer defined the Church as a "Monarchical polity [*police*], instituted for supernatural and spiritual ends, guided by an Aristocratic government by," Jesus Christ, "who is King, Monarch, absolute Lord, founder, and essential leader of the Church..."⁴⁶ As such, Saint Peter and his papal successors were merely the

⁴³ Bellarmine, "On the Temporal Power of the Pope," 245-257, 269-279, 286-317.

⁴⁴ Maire, *L'Église dans l'État*, 17-18.

⁴⁵ Edmond Richer, *De la puissance ecclésiastique et politique: L'Eglise est une police Monarchique, instituée à une fin supernaturelle: Conduite d'un gouvernement Aristocratique, par le souverain Pasteur des ames nostre Seigneur Jesus-Christ* (Paris: 1612), 11.

⁴⁶ Richer, *De la puissance ecclésiastique et politique*, 13; note on the translation of "police": according to historian Sophie Nicholls, "*La police* could be used to describe restraints on royal power; the precise type of prudent policy required to run a well-ordered political community engineered towards protecting the common good (rather than a particular set of laws); or the constitution itself, conceived as the embodiment of political order." Nicholls noted that *la police* could also be translated as "polity." Sophie Nicholls, *Political Thought in the French Wars of Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge university Press, 2021), 63-68, 76, 94-96; see also: Emma Claussen, *Politics and "Politiques" in Sixteenth-Century France: A Conceptual History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 48.

“ministerial head[s]” of the Church and lacked all “absolute power.”⁴⁷ Popes were only charged with “putting into execution divine, natural, and canonical law” and were to act as a source of unity.⁴⁸ In contrast, Richer claimed that God wanted that the Church be governed by “rules and counsel” and that popes and bishops “often assembled and consulted the Aristocratic Council of the Church” rather than “decree anything of consequence from their heads....”⁴⁹ This “Senate or natural Council of the Church” was to be comprised of bishops and priests.⁵⁰ Finally, Richer argued that “the infallible power to make and decree canons” belonged to the entire Church, or the general Church council representing it, which “judges in part by divine inspiration, in part by natural illumination [lumiere naturelle].”⁵¹ Thus, by introducing a distinction between the “monarchical state” and the aristocratic government” in the Church, Richer used Gallican conciliarism to limit the powers of the papacy and subordinate it to the absolute authority of the entire Church, as represented in a general Church council.

Like Pithou before him, Edmond Richer distinguished between the territorial and physical authority of temporal rulers and the spiritual and supernatural authority of religious leaders. In the latter half of his treatise, Richer argued that there were two powers that governed human existence: the Church and the “Political prince.”⁵² According to Richer, the Church had “eternal life as its end, the human soul as its matter and subject,” and thus was only concerned with the “internal

⁴⁷ Richer, *De la puissance ecclesiastique et politique*, 39-41.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 16-17.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 17.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 18.

⁵¹ The extended quote in French: “Le quatriesme principe nous monstre, que la puissance infalible de faire et decreter canons est par devers toute l’Eglise, ou le Concile general la representant: en quoy consiste principalement le gouvernement Aristocratique: et cela se juge en partie par inspiration divine, partie par la lumiere naturelle: veu que plusieurs yeux voyent plus loing et aperçoivent mieux qu’un seul; et il n’a esté concedé de Dieu ou de Nature à un seul d’estre sage, de peur qu’il ne s’en estevaste: en apres le corps et l’Eglise n’est point un membre, mais plusieurs: si tout le corps est oeil, ou sera l’ouye?” Ibid., 18-19.

⁵² Maire, *L’Église dans l’État*, 18.

movements of conscience.”⁵³ As a result, Richer denied the Church the ability to “restrain and prevent [by] external and violence,” emphasizing instead that it must resort only to “persuasion only and direction by the preaching of the word of God, the dispensation of the Sacraments,” and in certain circumstances “exclusion from the communion of the Church” through the “spiritual weapons” of censures.⁵⁴ It is at this moment in the text that Richer thoroughly “deterritorializes” and spiritualizes the Church. Richer maintained that the Church “does not have from divine right, neither territory, nor the right to punish by the sword, or imprison, or [have recourse to] any other corporal punishment, because the soul, which is the proper subject of Evangelical law, is moved by internal principle only, not external.”⁵⁵ He went further to add that “the right of the material sword follows necessarily [from] the territory, as the effect [from] the cause.”⁵⁶ Throughout his discussion of spiritual authority, Richer establishes a dichotomy between, on the one hand, the territorial, material, physical, and external, and, on the other hand, the spiritual, supernatural, otherworldly, and internal.⁵⁷ For Richer, and in contrast to Bellarmine, the Church does not have temporal authority by virtue of the fact that it does not have territory and that its only concern is with the salvation of one’s soul in the afterlife. However, a tension also arises in Richer’s treatise, when citing Saint Optatus, that “That the Church was in the Republic, as in lands, territory and foreign domain.”⁵⁸ In other words, if the Church does not have territory, and thus temporal authority, what happens when it is physically in the territory of another?

⁵³ Richer, *De la puissance ecclesiastique et politique*, 30.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 31-32.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ For more on the relationship between temporal authority and the concept of territory, see: Parsons, *The Church in the Republic*, 143-160; Ullmann, “The Development of Medieval Idea of Sovereignty,” 1-33; Lange, “The Birth of a Maxim,” 128-147; Bossuat, “La Formule ‘Le roi est empereur en son royaume’,” 371-381.

⁵⁸ Richer, *De la puissance ecclesiastique et politique*, 37.

In contrast to the limited spiritual authority of the Church, Richer argued for a more expansive understanding of temporal authority. Above all else, the “political Prince” was defined primarily by his use of violence in defense of the law: “Certainly when the political Prince is made Lord of a Republic and of a territory, he is established defender and protector of the divine, natural, and Canonical law: and for this reason, does he carry the sword... He alone has the power to constrain and correct by corporal punishment.”⁵⁹ As lord of a republic or a territory, temporal rulers were held a monopoly on the legitimate use of force to maintain order.⁶⁰ Additionally, Richer noted that political Prince could use violence and physical force “for the good of the Church and for the execution of Ecclesiastical Canons, make Laws, Edicts, and Ordinances, and insert them into the body that he makes to maintain his State.”⁶¹ Thus, Richer considered the use of violence and physical force as essential to protecting the Church, and ensuring that its canons were enforced. Richer also believed that temporal lords, as protectors of the church, had a right to judge cases related to the execution of Church canon. On this he wrote that if one went against the “natural liberties of the Catholic Church,” then “France had a right to appeal abuses,” of which the “political magistrate, as protector of the Church and defender of the Canons, had a right to sovereignly judge [cognoistre souverainement]: because he judges only abuses that depend on the execution of Canons.”⁶² Interestingly enough, unlike the Church which Richer strictly limited to internal matters related to the soul, the role of temporal rulers in church affairs was far more ambiguous when it came to issues touching on ecclesiastical affairs. Adopting a more expansive understanding of temporal authority, Richer seemingly justifies the political Prince’s intervention into Church

⁵⁹ Richer, *De la puissance ecclesiastique et politique*, 36.

⁶⁰ For more on the history of domestic state violence, see: Howard G Brown, “Domestic State Violence: Repression from the Croquants to the Commune,” *The Historical Journal* 42, no.3 (1999): 597-622.

⁶¹ Richer, *De la puissance ecclesiastique et politique*, 36.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 38.

matters in the name of protecting the liberties of the Gallican Church. Although he does not go much further than the *appel comme d'abuse*, his ideas nonetheless will help pave the way for those who supported notions of divine-right absolutism.⁶³

By the first half of the seventh century, Gallican jurists and theologians like Pithou and Richer had come to define many of the concepts that would become central in the debate over the relationship between temporal and spiritual authority in the eighteenth century.⁶⁴ Although many of the ideas found in the works of Pithou and Richer were not entirely new, they nonetheless played an important role in synthesizing and consolidating a political and religious discourse that effectively denied temporal powers to ecclesiastical authorities, justified the intervention of temporal authorities in religious matters, and reduced the question of jurisdiction to notions of territoriality.⁶⁵ Towards the end of the century, Louis XIV (r. 1643-1715) would use these ideas to strengthen his own control over the French Catholic Church and the clergy. At the behest of Louis XIV in his struggle with Pope Innocent XI over the *régale*, an extraordinary assembly of the Gallican Clergy issued four articles that declared: first, that popes did not have authority over kings in temporal matters; second, general councils of the church had greater authority than the pope; three, the authority of the popes was limited by canons; and fourth, that papal decisions on matters of faith are irreformable only if they agree with the general consensus of the Church.⁶⁶ Overall,

⁶³ Maire, *L'Église dans l'État*, 19.

⁶⁴ Pierre-Toussaint Durand de Maillane, *Les libertez de l'Église gallicane, prouvées et commentées, Suivant l'Ordre et la Disposition des articles dressés par M. Pierre Pithou, et sur les Recueils de M. Pierre Dupuy, Conseiller d'État*, 5 vols. (Lyon: Pierre Bruyset Ponthus, 1771). Pierre-Toussaint Durand de Maillane was a canon lawyer under the Ancien Regime. During the French Revolution, he would serve on the National Constituent Assembly's Ecclesiastical Committee and was one of the architects of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. As this work demonstrates, Durand de Maillane was deeply influenced by the work of Pierre Pithou. For more on Durand de Maillane, see chapter 2 of this dissertation.

⁶⁵ Maire, *L'Église dans l'État*, 19; Parsons, *The Church in the Republic*, 143-160.

⁶⁶ Maire, *L'Église dans l'État*, 28-44; Francis Oakley, *The Conciliarist Tradition: Constitutionalism in the Catholic Church 1300-1870* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 173-181; Van Kley, *Religious Origins of the French Revolution*, 36-37; Bergin, *The Politics of Religion in Early Modern France*, 215-226.

the language of four articles reflected many of the ideas expressed by Pithou and Richer in their respective publications. Though Louis XIV eventually agreed not to enforce a decree that would have required the teaching of the four articles throughout the kingdom, his refusal to renounce their content also ensured that they would continue to have a lasting influence in political and religious debate. Furthermore, as historian Catherine Maire noted, the close collaboration between the monarchy and the French Catholic Church during crisis over the *régale* helped to create a consensus between the two on issues of jurisdiction and the meaning of Gallican liberties.⁶⁷ Thus, by the turn of the century, the close alliance between the monarchy and the Gallican clergy would come to define the parameters of religious life within the kingdom.

However, the alliance between throne and altar at the beginning of the eighteenth century and its coordinated campaign to stamp out the Jansenist movement ultimately renewed the debate over temporal and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Jansenism began as rigorist theological movement within the Catholic Church that combined austere penitential practices, Augustinian notions about efficacious grace and church reform centered around the Cistercian monastery of Port-Royal-des-Champs.⁶⁸ By the eighteenth century, Jansenism evolved into a collection of ideas centered around theological Augustinianism, Gallicanism, and the role of the Parlement of Paris as defenders of the French constitution.⁶⁹ After an intermittent attempt by the Church and the monarchy in the seventeenth century to quash the movement, Pope Clement XI, at the behest of Louis XIV in 1713, promulgated the papal constitution of *Unigenitus*, condemning 101 heretical propositions found in Pasquier Quesnel's *Réflexions morales sur le Nouveau Testament*. This papal constitution in turn

⁶⁷ Maire, *L'Église dans l'État*, 28-44.

⁶⁸ Van Kley, *Religious Origins of the French Revolution*, 58-72; Merrick, *The Desacralization of the French Monarchy*, 49-50; for more on the seventeenth-century movement, see: Alexander Sedgwick, *Jansenism in Seventeenth-Century France: Voices from the Wilderness* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1977).

⁶⁹ Van Kley, *Religious Origins of the French Revolution*, 72-74.

would spark nearly a century of religious dispute in the French kingdom. Thus, it was during this moment of reproachment between the French monarchy and the Church and their coordinated attack on Jansenism that the controversy over the jurisdictional boundaries between temporal and spiritual authorities would renew once more.

Critics of the papal constitution of *Unigenitus* transformed the religious controversy over its ratification into a defense of Gallican liberties against creeping papal supremacy. Opposition to the papal bull was made on two grounds. First, opponents worried that the wording of the papal constitution was too vague and that the papal censure concerning excommunication violated the independence of temporal authorities.⁷⁰ In particular, concern centered on the ninety-first proposition censured by the bull which stated that “the fear of an unjust excommunication must never prevent us from doing our duty.”⁷¹ While defenders of the bull assured that the provision only targeted the Jansenists and that it did not interfere with a subject’s obligation towards the king, critics insisted that the censure left open the possibility that Roman supremacy in temporal matters could be revived. Second, opponents also raised alarm over the irregular manner in which the bull was accepted and complained that there was not enough time for the clergy to examine propositions sufficiently and carefully. Then in 1717, four bishops signed an appeal that called for a general church council to reexamine the papal bull.⁷² By the 1730s, a papal bull that was originally intended by the monarchy and the papacy to target Jansensists was recast as an existential threat to the Gallican Church and the temporal authority of the French kings. As Catherine Maire noted, *Unigenitus* represented a moment “when a law of the Church became a

⁷⁰ McManners, *Church and Society*, 2:376; for more about the papal bull, see: Jacques M. Gres-Gayer, “The Unigenitus of Clement XI: A Fresh Look at the Issues,” *Theological Studies* 49 (1988): 259-282; Van Kley, *Religious Origins of the French Revolution*, 74.

⁷¹ Quoted in Merrick, *The Desacralization of the French Monarchy*, 51.

⁷² For more on the Appeal, see: Catherine Maire, *De la cause de Dieu à la cause de la Nation: Le jansénisme au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 1998), 86-106; Monique Cottret, *Jansénismes et lumières: Pour un autre XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1998), 273-280.

law of the State,” thus raising questions over the jurisdictional boundaries between temporal and spiritual authorities.⁷³

The dispute over the bull of *Unigenitus* led to the formation of two distinct political languages, the first being that of “judicial Jansenism.”⁷⁴ By the middle of the eighteenth century, as the Parlements became the primary locus of Jansenist opposition to *Unigenitus* and sacral absolutism, Gallican parliamentary ideology began to merge with Jansenist critique, forming the discourse of “judicial Jansenism.” This language denounced all forms of arbitrary power as “despotic,” and inveighed against blind obedience promoted by the *dévot* defenders of royal and papal absolutism. In contrast to the *parti dévot*, the discourse of judicial Jansenism understood authority to be a trust or ministry, that operated within legitimate constitutional limits. Moreover, they justified their opposition to royal authority by emphasizing the need for “unanimity” or “unanimous consent” and the inviolability of individual “conscience.” Embracing older conciliarist ideas about church governance, the discourse of judicial Jansenism held that the church constituted an “assembly of the faithful” which delegated its sovereign possession of the Petrine keys to the bishops to exercise. It further held that the “Truth” resided within the repository of the church, like the “fundamental laws” residing within the Parlements.⁷⁵ Finally, eighteenth-century Jansenists and their Parliamentary allies denounced the Jesuits for enabling despotism and superstition and promoting the interests of the Roman Court. For those espousing the language of judicial Jansenism, the idealized church was that of the primitive church. Above all, Jansenist

⁷³ Maire, *L’Église dans l’État*, 45.

⁷⁴ Van Kley, *Religious Origins of the French Revolution*, 191-218. Here I borrow the conceptual framework of historian Dale Van Kley, who identified three political discourses during this period: that of judicial Jansenism, the *parti dévot*, and the philosophes.

⁷⁵ Catherine Maire, “L’Église et la nation: Du dépôt de la vérité au dépôt des lois: la trajectoire janséniste au XVIII^e siècle,” *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 46, no.5 (1991): 1177-1205.

discourse would revive older Gallican arguments about the territoriality of temporal authority in order to justify the intervention parlementarian magistrates in the controversy over *Unigenitus*.

If the discourse of judicial Jansenism was noticeably more constitutionalist in tone, *dévot* discourse was a rigorous defense of royal and ecclesiastical authority. Arising out of the older discourse of the Catholic League in the sixteenth century and the *parti dévot* of the seventeenth century, the eighteenth-century *dévot* discourse was likewise shaped by the debate over *Unigenitus*.⁷⁶ Above all, the *dévot* discourse stressed strict obedience and submission to legitimate authority of bishops and the king.⁷⁷ If the language of judicial Jansenism denounced royal or episcopal authority as “despotic,” the language of the *parti dévot* instead understood the absolute and sovereign power to be a positive force. *Dévots* deplored division and factions and speculated that there was a conspiracy of Jansenists and philosophes using religious controversy to promote deism in the French kingdom. Similarly, they refuted Richersist ecclesiology which imagined spiritual authority being shared between bishops and priests by stressing that only bishops possessed full ecclesiastical authority. If Jansenists, radical Gallicans and Parlementarians stressed the importance of temporal jurisdiction, *dévots* instead stressed that temporal and spiritual jurisdictions were distinct and defended the external features of religion as only belonging to spiritual jurisdiction. *Dévots* supported an alliance of throne and altar. There existed not citizens in the kingdom of France; rather, royal subjects and ecclesial flocks. Finally, they argued that while the church existed within the state, the “emperor is within the church.” Thus, the key feature of the *dévot* discourse was this bipartite division of society between the spiritual and the temporal.

⁷⁶ Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution*, 28-31, 49-58; for more about the *parti dévot*, see: Robert Roswell Palmer, *Catholics and Unbelievers in Eighteenth Century France* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1961); Louis Châtellier, *The Europe of the Devout: The Catholic Reformation and the Formation of a New Society*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Darrin McMahon, *Enemies of the Enlightenment: The French Counter-Enlightenment and the Making of Modernity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

⁷⁷ Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution*, 218-234.

For the remainder of the eighteenth century, the intractable religious and political conflict over *Unigenitus* strained the relationship between the French episcopacy and royal magistrates and reopened once more the debate over the boundaries between temporal and religious authorities. In turn, the debate over jurisdiction manifested itself in many of the skirmishes over *Unigenitus*: the deposition of the appellant bishop of Senez, Jean Soanen, in the Council of Embrun; the parliamentary protest against the registration of *Unigenitus*; the convulsionary movement; the refusal of the sacraments controversy; the Damiens affair; the expulsion of the Jesuits; and the General Assembly of the Gallican Clergy in 1765.⁷⁸ While important debates over the nature of the relationship between temporal and secular authorities arose in each of these controversies, the following section will only discuss one of these events: the General Assembly of the Gallican Clergy. In many of these disputes, three distinct groups played an important role in the debates: the Jansenists and radical Gallicans; the *parti dévot*; and the philosophes. Like the Gallican jurists and theologians of the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, Jansenist and philosophe authors of the eighteenth-century would deny that ecclesiastical authorities had temporal powers, justify the intervention of temporal authorities in religious matters, and define the question of jurisdiction in terms of territoriality. However, unlike Pithou and Richer, Jansenist and philosophe writers would further radicalize these arguments, effectively “territorializing” aspects of the

⁷⁸ For specific works that study the Council of Embrun and the Parliamentary opposition to registering *Unigenitus*, see: Georges Hardy, *Le cardinal de Fleury et le mouvement janséniste* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1925); David Bell, *Lawyers and Citizens: The Making of a Political Elite in Old Regime France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Peter Campbell, *Power and Politics in Old Regime France 1720-1745* (New York: Routledge, 1996); for specific works that study the convulsionary movement, see: Robert Kreiser, *Miracles, Convulsions, and Ecclesiastical Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978); for works that specifically look at the refusal of the sacraments controversy and the Damiens affair, see: Van Kley, *The Damiens Affair and the Unraveling of the Ancien Régime*; for works that look at the expulsion of the Jesuits, see: Dale Van Kley, *The Jansenists and the Expulsion of the Jesuits from France, 1757-1765* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975); for these controversies in general, see: Van Kley, *Religious Origins of the French Revolution*; Merrick, *The Desacralization of the French Monarchy*; Monique Cottret, *Jansénismes et lumières: Pour un autre XVIIIe siècle*; Maire, *De la cause de Dieu à la cause de la Nation*; Maire, *L'Église dans l'État*.

Church, such as the administration of the sacraments or the religious vows, that were previously exempted from temporal interference by earlier Gallican theorists. As such, the arguments raised by these groups over the jurisdiction of temporal and spiritual authority would lay the groundwork the later debate over the nationalization of church property, the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, and the attempt to create a new imagined religious community.

Section 2: The Territorialization of the Gallican Church

During the latter half of the eighteenth century, the publication of a doctrinal statement by the French clergy concerning spiritual and temporal authority set off a renewed debate in France between Jansenists and the *parti dévot* over the question of jurisdictional limits between the two powers. Following the imposition of Louis XV's Law of Silence in 1752 and the expulsion of the Society of Jesus in 1764, a general assembly of Gallican Clergy gathered in 1765 to discuss pressing matters concerning the condemnation of works written by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Unigenitus* and the state of ecclesiastical affairs.⁷⁹ Typically, general assemblies of the clergy were ecclesiastical delegations that met every five years to review the clergy's contract with monarchy regarding its corporate autonomy and fiscal privileges, review its financial accounts and then present a remonstrance to the king. While the general assemblies were usually held with the support of the monarchy, the specific general assembly of 1765 departed from precedent by publishing a doctrinal statement about the relationship between temporal and spiritual powers without the tacit support of the monarchy. When the General Assembly of the Gallican Clergy published its *Actes de l'assemblée Générale du clergé de France sur la religion* in 1765, the part of the text that drew most criticism was its section on "Exposition sur les Droits de la Puissance

⁷⁹ Van Kley, "Church, State, and the Ideological Origins of the French Revolution," 629-637.

spirituelle” in which it expressed its frustration with the royal government over what it considered to be violations of its spiritual jurisdiction. The reaction from the Parlements was immediate: the Parlement of Paris declared the exposition on spiritual power to be seditious and fanatical and prohibited its publication. The decision by the clergy to slow its payment of its fiscal commitments to the state further generated public ire. As the controversy erupted in France between 1765 and 1767, the *Actes* provoked a flood of pamphlet literature that mixed Gallican, Jansenist and constitutionalist arguments in their condemnation of the exposition.⁸⁰ Thus, the controversy over the General Assembly of the Gallican Clergy was one of the last great religious controversies over spiritual jurisdiction prior to the French Revolution in 1789.

The relationship imagined by the General Assembly of the Gallican Clergy in its “Exposition sur les Droits de la Puissance spirituelle” was that of a bipartite division of jurisdiction between spiritual and temporal authorities. Much like the earliest theorists of ecclesiastical and civil governments, the General Assembly of the Gallican Clergy held that God established two powers to govern men.⁸¹ As such, these authorities carried out functions that corresponded to the different realms of human existence: princes were established for human happiness in the present life, while pontiffs were charged with preparing humanity for eternity.⁸² Furthermore, God intended that the two powers support each other from their respective spheres. Within their respective jurisdictions, each sovereign was to be independent and absolute. As such, when it came to other spheres, one owed absolute obedience to their respective sovereign: priests to kings in all matters that were temporal and kings to priests in all matters spiritual. The General Assembly of the Gallican Clergy also went so far as to forestall all resistance, regardless if the sovereign was

⁸⁰ Van Kley, *Religious Origins of the French Revolution*, 235.

⁸¹ *Actes de l'Assemblée-Générale du Clergé de France sur la Religion*, 13-15.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 14.

wicked. When it came to temporal involvement in ecclesiastical matters, the Gallican clergy quoted Bossuet's *Politique tirée des propres paroles de l'Écriture sainte* (1709): "In all other places, Royal Power gives the law and walks first in sovereignty. In ecclesiastical matters, it only supports and serves; to the Church belongs the decision, and to the Prince belongs the protection, defense, and execution of the canons and ecclesiastical regulations."⁸³ Therefore for the French bishops, the only role that temporal authorities played in ecclesiastical affairs was that of defending the church and enforcing its canons and regulations. This in turn meant that civil governments were prohibited from interfering in the Church's teaching and the administration of the sacraments.⁸⁴ Overall, the General Assembly of the Gallican Clergy justified their arguments in terms of *dévot* discourse.

While the "Exposition sur les Droits de la Puissance spirituelle" defended the autonomy of spiritual power from encroachment by civil authorities, it also resisted the attempt by the Parlements and the Jansenist to exteriorize and thus secularize spiritual jurisdiction. At one crucial moment of the text, the General Assembly declared:

One should not distinguish between internal administration and external administration; it is not publicity of an object that determines which Power must know about it; all secret action is not spiritual; all public action is not civil and temporal; what is within the competence of each Power is distinguished by its nature and its relationship; the administration of the sacraments, although it is exterior, is no less spiritual; Religion itself is essentially exterior and public; its doctrine, worship, its prayers, its liturgy, its instructions, its sacraments, all have necessary relationships to sensible objects, and if all

⁸³ This quote from Bossuet has been modified by the author of the "Exposition sur les Droits de la Puissance spirituelle." The original quote from Bossuet reads: "Everywhere else, royal power gives the law, and walks first in sovereignty. In ecclesiastical matters it only supports and serves: *famulante, ut decet, potestate nostra*: these are the very words of the prince. In matters not only of faith, but even of ecclesiastical discipline, the decision is for the Church: to the prince belongs the protection, the defense, the execution of the ecclesiastical canons and regulations." Jacques Bénigne Bossuet, *Politics Drawn from the Very Words of Holy Scripture*, trans. Patrick Riley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 233; *Actes de l'Assemblée-Générale du Clergé de France sur la Religion*, 21-22. When translating the block quote above, I used part of Patrick Riley's translation of Bossuet to translate those portions of the text quoted by the General Assembly.

⁸⁴ *Actes de l'Assemblée-Générale du Clergé de France sur la Religion*, 27, 36.

that is exterior can be subjected to civil power, there would only be a single power, that of Kings and their Ministers which would know equally things of Heaven and those of Earth.⁸⁵

For the General Assembly of the Gallican Clergy, the root of the jurisdictional conflict between temporal and spiritual authorities was due to a confusion between temporal as “exterior” and “public,” and spiritual as “interior” and “private.” They warned that defining temporal jurisdiction only in terms of publicity would consequently lead to the exteriorization and temporalization of all that was spiritual, and thus leave only kings and their ministers with the sole authority to regulate religious matters. Moreover, spiritual authority was both public and private: not only did it concern belief, but also exterior forms of religious practice like prayers, worship, liturgy and the sacraments. The “Exposition sur les Droits de la Puissance spirituelle” therefore was significant in that it represented a shift in a way that society understood the division between spiritual and temporal jurisdiction in two important ways. First, General Assembly of the Gallican Clergy’s emphasis on “public” and “private” indicated that the language of the debate over jurisdiction had begun to rely on concepts not previously found in Gallican texts of the late-sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Second, its insistence that religion was both public and exterior in nature also demonstrated the potentially radical implications of territorial arguments used by Jansenist and philosophe to justify the intervention of temporal authorities in spiritual matters.

If the *dévo*t discourse of the General Assembly of Gallican Clergy was characterized by its insistence on the strict separation between spiritual and temporal jurisdiction, the Jansenists and their Gallican supporters within the Parlements were more willing to endow the royal government with greater spiritual power. Representative of this tendency to laicize religious worship was the *Apologie de tous les jugemens rendus par les tribunaux séculiers en France contre le schisme* (1752) by two Parisian Jansensist barristers Gabriel-Nicolas Maultrot (1714-1803) and *abbé*

⁸⁵ *Actes de l'Assemblée-Générale du Clergé de France sur la Religion*, 36-37.

Claude Mey (1712-1792). Written during the refusal-of-the-sacraments controversy of the 1750s, Maultrot and Mey's *Apologie* formed one of the most influential conceptual frameworks used by Jansenists to justify the intervention of the Parlements in ecclesiastical affairs.⁸⁶ Overall, Maultrot and Mey argued that civil authorities had the authority and duty to protect the rights of Catholic citizens in their pursuit of the sacraments, since the administration of the sacraments was a purely external, and hence, temporal matter. Key to their argument was that those who were refused the sacraments by bishops supporting the bull of *Unigenitus* were not formally convicted of a spiritual offense that would justify such a measure and that such a conviction necessitated that the full consent of the entire church.

While *dévo*t discourse maintained a strict separation between temporal and spiritual jurisdictions, Jansenists like Maultrot and Mey believed that civil authorities played an essentially regulatory role within the Church. According to Maultrot and Mey, temporal rulers as protectors of the Church had three specific obligations and duties. First, temporal rulers had a right to maintain the peace within the church and prevent division and schism.⁸⁷ For Maultrot and Mey, division was the primary source of disorder within the church and risked breaking all sense of cohesion and fraternity amongst its members. Citing Pope Celestine I (r. 422-432), they even suggested that a prince must look over the conservation of the faith more than that of their own kingdom, since peace in the Church ensured the tranquility of the state. Second, temporal rulers were obliged to execute the canons of the Church.⁸⁸ Through use of their monopoly of publicity,

⁸⁶ Van Kley, *Religious Origins of the French Revolution*, 195-199. Van Kley noted that Gabriel-Nicolas Maultrot's later work, *Les droits de la puissance temporelle, défendue contre la seconde partie des Actes de l'Assemblée du Clergé de 1765 concernant la religion* (1777), drew heavily from the Maultrot and Mey's *Apologie*, reusing many of the same arguments.

⁸⁷ [Claude Mey and Gabriel-Nicolas Maultrot], *Apologie de tous les jugemens rendus par les Tribunaux séculiers en France contre le schisme*, vol. 3, ("en France": 1752), 7-10.

⁸⁸ [Mey and Maultrot], *Apologie*, 3:11-23; for more on the royal rituals of publicity during the Ancien Régime, see: Michèle Fogel, *Les cérémonies de l'information dans la France du XVIe au milieu du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1989).

only princes were able to publish the laws of the church in order to ensure their execution. Moreover, only temporal authorities were authorized to use corporal punishment to enforce these laws. Third, temporal rulers had the right to intervene in Church affairs in order to suppress ecclesiastical abuse.⁸⁹ Maultrot and Mey were clear that they considered the arbitrary refusal of the sacraments to Jansenists and their supporters to be contrary to the rules of the Church, and thus justifying the intervention of temporal authorities. To support their claims, they cited several historical examples concerning the Donatist and Pelagian controversies, where Roman Emperors intervened to prevent abuse over the administration of sacraments.⁹⁰ In their delineation of temporal authority, it mattered little if the emperor or prince was Christian or Pagan, since their rights are inherent to their office: “This right of the Princes to maintain their subjects in the possession of all their property [biens], even spiritual, is so attached to their qualities, that even Pagan Sovereigns enjoy them... That right is inseparable from Royalty; and as authority is the same in all Sovereigns, whatever their belief, it follows that Pagan Princes enjoy those rights as all the others.”⁹¹ Thus unlike the *dévot* episcopacy, the Jansenist barristers supported a more interventionist civil authority.

A consequence of these temporal obligations was the royal prerogative to examine the doctrine of canon and ecclesiastical decisions. In order to determine the extent to which temporal authorities can intervene in church affairs, Maultrot and Mey distinguished between two aspects involved in receiving canon and enforcing their provisions. First, they wrote that temporal authorities could not determine whether or not a canon conformed to the dogma of the church and was free of error.⁹² However, they did reaffirm the right of monarchs to judge whether or not a

⁸⁹ [Mey and Maultrot], *Apologie*, 3:23-25.

⁹⁰ For example, see: *Ibid.*, 3:57-70.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 3:93.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 1:176-177.

particular bull or decree would generate public disorder and controversy if it was unclear and difficult to understand. They reasoned that by determining if a decree would disturb public order, monarchs were merely inspecting the form of the decree, not the dogma contained within it. In other words, Maultrot and Mey based royal inspection on a division between dogma and form; interior jurisdiction and exterior jurisdiction. Thus, if civil authorities oppose the publication of the decree, they were not arrogating spiritual authority and not overstepping their jurisdiction as protector of the Church and political magistrate. Furthermore, monarchs needed to prevent ecclesiastical authorities from smuggling inimical principles into their decrees: “Who knows if nothing will slip into it that is contrary to the rights of the Prince, the interest of his Crown, the tranquility of the Kingdom, and the liberties and maxims of the particular Church of which he is especially the protector.”⁹³ Although Maultrot and Mey provided the case of the papal bull *Unam Sanctam* as an example, it was clear that they had in mind the bull of *Unigenitus*.⁹⁴ By exteriorizing the authority of the king, Maultrot and Mey were limiting the authority of Rome.

If Maultrot and Mey were willing to extend the authority of secular rulers to include certain public aspects of church instruction and the administration of the sacraments, they also embraced older conciliarist arguments about the possession of the Petrine keys to further fracture ecclesiastical authority.⁹⁵ Central to their conceptualization of church governance was the notion of consent and unanimity. Contrary to papalist arguments that Jesus Christ gave the keys of the Church, and hence ecclesiastical sovereignty, to Saint Peter as an individual, the Jansenist barristers instead insisted that Saint Peter only received the keys as a representative of the entire

⁹³ Ibid., 1:348.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 1:356.

⁹⁵ [Mey and Maultrot], *Apologie*, 2:482. Maultrot and Mey made explicit mention of conciliarists like Gerson, Almain, Major and William of Ockham; see also, Van Kley, *Religious Origins of the French Revolution*, 196; for the older arguments about the Petrine Keys, see: Salmon, “Gallicanism and Anglicanism in the Age of the Counter-Reformation,” 158-161.

church.⁹⁶ From Saint Augustin, Maultrot and Mey reasoned that Peter received the keys only as a symbol of unity and utility for the Church, but maintained that the keys ultimately were the property of the entire body of the Church. Consequently, ecclesiastical ministers only exercised their powers as delegates of the Church: “Thus, the authority of the keys belongs at the same time to the body and to its Ministers, but in a different sense. To the body, as to the property; to the ministers, as to the usage and exercise.”⁹⁷ Hence, Maultrot and Mey transformed the clergy into agents or deputies acting in the name of the Church, since the Church as a “Community” could not exercise these powers directly.⁹⁸ Carrying these consequences even further, all decisions regarding Church doctrine needed to be clear, constant, incontestable and public.⁹⁹ If a decision lacked this unanimity and clarity, then church was unable to excommunicate anyone. Finally, by approvingly citing the ultramontane theologian Robert Bellarmine as proof of the self-evident truth of conciliarist ideas, Maultrot and Mey declared that church councils composed of the pastors and the faithful “represent the entire society,” and as such are infallible because they “represent the entire society.”¹⁰⁰ They go further to argue that the power of these councils come “only from exercising the right of the Universal Church, acting in its name, representing it, consenting to what they do. The entire church thus really possesses this power.”¹⁰¹ Therefore, not only were the Petrine

⁹⁶ [Mey and Maultrot], *Apologie*, 2:468-488; Richer, *De la puissance ecclésiastique et politique*, 39-41. Edmond Richer made a similar argument in his work on temporal and spiritual authority.

⁹⁷ [Mey and Maultrot], *Apologie*, 2:483.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 2:485.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1:40-41. Regarding the clarity and publicity, clarity and consent of a doctrine, Maultrot and Mey noted: “Thus from whatever authority comes a judgment on matters of doctrine, it becomes an immutable rule of our Faith only when it is no longer doubtful that it is consecrated by the acceptance of the Universal Church; that clouds no longer remain over its acquiescence; that *attentive persons* are in a state of recognizing that it has been explained; that its witness is public enough to *not be ignored by anyone*, and that its notoriety is at such a degree of evidence, that there is only obstinacy capable of hiding it and preventing it from striking. The rule of our submission must not be uncertain.” See also, *Ibid.*, 1:85.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 2:480-482.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

Keys located in the entire community, ecclesiastical power was also fundamentally consultative in nature.¹⁰²

Intervening into this debate between the *dévots* and Jansenists over the extent of temporal authority were writers who embraced a more philosophical approach. While building off of similar arguments established by the Jansenist barristers about the exteriority of temporal authority, these authors grounded their arguments more in natural law, reason and appeals to public opinion.¹⁰³ These *gens de lettres* replaced older religious claims about the possession of the Petrine Keys with more Enlightenment-era notions of *bonheur* (worldly happiness), social contracts, *bienfaisance*, civilization, sociability, progress, and the perfectibility of human nature. Representative of this Enlightenment trend within the debates over temporal and spiritual authority were Jean-Étienne-Marie Portalis (1746-1807), a barrister in the regional Parlement of Aix and future author of the Napoleonic Concordat of 1801, and François Richer (1718-1790), a barrister in the Parlement of Paris and an editor of the collected works of Montesquieu.¹⁰⁴ While Portalis made important contributions regarding the legal recognition of Protestant marriages within the Catholic kingdom and put forward his own succinct exposition on temporal and spiritual power, Richer's response fundamentally changed the parameters of the debate and sparked a sharp reaction from prominent *dévo*t authors like Jean-Georges Lefranc de Pompignan.¹⁰⁵ If Mey and Maultrot were willing to

¹⁰² [Mey and Maultrot], *Apologie*, 2:485-488, 505-513, 610, 633.

¹⁰³ Van Kley, "Church, State, and the Ideological Origins of the French Revolution," 646-652; Van Kley, *Religious Origins of the French Revolution*, 234-248.

¹⁰⁴ Maire, *L'Église dans l'État*, 417-418, 491-492; Edmond Préclin, *Les Jansénistes du XVIIIe siècle et la Constitution civile du Clergé; Le développement du richérisme, sa propagation dans le Bas Clergé, 1713-1791* (Paris: Librairie Universitaire J. Gamber, 1929), 416.

¹⁰⁵ For Portalis's treatise on marriage, see: [Jean-Étienne-Marie Portalis], *Consultation sur la validité des mariages des Protestans de France: à laquelle on a joint quelques Arrêts récents du Parlement de Toulouse, rendus en faveur des Protestans* (Genève: 1761); Portalis also wrote a brief twenty-five-page pamphlet discussing the difference between the two powers. For more, see: [Jean-Étienne-Marie Portalis], *Principes sur la distinction des deux puissances, spirituelle et temporelle* (1765); for works critical of Richer, see: [Jean-Georges Lefranc de Pompignan], *Défense des Actes du Clergé de France, concernant La Religion publiée en l'assemblée de 1765 par M. l'Évêque du Puy* (Louvain: 1769).

exteriorize the administration of the sacraments, Richer went further to completely materialize aspects of Catholic worship, spiritualize the exercise of religious authority, and completely displace the Church to the otherworldly. By emphasizing the publicness and exteriority of religious worship within the kingdom, Richer would extend the territoriality of temporal sovereignty at the expense of the Church. The consequences of these arguments would then be taken up by later authors who would come to justify the desire to nationalize the church in a way that was reminiscent of the French Revolution.

Unlike either *dévot* or Jansenist polemicists, Richer opened his treatise on temporal and spiritual powers with a discussion of the state of nature. According to the barrister, the first social contract emerged out of a state of dependency where children relied on their families to survive.¹⁰⁶ This stage of weakness and ignorance of infancy overtime accustomed children to naturally subordinate themselves to the authority of their parents. However, with the eventual death of the “natural father,” this early society agreed to establish a “conventional father” or political leader in order to prevent division and protect property. Noticeably absent from this account was the role Christianity. Richer maintained that human associations had long existed before God promulgated any positive law. The only worship found in this early stage was natural religion, based on enlightened reason. According to Richer, the Supreme Being only required worship to be individual, where ceremonies were simple, and each could serve as their own religious ministers. In other words, natural religion was essentially intimate. He noted that when looking throughout history, legislators never specifically occupied themselves with religious worship, instead choosing to subordinate it to politics in the form of civil ceremonies. In fact, the early history of humanity was primarily characterized by the rule of temporal rulers. Guided by nature, human

¹⁰⁶ [Francois Richer], *De l'autorité de clergé, et du pouvoir du magistrat politique sur l'exercice des fonctions du ministère ecclésiastique*, vol.1 (Amsterdam: 1766), 1-26.

reason and the Supreme Being, the first legislators founded society and established laws in order to maintain public order, ensure the happiness and promote the health and reproduction. Thus, Richer implied that the first sacral institution established on earth was that of kings and legislators, who were the organ and work of God. By doing so, Richer was promoting the interests of civil society over those of religion.

Following the emergence of society and its consolidation under the rule of kings, Richer argued that God established the community of the faithful to reinforce social solidarity. According to Richer, this community of the faithful was supposed to share in common all its prayers and works in order to aid in the journey from the terrestrial world to the celestial one.¹⁰⁷ In fact, this notion of travel formed the basis of his theory of spiritual power. Richer defined the Church as a “band of travelers” on their way to “another Patrie,” which was completely spiritual and found in the “bosom of God.”¹⁰⁸ As such, the Church renounced any pretention or rights over the world, asking only for the liberty of passage on earth.¹⁰⁹ It was at this juncture that that a second social contract was formed between temporal rulers and the church. First, the foreign band of travelers comprising the Church asked the prince for the right of passage through his lands. Obligated to the protect the public good of his realms, the prince then subjects the travelers to a careful examination of their doctrine, *moeurs* [customs], ceremonies, ministry, and government. Richer stressed that the prince did not judge their dogma; he only investigated to “know if the good order of the state

¹⁰⁷ [Richer], *De l'autorité de clergé*, 1:29. Richer noted: “In order to bring these two driving causes together, God established a very different society from that which we discussed so far. It is the Faithful who compose it. He wanted them to put their works and prayers in common, so that he applied the merits to particulars in proportion of the need of each... Prayer and good works are therefore the provisions that we, as Christians, we must bring to the common mass; and which must serve as food for all during the journey that we make on earth, of which eternity is the goal.”

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 1:27. Richer wrote: “But we are called to another Patrie, which we must know and merit. This completely spiritual Patrie is the very bosom of God.”; Ibid., 1:121. He also declared that the first teaching of Christianity is the transitory nature of life: “We are Christians only by faith; and the first article of this faith, which is the basis of all the others, teaches us that we are foreigners and travelers on the earth.”

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 1:125-126.

is not concerned.”¹¹⁰ Finding nothing of worry, the prince then granted the travelers the right of passage and promised to watch over them and ensure the “free exercise of their dogmas, moral code and discipline.” In turn, the band of travelers comprising the Church swear to hold themselves “strictly within the bounds of the rule established by Jesus Christ” and “the truths that he revealed to his Disciples.”¹¹¹ Thus, Richer’s narrative about the formation of a second social contract between the Prince and the Church not only served as a basis for their relationship, it also emphasizes that the Church was a completely foreign entity that “enters a state” when a “government admits her to its lands under its domination.”¹¹² Moreover, Richer’s account of the entry of the Church into the empire also “naturalizes” the Prince’s right of inspection of church doctrine.

For Richer, the relationship and authority of temporal and spiritual powers was essentially a spatial relationship. As his account of the social contract between the Church and the Empire demonstrated, the Church was merely a band of travelers. They were foreigners, who only entered the empire of the Prince from the outside. The barrister further grounded his distinction between temporal and spiritual jurisdictions on a Cartesian relationship between the body and the soul.¹¹³ According to Richer, there existed two types of actions: actions that spring from the soul which the body can chose to execute [i.e. writing results from a desire of the soul, which only they body can perform], and actions that exist only in the soul [i.e. desires, wishes]. From this, Richer argued that temporal jurisdiction existed only over the body, while spiritual jurisdiction only involved the soul: “And it is here that the difference between the two ministries is clearly felt, the political ministry, whose action ends in bodies, and the ecclesiastical ministry whose action extends only

¹¹⁰ [Richer], *De l’autorité de clergé*, 1:129.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1:128.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 1:31-54.

over souls.”¹¹⁴ As such, only Princes were capable of exercising coercive power over all things exterior, while the Church only had a persuasive power over all things intimate and interior. Secular authorities were charged with maintaining public order and ensuring happiness on earth, and spiritual authorities had the power of teaching truths in order to change *moeurs*.¹¹⁵ Richer would then use this distinction to rhetorically devastating effect by arguing that excommunication and the refusal of the sacraments were inherently public and exterior acts outside the jurisdiction of the Church and in violation of the original social contract established between the Empire and the Church to maintain the peace.¹¹⁶ Moreover a Prince’s authority over all that was exterior and public and his right of inspection further justified the intervention of secular magistrates to ensure that all citizens of the realm received sacraments. Thus, the relationship between temporal and secular jurisdiction was a question of space: Empire and the band of foreign travelers; exterior and interior; body and the soul.

Between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, there was a shift in the ways in which French jurists, theologians, and political writers used spatial metaphors in debates over the boundaries of temporal and spiritual authority. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Gallican theorists like Pierre Pithou and Edmond Richer defined temporal jurisdiction in terms of territoriality.¹¹⁷ By grounding the distinction between temporal and spiritual authority in territory, Gallican jurists and theologians were able to assert the independence of the French monarchy from papal and imperial interference, strip the Church of its temporal powers, and establish the French kings as the guardian of liberties of the Gallican Church. They further “spiritualized” or limited

¹¹⁴ [Richer], *De l'autorité de clergé*, 1:33.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1:30.

¹¹⁶ [Richer], *De l'autorité de clergé*, 1:373-395; 2:90-105.

¹¹⁷ Maire, *L'Église dans l'État*, 19; Parsons, *The Church in the Republic*, 143-160; Ullmann, “The Development of Medieval Idea of Sovereignty,” 1-33; Lange, “The Birth of a Maxim,” 128-147; Bossuat, “La Formule ‘Le roi est empereur en son royaume’,” 371-381.

ecclesiastical authority only to the dispensation of the sacraments, religious instruction, worship, and determining doctrines of faith. Above all, spatial concepts relating to “exteriority” and “territoriality” in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were fundamentally tied to the development of absolutist monarchy. In the eighteenth century, the concepts of “territoriality” and “exteriority” began to take on new meanings. The older conflictual relationship between the French monarchy and the papacy gave way to a new period of collaboration, as seen in the coordinated effort to combat the spread of Jansenism. Instead, conflict between the Parlements and the French clergy would come to take center stage. Furthermore, a series of broader cultural changes of the period altered the way that writers understood the relationship between temporal and spiritual authority.¹¹⁸ These cultural changes were the rise of the public sphere, the development of new ways of observing and measuring territory, and the gradual disenchantment of the world. The consequence of these cultural shifts enabled political and religious writers of the period to embrace more radical arguments about the nature of temporal authority that ultimately would justify the “territorialization” and “exteriorization” of parts of the Catholic Church previously exempted from temporal interference in the previous centuries and make way for its eventual nationalization under the French Revolution.

The first major cultural change of the eighteenth century that transformed the spatial understanding of temporal and spiritual authority was the emergence of the public sphere. Beginning in the seventeenth century and continuing through the eighteenth century, the formation of the public sphere transformed the ways that eighteenth-century intellectuals thought about the relationship between space, civil society and the state. In response to the religious strife of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, theorists of absolutism like Thomas Hobbes began

¹¹⁸ Maire, *L'Église dans l'État*, 40-44.

differentiating between the private sphere of individual conscience and the public sphere of political sovereignty.¹¹⁹ Supporters of absolutism effectively depoliticized conscience and concentrated political authority in the hands of the public sovereign. In fact, publicity was so tightly bound with the person of the king, that rituals of punishment inflicted on the body of criminals were seen as manifestations of the king's sovereign authority.¹²⁰ Concepts of public and private continued to change in the eighteenth century, following the expansion of new spaces of sociability like coffee houses, salons and masonic lodges, as well as a parallel growth and circulation of written publications like newspapers, journals and novels.¹²¹ Within these new social spaces previously left unnoticed by the absolute monarchs, private individuals increasingly engaged in open and public debate, whereby they would submit matters of morality, politics, religion, reputation and taste to the higher authority belonging to the "tribunal of public opinion."¹²² Notably, these appeals to public opinion first appeared during the Jansenist controversy of the mid-eighteenth century and represented a direct challenge to the French king's

¹¹⁹ Reinhart Koselleck, *Critique and Crisis: Enlightenment and the Pathogenesis of Modern Society* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1988), 18-40; Daniel Gordon, *Citizens without Sovereignty: Equality and Sociability in French Thought, 1670-1789* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 41-85; similarly, see: Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution*, 15-74. Van Kley makes a similar argument as Koselleck about the French monarchy's neutralization of its religious opponents, but further adds that this process was accomplished through divine right absolutism.

¹²⁰ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 42-54.

¹²¹ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991), 27-56; Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), 20-66; Keith Michael Baker, "Defining the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France: Variations on a Theme by Habermas," *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1992), 181-208; Gordon, *Citizens without Sovereignty*, 86-128, 177-241; Bell, *The Cult of the Nation*, 34-36; James Van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 1-16, 45-75, 81-119; Nina Birkner and York-Gothart Mix, "Qu'est-ce que l'espace public? Histoire du mot et du concept," *Dix-huitième siècle*, No. 46 (2014): 285-304.

¹²² Keith Michael Baker, "Politics and Public Opinion Under the Ancien Régime: Some Reflections," *Press and Politics in Pre-Revolutionary France*, ed. Jack Censer and Jeremy D Popkin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 213, 233; Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, 30-37; Mona Ozouf, "Le concept d'opinion publique au XVIIIe siècle," in *L'homme régénéré: Essai sur la Révolution française* (Paris: Gallimard, 1989), 21-53.

monopoly on publicity.¹²³ Ultimately, the new dichotomy between public and private would influence the way that writers would come to understand temporal authority and spiritual authority. All that was subject to secular authority was public, while that which belonged to spiritual authority was the interior realm of the private sphere.

The second cultural change that helped to redefine the relationship between temporal and spiritual authority was the development of new ways and methods of observing, measuring and organizing territory in eighteenth-century France. Beginning with the reign of Louis XIV, the French monarchy consciously attempted to render its kingdom better policed by undertaking a series of general territorial surveys, collecting economic and demographic data, and creating clear distinctions between French nationals and foreigners in order to render the kingdom more “legible” to the state.¹²⁴ As a consequence of this initiative undertaken by the monarchy, military *ingénieur-géographes* and civilian map-makers repeatedly redrew the kingdom, not only establishing its territorial extent, but also determining its contents and mathematically fixing it in space.¹²⁵ The Enlightenment’s celebration of nature further imbued these cartographic expeditions with a greater appreciation for natural boundaries, as reflected in the attempts by Spanish and French diplomatic commissioners to trace the border between the two kingdoms along the natural features of the

¹²³ Baker, “Politics and Public Opinion Under the Ancien Régime,” 208; Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe*, 45-55; Van Kley, *Religious Origins of the French Revolution*, 94-96, 128-134, 262-274.

¹²⁴ Sahlins, *Boundaries*, 93-97; Bell, *Cult of the Nation*, 34-37; James C. Scott, *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 11-47, 76-83; for more on the way that Jean-Baptiste Colbert organized and used information, see: Jacob Soll, *The Information Master: Jean-Baptiste Colbert’s Secret State Intelligence System* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009), 67-83; for more on the status of foreigners in France and the *droit d’aubaine*, see: Peter Sahlins, *Unnaturally French: Foreign Citizens in the Old Regime and after* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004).

¹²⁵ Daniel Roche, *La France des Lumières* (Paris: Fayard, 1993), 11-37; Charles Withers, “Space, Geography and the Global French Enlightenment,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the French Enlightenment*, ed. Daniel Brewer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 214-232; Jordan Branch, *The Cartographic State: Maps, Territory and the Origins of Sovereignty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 142-164; for more on specifically cadastral maps, see: Scott, *Seeing like a State*, 33-47.

Pyrenean region.¹²⁶ The sway of this naturalistic discourse was so pronounced, that Enlightened military officials in the latter half of the century wrote frequently about the importance of “natural boundaries” in delimitating the territory of the kingdom. While engineers and cartographers traveled across France to better determine the extent of the kingdom, a group of political economists known as the Physiocrats turned inwards, drawing up charts and tableaux to calculate the agricultural wealth of the realm.¹²⁷ For the Physiocrats, administrative reform was needed to make territory more uniform, rationalized, and homogenized. A consequence of all of these changes meant that territory became a space where sovereignty was expressed and exercised, replacing older notions of jurisdictional sovereignty. By making space more measurable and rationalized, space also became more “external” and “corporeal,” and thus subject to the temporal authority of the state. However, one ambiguity remained unanswered: if cartographers helped to extend territorial sovereignty of the king by mapping the realm, then what would it mean for spiritual authority if the philosophes also demonstrated that the internal geography of the self likewise constituted a collection of nervous fibers and sensory organs?¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Sahlins, *Boundaries*, 34-43, 96-99; for more on “natural frontiers,” see: Denis Richet, “Natural Borders,” in *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, ed. François Furet and Mona Ozouf, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 754-762; Withers, “Space, Geography and the Global French Enlightenment,” 214-232; Daniel Nordman, “Identidades territoriales,” *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 35, no. 2 (2005): 147-157; for more about the French Enlightenment and the concept of nature, see: Jean Ehrard, *L'idée de nature en France dans la première moitié du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1963); Donald Geoffrey Charlton, *New Images of the Natural in France: A Study in European Cultural History, 1750-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Lorraine Daston, “The Nature of Nature in Early Modern Europe,” *Configurations* 6, no. 2 (1998): 149-172. Daston has questioned whether the “disenchantment of nature” led to a growth in the authority of nature during the Enlightenment.

¹²⁷ Scott, *Seeing like a State*, 23; Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), 196-200; Pierre Rosanvallon, “Physiocrats,” in *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, 763-769; Catherine Larrère, “L’Arithmétique des physiocrates: la mesure de l’évidence,” *Histoire et Mesure* 7, no. 1/2 (1992): 5-24; Michael Sonenscher, “Physiocracy as a Theodicy,” *History of Political Thought* 23, no.2 (2002): 326-339; Loïc Charles, “The Visual History of the Tableau Économique,” *European Journal of the History of Economic Thought* 10, no. 4 (2003): 527-550; Paul Cheney, *Revolutionary Commerce: Globalization and the French Monarchy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 141-167; for more on the physiocrats more generally, see: Liana Vardi, *The Physiocrats and the World of the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

¹²⁸ For more on cartography and philosophical understandings of the self, see: Tom Conley, “Ingénieurs du Roy, Ingénieur du Moy: Self and Space in Montaigne and Descartes,” *Space and Self in Early Modern European*

The third cultural transformation that shaped the way that authors in the eighteenth century thought about the difference between the temporal and the spiritual was a broader process of “disenchantment” or “exit from religion” that occurred in the ontological realm. Initially, human beings existed in a state of radical dispossession and dependence in relation to beings of a different nature, like ancestors, heroes or gods who provided the fundamental principles of living, rules and customs that one must follow over the course of their life.¹²⁹ Broadly speaking, this economy of the sacred constituted the foundation of society as such.¹³⁰ Direct human communication with the sacred was possible through rituals, objects, spaces, or persons. In *The Disenchantment of the World* (1985), historian Marcel Gauchet argued that the upheavals brought about by the emergence of the State and the development of transcendental religions transformed the sacred being into the absolute Other, permanently severing the relationship between the heavenly and earthly realms. Gauchet credited this shift to the appearance of Christianity.¹³¹ Paradoxically, the more omnipotent, absolute and transcendental God became, the more this entity became exterior to the world. Moreover, as Christians preached adherence to the universal transcendent deity, a similar division between outward obedience to public authority and the inner obedience to the otherworldly grew larger.¹³² This in turn split humanity between two parallel societies: secular and

Cultures, ed. David Warren Sabean and Malina Stefanovska (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 258-270; for broadly see, Foucault, *The Order of Things*; Tom Conley, *The Self-Made Map: Cartographic Writing in Early Modern France* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996); for more on sensationist theories about the self, see: John C O’Neal, *The Authority of Experience: Sensationist Theory in the French Enlightenment* (University Park; Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996); Jan Goldstein, *The Post-Revolutionary Self: Politics and Psyche in France, 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005).

¹²⁹ Marcel Gauchet, *The Disenchantment of the World: A Political History of Religion*, trans. Oscar Burge (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 23-24.

¹³⁰ Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961), 14-18, 20-65; Natalie Zemon Davis, “The Sacred and the Body Social in Sixteenth Century Lyon,” *Past & Present*, No. 90 (1981): 40-70; John Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985): 3-34; Robert Scribner, “Cosmic Order and Daily Life: Sacred and Secular in Pre-Industrial German Society,” *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London: Hambledon Press, 1987), 1-16.

¹³¹ Gauchet, *The Disenchantment of the World*, 33-37, 41-43, 47-61, 65-66, 101-106.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 130-143, 151-159.

religious. Gauchet believed that this increasing emphasis on the Otherness of God resulted in a “disenchantment,” whereby the growing majesty and otherness of God made possible human autonomy. For historians like Dale Van Kley, David Bell and Marcel Gauchet, Jansenism’s emphasis on the absolute majesty of God embodied this process of disenchantment and retreat of the sacral from the world of the profane.¹³³ The implication of all of this was that “secularization” developed out of the creative forces dormant within the religious.

The emergence of the public sphere and public authority, the territorialization of sovereignty and the disenchantment of the world thus help explain the exteriorization of secular jurisdiction at work in the debate over temporal and spiritual powers. The position of the *dévo*t discourse expressed in the *Actes* reflected an older hierarchical vision of the sacred, whereby the Church would act as a mediator between God and the terrestrial world. Moreover, this discourse held that it was possible to still directly access the distant God through interaction with sacred space or the performance of rituals like the Eucharist. In contrast, the discourse of the Jansenists like Maultrot and Mey and secular barristers like Richer viewed God as a being that was wholly and absolutely Other. As a result of God’s absence, terrestrial life was left alone, thus making way for the expansion of secular autonomy and authority at the same time that the state was also seeking to delimit and rationalize its own territorial sovereignty. Richer’s emphasis on the Church as a “band of foreign travelers” reinforced this idea of severance between the terrestrial and celestial realms of being: the Patrie of Christian community was not of this world, and was completely other. With the evacuation of the sacral from profane space following the disenchantment of the world, it became conceivable for these writers to support the expansion of secular authority over all that was external, terrestrial and public. Thus, while certain authors like Bernard Groethuysen

¹³³ Gauchet, *The Disenchantment of the World*, 61, 159-160; Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution*, 60-63, 160-170; Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France*, 27-32.

saw a “narrowing or reduction of faith” or Koselleck described an interiorization of religious belief, it might be proper to also emphasize the complementary exteriorization of the secular, encompassing all, including even the body.¹³⁴

The consequences of these arguments about the nature of authority were brought to their logical conclusion during the debates over the church property in the late 1760s. If civil authorities truly exercised sovereignty over all that was material, corporeal, and exterior, eighteenth-century writers in turn wondered how that distinction would affect the status of ecclesiastical property. Questions regarding the status of ecclesiastical property were previously raised in the 1750s, when the controller general Jean-Baptiste de Machault d’Arnouville (1701-1794) attempted to apply the *vingtième* property tax to clerical lands formally exempted from royal taxation.¹³⁵ The clergy’s resistance to the controller general’s tax reforms in turn sparked an avalanche of anonymous pamphlets debating the issue.¹³⁶ Ultimately, when faced with fierce opposition, the monarchy relented by granting the clergy a special exemption to the *vingtième* tax and replacing Machault

¹³⁴ “For us to realize the essential character of these great transformations from where modern man is born, it is necessary to begin by distinguishing between two factors, which both have gradually modified the religious view. There is on the one hand a *decrease of faith*, that is to say a change in the very way of believing, and on the other hand a *narrowing or reduction of faith*, that is to say the gradual elimination of certain articles of faith which one can no longer believe. So, the bourgeois will believe less and will believe less things. Or in other words: there is both the gradual elimination and reduction in relation to faith, or to what remains of it. Or again, if by virtue of submission to the authority of the Church, as we have seen, the faithful can still be supposed to believe everything, as well what he abandons as what he retains, the changes which occur in religious consciousness will be characterized by the fact that what constitutes the domain of faith implicit in him, is enlarged, while the domain of explicit faith is impoverished, and that moreover, what he still believes with explicit faith, he believes it less.” Bernard Groethuysen, *Origines de l’esprit bourgeois en France: I. L’Eglise et la Bourgeoisie* (Paris: Gallimard, 1927), 49-50; See also, Koselleck, *Critique and Crisis*, 18-40.

¹³⁵ Maire, *L’Eglise dans l’Etat*, 109-153; Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution*, 200-201; Marcel Marion, *Marchault d’Arnouville: Étude sur l’histoire du contrôle général des finances de 1749 à 1754* (Paris: Hachette, 1891), 15-56; Michael Kwass, *Privilege and the Politics of Taxation in Eighteenth-Century France: Liberté, Égalité, Fiscalité* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 159-161; Peter R. Campbell, “The Language of Patriotism in France, 1750-1770,” *e-France* 7 (2007), 31-33; James B. Collins, *The State in Early Modern France*, Second Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 270-276.

¹³⁶ Marion, *Marchault d’Arnouville*, 261-302; a collection of the various pamphlets circulating can be found in five volumes of: *Ecrits pour et contre les immunités prétendues par le clergé de France*, edited by anonymous, 5 volumes (La Haye: 1751).

d'Anouville as controller general.¹³⁷ Despite defeat, the question of church property remained salient in the political and religious discourse of the 1750s and 1760s. Most notably, Richer's *De l'autorité de clergé* raised the issue once more in 1766. Building on his prior distinction between the temporal authority of the Prince on earth and the band of travelers that constituted the Church, Richer argued that property was a gift from God in order to sustain our physical bodies.¹³⁸ Since the spiritual authority only concerned the afterlife, ecclesiastical property was contrary to the principle of the Church. Only secular authority, since it concerned physical bodies, could exercise sovereignty over property.¹³⁹ As such, the clergy could not feasibly oppose the taxation of their property.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, since ecclesiastical did not constitute sacred property, which only existed in heaven, taxation therefore should not be considered sacrilegious. Thus, Marchault d'Arnouville's attempt to tax the clergy and Richer's spatial arguments effectively desacralized the property of the church to the benefit of secular authority and laid the foundation for later arguments about the nationalization of church property.

Two anonymous pamphlets that appeared a few years following Richer's attack on the *Actes* further demonstrate the growing importance of imagining the church in spatial terms. The first work was *Discussion intéressante sur la prétention du Clergé d'être le premier Ordre d'un Etat* (1767), attributed to François-Jacques de Chastenet, marquis of Puységur (1716-1782).¹⁴¹ Not much is known about the marquis of Puységur, other than his work editing his military father's text on the art of war. The second anonymous work was *Du droit du Souverain sur les biens fonds*

¹³⁷ Marion, *Marchault d'Arnouville*, 326-329, 357-361.

¹³⁸ [Richer], *De l'autorité de clergé*, 1:149-154; Maire, *L'Eglise dans L'Etat*, 417-418.

¹³⁹ [Richer], *De l'autorité de clergé*, 1:151-165.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 1:180-193.

¹⁴¹ Joseph Marie Quérard, *La France littéraire, ou Dictionnaire bibliographique des savants, historiens et gens de lettres de la France, ainsi que des littérateurs étrangers qui ont écrit en français, plus particulièrement pendant les XVIIIe et XIXe siècles*, vol. 2 (Paris: 1828), 148; Van Kley, "Church, State, and the Ideological Origins of the French Revolution," 650; McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*, 25-26; Maire, *L'Eglise dans l'Etat*, 419.

du Clergé des Moines, et de l'usage qu'il peut faire de ces Biens pour le bonheur des Citoyens (1770), attributed to the mysterious pronatalist “Chevalier de Cerfvol.”¹⁴² Besides writing about church property, Cerfvol published under their name nearly a dozen texts on divorce and pronatalist theories that appeared from the late 1760s until the middle of the 1770s.¹⁴³ Scholars have proposed two possible identities for the enigmatic author: either “Cerfvol” was a pseudonym used by a political conspiracy directed at facilitating the divorce and marriage of Louis XV’s mistress to the king, or may have been used by Charles Palissot de Montenoy to vent his frustration regarding his wife and inability to obtain a divorce.¹⁴⁴ Regardless of the particular identity of both authors, the similarity in structure and arguments used to attack clerical property was so close, that at times authorship of both texts could be misattributed to one another.¹⁴⁵ Both texts employed an anonymous epistolary structure to discuss their radical ideas regarding clerical property. Thus, not only did both authors come to articulate arguments that revolutionaries would later marshal in order to justify the nationalization of ecclesiastical property in 1789, they also expanded on and applied Richer’s earlier spatial arguments about territorialized sovereignty to the question of clerical lands in France.¹⁴⁶

Following the example of François Richer’s account of the relationship between temporal and spiritual power, the Chevalier de Cerfvol and the Marquis of Puységur explored the early history of human society in order to question the basis and legitimacy of ecclesiastical property. Although Cerfvol focused more on the history of the clergy while Puységur was more concerned

¹⁴² Quérard, *La France littéraire*, 2:100-101; Van Kley, “Church, State, and the Ideological Origins of the French Revolution,” 649-650.

¹⁴³ Carol Blum, *Strength in Numbers: Population, Reproduction, and Power in Eighteenth-Century France* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 67-69.

¹⁴⁴ Blum, *Strength in Numbers*, 69-71, 210-211.

¹⁴⁵ Quérard, *La France littéraire*, 100; the marquis of Puységur later included his own text and Cerfvol’s text within a collected volume of writings discussing the clergy. For more, see: [François-Jacques de Chastenot, marquis de Puységur], *Pièces détachées relatives au Clergé séculier et régulier*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: 1771).

¹⁴⁶ Van Kley, “Church, State, and the ideological Origins of the French Revolution,” 649.

with secular power, both works generally divided the history of human society into four periods. First, there was a period of innocence, corresponding with primitive landholding and priesthood, where each individual acted as pontiff and king. With the growth of human society, division of labor was introduced: Cerfvol claimed that priesthood became a specialized profession, while Puységur noted that early landholders [terriens] divided society between those who cultivate and those who defend property.¹⁴⁷ The second period of this narrative corresponded to the establishment of the theocratic Jewish republic, marking the first appearance of a clergy, the Levite priests, who owned property.¹⁴⁸ Religious government at this stage remained particular and limited to the borders of the kingdom. The third period marked a turning point, whereby Jesus Christ universalized religious belief by spiritualizing his kingdom and commanding his disciples to sell their property and preach to foreigners.¹⁴⁹ However, in renouncing property, Cerfvol was careful to specify that material abnegation only applied to the clergy, and not the community of the faithful, lest they risk social upheaval. The final period was one of corruption when the clergy began to accumulate property following the conversion of Constantine.¹⁵⁰ Eventually over time, the clergy, aided by the chaos of feudalism, would further increase its wealth and property by manipulating the credulity of the faithful and its position within the Church.¹⁵¹ Thus, both authors argued that ecclesiastical property at its very roots was contrary to the principles of the primitive Christian Church and the result of greed and manipulation.

¹⁴⁷ [Chevalier de Cerfvol], *Du droit du Souverain sur les biens fonds du Clergé des Moines, et de l'usage qu'il peut faire de ces Biens pour le bonheur des Citoyens* (Naples: 1770), 25-26; [François-Jacques de Chastenot, marquis de Puységur], *Discussion intéressante sur la prétention du Clergé d'être le premier Ordre d'un Etat* (La Haye: 1767), 12.

¹⁴⁸ [Cerfvol], *Du droit du Souverain*, 27-34; [Puységur], *Discussion intéressante*, 28.

¹⁴⁹ [Cerfvol], *Du droit du Souverain*, 38-44; [Puységur], *Discussion intéressante*, 129.

¹⁵⁰ [Cerfvol], *Du droit du Souverain*, 80; [Puységur], *Discussion intéressante*, 98.

¹⁵¹ [Cerfvol], *Du droit du Souverain*, 66-82; [Puységur], *Discussion intéressante*, 116.

If the history of ecclesiastical property was one of manipulation and corruption during a time of feudal barbarism, Cerfvol and Puységur went further to argue that clerical property also violated the strict spatial division between temporal and spiritual powers. Like Richer, both Cerfvol and Puységur believed that the French state existed prior to the Church and only after the inspection of doctrine by the sovereign prince could the Church be admitted to the state.¹⁵² Moreover, their analysis focused on the physical and spiritual natures of each powers. For the Marquis of Puységur, secular power was inherently corporeal and physical: “The State is a physical and political being; the Government which directs it, is a moral being. As such, the former [celui-ci] has the first rank and the necessary authority to work for the happiness of the other.”¹⁵³ He then from this position emphasized that the physical needs of the State needed to be satisfied first before it was capable of acting morally.¹⁵⁴ Above all, the nation was a fundamentally physical space, demarcated by natural or artificial borders, and inhabited by a group of people attached to their soil, ancestors and posterity.¹⁵⁵ Cerfvol likewise contrasts the obligations of the mystical body [corps] of Jesus Christ and the Church to the physical world of society.¹⁵⁶ He declared that “physical happiness is a gift from Heaven” and that happiness and unhappiness are the result of humanity’s conduct and circumstances that were “purely physical.”¹⁵⁷ The defense of these goods

¹⁵² [Cerfvol], *Du droit du Souverain*, 14, 31-32; [Puységur], *Discussion intéressante*, 116, 135. In a footnote, the Marquis of Puységur affirmed that “the Christian Religion is in the State, and not the State in Religion.”

¹⁵³ [Puységur], *Discussion intéressante*, 65.

¹⁵⁴ He argued: “Now, it is the physical need that must be satisfied first. One must be able to act, before acting; it is necessary to be capable of acting well, before acting well. The moral, in this sense, must only follow after the physical.” Ibid., 66-67.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 7, 65.

¹⁵⁶ [Cerfvol], *Du droit du Souverain*, 80, 90.

¹⁵⁷ The full quote: “Man holds all from the goodness of God; but if God had demanded in return that man turn all his faculties into acts of recognition, that he spent his entire life in idle contemplation, the *bienfait* would have become, if not harmful, at least useless. Whatever those who blame the well-being which they enjoy, physical happiness is a gift from Heaven; and I think that a mature examination of the arguments that they employed to prove that suffering is pleasing to God, one would be obliged to agree that happiness or unhappiness are the results of our conduct, as well as of the circumstances where we find ourselves, and that the sources, generators of both of these States, are purely physical.” Ibid., 94.

or properties are the responsibility of the state, whom we are obliged to obey. In order to ensure the safety of the realm, the secular prince had the right to inspect doctrine. Moreover, Cerfvol argued that civil authorities could also limit religious worship to an interior act of prayer without violating an individual's religious obligations. Finally, he insisted that only the cooperation between secular and religious authorities could establish exterior worship in its "ceremonial and commemorative form."¹⁵⁸ Thus, secular authority had purely physical jurisdiction over all that was exterior.

In contrast to the physical nature of the state was the spiritual nature of the church. Like the Jansenists writers Mey and Maultrot, Cerfvol and Puységur defined the church as an assembly of the faithful, that both included the clergy and the laity.¹⁵⁹ Additionally, they considered the body of the church to be mystical or spiritual, in contrast to the materiality of the state.¹⁶⁰ Because of the ontological status of the church was otherworldly, both writers subordinated the spiritual realm to the demands of the physical. It was on this basis that they justified the exclusion of the clergy from all that belonged to temporal jurisdiction. Puységur believed that the church contributed nothing to the physical wellbeing of the state: "The Clergy... do not lend their arms to the cultivation or defense of the land. But... lands are the soil of the State; their cultivation does good; their yield and exchange of products form its wealth; the defense of the country... ensures the security of property and maintains peaceful possession. Thus the Clergy does nothing physically for a State."¹⁶¹ As a result, the state needed to subordinate the interests of the church to the immediate and physical concerns of the state: "But, when it is a question of the physical prosperity of a State, it is the body which watches over the physical, which, not only must have preeminence,

¹⁵⁸ [Cerfvol], *Du droit du Souverain*, 96-97.

¹⁵⁹ [Cerfvol], *Du droit du Souverain*, 24; [Puységur], *Discussion intéressante*, 118.

¹⁶⁰ [Cerfvol], *Du droit du Souverain*, 24, 73; [Puységur], *Discussion intéressante*, 120.

¹⁶¹ [Puységur], *Discussion intéressante*, 85.

but which must also, exclusively to all others, know what is good or bad in that regard.”¹⁶² In heightening the ontological difference between both realms by emphasizing the physicality or spirituality of a body, both authors were subtly extending the claims of temporal authorities. Cerfvol would go one step further by completely sealing both realms off from one another: “Nothing is more essential for the Christian than to know what he owes distinctly to God and to Society at least in general, since he cannot transfer the objects of one to the other, without disturbing the pre-established order.”¹⁶³ In other words, since physical property was a gift from God, it was absurd that one would try to give it back to God in the form of a donation. Thus, by insisting on the absolute difference between the two realms, and the sovereignty of the state over all that was physical, both authors would come to justify their most radical proposition: the nationalization of ecclesiastical property.

Based on the ontological and spatial divisions separating the temporal and spiritual realms, Cerfvol and Puységur effectively territorialized secular sovereignty in order to justify the nationalization of ecclesiastical property. Cerfvol scoffed at the idea of ecclesiastical property, by observing that it was absurd for God to provide physical happiness to human society only to see it returned to God in the form of land donations to the church: “It is inconceivable how, in a Religion where one recognizes that one holds all from the goodness of God, one is advised to want to return to him.... God gave property to men to own, and not to return them to Him.... Again, it is for our own happiness, and not for His.”¹⁶⁴ Elsewhere he added that if God wanted His church to be wealthy, He would have endowed it from the start.¹⁶⁵ It was not for men to add to the intensions of God. Puységur likewise observed that the Church of God did not have any temporal

¹⁶² [Puységur], *Discussion intéressante*, 67.

¹⁶³ [Cerfvol], *Du droit du Souverain*, 93-94.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 87-88.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 44.

properties.¹⁶⁶ The effect of all of these assertions was to secularize the notion of property. Both Puységur and Cerfvol insisted that to attack ecclesiastical property was not to attack the Church or its spiritual jurisdiction.¹⁶⁷ Instead, ownership of all the lands within the kingdom ultimately belonged to the Patrie, and as such, the state has a right at any moment to reclaim its property.¹⁶⁸ Furthermore, they feared that clerical ownership of large swaths of lands constituted a potential danger to the Patrie, and recommended confiscation. Puységur warned: “But could it thus happen one day, Monsieur, that this body of the Clergy could cause worry and become feared? Well! It is necessary to remove this possibility and return its lands to patriotic hands that will render them more fruitful and useful. Prudence demands it, sound reason demonstrates it; the wisdom of Government should therefore order it.”¹⁶⁹ Cerfvol likewise speculated that possible bankruptcy and financial ruin of the state could justify confiscation.¹⁷⁰ Finally, Cerfvol and Puységur proposed different plans of nationalization that would see the reversion of the lands back to the state.¹⁷¹ Ultimately, both proposals contribute to the territorialization of sovereign authority by proposing to eliminating ecclesiastical property and placing it in the hands of the lay “patriotic” citizenry.

Between the sixteenth and eighteenth century, the division between temporal and spiritual authority gradually became more spatial in orientation. Initially, Gallican jurists and theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, like Pierre Pithou and Edmond Richer, used notions of territorial jurisdiction to define the parameters of temporal and spiritual authority. By doing so, they hoped to assert the independence of French kings from foreign papal interference, while simultaneously limiting spiritual authority to the dispensation of the sacraments, teaching, and

¹⁶⁶ [Puységur], *Discussion intéressante*, 129.

¹⁶⁷ [Cerfvol], *Du droit du Souverain*, 94; [Puységur], *Discussion intéressante*, 130.

¹⁶⁸ [Cerfvol], *Du droit du Souverain*, 116; [Puységur], *Discussion intéressante*, 80.

¹⁶⁹ [Puységur], *Discussion intéressante*, 104.

¹⁷⁰ [Cerfvol], *Du droit du Souverain*, 113-131.

¹⁷¹ [Cerfvol], *Du droit du Souverain*, 132-140; [Puységur], *Discussion intéressante*, 131-134.

determining doctrines of faith. However, with the emergence of the public sphere, development of cartography, and the disenchantment of the world, the territorial expressions of temporal authority took on a new potentially radical meaning in the eighteenth century. Thus, it for this reason that Jansenists like Mey and Maultrot, as well as other philosophical writers like François Richer, were able to argue that the administration of the sacraments could fall under the authority of the king and his royal officials due to their exterior and public quality. The Chevalier de Cerfvol and the Marquis de Puységur would take these arguments to their logical conclusion by applying them to ecclesiastical property, further confining the sphere of spiritual authority to the otherworldly. In other words, writers of the eighteenth century began to see the corpus mysticum as more of a corpus physicum. Essentially, the territorialization of temporal authority and the spiritualization of religious authority worked to eliminate difference and homogenize the kingdom. With the convening of the Estates General in 1789, revolutionaries would build on this territorialization of sovereignty by effectively nationalizing it and placing a newly exteriorized Gallican Church under the authority of the State. However, that change could not happen without the prior territorialization of temporal sovereignty that preceded the Revolution. As the next section demonstrates, this territorialization was accompanied by the orientation of the *bon curé* to the outside world.

Section 3: In Search of the Primitive Church

As the temporal world became more physical, measurable and territorial, eighteenth-century writers and philosophes attempted to populate their earthly world with *bon curés*, or good priests, who lived in society. Society in the eighteenth century became a world of things. Market expansion and the rise in consumption not only changed the way one interacted with the material

world, but also ushered in a new secular ethos of progress.¹⁷² Historian Daniel Roche observed that there was a general transformation of “traditional society,” which passed “gradually from an economy of salvation, scarcity and morality to an economy aiming at the happiness on earth, relative plenty and utility.”¹⁷³ The concept of *bienfaisance* (tr. good works) and progress help capture this new social ethos of the Enlightenment noted by Roche. Along with this transformation came a change in the terminology used to refer to human relations such as *société*, *public*, *civilisation*, *mœurs*, *police* (tr. public order), *commerce*, *nation*, *patrie* that reflected the growing sense of autonomy regarding the terrestrial world.¹⁷⁴ No longer subordinated to divine order, the human world became more self-regulating and the product of human will. It was within this context that Enlightenment thinkers imagined a new *curé*, a *bon curé*, to embody these new ideas regarding secular happiness and social utility.¹⁷⁵ In other words, if disputes over jurisdictional authority affirmed that the “Church is in the State,” the *bon curé* movement likewise insisted that its “Priests are in Society.” In order to bring about this dramatic reimagination of clerical roles, Enlightenment writers in turn drew upon two powerful discursive images for the basis of their new *bon curé*: that of the primitive church and that of natural religion.

¹⁷² Colin Jones, “The Great Chain of Buying: Medical Advertisement, the Bourgeois Public Sphere, and the Origins of the French Revolution,” *The American Historical Review* 101, no.1 (1996): 13-40; Colin Jones, “Bourgeois Revolution Revivified: 1789 and Social Change,” in *The French Revolution: Recent Debates and New Controversies*, ed. Gary Kates (London: Routledge, 1998), 157-191; Colin Jones and Rebecca Spang, “Sans-culottes, sans café, sans tabac: Shifting Realms of Necessity and Luxury in Eighteenth-Century France,” in *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe, 1650-1850*, ed. Joe Clifford (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 37-62; Roche, *La France des Lumières*, 494-522, 551-610; Michael Kwass, “Ordering the World of Goods: Consumer Revolution and the Classification of Objects in Eighteenth-Century France,” *Representations*, no. 32 (2003): 87-116; Sarah Maza, *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie: An Essay on the Social Imaginary, 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 41-68; Michael Kwass, “Consumption and the World of Ideas: Consumer Revolution and the Moral Economy of the Marquis de Mirabeau,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 37, no. 2 (2004): 187-213; for theories more broadly relating to colonial commerce, see: Cheney, *Revolutionary Commerce*.

¹⁷³ Daniel Roche, *A History of Everyday Things: The Birth of Consumption in France, 1600-1800*, trans. Brian Pearce (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 8.

¹⁷⁴ Bell, *The Cult of the Nation*, 24-27, 36-43.

¹⁷⁵ For more on the *bon curé*, see: Sepinwall, *Abbé Grégoire and the French Revolution*, 37; McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*, 1:358-283; Tackett, *Priest and Parish in Eighteenth-Century France*, 166-169; Pierre Sage, *Le "bon prêtre" dans la littérature française d'Amadis de Gaule au Génie du Christianisme* (Paris: 1951), 193-344.

Early models of the *bon curé* first emerged in late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century images of the “primitive church.” The concept of the “primitive church” referred to a set of beliefs and practices that writers ascribed to the early history of the Christian church. Accordingly, these beliefs and practices were considered to be pure and simple because of their chronological proximity to the life and teachings of Jesus Christ, the Apostles, and the early Church fathers. Therefore, the primitive church represented the authentic expression of Christian religiosity. As a historical discourse, the language of the primitive church also implies a difference: if the discipline and morality of Christian society at some point approximated a state of perfection, then there was a corresponding moment in history whereby these sets of beliefs and practices underwent a process of corruption and degeneration. In order to reverse degeneration, regeneration would then be needed in order to restore primitive discipline.¹⁷⁶ In many ways, the language of the primitive church resembled the historical language of classical republicanism, whereby the polity, like the church, likewise slowly degenerated over time because of a corruption of political virtue.¹⁷⁷ By the middle of the eighteenth century, both religious and secular reformists appealed to images of the primitive church as way to justify their critiques of ecclesiastical politics.¹⁷⁸ Thus it was through these images of the primitive church that some thinkers of the Enlightenment would come to construct their notion of the *bon curé*.

¹⁷⁶ For more on the language of degeneration and regeneration, see: Antoine de Baecque, *The Body Politic: Corporeal Metaphor in Revolutionary France, 1770-1800*, trans. by Charlotte Mandell (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 132-137.

¹⁷⁷ Dale Van Kley makes a similar comparison in his essay on Gallican images of primitivist reform: Dale Van Kley, “Civic Humanism in Clerical Garb: Gallican Memories of the Early Church and the Project of Primitivist Reform, 1719-1791,” *Past and Present*, no. 200 (2008): 106-11; for more on classical republicanism and the concept of decline, see: Keith Michael Baker, “Transformations of Classical Republicanism in Eighteenth-Century France,” *The Journal of Modern History* 73 (2001): 32-53; more generally, J.G.A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 114-330.

¹⁷⁸ During the debate over temporal and spiritual authority, authors like Mey, Maultrot, Richer, Cerfvol invoked the primitive church. For example, see: [Mey and Maultrot], *Apologie*, 2:509, 513, 633; [Richer], *De l'autorité de clergé*, 2:43; [Cerfvol], *Du droit du Souverain*, 12, 16, 57, 80; for an example of a Parlementarian arrête, see: *Arrest de la cour du Parlement de Provence, du 2 Mai 1768* (Aix: 1768), 9, 100, 186.

Popular sources for accounts and interpretations of the primitive church came from French ecclesiastical historians of the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One important influence on ecclesiastical history in France was the Jansenist Louis-Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont's (1637-1698) sixteen-volume *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles* (1693-1712). In his history of the primitive church, the reclusive Le Nain de Tillemont employed a rigorous critical methodology that purified the historical narrative of fable and superstition, thus making way for the skepticism of later secular historians of the Enlightenment like Edward Gibbon.¹⁷⁹ Contemporary with Le Nain de Tillemont and equally as influential was the abbé Claude Fleury (1640-1723).¹⁸⁰ Unlike Le Nain de Tillemont, the abbé Fleury was a firm Gallican and not a Jansenist. Under the regency of the duc d'Orléans, he served as confessor to the young Louis XV, as well as tutor to the royal children. Over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, Fleury composed a series of popular histories which included: *Les mœurs des Israélites* (1681), *Les Mœurs des Chrestiens* (1682), and his twenty-volume *Histoire ecclésiastique* (1691-1728).¹⁸¹ His historical analyses were further rendered accessible in his *Discours sur l'Histoire ecclésiastique* (1720). By the mid-eighteenth century, the Jansenist abbé Bonaventure Racine (1708-1755) published his own fifteen-volume *Abrégé de l'Histoire ecclésiastique* (1748-1752). Finally, two Jansenist historians, abbé Laurent-Etienne Rondet (1717-

¹⁷⁹ In his *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique*, Le Nain de Tillemont wrote regarding his methodology: "[The author] is content with seeking the truth of facts: and provided that he finds it, he does not fear that one abuses it; being certain that the truth cannot be contrary to the truth, nor by consequence to piety, which must be founded on the truth." Louis-Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, vol. 1 (Paris: 1693), ix; for his statement regarding his critical apparatus, see more broadly, *ibid.*, ix-xix; Van Kley, "Civic Humanism in Clerical Garb," 99; for a wonderful discussion of Le Nain de Tillemont, his methodology, and Edward Gibbon's relationship and use of the author, see: David P. Jordan, "LeNain de Tillemont: Gibbon's 'Sure-Footed Mule,'" *Church History* 39, no.4 (1970): 483-502; for a general overview of Le Nain de Tillemont's general historical work, see: Bruno Neveu, *Un historien à l'école de Port-Royal: Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont, 1637-1698* (La Haye: Martinus Nijhoff, 1966), 141-285.

¹⁸⁰ Van Kley, "Civic Humanism in Clerical Garb," 98.

¹⁸¹ Van Kley, "Civic Humanism in Clerical Garb," 96-97.

1785) and abbé Joseph-Antoine-Toussaint Dinouart (1716-1786), further abridged Racine's work into three- and two-volume histories respectively. Of the ecclesiastical histories, those of the abbé Fleury and abbé Racine were the most popular, were translated into multiple languages, and diffused widely.¹⁸² In fact, Fleury's work would be so influential that Treilhard, sitting on the ecclesiastical committee in charge of drafting the Civil Constitution of the Clergy during the Revolution, would cite Fleury as one of his principal sources for reform.¹⁸³

Writing about the history of the early church expressed not only an antiquarian interest, but also a desire reform morality through an archaeology of ancient practices. For ecclesiastical historians like the *abbé* Fleury, the history of the church amounted to the "happy succession of doctrine, discipline, and good *moeurs*."¹⁸⁴ Likewise, ecclesiastical history would then facilitate the perfection of *moeurs* and discipline essential to the Church by demonstrating what was possible: "Finally, the example of the saints show us what solid piety consists of, and destroys our bad excuses, by showing that Christian perfection is possible, since they have actually practiced it."¹⁸⁵ In contrast to Fleury's Gallican optimism was despair and pessimism of Jansenist historians like the *abbé* Racine. For the Jansenist historian, ecclesiastical history was intended above all to "sustain the Faithful amidst" religious scandal.¹⁸⁶ While writing during refusal of the sacraments controversy, Racine believed ecclesiastical history was capable of teaching the faithful to discern against good from evil and strengthening their faith showing them how to "pay attention to the

¹⁸² Ibid., 99-100.

¹⁸³ *Archives parlementaires de 1787 à 1860: Recueil complet des débats législatifs et politiques des Chambres françaises*, vol. 15 (Paris: Paul Dupont; Société d'imprimerie et librairie administratives et des chemins de fer, 1883), 746.

¹⁸⁴ Claude Fleury, *Discours sur l'histoire ecclésiastique. Par Mr. l'abbé Fleury, Prêtre, Prieur d'Argenteuil, et Confesseur du Roy* (Paris: 1747), 5.

¹⁸⁵ Fleury, *Discours*, 5-6; Van Kley, "Civic Humanism in Clerical Garb," 99; Cottret, *Jansénismes et Lumières*, 230-231.

¹⁸⁶ [Bonaventure Racine], *Abrégé de l'histoire ecclésiastique, contenant les événements considérables de chaque siècle avec des réflexions*, vol. 1 (Cologne: 1752), iii.

chains of evil, and to the degrees by which the infidelities that one notices in one century usually become the stems of new disorders which appear in the following generation.”¹⁸⁷ Thus not only was knowledge of the primitive church capable of inculcating good *moeurs* and discipline in the church and the faithful, it also allowed one to discern the work of Satan. Despite their divergence methodologies, both Fleury and Racine’s writings reflect the idea that the history of the church has been forgotten and needed to be recovered.¹⁸⁸ Thus writing and learning the history of the primitive church needed to be a process of reconstruction and recover. Only by seeing the perfection of the early church was it possible to regenerate discipline and *moeurs* of the faithful and effectively combat Satan.

The historical discourse of the primitive church deals with four important themes: the relationship between the clergy within the church; the relationship between the clergy and the laity; the discipline, practices, and *moeurs* of the early church; and the reasons for decline of religious discipline. For ecclesiastical historians of the primitive church, the relationship between bishops and priests was fundamentally egalitarian.¹⁸⁹ According to Fleury, the authority of bishops in the early church was characterized as a “government of charity,” rather a relationship of power and domination.¹⁹⁰ Bishops of the primitive church frequently consulted with their priests on all

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ “Avertissement” in [Nicolas Le Gros], *Du renversement des libertez de l’Eglise Gallicane dans l’affaire de la Constitution Unigenitus*, vol. 1 (1717), s.p; Van Kley, *Religious Origins of the French Revolution*, 79-81; Monique Cottret, “Aux origines du républicanisme janséniste: le mythe de l’église primitive et le primitivisme des Lumières,” *Revue d’histoire modern et contemporaine* 31, no. 1 (1984): 109-110. The Remois canon and Jansenist, Nicolas Le Gros (1675-1751), would express that anxiety over the oblivion of history by lamenting that the very lack of understanding about primitive discipline constituted a threat to the liberties of the Gallican Church: “There are maxims essential to our Liberties, which are too forgotten and nearly unknown: there are others, of which one commonly does not sufficiently feel the foundations, extent and importance; and recent practices has made people with less instruction lose sight of the principles and practices of antiquity. These principles and practices must be explained.”

¹⁸⁹ Van Kley, “Civic Humanism in Clerical Garb,” 100-101.

¹⁹⁰ Claude Fleury, *Moeurs des Israélites et des Chrétiens* (Paris: 1739), 256.

important matters, who in turn acted like a “senate of the church.”¹⁹¹ They were so equal in their relationship, Fleury remarked: “[The priests] were so venerable, and the bishops so humble, that on the exterior there was little difference between them. The clerics even had a type of authority over the bishop, being the continual inspectors of his doctrine and his *moeurs*.”¹⁹² Not only did bishops share power with the priests of their diocese, the clergy of the early church also embraced a communal lifestyle modeled on the church of Jerusalem, where they all lived in the same house and ate together in the same room.¹⁹³ Embracing familial metaphors, Fleury would remark: “It was a great family of which the bishop was the father.”¹⁹⁴ Similarly, the title of pope meant “father” and conveyed a sense of tenderness.¹⁹⁵ Finally, the closeness between bishops and priests was reflected above all in the church council, where both groups participated in the deliberations.¹⁹⁶ Overall, the ideal relationship between bishops and priests was egalitarian, affective, collegial, and familial.

The same egalitarian and inclusive relationship was also reflected in the relationship between the clergy and the laity. Above all, the church was imagined as an assembly that included both the clergy and the laity.¹⁹⁷ Additionally, the early church was also characterized by its communal lifestyle and unanimity. Describing the moment after the Sanhedrin released Peter and John, when the Holy Spirit filled those who were praying, Racine wrote: “All the multitude of the Faithful only had one heart and one soul; no one had anything of his own, but all of their property was in common, so that there was no poor amongst them: because those who had lands or houses,

¹⁹¹ Fleury, *Moeurs*, 256. Racine likewise attested that “Priests were the Senate of the Church whose Bishop was the leader.” Racine, *Abrégé*, 1:282; in another passage, Racine noted that Saint Cyprien never acted without the counsel and advice of his clergy. Racine, *Abrégé*, 1:292.

¹⁹² Fleury, *Moeurs*, 256.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 304.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 306.

¹⁹⁶ Fleury, *Moeurs*, 300; Fleury, *Discours*, 47-49; Racine, *Abrégé*, 1:43, 393-402.

¹⁹⁷ Fleury, *Moeurs*, 207-208; Van Kley, “Civic Humanism in Clerical Garb,” 103, 108.

sold them and placed proceeds [*prix*] at the feet of the Apostles.”¹⁹⁸ Fleury likewise noted this egalitarian relationship with the people by noting that the clergy were only distinguished by their spiritual duties and not by anything temporal: “Thus, they did not believe that the clergy and even the bishops must be distinguished from the people by their temporal conveniences (*commoditez*), but by their diligence to instruct, correct and support [the people] in all of its spiritual and temporal needs.”¹⁹⁹ For Fleury, only good works served as a marker of difference between the two groups. The ecclesiastical historians went further to argue that the selection of the clergy in the early church dependent upon consent. Remarking on the “completely spiritual and celestial politics” found in the history of the primitive church, Fleury observed: “A government founded on charity, having the sole purpose of public utility, without any interest from those who govern. They are called from above: divine vocation is declared by the choice of other pastors and by the consent of the peoples. They are chosen for their own merit and most often in spite of themselves.”²⁰⁰ If the people did not accept a candidate, then a new bishop or priest that was agreeable needed to be chosen.²⁰¹ Thus, much like the relationship between bishops and priests, the relationship between the clergy and the faithful in the primitive church was deeply egalitarian.

¹⁹⁸ Racine, *Abrégé*, 1:5.

¹⁹⁹ Fleury, *Discours*, 45.

²⁰⁰ Commenting on the election of Saint Matthias, Racine similarly declared: “What a lesson for all centuries! How much is it to wish that one never forgets it! In the heydays of the Church, one will not lose sight of that admirable model. The Pastors will be called from above as Saint Matthias. Divine vocation will be declared by the choice of other Pastors, and by the consent of the peoples. They will be chosen only on their merit, and in spite of themselves. Only charity and obedience will make them accept the ministry, which will return to them only work and peril.” Racine, *Abrégé*, 1:41; Fleury, *Discours*, 31.

²⁰¹ Fleury commented on the concern given to the people: “For the same reason the choice was made by the closest bishops, from the opinion of the clergy and of the people of the vacant church, that is to say, by all those who could better know the needs of that church. The metropolitan [bishop] met with all his co-provincial [bishops]. One consulted the clergy, not only from the cathedral, but from all of the diocese. One consulted the monks, the magistrates, the people, but the bishops decided, and their choice was called the judgment of God, as Saint Cyprian says. As soon as the new bishop is ordained, and one put him in office; but one had so much regard for the consent of the people, that if they refused to receive a bishop, after he was ordained, one would not compel them, and one would give them another bishop who was agreeable to them.” Fleury, *Discours*, 44.

The primitive church in historical discourse was an age of heroism, miracles, and widespread expression of piety and attachment to the church.²⁰² For historians like Racine, the first century was a period in which the Church “enjoyed all the vigor of youth and the strength of the Holy Spirit,” but after which “one will notice the numerous the weakenings in its spiritual forces” until the “years of old age” of the present moment.²⁰³ Abbé Dinouart likewise agreed, praising it as the “most brilliant” century, in which “the first faithful practice not only the precepts, but also the counsels of the Gospel.”²⁰⁴ The first centuries were marked by “the gift of tongues, prophecy, and miracles frequent amongst the first Christians.”²⁰⁵ The early Church was also populated with heroic figures like the Apostles, Saint Cyprian, Pope Cornelius, Saint Athanasius, and Saint Augustine.²⁰⁶ For example, Saint Cyprian was celebrated for his interventions into doctrinal disputes regarding penitence, his holding of frequent church councils, his prodigious correspondence with other religious figures and his church in Carthage, his collegiality, and his martyrdom in 258.²⁰⁷ The faithful were described as living modestly, rigorously pious in their practices, and communal. Above all, the early church was defined by its strong affective bond between its various members. Fleury marveled:

In fact, the Christians of the same place all knew each other; when it was only by assemblies that they held for prayers and other exercises of religion, and where they met nearly every

²⁰² Cottret, *Jansénismes et Lumières*, 229-231.

²⁰³ “Such is the first age of the Church, when it enjoyed all the vigor of youth and the strength of the Holy Spirit with which it was filled. As the centuries pass, one will notice the numerous weakenings in its spiritual forces, until finally one comes to these last times, which one can regard as being in a certain sense, the years of old age....” Racine, *Abrégé*, 1:56.

²⁰⁴ [Philippe Macquer and Joseph-Antoine-Toussaint Dinouart], *Abrégé chronologique de l’histoire ecclésiastique*, vol. 1 (Paris: 1768), 62. This work published by Philippe Macquer in 1751. However, after accusations of ultramontanism, abbé Dinouart expanded the work, adding text from Racine’s earlier work in a three-volume edition published in 1768. For more information see, Van Kley, “Civic Humanism in Clerical Garb,” 98, especially footnote 56.

²⁰⁵ [Macquer and Dinouart], *Abrégé chronologique*, 1:63.

²⁰⁶ Racine, *Abrégé*, 1:430.

²⁰⁷ For example, see the discussion of the life of Saint Cyprian: Le Nain de Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire ecclésiastique*, 4:45-198; Claude Fleury, *Histoire ecclésiastique, par M. Fleury, Prêtre, Prieur d’Argenteuil, et Confesseur du Roi*, vol. 2 (Paris: 1724), 162-165, 206-220, 226-228, 232-266, 280-305, 312-315, 319-324; Racine, *Abrégé*, 1:286-325; Van Kley, “Civic Humanism in Clerical Garb,” 101-102.

day. They were often together, and conformed to each other, even matters of indifference. Their joys and their afflictions were common. If someone had received from God some particular favor, all took part: if someone was in penitence, all asked for mercy. They lived together as parents, calling each other fathers, children, brothers and sisters, according to age and sex.²⁰⁸

For Fleury, the church was more than a collection of doctrines and rules: it was a deeply emotional experience. Thus, the primitive church functioned like a utopian idea of an ideal community, based on the heroism, faith and moral righteousness.

Eventually moral perfection of the primitive church gave way to a long period of degeneration. It soon became apparent for ecclesiastical historians that each century experienced a diminishment in its moral rigor.²⁰⁹ Racine noted that while the first two centuries were “the age of the greatest health and strength of the Church,” while the third century represented a period of transition between the “perfection of Apostolic times” and the “marked and striking relaxation of Christians.”²¹⁰ Dinouart likewise agreed that although there were more church councils and eminent bishops in the third century, the period also began to witness degeneration.²¹¹ Fleury located the beginning of decline at some point between the third century and the conversion of Constantine.²¹² As to the cause of the onset of corruption appeared to be the end of the persecutions, massive influx of new converts, and the scandal arising out of bitter theological disputes. Further exacerbation religious discipline was the corrupting influence of Roman society and the barbarian invasions, which brought with them ignorance and superstition.²¹³ However, Fleury believed that superstition and ignorance of the following centuries were counterbalanced

²⁰⁸ Fleury, *Moeurs*, 208.

²⁰⁹ Van Kley, “Civic Humanism in Clerical Garb,” 103-106.

²¹⁰ Racine, *Abrégé*, 1:437.

²¹¹ [Macquer and Dinouart], *Abrégé chronologique*, 1:168-169.

²¹² Fleury, *Moeurs*, 332-338.

²¹³ Fleury, *Moeurs*, 338-349.

by a growth of piety.²¹⁴ Instead, Fleury and Racine condemned the Pseudo-Isidore decretals of the eighth century for their corrupting influence on the clergy. These “false decretals” essentially increased by power of the pope by granting them the authority to call church councils, judge bishops, regulate diocesan boundaries, and by establishing clerical immunity from prosecution through appeals to the pope, thus effectively laying the foundation for the growth of the papal monarchy of the Middle Ages and decline of clerical discipline.²¹⁵ Therefore, the ecclesiastical authorities understood degeneration of the church in terms of ignorance, loss of clerical discipline, and the growth of papal authority.

Overall, historical discourse of the primitive church was significant for the development of pastoral ideals central to the *bon curé* movement of the eighteenth century and revolutionary religious reforms. Appeals to the history of the primitive church were not a new phenomenon and were commonplace in the Gallican writings of the sixteenth century.²¹⁶ However, appeals to the imagery of the primitive church in the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries provided a powerful model pastoral care oriented towards society. Instead of aloof clergy of Tridentine Catholicism, the clergy and the faithful of the primitive church were united in a powerful affective

²¹⁴ Fleury noted: “Ignorance of physics made all types of wonders regarded as supernatural marks of the anger of God; one believed in astrology; one feared eclipses and comets. But what lacked in science and politeness, was advantageously recompensed by piety and other solid virtues.” Ibid., 346.

²¹⁵ The more millenarian Racine recounted the effects of the decretals in more demonological terms: “In order to fess the full extent of the evil that these false decretals produced, it is necessary to consider that they established new maxims, in regarding them as being of the first antiquity, and that they weakened the majority of the canons and took away all the vigor [énergèrent tout la vigueur] of discipline. The forger whom the demon used to make such a terrible plague for the Church, felt that he would cause too much outrage, in recounting [en rapportant] canons directly contrary to those whose practice was universal in the Church; he contented himself with forging what would only soften and weaken the old. But in order to be successful in his plans to completely change discipline, he took a detour, in applied to extend to infinity the appeals to the Pope. He took care to spread throughout his Work this maxim, that not only all Bishops, but all Priests, and in generally anyone who believes themselves to be vexed, can on any occasion appeal directly to the Pope. The imposter regarded this article as very important, because he keeps coming back to it on every page. It was undoubtedly right to see this mean as the most proper to overthrow the entire discipline [of the church], which was the purpose that he held. Bad priests and other stubborn sinners had an infallible resource, in order to avoid, or at least ward off correction.” Racine, *Abrégé*, 3:393-396; Fleury, *Discours*, 140-170.

²¹⁶ Parsons, *The Church in the Republic*, 14-56; Van Kley, “Civic Humanism in Clerical Garb,” 106-107.

bond. Additionally, these histories presented an alternative model of the relationship between priests and their bishop; one that was more egalitarian and “democratic” in nature. For example, the “Richerist” movement of the eighteenth century would base its ecclesiology on ideals that it believed to have been part of the primitive church. Richerists valorized the parish clergy, understood as the successors of the seventy-two disciples of Jesus Christ, and advocated for greater participation of the second order of the clergy and the laity in church governance.²¹⁷ Prominent Jansenists like Mey and Maultrot would even go so far as to justify their Richerist arguments about excommunication with references to the primitive church.²¹⁸ By the end of the eighteenth century, revolutionaries and ecclesiastical reformers continued to reference primitive discipline in their reform proposals. As the following chapter discusses later, revolutionaries based their support for ecclesiastical elections on the election of Saint Matthias and other bishops from the early church

²¹⁷ Van Kley, *Religious Origins of the French Revolution*, 68-69, 77-81, 89-92, 196-198, 336-341; Tackett, *Priest and Parish*, 241-248; Préclin, *Les Jansénistes du XVIII^e siècle et la Constitution civile du Clergé*, 1-34, 36-39, 41-45, 60-63, 131-166, 333-362, 399-402. “Richerism” was a movement within the Catholic Church named after the Gallican theologian Edmond Richer, and whose ideas were also found in the works of conciliarist theologians such as Jean Gerson. Richerism was based on an ecclesiology that held that the parish curés were the successors of the seventy-two disciples listed by Luke in the Gospels. As such, Richerism raised the status of parish curés in the ecclesiology of the Catholic Church by considering them as partners to the bishops in the governance of the dioceses. Moreover, Richer argued that spiritual authority was located in the whole church, including the laity, and that this authority was delegated to the ministers of the Church. Over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Jansenists and radical Gallicans like Maultrot, Nicolas Le Gros, and Vivien de La Borde. The dauphinois priest and future constitutional bishop of Dijon, Henri Reymond (1737-1820), similarly valorized the position of the parish clergy by utilizing Richerist arguments about the seventy-two disciples Christ. In his *Droits de curés* (1776), Reymond criticized the social and material condition of the parish clergy and advocated for reform of the *portion congrue* which was a fixed stipend paid by the privileged tithe holders to the parish priests. These arguments Jansenized in the anonymous pamphlet, *L’ecclésiastique citoyen*. For more, see: Henri Reymond, *Droits des curés et des paroisses, considérés sous leur double rapport, spirituel et temporel*, vol. 1 (Paris: 1776), v-xv, 1-105; see also, *L’ecclésiastique citoyen ou, Lettres sur les moyens de rendre les personnes, les établissements et les biens de l’Eglise encore plus utile à l’Etat et même à la Religion* (Paris: 1787); for more on Richer’s Gallican ideas, see section 1 of this chapter.

²¹⁸ Mey and Maultrot wrote concerning excommunication: “In the primitive Church the fate of the Faithful was not abandoned to the decision of a single man. The spirit of charity and concert being the arm of the government of those happy centuries, the Clergy reunited with its Bishop formed an ever-subsisting tribunal, to which the sinners were cited and heard. The people or at least the principle amongst the Faithful were present throughout the procedure; and when one took the resolution to pronounce excommunication against the guilty, it was only after being assured of his crime by the most serious exam, after having exhausted, in order to bring them back, all the means of gentleness and persuasion; and the sentence being the work of that entire small Council, rather than that of who presided over it.” [Mey and Maultrot], *Apologie*, 2:633.

like Saint Cyprian.²¹⁹ Ultimately, the primitivism of historical discourse had another effect: regeneration would necessitate returning to the mythic golden age of the early church. Secular writers of the enlightenment would employ a similar method, but instead of returning to the first two centuries of the primitive church, they would return to state of nature.²²⁰ Thus, in many ways, both the discourse of the primitive church and natural religion understood primordial history as a period of perfection that one needed to return to. By returning to the past, writers hoped to reimagine a new clergy that was *bienfaisant*, useful, and socially present; in other words, a *bon curé*.

Section 4: Charting the Social Geography of the Bon Curé

In contrast to the images of primitivist collegiality of the early church, secular writers of the Enlightenment put forth a model of natural religion that emphasized the role of rationalized religion in social relationships. These writers of the Enlightenment eschewed theological debates in favor of a simplified rational religion grounded in the natural world.²²¹ Charles-Irénée Castel (1658-1743), abbé de Saint-Pierre, held that religion could be reduced to two essential points: the love of God and the active love of one's neighbor.²²² Invoking the image of the abbé de Saint-Pierre in order to convey his own religious ideals, Voltaire (1649-1778) similarly professed: "I

²¹⁹ Van Kley, *Civic Humanism in Clerical Garb*, 116-117.

²²⁰ For example, see: Jordan, "LeNain de Tillemont: Gibbon's 'Sure-Footed Mule,'" 491; Cottret "Aux origines du républicanisme janséniste," 111-115; Cottret, *Jansénismes et Lumières*, 230-240.

²²¹ For a contemporary definition of natural religion, see: Denis Diderot, "De la suffisance de la religion naturelle," in *Oeuvres Complètes de Diderot*, ed. Jules Assézat, vol. 1 (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1875), 259-273; "Théologie," in *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société de gens de lettres*, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert, vol. 16 (Paris: 1751), 249-251; for more on Diderot and religion, see: Joseph Edmund Barker, *Diderot's Treatment of the Christian Religion in the Encyclopédie* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1941), 27-41.

²²² "Observations sur l'essansiel de la religion," in *Ouvrages politiques*, vol. 11 (Rotterdam: 1737), 1; for more on the abbé de Saint-Pierre, see: Thomas E. Kaiser, "The Abbé de Saint-Pierre, Public Opinion, and the Reconstruction of the French Monarchy," *The Journal of Modern History* 55, no. 4 (1983): 618-643.

believe in God, the powerful father, because he is the common father of nature, and of all men who are equally his children.”²²³ The god of Voltaire was a god found in nature and common to all of humanity. Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) in his *Émile* (1762) provided an even more naturalistic proof for the existence of God. On a hillside outside of a city, the Rousseau’s Savoyard Vicar proceeded from an exercise of Cartesian skepticism to establish the existence of a Supreme Being guiding the universe.²²⁴ The Vicar remarked to his listener, “This Being which wills and is powerful, this Being active in itself, this Being, whatever it may be, which moves the universe and orders all things, I call *God*. I join to this name the ideas of intelligence, power, and will which I have brought together, and that of goodness which is their necessary consequence.”²²⁵ Thus reduced to its essentials, Enlightenment writers believed that the religious truths of their rationalized religion were found in nature, not in stuffy seminaries and universities. The abbé de Saint-Pierre recommended that missionaries teach only the essentials of religion, since they appealed to the universal reason of man.²²⁶ Rousseau likewise remarked on the epistemological problems tied to relying on miracles and revelation when it came to engaging nonbelievers in a religious debate.²²⁷ Rousseau warned that one must be wary when going beyond the boundaries of reason in order to uncover further religious truths that relied on evidence all the more uncertain.²²⁸ These uncertain knowledge then had the potential danger of further degrading the divinity of God by rendering the Supreme Being proud, intolerant and cruel. Unencumbered by particular dogmas,

²²³ Voltaire, “Credo,” in *Dictionnaire philosophique: La Raison par alphabet* (Classiques Garnier Éditeurs, 2008), 150; see also: Voltaire, “Dieu,” in *Dictionnaire philosophique*, 163-167.

²²⁴ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile or On Education*, trans. Allan Bloom (New York: Basic Books, 1979), 270-278.

²²⁵ Rousseau, *Emile*, 277.

²²⁶ Abbé de Saint-Pierre, “Observations sur l’essansiel de la religion,” 11:24-26.

²²⁷ Rousseau, *Emile*, 298-302.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 294-295.

the rationalized religion of the philosophe had the potentiality of embracing a form of religious belief that was far more radically inclusive.

The religion of the secular writers of the Enlightenment was a religion of *bienfaisance*.²²⁹ During the eighteenth century, philosophes came to stress the importance of *bienfaisance* in everyday interactions. *Bienfaisance* was an active social virtue, in which the desire to help another was the ultimate source of happiness.²³⁰ The philosophes grounded their understanding of *bienfaisance* in the Golden Rule of altruistic reciprocity that guided social interaction. The term gained greater prominence with the writings of the abbé de Saint-Pierre who used it to distinguish altruism from the negative connotations of charity.²³¹ The abbé de Saint-Pierre believed that charity was sometimes used to describe acts of persecution contrary to the Golden Rule: “I perceived that different Theologians... sometimes named charity that which appeared to be *malfaisance*, and that they do against others what they would not would want others to do against them in a parallel case. They called charity an unjust manner, such as persecution of those who they believed in error, thus it would not follow the precept of *bienfaisant* charity that I have just cited...”²³² Thus *bienfaisance* would only refer to the good done for others, while charity could more ambiguously be used to refer to religious persecution. Bound up with this concept of *bienfaisance* was utility. In commenting on the Golden Rule, the writer Charles Pinot Duclos

²²⁹ Marisa Linton, *The Politics of Virtue in Enlightenment France* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 69-70. I follow Marisa Linton in leaving “*bienfaisance*” untranslated. The closest term in English is “beneficence,” which is not frequently used. The nearest approximation in English would be “philanthropy,” but as Linton noted, that term only took hold at the end of the eighteenth century.

²³⁰ Marisa Linton, “Ideas of the Future in the French Revolution,” in *Enlightenment and Revolution: Essays in Honour of Norman Hampson*, ed. Malcolm Crook, William Doyle and Alan Forrest (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 165; Linton, *The Politics of Virtue*, 67-74; Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 248-284.

²³¹ Regarding the abbé de Saint-Pierre’s influence on the term, Jean le Rond d’Alembert remarked in an eulogy: “It is said that the word *bienfaisance* is found in writers much older than the abbé de Saint-Pierre; but it remained buried amongst them, and our académicien is the genuine creator of it, because he had revived and naturalized it.” See: Jean le Rond d’Alembert, “Éloge de Saint-Pierre,” in *Oeuvres de d’Alembert*, vol. 3 (Paris: 1821), 266.

²³² Abbé de Saint-Pierre, “Observations sur l’essansiel de la religion,” 11:5.

(1704-1772) remarked: “Voilà, virtue. Its nature, its distinctive character consists in an effort to put others ahead of oneself. It is by that generous effort that one makes a sacrifice of his well-being for that of another... all the degrees of moral virtue are measured from the more or less sacrifices made to society.”²³³ The abbé de Saint-Pierre likewise noted that acts of *bienfaisance* like working in an alms house or teaching children were considered more virtuous than prayers, since they contributed more tangibly to the happiness of another.²³⁴ For these writers, *bienfaisance* was to be the ultimate expression for a deity that they considered to be *bienfaisant*.

Based on the concepts of natural theology and *bienfaisance*, secular writers of the eighteenth century reimagined priests to be integral members of society. Like the contemporary Richerist and Jansensist movements, eighteenth-century deists and philosophe came to celebrate the role of the virtuous parish priest – the *bon curé*.²³⁵ Whereas Tridentine Catholicism promoted clericalism and an instilled a sense of distance between the clergy and the parishioners, the *bon curé* movement of the Enlightenment longed for a priest in the world; that is, a priest who was socially engaged with the secular concerns of his flock.²³⁶ Yet while the *bon curé* of the Catholic Enlightenment was an ideal practiced by those who adhered to radical Gallicanism, the *bon curé* of the secular Enlightenment was a literary figure of imagination, much like the castles in Spain.²³⁷

²³³ Charles Pinot Duclos, *Considérations sur les mœurs*, ed. F.C. Green (Cambridge: University Press, 1939), 51.

²³⁴ Charles-Irénée Castel, abbé de Saint-Pierre, “Projet pour rendre les Etablissements des Religieux plus parfaits, c'est-à-dire plus utiles au Prochain,” in *Ouvrages politiques*, vol. 5 (Rotterdam: 1733), 71-73.

²³⁵ Sepinwall, *Abbé Grégoire and the French Revolution*, 37; for more on the *bon curé*, see: McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*, 1:358-283; Tackett, *Priest and Parish in Eighteenth-Century France*, 166-169; Sage, *Le “bon prêtre,”* 193-344.

²³⁶ Ralph Gibson, *A Social History of French Catholicism, 1789-1914* (London: Routledge, 1989), 15-28; McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*, 1:358-364; Jean Delumeau, *Catholicism Between Luther and Voltaire: A New View of the Counter-Reformation*, trans. Jeremy Moiser (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1977), 179-189; Tackett, *Religion, Revolution, and Regional Culture in Eighteenth-Century France*, 229-232.

²³⁷ For the literary nature of the *bon curé*, see: Sage, *Le “bon prêtre” dans la littérature française*, 11-12, 441-444; for more on the idea of “castles in Spain,” see: Jan Goldstein, *The Post-Revolutionary Self: Politics and Psyche in France, 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 21-30; for more on the importance of literary representations, see: Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 14-16.

Above all, the idea of the *bon curé* is found in particular fictional accounts of enlightened pastoral care: Voltaire's Théotime; Rousseau's Savoyard Vicar; the abbé de Saint-Pierre's archbishop Agathon; Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's Indian pariah.²³⁸ The philosophes even transformed idiosyncratic clerics like the abbé de Saint-Pierre and Jean Meslier (1664-1729) into symbols of their own *bon curés*.²³⁹ Especially with the avowed atheist priest, Jean Meslier, the philosophes like Voltaire manipulated his image, transforming his caustic materialism into serene deism.²⁴⁰ Through the image of the *bon curé*, the secular writers of the eighteenth-century put forward an image of an enlightened priest more interested in utilitarian morality than theological disputes.

Above all, the *bon curé* of the Enlightenment was a priest who only taught what was useful to his parishioners and avoided controversy in the name of *bienfaisance*. In Voltaire's imaginary dialogue, the good country curé, Théotime, told his interlocutor, Ariston, that he had learned useful information regarding jurisprudence, medicine and agriculture to better help the people of his rural parish.²⁴¹ In his project to perfect the clergy of France, the abbé de Saint-Pierre likewise

²³⁸ Sage, *Le "bon prêtre" dans la littérature française*, 206-208, 228, 249-254, 338-341. Théotime was a fictional priest featured in a dialogue on catechism found in Voltaire's *Dictionnaire philosophique*. The Savoyard Vicar appears in the fourth book of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Émile*. The fictional archbishop Agathon embodied the ideal of pastoral care in the work of the abbé de Saint-Pierre. Finally, the Indian pariah is a character featured in Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's novel, *Chaumière Indienne*.

²³⁹ The abbé de Saint-Pierre made several appearances in the works of Voltaire. At the end of *Le dîner du comte du Boulainvilliers*, the abbé de Saint-Pierre arrives to offer several detached thoughts regarding the public utility of parish priests, the uselessness of cardinals, and the ideal number of priests needed for a state. Voltaire, "Le dîner du comte de Boulainvilliers," *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire*, vol. 36 (Société littéraire-Typographique, 1785), 394-397; Voltaire evoked the abbé de Saint-Pierre again in his article on creeds to voice his own religious beliefs. Voltaire, "Credo," 150-151; in addition to the abbé de Saint-Pierre, Voltaire manipulated the work of Jean Meslier to portray him as a deist. For Voltaire's "selections" from the Testament of Jean Meslier, see: Voltaire and Jean Meslier, "Extrait des sentiments de Jean Meslier: Addressés à ses paroissiens, sur une partie des abus et des erreurs en général et en particulier (1762)," in *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire: Nouvelle Édition*, vol. 24 (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1879) 293-336; in contrast to Voltaire, the baron d'Holbach emphasized Meslier's atheism in his selections of Meslier's work. For the baron d'Holbach's selections, see: Paul Henri Dietrich baron d'Holbach and Jean Meslier, *Le bon sens du curé J. Meslier, suivi de son testament* (Bruxelles, Librairie Philosophique, 1829).

²⁴⁰ Jonathan Israel, *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of Man, 1670-1752* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 724-729; Jonathan Israel, *The Democratic Enlightenment: Philosophy, Revolution, and Human Rights, 1750-1790* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 118-119.

²⁴¹ Voltaire, "Catéchisme du curé," in *Dictionnaire philosophique*, 85.

recommended that his new reformed clergy would learn simple medicine and the legal customs, remarking: “Is not the goal of the good man, of the *bienfaisant*, to aim to diminish the evils and increasing the goods of his fellow citizens of this first life?”²⁴² The natural theology and practical knowledge of the *bon curé* in turn was contrasted with the ceremonial functions of the priest. In addition to this practical knowledge, the parish clergy were to teach only the practical morality needed to maintain social bonds of the community found in personal devotion. This in turn was contrasted with the perceived uselessness of the ceremonial in the function of the *bon curé*. In distinguishing between the importance of ceremonial and personal forms of worship, Rousseau scoffed: “One must be possessed of a mad vanity indeed to imagine that God takes so great an interest in the form of the priest’s costume, in the order of the words he pronounces, in the gestures he makes at the altar, and in all his genuflections.”²⁴³ For Enlightenment writers, rituals and ceremonies mattered little, because they were not considered useful. The abbé de Saint-Pierre agreed, noting that it was necessary to teach in seminaries that there was little reason to believe that the Supreme Being preferred the ceremonial over doing all that one could to better the lives of others.²⁴⁴

The *bon curé* of the Enlightenment was paradoxically both more present in the lives of his parishioners, while also more conspicuously absent. For eighteenth-century writers like the abbé de Saint-Pierre, men and women of the church needed to play a more active role the daily life of the parish. The abbé de Saint-Pierre reported that the good archbishop, Agathon, believed active work in the hospitals, *collèges*, seminaries and poorhouses was an essential cornerstone of his

²⁴² Charles-Irénée Castel, abbé de Saint-Pierre, “Projet pour la perfectionnement du Clergé en France,” in *Ouvrages politiques*, vol. 16 (Rotterdam: 1741), 82-83.

²⁴³ Rousseau, *Emile*, 286.

²⁴⁴ Abbé de Saint-Pierre, “Projet pour la perfectionnement du Clergé en France,” 16:81-82.

ministry.²⁴⁵ Elsewhere, the abbé de Saint-Pierre also recommended a vision of reform for the monasteries, where the religious orders for men and women would play a more active role in *bienfaisance*.²⁴⁶ In the *Émile*, the Savoyard Vicar made his first appearance in the almshouse.²⁴⁷ Yet despite this active social engagement, the *bon curés* were also isolated satellites of holiness traversing the countryside. Agathon was reportedly noted for his preference for sojourns in the countryside.²⁴⁸ In Voltaire's imaginary dialogue, the *bon curé* Théotime expressed to his friend his delight in being assigned to a small rural parish.²⁴⁹ The poor Savoyard Vicar also dreamed one day of becoming a parish priest.²⁵⁰ In other instances, priests simply vanished. Upon entering into the mythical El Dorado, Cacambo asked an old man of the town which religion the people of El Dorado practiced. Perplexed, the old man replied to Cacambo: "Is it possible to have two religions?.... We have the same religion, I believe, that the entire world has: from dawn to dusk, we adore God."²⁵¹ Then when Candide asked whether or not there were priests, the good old man responded: "My friends.... we are all priests. Every morning, the King, and every head of a family, sing solemn hymns in praise of the great blessings with which God has showered us. And they are accompanied by five or six thousand musicians."²⁵² In the fictional world of *Candide*, utopian El Dorado was a country without priests. Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre would likewise have his heroes stumble upon an Indian pariah, who was a priest in all but a name.²⁵³ Thus the

²⁴⁵ Charles-Irénée Castel, abbé de Saint-Pierre, "Agaton, archeveque très-vertueux, très-sage, et très-hûeux," in *Ouvrages politiques*, vol. 10 (Rotterdam: 1735), 355-357, 364-368, 376-377.

²⁴⁶ Abbé de Saint-Pierre, "Projet pour rendre les Etablissemens des Religieux plus parfaits," 5:69-77.

²⁴⁷ Rousseau, *Emile*, 262.

²⁴⁸ Abbé de Saint-Pierre, "Agaton," 10:376.

²⁴⁹ Voltaire, "Catéchisme du curé," 85.

²⁵⁰ Rousseau, *Emile*, 309.

²⁵¹ Voltaire, *Candide, or, Optimism*, trans. Burton Raffel (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 61.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, 62.

²⁵³ Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, "préambule," in *Oeuvres complètes de Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre*, ed. L. Aimé Martin, vol. 4 (Paris: 1818), 237-238, 242. In the "préambule" of to his *La chaumière indienne*, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre offered a clearer explanation of the identity of the Pariah. Above all, the Pariah was supposed to represent Christian belief in its simplest expression. He wrote: "Far from wanting to attack the Christian religion, I represented a man filled with its spirit in the respectable inhabitant of the Indian cottage. The

ultimate manifestation of the socially-engaged *bon curé* was ironically a society where priests were no longer needed.

Possibly the most radical reimagining of the priest came from the abbé de Saint-Pierre, who transformed his priests into temporal officers of morality and virtue. For the abbé de Saint-Pierre, the Officers of Morality and Officers of the Secular Police were to work in tandem to reform *moeurs* and contribute to human happiness.²⁵⁴ In his understanding of temporal and spiritual government, the abbé de Saint-Pierre that Officers of *Bienfaisance* should be considered agents of the monarchy alongside ministers, magistrates, and officers of the war.²⁵⁵ If not yet established, he further recommended that the state should establish these officers in their respective nations to teach morality based on universal human reason. While acknowledging that similar figures existed elsewhere, he still urged that "...it would be necessary that those who are members to pay more attention, for the means of salvation, to two articles founded on Universal Human Reason: *abstine a malo* and *fac bonum*, justice and *bienfaisance*, and they should teach to pay less attention to the means that are only founded on the particular human reason of their Nation."²⁵⁶ The main focus of these officers would then be to encourage citizens to practice virtue.²⁵⁷ For the abbé de Saint-Pierre, good morality was essential to good politics. Finally, in order to bring about the creation of these Officers of Morality and Virtue, he recommended that the state engage in a rigorous project

pariah is a man of the Gospel; he loves all men, and he does good even for his enemies; he only believes in God alone.... I thus tried, by the example of the Pariah, and in conformity with the doctrine of Jesus, to bring together the unfortunate to God and men [de rapprocher les infortunés de Dieu et des hommes], in showing them that God had put in their own heart a source of eternal truths, where each can draw for his needs, and that the evil cannot disturb." He went further to make the Pariah act like the prophet Ezekiel or a disciple of Christ: "I made the Pariah reason like the prophet Ezekiel, and I made him act as a disciple of Jesus. The Gospel is only the expression of the sublime laws of nature." See also, Sage, *Le "bon prêtre" dans la littérature française*, 337-344.

²⁵⁴ Abbé de Saint-Pierre, "Agaton," 10:350-351.

²⁵⁵ Charles-Irénée Castel, abbé de Saint-Pierre, "Observations sur la Bienfaizanse," *Ouvrages de morale et de politique*, vol. 13 (Rotterdam: 1737), 186.

²⁵⁶ Abbé de Saint-Pierre, "Observations sur la Bienfaizanse," 13:174.

²⁵⁷ Abbé de Saint-Pierre, "Agaton," 10:335; Charles-Irénée Castel, abbé de Saint-Pierre, "Preface," *Ouvrages de morale et de politique*, vol. 13 (Rotterdam: 1737), 7-8.

of regeneration of the clergy, whereby priests, vicars and other members of the clergy would be chosen through a rigorous electoral system.²⁵⁸ No longer was the *bon curé* to be the mere agent of the church; in his exterior capacity as Officer of Morality and Virtue, the priest became a functionary of the temporal state.²⁵⁹

In much the same way that mid-eighteenth-century writings on jurisdiction came to emphasize the exterior quality of the church, the *bienfaisant* priest of the *bon curé* movement also presented a new model of priestly masculinity that stressed the importance of the physical qualities of the individual. By the latter half of the eighteenth-century, new theories regarding physiognomy were arguing that it was possible to read the moral character of an individual from the shape of their face alone.²⁶⁰ This interest in the bodily quality of morality was also expressed in many of the descriptions of the *bon curé*, who were said to be handsome and gentle. The abbé de Saint-Pierre informed his readers that the good archbishop Agathon had a “good and gentle face” and often presented himself as “open and serene” to whomever he met.²⁶¹ Agathon was both *bienfaisant* and *bien fait*. Likewise, upon meeting the Savoyard Vicar, Rousseau described him as “naturally human and compassionate” and as having “an interesting face.”²⁶² It was the face of the Savoyard Vicar that announced his inner goodness. Moreover, in contrast to most depictions of the priest, the gentle vicar was a young man.²⁶³ Similar to the Savoyard Vicar, Rousseau in his *Confessions* (1782) described outward appearance of “a young Abbé” named Gâtier, who “from feelings of humanity” devoted his time to the direction of Rousseau’s studies:

²⁵⁸ Abbé de Saint-Pierre, “Preface,” 13:8; for a more comprehensive overview of the system of clerical elections, see: abbé de Saint-Pierre, “Projet pour la perfectionnement du Clergé en France,” 16:80-90.

²⁵⁹ Sage, *Le “bon prêtre” dans la littérature française*, 208. The literary historian, Pierre Sage, remarked that the abbé de Saint-Pierre’s proposal of clerical reform prefigured many of the innovations that would come into practice during the Revolution: “He is the first author, I believe, of the *Civil Constitution of the Clergy*.”

²⁶⁰ Sepinwall, *The Abbé Grégoire and the French Revolution*, 42-45; de Baecque, *The Body Politic*, 233-246.

²⁶¹ Abbé de Saint-Pierre, “Agaton,” 10:393.

²⁶² Rousseau, *Emile*, 262.

²⁶³ Sage, *Le “bon prêtre” dans la littérature française*, 249-250.

I have never seen a more touching expression than M. Gâtier's. He was fair, and his beard inclined to be red; he had the ordinary appearance of those who came from his province, who all conceal considerable intelligence under a heavy exterior; but what truly distinguished him was a tender, affectionate and loving heart. There was in his large blue eyes a mixture of gentleness, tenderness and sadness, which made it impossible for anyone to see him without being attracted by him. From the looks and manner of this poor young man, one would have said he foresaw his destiny, and that he felt he was born to be unhappy. His character did not belie his looks.²⁶⁴

Young, gentle, fair priest with sad blue eyes, the visual appearance of the abbé de Gâtier was a transparent cipher of his inner good nature. In the *Chaumière Indienne*, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre likewise described his Indian pariah in similar terms. After the guides of the English doctor refused to enter the cottage of the pariah, the doctor found himself greeted at the door by a man with a “very gentle face [physionomie].”²⁶⁵ Inside the cottage was a scene of domestic serenity and *bienfaisance*, in strong contrast with the storm and ignorance that was raging outside.²⁶⁶ The various depictions of the holy man, whether a *bon curé* or a simple hermit, presented an alternative image of clerical masculinity. Unlike the intensely disciplined and ascetic image of the Jansenist holy man, the *bon curé* of the Enlightenment was young, gentle, and worldly.²⁶⁷ Like the with sentimentalist conventions, the outer world of the *bon curé* indicated an inner world of sentiment.

The *bon curé* movement's advocacy for clerical marriage also reshaped the traditional masculinity of the priest by attempting to remove the barriers that separated married men and fathers from the celibate clergy. The abbé de Saint-Pierre argued that clerical celibacy was only a matter of church discipline and not theology, and as such was open to reform.²⁶⁸ For the abbé de

²⁶⁴ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Confessions of Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (Nineola, New York: Dover Publications, 2014), 180-181.

²⁶⁵ Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, “La chaumière indienne,” in *Oeuvres complètes de Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre*, ed. L. Aimé Martin, vol. 4 (Paris: 1818), 282.

²⁶⁶ Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, “La chaumière indienne,” 4:284-285.

²⁶⁷ Mita Choudhury, “Masculinity and Faith in the Eighteenth Century: Comparing François de Pâris and Jean-Baptiste Girard,” in *Belief and Politics in Enlightenment France: Essays in Honor of Dale K. Van Kley*, ed. Mita Choudhury and Daniel J. Watkins (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2019), 109-136.

²⁶⁸ The abbé de Saint-Pierre wrote: “If Celibacy of Priests is only a point of Christian discipline, if it had never been regarded as an essential foundation of schism, that we have with the Greeks and with the Protestants, if

Saint-Pierre, clerical marriage was key to the creation of a more useful and *bienfaisant* clergy.²⁶⁹ The Cartesian cleric reasoned that by allowing priests to marry, these officers of *bienfaisance* would be able to help a wider scope of people, including their wives, children, and other married couples.²⁷⁰ He also contended that priests themselves would learn how to be patient and *bienfaisant*. Voltaire's Théotime likewise supported clerical marriage but insisted on remaining celibate until the church changed its laws.²⁷¹ More ambiguous in his preference was Rousseau's Savoyard Vicar, who remarked: "I committed myself as I was supposed to, and I was made a priest. But it was not long before I sensed that in obliging myself not to be a man I had promised more than I could keep."²⁷² For Rousseau's Savoyard Vicar, celibacy represented a renunciation of manhood. The emphasis on the possibility of marriage for the *bon curé* was part of a broader explosion of literature hostile to celibacy between the 1730s and 1780s in France.²⁷³ The opposition was more than simple anti-clericalism, although that did play a part; rather, the emergence of the compassionate marriage as a social ideal, fears over depopulation, and changing ideas about the relationship between gender and citizenship.²⁷⁴ Thus, the *bon curé* movement's

the Celibacy of Priests had been free in the Latin Church during the first centuries, if the Church always had the power to change all points of pure discipline, of human institutions; and if effectively Catholic States of the Tridentine Communion received many great advantages in returning to that ancient freedom without receiving any effective loss, this question must be less a Theological question than a Political question." Charles-Irénée Castel, abbé de Saint-Pierre, "Observations politiques sur le Celibat des Prêtres," *Ouvrages de politique*, vol. 2 (Rotterdam: 1733), 151.

²⁶⁹ In his project of clerical reform, the abbé de Saint-Pierre included marriage. Abbé de Saint-Pierre, "Projet pour la perfectionnement du Clergé en France," 16:91; see also, abbé de Saint-Pierre, "Observations politiques sur le Celibat des Prêtres," 2:150-183.

²⁷⁰ Abbé de Saint-Pierre, "Observations politiques sur le Celibat des Prêtres," 2:152-158.

²⁷¹ Voltaire, "Catéchisme du curé, 86.

²⁷² Rousseau, *Emile*, 267.

²⁷³ Cage, *Unnatural Frenchmen*, 30-51.

²⁷⁴ For more on marriage in the eighteenth century, see: Suzanne Desan, *The Family on Trial in Revolutionary France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 15-46; See also, Anne Verjus, *Le Bon mari: Une histoire politique des hommes et des femmes à l'époque révolutionnaire* (Paris: Fayard, 2010); Meghan K. Roberts, "Philosophes Mariés and Epouses Philosophiques: Men of Letters and Marriage in Eighteenth-Century France," *French Historical Studies* 35, no. 3 (2012): 509-539; for more on depopulationist theories, see: Blum, *Strength in Numbers*, 11-60; Sean Quinlan, *The Great Nation in Decline: Sex, Modernity and Health Crises in Revolutionary France, c. 1750-1850* (London: Routledge, 2007), 53-86; Cage, *Unnatural Frenchmen*, 29-60; for more on gender and citizenship, see: Jennifer Ngair Heuer, *The Family and the Nation: Gender and Citizenship in Revolutionary France, 1789-1830* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 1-43.

support for clerical marriage reflected the trend amongst eighteenth-century writers to associate fatherhood with citizenship. In other words, demands amongst these writers that priests do more to participate in society.

Authors of the eighteenth century also began write more about the convent as a social institution. During the eighteenth century, convents and tertiary religious orders like the Soeurs Grises and Filles de la Charité were an important source of education and care work in France.²⁷⁵ Historians have long noted the importance that pious women played in articulating and putting into practice a new vision of Catholic spirituality in post-Reformation France.²⁷⁶ During the seventeenth century, penitential practices born out of the apocalyptic religious wars of the sixteenth century gradually transformed into more institutionalized and internalized spiritual practices emphasizing active service and charity. This period of heighten female devotion was reflected by the establishment of forty-seven new convents within Paris and surrounding area.²⁷⁷ While a majority of these convents were contemplative orders, there was also the appearance for the first time of religious orders like the Ursulines who pursued a vision of the apostolic life based on teaching and charity work. In addition to convents, there was a rapid proliferation of tertiary religious orders and institutes after 1660.²⁷⁸ Unlike nuns, members of these charitable congregations only took temporary or informal vows. In these institutions, young girls learned

²⁷⁵ Mita Choudhury, *Convents and Nuns in Eighteenth-Century French Politics and Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 2; McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*, 1:534-535.

²⁷⁶ Elizabeth Rapley, *The Dévotes : Women and Church in Seventeenth-Century France* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990); Barbara Diefendorf, *From Penitence to Charity: Pious Women and the Catholic Reformation in Paris* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 239-251; Choudhury, *Convents and Nuns*, 1-12, 180-184; Daniella Kostroun, *Feminism, Absolutism, and Jansenism: Louis XIV and the Port-Royal Nuns* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 1-17, 239-246; Ulrich L. Lehner, "Women, Enlightenment and Catholicism: Prolegomena," in *Women, Enlightenment and Catholicism: A Transnational Biographical History* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), 1-5.

²⁷⁷ Choudhury, *Convents and Nuns*, 16-18; McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*, 1:535-544.

²⁷⁸ McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*, 1:544-550.

reading, writing, needlework, Christian morality, and, particularly in tertiary religious institutes, trades like spinning and weaving.²⁷⁹ Besides education, convents also served other secular roles by providing a means of social control for families who wanted to remove unwanted or unnecessary family members or consolidate financial resources.²⁸⁰ Thus, women's religious institutions in the eighteenth century performed a variety of important social functions, including education and care work for the poor and the sick.

Despite recognition of the important social services offered by convents, changing notions about gender reshaped the way that eighteenth-century cultural critics thought about women and their role in society.²⁸¹ According to the historian Thomas Laqueur, there was a paradigm shift during the eighteenth century from older Galenic ideas about the body, which understood sex as a metaphysical continuum, to a newer understanding of sex based on difference and biological divergence.²⁸² As a consequence, writers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries increasingly justified their social and cultural differentiation in biological notions of incommensurability. Similarly, Lieselotte Steinbrügge has drawn attention to the ways that medical and physiocratic writers reduced women's essential nature to physical and social utility to their biological particularity.²⁸³ By emphasizing women's "creatureliness" and physicality, physiocratic writers and other philosophes reinforced the notion that women were incapable of a rationality attributed to men. In fact, eighteenth-century writers believed that women were inherently irrational and

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 1:539-542, 548.

²⁸⁰ Choudhury, *Convents and Nuns*, 18-19.

²⁸¹ Ibid., 130-133.

²⁸² Thomas Laqueur, "Orgasm, Generation, and the Politics of Reproductive Biology," *Representations*, no.14 (1986): 3, 16-24, 34-35.

²⁸³ Lieselotte Steinbrügge, *The Moral Sex: Women's Nature in the French Enlightenment*, trans. Pamela E. Selwyn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 6, 25-34; see also, Vardi, *The Physiocrats and the World of the Enlightenment*, 224-227.

susceptible to the influences of the passions and imagination.²⁸⁴ Because sensory organs of women were more sensitive, women were considered more susceptible to a dangerous form of religiosity.²⁸⁵ Yet, writers also believed that women's emotionality and corporeality endowed them with a moral *sensibilité* that better positioned them to cultivate the *sensibilité* of their husbands and children.²⁸⁶ Husbands likewise were able to instill seriousness and stability of their wives. By stressing sexual difference and the physicality of women, social critics like Rousseau or Cerfvol came to see the convent as antithetical to the nature of women. In other words, cultural critics of the eighteenth century increasingly defined women's social role as exterior, bodily, and material, and thus incompatible with the spiritual world of the convent.

By the latter half of the eighteenth century, convents came under attack by philosophes and cultural critics who considered the female religious institution to be socially useless and detrimental to the development of "natural women."²⁸⁷ Rousseau dismissed the convent as "veritable schools of coquetry," warning that it only "leads to all the perversities of women and produces the most extravagant ladies of high fashion."²⁸⁸ Others criticized the convent for distorting women's understanding of social world. In his *La Gamalogie ou de l'éducation des filles* (1772), the Chevalier de Cerfvol addressed a series of letters to his fifteen-year-old charge, Sophie,

²⁸⁴ For imagination and women, see: Joan Wallach Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 23-30; for the role of imagination and dispossession, see: Charly Coleman, *The Virtue of Abandon: An Anti-Individualist History of the French Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014), 101-118; see also, Steinbrügge, *The Moral Sex*, 90-104.

²⁸⁵ For example, critiques of the convulsions at Saint-Médard cemetery believed excessive imagination and emotionality on the part of women was to blame. In one pamphlet, an anonymous author [identified by Robert Kreiser as Mme. Duguet-Mol] remarking on the convulsions of an 18 year-old girl named le Brun, noted: "She did not go long without having convulsions, and M. Bescheran was a very good model not to have a few imitators, particularly amongst girls, whose imagination is ordinarily more lively, mind more fickle [esprit plus léger], and who are commonly carried to vanity, to desire to please, to be praised, to be talked about." Then based on the opinion of a person more enlightened, the author suggested that le Brun was probably imitating M. Bescheran's convulsions because of an overactive imagination. [Mme. Duguet-Mol], *Journal historique des convulsions du tems*, vol. 1 (1733), 3. For more, see footnote 42 in Kreiser, *Miracles, Convulsions, and Ecclesiastical Politics*, 289.

²⁸⁶ Desan, *The Family on Trial in Revolutionary France*, 67-85.

²⁸⁷ Choudhury, *Convents and Nuns*, 130-140.

²⁸⁸ Rousseau, *Emile*, 388.

on the topic of “gamalogy” or the science of marriage.²⁸⁹ In one letter, Cerfvol lamented the effect of the convent on Sophie’s understanding of the outside world: “But you have passed your days in a society where men and marriage are known only by name; where most of the ideas about the world are false; in the style of some Recluses, every man is a monster; the entire world, a seducer.”²⁹⁰ After reassuring her that the world of good, he insisted that marriage was far more preferable to the celibate life of the convent: “Let us speak the truth, dear Sophie, Nature gave us inclinations; Laws prescribed rules to satisfy them: it is thus necessary to marry.”²⁹¹ Thus, marriage represented a natural and social obligation for women. For writers like Cerfvol, Voltaire and the Chevalier d’Éon de Beaumont (1728-1810), convents uselessly drew women away from their social and reproductive responsibilities. In his *La voix du sage et du peuple* (1750), Voltaire argued that women would become more (re)productive citizens if they were made to leave the convents: “They would become would they would in Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, England, Holland; they will become Citizens: they are born for propagation, and not for reciting Latin, that they do not understand.”²⁹² The Chevalier d’Éon de Beaumont likewise framed his critique as a crude calculus of childbirth.²⁹³ Therefore, cultural critics and philosophes came to reevaluate the social utility of convents based on new ideas about women that stressed their physical and bodily duties to society.

²⁸⁹ Nadine Béranguier, “The Politics of Happy Matrimony: Cerfvol’s *La Gamologie ou l’Education des Filles Destinées au Mariage*,” *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 29 (2000): 175; Nadine Béranguier, *Conduct Books for Girls in Enlightenment France* (London: Routledge, 2011), 167-186; Blum, *Strength in Numbers*, 148-149; Choudhury, *Convents and Nuns*, 135-136. Béranguier and Blum speculated that “Sophie” possibly was linked to the Sophie of Rousseau’s *Emile* and that *Gamologie* thus offered a more optimistic alternative to that of *Emile*’s tragic marriage to Sophie.

²⁹⁰ Cerfvol, *La Gamologie, ou de l’éducation des filles destinées au mariage* (Paris: 1772), 4.

²⁹¹ Cerfvol, *La Gamologie*, 31-2.

²⁹² [Voltaire], *La voix du sage et du peuple* (Amsterdam: 1750), 11.

²⁹³ “If one hundred thousand girls who are in the cloister or who have taken vows of celibacy were married, they would have given one after another, each two children during the course of their lives, and that is not to push production too high; because it is to be noted that they entered the convent at a marriageable age, and all of a good constitution, being of the rule not to receive anyone with infirmities, unless one augments the dowry or gives an extraordinary pension, it is two hundred thousand infants that would have existed.” Charles de Beaumont d’Éon, *Les loisirs du Chevalier d’Éon de Beaumont*, vol. 4 (Amsterdam: 1775), 274; Cerfvol, “Envoi,” in *La Gamologie*, 5.

As critics grew more skeptical about the social value of religious institutions for women, they in turn posited marriage as the only meaningful alternative for pious women. Therefore, motherhood came to represent a model of female religiosity similar to that of the worldly *bon curé*. For both pious mothers and the *bon curé*, the duty of procreation and social utility displaced religious sentimentality to the domestic sphere. In the works of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, these values were expressed more directly through the character of Julie. In his *Lettres écrites de la montagne* (1764), Rousseau explicitly linked his the *bon curé* to his regenerated woman: "In Emile one finds the profession of faith of a Catholic Priest, and in Heloise that of a pious woman."²⁹⁴ Unlike women religious of the convents, Julie represented a new model of womanhood that combined domestic concerns of motherhood with religious sentimentality. Emphasizing the need to engage *bienfaisance* and avoiding the worldly passions of imagination, Rousseau through the voice of Julie criticized the useless mysticism of mothers.²⁹⁵ To better convert her unbelieving husband, Julie believed that a woman must convert only through the righteous exercise of her

Cerfvol was more sanguine when he advised Sophie that childbirth was the key to happiness: "The more children you have, the more your happiness will grow: take this maxim as certain."

²⁹⁴ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "Letters Written from the Mountain by J.J. Rousseau in Two Parts," *Letter to Beaumont, Letters Written from the Mountain and Related Writings*, vol. 9 The Collected Writings of Rousseau, ed. Christopher Kelley and Eve Grace, trans. Christopher Kelly and Judith R. Bush (Hanover: Dartmouth College, 2013), 139; in a footnote, Rousseau went so far as to even suggest that if the *Emile* was condemned, then his *Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse* (1761) should have been burned for the boldness of Julie's profession of faith. Ibid., 197.

²⁹⁵ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Julie, or the New Heloise: Letters of Two Lovers who Live in a Small Town at the Foot of the Alps*, trans. Philip Stewart and Jean Vaché, ed. Roger Masters and Christopher Kelly, The Collected Writings of Rousseau, vol. 6 (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1997), 572-573. In one epistle, Julie criticized Madame Guyon for neglecting her maternal duties for writing devotional books, disputing with bishops, and disorderly conduct. For Julie, a more sincere religiosity would be embodied in a mother providing a Christian education for her children. "You see that I take no offense at this epithet devout, perhaps not as much as you would have wished; but neither do I ascribe to it as high a value as you might think. I do not like, for instance, to see that status advertised by an outer affectation, and as a sort of occupation that dispenses from any other. Thus this Madame Guyon you tell me about would have done better, it seems to me, to discharge her duties as materfamilias attentively, raise her children in a Christian manner, govern her household wisely, than to go about writing devotional books, disputing with Bishops, and getting herself thrown into the Bastille for reveries no one can make any sense of. Neither do I like, for instance, that mystical and figurative language which feeds the heart on the figments of the imagination, and substitutes sentiments imitated from earthly love, and too likely to elicit it, for the genuine love of God. The more tender one's heart and the more lively one's imagination, the more one must avoid whatever tends to stir them; for ultimately, how can one see connections to the mystical object if one does not also see the sensual object, and how dare an honest woman imagine with assurance objects she would not dare look upon?"

maternal duties.²⁹⁶ She only succeeds in converting her husband after her profession of faith on her deathbed.²⁹⁷ Thus in many ways, Julie comes to express many of the values of the *bon curé*: inclination towards *bienfaisance*, private devotion to the Supreme Being, and, like the married priest of the Enlightenment, dedication towards one's family. Although more marginal in Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *La Chaumière Indienne*, the Indian Pariah, is married. Towards the end of the stay of the English doctor, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre described a scene where the Pariah and his wife pray together in the morning.²⁹⁸ Finally, when recounting the precepts on truth, as expressed by the natural religion of the Pariah, the English doctor says: "It is necessary to look for truth with a simple heart; one only finds it in nature; one should only say it to gens de bien... one is only happy with a good wife."²⁹⁹ Thus, for secular writers of the Enlightenment, if the similar archetype of the *bon curé* for women was absent, it was because the shift towards ideals of sentimental marriage placed the emphasis on the mother and wife as the closest analogue.

Thus, on the eve of the French Revolution, writers of the Enlightenment articulated a new model of pastoral care that valorized the role of the parish priest and the good wife as models of socially engaged religiosity. While religious and philosophical writers battled over the exteriority of the church and the extent of temporal authority, others concentrated instead in secularizing the most visible and exterior agents of the church: the clergy. For ecclesiastical historians of the

²⁹⁶ Rousseau, *Julie*, 575. In another letter, Julie explained the role of sentimentality and the family in trying to convince her husband to convert from his religious indifference. "I have one remaining means to save him from it, and am devoting the rest of my life to that: it is no longer to convince him, but to touch him; to show him an example that might entice him, and render Religion so attractive that he cannot resist it. Ah my friend! what an argument against the unbeliever is the life of the true Christian! do you believe there exists a soul that is proof against it? Such is henceforth the task I am assuming; assist me all of you in fulfilling it. Wolmar is cold, but he is not insensible. What a tableau we can present to his heart, when his friends, his children, his wife, all contribute to instructing him by edifying him! When without preaching God to him in their words, they manifest him in the actions he inspires, in the virtues of which he is author, in the delight we take in pleasing him! When he sees the image of Heaven shining in his house! when a hundred times a day he is obliged to say to himself: no, man is not thus by himself, something more than human reigns here!"

²⁹⁷ Rousseau, *Julie*, 577-607.

²⁹⁸ Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, "La chaumière indienne," 4:311.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 4:315-316.

Catholic Enlightenment, the primitive church provided an ideal of clerical collegiality and participatory religiosity that included all members of the church, including the laity. The bonds of the early church expressed such intense affective force because it was a church where the clergy and laity were actively engaged in its internal affairs. For more secular writers of the Enlightenment like Voltaire and Rousseau, the emphasis was placed on articulating a new ideal tied to the *bon curé*. Unlike the Tridentine clergy, the *bon curé* was to be more in tune with his parish and an active part of the community. Additionally, many authors like the abbé de Saint-Pierre and the Chevalier d'Éon de Beaumont called for an end to celibacy and the transformation of the priests into fathers. A similar shift is also evident amongst the image of female piety, where motherhood embodied a more socially productive form of piety that reflected broader shifts in understanding about the body. Overall, the emphasis on social roles of priests and women thus were part of a general shift in the conceptualization of the church. As the church became more exterior, physical, and material, its clergy and women religious became more social, corporeal, and (in)visible. Therefore, on the eve of the revolution, the church and its personnel fully entered the eighteenth-century world of things. As the next two sections discuss, the territorialization of sovereignty over the church and its clergy would in the end create the conditions for the nationalization of territorial sovereignty and everything that existed within it by the Revolution.³⁰⁰

Conclusion: Towards the Reterritorialization of the Gallican Church

Three weeks following his participation in the storming of the Bastille, the *abbé* Claude Fauchet (1744-1793) sent to his friend, the novelist Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre

³⁰⁰ For more on the emergence of “territorial nationality” during the French Revolution, see: Sahlins, *Boundaries*, 168-197.

(1737-1814), a copy of his book: *De la Religion nationale* (1789).³⁰¹ While composed years ago, the *abbé* Fauchet never believed the moment was quite right for circulation of the work.³⁰² However, with the calling of the Estates-General and the seizing of the Bastille by the Parisians, the *abbé* Fauchet felt a new urgency to enter the political debates of the early Revolution. His treatise opened with a bold statement about the place of Roman Catholicism in French society: “*The Catholic Religion is National in France. It is not a question; it is a fact.*”³⁰³ For the revolutionary priest, Catholicism constituted “the first and most inviolable law” of France that persisted as a source of social stability over time. In contrast to Henry IV who converted to Catholicism in order to be king were the English kings who through arbitrary authority or corruption changed the national religion on a whim.³⁰⁴ The comparison of Henry IV and English monarchs was expression of nationalistic chauvinism: above all, it was to demonstrate that Catholicism was a means of social integration. Unlike Protestantism which was prone to fracture into smaller sectarian groups, Fauchet maintained that Catholicism was “the profession of the Gospel in the unity of the church” and that “there is no church truly one outside of Catholicism.”³⁰⁵ It was for this reason that Fauchet considered Charlemagne’s conversion of the Saxon’s to be one of his greatest achievements: through conversion, Charlemagne had achieved the national integration of the pagan Saxons into the Catholic Frankish empire.³⁰⁶ Thus it was for reasons of

³⁰¹ “Letter from *abbé* Claude Fauchet to Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre,” 7 August 1789, in Jules Charrier, *Claude Fauchet: Évêque constitutionnel du Calvados, député à l’assemblée législative et à la Convention (1744-1793)*, vol. 2 (Paris: Champion, 1909), 288-289. A print of the letter can be found on a plate between these two pages. In the same letter, Fauchet also attached a copy of a sermon he delivered on liberty two days prior.

³⁰² For more on *abbé* Fauchet and *Religion nationale*, see: Charrier, *Claude Fauchet*, 1:64-79; Ruth Graham, “The Revolutionary Bishops and the Philosophes,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 16, no. 2 (1982-1983): 117-140; Gary Kates, *The Cercle Social, Girondins, and the French Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 99-107; Robert Barrie Rose, “Claude Fauchet, 1744-1793, and the French Revolutionary Origins of Christian Democracy,” *Australian Journal of French Studies* 23, no.1 (1986): 83-101; Joseph K Byrnes, *Priests of the French Revolution: Saints and Renegades in a New Political Era* (University Park: The Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 50-52.

³⁰³ *Abbé* Claude Fauchet, *De la Religion nationale* (Paris: 1789), 7.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

³⁰⁵ Fauchet, *De la Religion nationale*, 21.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 18.

national integration that Fauchet believed that citizenship, Frenchness, and national identity were all interrelated: “All social laws have religion for first and supreme sanction, cannot under pain of the most senseless and fatal contradiction to public moral, neglect any means to fortify its empire in all the classes of citizens. To have in their plentitude the prerogatives of citizens in France, it is necessary to profess the Catholic Religion, because it is the only national [religion].”³⁰⁷ For those revolutionaries like Fauchet, Catholicity and membership in the imagined community of the French nation were fundamentally interrelated concepts.

Although the *abbé* Fauchet’s treatise on national religion was not necessarily innovative in content, it nonetheless represented a turning point over the way that eighteenth-century French writers imagined the relationship between religion and identity. To a certain extent, Fauchet’s significance was that he was a Janus-faced figure: on one hand, his work was the culmination of decades of earlier debates over the role of religion in society and the relationship between church and state; on the other hand, his treatise on national religion anticipated many of the changes that the revolution would bring about. First, the Catholicism of *De la Religion nationale* was not the hierarchical Tridentine Catholicism of the Ancien Régime. While he extolled Catholicism as the most solid support of monarchical government, he also considered the Concordat of Bologna (1516) between king François I and Pope Leo X to be an “infernal conception” and “the consummate work of impious politics.”³⁰⁸ Rather, Fauchet’s Catholicism was democratic and

³⁰⁷ Ibid., 180-181.

³⁰⁸ Fauchet, *De la Religion nationale*, 107; for more scholarship on the Concordat of Bologna, see: Robert Jean Knecht, “The Concordat of 1516: A Reassessment,” in *Government in Reformation Europe, 1520-1560*, ed. Henry J. Cohn (London: Macmillan, 1971), 91-112; Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629*, 9-13.

popular.³⁰⁹ For him, the concept of the “church” was synonymous with “assembly.”³¹⁰ Thus the egalitarian vision of Catholicism and many of the proposals discussed by the future constitutional bishop of Calvados would appear in the Civil Constitution of the Clergy in 1790.³¹¹ Second, through his linking of citizenship and religion to the emerging concept of the nation, the *abbé* Fauchet was articulating a vision of nation-building that would encompass the Catholic Church. For Fauchet, the ideal ruler of the French nation was Charlemagne. It was through coercive use of the state that Charlemagne was able to integrate the pagan Saxons into the French nation. Similarly, Fauchet was clear in his treatise that he opposed toleration for the simple reason that only a single public worship was able to maintain the unity needed. In many ways, Fauchet’s rhetoric reflected the emergence of the belief in the Revolution’s possibility to regenerate the nation: in other words, nation-building as a process by which political will of the state would mold the heterogeneous elements of the kingdom into a national whole.

While Fauchet’s democratic national Catholicism of *De la Religion nationale* represented a culmination of the previous religious debates of the eighteenth century, to a certain extent it also represented a rejection of the territorial and corporeal arguments that made possible the later nationalization of the Gallican Church during the Revolution. Like the General Assembly of the Gallican Clergy in 1765, *abbé* Fauchet vehemently contested the spatial and bodily claims used to justify the extension of temporal authority over the spiritual sphere. In his discussion of the parish

³⁰⁹ Fauchet would comment: “Even God, when he wanted to give people a temporal legislation, made Moses gather the voices together in an assembly of the whole nation: the accession of all the classes of citizens was deemed necessary; thus the rights of reason and liberty were consecrated by the manifest intervention of their sovereign founder [instituter].” Fauchet, *De la Religion nationale*, 26.

³¹⁰ Fauchet even argued that election was divinely ordained: “Jesus Christ, author and perfecter [consommateur] of the faith, chose by name the first pastors of his flock; afterwards he left the choice of their successors to the church itself, or to the *assembly*. The first church or *assembly* was gathered for an election: the votes were divided; Saint Peter himself and the apostles did not dare to choose between the two elected from the faithful people; it was the lot that decided. This right cannot change, it is the institution of God, and fundamentally depends on the constitution of the church.” Fauchet, *De la Religion nationale*, 29.

³¹¹ Charrier, *Claude Fauchet*, 1:64-79.

fabriques, Fauchet lamented that the general administration of church property had been placed under the jurisdiction of the *procureurs généraux* of the parlements.³¹² He observed that secular magistrates had justified their intervention under the general pretext “that the objects are temporal.”³¹³ He warned that such reasoning would mean that “under that pretext, civil magistrates could thus destroy public houses of prayer; because they are composed of stones and wood, and occupy a space of earth which could be developed for the benefit of the commune; they could ban religious assemblies, festivals, songs, and all exercise of divine worship.”³¹⁴ Like the General Assembly decades earlier, Fauchet feared that defining temporal authority purely in territorial and bodily extended its power too much over the spiritual sphere. He likewise recognized that such arguments ignored the complexity of religious worship: “For it is not only with the soul, but also with the body that one performs religious acts, and the body is temporal and the time that one devotes to these acts could be employed in a manner otherwise profitable to the public; everything will be under the jurisdiction of secular judges; because in the visible universe, nothing is purely spiritual.”³¹⁵ Thus, for Fauchet, the greatest danger lay in the territorialization of the Gallican Church. As this dissertation will demonstrate later, Fauchet’s fears were not completely unfounded. Revolutionaries would use these arguments not only to reform the church, but also to completely prohibit all forms of “exterior” worship during the Terror.

Over the course of the eighteenth-century, religious, juridical and philosophical writers of pre-revolutionary France came to understand the Gallican Church and its clergy in distinctly spatial terms. At the turn of the eighteenth century, those writing about the relationship between the

³¹² Fauchet, *De la Religion nationale*, 93-96; for more on *fabriques*, see: McManners, *Church and Society*, 1:307-311.

³¹³ Fauchet, *De la Religion nationale*, 94.

³¹⁴ Ibid.

³¹⁵ Ibid., 94-95.

church and state imagined that there existed two distinct but parallel authorities within the kingdom of France, who derived their nature from God. However, by the Jansenist controversy of the mid-eighteenth century, Jansenist, ultramontane, and philosophical authors began to redefine the relationship between Church and State in spatial, material, and bodily terms. Influenced by the emergence of the public sphere, the spread of cartography, physiocracy and religious disenchantment, new arguments began to emerge that concretized the church. Jansenist writers like Mey and Maultrot, or philosophical writers like Richer, Cerfvol and Puységur argued that temporal authority was above all exterior and physical. Over the course of the eighteenth century, these authors would extend these spatial and bodily arguments to spiritual aspects of the church, like the administration of the sacraments or church property, in order to justify the intervention of secular authorities in religious affairs. Parallel to these debates, ecclesiastical historians and the philosophes developed their own vision of the parish clergy along spatial lines. The *bon curé* of the Enlightenment was a priest who lived in the physical world and who looked after the material needs of his flock through acts of *bienfaisance*. As the next chapter will demonstrate, the revolutionaries would take these arguments further as they reimagined a regenerated church that was to be socially useful and existed in the world.

Chapter 2: “L’Église est dans l’État”: Religion, Nation and the Civil Constitution of the Clergy

“To claim that [the Church] is without territory is to take away all of its subjects, all those over whom it exercised its ministry. It is therefore to annihilate it.”¹

- Gabriel-Nicolas Maultrot

“The Church is in the State, the State is not in the Church.... We are a national convention; we assuredly have the power to change religion: but we will not do it.”²

- Armand-Gaston Camus

Amidst the revolutionary upheaval of 1789, the impossibly prolific barrister, Gabriel Nicolas Maultrot, who was by now in his seventies and blind, published his latest work outlining his ideas regarding temporal and spiritual authority.³ While Maultrot previously attempted to ascertain the full extent of temporal jurisdiction of kings and their magistrates over spiritual matters, his latest work, *Origine et étendue de la puissance royale* (1789) was an extended investigation into the precise nature of royal authority. Like his previous work, Maultrot reaffirmed that all power originated in God. Likewise, God left for humanity all temporal jurisdiction that was physical, bodily and exterior: “If one goes through all the dependent functions of royalty, one will not find any relative to the soul: they are all exercised over the body, property, [and] exterior and temporal objects that Providence left to the power of men.”⁴ For Maultrot, jurisdiction remained primarily spatial in orientation. However, further into his massive three volume work, the Jansenist

¹ [Gabriel-Nicolas Maultrot], *Lettre de Monsieur M*** à Monsieur J****, 71. All translations are mine, unless noted in the footnote or cited in an English translation.

² “Gazette nationale ou le Moniteur universel, no. 153, 29 June 1790,” in *Réimpression de l’ancien Moniteur: seule histoire authentique et inaltérée de la Révolution française depuis la réunion des États-Généraux jusqu’au Consulat*, vol. 4 (Paris: Plon, 1860), 515.

³ Yann Fauchois, “Jansénisme et politique au XVIII^e siècle: légitimation de l’État et légitimation de la monarchie chez G. N. Maultrot,” *Revue d’histoire moderne et contemporaine* vol. 34, no. 3 (1987): 482-487; Dale Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560-1791* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 314-315.

⁴ Gabriel Nicolas Maultrot, *Origine et étendue de la puissance royale, suivant les livres saints et la tradition*, vol. 1 (Paris: 1789), 10, 175. A note about publication: the first volume of *Origine et étendue* was published in 1789; the following two volumes were published in 1790.

barrister began to depart radically from his earlier works. The reader soon learns that Maultrot did not believe that “there was a Sacrament established for the creation of Kings” and that even if they were invested with authority by God, the Nation still had the power to depose them like General Councils deposing a Pope.⁵ What quickly becomes clear is that Maultrot displaced kings as ultimate expression of temporal sovereignty in favor of the “entire assembled Nation.”⁶ It was the Nation that held sovereign legislative power conferred from Heaven; the kings only had the power of execution for the good of the people and thus ruled by consent.⁷ Thus, kings were “usufructs” whose rule was “pure administration.”⁸ Finally, the people were free to establish whatever type of government they saw fit, and had the right to revoke their mandate at any moment from whomever they delegated it.⁹ Having thus extended temporal authority over all that was exterior, Maultrot now replaced kings with the Nation as the supreme wielder of temporal sovereignty.¹⁰

Maultrot’s *Origine et étendue de la puissance royale* reflected a broader change in how the revolutionaries would come to understand the nature of temporal and spiritual sovereignty. While previously, writers of the mid-eighteenth century sought to extend temporal jurisdiction by territorializing sovereignty, revolutionaries would in turn come to nationalize territorial sovereignty. This territorial nationality as a consequence was expressed in many of the important reforms of revolutionary religious reform, such as the nationalization of ecclesiastical property, the redrawing of ecclesiastical boundaries, and the rationalization of ecclesiastical authority within the new dioceses. The authority of the revolutionary French Catholic Church was to remain independent and sovereign, and all constitutional bishops were discouraged from seeking

⁵ Maultrot, *Origine et étendue de la puissance royale*, 1:7; he further compared the deposition of a monarch to a father being stripped of his authority over his children, or that of a husband over his wife. *Ibid.*, 1:188.

⁶ Maultrot, *Origine et étendue de la puissance royale*, 2:29.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, 2:19-24, 152.

⁹ Maultrot, *Origine et étendue de la puissance royale*, 1:261; 2:4.

¹⁰ Maultrot, *Origine et étendue de la puissance royale*, 3:199-200.

confirmation of their status from the Roman papacy. Accompanying this shift in understanding of jurisdiction were new ideas regarding the role of priests in society. If territorial sovereignty brought the exterior manifestation of the church under the control of the eighteenth-century state, notions about the primitive church and *bon curé* provided alternative models of pastoral care that were centered on *bienfaisance*. Thus, when the Revolution nationalized the church, prominent revolutionaries would also endeavor to construct a new clergy that was socially useful. Above all, the Revolution therefore represented a moment when notions of territorial sovereignty and *bon curé* movement converged, endowing them with additional content regarding the nation. Following the August Decrees of 1789, the Revolution would further add the language of anticorporatism, reducing the debate to one between bodies: the nation and the clergy. Revolutionaries would reconstruct and regenerate the Gallican Church as a *national* church administered by agents of the state. This section discusses the beginning of this process as it relates to church property and the abolition of monasticism during the French Revolution.

This chapter argues that the Civil Constitution of the Clergy of 1790 represented the culmination process of territorialization and materialization of the Gallican Church and its clergy that began in the eighteenth century. By the middle of the eighteenth century, political, religious, and cultural writers began recast the relationship between Church and State in new spatial terms as a means to justify temporal intervention into spiritual matters deemed external and public. Likewise, ecclesiastical historians and the philosophes renewed older myths about the primitive church, endowing them with newer secular notions of *bienfaisance*, to reimagine the parish priest as socially engaged and interested in the material needs of their parishioners. Reframing the Gallican Church and the clergy in spatial terms of territoriality, materiality and corporality thus paved the way for later revolutionary ideas about bodily and spiritual regeneration that would

remain at the core of revolutionary reform. Thus, the Revolution would ultimately would bring these two developments together, synthesizing them and would add its own language of anticorporatism, which itself was inherently spatial and material in its metaphors. It was for this reason that the regeneration of the church would begin with the issue of ecclesiastical property and a debate over homicide. Arguments in favor of abolishing monasteries were not only utilitarian; but also, involved concerns over the moral and bodily health of cloistered men and women. Finally, reform of the church would also include the seizure of property, redrawing of diocesan boundaries and the transformation of the clergy into social agents of the state. Ultimately, the nationalization of sovereign territoriality would bring about the creation of a national church. However, this national religious consensus was only fleeting. Once revolutionaries attempted to implement these reforms in the departments, they were immediately faced with fierce resistances from local communities who believed the revolution had gone too far. Thus, while the revolutionaries succeeded in integrating the spiritual and the temporal spheres, their reforms only resulted in further division between those who supported the religious revolution and those who believed the revolution went too far.

This chapter is divided into four parts. The first section explores the reterritorialization of the Gallican Church through the debates over the ownership of ecclesiastical bodies. Following the August Decrees, the Revolution formally abolished ecclesiastical privileges, most notably including tithes. One unexpected consequence of the abolition of the tithes was that the resulting competing claims over the ownership of ecclesiastical property would quickly transform into a debate over bodies and even homicide. Eventually, the National Assembly would adopt the language of anticorporatism in order bring about the territorial nationalization of the Gallican Church. The second section turns to the question of monasticism. As this chapter demonstrates,

debates over the religious orders were one of bodies, both moral and physical, of the church and the nation. In the third section, this chapter analyzes the creation of the Constitutional Catholic Church. The crisis over ecclesiastical property was resolved by transforming the clergy into salaried employees of the state. However, as the report by the Ecclesiastical Committee would soon announce, the true objective of the Revolution was to be the complete regeneration of the church. Once again, the debate revolved around the physical and bodily dimensions of the Church. Revolutionaries would mobilize spatial arguments by insisting that the Church was *in* the State as a way to emphasize the jurisdictionally superiority of the will of the Nation over the Church. Even opponents of reform would recognize this fundamental relationship between power, authority, and space. Thus, by synthesizing older territorial and bodily arguments of the Enlightenment, revolutionaries nationalized the territorial sovereignty of the state over the church. In the final section, this chapter looks at the implementation of the religious reforms in the departments. Rather than forge a new religious consensus, the Civil Constitution of the Clergy in the end shattered the religious consensus of France and marked a turning point where the debate over religion would shift from Paris to the departments.

Section 1: Reterritorialization of the Gallican Church

By the end of the 1780s, the French monarchy was on the precipice of bankruptcy that was the result of a decades long fiscal crisis.¹¹ Under the Ancien Régime, the finances of the French monarchy primarily operated various systems of direct and indirect taxation; privileged bodies;

¹¹ For more on the context of the fiscal crisis, see: Gail Bossenga, "Financial Origins of the French Revolution," in *From Deficit to Deluge: The Origins of the French Revolution*, ed. Thomas Kaiser and Dale Van Kley (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 37-66; Donald M.G. Sutherland, *The French Revolution and Empire: The Quest for a Civic Order* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 18-42; François Crouzet, *La grande inflation: La monnaie en France de Louis XVI à Napoléon* (Paris: Fayard, 1993), 55-89; for the politics of taxation in general, see: Michael Kwass, *Privilege and the Politics of Taxation in Eighteenth-Century France: Liberté, Égalité, Fiscalité* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

sale of public offices; and foreign loans. As Gail Bossenga noted, the finances of the monarchy were not simply archaic mechanisms of raising revenue; rather, their particular form represented the absolute monarchy's modernization within traditional institutions.¹² Over the course of the eighteenth century, the French monarchy came under increasing financial strain accrued from the ever-growing demand to exert its influence abroad and domestically. French involvement in the disastrous Seven Years' War (1756-1763) and the more successful War of American Independence (1775-1783) forced the monarchy to resort to raising taxes like the *vingtième* and *capitation* in order to support its war effort. When the monarchy then would try to extend these tax increases into a time of peace, it faced growing opposition from the radicalized parlements, who claimed to act as representatives of the "Nation" and the need for consent in matters relating to taxation. In addition, the French system of taxation was inefficient and several groups like the nobility and clergy enjoyed special privileges that exempted them from more general taxes like the *taille*. The lack of an administrative infrastructure needed to collect taxes further hampered the monarchy's attempt to raise revenue to meet its financial obligations. In order to meet those needs, the French monarchy frequently turned to privileged bodies, the sale of offices, and foreign loans for a source of credit, but these methods in turn only added to the deficit.¹³ Finally, after several attempts to reform its system of finance and fierce opposition from the Assembly of Notables and the Parlement of Paris, the monarchy agreed to the convocation of the Estates General. Thus it was

¹² In comparison, see: John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money, and the English State, 1688-1783* (New York: Knopf, 1988).

¹³ For more on Ancien Régime finance, see: David Bien, "Offices, Corps, and a System of State Credit: The Use of Privilege Under the Ancien Régime," *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture*, ed. Keith Michael Baker, vol. 1 (New York: Pergamon Press, 1987), 89-114; Gail Bossenga, *The Politics of Privilege: Old Regime and Revolution in Lille*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Mark Potter and Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, "Politics and Public Finance in France: The Estates of Burgundy, 1660-1790," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 27, no. 4 (1997): 577-612.

within the climate of looming fiscal calamity and failure of reform that informed the political dynamic of the early days of the Revolution.

With the convocation of the Estates General, the political debate over the fiscal crisis became one of political reform. Adding to the long-term structural problems, the failure of leadership likewise played an important role in exacerbating the political crisis.¹⁴ Not only did the vacillations of Louis XV and Louis XVI embolden opposition to the monarchy, but the lack of initiative on the part of the monarchy ceded the political ground to the newly formed National Constituent Assembly. Further empowering the opposition to the monarchy was the politics of public opinion that emerged since the middle of the eighteenth century. While in theory the king was considered to be the only public person within the corporate society of the Ancien Régime, acrimonious contestations with the kingdom's parlements and barristers contributed to the rise of public opinion as an authority greater than that of the king.¹⁵ Having organized themselves into the National Constituent Assembly following the Tennis Court Oath (20 June 1789), the former members of the Estates General began to undertake reforms necessary "to fix the constitution of the realm, effect the regeneration of public order, and maintain the true principles of the monarch."¹⁶ Contained within the Tennis Court Oath was the National Assembly's new senses of

¹⁴ Although Tackett disagreed with Furet's analysis of the dynamic of the French Revolution, it is possible to argue that both agreed that the lack of leadership (or vacancy of power) proved to be decisive in the early development of the revolution. Timothy Tackett, *Becoming a Revolutionary: The Deputies of the French National Assembly and the Emergence of a Revolutionary Culture (1789-1790)* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), 149-175, 303, 307; François Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, trans. Elborg Forster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 44-50.

¹⁵ Keith Michael Baker, "Politics and Public Opinion Under the Old Regime: Some Reflections," in *Press and Politics in Pre-Revolutionary France*, ed. Jack Richard Censer and Jeremy D Popkin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 209-214, 230-246; Mona Ozouf, "Le concept d'opinion publique au XVIII^e siècle," in *L'homme régénéré: Essais sur la Révolution française* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1989), 21-53; see also, David Bell, *Lawyers and Citizens: The Making of a Political Elite in Old Regime France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

¹⁶ Quoted in: Keith Michael Baker, "Fixing the French Constitution," *Inventing the French Revolution: Essays on French Political Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 252; for a more detailed account of the transformation of the Third Estate into the National Assembly, see: Tackett, *Becoming a Revolutionary*, 119-158.

mission: not only were the representatives of the nation to resolve the looming fiscal crisis, they were also to bring about the complete regeneration of the French political society. The exact parameters of this mission remained ambiguous. As the historian Keith Michael Baker observed, it was not clear if “fixing the constitution” referred to “restoring” a the more ancient constitution of France, or in absence of such a constitution, creating a new one.¹⁷ Moreover, the project of “regeneration” was fraught with similar ambiguities, and could refer to religious ideas of restoration or more utopian projects of self-fashioning new men.¹⁸ Ambiguity aside, it would be through the breach of regeneration and constitutional reform that the National Assembly would set forth with a far-reaching program of political reform.

Joined to the project of constitutional reform was a universalistic impulse that distrusted the existence of privileged institutions and bodies within French society. On the eve of the Revolution, the French kingdom was a sedimentary society of competing bodies claiming certain privileges and status bestowed upon them by the king. Privileges were “private laws,” or certain advantages, that the king granted to particular groups or territories organized into either orders, corps, or estates.¹⁹ Because public power could not be easily exercised directly from the political center, the French monarchy often collaborated with local authorities like municipal governments, guilds, magistracies, and provincial estates. Although the monarchy would at times tried to limit the influence of privileged bodies, most notably under the ministry of Turgot (1774-1776), it would

¹⁷ Baker, “Fixing the French Constitution,” 252-258.

¹⁸ Antoine de Baecque, *The Body Politic: Corporeal Metaphor in Revolutionary France, 1770-1800*, trans. Charlotte Mandell (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 137-156; see also: Mona Ozouf, “La Révolution française et la formation de l’homme nouveau,” in *L’homme régénéré: Essais sur la Révolution française* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1989), 116-157.

¹⁹ Bossenga, *The Politics of Privilege*, 5-8; for the collaboration between privileged orders and the French monarchy, see: William Beik, *Absolutism and Society in Seventeenth-Century France: State Power and Provincial Aristocracy in Languedoc* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 303-339; for more on corps, see: William H. Sewell, *Work and Revolution in France: The Language of Labor from the Old Regime to 1848* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

be during the French Revolution that the corporate society of the Ancien Régime would sustain its most severe attack. As the debate over the constitution started to ground to a halt, some members feared that the delay tactics used by the nobility and clergy would lead to a public backlash. In a letter to his constituents, Jean Nicolas Jacques Parisot (1757-1832) believed action needed to be taken against particular interests of the privileged orders: "We felt that, as long as the two privileged classes would have any privileges whatever, particular interest would prevail over the general good, and that, if we would not show to our citizens that we are seriously occupied, they would regret the confidence with which they honored us."²⁰ For him a pause in the debate then allowed the deputies of the National Assembly to pursue a more ambitious goal: the destruction of privilege: "Consequently, in making a truce on the Constitution, it was a question... of destroying all privileges of classes, provinces, cities, and corporations."²¹ The result was the Night of 4 August 1789, when the members of the National Assembly abolished corporate privileges.²² The results of this night in turn would have consequences for the Church in the months to follow.

Revolutionary distrust of privilege drew ideological support from the discourses of "reason" and "will" that came to prominence during the last decades of the Ancien Régime. According to historian Keith Michael Baker, the mid-century constitutional debates over the refusal of the sacraments controversy (1752-1757) and the Maupeou Revolution (1771-1774) drew on three political language: the discourse of justice; the discourse of will; and the discourse of

²⁰ René Hennequin, "La nuit du 4 août 1789: Racontée par le constituant Parisot," *La Révolution française: revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, no. 33 (1927): 19.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 20.

²² For more on the night of 4 August, see: Sutherland, *The French Revolution and Empire*, 68-78; François Furet, "Night of August 4," in *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, ed. François Furet and Mona Ozouf, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 107-113; Tackett, *Becoming a Revolutionary*, 158-175; Michael P Fitzsimmons, *The Night the Old Regime Ended: August 4, 1789, and the French Revolution* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 1-45.

reason.²³ The juridical discourse of eighteenth-century France held that monarchical power was bound by the constraints of law and found its justification in the ancient constitution. Moreover, its claims were particularistic in that those that used this political idiom stressed tradition, prescription, and continuity. This language would later be superseded by those of will and reason. The discourse of will instead interpreted politics through the framework of competing wills, and characterized the ideas of Rousseau and Mably. Finally, the discourse of reason maintained that society needed to be reconstituted on the basis of nature. Whereas the discourse of justice stressed tradition, contingency, and law, the discourse of reason was an administrative language that sought greater administrative uniformity, civil rights, and fiscal equality, and the participation of property owners in local government. With the French Revolution, the abbé Sieyès in his political writings condemning the privileged orders united the discourse of will and reason, thus articulating the early form of revolutionary discourse. The historian Pierre Rosanvallon similarly argued that during the French Revolution there existed a political culture of generality. Like the political languages of Baker, the political culture of generality rejected the role of intermediary institutions in favor of a single and more unified vision of society divided between the particular will of individuals and the general will of the nation; stressed the need for unity of action for the state; and adhered to a rationalist vision of governance based on legalism.²⁴ Thus the political ideologies

²³ Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution*, 1-27; Keith Michael Baker, "Political Languages of the French Revolution," in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought*, ed. Mark Goldie and Robert Wokler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 626-659; Baker, "Transformations of Classical Republicanism in Eighteenth-Century France," 32-53; Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution*, 137-160. The "refusal of the sacraments controversy" was a religious dispute in the 1750s over the decision by Archbishop of Paris Christophe de Beaumont and other French bishops to deny the last sacrament of viaticum and last unction to those suspected of being appellants and opponents of *Unigenitus*. The controversy put the parlements in opposition to the monarchy which had supported the episcopacy. The "Maupeou Revolution" or "Maupeou Coup" was a political dispute between the monarchy, led by Chancellor René Nicolas Charles Augustin de Maupeou, against the French parlements in the 1770s, which resulted in exile of the parlements and the creation of new courts to oversee their duties.

²⁴ Pierre Rosanvallon, *The Demands of Liberty: Civil Society in France since the Revolution*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 4-6.

that came to dominate revolutionary discourse shared a mutual distrust of corporatism and privilege and a belief in a unitary and rationalist basis for governance. In other words, the political discourses of the revolution that arose sought to transform French civil society according to universalistic principles of the Enlightenment.

As the revolutionaries began to target the particularistic claims of the privileged orders, corps and estates of the Ancien Régime, the Catholic Church increasingly became a focal point of intense debates. One particular flashpoint of debate amongst the revolutionaries was continued status of the tithe in the new revolutionary regime. Debate first emerged during the “holocaust of privileges” on the night of 4 August 1789, when members of the National Assembly formally renounced their seigneurial rights.²⁵ At first, the upper clergy’s reluctance to participate drew notice from other members of the assembly. According to the deputy Joseph-Michel Pellerin (1751-1794), it was only after Isaac Le Chapelier (1754-1794), the presiding president of the Assembly that night, suggested that “the clergy should also have some offer to make and that the clergy would not be the last to give proof of its attachment and patriotism to the nation,” did the clergy join the other members of the National Assembly in renouncing their privileges.²⁶ Initially, members of the clergy renounced their claims to certain seigneurial rights, sacramental fees, plurality of benefices, and agreed also to the proposal to abolish annates given to Rome. Unexpectedly, a proposal for the general abolition of the tithes was also accepted. However, immediately following a review of the proposed renunciations, an unnamed priest expressed unease with the abolition of the tithe and recommended that the proposal be removed to the

²⁵ Fitzsimmons, *The Night the Old Regime Ended*, 54-55; Nigel Aston, *The End of an Élite: The French Bishops and the Coming of the Revolution, 1786-1790* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 189-195; Tackett, *Becoming a Revolutionary*, 180-181.

²⁶ Joseph-Michel Pellerin, *Correspondance inédite de J.-M. Pellerin: député du Tiers État de la Sénéchaussée de Guérande aux États généraux*, ed. Gustave Bord (Paris: 1883): 110.

consternation of other members of the assembly.²⁷ Tension then mounted as several other members of the clergy likewise counseled caution. The reluctance on the part of the clergy in turn drew a caustic reply from François Buzot (1760-1794), who maintained that ecclesiastical property belonged to the nation.²⁸ Amidst heightened animosity of the chamber, Buzot claimed that it was in fact the members of the nobility and Third Estate who made sacrifices, not the clergy. Debate over the tithe once again reached paroxysm on 10 August 1789, as the clergy vociferously defended the tithe. Tempers soon calmed the following day and the clerical deputies resigned themselves to the abolition of the tithe. Ultimately the dispute over the status of the tithe revealed that the old division between temporal and spiritual powers was melting away in face of growing demands of the nation.

The August Decrees drastically transformed the terms of debate over the relationship between Church and State by introducing an anticorporatist language critical of independent *corps*, or bodies, like the clergy. Previously, debates over the relationship between church and state were articulated in terms of the jurisdiction of two competing authorities: temporal and spiritual. Jansenists, staunch Gallicans, and philosophical critics used spatial arguments to extend temporal authority over all aspects of the church that were exterior and public, while their dévot interlocutors instead asserted the autonomy of spiritual authority against secular intervention and encroachment on ecclesiastical affairs. After the August Decrees, those who would later support the nationalization of church lands began to use more anticorporatist language to justify their reforms.

²⁷ *Archives parlementaires de 1787 à 1860: Recueil complet des débats législatifs et politiques des Chambres françaises*, ed. Jérôme Mavidal, Émile Laurent and Émile Clavel, vol. 8 (Paris: Paul Dupont; Société d'imprimerie et librairie administratives et des chemins de fer, 1875), 353; I will reference this document as *AP* henceforth. See also the pamphlet of Anne-Louis-Henri de La Fare, bishop of Nancy and member of the National Assembly. The bishop of Nancy expressed unease over the hastiness of the August decrees abolishing the tithe and recommended that it would be in the best interest of the nation and the church if the current arrangements regarding the property of the church were maintained. Anne-Louis-Henri de La Fare, *Considérations politiques sur les Biens temporels du Clergé par M. l'Évêque de Nancy* (Paris: 1789), 1-7, 42-45.

²⁸ *AP*, 8:354.

Radical revolutionaries would hold that the nation was the most supreme authority within the kingdom, subordinating to its demands all independent and privileged bodies. Furthermore, this anticorporatist discourse assumed that these independent bodies were detrimental to the authority of the nation, and as such, needed to be reformed. With the tithes now nullified by the August Decrees and a looming debt crisis on the horizon, the National Constituent Assembly turned to the question of ecclesiastical property. In a scenario predicted by the Chevalier de Cerfvol decades prior, revolutionaries would propose the nationalization of church property as a solution to the debt crisis.²⁹ As a result, the debates of October 1789 would focus on two important questions: did ecclesiastical property belong to the church or the nation? And can the clergy as a separate *moral corps* possess property? Like the debate over jurisdiction of the mid-eighteenth century, the Revolution would embrace territorial thinking to assert its claims over church lands. In other words, all questions over the church were reduced to its physical and territorial manifestation. Essentially, the question of property provided an avenue by which the Revolution reterritorialized its sovereignty over the church.

With the elimination of the tithe following the August Decrees, some clerical members of the National Constituent Assembly argued that land endowments should be given to priests as a means of regenerating the clergy. Drawing on the image of the *bienfaisant bon curé* from writers like the abbé de Saint-Pierre, as well as the physiocratic valorization of land ownership, clerical

²⁹ [Chevalier de Cerfvol], *Du droit du Souverain sur les biens fonds du Clergé des Moines, et de l'usage qu'il peut faire de ces Biens pour le bonheur des Citoyens* (Naples: 1770), 113-164; Cerfvol described the logic of nationalization: "Here is what the question reduces to. The civil State owes: it owes to itself even. It does not have enough to pay; it does not have the means to lose either. Therefore, it is necessary that it find outside of itself a mass of wealth that it cannot provide itself because it does not have it, and which it could not do without because it needs it. That immense resource is naturally present in the property possessed by the Ministers of Religion, in Catholic Countries. That is to violate property, someone will say..... No, because the Minister of Religion does not have ownership over the things in question..... it is an impiety..... I demonstrated the contrary in my previous Letters..... But the prescription..... Error never prescribes, ask the Theologians about it instead." [Cerfvol], *Du droit du Souverain*, 128-129.

deputies like Jean-Louis Gouettes (1739-1794), Jacques Jallet (1732-1791), the abbé Grégoire, and the abbé Sieyès believed ownership of property would help transform priests into ecclesiastical citizens who were more useful to society.³⁰ Hesitant to abolish tithes or nationalize ecclesiastical property completely, they believed that landownership would give priests more practical knowledge that was useful to their parishioners. In a speech on 10 August 1789, the curé Gouettes believed that study and the labor of pastoral duties were insufficient in occupying a priest. He maintained that property was capable of strengthening a priest's attachment to a particular community, while also providing an opportunity to learn agricultural practices useful to rural parishioners: "[priests] could do research and gain useful agricultural experience that would put them in a state of aiding the poor in their need."³¹ In addition, these revolutionary curés held that property would enable priests to provide better material assistance for the poor by giving them food instead of useless money.³² Above all, they believed that land had a greater potential to foster a closer relationship between the priest and his parishioners, and more effectively integrate him into his community. In a speech, Grégoire warned that replacing the tithe with a salary instead of property ran the risk of isolating the clergy and rendering them more insensitive to the needs of the community: "Consequently it would be impolitic to isolate the Priest, in detaching him from the common interest, in giving him a pension.... Nothing feeds respective union like having a common interest and of running the same risks."³³ They viewed salaries as a more precarious

³⁰ For comparison, see: Voltaire, "Catéchisme du curé," in *Dictionnaire philosophique: La Raison par alphabet* (Classiques Garnier Éditeurs, 2008), 85; Charles-Irénée Castel, abbé de Saint-Pierre, "Projet pour la perfectionnement du Clergé en France," in *Ouvrages politiques*, vol. 16 (Rotterdam: 1741).

³¹ *AP*, 8:381; the same speech was delivered again on 13 October 1789, in response to Talleyrand's 10 October proposal. *AP*, 9:431-434.

³² *AP*, 8:381; Henri Grégoire, *Mémoire sur la dotation des curés en fonds territoriaux*, par M. Grégoire, Curé d'Embermenil, Député de Lorraine, lu à la Séance du 11 Avril 1790 (1790), 8-10.

³³ The full quote: "... yet here it is about a Curé of the country who has habitual and permanent relationships of charity and conscience with the villagers; because no other functions establish and must establish a correspondence so intimate than that which subsists between a Curé and his Flock: consequently it would be impolitic to isolate the Priest, in detaching him from the common interest, in giving him a pension. The practice of religious virtues will

means of support and feared the corrupting influence of money on the morality of the clergy.³⁴ Thus land endowments would transform priests into more useful and productive ecclesiastical citizens, similar to the *bienfaisant bon curé* of the mid-eighteenth century.

Yet the most radical proposal to the question over tithes and public debt came in early October, when other members of the National Constituent Assembly called for the nationalization of ecclesiastical property and transformation of priests into salaried employees of the state. In response to a report by the Ecclesiastical Committee on 23 September 1789, Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord (1754-1838), the bishop of Autun, recommended that a portion of the ecclesiastical land sold should be used to pay for the salaries of the clergy.³⁵ In a speech delivered on 10 October 1789, the bishop of Autun wilyly observed that, because of the particular nature of ecclesiastical property, the specific form that it took did not matter as much as the specific ends towards which it was intended.³⁶ As such, whether in the form of real estate or a salary, the property needed to be used to meet three ends: the subsistence of the priest; maintenance of religious worship; and support for acts of *bienfaisance*. One consequence of this new arrangement was that the clergy was to be paid at fixed and standardized rates, determined by their position within the clerical hierarchy.³⁷ Talleyrand's support for clerical salaries thus changed the parameters of the

constantly bring him closer to his flock, but why furnish him with the temptation of being indifferent about the setbacks of the country, without being able to diminish his revenue? Why furnish his parishioners with a pretext to be jealous over the supposed felicity of the Pastor, or of accusing him of being insensitive to the plagues that pleases Heaven to afflict the earth? Nothing feeds respective union like having a common interest and of running the same risks." Henri Grégoire, *Mémoire sur la dotation des curés en fonds territoriaux*, 15.

³⁴ Grégoire observed: "It is observed that landed property divides affection by bringing to it a host of objects, and by that very fact, mitigates its energy, whereas a fortune in specie or paper concentrates greed and measures it by a single object. Is it not known that the people with safes, wallets, and annuities are commonly the egoists the most insensible to the misfortunes of humanity? Are capitalists, financiers, and stock-trading reptiles, enriched by the game of loans, lotteries and ministerial depredations, the most eager to fly to the aid of the Patrie?" Ibid., 14.

³⁵ For the report by the Ecclesiastical Committee, see: *AP*, 9:125.

³⁶ *AP*, 9:399; one consequence of Talleyrand's intervention was that his name became associated with apostasy after November 1789. In certain royalist salons, he was referred to as "le scélérat" ("the villain" or "the criminal"). Aston, *The End of an Elite*, 216.

³⁷ Talleyrand's proposal included a provision that no curé in the kingdom of France would receive less than 1,200 livres. *AP*, 9:402.

debate over the dilemma of what to do with ecclesiastical property. However, Talleyrand's proposal was not completely a new idea and echoed the abbé de Saint-Pierre's earlier recommendation that priests as Officers of *Bienfaisance* should be salaried by the state for the moral services they offered.³⁸ Nor was Talleyrand alone in the Constituent Assembly for his support of a salaried clergy. Honoré Gabriel Riqueti, the comte de Mirabeau (1749-1791), supported Talleyrand's proposal, only adding a base pay of 1,200 livres for curés.³⁹ Weeks later, he further added that "all the members of the clergy are officers of the State; that the service of the altars is a public function, and that religion belonging to all, it necessary by this alone that the ministers be in the pay of the nation, like the magistrate who judges in the name of the law, like the soldier who defends the common properties in the name of all."⁴⁰ Antoine Barnave (1761-1793) likewise supported the motions of Talleyrand and Mirabeau by arguing that the clergy was only a profession that rendered a public service to the nation, and as such, the property that it was given by the nation constituted a type of salary that the nation can take back at any time.⁴¹ For those like Talleyrand, Mirabeau, and Barnave, the solution to the question of tithes and public debt was to transform the clergy into salaried officers of the state.

Talleyrand's proposal unexpectedly blindsided the National Constituent Assembly, and members from the right and left rushed to contest or defend the clergy's right of ownership of the ecclesiastical properties. Pamphlets from the time debated whether or not the clergy exercised just

³⁸ For example, see: abbé de Saint-Pierre, "Projet pour la perfectionnement du Clergé en France," 79; Charles-Irénée Castel, abbé de Saint-Pierre, "Observations sur la Bienfaisance," *Ouvrages de morale et de politique*, vol. 13 (Rotterdam: 1737), 186; Charles-Irénée Castel, abbé de Saint-Pierre, "Preface," *Ouvrages de morale et de politique*, vol. 13 (Rotterdam: 1737), 7; Pierre Sage, *Le "bon prêtre" dans la littérature française d'Amadis de Gaule au Génie du Christianisme* (Paris: 1951), 199-200.

³⁹ *AP*, 9:409.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 9:609.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 9:423.

ownership over ecclesiastical lands.⁴² Others wondered if it would be better for the state to sell the lands immediately or retain them under state or clerical management.⁴³ Meanwhile in the National Constituent Assembly, speakers identified three broad groups to whom they ascribed ownership of ecclesiastical property. More radical speakers like Barnave, Mirabeau, Jacques Guillaume Thouret (1746-1794), Jean Baptiste Treilhard (1742-1810), Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours (1739-1817), and Dominique Joseph Garat (1749-1833) asserted that church lands belonged to the nation.⁴⁴ Jansenist and conservative speakers like Armond-Gaston Camus (1740-1804), the abbé Jean-François-Ange d'Eymar (1741-1807), the abbé Jean-Sifrein Maury (1746-1817), François de Bonal (1734-1800), the bishop of Clermont, Pellerin, the abbé François-Xavier-Marc-Antoine de Montesquiou-Fézensac (1756-1832), and Augustin-Félix-Elisabeth Barrin, comte La Galissonnière (1741-1828), all argued that the property had been given to the entire church or particular parishes, existed prior to the monarchy, and that the clergy were the rightful owners.⁴⁵ Finally, there was a third group of speakers like François Dominique de Reynaud (1755-1838), comte de Montlosier, the abbé Gregoire, Stanislas Marie Adélaïde, the comte de Clermont-Tonnere (1747-1792), Jallet, Bon Albert Briois de Beaunietz (1755-18??), Jacques-Joseph Besse (1747-1821), and Jacques-Joseph Leroulx (1732-1790) believed that property of the clergy

⁴² [Anonymous], *Origine des richesses ecclésiastiques et démonstration de leur utilité pour le bien public* (1789), 6-26; [Armand de Chapt de Rastignac], *Questions sur la propriété des Biens fonds Ecclésiastiques en France* ([1789]), 8-98; Benoît Rozet, *Véritable origine des biens ecclésiastiques. Fragmens historiques et curieux, contenant les différentes voies par lesquelles le Clergé séculier et régulier de France s'est enrichi* (Paris: 1790), 13-388. Much like Puységur and Cerfvol, these two pamphleteers presented contrasting historical inventories of clerical property acquisition. The anonymous *Origine* and Rozet's *Véritable origine* portrayed the accumulation of property by the church as a history of corruption and manipulation. In contrast, Armand de Chapt de Rastignac meticulously demonstrated that property acquisition of the church was grounded in legitimate legal practice.

⁴³ For example, see: [Anonymous], *Projet d'un traité de Paix entre la Nation et le Clergé, Contenant le seul moyen de rendre les biens ecclésiastiques utiles à l'État; Par un député à l'Assemblée Nationale* (Paris: [1790]), 1-15; André Morellet, *Moyen de disposer utilement, pour la nation, des biens ecclésiastiques* (Paris: 1789), 1-26.

⁴⁴ *AP*, 9:423-424, 485-486, 490-491, 518-519, 609.

⁴⁵ Armond-Gaston Camus, *Résumé de l'opinion de M. Camus, dans la Séance du 13 octobre 1789, au sujet de la motion sur les biens ecclésiastiques; suivi de quelques Observations sur ce qui a été dit à l'appui de la Motion, dans les Séances de 23 et du 24* (1789), 3, 6; Jean-François-Ange d'Eymar, *Discours sur la propriété des biens ecclésiastiques, prononcé dans l'Assemblée Nationale le 13 Octobre* (Paris: 1789), 11; *AP*, 9:428, 484, 518, 628, 634.

belonged neither to the nation nor to the church.⁴⁶ For these deputies, either the true ownership belonged to the original holders of the territory whose original intentions needed to be respected, or that the nation and the clergy were only administrators of the territory. As demonstrated by the variety of positions and the back and forth between speakers, the question of ownership bewildered the members of the National Constituent Assembly who continued to discuss the issue until November.

A turning point in the discussion came when more radical speakers introduced anticorporatist language that distinguished between the rightful ownership of private individuals and those of moral bodies. The Comte de Montlosier first suggested that the clergy could not own property because it was a “moral body,” and as such was incapable of acquiring property.⁴⁷ Gradually over the course of the debates, speakers increasingly distinguished the bodies of the individual and the “moral body” of the clergy.⁴⁸ Yet it was Thouret who provided the most controversial arguments regarding bodies. For Thouret, the question over ecclesiastical property was essential to the regeneration of France: “In this moment of regeneration, people and things, all are submitted in a State to the nation exercising its most great powers. No vicious institution must survive, no means of public prosperity must escape the general movement that reconstitutes all parties of the empire.”⁴⁹ As such, for Thouret, it was necessary to distinguish between people and bodies in relation to each other and the state in order to resolve the problem.⁵⁰ Thouret argued that individuals had a real existence that the state could not eliminate, while bodies were “moral and fictive persons” whom the state could eliminate at any moment. The rights of real individuals

⁴⁶ *AP*, 9:415, 492, 498, 614, 629-631.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 9:415.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 9:423-429, 434-435.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 9:485.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

existed prior to the law, while bodies existed only because of the law. Furthermore, because France was an agricultural country, it had an interest in expanding property ownership to individuals instead of leaving them to unproductive fictive landowners.⁵¹ In response to Thouret's formulation, the comte de Clermont-Tonnere argued that the debate was really one of two *bodies*: the nation and the clergy. He chided Thouret for not foreseeing the consequences of his anticorporate arguments: "The nation is evidently a political body; a body is an instrument for achieving an end; the goal of political association is the conservation of individual properties; the association is an instrument of happiness. The members can separate or change their pact... The property of a nation is challenged and destroyed by the arguments that M. Thouret had directed against the clerical body."⁵² For Clermont-Tonnerre, in the struggle of bodies, neither the nation could have a claim over ecclesiastical property, nor the clergy who were merely its administrators. Maintaining a strict separation between temporal and spiritual matters, he insisted that only Catholics and the clergy had the final say over that portion of property meant for the maintenance of religious worship and the subsistence of the clergy.⁵³ Thus the debate over ecclesiastical property became one over the status of bodies within the nation.

The "bodification" of the church eventually reached new metaphorical heights as deputies began debating whether or not the suppression of a moral body constituted homicide. Similar to François Richer's Prince granting entry to the band of foreign travelers, Thouret claimed that the state had a right to make decisions concerning "all the bodies which it admitted into its midst" and that it held "an absolute power, not only over the mode of existence, but also over their existence."⁵⁴ He went further to assert that the same reason "which made the suppression of a body

⁵¹ *AP.*, 9:485-486.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 9:499.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 9:497-499.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 9:485.

not a *homicide*” also meant that the “revocation of the faculty granted to bodies to possess lands” did not constitute “*dispossession*.”⁵⁵ Because these bodies were fictive and moral, their elimination could not be considered murder. By insisting that a state could not commit homicide against moral bodies was a rhetorical means of emphasizing the material difference between individuals and corporations. Treilhard similarly asserted that “a society can exist without any particular corporation; it can at will admit or reject these moral beings; it can permit or prohibit them from possessing immovable properties (*immeubles*); it can suspend, modify, revoke these permissions.”⁵⁶ From this absolute power over “moral beings,” Treilhard concluded that society “can... without injustice and legally, *kill* the person of the corporation; it can thus, and for a really good reason, *kill* the accessories. Particular corporations are thus not... property owners, because the nation can always, and can only dispose of their possessions.”⁵⁷ Thus for Treilhard, the moral quality of ownership and dispossession were defined in relation to the state’s sovereign power over all vital forces. While not articulated precisely in terms of homicide, numerous other speakers defined property ownership in relation to the nation’s exercise of life and death over bodies. Barnave claimed that the “clergy exists by the nation, and the nation could destroy it.”⁵⁸ Both Dupont de Nemours and the comte de Mirabeau observed that the nation could destroy bodies, leaving only the individuals that composed them.⁵⁹ Thus, physicality and vitality were the defining features of ownership of properties that were likewise material and territorial. By turning the debate into one of real or imaginary bodies, Thouret and other speakers sought to delegitimize the clergy’s right to its lands and justify the state’s nationalization of its property.

⁵⁵ *AP*, 9:485.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 9:491.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 9:423.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 9:517-518, 607.

In response to Thouret's controversial arguments, opponents of nationalization argued that depriving the clergy of its property did in fact constitute a type of homicide. While avoiding the use of the term "homicide" for etymological reasons, Camus nonetheless asserted that depriving bodies of their existence and civil rights without just cause was no different from doing so to an individual: "I will not say that the destruction of a body is homicide, because the etymology of the word homicide does not permit that one make this application: but I will say that there is the same injustice in depriving, without just cause, a body of its existence and civil rights, as there is depriving an individual of his life or his rights without just cause."⁶⁰ Camus went further to attack the distinction that Thouret drew between real and fictive individuals by noting that individuals also owe their existence and property to the law, because without it there was only violence.⁶¹ While Camus was reluctant to directly say that suppression of a moral body was homicide, the abbé Maury was gladly willing to embrace the more literal meaning of Thouret's words in order to throw them back at him. In his rebuttal of Thouret's arguments, Maury declared: "We are a constituent, regenerating power, not a destructive one. M. Thouret said that to destroy a body is not homicide; but with turns of phrase, one twists the true acceptance of words; if existence is the moral life of bodies, taking it away from them very well is homicide."⁶² For Maury, one could truly murder a body. Both speakers then went further to argue that depriving a moral body of its right of ownership threatened the entire institution of property in general.⁶³ Maury warned that

⁶⁰ Camus, *Résumé de l'opinion de M. Camus, dans la Séance du 13 octobre 1789*, 12; Camus concluded his pamphlet by taking up the homicide metaphor once more: "No, one sends the culprit to death; but when it did not merit to lose its life, it is not deprived of its rights. To abolish all the ecclesiastical establishments would be an abuse of power: it would be another abuse to deprive them of their property: one assigns to them, in replacing it, annuities [rentes] which would never be the value of their property. Reform, but do not destroy. The act of justice that you have done, in giving life to a body, is not a title capable of covering the injustice that you would do in taking away from it, without cause, either its existence or the rights therein attached." Ibid., 14.

⁶¹ Ibid., 11.

⁶² *AP*, 9:610.

⁶³ Camus, *Résumé de l'opinion de M. Camus, dans la Séance du 13 octobre 1789*, 4-6, 11.

Thouret's arguments would carry dire consequences for property: "Woe to the nation where property owners would only have these patents anterior to the law to defend their properties; in three syllogisms one would invade them."⁶⁴ Finally, Camus lambasted Thouret's utilitarian arguments justifying this "homicide" by asking if they were even just: "The operation will be useful to the state, but will it be just? I do not believe that we have come to a point of corruption such that we permit ourselves to openly say that useful and just are synonymous expressions."⁶⁵ Thus in these arguments over corporate personhood, revolutionaries like the Jansenist Camus and conservative Maury believed that distinction between physical individuals and moral bodies was a false one that carried unforeseen consequences.

The debate over the nationalization of ecclesiastical property ended with the recognition that the clergy no longer existed as a corps independent of the nation. On the eve of the vote on 2 November 1789, the proposal to nationalize church property was on the verge of defeat.⁶⁶ Two days prior, Archbishop of Aix and the abbé de Montesquieu offered withering rebuttals that seemingly left an impression on the Assembly.⁶⁷ However, an intervention by Le Chapelier moments prior to the vote helped to effectively push the Assembly to support the appropriation of church lands by the nation. Central to Le Chapelier's argument was the belief that the clergy had ceased to exist as a corps. In his speech, he reminded the members of the Constituent Assembly that they had destroyed the orders in order to protect the nation: "You wanted to destroy the orders,

⁶⁴ *AP*, 9:610.

⁶⁵ Camus, *Résumé de l'opinion de M. Camus, dans la Séance du 13 octobre 1789*, 12.

⁶⁶ Tackett, *Becoming a Revolutionary*, 203-205; Fitzsimmons, *The Night the Old Regime Ended*, 69; Van Kley, *Religious Origins of the French Revolution*, 360-361; Aston, *The End of an Elite*, 216-218.

⁶⁷ For the speech Jean de Dieu-Raymond de Cucé de Boisgelin, the archbishop of Aix, see: *AP*, 9:615-625; for the speech of the abbé François-Xavier-Marc-Antoine de Montesquiou-Fézensac, see: *AP*, 9:628-629; for an account of the effect of the speeches on the debate, see: *Révolutions de Paris, dédiées à la Nation*, no.18, 8 November 1789, 38; the deputy Adrien Duquesnoy also attested to the effect of these speeches on the assembly in his journal. Adrien Duquesnoy, *Journal d'Adrien Duquesnoy, député du Tiers état de Bar-le-Duc, sur l'Assemblée Constituante*, ed. Robert de Crèvecœur, vol. 2 (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1894), 9-11.

because their destruction was necessary for the salvation of the State: if the clergy conserves its property, the order of the clergy is no longer destroyed. You necessarily leave to it the ability to assemble itself, you consecrate its independence, and you ready the disarray of the political body that you have been charged with organizing.”⁶⁸ Thus to accept the existence of ecclesiastical property was tantamount to repudiating the anticorporatist principles of 4 August and thus posed a threat to the new revolutionary regime. If the clergy continued to exist, it would only be “as citizens.”⁶⁹ Finally, he concluded by warning that any offer on the part of the clergy to make financial contributions to the nation in exchange for their continued administration of their property was a trap: “The clergy offered gifts; but by what right and by what title? They will take them from the patrimony of worship, from the patrimony of the poor.... Fear this trap; the clergy wants to rise from its ashes in order to reconstitute itself as an order: these gifts are more dangerous than our distress.”⁷⁰ For Le Chapelier, the clergy needed to be destroyed once and for all as an independent corporation.⁷¹ Shortly after a speech by the comte de Mirabeau, the Constituent Assembly voted 568 to 346 to put all ecclesiastical property “at the disposition of the nation,” and that no curé would receive less than 1,200 livres per year.⁷² By opting to nationalize church property in exchange for salaries to be paid to the clergy, the National Constituent Assembly was moving closer to embracing a new vision of the Church developed during the eighteenth-century.

By voting in favor of nationalization, the National Constituent Assembly was also embracing an anticorporatist language that essentially “bodified” the clergy and rendered the sovereign power of the nation more real by virtue of its physicality. The historian Antoine de

⁶⁸ *AP*, 9:639.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ For the connection between the abolition of church property, monasteries, and worker corporations, see: Rosanvallon, *The Demands of Liberty*, 16-21.

⁷² *AP*, 9:649.

Baecque long noted that although revolutionaries were accused of being men of abstraction, they nevertheless frequently deployed bodily images to render their ideas more concrete and immediate.⁷³ For many of the more radical deputies, like Thouret, Mirabeau, and Barnave, it was the real corporeal and physical nature that defined the legitimacy of a body's rights. Since the clergy were fictive and moral, one could not murder or dispossess them since their existence depended on that of the much more concrete nation. Only the nation had the right to "give life to" or "eliminate" all bodies of a lesser metaphysical status, like the clergy. Moreover, their arguments assumed a territoriality of the nation: despite its own corporate nature, it was the nation that truly owned property. Underlying Le Chapelier's arguments was the idea that the existence of bodies depended on property. Thus, by adopting his proposal, the National Constituent Assembly also eliminated the clergy as an independent rival body. From that point on, only the nation would be the most supreme body capable of exercising life and death over all subordinate bodies.

Section 2: Religious Orders

With the issue of clerical property momentarily decided, the National Constituent Assembly moved on to the issue concerning the status of religious orders. Although sharply disagreed over the political relationship between the nation and the church, a tentative agreement began to emerge in November 1789 that the religious orders constituted an intolerable body in need of regeneration. In fact, both right-wing and left-wing deputies of the assembly expressed a willingness to support the suppression of all religious orders that they deemed useless to the public good. Some deputies like the duc de la Rochefoucauld, Jallet, and the comte de La Glassonnière recommended suppressing religious orders or reducing unnecessary religious bodies like collegiate

⁷³ De Baecque, *The Body Politic*, 2; for an example of accusations of "metaphysical" reasoning, see: *AP*, 9:610.

churches in their speeches and legislative proposals.⁷⁴ For these deputies, monastic orders had strayed too far from the principles of the primitive church and as a result constituted more of a financial burden to the state. Above all else, religious orders had ceased to be useful agents of the public good. As such, they needed either be reformed or suppressed outright. However, they did not believe that all the monastic orders needed to be destroyed. Jallet recommended that the king be asked not to fill any more vacancies in the abbeys or priories. Ultimately, all unessential religious establishments needed to be discontinued. These anti-monastic calculations also figured into the debate over ecclesiastical properties. The historian Timothy Tackett speculated that support for nationalization of church lands was partly motivated by the assumption that the state would only seize lands owned by the religious orders in order to pay off the national debt.⁷⁵ Thus the early hostility expressed by some members within the Constituent Assembly by the end of 1789 foreshadowed many of the arguments that would play a significant role in the formal suppression of religious orders in 1790.

While the National Constituent Assembly debated the status of religious bodies within the newly regenerated revolutionary state, journalists and pamphleteers also engaged in public debates over the status of the religious orders. In general, newspapers and pamphlets critical of the religious orders repeated many of arguments used by writers decades prior.⁷⁶ Many writers agreed that monasteries and convents were useless institutions that contributed little to the public good. In a systematic analysis of the moral, religious and political utility of monasticism, the anonymous author of the *L'Anti-Moine* (1790) concluded that these institutions were useless in every regard.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ *AP*, 9:614-615, 636.

⁷⁵ Tackett, *Becoming a Revolutionary*, 204.

⁷⁶ Mita Choudhury, *Convents and Nuns in Eighteenth-Century French Politics and Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 158-167.

⁷⁷ *L'Anti-moine, ou considérations politiques, sur les Moyens et la nécessité d'abolir les ordres monastiques en France* (1790), 22-56.

In addition, they claimed that cloisters constituted veritable dens of moral and political degeneracy that threatened the moral health of the nation. In calling for the formal suppression of convents, the anonymous author of *De la nécessité de supprimer les monastères* (1789) remarked on the very danger of physical pollution emanating from religious houses: “you will no longer fear the pernicious vicinity of convents; these impure dens will no longer exhale towards your humble cottages, the wind and fire poisoned with corruption; your daughters will no longer be exposed to these devouring fires.”⁷⁸ For this author, the suppression of monasteries constituted a matter of public health whose abolition would bring immediate benefits. Moreover, many of these pamphlets condemned the ways in which families used these institutions as prisons for children for whom they did not want to provide an inheritance. The author of *De la nécessité de supprimer les monastères* compared monasteries and convents to the Bastille and accused them of being “horrible prisons that only lock up innocence.”⁷⁹ Joseph Lequinio likewise compared them to “granaries of the state” used to store unwanted furniture.⁸⁰ Many authors agreed in condemning the ways that young men and women were allowed to swear irrevocable monastic vows before they were ever able to reach the age of majority.⁸¹ Thus by invoking traditional images of cloisters as despotic dens of corruption that were of no use to society, journalists and pamphleteers challenged the fundamental utility of these institutions.

Most importantly, journalists and pamphleteers of the early Revolution condemned the existence of religious orders as privileged bodies opposed to the interests of the nation. At issue in

⁷⁸ *De la nécessité de supprimer les monastères* (Paris: 1789), 22-23.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 27-28.

⁸⁰ Joseph Lequinio, *Suppression des religieux, extinction de la mendicité: lettre à M. Treillard, député aux États-Généraux, et membre du Comité Ecclésiastique, par le Sieur Le Quinio de Kblay, Maire de la Ville de Rhuys en Bretagne* (Rennes: 1789), 14.

⁸¹ For example, see: *Le Moine qui n'a jamais partagé le gateau, à l'Assemblée nationale* (Paris: 1789), 4; [Jacques-Nicolas Billaud-Varenne], *Le Dernier coup porté aux préjugés et à la superstition* (London: 1789), 25-33; *L'Anti-moine*, 19; *De la nécessité de supprimer les monastères*, 16-28.

the debate over the status of the religious orders was their very independence. The “citizen-patriot” writer of *La clergé dévoilé* (1789) complained that monasteries and convents constituted themselves as independent bodies in spite their status as citizens: “If this Religion is true, the Clergy has no right to make a Body separate and distinct from the rest of the Citizens, still less to arrogate to itself precedence: the possessions are abusive; they must be reminded of the duties that are prescribed to them.”⁸² The same author noted that because the interests of monastic orders often differed from those of the nation, religious societies were prone to sacrifice the good of the state out of self-interest: “if by misfortune both interests are in opposition, there is no doubt that the particular society will sacrifice the state, if it can, all members will act in concert to fulfill the will of the society.”⁸³ This difference of interest manifested itself as an embarrassment of riches. Not only was property owned by the religious orders the product of manipulation, the lawyer Jacques-Nicolas Billaud-Varrenne (1756-1819) claimed that ecclesiastical opposition to reform was merely motivated by the economic self-interest of the church.⁸⁴ The author of the *Le Moine qui n’a jamais partagé le gateau* (1789) likewise characterized the religious orders as greedy and anti-social bodies.⁸⁵ The result of such wealth was to leave it permanently out of the reach of the nation, to idle uselessly under the control of the Church.⁸⁶ The monastic orders were also a drain on the reproductive powers of the state, whose progress they prohibited by locking away men and women in a state of perpetual celibacy.⁸⁷ Their celibacy rendered them enemies of society. All

⁸² *Le clergé dévoilé, pour être présenté aux États-Généraux, par un citoyen patriote* (1789), 81.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 56.

⁸⁴ [Billaud-Varenne], *Le Dernier coup*, 363-368.

⁸⁵ *Le Moine qui n’a jamais partagé le gateau* (Paris: 1789), 2.

⁸⁶ The author of the *Anti-Moine* put it starkly: “In general, Monks exist only by themselves and for themselves alone, and the state cannot profit from them; neither for agriculture whose products they absorb, nor for the population whose progress they bind, nor for industry whose branches they cannot extend; in a word, the Monastic system is such, that if, for a century and a half, one did place barriers to its propagation, half of the State would see itself absorbed in that destructive abyss.” *L’Anti-moine*, 47.

⁸⁷ For the author of the *Anti-Moine*, vows of celibacy contravened divine and natural law: “The first order that the first man received from the Supreme Being at the moment... of his creation, was to be fruitful (croître) and

agreed that the nation needed to reassert its authority, since only it had the power to make and break bodies.⁸⁸ Billaud-Varrenne was even starker in his prescription: like the soldiers who realizes that they “must be a Citizen rather than the instrument of tyranny,” it was no longer permissible “that one could forget to include the Clergy in the great changes which are to be made.”⁸⁹ Thus in reclaiming its sovereignty, the Revolution needed to destroy all particular bodies and remake the Church in its own image. These religious bodies needed to be made useful.

By the beginning of 1790, the National Constituent Assembly once more took up the issue of the religious orders. Movement towards reform began when Jean Baptiste Treilhard presented the report of the Ecclesiastical Committee on 17 December 1789.⁹⁰ The report opened by declaring: “The regeneration that you are called to establish, must embrace all parts of this vast Empire, because there are none who are preserved from the slackening [of discipline] and the abuses that time always brings in its wake. The Ecclesiastics have felt its fatal influence like other Citizens.”⁹¹ The report made three interesting observations. First, that revolutionary regeneration was totalizing and all-encompassing, excluding none. Second, like all other human institutions, the clergy cannot escape the corruption of time.⁹² Third, reform was synonymous with making institutions useful again.⁹³ The Ecclesiastical Committee recommended allowing all male religious

multiply; [a] precise, formal order, and whose text does not leave anything open to interpretation. After that, the first duty of man on earth, is to work for the reproduction of his being, and that duty conforms at once to divine, human and natural law.” *L’Anti-moine*, 25.

⁸⁸ [Billaud-Varenne], *Le Dernier coup*, 5-7; *L’Anti-moine*, 57-62; *De la nécessité de supprimer les monastères*, 12, 16, 28-29; *Le clergé dévoilé*, 11.

⁸⁹ [Billaud-Varenne], *Le Dernier coup*, 1.

⁹⁰ Aston, *The End of an Elite*, 222.

⁹¹ Jean Baptiste Treilhard, *Rapport fait au nom du Comité ecclésiastique, Le Jeudi 17 Décembre 1789, Sur les Ordres religieux* (Paris: 1789), 1-2.

⁹² “Such is the lot of all human institutions, that they always carry with them the germs of their destruction.” Treilhard, *Rapport... sur les Ordres religieux*, 2; Baker, “Transformations of Classical Republicanism in Eighteenth-Century France,” 35-36; Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment*. The emphasis on the eventual degeneration of first principles is similar to the classical republican diagnoses of contemporary political events, where the central problem for theorists was that of sustaining civic virtue of a polity over time.

⁹³ “The moment of reform has thus arrived; for it must always follow when the establishments cease to be useful.” Treilhard, *Rapport... sur les Ordres religieux*, 3

to effectively annul their monastic vows and reenter secular society. However, the proposals did not overturn the circumstances that rendered male monastics civilly and socially dead: they were still excluded from all claims of inheritance. Moreover, the report also proposed a general reorganization and rationalization of the monastic orders. Utility became the key determining factor in distinguishing between those orders that were to be left to die out gradually, or those that were to be transformed into voluntary associations devoted to public service. As for women religious, Treilhard made an appeal to the paternalism of the Assembly for the general welfare of “the other victims that weakness of their sex renders more interesting,” but acknowledged that another report would be needed in determining the reforms required, since “.... their needs, occupations, tastes, customs are so different” from those of men.⁹⁴ Much in line with Enlightenment era thought about monasticism, regeneration of the religious orders meant rendering them more useful to society, rational in their organization, and integrated within the national framework. Finally, the report represented a fundamental assumption that the National Constituent Assembly had full authority to entirely “regenerate” a religious body.

However, many men and women religious and lay writers disagreed with the direction of the Ecclesiastical Committee and instead argued that monasteries and convents were useful social institutions that needed to be reformed instead of suppressed. There were those like François de Bonnal, the bishop of Clermont and the president of the committee, who immediately disavowed the proposals made.⁹⁵ Others adopted a more moderate tone, combining the revolutionary themes of patriotism and utility in their defenses of the religious orders.⁹⁶ Philippe Samary, a curé from

⁹⁴ Treilhard, *Rapport... sur les Ordres religieux*, 5-6; for more on the gendered language of Treilhard’s report, see: Choudhury, *Convents and Nuns in Eighteenth-Century French Politics and Culture*, 159.

⁹⁵ Duquesnoy recorded that “No sooner had [Treilhard] finished speaking, that the bishop of Clermont climbed the tribune in order to say that [although] having the honor to preside over the Ecclesiastical Committee, his conscience and state made a point of declaring that he was far from adopting the principles of the committee’s report.” Duquesnoy, *Journal*, 2:179; see also, *AP*, 10:626.

⁹⁶ Choudhury, *Convents and Nuns in Eighteenth-Century French Politics and Culture*, 166-167.

Carcassonne, maintained that monasteries and convents contributed to both church and state. In his speech, he highlighted the role of the religious orders as missionaries, preachers, authors, educators, social workers, and colonial religious ministers.⁹⁷ In their public addresses to the National Assembly, religious women often stressed the crucial support that they offered in schools, hospitals and poor houses.⁹⁸ Some orders of religious women even went so far to stress how compatible the rules of their convents were to the revolution: “The most entire liberty presides over our vows, the most perfect equality reigns in our Houses: we know here neither Rich nor Noble, and we only depend on the Law.”⁹⁹ Others like Jean-Marie Félix Mayet (1751-1835) were more caustic in their refutation, and openly questioned the meaning of social utility deployed by those calling for the suppression of the religious orders. He asked how it was possible for them to “coldly qualify the monastic state as useless” when its members offered “only spectacles of Christian virtues carried to their perfection.”¹⁰⁰ For Mayet, religious orders like all other human institutions, degenerate overtime and lose some of their utility. However, the solution to such degradation should be reform and not elimination. Finally, those defending the social utility of religious orders ultimately appealed to the paternalism of the National Assembly for protection.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Philippe Samary, *Réclamation en faveur des Ordres religieux* (Paris: 1789), 5-7.

⁹⁸ For example, see: *Adresse à l'Assemblée nationale, de la part des religieuses bénédictines de l'adoration perpétuelle du très saint sacrement de l'autel* (1790), 2; *Adresse à l'Assemblée nationale, de la part des carmélites de France, de la réforme de Sainte-Thérèse* (Paris: 1790), 1-3; Anne-Madeleine Chalmette, *Requête à l'Assemblée nationale, de la part des religieuses de la Visitation Sainte-Marie, de France* (Paris: 1790), 1-2; *Adresse à nosseigneurs de l'Assemblée nationale, de la part des religieuses du royal monastère de Sainte-Elisabeth, près le temple, à Paris* (1790), 1-2.

⁹⁹ The order of the Visitation Saint-Marie de France also stressed their egalitarianism. In their address, they described their lifestyle: “It is in this government, which has moderation and humanity as its basis, that we bring up in the most perfect equality, without any distinction of birth or wealth, our Boarders [pensionnaires]. They are dressed without splendor, and even the simplicity of the uniform that they wear provides proof of this. Our only privileges consist in the formal renunciation of all the dignities of the Church: Abbeys, Pories, etc. [A] right so dear to our hearts, that we carried it more than once and asserted it at the foot of the Throne.” Chalmette, *Requête à l'Assemblée nationale, de la part des religieuses de la Visitation Sainte-Marie*, 2; *Adresse à l'Assemblée nationale, de la part des carmélites de France*, 2.

¹⁰⁰ Jean-Marie-Félix Mayet, *Opinion de M. Mayet, curé de Rochetaillée, député de Lyon, sur l'état religieux* (Paris: 1790), 7.

¹⁰¹ For example, see: *Adresse à l'Assemblée nationale, de la part des religieuses bénédictines*, 1-2; *Adresse à l'Assemblée nationale, de la part des carmélites de France*, 1, 3-4; Chalmette, *Requête à l'Assemblée nationale, de la*

This was most evident in the cases of the convents, where men and women both deployed arguments about sexual difference in order to emphasize the need to maintain these institutions. Ultimately, opposition to Treilhard's proposals demonstrate the importance that patriotism and utility gained in debate over the existence of these institutions.

An end to the monastic orders came in February 1790, when opponents of the religious orders mobilized anticorporatist arguments to justify the suppression of monasteries. Discussion opened up on 11 February following a debate over the status of religious orders.¹⁰² Some like Dupont argued that abolishing monastic orders would benefit humanitarian cause of society and the financial interests of the state.¹⁰³ Other members of the National Constituent Assembly advanced their positions in terms of utility. Roederer maintained that monks were not necessary for public education, care of the poor and sick, agriculture and religion, since other groups were better suited to fulfill those roles.¹⁰⁴ For those like Roederer, independent corporations were redundant in society: "If one finally speaks to me about public education and houses of charity, I would respond that it is not as monks that some religious are devoted to public education or hospitals of charity, but as citizens; that thus one can strongly well destroy in them the character of the monk and in the same time honor and recompense their public services."¹⁰⁵ Thus, what was most important was one's status as an individual, and not one's membership to a particular corporation. Echoing Le Chapelier months earlier who warned against leaving the clergy in control of property, Pétion de Villeneuve argued that "It is necessary to entirely destroy these orders: in

part des religieuses de la Visitation Sainte-Marie, 3-4; *Adresse à l'Assemblée nationale, de la part des religieuses du monastère de l'Assomption* (Paris: 1790), 4-6; *Adresse à nosseigneurs de l'Assemblée nationale, de la part des religieuses du royal monastère de Sainte-Elisabeth, près le temple*, 2-3; Samary, *Réclamation en faveur des Ordres religieux*, 8-9.

¹⁰² Duquesnoy, *Journal*, 2:380-382; *Révolutions de Paris, dédiées à la Nation*, no. 32, 11 February 1790, 50-51.

¹⁰³ *AP*, 11:544.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 11:575.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

conserving some would only prepare the renaissance of all.”¹⁰⁶ Finally, others like Barnave went still further by declaring that monks were incompatible with the rights of men and the needs of society, harmful to religion, and useless in all endeavors entrusted to them. He too recommended the destruction of monastic orders. After a bitter and dramatic debate, filled with acerbic accusations of blasphemy and jeering, the National Constituent Assembly voted to abrogating all monastic vows for men and effectively suppressing male religious orders in France on 13 February 1790.

From August 1789 until February 1790, the Revolution began the task of seeing to the regeneration of the nation. Not only were feudal privileges abrogated, the National Constituent Assembly also gradually came to the realization that it had the authority to effect this change. Jacques François Laurent Devisme would remark in his journal: “The evolution of opinion is remarkable to watch. The suppression of the [regular clergy], once perceived as a major problem, has now come to be seen, even by the most moderate deputies, as a just and natural procedure.”¹⁰⁷ In the debates over church property and the status of religious orders between the fall of 1789 and the spring of 1790, revolutionaries gradually mobilized new arguments that render the church more corporeal, physical and material. Whether it concerned the territory of the Church or the bodies hidden within the walls of monasteries, revolutionaries articulated a new vision of national sovereignty that was above all territorial, physical and corporeal. Monasteries needed to be abolished because either the regular clergy constituted itself as a body rivaling the authority of the state or because of the effects of clausturation on physical health of the clergy. The language of anticorporatism embraced by the Revolution was above all predicated upon an imaginary of

¹⁰⁶ *AP*, 11:576.

¹⁰⁷ Translation quoted in, Tacket, *Becoming a Revolutionary*, 265; for the original text, see: [Jacques François Laurent Devisme], MS “Journal des Etats-Généraux tenus en 1789, commencé le 5 mai (1789), et finissant le 18 février 1790,” 13 February 1790, *Gallica*, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b531358507>.

bodies. This language in turn drew on much older conceptualizations first developed in the mid-eighteenth century that exteriorized and factualized the Catholic Church. The debates over the status of ecclesiastical reform of 1790 would continue this trend, by attempting to extending national sovereignty over the internal discipline of the church and transforming the clergy into the more socially involved *bon curés*. By the summer of 1790, the French Revolutionaries will grapple with two questions of paramount importance. First, what does it mean to declare a national religion? And what does the Catholic Church look like under a revolutionary regime?

Section 3: The State Enters the Church

On 13 June 1790, the Carthusian monk dom Christophe Gerle asked the National Constituent Assembly to speak about an important issue regarding the prophetess Clotilde-Suzanne Labrousse (1747-1821). According to dom Gerle, there lived a person named “Suzanne la Bouze” in the Périgord who related to him an important prophecy regarding the Revolution. He claimed that “she has announced to a great number of people the present revolution; she has communicated to me... a work in which she predicted the convocation of the National Assembly, the cessation of monastic vows, the reforms of abuse, the return of the clergy to its primitive purity, the federation of all the people of the earth, to form only a people of brothers.”¹⁰⁸ Before he could continue, grumbling arose from the room and the Assembly had cut him off in order to move on to the business of the day. While dismissed by many, dom Gerle’s fervent belief in prophecy of revolution, religious reform and the coming brotherhood of all men helps to demonstrate one way that some revolutionaries came to understand regeneration of the Gallican Church. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy of 1790 was above all portrayed as an attempt to renew the primitive

¹⁰⁸ *AP*, 16:250.

discipline of the church. In the coming months, two important religious events would throw the National Constituent Assembly into acrimonious handwringing: the dom Gerle affair and the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Throughout, revolutionaries would continue to mobilize arguments corporeal and territorial thinking in order to justify their stances on the national religion of France and the creation of the Constitutional Church.

Amidst contentious and prolonged deliberations over ecclesiastical properties and a pessimistic report from the finance minister Jacques Necker in March and April 1790, a motion put forward by the Jacobin deputy, dom Christophe Gerle (1736-1801), threw National Constituent Assembly into renewed crisis over the status of Catholicism within France.¹⁰⁹ A Carthusian monk and sincere Jacobin, dom Gerle had come to embrace the Revolution early on, believing it to be the fulfillment of a prophecy told to him by the mystic Labrousse.¹¹⁰ Along with the abbé Grégoire and the protestant Rabaut Saint-Étienne, Jacques-Louis David would come to use Gerle as a symbol of religious reconciliation in his painting of the Tennis Court Oath. Following his admission as representative of Riom in December 1789, dom Gerle threw his support behind the proposed monastic reforms and later was appointed as a member of the Ecclesiastical Committee.¹¹¹ However by April 1790, accusations from the rightwing Capuchin faction that the seizure of church property was actually part of a plot to undermine religion began to weigh on dom Gerle. In an abrupt move, dom Gerle put forward a motion on 17 April 1790 “to decree that the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Religion is and will remain always the religion of the nation, and

¹⁰⁹ Tackett, *Becoming a Revolutionary*, 266-269; Nigel Aston, *Religion and Revolution in France, 1780-1804* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2000), 137-138; Rita Hermon-Belot, *Aux Sources de l'idée laïque: Révolution et pluralité religieuse* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2015), 107-114.

¹¹⁰ Clarke Garette, *Respectable Folly: Millenarians and the French Revolution in France and England* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 40.

¹¹¹ Duquesnoy, *Journal*, 2:390-391.

that its worship will be the only [one to be] public and authorized.”¹¹² The immediate result of Gerle’s motion was explosive and threatened to undermine the spirit of religious reconciliation of the Revolution. In a letter on 16 April 1790, François Ménard de La Groye compared the reaction to “an eruption of Mount Vesuvius which hurls enflamed materials towards the sky.”¹¹³ That night at the Jacobin Society, tensions continued to run high as dom Gerle agonized over his impolitic motion and promised to immediately withdraw it the following day.¹¹⁴ The right-wing Capuchins likewise were planning a show of force. What the drama of the debate over dom Gerle’s motion revealed was that the question of Catholicism’s status continued to remain uncertain. And the anger that it provoked only brought to the surface the unresolved animosities that had been brewing since the fall of 1789.

Since the early months of the French Revolution, the National Constituent Assembly remained hesitant to establish the Catholic Church as the national religion. During the discussion of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, a prolonged struggle on an article dealing with religious toleration pitted nobles and clergy against the deputies of the Third Estate.¹¹⁵ Although conservative factions in the Assembly had pushed for recognition of Catholicism as the national religion, radical patriot opposition was only willing to agree to an ambiguously worded article prohibiting citizens from being disturbed in their opinions, “even his religions opinions,”

¹¹² *AP*, 12:702; Gerle’s full statement: “It has been said to you that there is a bias in the committees; I affirm that, in the Ecclesiastical Committee that there is not any bias; to shut the mouths of those who calumny the Assembly, in saying that it does not want religion, and to calm those who fear that it will admit all religions in France, it is necessary to decree that the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Religion is and remains for always the religion of the nation, and that its worship will be the only public and authorized.” See also: *Révolutions de Paris, dédiées à la Nation*, no. 40, 151-152.

¹¹³ François Ménard de La Groye, “Letter of 16 April 1790,” in *Correspondance: 1789-1791*, ed. Florence Mirouse (Le Mans: Conseil général de la Sarthe, 1989), 201.

¹¹⁴ Camille Desmoulins, *Révolutions de France et de Brabant*, no. 21, 348-349.

¹¹⁵ Alphonse Aulard, *Christianity and the French Revolution*, trans. Lady Frazer (New York: Howard Fertig, 1966), 51; Tackett, *Becoming a Revolutionary*, 183-185; Aston, *Religion and Revolution in France*, 128-129; Hermon-Belot, *Aux Sources de l’idée laïque*, 107-114.

as long as those opinions did not disturb the public order established by the law.¹¹⁶ Similarly, when an unnamed ecclesiastic attempted to propose that Catholicism be made the national religion, he was shouted down by members of the assembly.¹¹⁷ The abbé d'Eymar's attempt to revive the proposal was also rejected outright. The issue of national religion arose once more during the debate over religious toleration for Protestants and Jews in December 1789. Rebutting the positions of those who worried over civil rights for actors, executions and non-Catholics, Clermont-Tonnerre succinctly replied: "There is no middle possible; either accept a national religion; submit all your laws to it; arm it with the temporal sword, remove from your society all the men who profess another religion; and thus, efface the article of your declaration of rights, or gladly permit to each the right to have religious opinions, and do not exclude them from public functions those who use that permission."¹¹⁸ In a narrow defeat, the Assembly voted to extend political rights to non-Catholics by 408 to 405.¹¹⁹ The proposal about national religion arose yet again during the debates over monastic orders, when the bishop of Nancy proposed a decree making Catholicism the national religion in response accusations that Garat had blasphemed at the tribune.¹²⁰ Thus overall, the dramatic religious reform that took place since 4 August 1789 and the unwillingness of the National Constituent Assembly to debate the issue of national religion gave space to a fundamental ambiguity over the status of Catholicism in the Revolution.

The dom Gerle affair exposed a larger contradiction at the heart of revolutionary religious reform: while refusing to deliberate if France would have a national religion, the National Constituent Assembly still accepted the principles of a national religion through its plans to

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ *AP*, 8:505.

¹¹⁸ *AP*, 10:755.

¹¹⁹ *AP*, 10:758.

¹²⁰ *AP*, 11:588-589.

transform priests into paid functionaries of the state.¹²¹ During the following session, dom Gerle formally withdrew his proposal, choosing instead to adopt “with all [his] heart]” the proposal of the baron de Menou, which “does not have the same dangers.”¹²² Aside from the specter of religious war, which members of the Jacobin and the Capuchin Clubs hung over the head of the Assembly like the sword of Damocles, much of the discussion focused on whether such a decree was necessary.¹²³ For those opposed to the dom Gerle motion, declaring Catholicism the national religion was redundant, because the National Constituent Assembly devoted much of its effort to seeing to the needs of the Church. While invoking the efforts of the deputies determining the number of priests needed for worship and the funds necessary to sustain religious services, the baron de Menou asked, “Would one be willing to persuade the people that we did not concern ourselves with religion in order to throw disfavor onto the National Assembly? That idea is far from me.”¹²⁴ Bouchotte likewise affirmed that, “without a doubt, it is a fact that the Catholic religion is the first religion, that it is the national religion; and that the tender solicitude which the Assembly does not cease to testify to show to assure the existence of its ministers, incontestably proves the respect that it has for it.”¹²⁵ For those leftwing deputies, revolutionary reform of the Church was a manifestation of the church’s national importance. In embracing this defensive posturing, the decree adopted insisted that there was no contradiction between the church’s national preeminence and religious tolerance: the National Constituent Assembly affirmed that it

¹²¹ Aulard, *Christianity and the French Revolution*, 52-54; Aston, *The End of an Elite*, 226-229; Tackett, *Becoming a Revolutionary*, 268-272; Aston, *Religion and Revolution in France*, 137-139; Hermon-Belot, *Aux Sources de l’idée laïque*, 107-114.

¹²² *AP*, 12:716.

¹²³ From the right, the abbé Samary suggested that allowing the freedom of religion without giving preeminence to the religion of the State threatened to unleash a paroxysm of religious violence. *AP*, 12:714; from the left, the baron de Menou warned that declaring the Catholicism the national religion threatened to encourage religious fanatics to massacre all non-Catholics. *AP*, 12:716.

¹²⁴ *AP*, 12:716.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 12:715.

could not “exercise power over consciences and religious opinions” out of “profound respect” for the “majesty of religion” and that nonetheless its attachment “could not be put in doubt” since only Catholic worship would be placed “first place in public expenses.”¹²⁶ Thus the Assembly averted controversy by refusing to accept a national religion, but acknowledging Catholicism’s de facto preeminence through its very subvention.

While deputies within the National Constituent Assembly debated the nationalization of church property, the suppression of religious orders or the question of national religion, the Ecclesiastical Committee meanwhile was preoccupied with developing a series of reforms concerning the reorganization of the clergy and clerical salaries. Initially, the first Ecclesiastical Committee established by the National Assembly was a careful balance between conservative and radical tendencies.¹²⁷ The result was Durand de Maillane’s report proposing only moderate reforms drawn from references to the primitive church or older Gallican practices.¹²⁸ In the report

¹²⁶ Ibid., 12:716.

¹²⁷ For more detail on the three different Ecclesiastical Committees of the National Constituent Assembly, see: Jérôme Tissot-Dupont, “Le comité ecclésiastique de l’Assemblée nationale constituante (1789-1791). *De L’Histoire apologétique* par Durand de Maillane à la recherche moderne,” *Revue d’histoire de l’église de France* 90, no. 225 (2004): 427-452. The members of the first committee included: François de Bonal, bishop of Clermont (Chair); Charles-Léon, marquis de Bouthillier-Chavigny; Pierre Etienne Despatys de Courteilles; Durand de Maillane; abbé François-Henri-Christophe Grandin, curé of Ernée; Jerome Legrand; abbé Luc-François de Lalande; Jean-Denis Lanjuinais; Martineau; Anne-Louis-François-de-Paule Le Fèvre, marquis d’Ormesson de Noyseau; Marie Charles-Isidore de Mercy, bishop of Luçon; Anne Louis Christian de Montmorency, the Prince de Robecq; Étienne François Sallé de Chou; Treilhard; abbé Suzain Gilles Vaneau.

¹²⁸ For example, Durand de Maillane justified the election of bishops by laymen with a reference to the practices of the early church (mostly likely the election of Matthias): “As for the lay electors who are seen here in the elections of bishops, those that one would call from the bureau of the department, already favored by a character with which the esteem and confidence of the people invested them, following the example of the ancient customs in the first and most beautiful centuries of the Church. Some have proposed to limit this choice, or to make it fall only on the curés of the diocese; but the Holy Spirit blows where it wants, and of all the elections there is nowhere where greater freedom should reign than where virtues and piety have the greatest right to trust. Saint Ambrose was only a layman and he was made bishop of Milan, and so many other examples.” *AP*, 10:234; for the report in general, see: Albert Mathiez, *Rome et le clergé français sous la Constituante: La Constitution civil du Clergé, L’affaire d’Avignon* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1911), 93-100; Pierre de la Gorce, *Histoire religieuse de la Révolution française*, vol.1 (Paris: Plon, 1922), 197-200; Edmond Préclin, *Les Jansénistes du XVIIIe siècle et la Constitution civile du Clergé; Le développement du richérisme, sa propagation dans le Bas Clergé, 1713-1791* (Paris: Librairie Universitaire J. Gamber, 1929), 465; for more on early Gallican practices of ecclesiastical election, see: Robert Jean Knecht, “The Concordat of 1516: A Reassessment,” in *Government in Reformation Europe, 1520-1560*, ed. Henry J Cohn (London: Macmillan, 1971), 91-112; Mack Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 9-13.

submitted on 23 November 1789, the committee recommended that the appointment of bishops be a compromise between royal and episcopal authority and more Gallican-Richerist notions of popular sovereignty, whereby councils of clergy and secular administrators presided over by a bishop would nominate candidates for the king to choose.¹²⁹ Besides the nomination of bishops, the remainder of the reform outlined by Durand de Maillane adhered closely to the direction already charted by the National Assembly: elimination of all benefices without pastoral functions; reorganization of cathedral chapters; selective suppression of the religious orders. However, by February 1790, Durand de Maillane's plan floundered due to the intransigence of the bishops of Clermont and Luçon, as well as a deadlock in the committee.¹³⁰ Frustrated, Treilhard asked the National Assembly to add fifteen more members to the committee.¹³¹ As a result, the newly added members decisively shifted the orientation of the committee more towards the radicals, and thus, the new plan of reform submitted on 21 April 1790 was far more drastic than initially proposed.

By the middle of April 1790, the Second Ecclesiastical Committee unveiled its long-awaited report on the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Drafting of the report was entrusted to the lawyer Louis-Simon Martineau (1733-1799), while parallel reports on salaries, and foundations and patronage were entrusted to the abbé Jean-Joseph Expilly (1719-1793) and Durand de

¹²⁹ For the report of Durand de Maillane, see: *AP*, 10:230-246.

¹³⁰ The transcript for 4 February remains incomplete in the *Archives Parlementaires* and the *Moniteur*; Pierre-Toussaint Durand de Maillane, *Histoire apologétique du Comité Ecclésiastique de l'Assemblée Nationale* (Paris: 1791), 26-33. Durand de Maillane blamed the opposition of the bishops of Clermont and Luçon on their anger over the 2 November 1789 vote on the seizure of church lands; for more on the opposition to the first report, see: Abbé E. Lavaquery, *Le Cardinal de Boisgelin, 1732-1804*, vol. 2 *La Révolution, l'exil, le Concordat* (Paris: Plon, 1920), 58-59; Aston, *The End of an Elite*, 222-223; Mathiez, *Rome et le Clergé français*, 93-100.

¹³¹ Tissot-Dupont, "Le comité ecclésiastique de l'Assemblée nationale constituante, 429. The members added to the committee on 7 February 1790 were: François Louis Le Grand de Boisandry; dom Pierre-Jean Le Breton; Charles-Antoine Chasset; Jacques Defermon; Achille Pierre Dionis du Séjour; Dupont de Nemours; abbé Expilly; abbé Jean-Gaspard Gassendi; dom Gerle; Louis-Marie Guillaume; Benjamin-Léonor-Louis Frotier, marquis de La Coste-Messelière; Jean-Louis Lapoule; Jean-Baptiste Massieu, curé of Cergy; abbé Montesquiou; abbé Anne-Alexandre-Marie Thibault, curé of Souppes.

Maillane respectively.¹³² The Civil Constitution of the Clergy put forward by Martineau on 21 April 1790 represented a synthesis of eighteenth-century Gallican ideas about the Church with Enlightenment ideals of the *bon curé*. The Second Ecclesiastical Committee believed that the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was a continuation of the Revolution's constitutional reforms. Martineau noted this idea in his report when he observed that that "the work with which you have tasked your ecclesiastical committee is not the least important part of the constitution that you owe to the French empire."¹³³ In his *Histoire apologétique du comité ecclésiastique de l'Assemblée nationale* (1791), Durand de Maillane similarly remarked on the connection between the abolition of feudalism, the fixing of the French constitution and the drafting of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.¹³⁴ Not only was the Civil Constitution of the Clergy to be a continuation of revolutionary constitutional reform, it also constituted a decisive moment when the Revolution would correct all abuses, regenerate the clergy, and return it to its primitive discipline. As Martineau declared in the report, the "plan of regeneration" of the church would "consist only in returning to the discipline of the primitive church."¹³⁵ Durand de Maillane similarly emphasized that the purpose of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was not to "reform the religion that it reveres," but instead subject its ministers "to the first rules of the church and to the choice of peoples...."¹³⁶ In other words, the Civil Constitution of the Clergy would regenerate all that was external in the church. As Martineau affirmed that Catholic religion "cannot experience any change nor alteration in the rules of its faith and of its morals. What it teaches today, it has always taught since its birth, and it will teach until the end of time. We have for guarantee the solemn promise of its divine teacher. If it calls for the

¹³² For abbé Expilly's report on salaries, see: *AP*, 15:597-603; for the report of Durand de Maillane on foundations and patronage, see: *AP*, 15:603-609. These reports were not delivered until 20 May 1790.

¹³³ *AP*, 13:167.

¹³⁴ Durand de Maillane, *Histoire apologétique du Comité Ecclésiastique*, 46-48.

¹³⁵ *AP*, 13:167.

¹³⁶ Durand de Maillane, *Histoire apologétique du Comité Ecclésiastique*, 49.

reforming hand of the legislator, it can only be in its external discipline.”¹³⁷ As the Martineau report would demonstrate, what revolutionaries understood by “external discipline” implied wide range of ideas concerning papal authority, elections, the utility of its offices and even its territory.

Martineau and the Ecclesiastical Committee also believed that the regeneration of the clergy would inevitably lead to the regeneration of the nation. According to the report, *moeurs* formed the “first link of societies” and the “firm support of public tranquility.”¹³⁸ In eighteenth-century political and social thought, *moeurs* referred to the norms of individual conduct and socially acceptable behavior.¹³⁹ Because *moeurs* were considered to be deeply ingrained into the life of a nation, eighteenth-century writers believed that they were difficult to repair when corrupted. The Martineau report acknowledged this difficulty, by recognizing that legislators, censors, and magistrates were limited in their ability to create laws to control the passions of the nation. As a result, if the Revolution wished to regenerate the *moeurs* of the nation, it first needed to regenerate religion: “Of all those who, in ancient or modern times, took on the difficult task of civilizing nations, or possibly the more difficult task of regenerating civilized nations, there is not one who does not found its institutions on the sacred basis of religion, on the faith of a supreme being, sovereign dispenser of good and evil, avenger of crime and remunerator of virtue.”¹⁴⁰ It was through religion that the “eternal precepts of order, good faith, justice, humanity” are imprinted in

¹³⁷ AP, 13:167.

¹³⁸ AP, 13:166; for more on the concept of *moeurs* during the Enlightenment, see: Arthur M. Wilson, “The Concept of *Moeurs* in Diderot’s Social and Political Thought,” in *The Age of Enlightenment: Studies Presented to Theodore Besterman*, ed. W. H. Barber et al (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1967), 188-199; Roberto Romani, “All Montesquieu’s Sons: The Place of *Esprit Général*, *Caractère National*, and *Moeurs* in French Political Philosophy, 1748-1789,” in *National Character and Public Spirit in Britain and France, 1750-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 19-62; for a discussion of François-Vincent Toussaint’s *Les Moeurs*, see: Marisa Linton, *The Politics of Virtue in Enlightenment France* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 57-61.

¹³⁹ Duclos would remark: “Moeurs, more than the laws, make and characterize a nation.” Translation of the original French quoted in: Wilson, “The Concept of *Moeurs* in Diderot’s Social and Political Thought,” 188.

¹⁴⁰ AP, 13:167.

the hearts of men.¹⁴¹ However, in order to reverse the degeneration of religious institutions and *moeurs*, it was necessary to return the church to its primitive purity. This emphasis on the pristine *moeurs* of the early church not only reflected earlier Gallican ideals about church governance and collegiality, but also the belief of writers like Rousseau and the abbé Raynal that laws and religion needed to conform to the natural purity and innocence of early societies. The Martineau report likewise stressed this need for natural simplicity: “Nearly all of the abuses born of what one distances oneself from the spirit of the first institutions; and often to dry up the source, it suffices to bring things back to the point from where they have descended.”¹⁴² The report argued that restoring primitive discipline would eliminate abuse and render religion more “useful to men.” Thus, despite the insistence that the proposed reforms would only affect “exterior discipline,” the intended effect imagined by Martineau and the Ecclesiastical Committee would also bring about a transformation of the broader *moeurs* of the regenerated nation as a whole.¹⁴³

The first significant reform put forward by the Martineau report was the controversial recommendation to realign the boundaries of the dioceses with the departments. Under the first section of the report on ecclesiastical offices, Martineau proposed that there only be one bishop in every department, who was to administer all churches within his administration.¹⁴⁴ In the case that there was more than one episcopal within the same departmental boundaries, only the archepiscopal see or the most centrally located see was to be maintained. For example, in the department of the Basses-Pyrénées, the episcopal sees of Bayonne and Lescar were suppressed in

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² *AP*, 13:167.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ *AP*, 13:171; Aulard, *Christianity and the French Revolution*, 61; Mathiez, *Rome et le clergé français sous la Constituante*, 159; Gorce, *Histoire religieuse de la Révolution française*, 1:210; Aston, *Religion and Revolution in France*, 141.

favor of the more centrally located see of Oloron.¹⁴⁵ Therefore, the rationalization and realignment of diocesan boundaries with the political boundaries of the department meant that the total number of episcopal sees within France was to be reduced from 130 to 83. The report likewise specified that within each diocese, parishes were to be established on the basis of population.¹⁴⁶ The move to simplify and rationalize diocesan and parish boundaries reflected the broader debate about political administration within France. Anti-corporate supporters of ministerial reform had long deplored the administrative and jurisdictional chaos of the Ancien Régime and maintained that the political body of the state needed to be simplified in order to increase its efficiency.¹⁴⁷ With the elimination of corporate bodies and orders during the French Revolution, supporters of administrative reform had argued that the administrative boundaries of the kingdom needed to replace the old provincial boundaries of the Ancien Régime. The result of these debates was the creation of the 83 *départements* of comprised of roughly equal territory.¹⁴⁸ Like the reformers before him, Martineau expressed similar contempt for the diocesan disorder: “there is nothing more bizarre than the actual formation of dioceses and parishes” who greatly varied in space and population.¹⁴⁹ For Martineau, ecclesiastical boundaries were not only a matter of inconvenience: their haphazard nature also affected the *moeurs* of the people. Dioceses and parishes that were too

¹⁴⁵ Claude Langlois, Timothy Tackett, Michel Vovelle, *Atlas de la Révolution française*, vol. 9: Religion (Paris: Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1996), 26-30; Alan Forrest, *The Revolution in Provincial France: Aquitaine, 1789-1799* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 164. Forrest had misidentified Lescar as the episcopal see of the diocese of the Basses-Pyrénées. It was Oloron.

¹⁴⁶ *AP*, 13:172.

¹⁴⁷ For example, see: Guillaume François Le Trosne, *De l'administration provinciale, et de la réforme de l'impôt* (Basil: 1779), v-x, 315-328; for a contemporary consideration on the balance of corporate interests within the kingdom, see: René-Louis de Voyer, marquis d'Argenson, *Considérations sur le gouvernement ancien et présent de la France* (Amsterdam: 1764), 13-35; for a study of the ministerial discourse of reason, see: Keith Michael Baker, “French Political Thought at the Accession of Louis XVI,” in *Inventing the French Revolution: Essays on French Political Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 109-127.

¹⁴⁸ Mona Ozouf, “Département,” in *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, ed. François Furet and Mona Ozouf, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 494-503; De Baecque, *The Body Politic*, 106-121; Rosanvallon, *The Demands of Liberty*, 19-20.

¹⁴⁹ *AP*, 13:169; for more on the problems of diocesan borders, see: John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 177-198.

great in extent tended to exacerbate the clergy's ability to minister to their parishioners, while those that were too small underworked the clergy who would become apathetic to the needs of their parishioners.¹⁵⁰ The solution therefore was to model ecclesiastical administration on that of its secular counterparts. Thus, like the new departmental and municipal regimes of the revolution, regeneration would reconstruct the church as another administrative branch of the government.

The second major reform proposed by the Martineau report was the simplification of the ecclesiastical offices. In order to regenerate the church, Martineau and the Ecclesiastical Committee urged the National Constituent Assembly to eliminate all ecclesiastical offices that were of no obvious public utility to religious worship: "[B]ut it is contrary to all reason to establish or conserve the useless. Their sole existence is an intolerable abuse, and the overthrow of all order and justice. No one should live from the altar, except those who serve the altar; no one must subsist at the expense of the public, except those who serve the public."¹⁵¹ Essentially, reformers came to redefine the clergy solely in terms of utility, understood to be pastoral care and the dispensing of the sacraments.¹⁵² Consequently, revolutionaries wanted to reduce ecclesiastical personnel to only bishops, curés, and vicars. All other "nonessential" offices were to be eliminated, such as canons, deans, prebends, chaplains and other minor clergymen.¹⁵³ In addition, the Ecclesiastical Committee recommended modifying the duties and responsibilities of the clergy. Bishops were to be the immediate pastor of cathedral churches. Moreover, cathedral chapters, or councils composed of canons, were to be transformed into consultive assemblies of vicars to aid the bishop in the governance of the diocese. Ultimately, the Ecclesiastical Committee envisioned a new

¹⁵⁰ *AP*, 13:169-170.

¹⁵¹ *AP*, 13:168.

¹⁵² Timothy Tackett, *Religion, Revolution and Regional Culture in Eighteenth-Century France: The Ecclesiastical Oath of 1791* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 227-228.

¹⁵³ Gorce, *Histoire religieuse de la Révolution française*, 1:209-210; Furet, "Civil Constitution of the Clergy," in *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, ed. François Furet and Mona Ozouf, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 452; Aston, *Religion and Revolution in France*, 141.

professional diocesan administration modeled on secular practices and the primitive church. For Martineau, the reforms sought to restore what they believed was the original collegial spirit of ecclesiastical administration: “Therefore, the bishop and his clergy will truly be what they must be, and what they were in the first institution; a pastoral college, whose bishop will be the leader; a single body, animated with the same spirit, directed by all the same principles....”¹⁵⁴ Seminaries too were to be located near the cathedral parishes of the dioceses to better instruct the clergy. In turn, this same principal was extended to the parish, where curés were to collaborate with their vicars in order to better fulfill their duties. Thus, the simplification and reorganization of ecclesiastical offices fundamentally reshaped the clergy into professional officers of the state, whose duties were to ensure the regeneration of *moeurs*.

The third major reform recommended by Martineau and the Ecclesiastical Committee was the election of bishops and priests. Much like their secular counterparts, the Ecclesiastical Committee believed that religious officers needed to be elected by the people: “But if bishops, curés and other ministers of religion are established only for the people, to whom is it more suitable to choose them than the people? The discipline of the primitive Church did not know no other form for providing ecclesiastical offices.”¹⁵⁵ Thus, by emphasizing the public role of religious officers, reformers enshrined the concept of popular sovereignty within the ecclesiology of the regenerated church. Justification for such a formulation was firmly tied to the notion of public utility: “the pastor is established for the utility of the flock, not the flock for the utility of the pastor.”¹⁵⁶ To further bolster these claims, Martineau cited the example of the apostles calling an assembly of the faithful to choose a replacement for Judas. Elections of bishops and the clergy were to mirror those

¹⁵⁴ *AP*, 13:169.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 13:170.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

of departmental and district authorities. Voting occurred in two tiers: first, active citizens would gather in cantons to choose electors; then, electors would in turn gather in electoral assemblies to nominate the episcopal candidate.¹⁵⁷ The bishop-elect would then in turn be subject to confirmation from both the king and the metropolitan bishop. The election of a parish priest followed a similar pattern, but at the district level and only involving a confirmation process led by the bishop.¹⁵⁸ The proposal of the Second Ecclesiastical Committee represented a significant departure from the initial process imagined by the Maillane report by calling for clerical elections by the laity. One problem that would emerge would be the question of whether or not non-Catholics would be able to participate in the primary and electoral assemblies. Martineau and the Ecclesiastical Committee would try to sidestep the issue by specifying that all elections had to take place on Sunday, following mass. Regardless, the new proposed electoral arrangements reflected the tension between the National Constituent Assembly's refusal to formally declare Catholicism the state religion and the transformation of the Catholic Church into a republican state institution.

The final reform was the complete renunciation of any papal participation within the discipline of the church. This manifested in two provisions detailed in the Martineau report. In redrawing the diocesan maps of the Gallican Church, the Ecclesiastical Committee was adamant in reserving the sovereignty of diocesan governance to only institutional bodies of the nation: "No

¹⁵⁷ *AP*, 13:172-173; for a detailed discussion of episcopal elections, see: Malcom Crook, "Citizen Bishops: Episcopal Elections in the French Revolution," *The Historical Journal* 43, No. 4 (2000): 955-976; Jacques Bernet, "L'élection de l'évêque et des curés constitutionnels dans l'Oise sous la Révolution (1791-1793)," *Revue du Nord* 80, No. 326-327 (1998): 637-642; for more on elections, see: Isser Woloch, *The New Regime: Transformations of the French Civic Order, 1789-1820s* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1994), 60-73; Patrice Gueniffey "Revolutionary Democracy and the Elections," in *The French Revolution and the Meaning of Citizenship*, ed. Renée Waldinger, Philip Dawson, and Isser Woloch (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1993), 89-103; Patrice Gueniffey, *Le nombre et la raison: La Révolution française et les élections* (Paris: Éditions de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1993); for more on the difference between active and passive citizenship, see: William Sewell, "Le citoyen / la citoyenne: Activity, Passivity, and the Revolutionary Concept of Citizenship," in *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture*, ed. Colin Lucas, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 105-123.

¹⁵⁸ In general, there is not as much scholarship on the election of curés as there is for bishops. See: Bernet, "L'élection de l'évêque et des curés constitutionnels dans l'Oise sous la Révolution," 642-648.

church or parish of the French Empire, no citizen may in no case, for whatever grounds or under any pretext whatsoever, turn to a bishop or metropolitan, whose seat would be established under the name of a foreign power, nor to their delegates, residing in France or elsewhere.”¹⁵⁹ Thus, drawing from Gallican ecclesiology, reformers simultaneously rejected the partnership between the monarchy and papacy long-established in the previous concordats and agreements, by forcefully asserting the independent sovereignty of the French national church.¹⁶⁰ The Martineau report further eliminated the elected bishops from seeking confirmation of their elections from the papacy.¹⁶¹ Instead they were to only write to the Pope as “visible head of the Universal Church, and in testimony of the unity of faith and communion that he is in resolution of maintaining with him.”¹⁶² All decisions regarding the confirmation of bishops within the new revolutionary regime were to remain only with the representatives of the nation: the king and the newly established metropolitan bishops. Even the consecration of bishops was to be entrusted to the metropolitans. Martineau concluded that in restoring the ancient discipline of the primitive church, the Ecclesiastical Committee was preserving the freedoms that belonged to the Gallican Church for so long: “... [T]he nation could never be stripped of the right to choose those who must speak to God in its name, who must speak to it in the name of God, to teach and console it. The people cannot be forced to give its confidence to those who they have not chosen, to those who are sent to them by a hand that is sometimes suspect, sometimes an enemy.”¹⁶³ Therefore the reconfiguration of diocesan borders, reorganization of the clergy, implementation of clerical

¹⁵⁹ *AP*, 13:171.

¹⁶⁰ Aulard, *Christianity and the French Revolution*, 58-63; Gorce, *Histoire religieuse de la Révolution française*, 1:211-215; Préclin, *Les Jansénistes du XVIII^e siècle et la Constitution civile du Clergé*, 470-473; Tackett, *Religion, Revolution, and Regional Culture in Eighteenth-Century France*, 68; Furet, “Civil Constitution of the Clergy,” 452-453; Aston, *Religion and Revolution in France*, 141-146.

¹⁶¹ *AP*, 13:173.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 13:171.

elections, and the assertion of Gallican independence were all part of a larger attempt to regenerate and reconstruct the French church according to the principles of popular sovereignty.

Overall, only a small group of deputies of the National Constituent Assembly played a significant role in the debate over the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.¹⁶⁴ There were three major groups of deputies who participated in the discussion of the various proposals of the Martineau report. First, there was a group of Jansenists and staunch Gallicans who supported reform measures.¹⁶⁵ Those like the curés Jacques Jallet; the canonists Durand de Maillane, Armond-Gaston Camus (1740-1804), Jean Denis, comte Lanjuinais (1753-1827); Normand magistrates Guillaume François Charles Goupil de Préfeln (1727-1801) and Emmanuel Marie Michel Philippe Fréteau de Saint-Just (1745-1794); and the lawyers Martineau and Treilhard all defended different provisions of the Civil Constitution. The Jansenists were not a homogenous group and others like the abbé Claude Jacquemart (1739-1796) opposed certain provisions, like those regarding ecclesiastical elections. The second major group included the members of the clergy opposed to the reforms. Leading the opposition was the more moderate Jean de Dieu-Raymond de Cucé de Boisgelin, the archbishop of Aix.¹⁶⁶ He was joined by other clerical members of the Capuchin faction, like the abbé Guillaume-Gabriel Leclerc (1743-1832) and the abbé Jean-Claude-Elisabeth Goullard, curé of Roanne (1744-1825). Finally, there were other non-clerical speakers like

¹⁶⁴ Tackett, *Becoming a Revolutionary*, 288-292; Préclin, *Les Jansénistes du XVIIIe siècle et la Constitution civile du Clergé*, 473-480; Yann Fauchois, "Les Jansénistes et la Constitution civile du clergé," in *Jansénisme et Révolution*, ed. Catherine Maire (Paris: Bibliothèque Mazarine, 1990), 195-207.

¹⁶⁵ Préclin, *Les Jansénistes du XVIIIe siècle et la Constitution civile du Clergé*, 463-464. Historians still disagree over which members of the Constituent Assembly were Jansenists. Préclin adopted a narrow definition, identifying only Grégoire, Saurine, Camus, Lanjuinais and possibly Martineau as Jansenists; Van Kley, *Religious Origins of the French Revolution*, 351-360. In contrast, Dale Van Kley used a more expansive definition based on broader discursive features characteristic of eighteenth-century Jansenist discourse. As a result, deputies like Jallet, abbé Jean-Louis Gouttes, Claude Jacquemart, Fréteau de Saint-Just, and Goupil de Préfeln; see also, Fauchois, "Les Jansénistes et la Constitution civile du clergé," 200-201; Tackett and J. Du Breuil de Saint-Germain estimated that there were thirty to forty Jansenist deputies, including also Durand de Maillane, Treilhard, and Charles-François Bouche. Tackett, *Becoming a Revolutionary*, 66-67; J. Du Breuil de Saint-Germain, "Les Jansénistes à la Constituante," *Revue des études historiques* 79 (1913): 163-76.

¹⁶⁶ Tackett, *Becoming a Revolutionary*, 290.

Robespierre, Le Chapelier and Barnave who intervened to support the reforms pushed by the Jansensist deputies. As a result of this divide between Jansenists and conservative clergy, there arose a perception that the Civil Constitution was largely the work of Jansenists working on the Ecclesiastical Committee. Durand de Maillane tried to dispel such fears by insisting that the committee “only had in view only the good of religion, in correcting the abuses of its ministers and reestablishing the old and pure discipline of the church, without altering in any way, neither the morals of the Gospel nor the Catholic, Apostolic and Romain faith.”¹⁶⁷ Nevertheless, other deputies like Alexandre, the comte de Lameth would recollect years later that it was only “members of the clergy and the Jansenists who took to the floor to speak” and that “the rest of the assembly was, in a way, only the witness and judge of the fight.”¹⁶⁸ The refusal of the bishop of Clermont and other prelates to participate further heightened the dichotomy that pitted Jansenists against non-Jansenist clergy.¹⁶⁹ Also conspicuously absent from the debate were many other prominent orators, like Mirabeau, Lameth, Malouet and Maury.¹⁷⁰ As a result, the debate turned into a dialogue between the Jansensist members of the assembly.

¹⁶⁷ Durand de Maillane, *Histoire apologétique du Comité Ecclésiastique*, 34-35; in contrast, see: abbé Jacques-Julien Bonnaud, *Découverte importante sur le vrai système de la constitution du clergé* (Paris: 1791).

¹⁶⁸ Alexandre-Théodore-Victore, comte de Lameth, *Histoire de l'Assemblée constituante*, vol. 2 (Paris: 1829), 391.

¹⁶⁹ For example, see the bishop of Clermont's announcements on 2 and 9 June 1790. *AP*, 16:45, 154; The comte de Lameth likewise attested to this opposition: “At the moment when the president just put to vote the second article relative to the administrative district of the dioceses, the bishop of Clermont stood up, and protested, in the name of the clergy, against the deliberation that the assembly took part, and on a point that he said touched the most sacred interests of religion. The prelates and ecclesiastics who sat on the right side [of the assembly], adhered to that protestation and left the room in the middle of tumult.” Lameth, *Histoire de l'Assemblée constituante*, 2:398; In a letter dated on 9 June 1790, the deputy Michel-René Maupetit similarly noted the relative silence of the Capuchin faction in the Assembly: “There is no longer anything to fear from the counter-revolution, the opposition party is quiet today and no longer says a word. It hoped that the opposing party, left to itself, having no more parties to fight and no opportunity to rally to the party line, would divide. But it will be mistaken in this hope and one appears decided to move forward as much as possible, to attempt to finish the Constitution in the next two months in order to leave the following legislature the engine to steer.” Michel-René Maupetit, “Lettres de Michel-René Maupetit, député à l'Assemblée nationale constituante, 1789-1791,” ed. E Queruau-Lamerie in *Bulletin de la Commission historique et archéologique de la Mayenne* 21 (1905): 108; see also, Tackett, *Becoming a Revolutionary*, 290.

¹⁷⁰ Tackett, *Becoming a Revolutionary*, 291.

Critics of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy argued that the National Constituent Assembly did not have the authority to reform the Gallican Church. While acknowledging the need to reform abuses in the Church, the archbishop of Aix maintained that legislators could not intervene in ecclesiastical governance: “Without doubt, it is necessary to reform abuse; but it is not the rules and institutions of the Church which are the abuses, and which need to be reformed. Legislators can recall them when they are forgotten and not destroy them....”¹⁷¹ Like the *dévo*t discourse of the mid-eighteenth century, opponents of ecclesiastical reform decried the state’s attempt to overstep the boundary between temporal and spiritual powers.¹⁷² For the *dév*ots, civil authorities only had jurisdiction over the exterior discipline and ensured the peaceful practice of religious worship, while ecclesiastical authorities only had jurisdiction over purely spiritual matters like instruction, administration of the sacraments and governance of the church.¹⁷³ Moreover as coequal jurisdictions, the power of one could not destroy the power of the other.¹⁷⁴ Instead, the civil and ecclesiastical authorities needed to cooperate and respect each other’s jurisdiction.¹⁷⁵ Therefore in opposing the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, Boisgelin argued that the National Constituent Assembly risked destroying ecclesiastical authority by not consulting with the Catholic Church in devising a plan of reform. He accused the proposal of desiring simply to render the episcopacy powerless within the Gallican Church: “It is with pain and regret that we have considered, in all of the provisions of the decree proposed, the single and dominant desire to remove all these powers from episcopal jurisdiction.”¹⁷⁶ Boisgelin and other deputies opposed to

¹⁷¹ *AP*, 15:728; abbé Leclerc made a similar point about the National Assembly’s competence. *AP*, 16:2; abbé Goullard limited reform to apostolic authority alone. *AP*, 16:11.

¹⁷² *AP*, 15:726; Van Kley, *Religious Origins of the French Revolution*, 218-234.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 15:724-725.

¹⁷⁴ Boisgelin noted: “You cannot destroy, by your only power, a part of the powers, of the jurisdiction and territory of a foreign or national metropolitan.” *Ibid.*, 15:726.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 15:726.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 15:729.

the measures pleaded that there needed to be a provincial or national council to consider these reforms.

Proponents of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy rejected the arguments of the opposition by insisting the National Constituent Assembly did in fact have the power to impose ecclesiastical reform. In contrast to the *dévot* discourse of the opposition, the Jansenist defenders did not simply reuse the older patriot discourse of eighteenth-century judicial Jansenism.¹⁷⁷ While mid-century patriot discourse emphasized a critique of absolutism and the right of the parlements to intervene in ecclesiastical discipline, the Jansenist deputies of the National Constituent Assembly went further to argue that the entire apparatus of the Catholic Church was essentially civil in origin and thus subject to modification by civil authorities. The Jansenist lawyer Treilhard differentiated between temporal and spiritual authority by arguing that temporal authority was charged with maintaining peace and harmony in society and promoted the happiness in the present life, while spiritual authority concerned instruction and the administration of the sacraments in pursuant of the salvation of the faithful in the afterlife.¹⁷⁸ For Treilhard, the boundaries of the Church were merely based on the divisions of the Roman Empire and even offices such as bishop were modeled on older Roman administrative posts.¹⁷⁹ Secular deputies like Robespierre likewise supported Jansenist arguments by arguing that the clergy were magistrates charged with public service.¹⁸⁰ Even the abbé Gouttes observed that the Pope gained preeminence over other patriarchs simply because Rome was the capital of the Roman Empire.¹⁸¹ Some supporters of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy like Camus did disagree with these arguments by emphasizing the divine origin of

¹⁷⁷ Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution*, 210-218.

¹⁷⁸ *AP*, 15:746.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 15:747.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 16:3.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 16:17.

elections, but they all nevertheless agreed that the state had a right to intervene in matters of religious discipline. During his speech of 31 May 1790, Camus made his most controversial declaration: “Why would the Church, which is in the State, oppose a provision which is made by the State? Is it not a certain truth that a nation has the power to admit this or that religion into its midst? It abuses its power, if it refuses to receive the true religion, if it admits a false one: but still, such is its power.”¹⁸² He further added: “But for all that is only secondary, the nation is free; it can make its terms and one must adhere to them.”¹⁸³ Camus’s radical assertion of national sovereignty over religious reform not represented a development of revolutionary discourse during the nationalization of church lands and suppression of the monasteries, it also combined notions of popular sovereignty with the language of religious reform.

Arguments used by supporters of the Civil Constitution of Clergy were also notable for their use of explicitly utilitarian language. For Jansenists like Treilhard, the existence of institutions with no discernable utility was one visible sign of corruption of religious institutions.¹⁸⁴ In his speech, Treilhard opened by depicting the Church as in a state of disrepair and idleness:

Establishments without object and without utility, dioceses and parishes of an excessive extent, or of an extreme smallness, favors paid without discernment and without choice, lazy men largely salaried, useful men neglected and in indigence; such is the tableau offered to you by the organization of the clergy; such are the evils which the nation has already received or expects from you the remedy.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸² *AP*, 16:6; there are variants to this wording. The speech recorded in the *Archives Parlementaires* follows the speech printed by the National Constituent Assembly. See: Armand-Gaston Camus, *Opinion de M. Camus, Dans la Séance du 31 Mai 1790, Sur le Plan de Constitution du clergé, Proposé par le Comité Ecclésiastique* (Paris: 1790), 12; The *Moniteur* recorded an alternative version that has been more widely cited by historians: “The Church is in the State, the State is not in the Church. Ministers of the Church appear in an empire; they say: We must have dioceses in the main cities, parishes in the village centers. The civil power says to them: Here are the cities, place bishops there; here are the village centers, place curés there. What do we do? We are a national convention; we assuredly have the power to change religion: but we will not do it; we could not abandon it without crime.” *Moniteur*, vol. 4, no. 153, 515.

¹⁸³ *AP*, 16:7.

¹⁸⁴ *AP*, 15:744.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

Thus, the nation was called to reform clerical abuse by making the Gallican Church useful again. For Treilhard, the “sumptuous buildings” of simple benefices not exercising any pastoral care embodied the decadence that the Gallican Church found itself in. According to Jansenists like Treilhard or secular revolutionaries like Robespierre, the early Christians had established their ministries in order to be more useful.¹⁸⁶ Supporters of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy defined the public utility of religious ministers as only administering of the sacraments, instruction, and pastoral care.¹⁸⁷ As a result, many of the reforms were designed to make the clergy more useful. Robespierre wanted to get rid of archbishops and cardinals since they were useless.¹⁸⁸ Camus believed that elections of bishops and priests would open the position to talent.¹⁸⁹ Boislandry opined that the suppression of ecclesiastical sees would encourage cities and towns to turn to industry and manufacturing, thus generating wealth and happiness that was not possible under ecclesiastical establishments.¹⁹⁰ Therefore along with popular sovereignty, supporters of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy also incorporated Enlightenment notions of utility and *bienfaisance* characteristic of the mid-eighteenth century.

Another characteristic feature of the debates over the Civil Constitution of the Clergy were the divergent views each side held of regeneration. Both sides of the debate agreed that religion was essential to the formation of virtue and *moeurs*.¹⁹¹ However, they sharply disagreed over the moral capacity of the people to make enlightened decisions regarding church governance. *Dévo*t opponents of ecclesiastical reform believed that abuses existed in the church only because of moral

¹⁸⁶ For Treilhard, see: *AP*, 15:747; for Robespierre, see: *AP*, 16:3.

¹⁸⁷ *AP*, 15:746.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 16:3.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 16:8.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 17:715.

¹⁹¹ For example, see Boisgelin’s speech: *AP*, 15:724; see also, Martineau’s report, *AP*, 13:167; see also, Robespierre’s speech: *AP*, 16:156.

depravity of society.¹⁹² Rather than imposing elections on the clergy, the church relied on the immutable cornerstone of hierarchy in order to maintain discipline and morality.¹⁹³ Without hierarchy, the church risked falling into spiritual anarchy. Boisgelin warned: “the entire order, established by the apostles, by the councils and by the unanimous customs of all churches experiences an entire and fatal revolution.”¹⁹⁴ If revolutionaries wanted to reform morality, the abbé Leclerc recommended that the legislators instead turn their attention to reforming debauchery and prostitution first.¹⁹⁵ In contrast, supporters of ecclesiastical reform embraced a more optimistic vision of regeneration. The revolutionary concept of regeneration was a religious, medical and political project that held that it was possible to reverse the corruption of time through political legislation. Jansenists and other secular deputies believed that the French government had corrupted all classes, including the clergy.¹⁹⁶ Only through the elimination of privileges would achieve this goal. Treilhard ended his speech in support of the reform by declaring in miraculous terms:

It is then that regeneration will indeed be consummated, that there will no longer really exist privileges and distinctions, that one will find amongst us only French, brothers, that we will have only one heart, one soul, one will; the will to establish public happiness on unshakeable foundations; and this day, which is not far off, I dare to say it, this day will be for all true citizens the most beautiful day of their life.¹⁹⁷

Thus, the project of ecclesiastical reform was more than simply a means of eliminating ecclesiastical abuse. As Martineau’s report and Treilhard’s speech make clear, the true aim was to regenerate the French *moeurs* through the elimination of all privilege. It was also no mistake that

¹⁹² *AP*, 16:11.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 15:730; 16:11.

¹⁹⁴ *AP*, 15:730.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 16:2.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 15:744.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 15:751.

the debate over the Civil Constitution of the Clergy also coincided with the National Constituent Assembly's abolition of nobility.¹⁹⁸

Continued disagreement over regeneration and *moeurs* also played a role in the Jansensist abbé Jacquemart's challenge to ecclesiastical elections. For the abbé Jacquemart, the Ecclesiastical Committee's utopian project to restore the primitive discipline of the church was misguided, as well as anachronistic. He argued that the National Assembly needed to accept the loss of the virtues of the first church: "Another time, different *moeurs*. Let us not be led astray by the chimera of perfections; let us regret, in all bitterness of our heart, the times and apostolic virtues; but let us not flatter ourselves to see them incessantly reborn amidst us."¹⁹⁹ Like previous *dévo*t speakers, abbé Jacquemart remained pessimistic about the moral progress of society. He asked, "Do we have fewer vices or more virtues than one had then? Ah! Without a doubt we are more enlightened; but does our enlightenment make us better?... We are more decent, but by that very fact we are possibly only more corrupt; we are less superstitious, but also less religious."²⁰⁰ For the abbé Jacquemart, the Enlightenment did not make society better; it only made it more morally debased. It was for this very reason that the Jansensist deputy opposed the lay elections of the clergy: "Yet, this new order of things, Gentlemen, do you believe that your committee grasped it well, in entrusting to the electors of the departments, a choice which must have much influence over *moeurs* of a nation that you propose to regenerate?"²⁰¹ In other words, the National Assembly was making a mistake by entrusting the election of officers responsible for the formation of *moeurs* with a people that were corrupt. Instead, the *abbé* Jacquemart proposed that bishops and priests should be elected in

¹⁹⁸ Tackett, *Becoming a Revolutionary*, 292-296.

¹⁹⁹ *AP*, 16:154.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

a synod of the clergy, with the aid of the departmental or district authorities.²⁰² Not only would it prevent electors by being manipulated by those of higher social status, a synod of the clergy would also ensure that only those capable of judging the qualities of a bishop or priest would be able to make the decision. Thus, *abbé* Jacquemart's opposition over clerical elections represented a more profound skepticism about regeneration and the *moeurs* of the people.

The strongest response came from the secular supporters of the reform, who used anticorporatist arguments to rebut the *abbé* Jacquemart's proposal for a synod and effectively ended the debate over the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Although the *abbé* Jacquemart succeeded in convincing Martineau to side with his proposal, it was the decisive intervention of Robespierre, Le Chapelier, Gaultier de Biauzat and Barnave that halted his momentum.²⁰³ First, Robespierre argued that the people had a right to elect their own public magistrates, especially the bishops.²⁰⁴ He then countered the *abbé* Jacquemart's moral pessimism by noting that if there was corruption, no one would be excluded from its influence, including the clergy. For Robespierre, only the people were morally good, since their decisions were the expression of the General Will:

It is that morality, which disappeared in most individuals, is found again only in the mass of the people and in the general interest; now, the opinion of the people, the wish of the people, express the general interest: the wish of a corps expresses the interest of the corps, the particular spirit of the corps: and the wish of the clergy will eternally express the spirit and interest of the clergy.²⁰⁵

In contrast to popular sovereignty and the moral goodness of the people, Robespierre opposed the particular interest of the clergy. He declared that instituting a synod to elect to elect bishops would violate any notion of popular sovereignty enshrined in the constitution and would ultimately

²⁰² For Jacquemart's proposal of a synod for bishops, see: *AP*, 16:155; for his proposal regarding parish priests, see: *AP*, 16:222.

²⁰³ Van Kley, *Religious Origins of the French Revolution*, 361.

²⁰⁴ *AP*, 16:156.

²⁰⁵ *AP*, 16:156.

reconstitute the clergy as a particularistic corporation. He cautioned that the proposal would “give to the clergy a particular political influence; it is to reconstitute it as an isolated body; that it is to reopen the first door to abuse which have resulted and which can still be revived from this great abuse.”²⁰⁶ Like with the suppression of monastic vows, Robespierre raised the specter of a ecclesiastical corporation. Other speakers like Le Chapelier rushed to Robespierre’s aid, warning the assembly that it would reestablish a corporation equal to the one that it had just destroyed.²⁰⁷ Gaultier de Biazat raised similar concerns, adding that the clergy would also accumulate two powers.²⁰⁸ Finally Barnave emphasized that adopting abbé Jacquemart’s proposal would amount to a conflict of interest by entrusting the clergy with the clergy: “Nothing is more contradictory to the principles of a good Constitution, than to give a particular body the faculty of regenerating itself by itself.”²⁰⁹ Thus through anticorporatist and democratic arguments, secular supporters of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy foreclosed all possibility that the clergy could exist as an independent body and put an end to the debate over ecclesiastical reform.

On 12 July 1790, the National Constituent Assembly voted to adopt the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.²¹⁰ Although the debate opened on 29 May 1790, it was the defeat of abbé Jacquemart’s proposal on 9 June 1790 marked an end to any serious debate over the legitimacy of the ecclesiastical legislation. From 10 June until 8 July 1790, deputies of the assembly mainly discussed the particular wording of the legislation’s articles, but for the most part, adhered to the provisions laid out in the Martineau report.²¹¹ Thus, with the final vote in July, the National

²⁰⁶ *AP*, 16:156.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 16:157.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

²¹⁰ For the final text of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, see: *AP*, 17:55-60.

²¹¹ The National Constituent Assembly discussed the *abbé* Expilly’s decree on the payment of the present clergy between 22 June and 30 June 1790. For more see, *AP*, 16:407-413, 439-444, 445-447, 451-453, 472-473, 532-535, 565-568, 577-579; between 1 July and 2 July it took up Durand de Maillane’s decree on lay foundations and patronage. For more see, *AP*, 16:588-598, 600-601, 615-616; the final part of ecclesiastical reform discussed was

Constituent Assembly completed its overall of the Gallican Church. Over the course of a year, the revolutionaries abolished the tithe, nationalized ecclesiastical property, granted religious toleration, suppressed most religious orders (excepting only the orders of women religious), redrew the diocesan and parish borders, rationalized church hierarchy, transformed the clergy into salaried agents of the state and instituted elections for all bishops and priests. All along the way, arguments originally put forth by a diverse group of Jansensists, Richerists, radical Gallicans, and secular philosophes were combined with revolutionary concepts of popular sovereignty and anticorporate discourse to radically transform the Gallican Church. Effectively, the revolutionaries nationalized the Gallican Church.

It was at this final moment that the septuagenarian Jansenist Maultrot reentered the narrative one last time to deliver a blistering condemnation of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.²¹² Maultrot watched with dismay as the National Constituent Assembly voted to suppress religious orders, redrew diocesan maps, rationalized church hierarchy, and instituted clerical elections for bishops and priests. In a series public letters addressed to his collaborator, abbé Henri Jabineau (1724-1792), Maultrot excoriated the National Assembly's revolutionary religious reform and lambasted its Jansenist figureheads, particularly Treillhard, Martineau, and Camus.²¹³ When Martineau submitted his report on ecclesiastical reform in April, Maultrot scoffed at the

Boislandry's report on the division of the kingdom into metropolitan arrondissements and the fixing of diocesan sees in each department. Discussion of this decree occurred between 6 and 8 July 1790. For more see, *AP*, 16:714-719, 740-743, 745-746, 752-753; For the final reading of the decrees and vote on 12 July 1790, see: *AP*, 17:50-51.

²¹² Van Kley, *Religious Origins of the French Revolution*, 358-359; Préclin, *Les Jansénistes du XVIIIe siècle et la Constitution civile du Clergé*, 480-492.

²¹³ [Gabriel-Nicolas Maultrot], *Lettre à un ami sur l'opinion de M. Treilhard relativement à l'organisation du Clergé* (Paris: 1790); [Gabriel-Nicolas Maultrot], *Lettre à un ami sur le Rapport fait à l'Assemblée Nationale, au nom du Comité ecclésiastique, par M. Martineau, Député de la ville de Paris, sur la constitution du clergé, imprimé par ordre de l'Assemblée Nationale* (Paris: [1790]); [Gabriel-Nicolas Maultrot], *Seconde lettre à un ami sur le rapport fait à l'Assemblée nationale, au nom du Comité ecclésiastique* (Paris: [1790]); [Gabriel-Nicolas Maultrot], *Lettre de Monsieur M*** à Monsieur J***, Sur un Ecrit intitulé: Opinion de M. Camus dans la séance du 31 Mai 1790, sur le plans de Constitution du Clergé, proposé par le Comité Ecclésiastique* (Paris: 1790); [Gabriel-Nicolas Maultrot], *Seconde lettre de Monsieur M*** à Monsieur J***, Sur un écrit intitulé: Opinion de M. Camus dans la séance du 31 Mai 1790 sur le plan de Constitution du clergé, proposé par le Comité ecclésiastique*. (Paris: [1790]).

idea that the National Assembly could even give a constitution to the Church: “Yet, it is evident to all those who have some idea of Religion, that the Clergy holds its constitution from Jesus Christ and the Church. The National Assembly has no more a right to give a constitution to the Clergy than to the Empire of China.”²¹⁴ Maultrot insisted that there were only two complementary jurisdictions: temporal authority over “bodies” and “sensible properties” and spiritual authority over “souls.”²¹⁵ Putting it in more spatial terms, Maultrot specified that “bishops do not have a right to penetrate into the interior of the Palace, and to confer lay offices. The Emperor has no more a right to penetrate the interior of the Church, to meddle with the elections of the clergy, give consecration, and administer the Sacraments.”²¹⁶ He also along with Mey, Daléas, Meunier, Vanquetin, Maucler, Blonde, Baiard signed a consultation composed by Jabineau condemning the reforms.²¹⁷ In the consultation, Jabineau and his cosigners blamed the maxim, “the Church is in the State,” for providing a dangerous justification for state intervention. Thus, as the critics of the reform noted, spatial confusion inevitably led to a confusion of jurisdictions.

Of all the reforms Maultrot seemed most bothered by was the redrawing of ecclesiastical boundaries and the spatial confusion of jurisdictions that it implied. Much of Maultrot’s *Lettre de Monsieur M*** à Monsieur J**** was spent discussing the relationship between territory, power and the church. He dismissed Camus’s argument that Jesus Christ did not assign specific territory for his Apostles to exercise power over, by arguing that the Apostles in fact did so and questioning Camus’s motives for even making such an argument.²¹⁸ According to Maultrot, Camus needed to prove that diocesan borders conformed to those of the Roman Empire in order to justify state

²¹⁴ [Maultrot], *Lettre à un ami sur le Rapport fait à l’Assemblée Nationale*, 1-2.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 26.

²¹⁷ Henri Jabineau, *Mémoire à consulter et consultation sur la compétence de la Puissance temporelle, relativement à l’érection et suppression des Sièges épiscopaux* (Paris: 1790), 29.

²¹⁸ [Gabriel-Nicolas Maultrot], *Lettre de Monsieur M*** à Monsieur J****, 7-8.

intervention. For Maultrot, power was essentially territorial: “The kingdom of France has a territory contained within certain limits... The French Nation has rights only in that territory, of which it had confided the direction to the King, its representative and its delegate. Outside this territory, the Nation and the King are absolutely without authority.”²¹⁹ Like the French nation, the Church too has its own territory: “What one calls territory is not fields and houses, but the men who live there.”²²⁰ To take away that territory would mean to take away its power: “To claim that [the Church] is without territory is to take away all of its subjects, all those over whom it exercised its ministry. It is therefore to annihilate it.”²²¹ Thus according to Maultrot, territory was power and authority. Furthermore, the power of creating dioceses could also imply the power to invest and dispossess the clergy and exercise spiritual jurisdiction.²²² Hence the disagreement between Camus and Maultrot comes down to a difference in spatial interpretation of jurisdiction. Building off of the ideas that Maultrot himself had contributed to in the 1750s, Camus had come to the conclusion that the Church was *in* the State. Spatial, material, bodily, and corporeal understandings of the Church were not only metaphors; they were also ways in which writers of the eighteenth-century worked out their abstract ideas regarding power, authority and jurisdiction. Believing that the Civil Constitution went too far, Maultrot refused to swear the Ecclesiastical Oath of 1791.

As Maultrot and his colleagues renounced for good the new nationalized religion of the Republic, the revolutionaries meanwhile busily prepared to celebrate the Festival of Federation one day after the vote to adopt the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Throughout France, the commemoration of the festival included the celebration of masses, blessing of flags, singing of *Te*

²¹⁹ [Gabriel-Nicolas Maultrot], *Lettre de Monsieur M*** à Monsieur J****, 69-70.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 71.

²²¹ *Ibid.*

²²² “Thus, what is a Diocese? It is a collection of men who are submitted to a certain Pastor in the order of salvation; who are obliged to listen to him, obey him, receive the Sacraments from his hand, or from that of Pastors instituted by him; who, finally are so subordinate to him, that he has the right to inflict spiritual punishments on them, and to censure them.” [Gabriel-Nicolas Maultrot], *Lettre de Monsieur M*** à Monsieur J****, 86.

Deums, and patriotic sermons.²²³ At the center of the event in Paris was the bishop Talleyrand, who wore vestments of red, white and blue. While Talleyrand conducted mass at the Altar of the Patrie, Louis XVI and Lafayette renewed their constitutional oaths. The Festival of Federation thus marked, according to historian William Doyle, “perhaps the high point of national consensus.”²²⁴ In the months following the Festival, the newly created national revolutionary religion of the Constitutional Church would begin to unravel. Towards the end of 1790, clerical opposition to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy grew, leading to the National Assembly imposing an ecclesiastical oath on all the clergy.²²⁵ By the Spring of 1791, between fifty-two to fifty-five percent of all members of the clergy had sworn the oath.²²⁶ Following further debate and papal condemnation of the religious reform, historian Timothy Tackett observed that “it was precisely over this issue that the Revolution would experience the first great parting of the ways, a major schism within the French Church and the Clergy, but also a great and lasting schism across the political allegiance of the entire population.”²²⁷ France now divided between refractory and constitutional clergy failed to resolve its ultimate goal: provided a regenerated national religion to help secure the revolution.

Section 4: The Constitutional Oath

Despite the exuberance of patriotic fervor following the Festival of Federation, consensus over the Civil Constitution of the Clergy fell apart by the end of the year. On 30 October 1790, thirty bishops led by Boisgelin presented the National Constituent Assembly with an “Exposition des principes,” in which they expressed their discomfort with certain aspects of the Civil

²²³ Aston, *Religion and Revolution in France*, 146-147.

²²⁴ Quoted in Aston, *Religion and Revolution in France*, 146.

²²⁵ Tackett, *Religion, Revolution, and Regional Culture*, 16-26.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 40-43.

²²⁷ Tackett, *Religion, Revolution, and Regional Culture*, 3; Dale Van Kley, “The *Ancien Régime*, Catholic Europe, and the Revolution’s Religious Schism,” in *A Companion to the French Revolution*, ed. Peter McPhee (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, 2013), 123-144.

Constitution of the Clergy and their desire to await the judgment from the pope.²²⁸ Furthermore, the bishops added that “the Church must be represented as the nation” in an general council, reasoning that they wanted “to know the wish of the Church, in order to establish a necessary accord between civil power and ecclesiastical power, and to maintain the peace of mind and public tranquility by their union.”²²⁹ As historian Nigel Aston noted, the “Exposition” was crucial in pushing the parish clergy to carefully consider their response to the revolutionary law. Growing increasingly impatient and suspicious of the opposition, the National Constituent Assembly responded in turn by ordering that all members of the clergy swear an oath of allegiance to the constitution.²³⁰ Any member of clergy who failed to comply risked removal from office. Then after another acrimonious debate over the Civil Constitution of the Clergy on 3 and 4 January 1791, the National Constituent Assembly decreed that the oath be “sworn purely and simply” and prohibited any member of the clergy from giving “explanations, restrictions, or preambles.”²³¹ Thus, by avoiding all ambiguity, the National Constituent Assembly reduced the choice of swearing the oath to either patriotism or counterrevolution. In an attempt to moderate its tone, the National Assembly then issued instructions regarding the civil organization of the clergy by stressing that it not believe it had authority to meddle in spiritual affairs; rather, it insisted that with the coming of the Revolution, “it was necessary to fix [the Church’s] external relations with the political order of the State.”²³² However, by the beginning of 1791, it was too late: the religious dispute already began to shatter the national religious consensus of France.

²²⁸ For the “Exposition des principes sur la Constitution civile du clergé,” see: *AP*, 20:153-165. For more on the response of the clergy, see: Tackett, *Religion, Revolution, and Regional Culture*, 22; Aston, *Religion and Revolution in France, 1780-1804*, 153-155.

²²⁹ *AP*, 20:164.

²³⁰ *AP*, 21:80-81.

²³¹ *AP*, 22:8; Tackett, *Religion, Revolution, and Regional Culture*, 25.

²³² For the “Instruction de l’Assemblée nationale sur l’organisation civile du clergé,” see: *AP*, 22:364-366; the instructions further added: “And you, pastors, reflect if you can, in this instance, about contributing to the tranquility of the people. No articles of faith are in danger. Thus, cease [your] resistance without reason; one can never

The consequence of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and the subsequent clerical oath in the departments was to effectively fracture local communities between those who supported the religious revolution and those who believed the revolution had simply gone too far. The story of the eventual emergence of the Sacerdotal Revolution in the southwestern departments of Landes, Gers, Basses-Pyrénées and Hautes-Pyrénées began with local disputes over the clerical oath. While overall the clergy of southwestern France swore the oath at a much lower rate, the department of the Hautes-Pyrénées stood out for its overwhelming support: clergy of the districts of Tarbes, Argelès, Bagnères, and Vic swore the oath at the rates of 89%, 99%, 93%, and 85%, respectively.²³³ Only members of the clergy from the district of La Barthe, which was newly added to the department after being detached from the former diocese of Comminges, swore an oath at 38%. The historian Jean Castex speculated that these high rates were probably due both to the presence of a Gallican form of Jansenism and the fact that many of the priests came from the social world of the law and business.²³⁴ Outside of the Hautes-Pyrénées, only the clergy of Béarn, a former Protestant enclave and birthplace of Henri IV, swore the oath at a rate of 63%.²³⁵ Besides Béarn and the Bigorre, the clergy swore the oath at exceptionally low levels in the departments of the Basses-Pyrénées, Landes and Gers. In the diocese of Bayonne, only 13% of the curés and 5% of the vicaires swore the oath.²³⁶ In the department of the Landes, 15% of the clergy swore the oath in the district of Saint-Sever, 32% in the district of Mont-de-Marsan, between 39 to 47% in

reproach you about the loss of religion; do not cause your representatives of the nation the pain of seeing you removed from your functions by a law that the enemies of the Revolution had rendered necessary. The public good demands its swift execution, and the National Assembly will be resolute in its resolution to obtain it." See also, Tackett, *Religion, Revolution and Regional Culture*, 26-27.

²³³ Tackett, *Religion, Revolution, and Regional Culture*, 350.

²³⁴ Jean Castex, "La Révolution," in *Le diocèse de Tarbes et Lourdes*, ed. Jean-Baptiste Laffon (Paris: Éditions Letouzey and Ané, 1971), 111-112.

²³⁵ Tackett, *Religion, Revolution, and Regional Culture*, 349.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 349. Rates of the oath are not known for the districts of Mauléon, Orthez, Oloron, or Saint-Palais, mostly likely due to the fires affecting the departmental archives.

the district of Tartas, and 52 to 54% in the district of Dax.²³⁷ Finally in the department of the Gers, 10% of the clergy swore the oath in the district of L'Isle-Jourdain, 18% in Nagaro, 35% in Auch, 47% in Mirande, 48% in Condom.²³⁸ Only in the district of Lectoure did a majority of 64% of the Gersois clergy swear the oath. Thus, the clerical oath effectively polarized society in southwestern France between jurors and non-jurors.²³⁹

The new constitutional clergy, who replaced many of those removed from office due to their non-compliance with the ecclesiastical oath, defended obedience to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy as an act of patriotic devotion, while deriding those refused to take the oath as divisive fanatics. In many of their pastoral letters, *mandements*, and even catechisms, the newly elected constitutional clergy assured their parishioners that the law did not affect the essential dogma of the church. Barthélémy-Jean-Baptiste Sanadon, the constitutional bishop of the Basses-Pyrénées declared: "Faith is not attacked at all. It came to us from God, and it is immutable like him."²⁴⁰ Like many of the deputies during the debate over the Civil Constitution of the Clergy in the National Assembly, the constitutional clergy of southwestern France carefully explained how the provisions of the law only affected the exterior discipline and organization of the Church.²⁴¹ Moreover, some even adopted the territorial and corporeal discourse of the Parisian deputies in their defense of the law. In his catechism for the Constitutional Catholic Church, Jean-Guillaume Molinier, the constitutional bishop of the Hautes-Pyrénées, explained that while the spiritual sphere is defined by the power to preach and administer the sacraments, "the human mission is the

²³⁷ Tackett, *Religion, Revolution, and Regional Culture*, 334.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 328.

²³⁹ Forrest, *The Revolution in Provincial France*, 170-171.

²⁴⁰ Barthélémy Jean Baptiste Sanadon, "Lettre pastorale du 20 mai 1791," in *La Révolution dans les Basses-Pyrénées*, ed. Claude Laharie (Pau: Archives départementales des Pyrénées-Atlantiques, 1989), 160.

²⁴¹ For example, see: abbé Lafargue, "Sermon sur la légitimité du serment constitutionnel," in *La Révolution dans les Basses-Pyrénées*, ed. Claude Laharie (Pau: Archives départementales des Pyrénées-Atlantiques, 1989), 167-168.

right or the current faculty of preaching and administering the Sacraments in such and such place determined. One calls it human because it is men who give it. It is attached to the title, and it is the men who give the title.”²⁴² Again, temporal power is understood in mainly spatial terms: it is the right to preach or administer sacraments in *a specific space*. The effect of the constitutional discourse was to effectively unify the temporal and spiritual spheres, while also subordinating the Constitutional Catholic Church to the nation.²⁴³ In swearing their oaths, the constitutional clerical writers insisted that it was a sacred obligation to follow the law and a sign of patriotism, in contrast to religious fanatics refusing to do so.²⁴⁴

In contrast to the constitutional clergy, other members of the Gallican clergy either tried to qualify their oaths or accuse their replacements of being illegitimate *intrus*. Some priests tried to swear the oath to the Revolution and the nation, while also adding certain reservations in matters relating to the dogma and discipline of the Church. One parish priest of Saint-Jean-de-Luz swore to “be loyal to the nation, to the law and to the king, to uphold with all my power the constitution which has been accepted and ratified by the king, excepting only those parts which depend upon

²⁴² Jean-Guillaume Molinier, *Catéchisme sur la constitution civile du clergé*; par M. Molinier, *Prêtre de la Doctrine Chrétien, Evêque de Tarbes, Département des Hautes Pyrénées* (Paris: 1792), 17-18.

²⁴³ For example, Molinier observed: “Because God only established two orders, the natural and supernatural; one for human things, and the other for divine things; however, anything that does not belong to faith is natural and human. But one cannot say that the formation of Dioceses, their suppression and union belong to the faith; because it is very indifferent for salvation, whether a Diocese is larger or small.” Molinier, *Catéchisme sur la constitution civile du clergé*, 13.

²⁴⁴ During his swearing of the oath, the priest Lamarque commented on the atmosphere of civil war surrounding the oath: “It is a very appalling evil that a civil war of which Religion is the pretext, and fanaticism the cause; it is the character of error to render [someone] furious and inhumain.... [In civil war] breathes nothing but fury, rage and blood; this discord spreads not only in the big cities, but it penetrates the smallest ones too; it divides every family. Nothing is sacred to men who have abjured the laws of nature.” Bibliothèque Municipale du Pau, Ee 1911, Lamarque, “Discours prononcé par M. Lamarque Curé de Pau, le 30 Janvier 1791, avant la prestation du Serment,” in *Procès-verbal de la municipalité de Pau: Contenant les noms des Prêtres fonctionnaires Publics qui ont prêté leur Serment dans l'Eglise Paroissiale de Saint-Martin, le Dimanche 30 Janvier 1791* (Pau: 1791), 24-25; the archbishop of Gers likewise noted the atmosphere of civil war and fanaticism in one of his pastoral letters: “In vain fanaticism and aristocracy strove to light in a hundred different places the torches of civil war; in vain did they strive in the last convulsions of their expiring pride to drag the Patrie and its defenders into the abyss.” Paul-Benoît Barthe, *Mandement de M. l'évêque du département du Gers, qui ordonne un Te Deum, et la lecture de l'Acte constitutionnel de la France, en actions de grâces de son acceptation par le Roi, et qui accorde des Indulgences à ceux qui feront le Serment civique* (Auch: 1791), 5.

spiritual authority.”²⁴⁵ The local revolutionary authorities found his oath to be unacceptable, and added him to the list of refractory clergy. The non-juring bishop of Lescar, Marc-Antoine de Noé, was more trenchant in his criticism of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and the election of the constitutional bishop of the Basses-Pyrénées. In his *mandement*, the refractory bishop declared that there was a “plot to destroy all religion, by the entire subversion of the church.”²⁴⁶ Regarding the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, de Noé observed: “A law emanating from civil authority never had the right to regulate spiritual interests. And what is spiritual about the organization of the clergy, and changes on the interior and exterior of the church?”²⁴⁷ The former bishop accused revolutionaries trying place civil power in place of that of Jesus Christ, and that if not checked, warned that the National Assembly will “arrange a religious code as a civil code” and “establish a magistrate in each church, in order to inspect our pulpits, our altars, our schools; in a word, a new people must have laws, *moeurs*, and a new religion, or rather a phantom of religion, which amuses its credulity, and the power, which dominates over all, which can change or reverse at its pleasure.”²⁴⁸ Thus like General Assembly of the Gallican Clergy, and the clerical deputies of the National Assembly, the former bishop of Lescar rejected the spatial arguments about temporal authority. In face of a growing persecution by the departmental administrators, many of the refractory clergy of the South West chose to emigrate to Spain.²⁴⁹

The dispute over the Civil Constitution at times could spill over into public unrest. Newly elected members of the constitutional clergy often faced threats whenever they would try to assume

²⁴⁵ Quoted in Forrest, *The Revolution in Provincial France*, 172.

²⁴⁶ BM Pau, Ee 1911, Marc-Antoine de Noé, *Mandement de M. l'évêque de Lescar, au sujet de l'élection de frère Jean-Baptiste Sanadon, Bénédictin de la Congrégation de St. Maur, au prétendu évêché du Département des Basses-Pyrénées* (1791), 4.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 10-11.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 11-12.

²⁴⁹ Jean Darrabat, “Le clergé du sud-ouest et l’émigration en Espagne (1792-1802),” *Chronique* (1990): 20-44; Bernard Plongeron, “Gouvernement révolutionnaire contre chrétienté (1793-1795),” in *Les défis de la modernité (1750-1840)*, ed. Bernard Plongeron (Paris: Desclée, 1997), 411-416.

their parish office. On February 1791, in the department of the Landes, an anonymous letter was addressed to the Dameusan, a constitutional priest of Villeneuve, warning: "I want to say to you in second place that your life would not be safe in this country. One has spoken already here of planting your gallows. You will be able to enter here with troops, but remember that soldiers will not always guard you."²⁵⁰ Another letter sent to the Directoire of the department of the Landes bemoaned the fact the constitutional clergy were inundated with threatening anonymous letters.²⁵¹ The district of Ustaritz likewise complained that only few priest swore the oath, and that many others "preach discord, rebellion, schism, heresy and excommunication"²⁵² The newly elected *procureur-syndic* of the district of Saint-Sever in Landes, Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte, offered his own grim portrait of the religious situation in his district in a report delivered on 31 October 1791. In his report, Dartigoeyte observed: "Sometimes the people who are deceived were in fermentation. We managed to calm them down, and so far, no major event has sullied the Revolution. Sometimes fanatical priests have been able to engage a few citizens in their party; some parishes have been lost; we had the pain of seeing municipalities divided and disobedience to the laws spread."²⁵³ He then went further to add: "I say to you with regret, gentlemen, but it is a useful truth. Disorders recommenced with much violence."²⁵⁴ Thus, far from establishing a new national religious consensus, the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and the ecclesiastical oath deeply divided communities in southwestern France, splitting them between those who supported the new constitutional clergy and those who remained attached to their former priests. As the report of Dartigoeyte indicated, these disputes could even at times lead to violent unrest.

²⁵⁰ Letter quoted in: Joseph Lacourte, "L'application de la Constitution civile du Clergé dans les Landes: Région de Labastide, Villeneuve, Roquefort, Février-Mai 1791," *Bulletin de la Société de Borda*, no. 52 (1928): 171.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 172.

²⁵² Quoted in: Forrest, *The Revolution in Provincial France*, 175.

²⁵³ Quoted in: Joseph Legé, *Les diocèses d'Aire et de Dax ou le département des Landes sous la Révolution Française, 1789-1803: Récits et documents* (Aire-sur-l'Adour: 1875), 141.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

The struggle over the Civil Constitution of the Clergy in the region reached its apogee in the department of the Landes. Faced with growing opposition to the constitutional clergy in the department, the department issued the *arrêté* of 2 September 1791 which prohibited non-juror priests from living within four leagues of their former parishes.²⁵⁵ Complaining about the continued public disturbance from the refractory clergy, the department of Landes issued another decree on 19 January demanding the enforcement of the law of 2 September 1791 and giving the refractory clergy only fifteen days to leave the vicinity of their former parishes, under threat of punishment.²⁵⁶ The department then increased its repression of the refractory clergy by May 1792. Citing continued threats to the constitutional clergy and the proximity of the refractory bishops of Aire, Dax, and Bayonne residing in Spain, the department decreed that “All priests who are still in the department of the Landes who have not sworn the civic oath and all the public functionaries who have been replaced or who have ceased to be in function for whatever cause will be gathered and held in the Grand Séminaire d’Aire.”²⁵⁷ Moreover, those held in the seminary could not leave, say mass, or even speak with any foreigners. The department justified this measure as a way of “preventing by all means possible the effusion of human blood, even the most impure, in removing from society the members who corrupted it.”²⁵⁸ In addition to the seminary of Aire, another seventy-one refractory priests were held in Mont-de-Marsan.²⁵⁹ By the end of the year, the department went one step further and began to deporting refractory priests, in accordance with a

²⁵⁵ Archives départementales des Landes, 4 L 2, *arrêté* of 2 September 1791; see also, Joseph Lacourte, “La Constitution civile du Clergé dans les Landes: Résistances à l’arrêté du 2 septembre 1791,” *Bulletin de la Société de Borda*, no.53 (1929), 91-97.

²⁵⁶ ADL, 4 L 3, “*arrêté* of 19 January 1792”; J.C. Drouin, “De la fin de l’Ancien Régime à la chute de la royauté (1789-1848): la tempête et le calme,” in *Landes et Chalosses*, ed. Serge Lerat (Pau: Société Nouvelle d’Éditions Régionales et de Diffusion, 1984), 627.

²⁵⁷ ADL, 4 L 4, “*arrêté* of 7 May 1792.”

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ Drouin, “De la fin de l’Ancien Régime à la chute de la royauté,” 268.

new series of anti-clerical legislation passed by the Legislative Assembly in Paris.²⁶⁰ Although the dispute over the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was particularly acute in the department of the Landes, the measures taken by the departmental administration between 1791 and 1793 was representative of a general move towards repression as the religious conflict became intractable.²⁶¹

On the eve of the Sacerdotal Revolution in 1793, the initial patriotic consensus over the Constitutional Catholic Church quickly transformed into outright hostility when local administrators in the departments attempted to apply the new revolutionary reforms and ecclesiastical oath. Local administrators would find themselves drawn into an intractable religious controversy, to which they responded with even further repression. While some constitutional clergy, like those in the Hautes-Pyrénées, found strong support in their communities, members of the constitutional clergy in other departments like the Basses-Pyrénées or Landes could face fierce resistance from both their predecessors and their parishioners. In the end, the application of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy in the departments ultimately split France between two factions: those who supported new regime and its religious legislation, and those who bitterly opposed seeing their priests removed from office. Most importantly, the conflict over the implementation of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy also represented an important shift in the debate over religion in France: while Parisian politicians and intellectuals initially dominated the discussion over the role of religion in society, from 1793 onwards, it would be revolutionaries in the departments who would take the lead in articulating their own visions of what national religious consensus would mean.

²⁶⁰ Aulard, *Christianity and the French Revolution*, 85-91.

²⁶¹ Forrest, *The Revolution in Provincial France*, 171-180.

Conclusion: Constitutional Church as National Religion?

Throughout the eighteenth century, the question of the relationship between church and state was primarily imagined through the spatial language of territories and bodies. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, authors imagined that there existed two parallel authorities within the kingdom of France who derived their authority from God: temporal and spiritual. However, the conceptualization of both powers did not remain static. With the growth of the public sphere, spread of cartography, physiocracy, and religious disenchantment, temporal authority became more physical, corporeal, and territorial. In response to perceived papal encroachments in matters of secular jurisdiction, Jansenists writers like Mey and Maultrot and philosophical writers like Richer, Cerfvol and Puységur argued that secular authority was in fact a spatial authority, whose limits was the body. Even matters of spiritual authority like the administration of the sacraments or church property were considered within the purview of secular authority. Parallel to this spatial imaginary of power, authors writing about the primitive church, the bon curé or even convents likewise began to think in more bodily and spatial terms. The bon curé was above all a priest who was *bienfaisant* and socially engaged. The bon curé lived in the physical world of the Enlightenment. The Revolution brought these two developments together, synthesizing them, and adding to them a language of anticorporatism. It therefore comes as no surprise that the beginning of the regeneration of the church began with the issue of ecclesiastical property and a debate on homicide. From there monasteries were abolished, property seized, diocesan boundaries were redrawn, and the clergy were transformed into social agents of the state. At every point, revolutionaries insisted that religious orders were harmful to the body, that there was only one supreme body in the nation, and that the clergy lacked a materiality.

This emphasis on space, materiality, and bodies was central to the conceptualization of the church as the national religion. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, relationships were merely jurisdictional and the kingdom of France itself was a collection of overlapping privileged orders. The nationalization of the church first necessitated the territorialization of temporal sovereignty. With the revolution, the sovereign king was replaced with the sovereign nation. From that point forward then, territorial sovereignty became territorial nationality. All lands, including church lands fell under the sovereign will of the nation. The church itself was also rendered territorial: its lands, liturgical objects and even its personnel were exterior, material, and bodily. As the later developments of the religious revolution would demonstrate, this spatial understanding would continue to influence the ways that revolutionaries thought about the relationship between church and state. During Year II, prohibitions of religious worship first required that all religious rituals and individuals be removed from public space. Radical revolutionaries would celebrate festivals of Reason that would unite not only Catholics and Protestants, but also different spatial divisions of cities and towns. Moreover, the sacerdotal revolution of Year II would also necessitate iconoclasm, the renaming of cities, towns and months, and the spatial recreation of religious rituals. Even issues of fanaticism and superstition, as will be discussed in a later chapter, were above all considered to be fundamentally tied to the material body. Thus, as this process demonstrates, religion and space would come to form an important component of later nation-building ideas of the revolution.

The central metaphor underpinning this transformation was the idea that the Church was in the State, not the State in the Church. This maxim carried dual meanings important for the ways that revolutionaries and authors of the eighteenth century thought about the relationship between Church and State. On one level, to say that the Church was in the State was to emphasize a

jurisdictional relationship: the Church was jurisdictionally subjected to the will of the secular prince. On another level: it also emphasized a literal spatial articulation. The Church was *in* the State. The State could not be *in* the Church. As such, this spatial articulation would justify the jurisdictional articulation. As Maultrot in his letter criticizing Camus's use of this maxim demonstrates: there was a fundamental relationship between power, authority, and space. It was by mobilizing these ideas that the revolutionaries finally put the Church back *in* the State and *under* its authority.

Finally, although the Revolution succeeded in bringing together the temporal and spiritual spheres of authority and subordinating the Gallican Church to the Revolution, the promise of national religious consensus was ultimately fleeting. Immediately following the Festival of Federation, old wounds over the religious debate were reopened as the old Ancien Régime clergy refused to swear the ecclesiastical oath. Departmental administrations charged with implementing the religious reforms soon faced sharp reaction from refractory clergy and their parishioners. As both sides of the debate only hardened their positions, it was clear that by 1791, France was now divided between two factions: those who supported the revolution and its religious reforms, and those angered to see their former priests removed from office. The dispute over the Civil Constitution of the Clergy in 1791 thus represented a turning point in the debate over religion in France: while prior to 1791, Parisian politicians and intellectuals dominated the debate over reform; after 1791, the center of the religious debate would now be the departments. It would be these debates in the departments that would come to determine the shape of the Sacerdotal Revolution in Year II (1793-1794). It is no surprise that one of the leading advocates of the Sacerdotal Revolution, Dantignole, first rose to office during the religious unrest over the clerical

reform. With the collapse of the Constitutional Church, revolutionaries would look elsewhere to reestablish a national religious consensus.

Chapter 3: All that is Particular Melts into One: Terror, Religion, and Nation-Building in the Pyrenees in Year II

“MONESTIER, receive the homage
that I address to Reason;
You love only her language,
She blesses your name;
When error, by your courage,
sees its altar collapse,
your work is immortal.”
- Anonymous¹

“After your creator, love your Patrie above all else;
fix your thoughts only on it, direct all of your actions towards it;
your blood belongs to it.”
- Nicolas Chantreau²

On 10 Germinal Year II (30 March 1794), the people of the Pyrenean town of Tarbes officially buried the Catholic religion.³ During a meeting of the popular society of Tarbes, Jean-Bertrand Féraud declared: “In the district of la Nest, the influence of Reason is felt; one agrees that to be a good son, a good father, a good citizen, priests are not needed. Tomorrow you will bury fanaticism and, tomorrow, there will be an *auto-da-fé* of the saints and the harnesses of their ministers.”⁴ The session then ended with a mock trial condemning an effigy of the pope to be

¹ Archives Départementales des Hautes-Pyrénées, 1 L 149, *Strophes adressée à Monestier (du Puy-de-Dôme.) Représentant du Peuple, Au sujet de la destruction qu’il a fait du fanatisme*, (An II [1794]). Henceforth, the Archives Départementales des Hautes-Pyrénées will be abbreviated as ADHP. All translations are mine, unless noted in the footnote or cited in an English translation.

² Archives Départementales du Gers, 1 L 459, Nicolas Chantreau, *Des documens de la Raison*, no. 8, 115. Henceforth, the Archives Départementales du Gers will be abbreviated as ADG.

³ Archives Municipales de Tarbes P 14/1, MS “Procès verbal de la fête de la raison, célébrée dans la commune de Tarbes, chef lieu du département des hautes pyrénées, sous les yeux de Monestier et de Féraud représentant du Peuple français, décadi 10 germinal de la république, une, indivisible, et imperissable.” Henceforth, the “Archives Municipales” will be abbreviated as AM.

⁴ Bibliothèque Municipale de Pau Ee 1911, Popular Society of Tarbes, *Extrait du registre des délibérations révolutionnaire et montagnarde de Tarbes* (an II [1794]), 2. Henceforth, “Bibliothèque Municipale” will be abbreviated as BM.

burned at the stake. The morning of the ceremony was foggy, with intermittent rain showers.⁵ Cannon shots announced the beginning of the festivities. Participants gathered at the Place de la Révolution, and the procession made its way through the city, eventually reaching the cathedral which the representatives on mission had converted into a temple of Reason. Jean-Baptiste Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme and Féraud, the representatives on mission, marched hand-in-hand with a young republican boy and girl, whom they later handed over to an elder. Following the representatives were a troupe of mock clergy and an ass-drawn cart carrying an effigy of the pope amidst a pile of statues of saints stripped from the former church of Saint-Jean. From time to time, someone would cry out, “perish those who still lament fanaticism!,” to which the people would respond, “Glory to Reason, long live the Republic, One and Indivisible.”⁶ When the procession entered the temple, Monestier performed a civic baptism, and then both representatives denounced the evils of sacerdotal charlatanism. The ceremony ended with the priest, Serres, renouncing his religious ministry.⁷ When everyone finally exited the former cathedral, the statues and effigy were thrown into a pile and set on fire. Around the flames, the citizens of the commune danced and sang the Carmagnole.

The ceremonial burial of Catholicism at Tarbes represented a much broader breakdown in the religious and political consensus of the early Revolution. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy, the fall of the monarchy, increasing factionalism and war deeply politicized questions relating to the freedom of religious worship, gender and identity in unprecedented ways.⁸ As a result, the

⁵ Louis Ricaud, *Les représentants du Peuple en mission dans les Hautes-Pyrénées: Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, Nivôse-Messidor an II* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1899), 54-58; AM Tarbes P 14/1, MS “Procès verbal de la fête de la raison.”

⁶ AM Tarbes P 14/1, MS “Procès verbal de la fête de la raison.”

⁷ BM Pau Ee 1911, Popular Society of Tarbes, *Procès-Verbal de la fête de la Raison*, 19-23.

⁸ There has been a lot of work about how issues like war or natural rights radicalized the rhetoric of the revolutionaries towards political opponents. For more, see: Dan Edelstein, *The Terror of Natural Rights: Republicanism, the Cult of Nature and the French Revolution* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 15-25; David Bell, *The First Total War: Napoleon’s Europe and the Birth of Warfare as We Know It* (Boston: Houghton

religious patriotism of constitutional bishops like Jean-Baptiste Sanadon gave way to the civic religion of the Sacerdotal Revolution of Year II.⁹ Though this radical turn initially emerged in the form of anticlericalism, targeting in particular the refractory clergy, the Sacerdotal Revolution soon transformed into an all-out assault on revealed religion by the end of 1793.¹⁰ For radical revolutionaries in the South West, Catholicism had come to represent religious particularism that was incompatible with the new republic, and many believed that a religious revolution was needed in order to ensure the complete overthrow of the monarchy. Because of the intertwining nature of religion, gender, and identity, religious pluralism would likewise become suspect, especially in the borderland departments of the South West. The Sacerdotal Revolution thus called for the radical reconfiguration of religion, gender, and identity around notions of the Patrie, nature, and the Supreme Being.

Between the months of Vendémiaire and Thermidor of Year II (22 September 1793 - 17 August 1794), the Jacobin government implemented a series of policies aimed at regulating and reducing the influence of religion in society. Beginning in early 1793, the National Convention sent out its own members, the *représentants du Peuple en mission*, to the departments in order to reorganize local revolutionary governments, ensure political uniformity, and mobilize resources

Mifflin Company, 2007), 13-15, 142-145; Patrice Higonnet, "Terror, Trauma and the 'Young Marx' Explanation of Jacobin Politics," *Past & Present*, no. 191 (2006): 121-164.

⁹ For more on civic religious patriotism of the early Revolution, see: BM Pau Ee 1888, Jean-Baptiste Sanadon, *Discours sur le patriotisme* (Pau: 1790), 3-39; Joseph Byrnes, *Priests of the French Revolution: Saints and Renegades in a New Political Era* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press), 47-73; Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France*, 154-155.

¹⁰ Dale Van Kley, "Christianity as Casualty and Chrysalis of Modernity: The Problem of Dechristianization in the French Revolution," *The American Historical Review* 108, no. 4 (2003): 1098-99; Alphonse Aulard would argue that the idea of attacking dogma and destroying Catholicism emerged in the critical period between April and December 1793. For Aulard, the revolutionary religion was more a question of national security than of Enlightenment philosophy. Above all, Aulard's argument stressed the role of contingency in his interpretation of the revolutionary civic religions. Alphonse Aulard, *Le culte de la raison et le culte de l'Être Suprême (1793-1794): Essai historique* (Paris: Félix Alcan Éditeur, 1892), 24; Vovelle would insist that the assault on Catholicism was the result of a longer-term process disengagement from religion. Michel Vovelle, *1793, La Révolution contre l'Église: De la Raison à l'Être Suprême* (Bruxelles: Éditions Complexe), 268-269.

for the war effort.¹¹ It was while on mission in the South West that a small group of representatives on mission from Paris, in collaboration with local Jacobin militants, imposed a policy of religious Terror, consisting in the closing of churches and synagogues, the forced resignation of priests, pastors, and rabbis from their religious ministries, the confiscation and destruction of religious items and buildings, and the establishment of a revolutionary civic religion centered on the worship of the Supreme Being and the nation.¹² Moreover, the Jacobins also changed the name of cities, roads, children and even their months in an attempt to erase any remaining vestige of the Ancien

¹¹ Jacques Godechot, *Les institutions de la France sous la Révolution et l'Empire* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1968), 340-346; Martyn Lyons, *Revolution in Toulouse: An Essay on Provincial Terrorism* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1978), 92-95; Colin Lucas, *The Structure of the Terror: The Example of Javogues and the Loire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 257-295; Michel Biard, *Missionnaires de la République: Les représentants du peuple en mission (1793-1795)* (Paris: CTHS-Histoire 8, 2002), 17, 234-48, 253-54; For a study of the religious policies of the representatives on mission in the South East, see: Michel Vovelle, *Religion et Révolution: la déchristianisation de l'an II* (Paris: Hachette, 1976), 236-268.

¹² Vovelle, *La révolution contre l'église*, 45-65. For a complete summary of dechristianization in Gers, Landes, Basses-Pyrénées, and Hautes-Pyrénées, see: Aulard, *Le culte de la raison et le culte de l'Etre suprême*, 114-152; By far one of the best works on the subject in the Basses-Pyrénées: Antoine Richard, *Le Gouvernement révolutionnaire dans les Basses-Pyrénées* (Bayonne: Éditions Harriet, 1984). This is a reprint of his work which was originally published in 1926; For more on religious revolution in the Gers, see: Joseph Gardère, "Histoire religieuse de Condom pendant la Révolution," *Revue de Gascogne: Bulletin Mensuel de la Société historique de Gascogne* 40 (1899): 337-356; Gilbert Brégail, *Les Curés rouges et la Société montagnarde d'Auch* (Auch: Léonce Cocharaux, 1901), 3-16; Gilbert Brégail, "La fête de l'être suprême à Auch," in *Bulletin de la Société archéologique du Gers*, no. 21 (1920): 189-192; Gilbert Brégail, "Le Gers pendant la Révolution," in *Bulletin de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie du Gers*, no. 33 (1932): 138-146; Maurice Bordes, "Les abdicataires du département du Gers," in *Les prêtres abdicataires pendant la Révolution Française* (Paris: Ministère de l'Education Nationale, Commission d'Histoire Economique et Sociale de la Révolution Française, 1965), 79-90; For a study of the department of the Landes, see: Jean-Claude Drouin, "De la fin de l'Ancien Régime à la chute de la royauté (1789-1848): la tempête et le calme," in *Landes et Chalosses*, ed. Serge Lerat, vol. 2 (Pau: Société nouvelle d'éditions régionales et de diffusion, 1984), 629-645; Sylvie Aïzcorbe, "Les prêtres abdicataires du Département des Landes," in *Les Landes et la Révolution: Actes du Colloque de Mont-de-Marsan, 29-30 septembre 1989* (Mont-de-Marsan: Conseil Général des Landes, 1992), 243-252; For the Hautes-Pyrénées, see: Ricaud, *Les représentants du Peuple en mission dans les Hautes-Pyrénées: Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, Nivôse-Messidor an II*, 47-68; Jean-Baptiste Laffon and Jean-François Soulet, eds., *Histoire de Tarbes* (Roanne, 1982), 193-204; Jean-Baptiste Laffon, ed., *Le diocèse de Tarbes et Lourdes* (Paris: 1971), 116-17; J. Labougle, "Le culte de la Raison en l'An II à Tarbes et dans le département des Hautes-Pyrénées," 124-125; For a useful case study of the neighboring department of the Haute-Garonne, see: Jean-Claude Meyer, *La vie religieuse en Haute-Garonne sous la Révolution 1789-1801* (Toulouse: Publication de l'Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 1982), 243-332. Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte was representative on mission here.

Régime.¹³ According to one member of the Society of Friends of Liberty and Equality at Auch, it was a veritable “sacerdotal revolution.”¹⁴

By examining the meaning of the freedom of religious worship, *la liberté des cultes*, during the Sacerdotal Revolution, my chapter argues that the religious policies imposed by the revolutionaries in the South West were part of a project of nation building. Although the Constitution of 1793 promised the free exercise of religious worship, radical revolutionaries in fact justified their increasing restrictions and eventual ban on religious worship in name of the freedom of religious worship.¹⁵ Despite tension between the freedom of religious worship and the subsequent religious restrictions, few historians have analyzed the discourse mobilized by these revolutionaries to justify their restrictions affecting the Constitutional Clergy, Jews, and Protestants in the region. This chapter contends that as revolutionaries grew increasingly distrustful of particular forms of religious expression, they sought to use the claims of universal and natural religion of the Supreme Being to elide religious difference and refashion Catholics, Jews and Protestants of the region into French citizens devoted to the Patrie. Because they believed religion to be fundamental to the development of republican manners and identity, only the Supreme Being could transcend local identity, and inculcate a sense of national feeling. Finally, this chapter maintains that this discourse on particular and universal religious practice was the product of debates, elaborations and contestations at the center and periphery of the Republic.

¹³ For more on the revolutionary calendar, see: Sanja Perovic, *The Calendar in Revolutionary France: Perceptions of Time in Literature, Culture, Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); For more on the change of names, see: Roger de Figuères, *Les noms révolutionnaires des communes de France: Listes par départements et liste générale alphabétique* (Paris: Société de l'histoire de la Révolution française, 1901), 26-27, 33, 52; Philippe Daumas, "Prénoms et Révolution (1775-1825). Propositions pour une nouvelle approche méthodologique," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 44, no. 1 (1997), 109-132; Vovelle, *Révolution contre l'Eglise*, 67-72.

¹⁴ ADG, 1 L 459, *Journal du Département du Gers*, No. 42 (Auch: An II [1793]), 165. For more about the *Journal du Département du Gers*, see: Gilbert Brégail, *La Presse Périodique dans le Gers pendant la Révolution* (Auch: Imprimerie F. Cocharaux, 1922), 23-30.

¹⁵ Some recent work on the subject: Rita Hermon-Belot, *Aux sources de l'idée laïque: Révolution et pluralité religieuse* (Odile Jacob: 2015).

Central to the nation-building project of the Sacerdotal Revolution was a distinction between particular and universal religious worship that revolutionaries used to justify their restrictions on public forms of religious worship. Throughout the early modern period, political theorists and philosophers had long struggled with the problem of reconciling the particular with universals within republican systems of government.¹⁶ Because the particular embodied the instability of time, philosophers puzzled over the conundrum of realizing universal values within the finite lifespan of a republic. From the political discourse of Sacerdotal Revolution, it is clear that revolutionaries transposed these same categories over the religious ones of their time. As a result, particular religious belief was characterized by superstition, *prejugés*, and local identity.¹⁷ Particular religious beliefs were temporal, that is, they were the product of degeneration and manipulation of priests over time. Though protected in the private sphere, they ultimately needed to be eliminated in order to achieve the regeneration of the French people. As such, the freedom of religious worship did not protect them as a form of publicity. In contrast, there were universal or general revolutionary civic cults. Revolutionaries would stress that everyone had the universal right to worship the Supreme Being. If particular religion embodied localism and corruption, then universal religion of the Supreme Being was timeless, primordial, natural, and uncorrupted.

¹⁶ For more on the problem of the particular and the universal, see: J.G.A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 3-30, 506-552; Patrick Riley, *The General Will before Rousseau: The Transformation of the Divine into the Civic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 181-250; For more on the transmission of the Atlantic Republican Tradition into French Revolutionary politics, see: Keith Michael Baker, "Transformations of Classical Republicanism in Eighteenth-Century France," *The Journal of Modern History* 73, no.1 (2001), 32-53; Keith Michael Baker, "Fixing the French Constitution," in *Inventing the French Revolution: Essays on French Political Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 281-305; For more on natural rights theory and the French Revolution, see: Dan Edelstein, *The Terror of Natural Rights: Republicanism, the Cult of Nature, and the French Revolution* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2009), 1-25, 257-275. Dan Edelstein has come to stress the importance of natural right theory in Montagnard Republican discourse; For more on the problem of the particular and universal more generally, see: Judith Butler, "Restaging the Universal: Hegemony and the Limits of Formalism," in *Contingency, Hegemony, Universality: Contemporary Dialogues on the Left* (New York: Verso, 2000), 11-43.

¹⁷ James R. Lehning, *Peasant and French: Cultural Contact in Rural France during the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1-16.

Regeneration would therefore remove corruption and bring man back to natural religion. As will become clear, natural religion was also to be patriotic and national. It expressed the renunciation of private wills and the embrace of the general will of the nation.¹⁸ Only universal and general religious worship was protected by the freedom of religious worship. It was out of this generality that the revolutionaries attempted to refashion particular *prejugés* into national sentiment.

Ideas about the particular religious worship, universal religion, and their relationship to identity in the South West were the product of an exchange of ideas between the Parisian center and the Pyrenean periphery. The central government did not send the representatives on mission to the South West with the task of religious revolution. It was only through interaction with local militants that national agents came to see a need for the Sacerdotal Revolution.¹⁹ Overall, the debate moved in between Paris and the departments. Local activists would press the representatives on mission and the National Convention to take stricter actions against particular forms of religious worship. At the same time, central authorities struggled with how best to respond to the growing demands from the representatives on mission and local popular societies to act. Even when the national government would intervene to protect religious worship, it was not always guaranteed that the local authorities would comply. However, the National Convention, at the behest of Robespierre, was most successful in promulgating the cult of the Supreme Being. The success of the revolutionary civic religion most likely owed to the way in which it synthesized and systematized the various debates occurring in Paris and in the departments, effectively redefining

¹⁸ Rilely, *The General Will before Rousseau*, 241-250; Charly Coleman, *The Virtues of Abandon: An Anti-Individualist History of the French Revolution* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014), 261-285; Butler, "Restaging the Universal," 23; Joan Wallach Scott, *The Fantasy of Feminist History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 91-103.

¹⁹ As the historian Nicole Bossut demonstrated in the more notable case of Joseph Fouché and Pierre Gaspard Chaumette, harsh restrictions placed on religious worship developed out of interactions with the local popular society of Nevers. Nicole Bossut, "Aux origines de la déchristianisation dans la Nièvre, Fouché, Chaumette, ou les jacobins Nivernais?," 181-202

religious identity around notions of universal religion and patriotic devotion. Like the development of French national identity in the Catalan regions of Cerdagne, religious identity in the South West became more “general,” hence national, through the elaboration of religious policy in the center and the periphery.²⁰ Thus, the Sacerdotal Revolution in the South West was not a simple imposition from Paris; it emerged out of an exchange of ideas between the capital and the surrounding departments.

This chapter traces the debate between revolutionaries in Paris and in the South West over the meaning of the freedom of religious worship and the ways in which it was to be applied to particular religious beliefs. At stake in these debates was the very nature of French identity. Thus in regions like the South West, where Catholicism was split between the constitutional and refractory clergy, and Protestants and Sephardic Jews lived alongside the broader Catholic communities, revolutionaries sought to redefine the terms of the freedom of religious worship in order to move beyond particular confessional identity. Yet as the revolutionaries in the South West sought to refashion religious identity along more patriotic lines, an intense debate also erupted in Paris between Robespierre and the Hébertists over the direction of the Jacobin Republic’s religious policies: the anticlerical Hébertists favored abolishing Catholicism in favor of the deistic cult of Reason, while Robespierre worried over the growing influence of atheism and its impact on the national stage. Ultimately with the liquidation of the Hébertists by Ventôse Year II, the Cult of the Supreme Being then represented a synthesis between those who advocated for the freedom of religious worship and those who called for the establishment of the patriotic cult of Reason. Therefore the representatives in turn were able to prohibit particular religious worship while

²⁰ Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 7-9.

maintaining that everyone, regardless of religious identity, had the right to worship the Supreme Being. All that was particular was to melt into one.

Section 1: Federalism and the Constitutional Clergy in the South West

By the latter half of 1793, the religious and political consensus of religious patriotism embodied by the Constitutional Church began to buckle under renewed pressure from factional strife between the Montagnards and the Girondins in the National Convention, the “Federalist” revolts in the departments, and war.²¹ Despite the overthrow of the monarchy in 1792, the execution of the king, and the eventual expulsion of the Girondins from the National Convention in the *journée* of 31 May and 2 June, the Montagnard government continued to feel itself surrounded by internal and external enemies. The assassination of Jean-Paul Marat on 13 July 1793 and pressure from sans-culottes movement to impose price controls and harsher penalties for hoarders and counterrevolutionaries only further exacerbated an already delicate political situation.²² Despite the challenges, the Montagnard government slowly began to reassert control. The National Convention accepted a new constitution, with an article guaranteeing the freedom of

²¹ For the dispute between the Montagnards and Girondins in the National Convention, see: Timothy Tackett, *The Coming of the Terror in the French Revolution* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2015), 261-279; Donald Sutherland, *The French Revolution and Empire: The Quest for a Civic Order* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 161-174; Morris Slavin, *The Making of an Insurrection: Parisian Sections and the Gironde* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986); For the “Federalist” revolt, see: Mona Ozouf, “Federalism,” in *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, ed. François Furet and Mona Ozouf, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 54-64; Alan Forrest, *The Revolution in Provincial France: Aquitaine, 1789-1799* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 181-212; Paul R. Hanson, *Jacobin Republic Under Fire: The Federalist Revolt in the French Revolution* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003).

²² For the political ramifications of the assassination of Jean-Paul Marat, see: Sophie Wahnich, *La liberté ou la mort: Essai sur la Terreur et le terrorisme* (Paris: La fabrique éditions, 2003), 27-37; For more on the sans-culotte movement, see: Albert Soboul, *Les sans-culottes Parisiens en l'an II: Mouvement populaire et gouvernement révolutionnaire, 2 June 1793 - 9 Thermidor an II* (Paris: Librairie Clavreuil, 1962), 21-175; Tackett, *The Coming of the Terror*, 285-306.

religious worship, on 24 June 1793, and adopted by plebiscite on 10 August 1793.²³ Moreover, at the behest of the sans-culotte movement, the National Convention declared Terror “the order of the day” on 25 September 1793. With its authority reestablished at Paris, the Montagnard government turned its attention to the Federalist movement in the departments. Ultimately, divisions wrought by the federalist movement, war and growing factionalism would lead to the appearance of cracks in the revolutionary consensus over the freedom of religious worship by the end of 1793.

By the beginning of July 1793, the federalist movement in the South West was over before it even began, though not before discrediting the departmental administration and constitutional clergy in the eyes of the Montagnards. Overall, the federalist revolt divided Jacobins in the region. Particularly in Saint-Sever, Dax, Bayonne and Lourdes, local Jacobins were vocal in their opposition to the expulsion of the Girondins from the National Convention during the insurrection of 31 May.²⁴ While the sectional movement in the South West denounced the offensive “liberticidal debates” of the Montagnards and the Plain and set up *commissions populaires*, the Jacobin clubs were also just as quick to denounce Federalist sentiment as chicanery of the rich.²⁵ The case of Tarbes was illustrative of the ephemeral nature of federalism in the South West: a popular commission was formed at Tarbes on 20 June, and after the *procureur-syndic* lectured the

²³ Albert Mathiez, “La Constitution de 1793,” *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 5, no. 30 (1928), 497-521; Aulard, *Le culte de la raison et le culte de l’Être suprême*, 23. Hermon-Belot, *Aux sources de l’idée laïque*, 173; Edelstein, *The Terror of Natural Right*, 170-180.

²⁴ The popular society of Lourdes ended up sending addresses condemning the 31 May – 2 June insurrection to the Jacobin Society of Paris, National Convention, the Parisian sections, and the eighty-five departments. BM Pau Ee 1912, *La société républicaine de Lourde, à la société des Jacobins de Paris* (1793), 1-3; BM Pau Ee 1912, *La société républicaine de Lourde, département des Hautes-Pyrénées, à la Convention Nationale* (1793), 1-4; BM Pau Ee 1912, *La société républicaine de Lourde, aux 48 sections de Paris* (1793), 1-3; BM Pau Ee 1912, *La société républicaine de Lourde, aux 85 départemens* (1793), 1-7.

²⁵ ADG, 1 L 693, *Adresse des citoyens de toutes les sections de la ville d’Auch, à la Convention Nationale*, 16 June 1793 (1793), 1-3; Bibliothèque municipale de Pau, Ee 1911, P.T. Fourcade, *Discours sur les événements du 31 Mai et jours suivans, prononcé à la société Républicaine de la Ville de Pau* (Pau: s.d. [1793?]), 3-4; Forrest, *The Revolution in Provincial France*, 204-210.

commission on the illegality of its actions and the particularist goals of the federalist movement in Bordeaux, the commission then promptly dissolved itself on 22 June.²⁶ Factional disputes and pressure from the popular societies and sectional movements placed departmental administrations in a difficult position where they had to choose to support or criticize the Montagnard government, often with disastrous consequences. For example, Paul-Benoît Barthe, the constitutional bishop of Gers and presiding member of the *Conseil Général* of Department of the Gers, sided with the federalists over Montagnards in the department.²⁷ As soon as the representatives on mission arrived in the South West, Barthe and the other “federalists” were purged from the local administration and arrested on the spot. Despite the short-lived nature of federalism in the South West, the specter of civil war that it left in its wake continued to haunt those departmental administrators and constitutional clergy involved in the movement. Thus the “federalist” revolt above all else proved to be immensely damaging for all those involved, including some of the constitutional clergy.

In the departments, the primary agents of change during the more radical phases of the Revolution were the representatives on mission. Following the collapse of the Federalist revolt in the South West, the Montagnard government in Paris rushed to reassert its authority through purges, arrests, and the reorganization of local governments throughout the region. The National Convention and the Committee of Public Safety entrusted the task of repression with the representatives of the Convention, known as the *représentants du Peuple en mission*. Due to their peculiar position as both legislators and agents exercising executive authority, the representatives

²⁶ Forrest, *The Revolution in Provincial France*, 205.

²⁷ Gilbert Brégail, “Le Gers pendant la Révolution,” in *Bulletin de la Société d’histoire et d’archéologie du Gers*, No. 32 (1931): 255-269; Gérard Dessolle, *Paul-Benoît Barthe le solitaire: Un prêtre toulousain évêque du Gers pendant la Révolution* (Toulouse: Association des Amis des Archives de la Haute-Garonne, 1999), 151-165; In general, the support of the constitutional clergy for the Girondins and federalism aroused the suspicions of some of the Montagnards. Nigel Aston, *Religion and Revolution in France, 1780-1804* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2000), 185, 215.

on mission occupied an ambiguous position within the revolutionary government.²⁸ On the one hand, they were the essential organ of the revolutionary state, linking Paris and the departments together.²⁹ On a more practical level, they were the “*mécaniciens*” of the political machine. Sent to the departments and the armies, the representatives on mission took charge of the war effort, oversaw conscription, arrested suspects, purged administrators, requisitioned supplies, and established unity in the government. They primarily acted through *arrêtés*, which only carried the status of provisional laws.³⁰ However, on the other hand, the representatives on mission were still members of the National Convention, and as such, were in theory the literal manifestation of the sovereign will of the people.³¹ Therefore resistance to representatives on mission meant opposition to the will of the people, and hence, was considered an act of *lèse-nation* – or treason. It was from this ambiguous space between sovereign people and terrorist *mécanicien* that the representatives on mission would reassert the authority of the Montagnard government in the South West.

Although the Montagnard government would send a myriad of representatives on mission to the South West in Year II, only two small groups played a leading role in articulating Jacobin religious policy in the region. The first group consisted of representatives on mission tasked with

²⁸ Baker, “Fixing the French Constitution,” 281-305. According to French constitutional theory, legislative power needed to be separated from executive authority. The representatives on mission blended these two forms of authority.

²⁹ Godechot, *Les Institutions de la France*, 340-346; Lyons, *The Revolution in Toulouse*, 92-95; Lucas, *The Structure of Terror*, 257-295; Biard, *Missionnaires de la République*, 17, 234-48, 253-54.

³⁰ Archives départementales des Hautes-Pyrénées, 1 L 148, an address from the Committee of Public Safety to Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme (Paris: an II [1793]), 1-2. With regards to the powers of the representatives on mission, it would be inaccurate to characterize the representatives on mission as unregulated proconsuls. As noted by Biard, the powers, though unlimited, were precisely bounded. For example, according to a printed address to Monestier, the National Convention and the Committee of Public Safety specified that his powers were *illimité*, but circumscribed to the departments placed under his specific authority.

³¹ ADG, 1 L 459, Chantreau, *Des documens de la Raison*, no.2, (Auch), 20. According to the journalist Nicolas Chantreau, those who attempted to minimize the authority of the representatives on mission were acting “perfidiously and seditiously” and committing an act of “unpatriotic (incivique) blasphemy.” Biard, *Missionnaires de la République*, 17; Lucas similarly noted: “The proconsuls were *Représentants du Peuple*, they were the repositories of the will of the sovereign people. Their authority, therefore, came not merely from a government but directly from the people; to resist a *Représentant en mission* was to resist the will of the sovereign people, and this was, *ipso facto*, counter-revolution.” Lucas, *Structure of Terror*, 259.

civilian concerns, such as establishing a revolutionary government or public safety. Over the course of the year, the National Convention and Committee of Public Safety sent Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte to oversee the *levée en masse* in department of the Gers and Lands on 23 August, reasons of public safety in the departments of the Gers, Landes, Basses- and Hautes-Pyrénées on 2 Frimaire Year II (22 November 1793), and to organize the revolutionary government in the departments of the Haute-Garonne and Gers on 9 Nivôse Year II (29 December 1793).³² The son of a local *notaire* from Mugron and a lawyer prior to the Revolution, Dartigoeyte would serve as a *procureur-syndic* for Saint-Sever under the constitutional monarchy.³³ Later he would be elected to the National Convention in 1793, he would go on to earn a reputation for “exagération.” Accompanying Dartigoeyte was Jean-Baptiste-Benoît Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme. A curé prior to the revolution, Monestier would become *premier vicaire épiscopal* of the constitutional church of Puy-de-Dôme, a position he later abdicated in 1793.³⁴ Likewise a member of the National Convention, the Montagnard government sent Monestier on mission to the army on 20 June 1793, and later to the departments of the Basses- and Hautes Pyrenees to organize the revolutionary government.³⁵ Finally, there was the former lawyer, Pierre Laurent Monestier de la Lozère.³⁶ The

³² Biard, *Missionnaires de la République*, 486.

³³ Serge Aberdam, “Sur une exécution postume: Dartigoeyte et sa légende,” in *Les Landes et la Révolution: Actes du Colloque de Mont-de-Marsan, 29-30 septembre 1989* (Mont-de-Marsan: Conseil Général des Landes, 1992), 77-92; Lyons, *Revolution in Toulouse*, 62-68, 151-63; Aulard, *Le culte de la raison et le culte de l’Etre suprême*, 114-45; Maurice Bordes, ed., *Histoire d’Auch et du pays d’Auch* (Roanne: Editions Horvath, 1980), 158-65; Vovelle, *Révolution contre l’église*, 201; Auguste Kuscinski, *Dictionnaire des Conventionnels* (Paris: Société de l’Histoire de la Révolution française, 1916), 176-77; Gabriel Cabannes, *Dartigoeyte* (Mont-de-Marsan: Editions Jean Lacoste, 1936).

³⁴ Ricaud, *Les Représentants du peuple en mission*, 1:18-20, 47-68; Forrest, *The Revolution in Provincial France*, 216-33; Jean-Baptiste Laffon and Jean-François Soulet, ed., *Histoire de Tarbes* (Roanne, 1982), 193-204; Jean-Baptiste Laffon, ed., *Le diocèse de Tarbes et Lourdes* (Paris: 1971), 116-17; Aulard, *Le culte de la raison et le culte de l’Etre suprême*, 134-42; Pierre Hourmat, *Histoire de Bayonne: La Révolution, 1789-1799* (Bayonne: Société des sciences, lettres et arts de Bayonne, 1992), 163-66, 168-75, 179-80, 198-201, 220-226; Vovelle, *La Révolution contre l’Église*, 176-77; Kuscinski, *Dictionnaire des Conventionnels*, 459-60; Richard, *Le Gouvernement révolutionnaire*, 153-97.

³⁵ Biard, *Missionnaires de la République*, 555-556.

³⁶ For more on Monestier de Lozère, see: Vovelle, *Révolution contre l’Eglise*, 206; Louis Ricaud, *Les représentants du peuple en mission dans les Hautes-Pyrénées: Monestier de la Lozère et Auguste Izoard, Fructidor*

Committee of Public Safety sent him on mission to the departments of the Landes and Lot-et-Garonne to organize the revolutionary government on 9 Nivôse Year II. He would later replace Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme in the Pyrenean departments, following the latter's recall in Messidor Year II.³⁷ All three of these representatives were Montagnards.

In addition to the representatives on mission concerned with organizing the revolutionary government and public safety, the Montagnard government sent a second group of representatives on mission to the Army of the Western Pyrenees. Unlike the first group, who exercised authority over entire departments, the jurisdiction of the representatives on mission to the army covered the military district of Bayonne-Hendaye-Saint-Jean-de-Pied-Port, the army of the Western Pyrenees more broadly, and eventually the conquered territory of northern Spain.³⁸ The first representative on mission sent to the army of the Western Pyrenees was Jacques Pinet. The only Protestant representative on mission in the region, Pinet came from a merchant family from Dordogne and was later elected to the National Convention.³⁹ While initially assigned to the Army of the West on 15 October 1793, Dartigoyte and Monestier would later convince Pinet that he was needed in the Pyrenees and he wrote to the Committee of Public Safety that he would instead join the army of the Western Pyrenees.⁴⁰ The National Convention also sent Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme to the army of the Western Pyrenees before the Committee of Public Safety later transferred him to the

an II – Messidor an III, vol. 2 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1902), 1-9, 91; Richard, *Le Gouvernement révolutionnaire*, 211-17; Kuscinski, *Dictionnaire des Conventionnels*, 460.

³⁷ Biard, *Missionnaires de la République*, 556.

³⁸ Jean Ansoborlo, *Les soldats de l'An II en Pays Basque: L'armée des Pyrénées-occidentales, de Sare 1793 à Bilbao 1795* (Bayonne: Société des sciences, lettres et arts de Bayonne, 1988), 1.

³⁹ Forrest, *The Revolution in Provincial France*, 222; Kuscinski, *Dictionnaire des Conventionnels*, 495-97; Richard, *Le Gouvernement révolutionnaire*, 153-97, 223-29. Pinet also wrote a memoir, within which he justified decisions made during his tenure as representative on mission.

⁴⁰ A. Vignaux, "Le conventionnel Pinet dans les Landes," *Revue de Gascogne* 7 (1907): 186; Biard, *Missionnaires de la République*, 656. In theory, Pinet received no decree or *arrêté* from either the National Convention or Committee of Public Safety, respectively, authorizing his mission with the Army of the Western Pyrenees. Furthermore, the decree of 13 Brumaire Year II theoretically recalled him. He remained in the department until 26 Thermidor Year II (though lingering in in the South West until Fructidor).

Pyrenean departments on 9 Nivôse Year II (29 December 1793).⁴¹ Closely associated to Pinet was Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac, who was born in Gourdon to an old family of Rouergue and who served as a lawyer in the Parlement of Toulouse before the Revolution.⁴² After an initial mission in the west, the National Convention reassigned him to the departments of Gers, Landes, Basses-Pyrénées and Hautes-Pyrénées in October 1793.⁴³ Another decree would later assign him to the Army of the Western Pyrénées on 27 Brumaire Year II (17 November 1793). Finally, the National Convention sent Jean-Bertrand Féraud, deputy of the Hautes-Pyrénées on mission to the army of the Western Pyrenees on 30 April 1793 and stayed active in the region until Germinal Year II.⁴⁴ With the exception of Féraud, who sat with the Plain, all the other representatives on mission to the army of the Western Pyrenees were Montagnards.

Immediately upon their arrival in the South West, the representatives on mission mostly concerned themselves with three tasks: repression, war, and stabilizing the paper currency. Yet the most important objective was to purge the local administrations and arrest suspected federalists. Although the Federalist revolt was strongest in the department of the Landes, the measures taken by Dartigoeyte, Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, and Pinet in the Landes were also applied throughout the other south-western departments of the Hautes-Pyrénées, Basses-Pyrénées, and Gers.⁴⁵ Overall the three representatives on mission purged functionaries found guilty of federalism, *incivisme*, fraud, speculation, and negligence.⁴⁶ They raged against the popular societies of Saint-Sever and

⁴¹ Biard, *Missionnaires de la République*, 555-556.

⁴² Aulard, *Le culte de la raison et le culte de l'Être suprême*, 115-117; Kuscinski, *Dictionnaire des Conventionnels*, 120-21; Hourmat, *Histoire de Bayonne*, 163, 169-171, 179-80, 184-85, 209-12, 219-226; Forrest, *The Revolution in Provincial France*, 224-41; Richard, *Le Gouvernement révolutionnaire*, 153-97.

⁴³ Biard, *Missionnaires de la République*, 476.

⁴⁴ Biard, *Missionnaires de la République*, 503; Kuscinski, *Dictionnaire des Conventionnels*, 255-257.

⁴⁵ Forrest, *The Revolution in Provincial France*, 213-245; Richard, *Le gouvernement révolutionnaire dans les Basses-Pyrénées*, 21-36, 78-95.

⁴⁶ Archives départementales des Landes, 8 L 1, *arrêté des représentants du peuple près l'Armée des Pyrénées occidentales et les Départemens voisins*, 24 Vendémiaire Year II - 15 October 1793 (Mont-de-Marsan: an II [1793]). Henceforth, Archives départementales des Landes will be abbreviated as ADL.

Dax for their roles in the Federalist revolt, and demanded the expulsion of those deemed politically unreliable from the membership of the clubs, accusing one of their leaders of having “rotted in the swamp [of the Landes].”⁴⁷ The representatives on mission also set up a repressive apparatus, consisting in a network of surveillance committees and committees of public safety, and charged them with ensuring the faithful application and execution of the law, and monitoring of the conduct, character, and morality of each administrator and public functionary. Finally, it should be noted that the repressive measures were not all applied evenly, and were instead precise and targeted. For example, the districts of Tartas and Mont-de-Marsan in the department of the Landes escaped the brunt of the crackdown, while in other areas, like the eastern district of La Neste in the Hautes-Pyrénées, the revolutionaries scrutinized more closely the loyalty of the local administrators.

When assigning blame for the Federalist Revolt, the representatives on mission did not mince their words when it came to priests: like nobles and the wealthy, priests played were guilty of fomenting division in the South West. During a fraternal congress of popular societies in the department of the Gers meeting at Auch on 22 and 23 September 1793, Dartigoeyte, Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme and Pinet gave their most thorough diagnosis of the revolt, and recommended a comprehensive plan of repression targeting priests, nobles, and the rich.⁴⁸ The congress opened immediately with an order to arrest and deport Barthe, the constitutional bishop of the Gers.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Drouin, “De la fin de l’Ancien Régime à la chute de la royauté (1789-1848),” 2:632.

⁴⁸ ADG, 1 L 693, *Procès-verbaux des séances du congrès fraternel des sociétés du congrès fraternel des sociétés montagnardes du département du Gers*, 22 and 23 September 1793 (Auch: 1793), 1-3; Gilbert Brégail, “Deux grands Congrès des Sociétés populaires du Gers (juin et septembre 1793),” in *Bulletin de la Société archéologique du 1*, no. 3 and 4 (1900): 126-133.

⁴⁹ Barthe was not the only constitutional bishop in the South West to be imprisoned. Saurine, the constitutional bishop of the Landes, was imprisoned in Paris, and Sanadon, the constitutional bishop the Basses-Pyrénées, was imprisoned at Saint-Esprit. Only Molinier, the constitutional bishop of the Hautes-Pyrénées, was not arrested, though he did not exercise his functions as bishop during the Terror. Kuscinski, *Dictionnaire des Conventionnels*, 556-558; Georges Peyruc, “Jean-Guillaume Molinier (1733-1813). Un tarnais, évêque constitutionnel des Hautes-Pyrénées,” *Bulletin de la Société académique des Hautes-Pyrénées*, (1989): 79-90.

Dartigoeyte then climbed the tribune, and called for the arrest of all Girondins and their collaborators, and for the exclusion of all nobles, *maîtres paysans*, and suspect priests from the popular society. He then claimed that the support of certain administrators for the Girondins disqualified them from public office. Finally, he observed that it was important to extinguish the flames of fanaticism, and after complaining about how some episcopal vicars “mixed religion with civil acts,” recommended forcing priests to marry and obliging any priest over the age of sixty to adopt a child, lest they face destitution. Monestier then followed Dartigoeyte, and urged the congress to remain vigilant against hypocrites and demanded that the popular societies draw up a list of dangerous individuals. Finally, Monestier wanted “aristocracy of riches” to be considered as a crime against equality. Thus the fraternal congress represented a turning point, where radical revolutionaries started to grow more cynical about the religious patriotism of the constitutional clergy.⁵⁰ Moreover, the worrying mix of religion and civilian acts during the federalist crisis only further cemented this feeling.

Though radical revolutionaries continued to tolerate the constitutional clergy, the federalist revolt still continued to tarnish their reputation in the eyes of the Montagnards.⁵¹ In general, the constitutional bishop of the Hautes-Pyrenees remained untouched amidst the general political purge in the region and continued to maintain good standing with the revolutionary authorities. Additionally, many of the constitutional clergy continued to play an important role within the administration of the Hautes-Pyrénées. In letter to the Committee of Public Safety on 2 October 1793, Dartigoeyte observed that the Hautes-Pyrénées in general was “well composed, even if fewer priests there was desired,” but begrudgingly conceded that “Monestier was forced to choose priests

⁵⁰ Aston, *Religion and Revolution in France*, 185.

⁵¹ Brégail, *Les Curés rouges et la Société montagnarde d'Auch*, 210-215.

due to a lack of capable and patriotic subjects.”⁵² While Dartigoeyte’s remarks demonstrated a continued tolerance for the constitutional clergy, they nonetheless suggest that radical revolutionaries still felt uncomfortable with their presence nonetheless. In other words, the loyalty of the constitutional clergy was now suspect. While the issue of federalism would recede over time, the association between federalism and the constitutional clergy still remained. During a meeting of the popular society of Tarbes on 23 Ventôse Year II (13 March 1794), Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme addressed the question of whether or not it was possible to reform the priests for the good of the people: “[Monestier] clearly demonstrated that these hypocrites [priests] are the secret partisans of federalism; furious... at not having been able to divide the enormous mass of French people in their government, they seek to divide them morally; they seek to federalize their conscience....”⁵³ Thus despite the purported patriotism of the Constitutional Church, all priests were deep-down federalists in their hearts, and as such, would seek to “federalize” the conscience of the people. It would be from this skepticism and concerns over public order that Jacobins would begin to turn against all revealed religion overall.

The antipathy towards priests that erupted during the fraternal congress continued to simmer days after. Immediately following the fraternal congress, the popular society of Auch met to further discuss issues relating to religion.⁵⁴ During the meeting, Dartigoeyte raged against fanaticism, and condemned the way municipal officers, dressed in a sash, assisted in religious ceremonies. Then turning to topic of religious processions, he claimed that “all worship must be shut within the walls of temples. It is in silence and not in tumult that one must pay to Divinity the

⁵² Pierre-Armand Dartigoeyte to the Committee of Public Safety, 2 October 1793, in *Recueil des actes du Comité de salut public avec la correspondance officielle des représentants en mission et le registre du Conseil exécutif provisoire*, ed. François Alphonse Aulard, vol. 7, 22 September 1793 – 24 October 1793 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1894), 193. Henceforth, I will abbreviate as this as *RACSP*.

⁵³ AM Tarbes I 24, *Gloire à la Raison* (Tarbes: an II [1794]), 9.

⁵⁴ Brégail, “Deux grands Congrès des Sociétés populaires du Gers,” 133.

tribute of praise that one owes to it. Processions are occasions for dissipation and meeting. If Catholics have been more enlightened, they would have suppressed it a long time ago as harmful to their religion.”⁵⁵ Several episcopal vicars at the meeting agreed with Dartigoeyte’s observations, and recommended sending an address to the curés and the citizens of the department, urging them to recognize the necessity of confining their worship within the walls of temples. Like the fraternal congress, what was at issue was the way politics mixed with religion. It is clear that for Dartigoeyte, religion was inherently disorderly. Only by removing religion from public space would it be possible to ensure public order. In the following months, radical revolutionaries would go from banning particular religious worship from public spaces, to eventually banning all religious worship outright, save for the civic religion of the cult of Reason.

Section 2: The Unfinished Revolution?

By October 1793, Jacobin religious policy began to radicalize at a significant pace, leading to a need to redefine the meaning of the freedom of religious worship to accommodate the increasing restrictions imposed by the representatives on mission. While the religious policy throughout the summer of 1793 was characterized by anticlericalism, targeting in particular the refractory clergy, representatives on mission moved from simply limiting public religious practices to banning religious worship by Catholics, Protestants and Jews outright. In order to justify this change in religious policy, the representatives on mission and other local militants would argue that the provisions for freedom of religious worship did not apply to dominant or particular religious cults like Catholicism. In addition, radical revolutionaries started to call for a second

⁵⁵ Quoted in: Brégail, “Deux grands Congrès des Sociétés populaires du Gers,” 133.

religious revolution, the “Sacerdotal Revolution,” to complete the work of regeneration brought about by the political revolution that overthrew the monarchy.

The Montagnard constitution of 1793 provided the foundation for the protection of religious rights throughout Year II and served as a reference point for all those who later opposed the increasingly draconian limits placed on religious worship.⁵⁶ The Montagnard constitution opened up with a declaration of the rights of man and citizen, proclaimed in the presence of the Supreme Being.⁵⁷ Article 7 of the constitution granted the right to express one’s opinions, by either the press, peaceful assembly, religious worship, or by any other means, and that these means could not be prohibited. Moreover, in the section on the guarantee of rights, the constitution added a further protection for the exercise of religious worship. Despite its prominence in the text, the mention of the freedom of religious worship was fraught and contentious. During a debate in the National Convention on 19 April 1793, Pierre Victurnien Vergniaud and Georges Danton opposed Bertrand Barère’s plan to include religious worship in the declaration of rights on grounds that the freedom of assembly already rendered the protection for religious worship redundant and that the government should not legislate and police religious affairs.⁵⁸ Unlike the Constituent Assembly’s guarantee of religious worship, Danton and Vergniaud believed that times were much different and that the insertion of such a right would only reinforce the power of priests. However, the debate was immediately cut off due to the contentious tone. The issue of religious worship arose once more on 18 June when Barère proposed including religious worship in the list of guarantees.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Hermon-Belot, *Aux sources de l’idée laïque*, 174; Mathiez, “La Constitution de 1793,” 497-521.

⁵⁷ “Constitution du 24 juin 1793,” Conseil Constitutionnel, accessed 22 January 2019, <https://www.conseil-constitutionnel.fr/les-constitutions-dans-l-histoire/constitution-du-24-juin-1793>.

⁵⁸ *Archives parlementaires de 1787 à 1860: Recueil complet des débats législatifs et politiques des Chambres françaises*, ed. Jérôme Mavidal, Émile Laurent, Lodoïs Lataste, Constant Pionnier, Louis Claveau, André Ducom, vol. 62 (Paris: Imprimerie et librairie administratives et des chemins de fer, 1902), 707-709. Henceforth, this work will be abbreviated as *AP*.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 66:677.

Robespierre this time opposed Barère's suggestion, arguing that priests would use the guarantee as cover for counterrevolutionary activity. He also argued that such a guarantee was redundant since the freedom of opinion was already included in the declaration of rights. Despite the concerns from Danton, Vergniaud, and Robespierre, *la liberté des cultes* was included in the declaration of rights and the list of constitutional guarantees at the end of the text, though their concerns would reappear again from time to time.

Despite the protections enshrined in the constitution for religious worship, a growing sense emerged amongst the representatives on mission that measures needed to be taken to limit the pernicious influence of religion. Representatives on mission across France, either on their own initiative or at the behest of departmental activists, began to denounce the influence of priests over the countryside.⁶⁰ In the particular case of Nivernais in central France, Joseph Fouché responded to growing pressure from local Jacobin activists by placing more restrictions on public religious worship, thus representing a significant shift in Jacobin religious policy.⁶¹ While recognizing that the republic guaranteed equal protection for religious worship, Fouché expressed concern that “confusion and disorder in society” would follow if appropriate measures were not taken to regulate the way “particular sects” used public space.⁶² In an *arrêté* on 19 Vendémiaire Year II (10 October 1793), Fouché banned all public religious practices, clothing and symbols, on the grounds that the Republic did not “recognize any dominant or privileged religion.”⁶³ Furthermore, his *arrêté* secularized funeral rituals and cemeteries, demanding that the inscription “death is an

⁶⁰ Bossut, “Aux origines de la déchristianisation dans la Nièvre, Fouché, Chaumette, ou les jacobins Nivernais?,” 181-202; Vovelle, *Révolution contre l'église*, 198-202; John McManners, *The French Revolution and the Church* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), 80-105; Lucas, *The Structure of the Terror*, 287-288; Aston, *Religion and Revolution in France*, 259-276; Edmond Campagnac, “Les débuts de la déchristianisation dans le Cher septembre 1793-frimaire an II,” *Annales révolutionnaires* 4, no. 5 (1911): 626-637; see also, Maurice Dommanget, *La déchristianisation à Beauvais et dans l'Oise*, (Besançon: Millet, 1918-922).

⁶¹ ADG 1 L 147, *arrêté* of Joseph Fouché, 19 Vendémiaire Year II (10 October 1793), 3-4.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

eternal sleep” be placed over the gate of every cemetery and as well as a statue dedicated to the god Sleep. Echoing earlier debates over the freedom of religious worship, he further declared that French people do not recognize any “privileged symbols other than those of the Law, justice and liberty; no worship other than that of universal morality, no other dogma than that of its sovereignty and its complete power.”⁶⁴ With his *arrêté*, Fouché simultaneously reopened the debate over the meaning of *la liberté des cultes*, while at the same time shaping the terms of debate. As such, radical revolutionaries would come to justify their restrictions on grounds that the Republic’s protection of religious worship did not apply to dominant or privileged religions, like Catholicism.

By early-November, the representatives on mission in the South West issued their first decree limiting public religious worship and establishing a civic cult, thus marking a shift towards a new creative phase in the Sacerdotal Revolution. On 16 Brumaire Year II (6 November 1793), Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac declared that Joseph Fouché’s *arrêté* of 6 October 1793 was to be law in the departments of the Gers, Landes, Hautes- and Basses-Pyrénées.⁶⁵ They prohibited all public religious practices, clothing and symbols outside the confines of their “respective temples.” Moreover, they called for the secularization of funeral practices, as outlined by Fouché in his *arrêté*. Dartigoeyte and Cavaignac then went one step further and outlined provisions for a civic cult. At the end of each week, *bons citoyens* were to assemble either around a liberty tree or an altar of the Patrie in the presence of the constituted authorities to sing patriotic hymns and hear a public reading of the laws. The *arrêté* specifically prohibited religious ministers from overseeing the assembly. The remaining time was to be devoted to performing either an exercise of arms, a race, or a patriotic dance. Finally, the

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ ADG 1 L 147, *arrêté* of Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac, 16 Brumaire Year II (6 November 1793), 1-3; Aulard, *Le culte de la raison et le culte de l’Être suprême*, 114-118; Brégail, “Le Gers pendant la Révolution,” no. 33, 138-141.

representatives on mission entrusted the popular societies, who with their ‘enlightened zeal’ and ‘Montagnard energy,’ with the task of completing the eradication of ‘fanaticism,’ already in its death throes. This *arrêté* marked an important shift in the ways that the representatives on mission approached religion in the South West. While previously, revolutionaries targeted the refractory and constitutional clergies with surveillance and arrest, Dartigoeyte and Cavaignac's *arrêté* attempted to replace traditional forms of religious worship with new civic practices centered on the tenth day of the republican week, thus displacing Sunday. Revolutionary religious policy was no longer simply about purging the politically suspect; it now included the creation and elaboration of new forms of revolutionary sociability. Moreover, it marked, what Mona Ozouf has termed, a transfer of sacrality, whereby revolutionaries would use rituals to sacralize the new revolutionary regime. The center of the civic cult was the altar of the Patrie or the tree of liberty, and ceremonies would take place under the constituted authorities. The new ritual focus would now be the Patrie and its public servants.

Along with the establishment of the new civic cult, the *arrêté* and the focus on religious ritual also imbued the work of the representatives on mission with a new sense of politico-religious chiliasm. Filled with a new ‘enlightened zeal,’ Dartigoeyte and Cavaignac wrote back to Paris to announce their victory over ‘fanaticism.’ On 19 Brumaire Year II from Auch, they triumphantly declared to the National Convention that ‘fanaticism’ in Gers was defeated: “In religion as in politics, there must no longer be dupes on the earth. To achieve this salutary result, wherever our mission has called us, we have tore off the veil. Fanaticism is in agony here.”⁶⁶ For Dartigoeyte and Cavaignac, the Sacerdotal Revolution was a type of ‘civilizing mission.’ Although the National Convention originally sent them to oversee the conscription of soldiers and horses, lifting

⁶⁶ Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac to the National Convention, 19 Brumaire Year II (9 November 1793), in *RACSP*, 8:312-314.

the veil of religion and enlightening the dupes under the thrall of priests became a central goal of their mission. Dartigoeyte and Cavaignac urged the National Convention to send out secular missionaries to spread the revolutionary creed and to end the state's financing of religion: "Send missionaries throughout the country, who by their energy propagate and maintain the principles of morality; proclaim that from this point on no religion will be salaried by the nation, and that the only ministers that the law recognizes are the magistrates of the people."⁶⁷ In the French Republic, ministers would only be the secular magistrates. They added further that liberty and happiness were incompatible with the presence of priests: "Our love for the people, our wish for their complete emancipation inspires us, and in our opinion, they cannot be happy nor free with priests."⁶⁸ It is clear from this letter that Dartigoeyte and Cavaignac began to reimagine themselves as secular missionaries intended to enlighten the people. Their understanding of a type of sacral role of the representatives on mission became more apparent in Cavaignac's letter to the Committee of Public Safety. On 19 Brumaire Year II, Cavaignac wrote: "Wherever I pass, [the public] spirit is at new heights; it's the apostolate of Pinet, of Monestier, of Dartigoeyte and a few other of our colleagues that one owes to it. Their presence and energy has made miracles in this part of the Republic."⁶⁹ As the language of Cavaignac attests, the representative on mission began to take on a specifically religious quality. Pinet, Monestier and Dartigoeyte were described as 'apostles' and their presence and energy exuded an aura of the 'miraculous.'

While the representatives on mission began to imbue their work with a new sense of chiliasm, other radical revolutionaries in the South West began to agitate for more sweeping

⁶⁷ Dartigoeyte and Cavaignac to the National Convention, 19 Brumaire Year II (9 November 1793), in *RACSP*, 8:312-314

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac to the Committee of Public Safety, 19 Brumaire Year II (9 November 1793), in *RACSP*, 8:315.

measures aimed at curtailing public religious practice, go so far as to call for the complete abolition of Catholicism. Radicals had become convinced that Catholicism and republican government were completely incompatible. On 20 Brumaire Year II (10 November 1793), the Society of Sans-Culottes of Garlin sent a circular to surrounding communes, urging them to crush the influence of priests. In the circular, they wrote: “it is a sacred duty for all patriots, and notably the popular societies, to destroy all prejudices of the Ancien Régime, to combat and annihilate the influence of priests and religious charlatanism.”⁷⁰ They justified their position by arguing that *cultes dominantes* were inherently intolerant, and as such were not recognized by the *liberté des cultes* and thus incompatible with the Republic. Yet it was during a heated debate in the Conseil Général of the Department of Gers on 21 Brumaire Year II (11 November 1793), François-Michel Lantrac, the *procureur-général-syndic* of Gers, called for the outright abolition of Catholicism.⁷¹ He argued that since “the Catholic Religion and a Republican Government cannot exist together” and that “Terror, being the order of the day and a powerful source of energy,” it was a “favorable moment to eliminate the [Catholic religion].”⁷² Therefore it was of the utmost urgency for the revolutionary government to strike the final blow against religion. Also present during the meeting were the two representatives on mission, Dartigoeyte and Cavaignac. Amidst murmurs, Dartigoeyte intervened in the debate and proposed an alternative solution that would instead gradually secularize public space and thus prove to be less traumatizing to the people. For Dartigoeyte, the measures of the *arrêté* of 16 Brumaire were more than sufficient enough to combat the influence of superstition and fanaticism in the South West. The debate in the Conseil Général not only demonstrates the

⁷⁰ Archives départementales des Pyrénées Atlantiques, pôle de Pau, 29 L 3, MS “Session of the Popular Society of Garlin,” 20 Brumaire Year II (10 November 1793). Henceforth, “Archives départementales des Pyrénées Atlantiques” will be abbreviated as ADPA.

⁷¹ ADG, 1 L 117, MS minutes of the Conseil Général du département du Gers, 21 Brumaire Year II (11 November 1793); Bordes, “Les abdicataires du département du Gers,” 80-82.

⁷² Ibid.

continued enthusiasm amongst revolutionaries for religious reform, it also reveals the divisions amongst the radicals: those like Lantrac who wanted to use Terror to completely prohibit religion, while others, like the representatives on mission, who wanted to take a more gradualist approach to combating the influence of religion.

The *arrêté* of Dartigoeyte and Cavaignac also prompted a series of questions to emerge over the constitutional protections for religious worship and even the meaning of the *liberté des cultes*. Some revolutionaries did not believe that there was a contradiction between the *liberté des cultes* and the provisions of the *arrêté*. The popular society of Garlin in the Basses-Pyrénées balked at the idea of paying ministers of a *culte dominante*, while other defenders of the Patrie like doctors and cobblers went unpaid. Moreover, they argued that *cultes dominantes* were inherently intolerant, and as such, were not protected by the *liberté des cultes*.⁷³ Others alleged that nefarious counterrevolutionary forces were manipulating the meaning of the *libertés des cultes* to spark division. Amidst growing frustration over the abdicators resuming their religious functions, a member of the popular society of Auch complained that false patriots and aristocrats were intentionally using Dartigoeyte's speech on the *liberté des cultes* to dangerous effect.⁷⁴ Likewise, the surveillance committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau [formerly, Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne] accused a woman named Duclerc of invoking the free exercise of religious worship to cause disorder and foment religious errors.⁷⁵ But not everyone found the arguments of the representatives on mission and their local collaborators to be convincing. In the Hautes Pyrénées, members of the popular society of Castelnau-Rivière-Basse arranged a series of debates for and

⁷³ ADPA, pôle de Pau, 29 L 3, MS "Session of the Popular Society of Garlin," 20 Brumaire Year II (10 November 1793).

⁷⁴ ADG, 1 L 694, "Session of the Popular Society of Auch," 11 Nivôse Year II (31 December 1793).

⁷⁵ "Séance permanente du 27 Nivôse" (16 January 1794)," in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau / Saint-Esprit-Lès-Bayonne: Procès-verbaux et correspondance 11 Octobre 1793 - 30 Fructidor an II*, ed. Ernest Ginsburger (Paris: Librairie Lipschutz, 1934), 137.

against religious worship.⁷⁶ In the same popular society on 25 Frimaire Year II (15 December 1793), a member named Baccarère informed the popular society that the department was making provisions to guarantee the free exercise of religious worship in the secret of temples.⁷⁷ Finally during a meeting of the Society of the True Friends of the Constitution of Lannemezan, a dispute broke out where Dominique Barrère and Louis Duprat claimed the right of the *liberté du culte* while another member named Pinac refuted them in favor of the cult of Reason.⁷⁸ Thus one result of the *arrêté* of Dartigoeyte and Cavaignac and the subsequent religious policies of the other representatives on mission was to open up a debate over how the meaning of the *liberté des cultes* in Year II.

When it came to applying the provisions of the *arrêté* of 16 Brumaire, departmental administrators tried to prevent alarm and reassure everyone that the *arrêté* in fact protected religious liberty. The *procureur-général-syndic* of the Hautes Pyrénées stressed that provisions “do not put any obstacle to the right of worship for any religion that is equally protected by the law,” noting only that “all privilege is effaced.”⁷⁹ He further emphasized that the provisions “should not cause any alarm, and do not harm the exercise of any religion.”⁸⁰ In the department of Gers, Lantrac took a more aggressive stance by questioning those critical of the *arrêté* and reminding the people of Gers that they swore an oath to maintain equality.⁸¹ He went on to argue that those who wanted a *culte dominant* were actually those demanding to have more rights than

⁷⁶ ADHP 1 L 1176 bis, “Session of the Republican and Montagnard Society of Castelnau-Rivière-Basse,” 16 Frimaire Year II (6 December 1793).

⁷⁷ ADHP 1 L 1176 bis, “Session of the Republican and Montagnard Society of Castelnau-Rivière-Basse,” 25 Frimaire Year II (15 December 1793).

⁷⁸ ADHP 1 L 1180, “Session of the Society of the True Friends of the Constitution of Lannemezan,” 22 Floréal Year II (11 May 1794).

⁷⁹ ADHP 1 L 149, *Extrait du registre des Délibérations du Conseil du Département des Hautes Pyrénées*, 22 Brumaire Year II (Tarbes: An II), 1-2.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁸¹ ADG 1 L 147, *Extrait du registre des Délibérations du Conseil du Département du Gers*, 21 Brumaire Year II (Auch: 1793), 5-6.

their fellow citizens. According to Lantrac, the first duty of the revolutionary government was to enlighten public opinion. Thus it was not possible for the government to prevent citizens from adopting the religious belief that they find most convincing. Instead, he insisted that it was impossible for a republic to have a *culte dominante*, since that would deny the fundamental equality of the Revolution. The department of Landes likewise reaffirmed that the provisions of the 16 Brumaire *arrêté* did not attack the freedom of opinion or religion; rather, it removed religious privileges and distinctions, on the grounds that it was unjust to impose religious dogma on the entirety of society.⁸² Therefore for the departmental administrations in the South West, there was an unease that the *arrêté* of 16 Brumaire might alienate the general population, and a continued attempt to show that the provisions actually ensured religious freedom by maintaining equality of worship.

The representatives on mission attempted to resolve this debate arguing that constitutional protections did not apply to particular forms of religious worship. By the winter of 1793, unrest over religious worship spread across the South West. It was within this context that on 7 Frimaire Year II (27 November 1793) at the camp of Belchenia in the Basses-Pyrénées that Monestier du Puy de Dôme gave one of his more novel interpretations of the *liberté des cultes* in a letter addressed to the soldiers of the Army of the Western Pyrenees and promulgated throughout the Pyrenean departments.⁸³ In his letter, Monestier derided those responsible for the controversy, reminding the soldiers that the greatest threat to the French Republic remained the Catholic king of Spain and his inquisition. He then went on to reassure friendship to all French Catholics, Jews,

⁸² ADL 3 L 8, "Deliberations of the Conseil Général du Département des Landes," 16 Frimaire Year II.

⁸³ BM Pau Ee 1912, *Arrêté* of Monestier (du-Puy-de-Dôme), Représentant du Peuple près l'Armée des Pyrénées Occidentales et les Départemens environs *À ses frères d'armes et aux Citoyens Républicains formant la Société Républicaine et Montagnarde d'Aignoua, District d'Ustarits, Département des Basses-Pyrénées* (Belchenia: an II [1793]), 1-3; Aulard, *Le culte de la raison et le culte de l'Être suprême*, 134-135; Richard, *Le gouvernement révolutionnaire dans les Basses-Pyrénées*, 162.

Protestants and Muslims, provided that they defend the unity and indivisibility of the republic, equality, and liberty. For Monestier, the root of the problem lay in the popular misunderstanding of what the *liberté des cultes* actually meant. It did not mean the right to clutter the roads with crucifixes or to circumcise children. He clarified:

No my good friends, that's not what the *liberté des cultes* consists of: it's that each adores the Supreme Being in spirit and in truth, that's the universal religion: that no one does to another what he would not want done to himself, that's the morality of all places, of all times, of all individuals; all other doctrines, all other practices are only the charlatanism of priests and superstition of believers.⁸⁴

Monestier then concluded on an Hébertist flourish by declaring, “the cross is down, all the better, all the fucking better” and calling on the soldiers fight against Spain and religious fanaticism. Thus for Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, constitutional provisions protecting religious worship did not apply to particular public practices like circumcision, religious processions or even religious symbols. Everyone was guaranteed the right to worship the Supreme Being in private. What was most important was the maintenance of public order.

Yet despite the ambiguities of Monestier's own interpretation of religious liberty, religion nevertheless remained an important tool of national integration. In his *arrêté*, Monestier was careful to subordinate particular religious identity to a universalism that undoubtedly was associated with the French Revolution: everyone regardless of their religious background had a right to worship the Supreme Being. What was most important was the maintenance of public order and loyalty to the state. Such a position would also assume that all citizens would be obligated to forego their particular forms of religious worship on Saturdays and Sundays, as dictated by the law, and would be expected to participate in the *fêtes décadaires*. In the preface to

⁸⁴ BM Pau Ee 1912, *Arrêté* of Monestier (du-Puy-de-Dôme), Représentant du Peuple près l'Armée des Pyrénées Occidentales et les Départemens environs *À ses frères d'armes et aux Citoyens Républicains formant la Société Républicaine et Montagnarde d'Aignoua, District d'Ustarits, Département des Basses-Pyrénées* (Belchenia: an II [1793]), 2-3.

a later *arrêté* prohibiting religious worship and instituting the Cult of Reason, Monestier explicitly stated that his religious measures were intended to reestablish natural religion and maintain unity amongst the French people. Addressing the popular societies of the Basses-Pyrénées, Monestier wrote:

I learn with joy that you have been successful in elevating the good inhabitants of your commune to the heights of reason. They are finally going to be virtuous without mummeries and return to the ancient religion of their fathers as they regain possession of their ancient rights of man. That part of the French Revolution appears so analogous to the need, sentiment and happiness of each individual, that I did not believe it necessary to aid the progress of natural religion by any active voice, by any vigorous *arrêté*. I left the germ of primitive virtue and sacred fire of eternal reason, the time to develop spontaneously in each conscience, to shine with all its radiance to all eyes, and gradually to set ablaze the hearts of all. It is to the popular societies, to accelerate that happy moment when all men will really have only one heart and one soul, because they will have only the same God without any mix of superstition, deception, ridicule and human invention. It is to the popular societies to spread these great and eternal principles.⁸⁵

Contrary to Monestier's claim that he did not intervene in a heavy handed way to promote natural religion, the Sacerdotal Revolution put in place in the South West was always intended, with the help of the popular societies, to ensure that the newly regenerated citizens of the French Republic would be of one heart and one soul in their worship of the Supreme Being. Only by stripping away superstition and dismissing intransigent priests, rabbis and pastors, would the revolutionaries be able to purify religion and fully achieve the total regeneration of mankind. Thus radical revolutionaries like Monestier adopted a religious policy that embraced the homogenizing impulse of regeneration by dissolving particular confessional boundaries in revolutionary universalism.

While revolutionaries prohibited public expressions of particular forms of worship, they also established the cult of Reason dedicated to the general worship of the Supreme Being. Throughout the departments of the Gers, Landes and Basses-Pyrénées, the representatives on

⁸⁵ BM Pau, Ee 1912, Jean-Baptiste-Benoît Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, *Monestier (du Puy-de-Dôme), Représentant du Peuple à ses frères et amis, les citoyens composant la Société Populaire de Nay, District de Pau, Département de Basses-Pyrénées*, (21 Ventôse Year II - 11 March 1794), 2.

mission converted churches into temples of Reason where they used the celebration of the Supreme Being as a means of reinforcing attachment to the Patrie. Sometimes the celebrations would take the form of iconoclastic spectacle. Writing to the National Convention, Cavaignac spoke of a festival celebrated at Auch, where everyone assembled for a Lacedaemonian banquet.⁸⁶ From there, the people marched in a procession characterized by the destruction of “fanatical symbols,” set ablaze in a bonfire of feudal titles, religious relics, and statues of saints. Dartigoeyte likewise participated in a festival of Reason held in the temple of Truth at Saint-Sever.⁸⁷ In the department of the Basses-Pyrénées, Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, Pinet and Garrau inaugurated a temple of Reason at Bayonne. Like at Auch, iconoclastic destruction and carnivalesque mockery played an important role in the civic ritual.⁸⁸ During this ceremony, Pinet delivered a speech on natural religion and the universal worship of the Supreme Being.⁸⁹ According to Pinet, the political revolution necessitated a revolution in religion. He further remarked that superstition and fanaticism had long blinded man to the primordial religion of the Supreme Being common to all of humanity, and only now had Reason dispersed religious deception. Only simplicity of worship was needed to render homage to the Supreme Being. Despite the claims of religious ministers about the destruction of religious objects, no intermediary was needed. Thus the cult of Reason was the general religion of all mankind, and necessitated the destruction of useless objects of worship, characteristic of particular religious worship. In many ways, these celebrations served as a foundation for the later elaboration of revolutionary civic religion.

⁸⁶ Letter of Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac to the National Convention, 3 Frimaire Year II (23 November 1793), in *RACSP*, 8:663.

⁸⁷ ADL 67 L 1, *Procès-verbal de la cérémonie qui a eu lieu dans la Commune de Saint-Sever, pour l'Inauguration du Temple de la Vérité* (Mont-de-Marsan: an II [1793]), 1-7.

⁸⁸ Letter of Pierre-Anselme Garrau, Jacques Pinet and Jean-Baptiste Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme to the Committee of Public Safety, 13 Frimaire Year II (3 December 1793), in *RACSP*, 9:140-141.

⁸⁹ Jacques Pinet, *Discours prononcé par PINET aîné, Représentant du Peuple, dans la ci-devant église cathédrale de Bayonne, le 10 frimaire, jour de la fête de la Raison dans cette ville* (an II [1793]), 18.

Section 3: Robespierre and *La Liberté des Cultes*

As the revolutionaries in the South West tried to consolidate their own religious program, the National Convention and, in particular, Robespierre, began to grow increasingly uneasy with the wider movement. By late October the Committee of Public Safety had already started to reprimand the representatives on mission for some of their impolitic measures targeting religion.⁹⁰ Around the same time in Paris, the Paris Commune and the Parisian sectional movement also began to push for hardline policies against priests and religious worship, culminating in Archbishop Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Gobel's resignation before the bar of the National Convention on 20 Brumaire Year II (10 November 1793) and the Paris Commune's sanctioning of the closure of churches on 3 Frimaire Year II (23 November 1793).⁹¹ Moreover a bitter debate erupted in the Jacobin Club following an article in *Le Journal de la Montagne* on public instruction by Jean-Charles Laveaux in which Laveaux publicly denounced atheism and superstition as equally destructive to the French republic.⁹² It was amidst this climate of controversy that Robespierre began to more forcibly push back against those advocating for the abdication of priests, closing of churches and the establishment of a cult of Reason. By 27 Brumaire Year II (17 November 1793), the Committee of Public Safety issued a report on the political situation of the republic, denouncing

⁹⁰ The Committee of Public Safety would write to André Dumont, the representative on mission to the Oise: "It appears to us that in your last operations you have struck too violently the objects of the Catholic worship. A part of France, and throughout the Midi is again fanaticized. It is really necessary to keep yourself from providing counterrevolutionary hypocrites, who seek to start a civil war, any pretext that seems to justify their calumnies. You should not present them with the occasion to say that one had violated the liberty of religious worship and one makes war against religion itself. It is necessary to punish seditious and unpatriotic priests, but not to proscribe too overtly the title of priest in itself. It's no longer necessary to apply to a country where patriotism is tepid and numb the violent remedies necessary in rebel and counterrevolutionary countries." Letter of the Committee of Public Safety to André Dumont, 6 Brumaire Year II - 27 October 1793, in *RACSP*, 7:58-59.

⁹¹ Aulard, *Christianity and the French Revolution*, 104-112; Aulard, *Le culte de la raison et le culte de Être suprême*, 37-60; McManners, *The French Revolution and the Church*, 86-97, 106-111; Charles McNamara, "The Hébertists: Study of a French Revolutionary "Faction" in the Reign of Terror, 1793-1794," (PhD diss., Fordham University, 1974), 242-253; Robert R Palmer, *The Twelve Who Ruled: The Year of the Terror in the French Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 117-120.

⁹² *Journal de la Montagne*, no. 158, 17 Brumaire Year II (7 November 1793) 1068-1069.

false patriots for inflaming fanaticism through its impolitic measures and thus alienating the French Republic from its allies.⁹³

Robespierre reaffirmed that the National Convention was committed to protecting religious worship and respecting the character of the French people.⁹⁴ Robespierre developed his ideas over the course of a series of speeches given in the Jacobin Club and National Convention in the first week of Frimaire.⁹⁵ During a meeting of the Jacobin Society on 1 Frimaire Year II, Robespierre denounced Hébert and his allies for needlessly provoking civil disorder over religion. For him, fanaticism was no longer a threat and was already in its death throes.⁹⁶ He further questioned whether forcing a priest to abdicate was actually an effective means of proving one's patriotism: "you only believe their love for the Patrie, on the faith of their sudden abjuration, and that they are very content with you...."⁹⁷ Renouncing the priesthood would only in the end highlight the abdicator's own moral dubiousness. The true threat to the republic came not from priests, but those men "without honor, as without religion."⁹⁸ Moreover, their actions were not sanctioned by the law. Although he recognized the patriotism of those who seized religious items and presented to the National Convention, Robespierre stressed that the Convention did not sanction religious persecution: "One supposed that in welcoming the civic offerings, the Convention had proscribed religious worship. No, the Convention has not taken that imprudent step. The Convention will

⁹³ "Rapport sur la situation politique de la République, session of 27 Brumaire Year II (17 November 1793)," in *Oeuvres des Maximilien Robespierre*, vol. 9 Discours, ed. Marc Bouloiseau and Albert Soboul (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1967), 173.

⁹⁴ Aulard, *Le culte de la raison et le culte de l'Être suprême*, 172-191; Aulard, *Christianity and the French Revolution*, 112-115; McNamara, "The Hébertists," 253-265; Palmer, *The Twelve that Ruled*, 120-124; Shane Hockin, "Les Hommes Sans Dieu: Atheism, Religion, and Politics during the French Revolution," (PhD diss., Florida State University, 2014), 188-198.

⁹⁵ Maximilien Robespierre, "2e intervention: Pour la liberté des cultes," in *Oeuvres des Maximilien Robespierre*, 9:193-201; "2e intervention: Sur la politique gouvernementale, particulièrement en matière religieuse," in *Oeuvres des Maximilien Robespierre*, 9:204-215; "2e intervention: Sur les manoeuvres des agents de l'étranger et pour la liberté des cultes," in *Oeuvres des Maximilien Robespierre*, 9:233-238.

⁹⁶ Robespierre, "Pour la liberté des cultes," 9:195.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

never do it. Its intention is to maintain the freedom of religion that it had proclaimed and punish at the same time those who abuse it in order to disturb the public.”⁹⁹ Nor did the Convention, he added, permit the persecution of peaceful religious ministers. As a result, Hébert and his followers were directly flaunting popular will. Striking a populist note, Robespierre declared: “Atheism is *aristocratic*; the idea of a great being who watches over oppressed innocence, and who punishes triumphant crime is altogether popular.”¹⁰⁰ Only belief in the Supreme Being was popular, and hence, good. As such, it was the duty of the Convention to respect and protect “not only rights, but the character of the French people.”¹⁰¹ The aristocratic nature of political atheism not only was in direct contrast to popular belief, it also represents a rejection of the nation.¹⁰²

For Robespierre and his allies, the political atheism of the Hébertists threatened to destabilize the republic by provoking religious controversy in France and harm the republic’s reputation abroad. While the National Convention continued to punish those priests hostile to the Revolution, a greater danger came from political atheism. In his speech of 1 Frimaire, Robespierre went so far as to accuse those imposing atheism of being the real fanatics: “Those who want to stop the Mass are more fanatical than those who say it.”¹⁰³ As a result, either by violence or authority, these aristocratic atheists forbid citizens from exercising their traditional religion.¹⁰⁴ These same “aristocrats” who seized religious item would then turn to the people and tell them that “the Convention was a gathering of atheists, and the Jacobins are impious.”¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, Robespierre argued that these political atheists were part of an foreign plot to undermine the

⁹⁹ Ibid., 9:196.

¹⁰⁰ Robespierre, “*Pour la liberté des cultes*,” 9:196.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 9:196.

¹⁰² For the debate over Hébert’s atheism, see: Hockin, “Les Hommes sans Dieu,” 147-185. Hockin concludes that there is not enough evidence to maintain that Hébert was an atheist.

¹⁰³ Robespierre, “*Pour la liberté des cultes*,” 9:196.

¹⁰⁴ Robespierre, “*Sur la politique gouvernementale, particulièrement en matière religieuse*,” 9:210.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 9:214.

Revolution.¹⁰⁶ Accordingly, the kings of Europe, seeing that their armies defeated and subjects fatigued, sought instead to encourage atheism as a means to foment division and damage the international reputation of the Republic.¹⁰⁷ Counterrevolutionaries would, according to Robespierre, accuse the republic of adjuring universal toleration, persecuting all religions, and turning their political revolution into a religious quarrel. The effects of the conspiracy would be triple: internal division, tarnished international standing, and a loss of morale amongst the French soldiers who needed the belief in the immortality of the soul to press on.¹⁰⁸ By emphasizing the idea of the foreign plot, Robespierre portrayed those supportive of religious Terror as foreign and in opposition to the Nation. It was the French nation that believed in the Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul; atheism only represented fragmentation and disorder.

The ultimate result of the intervention by Robespierre and his allies like Bertrand Barère was a compromise that protected religious worship and the secularizing initiatives of the representatives on mission.¹⁰⁹ On 16 Frimaire Year II (6 December 1793), the National Convention approved Robespierre's proposed decree.¹¹⁰ The decree first outlawed all violence and threats contrary to the *liberté des cultes*.¹¹¹ It further circumscribed the surveillance of the constituted authorities and the actions of law enforcement regarding this matter. Finally, the Convention upheld the previous repressive laws and measures of public safety targeting priests and those who wanted to use religion to provoke public disturbance, nor did it discourage efforts and slow down

¹⁰⁶ Robespierre, "*Pour la liberté des cultes*," 9:198.

¹⁰⁷ Robespierre, "*Sur la politique gouvernementale, particulièrement en matière religieuse*," 210; Robert Palmer argued that Robespierre possibly believed in the conspiracy theory about the foreign plot. Palmer, *The Twelve that Ruled*, 120.

¹⁰⁸ Robespierre, "*Pour la liberté des cultes*," 198.

¹⁰⁹ Danton would famously asked for the end of the anti-religious masquerades at the National Convention. Aulard, *Le culte de la raison et culte de l'Être suprême*, 186.

¹¹⁰ *AP*, 81:29-30.

¹¹¹ Aulard, *Le culte de la raison et le culte de l'Être suprême*, 192-196; Aulard, *Christianity and the French Revolution*, 114-115.

the development of public opinion [ralentir l'essor de l'esprit public]. Barère was crucial in the development of this final provision. Two days after the passage of the decree Barère expressed worry that the decree could undermine the authority of the representatives on mission in the departments and asked the Convention to revise the final measure: "The Committee [of Public Safety] believes that this provision does not have enough latitude. Many representatives of the people in the departments have issued *arrêtés* to help citizens destroy superstition; we think that it must be added to the decree that the Convention does not intend to disapprove of the *arrêtés* taken by the representatives of the people."¹¹² Barère's suggestion was adopted into the final decree on 18 Frimaire Year II (8 December 1793). What this demonstrates is that although revolutionaries like Danton and Robespierre disapproved of the religious Terror in the departments, the Committee of Public Safety and the National Convention was careful not to undermine the authority of the representatives on mission. What the decree tried above all else to do was silence the ongoing religious controversy undermining the authority of the Republic internally and internationally. The decree even ended by calling on "all good citizens, in the name of the Patrie, to abstain from all disputes theological or foreign to the great interest of the French people, in order to contribute all of their means to the triumph of the Republic and the ruin of its enemies."¹¹³ For the National Convention, the debate over religion had been destructive, and the deputies wanted to quickly return the debate back to the war. By protecting religious worship and upholding previous measures taken by the representatives on mission, Robespierre and his allies hoped to satisfy all factions and provide a unified and comprehensive stance to end the acrimonious debate.

¹¹² *AP*, 81:121.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 81:30.

Section 4: A Funeral for Catholicism – the Sacerdotal Revolution Unbowed

Robespierre's initial intervention did little to change the overall direction of the Sacerdotal Revolution in the South West since the debate over the freedom of religious worship for particular forms of religious worship quickly turned into a debate over religious identity. Some revolutionaries did in fact heed Robespierre's insistence on refraining from taking too harsh of a stance on religious worship. Moreover, there were others who ignored the law of 16/18 Frimaire. Despite the disapproval from the Parisian authorities over the direction of the Sacerdotal Revolution, the representatives on mission and local activists continued to close churches and synagogues, dismiss religious ministers, demolish belfries, seize religious items, and spread the cult of Reason. Others revolutionaries active in the South West did not even think that they were violating the law and insisted that their restrictions actually protected the right to religious worship from particular and dominant forms of worship. Finally, another group simply maintained that their religious revolution carried necessary implications regarding the safety of the republic. Thus at issue for some of these religious radicals was the problem of overcoming particular religious identities that long divided the people and were used by priests and kings as a system of power. Accordingly, constitutional protections therefore were not an option for a group of people who did not recognize the rights of others.

Local revolutionaries in the South West remained unrelenting in their attempts to extirpate revealed religion. In the department of the Gers, radical revolutionaries led by the *procureur-général-syndic*, Lantrac, tore down a crucifix hanging in the stands as patriotic songs were sang.¹¹⁴ Then Lantrac climbed the pulpit to the sound of rapturous applause and delivered a speech on Reason and philosophy to the sans-culottes gathered there.¹¹⁵ In the department of the Hautes-

¹¹⁴ Brégail, "Le Gers pendant la Révolution," 141.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 142.

Pyrénées on 20 Nivôse Year II (9 January 1793), the military festival held by the municipality of Tarbes to celebrate the recapture of Toulon quickly turned into an occasion to denounce religious fanaticism and inaugurate the cult of Reason.¹¹⁶ The *décadaire* festival began with a military parade, patriotic speeches, and a banquet, and soon after the arrival of a tableau representing the Declaration of the Rights of Man, sent by Bertrand Barère, led to a procession to the altar of the Patrie to bless the tableau and then to the cathedral, which the attendees transformed into a temple of Reason for future celebrations of the cult of Reason. Other revolutionary bodies like the surveillance committee of the Jewish commune of Jean-Jacques Rousseau [Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne] in the department of the Basses-Pyrénées would vigorously continue to monitor and discipline Catholic and Jewish religious worship.¹¹⁷ Finally, some administrators banned religious worship altogether. For example, district administrators in the Isle-Jourdain in the department of the Gers, would also take measures to close all churches and arrest priests.¹¹⁸ Thus implementation of the Sacerdotal Revolution by radicals in the local departmental institutions, like the districts, directories, surveillance committees, and the popular societies remained uninterrupted throughout the spring.

While supportive of departmental activists, the representatives on mission would at times be apprehensive and intervene if they felt that their actions went too far in violating the freedom of religious worship. In Nivôse, Dartigoeyte reprimanded the district of Isle-Jourdain for its closure of churches and arrests of priests.¹¹⁹ Writing to the directory of the district, Dartigoeyte warned them that such measures would violate the law:

¹¹⁶ AM Tarbes I 5, *Apperçu de la fête célébrée à Tarbes le second Décadi de Nivôse, de l'an 2 de la république Française, une et indivisible, en honneur de la reprise de l'infâme Toulon, aujourd'hui Porte de la Montagne* (Tarbes: an II [1794]), 1-13.

¹¹⁷ For example, see the registres for the months of Nivôse and Pluviôse: Ernest Ginsburger, ed., *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau / Saint-Esprit-Lès-Bayonne*, 124-170.

¹¹⁸ Brégail, "Le Gers pendant la Révolution," 145.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

Be careful about wanting to bring about a revolution in religious ideas by violence. Let us enlighten people on the true public morality, on the way of honoring divinity by manners and virtues; but far from patriots is the idea of persecution. The law orders the freedom of all religious worship; you cannot therefore remove priests as priest, nor close churches, nor use any violence without breaking the law.¹²⁰

Like with his intervention against Lantrac's proposal to abolish Catholicism, the normally hot-headed Dartigoyte stressed caution to the rash district of Isle-Jourdain when it came to religious matters. Dartigoyte's wariness most likely was a result of the law of 16/18 Frimaire II. In fact, Dartigoyte would write to the Committee of Public Safety on 23 Nivose Year II (12 January 1794) expressing his disapproval over the measure, while at the same time extolling the progress of the religious revolution in the South West.¹²¹ Likewise, the Committee of Public Safety had prior written to Dartigoyte on several occasions, praising his circumspection with regards to religious matters.¹²² Notwithstanding the Committee of Public Safety's approval, Dartigoyte's pronouncements in favor of the freedom of religious worship could also spark confusion and frustration amongst more militant members of the popular society.¹²³ On 10 Nivôse Year II (30 December 1793), a member of the popular society of Auch complained that false patriots and aristocrats were intentionally using Dartigoyte's speech on the *liberté des cultes* to dangerous effect.¹²⁴

Dartigoyte's other fellow representatives on mission were less cautious about instituting the cult of Reason, believing that their establishment of the nationalistic cult remained in keeping

¹²⁰ Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoyte to Directoire du district de l'Isle-Jourdain in *RACSP*, 10:212.

¹²¹ Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoyte to the Committee of Public Safety, 23 Nivôse Year II - 12 January 1794 in *RACSP*, 10:211-212.

¹²² For more, see: Letter of the Committee of Public Safety to Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoyte, 19 Nivôse Year II - 8 January 1794 in *RACSP*, 10:125. The Committee of Public Safety wrote, "The circumspection that you bring in measures relative to religious worship conformed to the spirit and dispositions of the decree of the National Convention."; See also, Letter of the Committee of Public Safety to Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoyte, 2 Pluviôse Year II - 21 January 1794 in *RACSP*, 10:362.

¹²³ Brégail, *Les Curés rouges et la Société montagnarde d'Auch*, 3-4.

¹²⁴ ADG, 1 L 694, "Session of the Popular Society of Auch," 11 Nivôse Year II (31 December 1793).

with freedom of religious worship. On 27 Pluviôse Year II (15 February 1794) in the Department of the Landes and Lot-et-Garonne, Pierre-Laurent Monestier de la Lozère promulgated an *arrêté* that demanded the surveillance of the *abdicataires*, the scrupulous celebration of the *culte décadaire*, the removal of all bells not “raised to Reason,” investigation of all religious ministers found to be complicit in exciting public disturbance, and a report on all communes that have renounced public worship and those that established temples of Reason.¹²⁵ Meanwhile, further to the south, Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme began to traverse the Basses- and Hautes-Pyrénées, issuing *arrêtés* closing churches and establishing the Cult of Reason.¹²⁶ On 12 Ventôse Year II (2 March 1794), Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme ordered the confiscation of all religious items, the establishment of the cult of Reason, the removal of church bells, the closure of all churches not dedicated to the cult of Reason, and the demolition of belfries.¹²⁷ Additionally, Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme issued a similar decree in the Hautes-Pyrénées at the beginning of Germinal Year II at the urging of the District of Tarbes.¹²⁸ Finally, again in the department of the Landes, the representatives on mission Pinet and Cavaignac likewise reinforced decrees relating to religious worship while investigating a counterrevolutionary conspiracy in Saint-Sever.¹²⁹ Effectively the intervention from Paris failed to halt the development of the Sacerdotal Revolution in the South West, as the representatives continued to destroy religious items, stage sacrilegious mass.

¹²⁵ BM Pau Ee 1912, *arrêté* of Pierre-Laurent Monestier de la Lozère, 27 Pluviôse Year II (15 February 1794), 1-2.

¹²⁶ Aulard, *Le culte de la raison et le culte de l'Être suprême*, 135-142; Richard, *Le gouvernement révolutionnaire dans les Basses-Pyrénées*, 162-193.

¹²⁷ ADHP 2 J 128/3, *arrêté* of Jean-Baptiste-Benoîte Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, 12 Ventôse Year II (2 March 1794), 2-4.

¹²⁸ “Extrait du registre des procès-verbaux du district de Tarbes, séance publique permanente et révolutionnaire du 8 germinal, seconde année républicain,” in Société Ramond, *Explorations pyrénéennes: Bulletin trimestriel de la Société Ramond* 9, no.1 and 2 (1904): 32-34; “Adresse de Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme aux administrateurs du district de Tarbes, le 8 germinal, seconde année républicaine,” in Société Ramond, *Explorations pyrénéennes: Bulletin trimestriel de la Société Ramond* 9, no.1 and 2 (1904): 35-36.

¹²⁹ Letter of Jacques Pinet, and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac to the National Convention, 28 Germinal Year II (17 April 1794) in *RACSP*, 12: 653-654.

The festivals of Reason celebrated by Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, Féraud and others across the South West were baroque spectacles of unity and the majesty of the nation. The essential idea behind these festivals was that superstition and fanaticism had long divided the nation and only the worship of the Supreme Being and the nation provided the unity needed in the formation of the nation. In the months leading up to the spectacular festivals of 20 Ventôse Year II (10 March 1794) and 10 Germinal Year II (30 March Year II), were the festivals of unity. While at Mauleon, Féraud organized a festival of unity to erase the boundaries separating the upper and lower parts of the city, bringing them together once more “in a single commune, in a single family.”¹³⁰ Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme likewise celebrated a festival of unity that brought together Catholics and Protestants of Orthez.¹³¹ The ceremony concluded with a solemn renunciation of religious ministries by the ministers of both groups. As the two representatives moved across the Basses-Pyrénées and into the Hautes-Pyrénées, a wave of public renunciations of Catholicism spread across the two departments. Féraud also reported to the Committee of Public Safety about his religious measures taken in the border town of Arreau in the Hautes-Pyrénées.¹³² In his letter of 3 Germinal Year II to the Committee of Public Safety, Féraud wrote about how he “gradually accustomed [the people of the region] to all the privations, to all the sacrifices, and to the forgetting of oneself in the sentiment of the Patrie; We are happy to visit them under their thatched roof, to soften their misery, and we all cry together: *Death to tyrants and traitors!* and *Long live the Republic, One and Indivisible!*”¹³³ Thus the cult of Reason was more a means of ensuring solidarity

¹³⁰ Letter of Jean Bertrand Féraud to the Committee of Public Safety, 30 Nivôse Year II - 19 January 1794 in *RACSP*, 10:326-327.

¹³¹ Letter of Jean-Baptiste-Benoît Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme to the National Convention, 21 Pluviôse Year II - 9 February 1794 in *RACSP*, 11:26.

¹³² See, Letter of Jean Bertrand to the Committee of Public Safety, 29 Ventôse Year II - 19 March 1794 in *RACSP*, 12:63-64; Letter of Jean Bertrand Féraud to the Committee of Public Safety, 3 Germinal Year II - 23 March 1794 in *RACSP*, 12:138-139; Letter of Jean Bertrand Féraud to the Committee of Public Safety, 6 Germinal Year II - 26 March 1794 in *RACSP*, 12:205.

¹³³ Letter of Féraud, 3 Germinal Year II, 12:139.

and unity, especially in borderland regions like the Pyrenean departments.

The “advances of Reason” climaxed in the festivals of Reason at Pau on 20 Ventôse Year II and at Tarbes on 10 Germinal Year II, where Monestier and Féraud announced the death of Catholicism and the apotheosis of the nation.¹³⁴ Both celebrations featured a pageantry of military arms and allegorical representations of social roles and values of the new regenerated society.¹³⁵ Under banners, children were the “hope of the Patrie” and merchants, artisans, craftsmen, and farmers displayed their own contribution to the defense of the Patrie. Other banners declared eternal war to tyrants and called for the destruction of fanaticism. At Pau, the procession gathered at the altar of the Patrie to witness a civic baptism performed by Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme. Both festivals ended at the designated temple of Reason, where Monestier, and later at Tarbes, Féraud, would deliver fiery speeches about war, religious fanaticism, and the triumph of reason over superstition and priests. Each festival concluded with an *auto-da-fé* of religious items outside the temple and a civic ball to celebrate. The message of these elaborate rituals was clear: the destruction of superstition, seen as tied to parochial localism, and the exaltation of the nation. As the historian Mona Ozouf had aptly observed, though the Patrie may have been physically absent from the festivals, it still served as the unspoken focal point of the entire festival.¹³⁶ The entire

¹³⁴ Aulard, *Le culte de la raison et le culte de l'Être suprême*, 135-142; Richard, *Le gouvernement révolutionnaire dans les Basses-Pyrénées*, 162-193; Ricaud, *Les représentants du Peuple en mission dans les Hautes-Pyrénées*, 1:55-68.

¹³⁵ BM Pau Ee 1912, *Relation de la Fête révolutionnaire qui a eu lieu dans la commune de Pau, le 20 ventôse, l'an second de la République française, une et indivisible, à l'occasion de l'inauguration du Temple de la Raison* (Pau: an II [1794]), 1-11; AM Tarbes P 14/1, MS "Procès verbal de la fête de la raison, célébrée dans la commune de Tarbes, chef lieu du département des hautes pyrénées, sous les yeux de Monestier et de Féraud représentant du Peuple français, décadi 10 germinal de la république, une, indivisible, et imperissable."

¹³⁶ Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Harvard University Press, 1988), 280. In her book, she notes: "The fatherland may have been physically absent from the Revolutionary festival in which, as we have seen, the tutelary female figures were Liberty, Victory, Reason, or the Republic, but never France, never the fatherland. Never shown, the invisible fatherland was nonetheless the focal point of the whole festival: the altar was the altar of the fatherland; the battalion of children was the hope of the fatherland; the duty of every citizen, as every speech hammered home, was to be worthy of the fatherland; and the injunction on all the banners was to live and die for the fatherland. Between this invisibility and the heroics of the festival there was the obvious link; and it is not irrelevant to this subject to note that the festivals in which the victories of the fatherland

structure of festivals of Reason functioned as a reminder of one's place and obligations towards the Patrie. By destroying particular religious identities, the radical revolutionaries were really constructing a new national identity centered around complete devotion to the Patrie.

As the representatives moved to establish the cult of Reason across the Pyrenean departments in the Spring, radical revolutionaries maintained that constitutional and legal protections for religious worship did not apply to beliefs outside of universal religion. At the heart of the issue was the idea that the worship of religions like Catholicism, Protestantism and Judaism was not universal, nor were they the natural religion of the first men; rather, they were particular cults who wanted to impose their own exclusionary forms of worship.¹³⁷ During the festival of Reason, Monestier likewise spent much time trying to disabuse the people of Pau that Catholicism was the work of the Supreme Being, and hence was a universal religion. While visiting Tarbes, Monestier further unmasked "the various Catholic, Jewish, Muhammadan, Lutheran, Calvinist priests," and their exclusionary practices.¹³⁸ The journalist Pierre Nicolas Chantreau scoffed at the idea that the freedom of religious worship protected Sunday services, remarking: "Sycophantic hypocrites, it is only to disturb the people into revolt that you invoke the *liberté des cultes*; that system of tolerance is not in your hearts, nor in those who direct you."¹³⁹ He further added that particular religions denied the salvation of others who do not belong to their particular church, that toleration was rendered meaningless: "How can men, who do not recognize and admit other forms of worship other than their own, invoke the *liberté des cultes*?"¹⁴⁰ For Chantreau, those who practiced a particular form of worship only wanted to divide opinion. On another occasion,

were celebrated maintained to the end of the Revolutionary decade a very special enthusiasm. The fatherland, the commonwealth, was the true expression of collective unity."

¹³⁷ ADG 1 L 459, anonymous, *Le journal du département du Gers*, no. 59, 11 Ventôse Year II - 1 March 1794, 235.

¹³⁸ AM Tarbes I 24, *Gloire à la Raison*, 8.

¹³⁹ ADG 1 L 459, Chantreau, *Les documens de la Raison*, no. 4, 61.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

Chantreau repeated the same arguments, arguing that the freedom of worship did not apply to those who would deny it to others.¹⁴¹ Thus for many radical revolutionaries the solution was the universal religion of the cult of Reason. Only universal religion was capable to bring people together in common worship, instead of dividing them along sectarian lines.

Radical revolutionaries further claimed that particular forms of religious worship were not sufficiently patriotic. In his journal, Chantreau complained about the way that particular religions put faith and dogma before the Patrie.¹⁴² Another revolutionary, P. C. Laussat, likewise denounced religious fanaticism as fundamentally unpatriotic in a speech before the popular society of Pau: “Religious fanaticism is that blind stubbornness of opinion which devotes man more to a particular religion than to his Patrie, humanity, and even himself. That simple definition, in which no term is exaggerated, proves only that the republic and fanaticism cannot live together in the same place.”¹⁴³ He then went on to argue that the Constitution only promised to prevent persecution on the basis of religious worship, and avoid favoring those who contradicted the values of the Republic. As such the liberty of religious worship did not apply to particular forms of religious worship.¹⁴⁴ Catholicism itself was fundamentally incompatible with the republic and amounted to an abnegation of liberty that formed the basis of society. For this reason, radical revolutionaries drew a hard distinction between the universal religion of nature, as embodied in the cult of Reason, and the religion of priests.¹⁴⁵ Accordingly, priests had created their religion in order to hold sway over humanity and to support monarchy; therefore, such a religion was inimical to the safety of the Republic. The influence of priests and their religion was so strong that people of Pau

¹⁴¹ ADG 1 L 459, Chantreau, *Les documens de la Raison*, no. 9, 137-138.

¹⁴² ADG 1 L 459, Chantreau, *Les documens de la Raison*, no. 10, 150.

¹⁴³ BM Pau Ee 1912, P. C. Laussat, *Discours prononcé par P. C. Laussat, à la Société Populaire de Pau, dans la séance du quntidi 25 Ventôse, 2; Contre le Fanatisme et la Superstition* (Pau: an II [1794]), 1.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 5.

¹⁴⁵ For example, see: AM Tarbes I 24, 6.

immediately gathered up and burned all of their religious texts in a bonfire that lasted two days.¹⁴⁶ Thus anxiety over the patriotism of particular religious groups ultimately justified excluding them from the constitutional and legal provisions protecting religious worship.

Section 5: The Cult of the Supreme Being

The final major intervention from the Parisian government into religious affairs came in the month of Floréal of Year II when the National Convention established the Cult of the Supreme Being, effectively synthesizing the politics of religious freedom with the religious Terror of the Sacerdotal Revolution.¹⁴⁷ On 18 Floréal Year II (7 May 1794), Robespierre gave a speech at the National Convention, in which he outlined his proposals for the new revolutionary Cult of the Supreme Being.¹⁴⁸ After opening his speech with a discussion of moral history from the time of savages to the time of civilized nations and the rule of kings, Robespierre argued that the single founding principal of all of civil society was morality. Yet, since the time of kings, monarchies corrupted public morality and discouraged love for the Patrie. Robespierre then described how after the revolution political factions manipulated public virtue in order to gain wealth and power in society. He worried about the corruption of public morality and attacked the philosophical materialism of the Encyclopedists, who were elites complicit in supporting the monarchy, and

¹⁴⁶ BM Pau Ee 1911, Lavielle, *Discours sur le danger du fanatisme*, 28 Ventôse Year II - 18 March 1794 (Pau: an II [1794]), 8.

¹⁴⁷ Aulard, *Le culte de la raison et le culte de l'Être suprême*, 212-229; Aulard, *Christianity and the French Revolution*, 121-131; Albert Mathiez, in *The Fall of Robespierre and Other Essays*, trans. unknown (New York: August M. Kelly, 1968), 84-118; Palmer, *Twelve Who Ruled*, 323-328; McManners, *The French Revolution and the Church*, 102-103; Carol Blum, *Rousseau and the Republic of Virtue: The Language of Politics in the French Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 238-255; Edelstein, *The Terror of Natural Rights*, 231-249; Coleman, *The Virtue of Abandon*, 271-280; Jonathan Smyth, *Robespierre and the Festival of the Supreme Being: The Search for a Republican Morality* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 10-26; Hockin, "Les Hommes sans Dieu," 216-228.

¹⁴⁸ Maximilien Robespierre, "Sur les rapports des idées religieuses et morales avec les principes républicains, et sur les fêtes nationales," in *AP*, 90:132-141; This speech can also be found in, Maximilien Robespierre, "Sur les rapports des idées religieuses et morales avec les principes républicains, et sur les fêtes nationales," in *Oeuvres des Maximilien Robespierre*, 9:442-446.

distortion of priests, who only wanted to use religion in order to rebuild their own power. Instead, Robespierre believed that Republic needed to build a new system of morality to reinforce the ideals of the Revolution: “The greatest work of society would be to create in itself, for moral things, a rapid instinct that, without the belated assistance of reason, brings one to do good and avoid evil.”¹⁴⁹ For Robespierre, reason alone was unreliable since it was susceptible to being misled. He further added that he did not know of any legislator who would recommend nationalizing atheism. It was religious sentiment alone that had the ability to engrave morality into the hearts of men. Imprudent attacks on religion only risked demoralizing the people and undermining the basis of society. Thus it was necessary for the French nation to recognize the idea of the Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul, since they “continually recall to justice,” and hence “social and republican.”¹⁵⁰

The overall project of the Cult of the Supreme Being was the homogenization of mankind and the formation of a regenerated citizenry devoted to the nation.¹⁵¹ Since morality was the fundamental basis of civil society and the belief in the Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul was social and republican, Robespierre saw the Cult of the Supreme Being as a means of nation building in a heterogeneous country divided by confession.¹⁵² By rejecting atheism and fanaticism, Robespierre announced a new era of universalism to thunderous applause: “Without constraint, without persecution, all the sects must mix together in the universal religion of nature.”¹⁵³ Echoing Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme in his address to the soldiers, Robespierre believed that universal natural religion was able to unite all French citizens in the worship of the Supreme

¹⁴⁹ Robespierre, “Sur les rapports des idées religieuses et morales avec les principes républicains, et sur les fêtes nationales,” 90:136.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, 279; Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France*, 21, 165-168.

¹⁵² Robespierre, “Sur les rapports des idées religieuses et morales avec les principes républicains, et sur les fêtes nationales,” 90:132-141.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 90:138.

Being. He stressed that his proposals were respected the peaceful freedom of worship, and promised to punish those guilty of troubling public order. Robespierre criticized priests for only wanting to create God in their own image, rendering him jealous, capricious, greedy, cruel and remorseless. In contrast to the God of priest, he declared that “[t]he true priest of the Supreme Being is nature; his temple is the universe; his religion is virtue; his festivals are the joy of a great people assembled under his eyes to strengthen the gentle bonds of universal fraternity and to render to him the homage of sensitive and pure hearts.”¹⁵⁴ The universal religion of the Supreme Being was the religion of unity. He further stressed the didactic role that the festivals would play in creating new citizens: “It is no longer about forming gentlemen, but citizens; only the Patrie has the right to raise its children.”¹⁵⁵ In order to create these new citizens, Robespierre proposed a system of festivals that would be “the most gentle bond of fraternity and the most powerful means of regeneration” and would help to awaken the “general sentiments that form the charms and ornament of human life, enthusiasm of liberty, love of the Patrie, and respect for the laws.”¹⁵⁶ Above all else, the Cult of the Supreme Being was a synthesis that combined religious freedom and the Sacerdotal Revolution in order to facilitate regeneration, and thus, nation building.¹⁵⁷

The decree issued by the National Convention on 18 Floréal Year II (7 May 1793) was a religious statement as much as it was a law.¹⁵⁸ The first few articles recognize the existence of the

¹⁵⁴ Robespierre, “Sur les rapports des idées religieuses et morales avec les principes républicains, et sur les fêtes nationales,” 90:138.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 90:138- 139.

¹⁵⁷ Aulard has previously remarked that the cult of the Supreme Being was a reaction to political atheism of the Hébertists and the cult of Reason. Yet in many ways, it might be useful to think of the cult of Supreme Being more as a synthesis of the two competing religious claims: religious freedom and the nation-building tendencies of the cult of Reason. Aulard, *Le culte de la raison et le culte de l'Être suprême*, 205; for more on the transition between the two cults, see: Michel Vovelle, “The Adventures of Reason, or from Reason to the Supreme Being,” in *Rewriting the French Revolution: the Andrew Browning Lectures 1989*, ed. Colin Lucas. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 132-150.

¹⁵⁸ For more on the law of 18 Frimaire Year II, see: Aulard, *Le culte de la raison et le culte de l'Être suprême*, 212-229; Aulard, *Christianity and the French Revolution*, 121-131; Palmer, *Twelve Who Ruled*, 323-328; McManners, *The French Revolution and the Church*, 102-103; Smyth, *Robespierre and the Festival of the Supreme Being*, 10-26.

Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul; noted that the dignified worship of the Supreme Being was the fulfillment of one's duties; and outlined a series of virtues and vices.¹⁵⁹ It instituted a festival "to remind man about the thought of divinity and the dignity of his being." Moreover, the decree listed a series of festivals celebrated on the *décadaire* and devoted to the Supreme Being, nature, mankind, social roles, and virtues such as "love of the Patrie" and "maternal tenderness." The Convention National also called for the compositions of hymns and civic songs. The decree also upheld the decree of 18 Frimaire Year II, which reaffirmed the freedom of worship. The National Convention further prohibited all gatherings of aristocrats and public disorder over religion. Finally, it designated 20 Prairial Year II for the Festival of the Supreme Being. Days later on 23 Floréal Year II (12 May 1794), the Committee of Public Safety ordered that the phrase "The French people recognize the existence of the Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul" should replace all references to a "Temple of Reason" on the front of any building dedicated to the revolutionary cult.¹⁶⁰ As Robert Palmer astutely observed, the move by the Committee of Public Safety to establish the cult of the Supreme Being most likely arose out of a desire to systematize revolutionary religion into a coherent and uniform national religion.¹⁶¹ When left in the hands of the representatives on mission, like with the Cult of Reason in the South West, religious decrees were not uniformly applied and varied from region to region.

Unlike the 16/18 Frimaire laws on religious freedom, the 23 Floréal law reshaped the religious politics in the South West in a more visible way.¹⁶² The representatives on mission in the South West in general carefully applied the law. In the departments of the Lands and Lot-et-

¹⁵⁹ "Decret of 18 Floréal Year II (7 May 1793)", in *AP*, 90:140-141.

¹⁶⁰ Aulard, *Christianity and the French Revolution*, 125-126.

¹⁶¹ Palmer, *The Twelve who Ruled*, 326.

¹⁶² For more on the reception of the cult of the Supreme Being in departments, see: Aulard, *Le culte de la raison et le culte de l'Être suprême*, 278-294; Vovelle, *La Révolution contre l'Église*, 45-49, 186-189; Forrest, *The Revolution in Provincial France*, 230; Michael Kennedy, *The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution, 1793-1795* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000), 31-48, 78-102.

Garonne, Monestier de la Lozère issued an *arrêté* on 5 Prairial Year II (24 May 1794) condemning atheism, arresting priests guilty of public disturbance and fanaticism, converting all of the temples of Reason into Temples dedicated to the Supreme Being, reaffirming belief in the Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul, and arranging for the celebration of the Festival of the Supreme Being on 20 Prairial.¹⁶³ Monestier de la Lozère also demanded strict observance of the festivals, forbade Sundays as a day of rest, and levied a tax on the rich and fanatics to pay for the celebration. In the departments of the Basses- and Hautes-Pyrénées on 25 Floréal Year II (14 May 1794), Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme also issued an *arrêté* extolling Robespierre's speech on the Supreme Being.¹⁶⁴ He triumphantly announced that the Montagnard legislators "wanted to give your code and your happiness a solid and durable base like your rights and nature itself; we have said that you should conquer the precious antique and primitive religion of the universe, if you want to complete and consolidate those rights of man and citizen."¹⁶⁵ Like Robespierre, Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme argued that universal religion was essential to the formation of citizenship. He further spoke grandiloquently of the physical regeneration achieved by universal religion, and urged everyone to read Robespierre's speech and engrave the virtues in their hearts.¹⁶⁶ Thus with the law of 18 Floréal, there was more administrative unity amongst the representatives on mission unlike in the spring when some would enforce the decree on religious liberty and others like continued their own autonomous religious projects, owing in large part to the synthesis of the two different currents of Jacobin religious thought.

¹⁶³ ADL 8 L 1, *Arrêté relatif à l'anéantissement du fanatisme, à la célébration des fêtes décadaires, et à la régénération de l'esprit public*, 5 Prairial Year II (24 May 1794) (Dax: an II (1794)), 2-6.

¹⁶⁴ BM Pau Ee 1914, Jean-Baptiste Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, *Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme aux bons Citoyens et Citoyennes des départemens des Hautes et Basses-Pyrénées, en leur envoyant le rapport fait par Maximilien ROBESPIERRE, au nom du Comité de Salut Public, sur les idées religieuses, et les fêtes nationales, le 18 Floréal*, 25 Floréal Year II (14 May 1794) (Tarbes: an II [1794]), 1-7.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 5-6.

Departmental authorities were likewise fastidious in their implementation of the cult of the Supreme Being.¹⁶⁷ For example, the Gersois press and popular societies proved to be loquacious in their praise of the cult of the Supreme Being. Pierre Nicolas Chantreau reported on the cult of the Supreme Being in five different issues of his "anti-fanatical newspaper," the *Documens de la Raison*.¹⁶⁸ In issue number fourteen, Chantreau printed an excerpt from Robespierre's 18 Floréal speech, while in a later issue, he printed the full speech of Robespierre delivered on 20 Prairial Year II during the Festival of the Supreme Being.¹⁶⁹ Interestingly, the part of Robespierre's 18 Floréal speech that Chantreau cited was the particularly anti-clerical section that attacked priests while also calling for a universal religion of nature to end religious difference. Moreover, Chantreau also made an effort to demonstrate that many of his earlier ideas about the Cult of Reason were consistent with the Cult of the Supreme Being.¹⁷⁰ Thus the apparent continuity between the two revolutionary cults made acceptance much easier to bear amongst the militants in the South West. Besides the journalist Chantreau, the popular societies also took the initiative in organizing for the festival. In the department of the Basses-Pyrénées, popular societies went to great lengths in preparing for the upcoming festival of the Supreme Being. The popular society of Bayonne went so far as to give multiple readings of Robespierre's report and the law of 18 Floréal to thunderous applause.¹⁷¹ Following the eventual celebration of the festival, the popular society excitedly reported on the event to the returning Pinet and Cavaignac in a following meeting where

¹⁶⁷ Aulard, *Le culte de la raison et le culte de l'Être suprême*, 283-290; Brégail, "La fête de l'être suprême à Auch," 189-192; Labougle, "Le culte de la Raison en l'An II à Tarbes et dans le département des Hautes-Pyrénées," 124-125.

¹⁶⁸ ADG, 1 L 459, Chantreau, *Les Documens de la Raison*, nos. 14-18, 209- 286.

¹⁶⁹ ADG, 1 L 459, Chantreau, *Les Documens de la Raison*, nos. 14-15, 216-218, 237-240.

¹⁷⁰ In a footnote for the lines "Priests have created God in their own image; they only made him jealous, capricious, greedy, cruel, implacable," Chantreau pointed out that he made the same observation on the third issue of his newspaper. ADG, 1 L 459, Chantreau, *Les Documens de la Raison*, no. 14, 217.

¹⁷¹ ADPA, pôle de Bayonne, E Dépôt Bayonne 2 I 15, MS minutes of the popular society of Bayonne, 25 Floréal Year II - 22 Prairial Year II.

they gave additional speeches on public morality. Even the more radical departmental administrators like Lantrac were meticulous with the planning of the event. In the department of the Gers, the popular society of Auch took the lead in organizing their own festival. However, last-minute decisions were still being made by the popular society, telling from the calling of an extraordinary session to decide on speakers.¹⁷² Yet despite the rushed planning involved, the law of 18 Floréal was more carefully implemented by departmental administrators than the 18 Frimaire law, which had done little to slow the pace of the more spectacular iconoclasm and repression of the Sacerdotal Revolution.

Even though the law of 18 Floréal reaffirmed the freedom of religious worship, both departmental administrators and the representatives on mission continued to restrict religious worship while maintaining that the law did not apply to particular religious beliefs. From the analyses of the agent national of Tarbes, it is clear that the revolutionary agents still monitored the observance of Sundays and the *décadi*, at times lamenting the persistence of the former.¹⁷³ Moreover, surveillance committees continued to encourage the abjuration of religious worship. For example, the surveillance committee passed an *arrêté* suppressing the Jewish Sabbath, an act that Pinet and Cavaignac praised in their own *arrêté* of 21 Messidor Year II (9 July 1794).¹⁷⁴ Even the representatives on mission continued prohibit public acts of religious worship. When Monestier de la Lozère replaced Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme as representative on mission to the departments of the Landes, Basses- and Hautes-Pyrénées, one of his first *arrêts* on 14 Frimaire Year III upheld

¹⁷² ADG, 1 L 694, “Session of the Popular Society of Auch,” 17 and 18 Prairial Year II - 5 and 6 June 1794; For a transcript of the festival plan, see: ; Brégail, “La fête de l’Être suprême à Auch,” 189-192.

¹⁷³ For example, see: AM Tarbes D 20, MS “Analyse des opérations de l’agent national près la commune de Tarbes,” report on 10 Thermidor Year II - 28 July 1794.

¹⁷⁴ ADHP 1 L 149, *arrêté* of Jacques Pinet and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac (Bayonne: an II [1794]); For the commune of Jean-Jacques-Rousseau, see: “Séance du 9 Messidor,” “Séance du 11 Messidor,” and the second “Séance du 11 Messidor,” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau / Saint-Esprit-Lès-Bayonne*, 282-283; See also, Hourmat, *Histoire de Bayonne*, 226.

the previous bans on the public religious worship.¹⁷⁵ He warned that there were those who were trying to spread the idea amongst the people about the return of public worship. However, such public worship was discouraged since it would violate the rights of others: “Because there is no liberty when religious worship, above all exclusive, establishes itself publicly and that the publicity of others, who have the same right of protection of the laws, is neither solicited nor established.”¹⁷⁶ He further added that the presence of exclusive religious worship and ministers put the Republic in danger, and risked provoking the return of monarchy and feudalism, or conversely, would give terrorists an excuse to exercise authority in the name of stamping out religious fanaticism. Religious beliefs were to be relegated to the private sphere, nor could one bother another person over their religious opinions. Thus the same arguments about the freedom of religious worship and exclusive religion remained intact despite the provisions of the law of 18 Floréal Year II.

Local revolutionaries would likewise maintain that the particular religious worship lacked publicity and that there was an obligation to celebrate the general worship of the Supreme Being. Brival, the president of the military tribunal of the Army of the Western Pyrenees, insisted that the freedom of religious worship was indeed protected in the commune, reminding his listeners that they could still manifest their beliefs privately and out of view: “Yes, you are free to profess such cult that you would want, but be careful that you can only do so in secret, from the moment that you want to avoid the general cult, demanded of you by the Supreme Being.”¹⁷⁷ Besides denying publicity to particular forms of religious worship, he also that there existed a hierarchy in the way that people manifested worship: general and particular. French citizens were obligated to observe

¹⁷⁵ ADHP 1 L 150, *arrêté* of Monestier de la Lozère (Tarbes: an III [1794]), 2; Ricaud, *Les Représentants du Peuple en mission dans les Hautes-Pyrénées*, 2:91.

¹⁷⁶ ADHP 1 L 150, *arrêté* of Monestier de la Lozère (Tarbes: an III [1794]), 2.

¹⁷⁷ BM Pau Ee 1911, Brival, *Discours prononcé dans le Temple de la Raison à Pau chef-lieu du Département des Basses-Pyrénées le Décadi 10 Thermidor, par le Citoyen BRIVAL, Président du Tribunal Militaire du Point central de l'Armée des Pyrénées occidentales* (Pau: an II [1794]), 12-13.

the general cult of the Supreme Being. He warned all who held to particular beliefs that they could only “celebrate the days of the *décadis* and the particular festivals of the Republic,” instead of the Jewish or Christian Sabbath.¹⁷⁸ Particular worship needed to stay private. He further reasoned that since Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity were emanations of the Supreme Being, only the general worship was capable of providing the unity needed in facing the enemies of the Republic. In contrast, Brival claimed that priests manipulated religion to support kings, sanction their crimes, foment hate, and incite division between citizens.¹⁷⁹ Thus it is by “reestablishing” the “general” cult of the Supreme Being and the marginalization of particular forms of worship to the private sphere that revolutionaries hoped to secure the Republic. He further declared, “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, Holy Trinity, true emanation of the Supreme Being, be forever our only support, that the French territory is your principle sojourn.”¹⁸⁰ As the *adjoint aux adjudants généraux*, Bellouguet, would emphasize in another speech, the end result would be the elimination of all religious and political sects.¹⁸¹ The particular must give way to the general, defined by its natural affinity for republican government. It was impossible for Christians to be good citizens.¹⁸²

The cult of the Supreme Being would continue to live on well into Year III despite the fall of Robespierre and his allies on 10 Thermidor Year II.¹⁸³ Only gradually will the Thermidorians quietly abandon the religion. The final death knell for the cult of the Supreme Being came at Pierre-

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 14.

¹⁷⁹ BM Pau Ee 1911, Brival, *Discours prononcé dans le Temple de la Raison à Pau*, 7.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ BM Pau, Ee 1914, *Discours prononcé au Temple de l'Égalité, le 20 brumaire de l'an 3 de la République Française, une et indivisible, au nom du Comité d'instruction publique* (Pau: an III [1794]), 13.

¹⁸² Ibid., 12.

¹⁸³ Françoise Brunel noted that “with the notorious exception of Vadier, who undeniably entertained the Convention at Robespierre’s expense during the Théot affair, nothing proves that these same members were in fact hostile to the Cult of the Supreme Being.” François Brunel, “Bridging the Gulf of the Terror,” in *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture*, vol. 4: The Terror, ed. Keith Michael Baker (Oxford: Pergamon, 1987), 328; See also, Aulard, *Le culte de la raison et le culte de l'Être suprême*, 298-302; Albert Mathiez, *After Robespierre: The Thermidorian Reaction*, trans. Catherine Alison Phillips (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931), 137-150; Smyth, *Robespierre and the Festival of the Supreme Being*, 146-153.

Joseph Cambon's suggestion that the state should no longer finance any cult. He feared the creation of a new revolutionary or decadary clergy, and for that reason, called for the total separation of the Church from the state. Nevertheless, the Thermidorian regime continued many of the harsh restrictions placed on religious worship well into its final months.

Conclusion: The Fiction of Religious Unity

During a session of the Conseil Général of the commune of Salies-de-Béarn on 3 Ventôse Year II (21 February 1794), a former Catholic priest, Protestant pastor and rabbi of the "Jewish nation" spoke before a gathered assembly of municipal officers, representatives from the popular society and the people of the commune in order to call for a ban on all public religious worship.¹⁸⁴ They further asked that the commune issue an *arrêté* to forbid all public religious worship, remove religious symbols from public buildings, take down church bells, and demolish the belfries of the commune. According to the *arrêté* requested by the three former religious ministers, the people of Salies-de-Béarn demanded that there be "no more kings, no more tyranny, no more altar, no more fanaticism. We recognize no other empire than that of reason, no other love than that of the Patrie, we only vow to maintain the Republic, one and indivisible."¹⁸⁵ While on the surface, the renunciation of public religious worship by the three religious ministers represented the culmination of the Sacerdotal Revolution in the South West; on a more fundamental level, the spectacle of the three religious ministers was also symbolic of the new religious regime that the revolutionaries hoped to bring into being. Through the collective renunciation of particular religious worship, revolutionaries attempted to reconstitute society around the general devotion to

¹⁸⁴ ADPA, pôle de Pau, E dépôt Salies-de Béarn 1 D 5, MS minutes of the Conseil Général de la commune de Salies-de-Béarn, session 3 Ventôse Year II - 21 February 1794.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

reason and the Patrie. Thus, the Sacerdotal Revolution amounted to a project of nation building, where religious identity was discarded in favor of attachment to the grander political family of the French nation.

By Year II, the political and religious consensus of religious patriotism broke down under the strain of war, factionalism and Terror, giving way to the Sacerdotal Revolution's universalizing push for political and religious conformity. The Federalist Revolt in the South West destroyed the trust that revolutionaries held in the Constitutional Church, leading some representatives on mission in the region to look for alternative religious institutional support. For those like Dartigoeite and Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, the answer was the Sacerdotal Revolution. By banning the public display of religious symbols, closing churches and synagogues, dismissing priests, destroying belfries, seizing religious items, and establishing revolutionary religions, radical revolutions attempted to transcend particular religious identities and recenter society around a new national cult. It was for this reason that they used the freedom of religious worship to relegate particular forms of worship to the private sphere, and ensure that everyone had a right to the general cult of the Supreme Being. Such a logic was not lost on Robespierre, who simply systematized the various revolutionary projects into the more general cult of the Supreme Being. Although radical revolutionaries replaced religious patriotism and the Constitutional Church with the Sacerdotal Revolution, they still nonetheless continued to believe that religion functioned as a fundamental tool of societal integration.

During the Sacerdotal Revolution of Year II, radical revolutionaries contested the meaning of the freedom of religious worship because at stake in the debate over religious worship was the issue of identity. Aulard had long remarked that primary motivation behind the spread of the cult of Reason in the departments was more a concern over national defense than merely an expression

of philosophical ideas regarding religion.¹⁸⁶ While admitting that the writings of Voltaire or Raynal might have encouraged some radical revolutionaries in their attempt to extirpate religious fanaticism and establish a revolutionary religion, Aulard instead stressed that Catholic priests conspired with foreign powers and, as such, represented a threat to the Republic. Aulard was partly correct in emphasizing the patriotic nature of the revolutionary religion. Representatives on mission like Fouché, Dartigoeyte, and Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme explicitly restricted religious worship on grounds of public safety. Even Robespierre and his allies worried that counterrevolutionaries would abuse the freedom of religious worship. Yet his argument does not fully account for why radical revolutionaries thought it necessary to target all religious groups, including the Constitutional clergy, Protestants and Jews. When taking into consideration the broader regional context, it becomes clear that revolutionaries were above worried over the disruptive potential of particular religious beliefs and the need to create a more cohesive French citizenry, united by their attachment to the Supreme Being and the Patrie. For both Robespierre and Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, the revolutionary cults were to bring together individuals from different religious backgrounds and unite them under the worship of the Supreme Being. As Robespierre would remark, “Without constraint, without persecution, all the sects must mix together in the universal religion of nature.”¹⁸⁷ Therefore, the revolutionary cults would lead to the “homogenization of mankind.”¹⁸⁸

Jacobin discourse on religious worship stressed the distinction between general and particular religious worship as a way to emphasize the inherently unpatriotic, parochial, and, ultimately, counterrevolutionary nature of the latter. Revolutionary genealogies often portrayed

¹⁸⁶ Aulard, *Le culte de la raison et le culte de l'Être suprême*, 20, 108-109, 296-297.

¹⁸⁷ Robespierre, “Sur les rapports des idées religieuses et morales avec les principes républicains, et sur les fêtes nationales,” 9:138.

¹⁸⁸ Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, 279.

cultes particuliers as artificial creations of priests and despots. Accordingly, the religious worship of primitive societies was simple and pure. Through the machinations of priests, the Supreme Being was rendered cruel, vengeful, greedy and self-absorbed. They used fear and deceit to extend their powers over the minds of credulous men and women. As time passed, superstition, prejudice and religious fanaticism would take root deep within society. In other words, particular forms of religious worship were indistinguishable from other forms of feudalism prevalent under the Ancien Régime. Radical revolutionaries justified their bans on public forms of religious worship on grounds that particular religious worship was inherently a system of power contrary to the Republican mores of French society that aspire to establish themselves as the dominant form of public religious worship. Revolutionaries like Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme and Monestier de la Lozère criticized these religions for their exclusionary forms of salvation, where one's spiritual well-being depended upon membership within a particular religious group. As such, particular forms of religious worship were anti-social and thus needed to be confined to the private sphere, or banned outright. Much like the Abbé Sieyès's exclusion of the first two orders of the Ancien Régime, radical revolutionaries justified their restrictions on grounds that particular forms of religious worship openly defied the general will of the nation.

The move by revolutionaries to represent the cults of Reason and the Supreme Being as an expression of universal religion and the general will of the nation eventually created a dynamic in which the exclusion of particular forms of religious worship became a primary feature of the religious regime. From the various speeches and decrees issued, it was clear that radical revolutionaries presumed that the cult of Reason or the cult of the Supreme Being to be general and universal religion. Accordingly, they stressed that revolutionary cults were in fact prehistorical; primitive society worshipped the Supreme Being. Consequently, it was through the

intervention of priests and the formation of divergent forms of particular religious worship that the universal religion of the Supreme Being was lost to society, and the values of liberty, equality, and fraternity were submerged below the mores of monarchism, aristocracy and superstition. Thus if the French Revolution regenerated the political state of man, then the Sacerdotal Revolution likewise would regenerate the corresponding religious state. Because revolutionaries so closely associated the cults of the Sacerdotal Revolution with universal religion, it meant that their religious regime would be exclusionary towards particular forms of religious worship. In her analysis of Hegel, the philosopher Judith Butler highlighted the tendency of regimes that set themselves up as the universal and making claims to represent the general will to establish their claims on the basis of erasing all remnants of the particulars from the field of representation.¹⁸⁹ Charly Coleman likewise noted that the cult of the Supreme Being necessitated the complete dispossession of the individual to his particular interests, belongings and existence and subordination of the Self to the Supreme Being, nature and the Patrie.¹⁹⁰ As a result, the freedom of religious worship became meaningless. Regardless of their insistence on constitutional protections, the intended outcome was always supposed to be the elimination of fanaticism, superstition, prejudice and parochialism. Thus sects and religious identities would blend together within universal religion, and emerge as one national identity.

This emphasis on the particular and general also helps explain the specific forms that the Sacerdotal Revolution in Year II. For example, the demolition of belfries carried multiple registers of meaning. On level, the confiscation of bells and the destruction of belfries was consistent with

¹⁸⁹ Butler remarked: "The universal can be the universal only to the extent that it remains untainted by what is particular, concrete, and individual. Thus it requires the constant and meaningless vanishing of the individual, which is dramatically displayed by the Reign of Terror. For Hegel, this abstract universality not only requires that vanishing, and enacts that negation, but it is so fundamentally dependent upon that vanishing that without that vanishing it would be nothing. Without that vanishing immediacy, we might say, universality itself would vanish." Butler, "Restaging the Universal: Hegemony and the Limits of Formalism," 23.

¹⁹⁰ Coleman, *The Virtues of Abandon*, 271-280.

emphasis on the secularization of public space and elimination of an important symbol of priestly power. Yet, as the historian Alain Corbin had emphasized in his magisterial work on soundscapes and bells, the confiscation of bells and the demolition of the belfries would also entail the erasure of local identity.¹⁹¹ Replacing the bell tower would be a standard roof, thus ensuring the uniformity of a town or city's skyline.¹⁹² Likewise, the acts of iconoclasm targeting relics, statues of saints, and other religious items effect a type of erasure of deeply localized symbols.¹⁹³ Renaming cities were another means to completely change the identity of a place. During a meeting of a popular society, Monestier recommended that the commune of Saint-Esprit change its name to Jean-Jacques Rousseau.¹⁹⁴ In each of these incidents, seemingly anti-religious measures carried additional implications for the local identity. By prohibiting particular forms of worship and erasing all markers of religious difference in favor of the general worship of the Sacerdotal Revolution, the revolutionaries were laying the groundwork for the refashioning of a religious identity that could be national. Yet to achieve that goal, particular wills must give way to the general will.

Although radical revolutionaries sought to distance the Republic from any particular form of religious worship, the Sacerdotal Revolution in the end ironically reinforced the connection between citizenship and religious identity. Throughout much of the Ancien Régime, citizenship

¹⁹¹ Alain Corbin, *Sound and Meaning in Village Bells: 19th-Century French Countryside*, trans. Martin Thom (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 3-62, 73-93.

¹⁹² As Baczkó reminds us, architecture could also carry a moral message. Bronislaw Baczkó, *Lumières de l'utopie* (Paris: Payot, 1978), 332-360.

¹⁹³ For more on iconoclasm during the French Revolution, see: Richard Clay, *Iconoclasm in Revolutionary Paris: The Transformation of Signs* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2012); For more on popular religious practice, see: Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976), 339-356; Ralph Gibson, *A Social History of French Catholicism, 1789-1914* (London: Routledge, 1989), 134-157; Judith Devlin, *The Superstitious Mind: French Peasants and the Supernatural in the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 1-21.

¹⁹⁴ Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques-Rousseau, "Séance du 8 du second mois de l'an deux de la République Française," in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau / Saint-Esprit-Lès-Bayonne*, 90. For more a complete list of all communal name changes, see: Figuières, *Les noms révolutionnaires des communes de France*, 26-27, 33, 52.

was linked to Catholicity.¹⁹⁵ As historians Peter Sahlins and Jeffrey Merrick have noted, the French monarchy pursued the legal fiction that all inhabitants of France were Catholics, effectively placing religious minorities like Protestants and Jews in a liminal zone where they were effectively not considered citizens. Only with the edict of tolerance in 1787 and later with the granting of citizenship status to Jews and Protestants by 1791 that the association between religious identity and citizenship was completely severed. Yet the fraught debates over questions like Jewish emancipation, according to Gary Kates, were more than simply about toleration: they were fundamentally tied to questions of how to define French nationality and representation.¹⁹⁶ For the French, sovereignty was only expressed in the form of a unitary national will. By Year II, the debate over the freedom of religious worship was simply an extension of this debate, with radical revolutionaries proposing to solve the dilemma of religious pluralism and divided wills with the implementation of a revolutionary religion where all expressed a unitary devotion to the Supreme Being. Thus for the revolutionaries, the constitution of the nation depended upon the expression of a unitary religious will that was general. The legal fiction of a Catholic France was therefore replaced with a legal fiction of a deist France, One and Indivisible.

Finally, revolutionaries in Paris and in the departments contested, elaborated, and redefined the meaning of religious worship and identity at the heart of the Sacerdotal Revolution in the South

¹⁹⁵ Jeffrey Merrick, "Conscience and Citizenship in Eighteenth-Century France," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 21, no. 1 (1987): 48-70; Gary Kates, "Jews into Frenchmen: Nationality and Representation in Revolutionary France," *Social Research* 56, no.1, *The French Revolution and the Birth of Modernity* (1989): 213-232; Jeffrey Merrick, *The Desacralization of the French Monarchy in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), 135-164; Peter Sahlins, "Fictions of a Catholic France: The Naturalization of Foreigners, 1685-1787," *Representations*, no. 47, Special Issue: National Cultures before Nationalism (1994): 85-110; Aston, *Religion and Revolution in France*, 61-80; Ronald Schechter, *Obstinate Hebrews: Representations of Jews in France, 1715-1815* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 18-34, 66-109; Peter Sahlins, *Unnaturally French: Foreign Citizens in the Old Regime and After* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 215-224.

¹⁹⁶ Kates, "Jews into Frenchmen," 232. Kates remarked: "More fundamentally, the debates over Jewish emancipation reveal not a Jewish problem but a problem the *French* had defining nationality and representation. Unlike the newly created United States, the French did not conceive of representation in terms of separate interests; only a unitary national will could be the ultimate political expression of French sovereignty."

West. When discussing the project of regeneration and nation building, historians like David Bell have tended to focus only on Parisian debates.¹⁹⁷ However, as this chapter has demonstrated, the Sacerdotal Revolution was the mutual construction of revolutionaries like Dartigoeyte, Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, Lantrac, Chantreau, Fouché and Robespierre. Thus, this chapter has combined the insight from historians Bell and Sahlins about the construction of the nation by showing how the process mainly took a religious tone in the borderland regions of the South West.¹⁹⁸ When the representatives on mission went into the departments, the Parisian government did not task them with religious revolution. It was only upon their arrival in the region and through their interaction with local revolutionaries that the national agents in turn came to push for the Sacerdotal Revolution. Throughout this period, Parisian authorities struggled with how best to intervene. Only by synthesizing the debates surrounding religious worship through the cult of the Supreme Being were the revolutionaries able to momentarily establish a unitary religious program. Thus, in order to understand the Sacerdotal Revolution in its full complexity, historians need to look about how the local and the national mutually reinforced broader trends.

Following the breakdown of religious patriotism and the Constitutional Church, revolutionaries sought to refashion religious identities into a more unitary and national identity. The Sacerdotal Revolution would further politicize other aspects of identity, including gender and ethnicity, because the constitution of these identities were deeply intertwined with religious identity. The following chapters will analyze the different ways that radical revolutionaries would reconfigure gender and ethnicity in Year II.

¹⁹⁷ See, Bell, *The Cult of the Nation*.

¹⁹⁸ See, Sahlins, *Boundaries*.

Chapter 4: The Vapors of Fanaticism: Madness, Gender, and Religion in Year II (1793-1794)

“Oh my wife, oh my companion;
You see how right I was.
You will feel that it is all the better
to settle only one’s house.
Was a guide more treacherous
Than what was called a director?
All you will need is my heart...
We will not need a priest.”
- Citizen Piis de Seine et Oise¹

“When a melancholy mortal,
Nourished on superstition
Has by that dreadful chimera,
Corrupted his religion,
His heart then is hardened,
His reason takes flight obscured,
Nothing has power over him,
His justice is deranged and cruel,
He is denatured by zeal,
And sacrilegious by duty.”
- Voltaire²

On 18 Ventôse Year II (8 March 1794), a man named Talavera wrote to Jean-Baptiste-Benoît Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme regarding his marriage to the sister of Louchant, the former administrator of the district of Dax. In his letter, he proclaimed that the Revolution had made miracles that were “all the more real and tangible than ignorance and superstition”³ He praised

¹ Archives Départementales des Hautes-Pyrénées 1 L 149, citoyen Piis, *L’inutilité des prêtres, Vaudeville républicain* (s.d.), 4. Henceforth, Archives Départementales des Hautes-Pyrénées will be abbreviated as ADHP. All translations are mine, unless noted in the footnote or cited in an English translation.

² François Marie Arouet de Voltaire, “Ode sur le fanatisme,” in *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire: Notes, préfaces, avertissemens, remarques historiques et littéraire*, vol. 11 (Paris: Armand-Aubrée, 1829), 356, 359; this variant of the poem was quoted in Louis de Jaucourt’s article on superstition in the *Encyclopédie*. Louis de Jaucourt, “Superstition,” in *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d’Alembert, vol. 15 (Paris: 1765), 670.

³ “Letter of Talavera to Jean-Baptiste-Benoît Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, 18 Ventôse Year II (8 March 1794),” Archives Départementales des Pyrénées Atlantiques, pôle de Pau, 1 J 13/5. Henceforth, Archives Départementales des Pyrénées Atlantiques will be abbreviated as ADPA.

Monestier for the regeneration of the cantons and for his moral preaching, which helped open his own heart, thus freeing him from the “ferocious barking” of fanaticism and superstition. Talavera then wrote about the importance of making patriotic sacrifices for the nation: “The children of the Mountain, the true defenders of reason and liberty, will bless the couple who gave themselves to the Republic as an example that strengthens equality and fraternity.”⁴ Inspired by his new republican faith, Talavera announced to Monestier his own intention to serve as an example of patriotic devotion to the Republic: “I was born in the Jewish religion, but then at the right moment I knew that I must be equal to my fellow man and that the man who isolates himself is a depraved being.”⁵ He then told the former constitutional priest about his desire to marry a Catholic woman and asked if he would assist in the consecration of their marriage.⁶ It is not known if Monestier ever attended Talavera’s wedding. Nevertheless, Talavera’s letter and wedding perfectly encapsulate the revolutionary ideals about gender and religion in the South West during Year II.

This chapter argues that revolutionaries came to define the religious fanatic as the limit of new forms of republican citizenship during the Sacerdotal Revolution. As the previous chapter demonstrated, the Sacerdotal Revolution attempted to transcend religious difference by promoting a sense of national belonging centered the worship of the Supreme Being and devotion to the

⁴ “Letter of Talavera to Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, 18 Ventôse Year II.”

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ For more on the relationship between republican marriage and regeneration, see: Suzanne Desan, *The Family on Trial in Revolutionary France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 46-84; Clare Cage, *Unnatural Frenchmen: The Politics of Priestly Celibacy and Marriage, 1720-1815* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press), 100-102; Alyssa Goldstein Sepinwall, *The Abbé Grégoire and the French Revolution: The Making of Modern Universalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 94-102; Patrice Higonnet, *Goodness beyond Virtue: Jacobins during the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 193-197. Historians of the French Revolution like Suzanne Desan, Clare Cage, and Alyssa Goldstein have noted how revolutionaries believed that marriage was key to the project of national regeneration. Through marriage, both men and women become good citizens, and thus more intimately tied to the social welfare of the republic; For more on Jewish history during the French Revolution, see: Ronald Schechter, *Obstinate Hebrews: Representations of Jews in France, 1715-1815* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 66-109, 150-193; Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Revolutions of 1789, 1830 and 1848* (New York: Ktav Publishing, 1970), 834-837. Particularly during the Revolution, “mixed marriages” became one of many means of encouraging the regeneration of Jews in France.

Patrie. Despite the universalist discourse at the heart of the Sacerdotal Revolution, revolutionaries designated everyone who opposed the religious policies of the Terror as superstitious and religious fanatics. As this chapter demonstrates, fanaticism and superstition were not new concepts. During the Enlightenment, religious and philosophical writers used medical and hygienic discourse to describe superstition and fanaticism as a type of mental affliction that affected both mind and body of those infected. Following the French Revolution, and especially the dispute over the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and the coming of the Terror, revolutionaries transformed these categories of social hygiene into categories of political hygiene. Furthermore, these same revolutionaries would associate religious fanaticism with (celibate) religious ministers, women, and the countryside. Thus, the moral, physical, political regeneration imagined by these revolutionaries would refashion both the body and soul of these fanatics into good republican citizens. The marriage of Talavera represented only one example of this type of regeneration imagined by these revolutionaries: through sentimental marriage, not only would this Jewish revolutionary and this Catholic wife become good republican citizens; they would also shed their religious fanaticism. Thus, this chapter will examine the exclusionary dimension of the universalist discourse of the Sacerdotal Revolution, with a particular emphasis on gender, in order to understand how religious fanaticism came to embody the discursive Other of the French Revolution.

This chapter is divided into three parts. In the first section, this chapter analyzes the problem of superstition and fanaticism in the eighteenth century. As the section demonstrates, writers of the Enlightenment primarily discussed superstition and fanaticism in hygienic and medicalized terminology. This hygienic discourse in turn meant that regeneration would have to be both bodily and moral in form. The following section then traces the changing meaning of

superstition and fanaticism under the Revolution. On one hand, revolutionaries continued to speak about superstition and fanaticism in hygienic terms; hence, the continued use of medicalized terms like infection, corruption, vapors, purging, or even madness. On the other hand, the radicalization and polarization of the Revolution also meant that fanaticism came to constitute a new category of suspect, one that would embody the Other. For revolutionaries like Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme or Dartigoeyte, fanaticism was inherently counterrevolutionary since they held that religious fanatics valued their rigid religious beliefs more than their duty to the nation. Finally, this chapter ends by considering type of society that regeneration and the Sacerdotal Revolution would engender. If fanaticism was associated with celibate priests, women, and the countryside, a regenerated society would embrace a “cult of Muscles” centered on the masculine body and republican devotion to the Patrie.⁷

This chapter draws on feminist historiography to understand the ways that the universalist discourse of the Sacerdotal Revolution was grounded in an exclusionary conception of republican citizenship. Feminist historians like Joan Wallach Scott and Joan Landes have long noted that the abstract notions of universal citizenship posited by the French Revolution were inherently equated with a commonality defined by maleness. As a result, the paradoxical expansion of political rights under the more radical phase of the Revolution was simultaneously accompanied by the exclusion of women, children, servants, and people of color from these same rights.⁸ Moreover, Scott argued

⁷ For more on regeneration, the body, and masculinity, see: Antoine de Baecque, *The Body Politic: Corporeal Metaphor in Revolutionary France, 1770-1800*, trans. Charlotte Mandell (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 131-156; Antoine de Baecque, “L’homme nouveau est arrivé: La “régénération” du française en 1789,” *Dix-huitième Siècle*, no. 20 (1988): 193-203; André Rauch, *Crise de l’identité masculine, 1789-1914* (Paris: Hachette, 2000), 19-45; Sean Quinlan, “Men without Women? Ideal Masculinity and Male Sociability in the French Revolution, 1789-99,” in *French Masculinities: History, Culture and Politics*, ed. Christopher Forth and Bertrand Taithe (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 31-37. My use of the term “Cult of Muscles” is inspired by Sean Quinlan’s own concept of “Republic of Muscles.”

⁸ Joan Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 7, 112-129, 139-151, 203-205; William Sewell, “Le citoyen/la citoyenne: Activity, Passivity, and the Revolutionary Concept of Citizenship,” in *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture*, ed.

that the process of secularization and the construction of the nation state were fundamentally connected to questions of sexual difference.⁹ As revolutionaries increasingly came to define religious belief and familial matters in terms of the private sphere, they began to extoll a masculinity that served as both the public face of the family and the reasoning arbiters of the political sphere. Feminine religiosity and imagination, in contrast, threatened to upend political society. The philosopher Judith Butler, in their conversations with Ernesto Laclau and Slavoj Žižek, likewise noted that universalism, especially during the Terror, was permanently contaminated and haunted by traces of the particular, and as a result, attempted to eradicate that trace through its reassertions of universality.¹⁰ This insight from feminist historians and philosophers helps explain the obsessive lingering over the wounded male bodies of martyrs at the heart of the Sacerdotal Revolution, and its desire to transcend, through obliteration, the particular religious identities embodied by the resistance of religious fanatics. Not only did revolutionaries celebrated a model of universal republican citizenship that was masculine, rational, public, and patriotic, they also characterized religious fanatics in terms of sexual deviance, femininity, madness, and counterrevolution. In other words, the fanatic embodied the counterrevolutionary Other of republican citizenship.

Section 1: Diagnosing Fanaticism

In an article on “Fanatisme,” the *Encyclopédiste* Alexandre Deleyre (1726-1796) invited

Colin Lucas, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 105-123; Dena Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution: Sex, Class and Political Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 154-164; Joan Wallach Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 3-18; Joan Wallach Scott, *The Fantasy of Feminist History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 11-22; See also, Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988); Eliane Viennot, *Et la modernité fut masculine* (Paris, 2016).

⁹ Scott, *The Fantasy of Feminist History*, 95-102.

¹⁰ Judith Butler, “Restaging the Universal: Hegemony and the Limits of Formalism,” in *Contingency, Hegemony, Universality: Contemporary Dialogues on the Left* (New York: Verso, 2000), 17-41.

his readers to engage in an act of imagination.¹¹ He told his readers to picture an immense rotunda filled with thousands of altars and a fervent believer of every sect that has ever existed, each honoring their respective divinity “under all bizarre forms that imagination creates.”¹² To the right, one finds a contemplative stretched out on a mat, waiting to be infused with a celestial light, while to the left is a prostrated fanatic [énergumène] beating his head against the ground to bring out the abundance [pour en faire sortir l’abondance]. In another part of the rotunda, there is a motionless and mute penitent mimicking a statue of a god. The figures in this rotunda arrange themselves in all directions: some hold their arms outstretched to the east to see the radiant face of God, while others turn their backs to the south, from which blow the winds of a demon. Deleyre then depicts various acts of self-harm arising out of a deep anxiety over sexual desire. Young girls bruise their flesh because of concupiscence. Another man attaches rings to his “instrument of virility” in proportion to his desire. Finally, Deleyre describes a man who castrates himself in order to stop temptation, leaving “the spoils of his sacrifice” on the altar. He then tells his readers: “Watch them all leave the temple, full of a god who agitates them, to spread fear and illusion on the face of the earth. They divide up the world, and soon fire lights up in all four corners; the people listen, and kings tremble.”¹³ Deleyre’s somber menagerie of religious madness served as an allegory for the ways in which superstition and religious fanaticism constituted a pernicious source of chaos in the world. For the philosophe, mental afflictions such as fanaticism and superstition were fundamentally bodily conditions that carried catastrophic consequences for society.

Deleyre’s allegory of religious fanaticism was grounded in the medicalized discourse of the Enlightenment that developed by the mid-eighteenth century. The hygienic discourse deployed

¹¹ Alexandre Deleyre, “Fanatisme,” in *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, par une société de gens de lettres, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d’Alembert, vol. 6 (Paris: 1756), 393.

¹² Deleyre, “Fanatisme,” 6:393.

¹³ Ibid.

by eighteenth-century writers was the product of two processes that converged by the turn of the century: the medicalization of religious discourse and the emergence of sentimentalism. First, the struggle for religious authority between the clerical establishment and those whom it deemed enthusiasts or fanatics led clerical elites to make increasing recourse to medicalized discourse to portray their charismatic and millenarian critics as mentally ill.¹⁴ Thus the growing recourse to medical and mechanistic explanations for the prophetic visions of religious fanatics by the clerical elites contributed to a secularization of religious pathology that later philosophes would adopt. Second, the development and spread of sentimentalism by philosophes such as Étienne Bonnot de Condillac (1714-1780), Charles Bonnet (1720-1793) and Claude Adrien Helvétius (1717-1771) further contributed to the pathologization of superstition and religious fanaticism through their mechanistic interpretation of human nature.¹⁵ According to sentimentalism, all knowledge arose out of sense perception. From this epistemological claim, they posited that the mind and body constituted an interconnected system, thus bringing together moral and physical questions. Like the clerical elites before them, they attributed the problem of social disorder, as it was embodied in religious fanaticism, to imagination. Thus, a consequence of the increasing medicalization of Enlightenment discourse was that philosophes increasingly represented their campaign against religious fanaticism and superstition as a campaign against disease and mental illness.¹⁶

¹⁴ Michael Heyd, *Be Sober and Reasonable: The Critique of Enthusiasm in Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries* (New York: E.J. Brill, 1995), 2-10, 191-210; Kay Wilkins, "Some Aspects of the Irrational in 18th-Century France," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 140 (1975): 107-110.

¹⁵ Judith Devlin, *The Superstitious Mind: French Peasants and the Supernatural in the Nineteenth Century*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 215-226; John O'Neal, *The Authority of Experience: Sensation Theory in the French Enlightenment* (University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 1-9, 245-250; Anne Vila, *Enlightenment and Pathology: Sensibility in the Literature and Medicine of Eighteenth-Century France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1998), 1-10, 293-302; William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 141-172; Sophia Rosenfeld, *A Revolution in Language: The Problem of Signs in Late Eighteenth-Century France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 13-56; Jan Goldstein, *The Post-Revolutionary Self: Politics and Psyche in France, 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 103-138.

¹⁶ Vila, *Enlightenment and Pathology*, 80-81; Peter Gay, "The Enlightenment as Medicine and as Cure," *The Age of Enlightenment: Studies Presented to Theodore Besterman* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1967), 380.

Thinkers of the French Enlightenment held that superstition was a mental condition that arose out of fear and unchecked imagination. According to the physician-philosophe, chevalier Louis de Jaucourt (1704-1779), superstition was “a type of enchantment or magical power, that fear exercises over our souls; the wretched daughter of imagination, she employs phantoms, dreams and visions to stimulate it.”¹⁷ For Jaucourt and other philosophes, fear and imagination were the primary mental processes that produced superstitious belief. The abbé Condillac likewise agreed with Jaucourt, arguing that fear, ignorance, and imagination lie at the heart of superstition. In his *Traité des Systèmes* (1749), the abbé Condillac maintained that superstitious beliefs around astrology emerged from humanity’s inability to explain the reason for suffering.¹⁸ Accordingly, it was from this lack of explanation that imagination would begin to invent a pantheon of spirits and gods capable of effecting good and evil in the world. Historians Jan Goldstein and Charly Coleman have noted that during the eighteenth-century, Enlightenment thinkers believed that the mental faculty of imagination, when unchecked by reason, was capable of wreaking havoc upon society.¹⁹ Both Cartesian and sentimentalist philosophes linked imagination with error, defect, monstrosity and disorder, and sentimentalists, in particular, believed that when uncontrolled, imagination rendered an individual a dupe and subject of others. Thus, philosophes like the Baron d’Holbach and Jean-Jacques Rousseau saw unchecked imagination as a dangerous source of superstition. In

¹⁷ Louis de Jaucourt, “Superstition,” in *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société de gens de lettres*, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d’Alembert, vol. 15 (Paris: 1751), 669-670; Gay, “The Enlightenment as Medicine and as Cure,” 377. Peter Gay noted that there was considerable overlap between philosophy and medicine. Both de Jaucourt and Julien Offray de La Mettrie were students of physician Hermann Boerhaave.

¹⁸ Étienne Bonnot de Condillac, *Traité des systèmes, où l’on en démêle les inconvénients et les avantages*, vol. 1 (The Hague, 1749), 58-59.

¹⁹ Gay, “The Enlightenment as Medicine and as Cure,” 375; Goldstein, *The Post-Revolutionary Self*, 21-59; Charly Coleman, *The Virtues of Abandon: An Anti-Individualist History of the French Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014), 165-185; For more on the connection between madness and imagination, see: Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Vintage Books, 1988), 93-107.

his *Émile* (1763), Rousseau went so far as to recommend playing night games with children as a means of discouraging fear of the darkness and thus disarming imagination's ability to invent superstitions, since habit dampens the passions of imagination.²⁰

Many writers of the eighteenth century in France used explicitly medicalized language to describe superstition as a type of disease. In describing the symptoms of superstition, Jaucourt claimed that when the "terrible plague of humanity" infected a victim, the afflicted would enter a state of mental turgidness, where superstition "overwhelms the spirit, principally in sickness or in adversity; it changes good discipline and venerable customs into mummeries and superficial ceremonies. Whenever it sets its deep roots in some religion, good or bad, it is capable of extinguishing natural knowledge [les lumières naturelles] and troubling sound minds."²¹ Attacking the mind, superstition deformed manners and ultimately led to the denaturation of the individual. Other writers were quite explicit in their use of medical terminology. Voltaire wrote that superstition was a sickness [maladie de l'esprit], that attacked and infected religions, and that led believers to mistake sorcerers for devils instead of the crazy [fou].²² Elsewhere, Voltaire referred to superstition as dangerous disease that infected the earth and sparking religious warfare. Rebutting those who claimed that the Wars of Religion were no longer a threat to France, Voltaire acerbically replied: "The same Poison still persists, however less developed: that Plague [Peste], which seemed suffocated, produces again from time to time those germs capable of infecting the Earth."²³ The materialist philosophe baron d'Holbach was even more direct in his book, *La*

²⁰ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile or On Education*, trans. Allan Bloom (New York: Basic Books, 1979), 134-135.

²¹ Jaucourt, "Superstition," 15:670.

²² Voltaire, "Superstition," *Dictionnaire philosophique: La Raison par l'alphabet*, ed. Raymond Naves and Olivier Ferret (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2008), 371.

²³ Voltaire, "À Sa Majesté, le Roi de Prusse," in *Le Fanatisme ou Mahomet le Prophète* (Amsterdam: 1753), [3]. Note: because there are no page numbers given in Voltaire's letter, I have assigned each page a number for reference as marked by brackets.

Contagion sacrée, ou la histoire naturelle de la Superstition (1768), where he wrote about how superstition “infected” the people.²⁴ Therefore the question of superstition was a question of hygiene. For the philosophes, the struggle against superstition represented a struggle for health and a desire to master both nature and religion.²⁵

Yet what made the disease of superstition all the more insidious was that it also constituted a system of power and domination. As discussed in the previous chapter, French writers in the eighteenth century understood superstition as a sedimentation of degeneration. It was historical process through which priests and despots corrupted natural man, rendering him pliant to the wills of tyrants.²⁶ It was for this reason that many of the texts that address the question of superstition function as historical ethnographies that take the state of nature as a starting point. The baron d’Holbach opened his study of superstition by declaring: “Man is only superstitious by what he fears; he only fears what he does not know.”²⁷ In other words, humanity was not naturally superstitious; it was acquired through time. Other such as Voltaire and Deleyre began their own overviews with the pagan origins of superstition.²⁸ Because this primordial superstition made humanity more susceptible to domination, some philosophes believed that it represented a threat to the established order. Jaucourt cautioned that superstition threatened the authority of kings more than irreligion.²⁹ By invoking the names of the regicides Jacques Clément and François Ravailac

²⁴ Paul Henri Dietrich baron d’Holbach, *La Contagion sacrée, ou Histoire naturelle de la superstition* (London: 1768), 8; See also, Condillac, *Traité des systèmes*, 56-88.

²⁵ Gay, “The Enlightenment as Medicine and as Cure,” 375.

²⁶ Devlin, *The Superstitious Mind*, 215-226; J.G.A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 193-198; J.G.A. Pocock, “Superstition and Enthusiasm in Gibbon’s History of Religion,” *Eighteenth-Century Life* 8, no. 1 (1982): 83-94; Eugen Weber, “Religion and Superstition in Nineteenth-Century France,” *The Historical Journal* 31, no. 2 (1988): 399-423; Jonathan I. Israel, *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of Man 1670-1752* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 40-42, 94-114.

²⁷ Holbach, *La Contagion sacrée*, 1.

²⁸ Voltaire, “Superstition,” 369-70; Deleyre, “Fanatisme,” 6:393-394.

²⁹ Jaucourt, “Superstition,” 15:670.

in his appeal to the King of Prussia, Voltaire warned about the subversive potential of superstition to monarchical authority.³⁰ At the same time, there were also other writers who believed that kings and priests mutually reinforced their power through superstition. In his “Second Homily on Superstition,” Voltaire was more caustic in denouncing superstition as the tool of domination. Warning peasants and artisans that the powerful were using superstition to maintain their power over them, he wrote: “they inspired you with a destructive fanaticism that they might be your masters; they made you superstitious, not that you might fear God more, but that you might fear them.”³¹ The baron d’Holbach similarly noted the affinity between sacerdotal power and despotic power by claiming that priests used superstition to subjugate the people in order to receive favors and influence with kings.³² Thus superstition was more than simply a type of mental affliction; it was a tool of domination. The historical weight of fevered minds rendered individuals more susceptible to the domination of others.

Eighteenth-century writers contrasted the passive state of fear and domination engendered by superstition with the madness and frenzy of religious fanaticism. For the philosophes, fanaticism was simply “superstition put into action.”³³ According to Deleyre, fanaticism was a type of mental excitement or enthusiasm, in contrast to the mental torpor of superstition: “if superstition subjugates and degrades man, then *fanaticism* lifts them up.”³⁴ Voltaire likewise

³⁰ Voltaire, “À Sa Majesté, le Roi de Prusse,” 6-8.

³¹ Translation quoted in Develin, *The Superstitious Mind*, 218; for the original text, see: François Marie Arouet de Voltaire, “Second Homélie. Sur la superstition,” in *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire: Notes, préfaces, avertissements, remarques historiques et littéraire*, vol. 26, (Paris: Armand-Aubrée, 1829), 374; Jean Meslier, the atheistic priest of Étrépigny likewise declared in his *Testament* that monarchical tyranny and the superstition of priests mutually reinforce each other’s power in society: “That was without doubt in recognition of those important services that the Despots became the protectors and the supports of superstition; there was nearly always a pact between them and the priesthood; *they league together against the people*, and nothing can resist their united efforts.” Jean Meslier, *Ce que sont les Prêtres précédé du Testament du J. Meslier* (Paris: 1881), 108.

³² Holbach, *La Contagion sacrée*, 102, 113-116.

³³ Deleyre, “Fanatisme,” 6:393; Beyond his work for the *Éncyclopédie*, Deleyre was elected as deputy to the National Convention for the department of the Gironde. August Kuscinski, *Dictionnaire des conventionnels* (Paris: 1917), 194-195.

³⁴ Deleyre, “Fanatisme,” 6:400.

understood fanaticism in clinical terms, stressing that it was capable transforming superstition into a type of frenzy and madness. In his *Dictionnaire philosophique* (1764), he compared fanaticism to a fever: “fanaticism is to superstition what transport is to fever, what rage is to anger. To those who have ecstasies, visions, who take dreams for reality, and imaginations for prophecy, is an enthusiast; those who support one’s madness by murder, is a fanatic.”³⁵ He further added that fanaticism was a type of infection of the brain: “As soon as fanaticism has gangrened the brain, the malady is nearly incurable.”³⁶ Thus fanaticism was a type of sickness that agitated and rotted the brain. Deleyre considered fanaticism to be a type of melancholy, because it was caused by deep meditations.³⁷ At the end of his article in the *Encyclopédie*, he went so far as to recommend his readers to consult articles on “démonomanie” and “melancolie,” thus effectively classifying fanaticism as a type of melancholy.³⁸

Connected with the idea of religious madness was the belief that abnormal religious beliefs engendered sexual deviance. The hygienic discourse of the Enlightenment maintained that vows of celibacy taken by the clergy and religious orders were responsible for humoral stagnation, melancholy and madness.³⁹ As Deleyre’s metaphorical rotunda illustrated, superstition and fanaticism were intimately tied to obsession over sexual purity and self-mutilation.⁴⁰ Philosophes such as the baron d’Holbach and Louis-Sébastien Mercier (1740-1814) condemned superstition

³⁵ Voltaire, “Fanatisme,” *Dictionnaire philosophique: La Raison par l’alphabet*, ed. Raymond Naves and Olivier Ferret (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2008), 190.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Deleyre, “Fanatisme,” 6:398.

³⁸ Deleyre, “Fanatisme,” 6:401; for more on melancholy, see: Foucault, *Madness and Civilization*, 117-135; for more about the religious aspect of melancholy, see: Stanley W. Jackson, “Melancholia and Mechanical Explanation in Eighteenth-Century Medicine,” *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 38, no. 3 (1983): 298-319; Oliver Lovesy, “Divine Enthusiasm and Love Melancholy: *Tristram Shandy* and Eighteenth-Century Narratives of Saint Errantry,” *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 16, no. 3, (2004): 373-399; Heyd, “*Be Sober and Reasonable*,” 197.

³⁹ Cage, *Unnatural Frenchmen*, 46-53; For more on eighteenth-century medical ideas about sex, see: Thomas Laqueur, “Orgasm, Generation, and the Politics of Reproductive Biology,” *Representations*, no.14 (1986): 1-41.

⁴⁰ Deleyre, “Fanatisme,” 6:393.

for suppressing human nature and creating moral codes that were impossible to enforce, let alone to even follow.⁴¹ The naturalist Jean-Baptiste-René Robinet (1735-1820) noted the use of confessors, cold water, and bodily mortification to discourage desire, while the abbé Jean Saury (1741-1785) observed that ecclesiastics developed a deep hatred for all things that give pleasure.⁴² As a result, critics maintained that repressed natural desire and the stagnation of sexual fluids led to disproportionate rates of melancholy, hypochondria and mania amongst ecclesiastics.⁴³ The abbé Saury, a fierce critic of celibacy, described a case where superstitious belief of celibacy plunged one monk into a deep state of melancholy, in which he acted like a statue.⁴⁴ Moreover, celibacy also had the effect of creating hallucination and delusions.⁴⁵ Most critics of celibacy agreed that marriage was the best remedy for the psycho-sexual madness of celibate clergy and religious orders.⁴⁶ More crucially, the enlightened pathology of celibacy reinforced the idea that eighteenth-century writers thought about fanaticism and superstition in hygienic terms and that these ideas were indistinguishable from the body.

What made fanaticism especially dangerous was its ability to transform superstition into violence. Like other forms of madness, there was a persistent assumption that religious fanaticism

⁴¹ Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Tableau de Paris*, vol. 7 (Amsterdam: 1783), 55-57; [Paul Henri Dietrich baron d'Holbach], *Système de la Nature ou des Loix du Monde Physique et du Monde Moral*, vol. 1 (London: 1770), 352. The baron d'Holbach observed: "most of the precepts which religion, or its fanatical and superstitious morality, give to men are as ridiculous as they are impossible to practice. To deny men their passions is to forbid them from being men."

⁴² Jean-Baptiste-René Robinet, *Dictionnaire universel des sciences morale, économique, politique et diplomatique; ou Bibliothèque de l'homme-d'état et du citoyen*, vol. 11 (London: 1779), 397; [Abbé Jean Saury], *Lettre d'un provincial à un de ses amis, sur le célibat ecclésiastique* (London: 1778), 21.

⁴³ [Saury], *Lettre d'un provincial*, 20-22.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 22. Saury wrote: "Jacobus Janus reported a singular example of that illness: it was an ecclesiastic who was attacked: that man full of superstition, as well as stupid, was persuaded that God would never pardon his youthful errors, fell into a depression which lasted an entire summer and spring: in the autumn he fell into a deep melancholy, and did not respond to questions asked by his friends: when he rose and dressed, he remained immobile like a real statue. He would only walk when one would push him; when one brought him to a chair, he sat; and ate when one brought food to his mouth: in the winter, his illness greatly diminished: despite that, a dejectedness remained with him that did not disappear."

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 20, 23.

⁴⁶ Robinet, *Dictionnaire universel*, 11:393-395; [Saury], *Lettre d'un provincial*, 2, 12-13, 19; Cage, *Unnatural Frenchmen*, 46-53.

warped its victims into deluded soldiers obsessed with imposing their chimerical ideas and incapable of feeling pain.⁴⁷ Deleyre noted that there are some who believe that fanatics were good soldiers, but warned his readers that an enthusiast was more dangerous with invisible arms than a prince with his artillery.⁴⁸ Citing the examples of fanatical regicides, Voltaire observed that “laws are the most powerless against these bouts of rage,” reasoning that the agitated “are persuaded that the Holy Spirit that penetrates them is above the laws, and that their enthusiasm is the only law that they must understand.”⁴⁹ Delusional and doctrinaire in their beliefs, fanaticism ultimately leads to the dissolution of social bonds. For Voltaire, superstition and fanaticism led fathers to hate and disinherit their children; brothers to quarrel; parents to divide; and friendships to break apart.⁵⁰ Thus it threatened the very foundation of society: the family. When it came to stopping the spread of fanaticism, most eighteenth-century authors cautioned against persecution, believing that it would only create more fanatics.⁵¹ Instead, one must wait for the spread of the “philosophical spirit,” which gradually “softens the mores of men, and which prevents fits of sickness.”⁵² Additionally, since obscure ideas engendered sects and made it possible for imagination to dominate the mental faculty of judgment, then clear ideas and truth were capable of preventing the further spread of fanaticism.⁵³ Therefore it was in reference to the inherent danger of fanaticism and the need for a “philosophical spirit” that the medicalized discourse of the Enlightenment articulated itself.

Despite the critique of superstition and fanaticism, it is important to note that many Enlightenment writers still maintained that religion constituted a crucial component of society.

⁴⁷ For more on the animality of madness, see: Foucault, *Madness and Civilization*, 70-78.

⁴⁸ Deleyre, “Fanatisme,” 6:400.

⁴⁹ Voltaire, “Fanatisme,” 6:191.

⁵⁰ Voltaire, “À Sa Majesté, le Roi de Prusse,” 7.

⁵¹ Deleyre, “Fanatisme,” 6:400; Voltaire, “Fanatisme,” 191.

⁵² Voltaire, “Fanatisme,” 191.

⁵³ Deleyre, “Fanatisme,” 6:398.

Deleyre, Voltaire, Jaucourt and others were careful to distinguish between religion and its more corrupted forms. Moreover, eighteenth-century philosophe often praised specific religious figures such as Mohammad, Moses, and the Roman priest-king Numa.⁵⁴ In passage on civil religion in the *Social Contract* (1762), Rousseau lauded Mohammad for his “very sound opinions, taking care to give unity to his political system,” and observed that problems only emerged when “the Arabs, in becoming prosperous, cultured, polite, effeminate and soft, were subjugated by the barbarians” and divisions tore the community apart between Sunni and Shia.⁵⁵ Diderot and Jaucourt likewise depicted Moses as a wise legislator.⁵⁶ In his political treatise on the government of Poland, Rousseau went so far as to single Moses out for his role in constructing an enduring Jewish nation.⁵⁷ Like Machiavelli struggling with the problem of political time, writers of the French Enlightenment struggled with the eventual corruption of religion, either through ignorance or through the direct manipulation of priests. Both orthodox religious reformers and secular philosophes agreed that religion needed to be purified of its perceived superstitions in order to serve as a more solid base for society.⁵⁸ By the French Revolution, this distinction between religion and superstition and fanaticism would collapse, and fanaticism would ultimately serve as a synecdoche for religion in its entirety.

As medical and philosophical writers worried about the harmful effects of superstition and fanaticism in society, cultural critics in the closing decades grew alarmed about the health of the

⁵⁴ A notable exception was Voltaire, who wrote critical works about Mohammad and Moses. For example, see: Voltaire, “Moïse,” *Dictionnaire philosophique: La Raison par l’alphabet*, ed. Raymond Naves and Olivier Ferret (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2008), 303-307; Voltaire, *Le Fanatisme ou Mahomet le Prophète*; Schechter, *Obstinate Hebrews*, 46-54.

⁵⁵ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, trans. Maurice Cranston (New York: Penguin, 1968), 179.

⁵⁶ Schechter, *Obstinate Hebrews*, 54-55, 59.

⁵⁷ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, “Consideration on the Government of Poland and on Its Planned Reformation,” in *The Plan for Perpetual Peace, On the Government of Poland, and Other Writings on History and Politics*, trans. Christopher Kelley and Judith Bush, ed. Christopher Kelly (Hanover: Dartmouth College Press, 2005), 171-172.

⁵⁸ Wilkins, “Some Aspects of the Irrational in 18th-Century France,” 107-127.

French nation.⁵⁹ By the latter half of the eighteenth century, French military defeat in the Seven Years War, the collapse of traditional constitutional politics, and classical republican critique of French institutions and society pushed many authors to reconsider the nature of the French national character. As historian David Bell observed: “As the French stared into a political void, many writers made the sudden and singular discovery that, contrary to previous assumptions, France was not a nation.”⁶⁰ The Calvinist pastor and deputy of the Estates General, Jean-Paul Rabaut de Saint-Étienne (1743-1793) grimly declared: “The [French] national character was effaced.”⁶¹ France had fallen into a state of decadence. The journalist Pierre-Nicolas Chantreau (1741-1808) likewise noted that the nation did not exist prior to the Revolution.⁶² Following Rousseau’s own skepticism of the science and the arts, cultural critics believed that society had become decadent, effeminate, corrupt and degenerate.⁶³ In an essay on patriotism, the abbé Claude-François-Xavier Millot (1726-1785) had warned about the dangerous effects of luxury on French national character: “If once fashion, airs, frivolity take the place of *moeurs* and reason; if consideration follows titles and wealth, and merit is forced grovel and blush; Ah! The nation is done for, whatever its power. Rome has disappeared.”⁶⁴ Thus critics looking all around had found France amidst a crisis of military, political and masculinity.⁶⁵

However, cultural critics of the eighteenth century were far more ambiguous about the role

⁵⁹ de Baecque, *The Body Politic*, 134-137; Sean M. Quinlan, *The Great Nation in Decline: Sex, Modernity and Health Crises in Revolutionary France c. 1750-1850* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2007), 19-45; David Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680-1800* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 149-154.

⁶⁰ Bell, *The Cult of the Nation*, 14.

⁶¹ Jean-Paul Rabaut de Saint-Étienne, *Précis historique de la Révolution française: Suivi de Réflexions politiques sur les circonstances* (Paris: 1809), 21.

⁶² Bell, *The Cult of the Nation*, 14.

⁶³ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, “Discourse on the Sciences and Arts or First Discourse,” in *Rousseau: The Discourses and Other Early Political Writings*, trans. Victor Gourevitch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 5-28.

⁶⁴ Claude-François-Xavier Millot, *Discours sur le patriotisme François* (Lyon: 1762), 35.

⁶⁵ For more on the crisis of masculinity, see: Rauch, *Crise de l’identité masculine*, 19-45.

of religion in national decline. Those concerned with the depopulation and the sexual health of the nation blamed celibate priests for the crisis.⁶⁶ Others pointed to religious strife as the chief culprit slowing the progress and enlightenment of the nation. For Rabaut de Saint-Étienne, it was “the fire of religious quarrels that retarded the progress of France,” and only after the spread of the Enlightenment and renewed contact with northern nations did national renewal become possible.⁶⁷ Yet despite the attention that cultural critics gave to religion, the role of superstition and fanaticism was still unclear. Cultural critic Jean-Louis Castilhon (1721-1798) was even less clear when discussing the effect of superstition on national character. In his essay on superstitions, Castilhon acknowledged the danger of superstition, but nonetheless puzzled over the example of Rome: “In what way should we interpret the Romans, a people so proud of their grandeur, so vain of their knowledge, so proud of their wisdom of government? [Their] superstition was a thousand times more absurd than that our crudest peasants; and however, it was the most solid support of public safety.”⁶⁸ As Castilhon noted, superstition had penetrated all levels of government, including the act of declaring war, but Rome remained great regardless. Elsewhere, Castilhon linked the spread of superstition to Rome’s growing luxury. Again, he did not see this growth of superstition affecting the primitive virtue and national character of the Romans.⁶⁹ Ultimately, questions about degeneration, superstition and fanaticism would not be resolved in texts about the French nation; instead, a more thorough diagnosis and treatment is found in the debate over Jewish emancipation in the closing decades of the eighteenth century.

⁶⁶ Cage, *Unnatural Frenchmen*, 29-60; for more on depopulation and hygiene, see: Quinlan, *The Great Nation in Decline*, 19-86.

⁶⁷ Rabaut Saint-Étienne, *Précis historique de la Révolution française*, 25.

⁶⁸ Jean-Louis Castilhon, *Essai sur les erreurs et les superstitions modernes* (Amsterdam: 1765), 209-210.

⁶⁹ “However extravagant the religious dogmas of the Romans were, their errors never went so far as to alter their primitive qualities, their ancient virtues, these virtues and those qualities from which the national character resulted.” Jean-Louis Castilhon, *Considérations sur les causes physiques et morales de la diversité du génie, des mœurs des nations*, vol. 1 (Bouillon: 1770), 186-194.

On the eve of the French Revolution, the most systematic vision of regeneration was developed by the abbé Henri Grégoire that would become central to the way revolutionaries would come to understand religious reform. For many Enlightenment writers, Jews had come to represent many facets of superstition and fanaticism: either as the targets of superstitious and fanatical attacks from Christian society, or as symbols of superstition and fanaticism as embodied in the rabbinical tradition of the Talmud.⁷⁰ In responding to a question posed by the Academy of Metz concerning the regeneration of French Jews, the abbé Grégoire's prize-winning essay would bring together the different strands of religious, medical and political ideas in its proposal to regenerate the supposedly superstitious and fanatical Jews into citizens of the French kingdom.⁷¹ The abbé Grégoire's own characterization of Jews as either as superstitious or fanatics drew on eighteenth-century discourse that condemned the Talmud, Kabala, and Jewish ritual a corruption of the more natural religious tradition of Mosaic law. Jaucourt in his article on the "Talmud," scoffed that the Babylonian Talmud "contained a thousand reveries that are ridiculously attributed to celestial origin."⁷² In another article, the theologian and *encyclopédiste*, Edmé-François Mallet (1713-1753), ridiculed the belief of Talmudists as "a ridiculous heap of superstitions."⁷³ Apologists and defenders of Jewish religious tradition like Isaac Pinto (1717-1787), Isaïah Berr Bing (1759-1805), and Zalkind Hourwitz (1751–1812) would refute claims about Jewish superstition and fanaticism by either defending the Talmud, downplaying certain aspects of rabbinical tradition, or blaming

⁷⁰ Schechter, *Obstinate Hebrews*, 46-65.

⁷¹ The question posed by the Academy of Metz was "Is there a way of making the Jews more useful and happier in France?" For more on the abbé Grégoire, French Jews and the concept of regeneration, see: de Baecque, *The Body Politic*, 136-137; Schechter, *Obstinate Hebrews*, 87-95; Sepinwall, *The Abbé Grégoire and the French Revolution*, 56-77; Maurice Samuels, *The Right to Difference: French Universalism and the Jews* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 24-30.

⁷² Louis de Jaucourt, "Talmud," in *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, par une société de gens de lettres, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert, vol. 15 (Paris: 1751), 869.

⁷³ Edmé-François Mallet, "Enfer," in *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, par une société de gens de lettres, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert, vol. 5 (Paris: 1751), 666.

the superstitious and fanatical Christians for their current state.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, the abbé Grégoire agreed with the *encyclopédistes*, and characterized Jews as superstitious, fanatical, melancholic, effeminate and degenerate. In his essay, Grégoire observed: “The difficulty arises from the fact that their religion encompasses every detail of life, by regulations that our constitutions would never adopt.”⁷⁵ The effect of this ritual saturation meant that Jews were perpetually steeped in superstition and prejudice. Elsewhere the abbé Grégoire was more explicit in his evaluation of French Jews: “It is a matter here of a bulk of a nation mired in the lakes of gross credulity (“impétrée [sic] dans les lacs d’une credulité grossière”), and submerged in an ocean of stupid opinions.”⁷⁶ If degenerated and corrupt, the abbé still maintained that regeneration was possible. He affirmed: “If they corrupted the nation, they can [still] regenerate it.”⁷⁷

The abbé Grégoire’s program of regeneration for French Jews called for assimilation, education, and an end to all persecution of French Jews. At the heart of the abbé Grégoire’s proposals was the belief that human nature was perfectible. Drawing on the medical and philosophical literature of the Enlightenment, the abbé Grégoire believed that the problem afflicting Jews was the harmful effects of persecution and superstition. He called for an end to laws concentrating Jews in ghettos, seeing them as unhygienic abodes teeming with putrid air that served as breeding grounds for superstition and fanaticism.⁷⁸ Restrictions and fear also rendered Jews melancholic and susceptible to obsessive thoughts.⁷⁹ Since they were effeminate by reason

⁷⁴ Schechter, *Obstinate Hebrews*, 111-131.

⁷⁵ Abbé Henri Grégoire, *Essai sur la régénération physique, morale et politique des Juifs* (Paris: 1789), 100.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 171.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 179.

⁷⁸ Grégoire, *Essai sur la régénération*, 146-149; for more on miasma, odor and urban space, see: Alain Corbin, *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odor and the French Social Imagination*, trans. Miriam L. Kochan, Roy Porter, and Christopher Prendergast (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), 11-56; Quinlan, *The Great Nation in Decline*, 77-85.

⁷⁹ Grégoire, *Essai sur la régénération*, 43-44; for example see, Louis de Jaucourt, “melancholie religieuse,” in *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société de gens de lettres*, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d’Alembert, vol. 10 (Paris: 1751), 308; for more on melancholy, see: Heyd, “*Be Sober*

of their condition, the abbé Grégoire recommended military service to instill virtue, aid assimilation, and break the hold of superstition.⁸⁰ Equally as important was education and the need to open schools and universities to Jews in order to enlighten them and accustom them to the laws of the French kingdom.⁸¹ Finally, the abbé Grégoire believed that women and the power of sentimental marriage were essential to the regeneration of the Jewish man: “But when the woman can compensate his physical inferiority by the charms of her spirit and sentiment, her influence softens his manners, his heart opens to the impressions of delicacy.”⁸² He then went on to add that the sentimental conjugal bond ultimately socializes man: “man, in cherishing his wife, contracts a habit of respecting his equal, and in general the consideration for the opposite sex, is the measure of progress of a nation in social life.”⁸³ Thus through military, pedagogical, and sociological means, Grégoire’s hygienic discourse brings together bodily, moral and religious themes of Enlightenment discourse to bear upon the question of Jewish emancipation and regeneration. Fanaticism and superstition were not simply a moral problem: they were a fundamentally gendered and embodied question.

It was on the eve of the French Revolution that physicians, philosophes and cultural critics found a solution to the lingering problem of superstition, degeneration, and fanaticism: the moral, physical and political regeneration of the French nation itself. More than any other text, the abbé Grégoire’s essay represented the culmination of the medical, philosophical and cultural texts of the eighteenth century. As historians Gary Kates and Ronald Schechter aptly noted, the debates over Jewish emancipation were more than simply about Jews: it was a way for French political

and Reasonable,” 197; Jackson, “Melancholia and Mechanical Explanation in Eighteenth-Century Medicine,” 298-319.

⁸⁰ Grégoire, *Essai sur la régénération*, 45-46, 57, 120-125.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 165-168.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 181-182.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 182.

thinkers to work out their own ideas about the meaning of citizenship and the nation.⁸⁴ Throughout these debates, eighteenth-century writers, aside from the materialists, never questioned the role of religion, however limited, in society. Instead, they viewed fanaticism and superstition in hygienic terms. Therefore, the regeneration imagined by Grégoire was to be bodily, spiritual, and psychological. From Deleyre's fantasies about fanatics mutilating their sexual organs to the abbé Grégoire's stress on conjugal love, fanaticism and superstition were above all about the body and the mind. This hygienic discourse would come to inform how revolutionaries understood religion, regeneration, and the French nation. However, if Enlightenment writers separated religion from superstition and fanaticism, the Sacerdotal Revolution will collapse this difference and transform fanaticism into a synecdoche of religion as a whole. With this shift, the regenerated revolutionary religion will come to stress the same ideals of regeneration expressed by the abbé Grégoire in his essay on Jews: military service, conjugal marriage, and education. In another sense, the articulation of new religious enemies would also owe itself to this Enlightenment discourse: imaginative women seduced by priests and obstinate priests refusing to swear an oath threatened to overturn the Republic. Only by eliminating superstition and fanaticism through a new muscular cult of revolutionary devotion would radical revolutionaries imagine an alternative.

Section 2: Purging the “Corrupting Miasma” of Fanaticism

The French Revolution would oversee a new transformation in the meaning of superstition and fanaticism. What before was social hygiene became political hygiene, and with it, radical revolutionaries would elaborate new categories of suspects. Above all else, radical revolutionaries

⁸⁴ Gary Kates, “Jews into Frenchmen: Nationality and Representation in Revolutionary France,” *Social Research* 56, no. 1 (1989): 232. Kates wrote: “More fundamentally, the debates over Jewish emancipation reveal not a Jewish problem but a problem the *French* had defining nationality and representation.”; Schechter, *Obstinate Hebrews*, 6-10; Samuels, *The Right to Difference*, 29-30.

became obsessed with the idea of purging superstition and fanaticism from the social body.⁸⁵ A speech given by a revolutionary named Bertrand articulated these ideas in apocalyptic terms on 10 Frimaire Year II (30 November 1793) in the town of Saint-Sever.⁸⁶ During a festival of Reason filled with squadrons of soldiers and a woman dressed as the goddess Liberty, Bertrand climbed the tribune of the temple of Truth and delivered a speech that neatly outlined the political vision of the sacerdotal revolution:

A revolution, of which was not given to the human mind to predict the developments, nor to calculate its effects; a terrible revolution, but necessary, has overturned all systems of our customs and of our institutions: has accelerated in its progress, by the same obstacles that malice or perfidy that dared to oppose it, it embarked as a torrent in the heart of France, overthrowing bodies, uprooting prejudices, trampling under its immense whirlwind the laws and opinions, men and things, and sparing nothing that could slow its progress towards the great and sublime goal of a universal regeneration. At the heart of this vast upheaval, and amongst the rapid collapse of all parts of our old government, only superstition, escaped the general catastrophe, seeming to survive the Nation itself. Arising, in the middle of the universal ruin, that arrogant idol seemed to defy its destruction, and to brave the power of the people. Finally, the day of vengeance has come: the lightning bolt has struck that odious colossus, and its sudden dispersion has proved that nothing is impossible for the power of a free and enlightened Nation.⁸⁷

Bertrand's speech within the temple of Truth represented a call to arms to complete the Revolution by completely uprooting the last vestiges of superstition. Like with the cleaning of the Augean Stables, Bertrand imagined herculean task of regeneration as a powerful natural and cleansing force that swept across France.⁸⁸ Although the old system of kings had been wiped away in the

⁸⁵ For concepts of purging, especially in relation to revolutionary festivals, see: Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Harvard University Press, 1988), 269-271, 278-82; de Baecque, *The Body Politic*, 102-106.

⁸⁶ Archives Départementales des Landes 67 L 1, *Procès-verbal de la cérémonie qui a eu lieu dans le Commune de SAINT-SEVER, pour l'Inauguration du Temple de la Vérité* (Mont-de-Marsan: an II [1793]), 1-3. Henceforth, Archives Départementales des Landes will be abbreviated as ADL.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁸⁸ For metaphors of muscular colossuses during the French Revolution, see: Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 96-119; de Baecque, *The Body Politic*, 102-106, 137-146; de Baecque, "L'homme nouveau est arrivé," 197-199, 204-205; for more natural metaphor and storms in particular, see: Mary Ashburn Miller, *A Natural History of Revolution: Violence and Nature in the French Revolutionary Imagination, 1789-1794* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 55, 61-62, 66-68.

general catastrophe, the remnants of superstition continued to threaten the republic. Only the corrupt and odious body of superstition remained to be purged. The festival ended with a dance that lasted into the night.

Both representatives on mission to the South West and local revolutionaries of the region believed that they were surrounded by superstition and fanaticism. In frequent letters to the Committee of Public Safety, the representatives on mission reported that the South West was rife with superstition and fanaticism. In a letter to the Committee of Public Safety on 27 April 1793, Marc Antoine Baudot, Guillaume Chaudron-Rousseau and Joseph-Étienne Projean wrote: “We must not neglect to mention to you that fanaticism has much weakened public spirit in all of the departments that neighbor the frontier with Spain. We will redouble our efforts and take appropriate measures for enlightening the people and the love of the Patrie will do the rest.”⁸⁹ In another letter from Saint-Esprit on 20 April 1793, Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte and Pierre Louis Ichon complained that fanaticism and proximity to the Spanish border was leading Basques to seek confession in Spain.⁹⁰ In a separate letter, Dartigoeyte and Ichon announced that they were carefully watching the maneuvers of fanaticism in the departments of the Gers and Landes.⁹¹ Despite occasional declaration of victory of superstition and fanaticism, the representatives on mission continued to note the persistence of fanaticism and superstition in the South West. In a letter to the Committee of Public Safety on 11 Frimaire Year II (1 December 1793), Jean-Bertrand

⁸⁹ Letter of Marc Antoine Baudot, Guillaume Chaudron-Rousseau and Joseph-Étienne Projean to the Committee of Public Safety, 27 April 1793 in *Recueil des actes du Comité de salut public, avec la correspondance officielle des représentants en mission et le registre des représentants en mission et le registre du Conseil exécutif provisoire (RACSP)*, ed. François Alphonse Aulard, vol. 3, 1 April 1793 – 5 May 1793 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1890), 495.

⁹⁰ Letter of Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte and Pierre Louis Ichon to the Committee of Public Safety, 20 April 1793 in *RACSP*, 3:263.

⁹¹ Letter of Dartigoeyte and Ichon to the Committee of Public Safety, 29 March 1793 in *RACSP*, 2:571.

Féraud observed that the Pyrenean borderlands were fanaticized.⁹² Although Claude Alexandre Ysabeau, Étienne Neveu, and Julien Mazade-Percin affirmed that fanaticism was extinguished in the Hautes-Pyrénées, Dartigoeyte raged in another letter that “in the [departments of the] Hautes- and Basses-Pyrénées, there is still much fanaticism, and the public spirit is very behind, except for a few communes.”⁹³ Thus for the representatives on mission, the South West was a hotbed of superstition and fanaticism.

Local revolutionaries agreed with the assessment of the representatives on mission, while at the same time insisting that fanaticism and superstition were defeated. Following a denunciation of Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme’s conduct in the Hautes-Pyrénées, popular societies in the Basses- and Hautes-Pyrénées rushed to his defense, producing documents that touched on his religious policies. While it might not be possible to fully assess the truthfulness of these documents, they still nonetheless let historians see how these groups saw the state of their departments. The Popular Society of Pau acknowledged that despite the efforts of some revolutionary sans-culottes, the public spirit of the department was like a baby eagle too weak to fly on its own.⁹⁴ They further added that, “Fanaticism of priests, that old monster born in the bosom of superstition and charlatanism, held minds in a tight circle of ideas that the Church did not condemn, souls were corrupted, humiliated under the weight of all the religious fears, and debased by all the invented mummeries used to deprive man of the idea of his dignity.”⁹⁵ Local revolutionaries also emphasized that superstition and fanaticism was a problem tied to rural communes. The Popular

⁹² Letter of Jean-Bértrand Féraud to the Committee of Public Safety, 11 Frimaire Year II (1 December 1793) in *RACSP*, 9:87-88.

⁹³ Letter of Alexandre Ysabeau, Étienne Neveu and Julien Bernard Dorothée Mazade-Percin to the Committee of Public Safety, 22 April 1793 in *RACSP*, 3:392; Letter of Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte to the Committee of Public Safety, 2 October 1793, in *RACSP*, 7:193.

⁹⁴ ADPA, 29 L 3, *Rapport fait à la société montagnarde et régénérée de la commune de Pau* (Pau: an II [1794]), 23.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

Society of Paul spoke about how priests preyed on the simplicity of peasants who judged the success of the revolution based on weather conditions.⁹⁶ In the department of the Gers, Chantreau would lament that “the privileged soil [of France] ... is still infested with fanaticism.”⁹⁷ Finally, local revolutionaries in the South West also admitted how intractable eliminating older religious practices were. According to the *agent national* overseeing the district of Tarbes, municipal authorities struggled to enforce the ban on Sunday worship, despite claims that the people of the district were faithfully observing the *fêtes décadaires*.⁹⁸ Thus for the local revolutionaries, as much for the representatives on mission in the South West, superstition and fanaticism proved to be a persistent and intractable problem in the region.

Like many writers of the French Enlightenment, revolutionaries continued to use medicalized and hygienic discourse to describe fanaticism and superstition. For revolutionaries, fanaticism still constituted a type of disease that affected the mind and drove its victims to murder. In one of its articles, the weekly didactic newspaper, *La Feuille Villageoise*, described fanaticism as a type of “disease” that had “reigned for several centuries” in Europe and “cost the life of seven or eight million men.”⁹⁹ The weekly then went on to provide a pathology of the disease, describing its violent effects on its victims: “Whenever the bout took hold of someone sick with fanaticism, his eyes gleamed with fury, he took up arms, he massacred his friends, he threw himself on all those who were well, and often burned them in public places.”¹⁰⁰ According to the author of the

⁹⁶ Ibid., 24.

⁹⁷ Archives départementales du Gers, 1 L 459, Pierre Nicolas Chantreau, *Les Documens de la Raison, Feuille anti-fanatiques*, no. 6 (Auch: an II [1794]), 89. Henceforth, “Archives départementales du Gers” will be abbreviated as ADG.

⁹⁸ Archives Municipales de Tarbes, Révolution Française D 20, Analyse des operations de l'agent national près la commune de Tarbes: Rapport de l'agent national sur les operations de la municipalité, 10 Thermidor Year II (28 July 1794). Henceforth, “Archives Municipales” will be abbreviated as AM.

⁹⁹ *La feuille villageoise, adressée, chaque semaine, à tous les villages de la France, pour les instruire des Loix, des Événemens, des Découvertes qui intéressent tout Citoyen*, vol. 1, no. 20, 10 February 1791, 367.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

article, fanaticism induced a type of violent madness on its victims. The article then went on to describe how the disease would spread: “This kind of rage was epidemic, like what scientists called hydrophobia: a bitten patient [would bite] a hundred more [people]; and finally, the whole country was infected with the plague.”¹⁰¹ Much like rabies, the author of the article imagined the disease spreading from a “bite” of a fanatic. The weekly recommended that its readers follow a remedy first proposed by a famous doctor named *Bonsens* (“common sense”), which would include either reciting the lines, “we defy those who preach murder in the name of God” on an empty stomach in the morning or carrying a sheet of paper in one’s pocket with the lines “Paradise is to be free. Hell is to pay the tithe,” or by simply reading the *Feuille Villageoise*.¹⁰² Although the article was overall playful in tone, it is clear that revolutionaries believed fanaticism constituted a threat to the public health of the republic. For example, revolutionaries like those on the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau [formerly, Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne] similarly thought about fanaticism as a type of infection or contagion whose spread needed to be contained.¹⁰³ In both cases, revolutionaries continued to use hygienic discourse to describe fanaticism as a type of disease that drove its victims to violent fury and that was communicable between individuals.

Additionally, revolutionaries also used this hygienic discourse when recounting the ways that they purged religious space of its “fanatical vapors” or “miasmas.” In a letter to the Committee of Public Safety on 13 Frimaire Year II (3 December 1793), Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, Jacques Pinet and Pierre-Anselme Garrau spoke of purifying the Cathedral of Bayonne during a festival of

¹⁰¹ *La feuille villageoise*, vol. 1, no. 20, 10 February 1791, 367.

¹⁰² Ibid. In the article, the author capitalized all the characters of each “formula.” For stylistic considerations, I decided to not capitalize all the characters.

¹⁰³ “Session of 2 décady Ventôse,” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau / Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne. Procès-verbaux et correspondance 11 Octobre 1793 - 30 Fructidor an II*, ed. Ernest Ginsburger (Paris: Librairie Lipschutz, 1934), 180. In reference to a widow from Haute Montagne named Daguerre recently arrested for fanaticism, the Surveillance Committee noted: “That is not all, the patriots are revolted by the tepidness to take part in civic festivals, a tepidness all the more criminal as her family leads example, infected by the contagion which does get tired of turning away from the new order....”

Reason: “We have purified by energetic emphasis of reason and truth, and by the acclamations of patriotism, that [Cathedral] which, until then, had been soiled by lies and deception.”¹⁰⁴ Monestier also used this same hygienic language to describe his inauguration of a temple of Reason in Pau. In his *arrêté* restricting religious worship in the Basses-Pyrénées, Monestier declared: “I inaugurated that new temple, I purged it of its corrupting miasmas; I consecrated it to eternal and universal reason.”¹⁰⁵ In another *arrêté* on the Cult of the Supreme Being, Monestier marveled at how Robespierre’s speech had the power to dispel “fanatical vapors.”¹⁰⁶ In all of these instances, the mere exposure to the language of reason was capable of tearing away the veil of ignorance, dispelling the fog of fanatical vapors, and inducing a sudden experience of regeneration. To reinforce this rhetorical purge, revolutionaries also resorted to more spectacular acts of iconoclasm, *autos-da-fé*, and masquerades. Following a speech by Lavielle on the dangers of fanaticism on 30 Ventôse Year II (20 March 1794), it was reported that an immense crowd, “converted to the cult of Reason,” brought Monestier to the altar of the Patrie, where they lit a “vengeful fire for all the outrages made to truth and philosophy” and burned “superstitious books” for several days.¹⁰⁷ In their letter to the Committee of Public Safety, Monestier, Pinet and Garrau gleefully reported that at Bayonne, “Saint Léon and some of his comrades had been brought to the

¹⁰⁴ Jean-Baptiste Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, Jacques Pinet, and Pierre-Anselme Garrau to the Committee of Public Safety, 13 Frimaire Year II (3 December 1793) in *RASCP*, 9:141.

¹⁰⁵ ADHP 2 J 128/3, Jean-Baptiste Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, *MONESTIER (du Puy-de-Dôme) Représentant du Peuple dans les Départemens des Basses et Hautes-Pyrénées pour l'organisation du gouvernement révolutionnaire*, 12 Ventôse Year II (2 March 1794) (Pau: an II [1794]), 3.

¹⁰⁶ Bibliothèque Municipale de Pau Ee 1914, Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, *Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme aux bons Citoyens et Citoyennes des départemens des Hautes et Basses-Pyrénées, en leur envoyant le rapport fait par Maximilien ROBESPIERRE, au nom du Comité de Salut Public, sur les idées religieuses, et les fêtes nationales, le 18 Floréal*, 5-6; see also, BM Pau Ee 1911, Jacques Pinet, *Discours prononcé par PINET aîné, Représentant du Peuple dans la ci-devant église cathédrale de Bayonne, le frimaire, jour de la fête de la Raison dans cette ville* (an II [1793]), 1, 7. In a sermon delivered in the Cathedral of Bayonne, Pinet remarked on how his own words had the power to purify a pulpit corrupted by fanaticism. Henceforth, “Bibliothèque Municipale” will be abbreviated as BM.

¹⁰⁷ BM Pau Ee 1911, Lavielle, *Discours sur le danger du fanatisme, prononcé dans une séance de la Société Populaire de la Commune de Pau* (Pau: an II [1794]), 8.

place de la Liberté, and there, at the foot of the sacred tree, one gently roasted them.”¹⁰⁸ Either by the words of reason or by flames, revolutionaries sought to dispel the vapors of fanaticism and outrages to truth. Thus, the Sacerdotal Revolution remained firmly rooted in the hygienic and medicalized discourses of the Enlightenment.

If revolutionaries for the most part continued to draw on Enlightenment ideas about religious madness, the dispute over the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and the emergence of the Sacerdotal Revolution in 1793 effectively transformed fanaticism into a political problem. In fact, use of the terms “fanatisme” and “superstition” in parliamentary debate increased 145% and 413% respectively between 1792 and 1793 alone.¹⁰⁹ Revolutionaries were not unique in their use of the term, and many writers of the French Enlightenment could deploy it against their clerical enemies the Jesuits.¹¹⁰ What this growth demonstrates, however, is that while speakers generally made use of these terms throughout the revolutionary period, their increased use of the term after 1791 reflected the broader political dynamic of religious conflict in revolutionary France. After 1791, nearly half of all members of the French clergy refused to swear the Ecclesiastical Oath.¹¹¹ When the National Constituent Assembly ordered that all non-jurors be replaced, the refractory clergy waged public disputes with the newly elected constitutional clergy, accusing them of being

¹⁰⁸ Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, Pinet, and Garrau to the Committee of Public Safety, 13 Frimaire Year II (3 December 1793) in *RASCP*, 9:141.

¹⁰⁹ A search in the ARTFL of the *Archives Parlementaires* for the terms “fanatisme” and “superstition” reveal that: “fanatisme” was used 43 times in 1789, 101 times in 1790, 454 times in 1791, 767 times in 1792, and 1882 times in 1793; “superstition” was used 28 times in 1789, 35 times in 1790, 70 times in 1791, 185 times in 1792, and 950 times in 1793. Other forms such as “fanatique” and “superstitieuse” were used with less frequency by speakers. Within the same sentence, “fanatisme” was frequently used with: “peuple” (409); “liberté” (406); “prêtres” (371); “raison” (349); “aristocratie” (308); “superstition” (301); “république” (221); Within the same sentence, “superstition” was frequently used with words such as: “fanatisme” (301); “raison” (234); “peuple” (195); “liberté” (169); “commune” (115); “ignorance” (112); “prêtres” (106).

¹¹⁰ Dale Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560-1791* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 276-279.

¹¹¹ Timothy Tackett, *Religion, Revolution and Regional Culture in Eighteenth-Century France: The Ecclesiastical Oath of 1791* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 40-44.

“intrus” and illegitimate.¹¹² During a debate on over the possible revocation of Ecclesiastical Oath in November 1791, Antoine Louis Albitte (1761-1812) defended the provision and warned the assembly that “[T]he refractory priests draw from that article the strongest weapons against you....They are going to be the ministers of the same parishioners whose spirit they have corrupted [gangrené l’esprit]. These men are not only fanatics; they are also enemies of the Revolution.”¹¹³ From November 1791 onward, the French government would gradually adopt harsher measures against its religious opponents. Under the Legislative Assembly, new laws were passed in 1792 targeting *émigrés* and the refractory clergy hostile to the revolution with threats of deportation.¹¹⁴ Finally, the year 1793 corresponded with a period of political instability and the beginning of the Sacerdotal Revolution in France. Thus, the changing use of the terms reflect a growing politicization of the category of “fanatisme” and “superstition” over the course of the Revolution.

By the end of 1793, revolutionaries in the South West codified fanaticism as a new category of political suspect within the emerging legal apparatus of the Terror. On 17 September 1793, the National Convention promulgated the Law of Suspects, which defined a suspect as anyone who has shown themselves to be “partisans of tyranny or of federalism, and enemies of liberty” by their behavior, speech, writings, or associations.¹¹⁵ It further declared suspect anyone unable to fulfill

¹¹² For more on the issue of “intrus,” see: Gérard Cholvy, “Religion et Révolution: La déchristianisation de l’an II,” *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 50, no. 233 (1978): 454-456; Tackett, *Religion, Revolution and Regional Culture*, 159-171.

¹¹³ *Archives parlementaires de 1787 à 1860: Recueil complet des débats législatifs et politiques des Chambres françaises*, ed. Jérôme Mavidal, Émile Laurent, Constant Pionnier, and E. Tonnier, vol. 35 (Paris: Société d'imprimerie et librairie administratives et des chemins de fer, 1890), 276. Henceforth, *Archives parlementaires* will be abbreviated as *AP*.

¹¹⁴ John McManners, *The French Revolution and the Church* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), 61-67.

¹¹⁵ For the text of the Law of Suspects, see: *AP*, 74:304-305; for a general overview of the Law of Suspects, see: Robert R. Palmer, *Twelve Who Ruled: The Year of the Terror in the French Revolution*, Bicentennial Edition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 67; Donald M. G. Sutherland, *The French Revolution and Empire: The Quest for a Civic Order* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 210; Timothy Tackett, *The Coming of the Terror in the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2015), 303; for more on the function of the law, see: Patrice Gueniffey, *La Politique de la Terreur: essai sur la violence révolutionnaire, 1789-1794* (Paris: Fayard, 2000), 294-301; Sophie Wahnich, *La liberté ou la mort: essai sur la Terreur et le terrorisme* (Paris: La fabrique éditions, 2003), 65-70; Colin Lucas, "The Theory and Practice of Denunciation in the French Revolution,"

sufficiently their civic duties; denied a certificate of *civisme*; suspended from public office; ex-nobles and their families; or guilty of emigration. The National Convention endowed surveillance committees with the authority to investigate or arrest anyone it deemed to be suspect. Representatives on mission in the South West went one step further and used the vague provisions to include religious crimes. In the *arrêté* of 16 Brumaire Year II (6 November 1793), Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac granted local surveillance committees the authority to arrest and imprison “either the ministers of whatever religion, or citizens and citizenesses, who, by their fanatical and counterrevolutionary words, or unlawful acts, opposed in whatever manner the execution of the wise and philosophical designs contained within the decrees of their colleague, Fouché.”¹¹⁶ Since Joseph Fouché’s decree prohibited exterior public worship and secularized funerary practices, anyone opposed to Fouché, and presumably Dartigoeyte and Cavaignac, would be considered a fanatic and a suspect. The Conseil du Département of Gers further commended the *arrêtés* Dartigoeyte, Cavaignac, and Fouché as “proper for defanaticization.”¹¹⁷ Significantly, the *arrêté* also did not distinguish between Catholics, Protestants and Jews; nor between the refractory clergy and the constitutional clergy. For Dartigoeyte and Cavaignac, all religious groups were equally suspect. This law would serve as the legal framework for religious repression in the South West for most of Year II.¹¹⁸

Concluding that priests constituted the primary vector through which fanaticism spread, radical revolutionaries sought to either compel or convince priests to resign. Countless writings

The Journal of Modern History 68, no. 4 (1996): 768-785; for more on the penal system in general, see: Carla Hesse, “The Law of the Terror,” *MLN* 114, no. 4 (1999): 702-718.

¹¹⁶ ADG 1 L 147, *arrêté* of Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac, 16 Brumaire Year II (6 November 1793), 1-4.

¹¹⁷ ADG 1 L 117 “Session of the Conseil du Département du Gers, 21 Brumaire Year II (11 November 1793).”

¹¹⁸ For a similar set of laws initiated by Dartigoeyte in the Hautes-Garonne, see: Jean-Claude Meyer, *La vie religieuse et Haute-Garonne sous la Révolution 1789-1801* (Toulouse: Publication de l’Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 1982), 255-258.

from this period denounced priests as charlatans who spread counterrevolution and religious fanaticism. No effort was made to distinguish between constitutional clergy and refractory clergy; all were suspect. For those like the *procureur-général-syndic* of Gers, François-Michel Lantrac, “the delirium of fanatics” and the “bad faith of disciples interested in deception” were the driving force behind opposition to revolutionary religious reform.¹¹⁹ Chantreau also warned that there was a “dark den” where a mystical and counterrevolutionary band of “former [nobles], *dévôts*, refractory or non-refractory priests, who are more or less the same thing, old *dévotes*, their beloved flocks, parliamentary hypocrites, and what is worse than all that, monks defrocked in body, but not in their heart or spirit” who “worked quietly and very actively for a new Vendée.”¹²⁰ Both the representatives on mission and local militants would agree: with the coming of the Revolution, priests were no longer needed and represented a danger to the safety of the Republic. For some, clerical abdication or *déprêtrisation* was capable of breaking clerical power over the credulous and bringing about the regeneration of the countryside. Historian Michel Vovelle argued that one needed to distinguish between four different types of abdications that occurred in Year II.¹²¹ First, there were some religious ministers who simply resigned from their pastoral charge of their parish, until a time when public religious worship would be needed again. Others abdicated their functions and state of priesthood, often relinquishing their letters of priesthood to civil authorities to be burned in a public ceremony. Thirdly, there were still other religious ministers who escalated their abdications by including denouncing religious belief. Finally, there was a group of religious ministers who quietly abandoned their office and married without any public notice. Thus, clerical

¹¹⁹ ADG 1 L 117 “proces-verbaux des séances du Conseil du Département du Gers,” 21 Brumaire Year II (11 November 1793), 49.

¹²⁰ Chantreau, *Les Documens de la Raison*, no. 17, 259.

¹²¹ Michel Vovelle, 1793, *La Révolution contre l'Église: De la Raison à l'Être Suprême* (Bruxelles: Editions Complexe, 1988), 117-119.

abdication represented one of the ways by which revolutionaries sought to contain the spread of fanaticism.

The abdications of religious ministers functioned as important spectacles of miraculous regeneration that attested to the unstoppable advance of revolution.¹²² By far the most famous example of abdication came when the constitutional archbishop of Paris, Jean-Baptiste Gobel, and his clergy formally resigned before the National Convention on 17 Brumaire Year II (7 November 1793).¹²³ During his speech, Gobel declared that the progress of revolution necessitated that he respected the sovereign will of the people and would from his religious office. He then concluded by adding: “May this example serve to consolidate the reign of liberty and equality. Vive la République!”¹²⁴ Thunderous applause then erupted in the legislative chamber and the president of the National Convention embraced Gobel. Moved by the abdication of Gobel and his clergy, several ecclesiastical members of the National Convention rushed to the tribune and abdicated their religious ministries.¹²⁵ The former Catholic priest, Jacques-Michel Coupé, then embraced the former Protestant minister, Julien de Toulouse, on the tribune.¹²⁶ Only the abbé Henri Grégoire

¹²² For more on regeneration, see: Mona Ozouf, “Regeneration,” *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, ed. François Furet and Mona Ozouf, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 781-790; Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, 262-282; Mona Ozouf, “La Révolution française et la formation de l’homme nouveau,” in *L’homme régénéré: Essais sur la Révolution française* (Paris: Gallimard, 1989), 116-157; de Baecque, “L’homme nouveau est arrivé,” 193-208; Antoine de Baecque, *Glory and Terror: Seven Deaths under the French Revolution*, trans. Charlotte Mandell (New York: Routledge, 2001), 121-142; de Baecque, *The Body Politic*, 131-156; Serge Bianchi, *La révolution culturelle de l’an II, Élitisme et peuple, 1789-1799* (Paris: Aubier, 1982), 153-241; Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France*, 1-21, 140-168; Sepinwall, *The Abbé Grégoire and the French Revolution*, 6-8, 81-136.

¹²³ Alphonse Aulard, *Le culte de la raison et le culte de l’Être Suprême (1793-1794): Essai historique* (Paris: Félix Alcan Éditeur, 1892), 42-48; For a complete transcript of the event, see: *AP*, 78:549-556; for another contemporary account, see: *Révolutions de Paris, dédiées à la Nation*, no. 215, 212-214.

¹²⁴ *AP*, 78:550.

¹²⁵ The ecclesiastical members that abdicated during the session of 17 Brumaire Year II were: Jacques-Michel Coupé, curé of Sermaine; Thomas Lindet, bishop of Eure; Léonard Gay de Vernon, bishop of Haute-Vienne; and Julien de Toulouse, a Protestant minister.

¹²⁶ *Révolutions de Paris, dédiées à la Nation*, no. 215, 213.

refused to abdicate.¹²⁷ The journal *Révolutions de Paris* celebrated the abdications as a triumph of reason over fanaticism: “That session was one of the most beautiful to ever take place. It delivered the final blow to fanaticism, that implacable enemy of liberty and it did so without effort, violence and with enthusiasm; that is to say, it did not reflect passions or imagination; but reason which had returned to its usurped domain and applauded the happiness that it brings to humanity.”¹²⁸ The scene of abdications in the National Convention on 17 Brumaire Year II became paradigmatic of a type of revolutionary regeneration that miraculously transformed religious ministers into the *homme nouveau*. Through an examination of their conscience, religious ministers had bowed to the will of the sovereign nation and given themselves over to the Revolution.

The more dramatic manifestations of clerical abdications in the South West followed similar patterns whereby a priest, pastor or rabbi would abdicate before the local administration, a popular society, or during a civic festival. News of Gobel’s abdication had sent shockwaves throughout the rest of France, provoking others to abdicate. In a letter to the Committee of Public Safety on 12 Nivôse Year II (1 January 1794), Dartigoeyte attested to the influence of Gobel in the South West: “The example of Gobel has made an explosion in the Gers. A large number of curés have abdicated. Many communes renounced public worship. It seemed that reason developed as a torrent to which nothing could resist.”¹²⁹ While clerical marriages preceded the broader move towards abdication, the resignation of Gobel marked an important turning point towards clerical abdications.¹³⁰ In the South West, public spectacles of abdication could occur during meetings of

¹²⁷ Jacques Alexis Thuriot mocked Grégoire for his decision to not abdicate: “Why Grégoire consults his conscience to know if superstition is useful to the progress of liberty? It is superstition that gives birth to despotism.” *AP*, 78:556.

¹²⁸ *Révolutions de Paris, dédiées à la Nation*, no. 215, 212.

¹²⁹ Letter of Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte to the Committee of Public Safety, 12 Nivôse Year II (1 January 1794) in *RACSP*, 10:26.

¹³⁰ Maurice Dommanget, “La déchristianisation à Beauvais: les déprêtrisations,” *Annales révolutionnaires* 9, no. 1 (1917): 43-45; Bernard Plongeron, “Les prêtres abdicataires parisiens,” in *Les prêtres abdicataires pendant la*

the local popular society. In an address to the National Convention on 19 Brumaire Year II (9 November 1793), Dartigoeyte and Cavaignac reported that seven priests had climbed the tribune of the popular society of Auch to announce to abdicate.¹³¹ Celebrations of festivals of Reason were another forum for clerical abdications. In a letter to the Committee of Public Safety on 13 Frimaire Year II (3 December 1793), Garrau, Pinet and Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme wrote that many “spiritual despots” had “come out of good faith to renounce their roles and strip themselves of a supposed character which made them ridiculous actors, dangerous fanatics, and men not useful to the public good.”¹³² Thus abdication transformed these priests into useful citizens. Finally, abdications could take the form of public declarations before municipal, district, or departmental authorities. In the more religiously diverse Basses-Pyrénées, priests, pastors and rabbis would come together before local authorities to renounce their ministries.¹³³

As public spectacles, the abdications of religious ministers during the Sacerdotal Revolution dramatized regeneration as a type of struggle of conscience between religious fanaticism and patriotism. Some priests like Chantron described abdication as a type of moral liberation from religion. In his abdication, Chantron affirmed that he had always “abhorred fanaticism and superstition” and was aghast at the realization that he become an “unreflecting disciple” under the “tyrannical yoke of Catholicism.”¹³⁴ It was only out of love for the nation and

Révolution Française, ed. L. Fracart, Rebouillat, M. Bordes, et. al (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1965), 17-21; Vovelle, 1793, *La Révolution contre l'Église*, 56-58, 114-117.

¹³¹ *AP*, 79:233.

¹³² Jean-Baptiste Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, Jacques Pinet, and Pierre-Anselme Garrau to the Committee of Public Safety, 13 Frimaire Year II (3 December 1793) in *RACSP*, 9:140.

¹³³ ADPA, pôle de Pau, E dépôt Salies-de Béarn 1 D 5, MS minutes of the Conseil Général de la commune de Salies-de-Béarn, session 3 Ventôse Year II - 21 February 1794; “Letter of Jean-Baptiste-Benoît Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme to the National Convention, 21 Pluviôse Year II (9 February 1794),” in *RACSP*, 11:26; ADPA, pôle de Pau, E dépôt Orthez 1 D 1, MS minutes of the Conseil Général de la commune de Orthez, sessions for the month of Pluviôse. In the lead up to the abdications, both Catholic priests and Protestant pastors of Orthez were enthusiastically handing over their religious items to the municipality; ADPA, pôle de Pau, E dépôt Osse 1 D 2. At the behest of the municipal government and Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, Protestants and Catholics renounced their religious worship.

¹³⁴ AM Tarbes Rev Fr P5 “Petition de Citoyen Chantron aux Citoyens administrateurs composants le Conseil du district de Tarbes,” 13 Messidor Year II (1 July 1794).

desire to live as a useful citizen that he resigned.¹³⁵ Michel Ribet likewise portrayed his struggle as one of conscience and patriotism: “Fooled by reason and study, I declare today that I am only a French citizen... that I am no longer a priest, nor do I want to be one.”¹³⁶ He further added that priests teach only “a web of errors” and that all of the ceremonies performed are “grandiloquence and bizarre and ridiculous practices....”¹³⁷ For another *vicaire*, Sylvain Pomyro, abdication also mean bodily sacrifice for the nation:

Since the beginning of the Revolution, I have never ceased to give proof of my civism; there was a time when the patrie needed priests; I made myself a priest, during which time I almost lost my life twice from poison and finally from a gunshot; the country no longer needs [priests]. I come to lay my letters of priesthood on the bureau. I declare my abdication and renounce all former functions as a priest. I declare to you publicly that I recognize no other religion than the natural one that is Reason and Probity. In addition, I declare to you that I would let myself be chopped up like meat [je me laisserai hacher comme chair à pâté] before tolerating any citizen undermining the unity and indivisibility of the Republic. Vive la Montagne!¹³⁸

As Pomyro demonstrated, devotion to the Patrie required total sacrifice. Women also participated in these rituals, though sources remain sparse. At Oloron in Ventôse Year II, several former women religious appeared before the municipality to swear an oath of fidelity to the principles of the Revolution, going so far as to promise to die for the nation.¹³⁹ From a few remaining words from the abdicating clergy, it remains clear that they clearly saw a distinction between nation and religion.

¹³⁵ “Each citizen must support himself in working, in accepting the payment that the law accords to priests who resign I will acquire the right to live in laziness which is full of dishonor and completely a crime.” AM Tarbes Rev Fr P5 “Petition de Citoyen Chantron.”

¹³⁶ AP, 79:234.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ ADL 32 L 3 “Délibérations et arrêtés du directoire du district de Tartas,” no. 58, 14 Frimaire Year II (4 December 1793).

¹³⁹ AM Oloron 1 D 3, “Sessions of the Conseil Général of Oloron, 22 Ventôse Year II (12 March 1794), 25 Ventôse Year II (15 March 1794), 26 Ventôse Year II (16 March 1794), 27 Ventôse Year II (17 March 1794), 28 Ventôse (18 March 1794), 29 Ventôse Year II (19 March 1794).” Besides their formulaic oaths, municipal authorities only provided little record of what these women said. Their motives for abdication remain unclear; AP, 79:233. Dartigoyte and Cavaignac also mentioned the abdication of a woman religious named Anteroche, who gave a speech ridiculing religious vows and offered a cross as a patriotic gift.

Despite the abdication of a priests in the region, revolutionaries continued to suspect them. Overall, abdications occurred at lower rates than in other regions of France.¹⁴⁰ During a speech delivered in the Jacobin Club in Paris on 1 Frimaire Year II (21 November 1793), Maximilien Robespierre perfectly summed up the ambiguity surrounding the resignation of priests. Chiding those who called for clerical abdication, Robespierre remarked on the fundamental ambiguity of clerical abdication: “You fear priests! And they rush to abdicate their titles in exchange for those of municipal officers, administrators and even presidents of popular societies: you only believe their love for the Patrie on the faith of their sudden abjuration...”¹⁴¹ Robespierre went on to warn: “Yes, fear not their fanaticism, but their ambition; not clothes that they wear, but the new skin they put on.”¹⁴² For Robespierre, abdication was not a sign of patriotic self-sacrifice and regeneration; rather, it was the embodiment of political cynicism and counterrevolution. Revolutionaries in the South West also shared Robespierre’s concern. From the remaining newspaper fragments from the department of the Gers in Year II, it is clear that local revolutionaries were worried with the sincerity of abdicating clergy above all else. The *Journal du département du Gers* expressed indignation at the claims of some priests that their abdications were coerced: “Which counterrevolutionary demon forced you to change your behavior? Under the influence of public opinion, you came into the heart of popular societies to abdicate publicly, solemnly, and above all,

¹⁴⁰ For clerical abdications in the department of the Landes, see: Sylvie Aïzcorbe, “Les prêtres abdicataires du Département des Landes,” *Les Landes et la Révolution: Actes du Colloque de Mont-de-Marsan, 29-30 septembre 1989* (Mont-de-Marsan: Conseil Général des Landes, 1992), 243-252; for Gers, see: Maurice Bordes, “Les abdicataires du département du Gers,” in *Les prêtres abdicataires pendant la Révolution Française*, 79-90; for the Basses-Pyrénées, see: Antoine Richard, *Le gouvernement révolutionnaire dans les Basses-Pyrénées* (Bayonne: Éditions Harriet, 1984), 169-174; Louis Ricaud, *Les Représentants du Peuple en mission dans les Hautes-Pyrénées*, vol. 1 Monestier Du Puy-de-Dôme (Paris: 1899), 58-61.

¹⁴¹ Maximilien Robespierre, “2e intervention: Pour la liberté des cultes,” in *Œuvres de Maximilien Robespierre*, vol. 10 Discours 27 juillet 1793-27 juillet 1794, ed. Marc Bouloiseau and Albert Soboul (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1967), 195.

¹⁴² Ibid.

voluntarily.”¹⁴³ The journal later concludes: “What is your insanity, your roguishness, your perfidy; can perjury be tolerated amongst republicans?”¹⁴⁴ The scandal over priests resuming their sacerdotal functions was so concerning for revolutionaries at Auch, that the popular society spent the month of Nivôse discussing measures to be taken against the abdicataires.¹⁴⁵ In a letter to the Committee of Public Safety, Dartigoeyte expressed his dismay and concern over the abdications.¹⁴⁶

The representatives on mission believed that the soundest solution to the problem of priests was clerical marriage. During a meeting of the fraternal congress of the popular societies of Gers in September 1793, Dartigoeyte observed that it was important to extinguish the flames of fanaticism, and after complaining about how some episcopal vicars “mixed religion with civil acts,” recommended forcing priests to marry and obliging any priest over the age of sixty to adopt a child, lest they face destitution.¹⁴⁷ In the aftermath of the fraternal congress, clerical marriage became a key policy of Dartigoeyte, Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme and Pinet as they went on mission throughout the departments of the Landes, Gers, Basses-Pyrénées and Hautes-Pyrénées. At times, their calls for clerical marriage could seem unexpected and abrupt, though overall local Jacobin clubs were receptive to their proposals. During a meeting of the popular society of Pau on 28 September 1793, Monestier immediately began discussing “the political and moral necessity of the marriage of priests,” and proposed that all unmarried priests after a period of six months lose public confidence and be excluded from primary assemblies – a motion that was adopted by the

¹⁴³ ADG 1 L 459 *Journal du département du Gers*, no. 42, 9 Nivôse Year II (29 December 1793), 165.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ For accounts of these discussions, see: ADG 1 L 459 *Journal du département du Gers*, no. 42, 9 Nivôse Year II (29 December 1793), 165-164; ADG 1 L 694 *Délibérations de la Société montagnarde d'Auch*, Séances 3 Nivôse Year II - 8 Nivôse Year II (23 December 1793-28 December 1793).

¹⁴⁶ Letter of Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte to the Committee of Public Safety, 12 Nivôse Year II (1 January 1794) in *RACSP*, 10:27.

¹⁴⁷ ADG, 1 L 693, *Procès-verbaux des séances du congrès fraternel des sociétés du congrès fraternel des sociétés montagnardes du département du Gers*, 22 and 23 September 1793 (Auch: 1793), 1-3.

popular society.¹⁴⁸ Then on 12 October 1793, two representatives on mission, later revealed to be Monestier and Pinet, abruptly visited the popular society of Tartas in the department of the Landes.¹⁴⁹ After a ceremony where the president of the club handed the representatives an oak branch as a sign of unity, the representatives on mission began to rail against aristocrats and federalists. Then unexpectedly, one of the representatives turned to ridicule clerical celibacy. A few days later, the popular society passed a motion to support clerical marriage. As these two incidents demonstrate was that there was a sense of urgency in imposing clerical marriage in the South West.

For some radical revolutionaries, clerical marriage was a crucial means of breaking the social distinction that priests used to reinforce their own power over their parishioners. Returning to the heated debate in the Conseil Général of the Department of the Gers on 21 Brumaire (11 November 1793) when Lantrac called for the outright abolition of Catholicism, it was during that meeting that Dartigoeyte, with the support of Cavaignac, further elaborated upon the need for clerical marriage.¹⁵⁰ According to Dartigoeyte, clerical marriage was a more pragmatic means of undermining the authority of priests than the impolitic proposals of Lantrac. Taking a more gradualist approach to the Sacerdotal Revolution, he denounced clerical celibacy, claiming that it was “now necessary to force the priests to give up celibacy which has made them see themselves as beings more virtuous, more perfect than others....”¹⁵¹ Moreover, he recommended that the department ask the National Convention “that all priests not married within three months should be deprived of their salaries and pensions, that the electoral bodies or the municipalities should

¹⁴⁸ ADPA, pôle de Pau, 29 L 2, MS deliberations of the Society of Friends of Liberty and Equality, session of 28 September 1793.

¹⁴⁹ ADL, 67 L 4, MS minutes of the Society of Friends of the Constitution of Tartas, session of 12 October 1793.

¹⁵⁰ ADG, 1 L 117, MS minutes of the Conseil Général du département du Gers, 21 Brumaire Year II (11 November 1793).

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

only choose as their officers those citizens that are married....”¹⁵² Finally, he concluded that these means would disabuse the people within three months, and would regret supporting the refractory clergy instead of the more morally regenerated constitutionals. Therefore, clerical marriage, alongside eventual *déprêtrisation* (clerical abdication), was imagined to be a means to break the power of the priests over the people and reintegrate them back into society.

Besides the secularization of religion, the representatives on mission also believed that clerical marriages were also an important means of reintegrating the clergy into society and ensuring their patriotic devotion to the *patrie*. During the spring of 1794, Dartigoeyte issued an *arrêté* on 8 Germinal Year II (28 March 1793) targeting the clergy with strict provisions, and requiring the closing of churches and arrest of priests.¹⁵³ The only way for a priest to avoid arrest was either *déprêtrisation* or marriage.¹⁵⁴ Then on 23 Germinal Year II (17 April 1794), Dartigoeyte wrote to his *agents nationaux* of the districts of Gers, clarifying his instructions with regards to imprisoned priests.¹⁵⁵ He ordered the release of all imprisoned married priests so that they could return to their wives. Dartigoeyte argued that “marriage was a new tie that attaches a citizen to the Patrie.”¹⁵⁶ He further added, “Let us join all of our efforts to promote grand principles, to take away the priests from that *égoïsme* that attached them to their profession.”¹⁵⁷ Thus clerical marriage was more than simply a means of extirpating religion, although that was still the aim; it was also part of a much grander project of moral and political regeneration. As Dartigoeyte noted, while priestly abdications proved to be a salutary step towards stamping out counterrevolution, encouraging priests to marry would complete regeneration by more intimately tying the citizen to

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ ADG 1 L 117. Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte, *Arrêté* of 8 Germinal Year II (28 March 1794).

¹⁵⁴ J. Gardère, “Histoire religieuse de Condom pendant la Révolution,” *Revue de Gascogne: Bulletin Mensuel de la Société Historique de Gascogne* 40 (1899): 341-342.

¹⁵⁵ Cited in Gardère, “Histoire religieuse,” 342.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

the Patrie, and hence, the Revolution. A letter dated on 4 Germinal Year II (24 March 1794) and forwarded to the Committee of General Security alleged that Dartigoeyte would tell priests: “You must renounce the priesthood, marry, and abjure all the mummeries, and no longer fool the people, and I assure that if you return to your parish to exercise those functions, I will imprison you and I will send six gendarmes to find you, and you will only have to fuck off.”¹⁵⁸ For representatives on mission like Dartigoeyte, clerical marriage was an essential means of destroying fanaticism and reintegrating the clergy back into society.

Conversely, some revolutionaries also believed that celibate priests represented lasciviousness, degeneration, and a rejection of nature and exercised sexual power over women. During a debate in the Conseil Général on 12 May 1793 over the marriage of a Gersois priest, Louis Ichon, a former Oratorian cleric and representative on mission, complained: “As if the Supreme Being was deaf to the prayers of a citizen, a faithful spouse and tender father, only hearing those of celibate priests who, useless or dangerous, pass their life either fighting nature or dirtying the bed of another, to escape or profane the respectable places that serve as emblems and the base of all truth.”¹⁵⁹ For the former Oratorian, celibate priests were dangerous for their denial of natural heterosexual desires, while at the same time, engaging in illicit sexual liaisons with other women. In his “anti-fanatic” newspaper, *Les Documens de la Raison*, the journalist Nicolas Chantreau, praised the marriage of one priest in Condom to a former nun, while condemning the selfishness of priestly celibacy.¹⁶⁰ He further denounced the way priests would selfishly father illegitimate

¹⁵⁸ The full quote from the letter: “You should know also how he conducted himself with regards to priests: he had them all come before him in our department, he said to them - adieu, bastard [jean-foutre], are you a priest? - Yes, responds the priest - you must renounce the priesthood, marry, and abjure all the mummeries, you must no longer fool the people, and I assure you that if you return to your parish to exercise those functions, I will imprison you and I will send six gendarmes to find you, and you will only have to fuck off.” Quoted in Gabriel Cabannes, *Dartigoeyte* (Mont-de-Marsan: Editions Jean-Lacoste, 1936), 122-123.

¹⁵⁹ ADG, 1 L 115, MS minutes of the Conseil Général du département du Gers, 12 May 1793.

¹⁶⁰ Chantreau, *Les Documens de la Raison*, no. 12, 189.

children with other women. Finally, the anxiety over the sexuality of celibate priests also manifested itself in the fear over the dangerous influence of priests over women rooted in libertine sexuality. While on mission in Mirande, Dartigoeyte denounced the religiosity of women in crude and violently misogynistic terms: “And you, you fucking bitches, you are their [the priests’] whores, particularly those who attend their fucking masses and listen to their mumbo-jumbo.”¹⁶¹ Thus, not only were priests degenerate, they also had the capacity to corrupt others. For revolutionaries like Dartigoeyte or Chantreau, regeneration through clerical marriage became all the more imperative if they hoped to stop the descent of the countryside into counterrevolution.

Dartigoeyte’s stance on clerical marriage was rooted in the broader revolutionary discourse of regeneration that linked citizenship, gender, and religion together during the Terror. As historians Clare Cage and Suzanne Desan have demonstrated, revolutionaries began to increasingly turn to secular marriage as a means to ensure the regeneration of the nation following the fall of the monarchy in 1792 and throughout the summer and fall of 1793.¹⁶² Not only did the National Convention laicize marriage, liberalize divorce, curb the authority of husbands over wives, and grant more robust property rights to women while the revolutionary government battled priests, prominent Jacobins began to hope that the emotional bonds developed between husband and wife would serve the interests of the nation by transforming the individual into a patriotic citizen. Marriage was thought to have the ability to bring about regeneration in two ways: first, by developing the complementary republican virtues of man and woman, and second, by fostering a sentiment of patriotism. Revolutionaries believed that women were critical in the political

¹⁶¹ Quoted, with some modification, in Scott, *The Fantasy of Feminist History*, 98; The original French, as quoted in Cobb’s work: “Et vous, *foutues garces*,... vous êtes toutes leur putains (des prêtres), et principalement celles qui allez à leur foutues messes et qui assistez à leur momeries.” Richard Cobb, *Les armées révolutionnaires: Instrument de la Terreur dans les départements, Avril 1793-Floréal An II* (Paris: Mouton et Co: 1963), 646-647.

¹⁶² Desan, *The Family on Trial in Revolutionary France*, 49-85; Cage, *Unnatural Frenchmen*, 92-116; Sepinwall, *The Abbé Grégoire and the French Revolution*, 94-97, 144-149.

education of man by stimulating devotion to the Patrie. Moreover, mothers were also crucial in the education of children: they were to inspire their children to be “useful to the Patrie” and to teach them how to speak the male language of liberty.¹⁶³ Thus marriage was more than just a civil bond between individuals, it also represented a project of regeneration that would reintegrate the fallen and debased citizen back into the political community.

The Sacerdotal Revolution also represented a moment of sexual revolution, where radical revolutionaries promoting clerical marriage in their war against fanaticism were forced to recognize the desire and sexuality of former nuns living with defrocked priests.¹⁶⁴ While the representatives on mission and local revolutionaries frequently encouraged and compelled members of the clergy and religious orders to marry, instances of cohabitation proved far more ambiguous. Illustrative of this tension was the case of the ex-nun named du Teil. During a meeting of the Popular Society of Auch on 25 Ventôse Year II (15 March 1794), a debate erupted over the question of whether to give a certificate of civism to du Teil. Amidst the discussion, one of the members raised the concern that the former nun “lived notoriously with a former priest.”¹⁶⁵ Lantrac, Boubée, Marat-Paris, and Delille argued that her conduct “should be legitimated by marriage.”¹⁶⁶ They observed that marriage was a “contract known and revered by all nations” whose purpose was to “augment the population of states.”¹⁶⁷ They further added that marriage was to provide children with parental care. They feared that when unregulated, sexual relationships outside of marriage (“concubinage”) would only shift the burden of childcare and education onto the state. Regardless of the moralism, no one contested the right of either party to engage in a

¹⁶³ Desan, *The Family on Trial*, 72.

¹⁶⁴ For more on the marriage of nuns and sexual revolution, see: Kathryn Elizabeth Marsden, “Married Nuns in the French Revolution: The Sexual Revolution of the 1790s” (PhD diss., University of California, Irvine, 2014), 118, 146-154; for more on clerical marriages, see: Cage, *Unnatural Frenchmen*, 61-116.

¹⁶⁵ ADG I L 694, MS “Session of the Popular Society of Auch, 25 Ventôse Year II (15 March 1794).”

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

sexual relationship, and in fact encouraged it. However, sexuality and love were only acceptable when it was within the bounds of marriage and at the biopolitical service of the state.

Yet, while the members of the Popular Society of Auch preferred that du Teil marry the ex-priest, they were also willing to tolerate her relationship if it helped them to destroy the influence of fanaticism. Overall, the membership remained divided over the question of du Teil's certificate of civism. The minutes of the meeting ambiguously mentioned that "the orators disapproved *more or less* of that conduct [emphasis added]." ¹⁶⁸ Although just a few words, the stress that they disapproved "*plus ou moins*" indicates that there was more to the debate than document reveals. Further on in the notes, the minutes record the observations of one unnamed member who expressed the tension at the heart of the debate:

[T]hat virtue and *moeurs* were the most solid basis of republican governments; that a popular society whose people (?) are to direct public opinion towards the love and practice of virtue, could not accord a certificate of civism to concubines. However, it was admitted that ex-nuns, publicly concubines, or at least presumed as such by their cohabitation, had taken a step outside the slippers (souliers?) of superstition and found themselves closer to those of virtue. ¹⁶⁹

The speakers then agreed to grant a certificate of civism to du Teil, on condition that she either marry the ex-priest or cease cohabitating with him altogether. To a certain extent, one may argue that du Teil's scandalous relationship constituted a type of regeneration in the eyes of the revolutionaries. Thus, while some balked at the idea of the Popular Society granting a certificate of civism to a woman who was supposedly in a sexual relationship with a former priest, other members were willing to tolerate such relationships since brought them closer to the (hetero)sexual values of the Republic. One of the consequences then of the Sacerdotal Revolution was, what historian Kathryn Marsden termed, a sexual revolution in the French clergy. ¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ ADG 1 L 694, MS "Session of the Popular Society of Auch, 25 Ventôse Year II (15 March 1794)."

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Marsden, "Married Nuns in the French Revolution," 146-154

While revolutionaries often extolled the regenerative powers of republican spouses and mothers and praised the patriotism of the married nun, they still nonetheless regarded women susceptible to superstition, fanaticism, and counterrevolution. The connection between women, hysteria, and religious fanaticism in revolutionary discourse was already long established in the medicalized discourse of the Enlightenment.¹⁷¹ In his essay on women, Denis Diderot maintained that the uterus rendered women prone flights of imagination, frenzy, and superstition: “The woman carries within herself an organ susceptible to terrible spasms, disposing of her, and arousing in her imagination phantoms of all kinds.”¹⁷² He went further to add: “Nothing is closer than ecstasy, vision, prophecy, revelation, fiery poetry and hystericism.”¹⁷³ For Diderot, it was the figure of the woman who embodied religious fanaticism: “It is a woman who walked in the streets of Alexandria, barefoot, hair disheveled, [with] a torch in one hand, an ewer in the other, and who said: *I want to burn the sky with this torch, and extinguish hell with this water, so that man only loves God for his own sake.* This role only suits a woman.”¹⁷⁴ Driven by hysteria, it was women who threatened to destroy civilization in name of God. Not much changed in this image by the time of the Revolution. In his treatise on prejudices, the deputy, Marie Joseph Lequinio, remarked that women “are devout, because [they have] a great need to love.”¹⁷⁵ Like Diderot before him, Lequinio believed women were characterized by their strong emotions, natural *sensibilité*, tumultuous behavior, and vivid imaginations.¹⁷⁶ For Lequinio, revolutionary legislation bettering

¹⁷¹ Suzanne Desan, *Reclaiming the Sacred: Lay Religion and Popular Politics in Revolutionary France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 197-216; Caroline Ford, *Divided Houses: Religion and Gender in Modern France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 17-33; see also, Lieselotte Steinbrügge, *The Moral Sex: Woman's Nature in the French Enlightenment*, trans. Pamela E. Selwyn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

¹⁷² Denis Diderot, “Sur les femmes (1772),” in *Oeuvres complètes de Diderot*, ed. J. Assézat, vol. 2 (Paris: Garnier frères, 1875), 255.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 2:256-257.

¹⁷⁵ Marie Joseph Lequinio, *Les préjugés détruits* (Paris: 1793), 150.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 143-154.

the condition of women as well as careful instruction, was capable of breaking the hold of religion over the minds of women. Likewise, Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme's paternalist language would urge the need for patience in educating one's irrational spouse: "But in returning home, do not be surprised to find your mothers, wives, daughters lamenting the loss of their masses, curé, and confessor; they are women, respect them in their weakness. Do not torment them, nor bend them to your will; leave it to time and nature."¹⁷⁷ Thus, drawing on eighteenth-century Enlightenment discourse, many revolutionaries came to see women as especially susceptible to fanaticism.

If the medicalized discourse of the Enlightenment described women as biologically and emotionally inclined towards fanaticism and superstition, then the prominent role played by women in riots and public disturbances about religion reinforced the belief that women were fanatics. In a letter to the Committee of Public Safety on 12 Nivôse Year II (1 January 1794), Dartigoeyte expressed his fury that women were gathering in groups to demand that their priests resume performing religious worship: "In certain areas, it is the women who gather in crowds and cry for the liberty of religious worship. In truth, the movements are partial; they are not yet alarming; but our aristocrats are such scoundrels, if one does not remedy it soon, we could soon find ourselves quite embarrassed."¹⁷⁸ Dartigoeyte's letter attests to the participation of women at the forefront of religious riots. As historian Suzanne Desan noted, women were at the forefront of these religious riots and seemed more motivated than their spouses to return to public Catholic worship.¹⁷⁹ Women also expressed their dissatisfaction with the Sacerdotal Revolution during

¹⁷⁷ AM Tarbes, Rev Fr, I 24, *Extraits des registres des délibérations de la société Populaire et montagnarde, séante dans la Commune de Tarbes, Département des Hautes-Pyrénées, accompagnés de quelques traits historiques, relative à cette société*, 25 Ventôse Year II (Tarbes: an II [1794]), 10.

¹⁷⁸ Letter of Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte to the Committee of Public Safety, 12 Nivôse Year II (1 January 1794), in *RACSP*, 19:27.

¹⁷⁹ Desan, *Reclaiming the Sacred*, 17, 197-216.

meetings of the local Jacobin societies.¹⁸⁰ During a debate over how the government should enforce the observation of the revolutionary *décadi* and suppress the Sunday at the Popular Society of Auch on 19 Ventôse Year II (9 March 1794), Lantrac noticed an unusual presence of finely dressed women in the meeting and requested that women be barred from all meetings held on Sundays.¹⁸¹ During an intense debate in the popular society of Castelnau-Rivière-Basse over whether to close the church or temple of Reason on 29 Ventôse Year II (19 March 1794), the meeting minutes noted that there was a chaotic scene where women wearing hoods and carrying sticks invaded the meeting, the doors were locked, and the meeting ended “tumultuously.”¹⁸² After several attempts by the president to restore order, the gendarmes were called in and the women dispersed. Not only do these incidents demonstrate that there was significant opposition from women to the religious policies of the Terror, they also reinforced the belief amongst the representatives on mission and local Jacobins that women were dangerous religious fanatics in need of regeneration.

Revolutionaries also came to believe that fanaticism was specifically a rural problem. During the Terror, revolutionaries imagined the rural world as an immobile and ossified traditional society that served as a bulwark of superstition against the spread of revolutionary reform.¹⁸³ One of the first attempts reform the countryside came from the didactic newspaper, *La feuille villageoise*.¹⁸⁴ At one level, the paper was conceived as a way to bridge the divide between the

¹⁸⁰ Michael Kennedy, *The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution, 1793-1795* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000), 178-180.

¹⁸¹ ADG 1 L 694, “Session of the Popular Society of Auch, 19 Ventôse Year II (9 March 1794).”

¹⁸² ADHP 1 L 1176 bis, cahier II, MS “Meeting of the Republican and Montagnard Society of Castelnau-Rivière-Basse, 29 Ventôse Year II (19 March 1794).”

¹⁸³ Michel de Certeau, Dominique Julia, and Jacques Revel, *Une Politique de la langue: La Révolution française et les patois: L'enquête de Grégoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), 136-154; see also, Lehning, *Peasant and French*, 1-34.

¹⁸⁴ Anthony Crubaugh, “The Peasant at the Gates of Heaven: *La Feuille villageoise*, Religion, and the French Revolution, 1790-1792,” *Journal of the Western Society for French History* 38 (2010), 127-141.

Revolution and the rural world by reporting on news, explaining the meaning of the laws, discussing new agricultural methods, providing lessons in history and geography, and teaching moral lessons. As historian Anthony Crubaugh noted, the other fundamental function of this newspaper was to proselytize for a certain interpretation of interior religious piety during a period of intense conflict over the Constitutional Church. Similarly to *La feuille villageoise*, the South West had its own didactic newspaper. Founded during the Terror by Pierre-Nicolas Chantreau, the anti-fanatic newspaper, *Les documens de la Raison* was intended to battle the influence of religious fanaticism and superstition in the countryside. In the first issue of the paper, Chantreau declared:

The administrators of the department of Gers, persuaded that the success of the revolution, which had made French slaves into an immense family of free people, is intimately tied to the triumph of reason....proposed, by this newspaper, to vigorously attack the fanatical prejudices that oppose those of its enlightenment, which do not spread in the communes of the countryside as rapidly as they are propagated in the towns and cities of the department which have the advantage of popular societies.¹⁸⁵

Like *La feuille villageoise*, the *Documens de la Raison* explained laws, defined revolutionary lexicon, offered moral lessons, attacked priests, and proselytized for the Cult of Reason and the Cult of the Supreme Being. The fundamental assumption shared by each paper, as well as the revolutionaries in the South West, was that the countryside was a hotbed of religious fanaticism and refractory priests, and that only through public education could the Revolution triumph.

With the coming of the Cult of Supreme Being in the spring of 1794, the meaning of religious fanaticism expanded once more to include atheists. The idea that atheists constituted an ultrarevolutionary form of religious fanaticism emerged out of Robespierre's dispute with the Hébertists and the debate over revolutionary iconoclasm. By the end of 1793, Robespierre had come to attack the Hébertiste faction as ultrarevolutionaries conspiring to destabilize the Republic

¹⁸⁵ ADG, Fonds Castarede DC 38, Pierre-Nicolas Chantreau, *Les documens de la Raison, Feuille anti-fanatique*, no. 1 (Auch: an II), 3-4.

through their support for extreme policies regarding religion.¹⁸⁶ During his speech on the liberty of religious worship, Robespierre denounced those wanting “a sort of religion of atheism” as mere fanatics: “Of what right did they come to disturb the freedom of religious worship, in the name of liberty, and attack fanaticism by a new fanaticism?”¹⁸⁷ He went further to add: “Priests are denounced for saying the Mass... Those who want to stop them are more fanatical than those who said the Mass.”¹⁸⁸ From this speech, Robespierre attempted to mark the limits of revolutionary religious reform by attacking those whom he accused of going too far and threatening to destabilize the republic. Months later, during the Festival of Supreme Being, Robespierre would burn an effigy of atheism.¹⁸⁹ Robespierre’s arguments about fanaticism would be repeated once more by the abbé Grégoire in his denunciation of revolutionary iconoclasm. After denouncing several instances of iconoclasm, some of which incidentally came from the South West, Grégoire ridiculed revolutionary iconoclasm as a new type of religious fanaticism:

To want, under the pretext of fanaticism, to destroy or degrade the masterpieces in which genius has displayed its magnificence, that is veritable fanaticism, as absurd as many of those changes in the names of communes, that one had tolerated inappropriately, which will introduce confusion into civil acts and history, and whose mania is pushed to such a point, that if we acceded to indiscreet wishes, soon the entire Beauce plain would be called *the Mountain*.¹⁹⁰

Like Robespierre, he believed that the religious fanatics who were most dangerous were not refractory priests saying mass; but rather, the impolitic atheists who threatened to destroy the historical memory of France in a bout of madness. Thus, by the end of Year II, revolutionary discourse about fanaticism expanded to include atheists.

¹⁸⁶ Shane Hockin, “*Les Hommes Sans Dieu: Atheism, Religion, and Politics during the French Revolution*,” (PhD diss., Florida State University, 2014).

¹⁸⁷ Maximilien Robespierre, “Pour la liberté des cultes,” in *Oeuvres de Maximilien Robespierre*, 10:196.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Jonathan Smyth, *Robespierre and the Festival of the Supreme Being: The Search for a Republican Morality* (Manchester: Manchester University 2016), 55-66.

¹⁹⁰ Abbé Henri Grégoire, “Troisième rapport sur le vandalisme (24 Frimaire Year III),” in *Oeuvres de l’abbé Grégoire*, vol. 2 (Paris: Éditions d’Histoire Sociale, 1977), 351-352.

From an analysis of the revolutionary rhetoric of Year II, it soon becomes clear that the groups designated as superstitious religious fanatics were all opponents of religious reform. In particular, revolutionaries came to believe that fanatics were members of the clergy opposed to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, women who resisted the closing of churches, members of the constitutional church who sided with “federalists” or the Girondin against the Montagnard government of 1793, rural communes, atheists, and anyone espousing the slightest counterrevolutionary sentiment. None of these groups would have willingly considered themselves supporters of “superstition” and “fanaticism,” nor was there any ideological coherence linking them together into a meaningful movement. By using these categories developed during the French Enlightenment, revolutionaries sought to make sense of and explain opposition to the Revolution in the rural communes. If women opposed the closing of churches, it was because they were prone to flights of imagination and clerical manipulation. Atheists were guilty flights of frenzy and intolerance comparable to counterrevolutionary priests. Thus, the function of discourse of fanaticism was to render opponents to the revolutionary regime as irrational, morally degenerate and physically noxious; in other words, categorizing groups in terms of fanaticism, superstition and prejudice delegitimized their own critique of the revolution.

By Year II, revolutionaries in Paris and in the South West offered their diagnosis of counterrevolution, blaming public disorder on the maladies of superstition and fanaticism. Drawing on the medicalized discourse of the French Enlightenment, representatives on mission like Daritogeyte and Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme recommended repression and purgation in order to rid society of the harmful ailments of superstition and fanaticism. Thus, for revolutionaries, superstition and fanaticism was more than simple political deviance: it was a deeply rooted illness that corrupted the minds and bodies of the people. Churches needed to be purged of their corrupting

miasmas and fanatical vapors. If priests continued to agitate the imaginations of women to revolt, then only clerical marriage had the power to put an end to their corrupting sexuality and create bodies that were more useful to the Patrie. Thus, revolutionaries through their language continued to imagine religion in terms of the body and the physical. In order to bring the revolution to a complete end, they would need to complete regeneration. It was for this reason that the religious cults of the revolution would be spectacles of virtuous masculinity, as a means to counter the corrupting influence of superstition and fanaticism.

Section 3: A Cult of Muscles

By the end of 1793, fanaticism and superstition came to embody the “Manichean double” of the revolutionary imaginary; the absolute Other.¹⁹¹ Not only were fanatics symbols of intolerance and stubborn opposition to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, they were also, in the words of Albitte, “enemies of the Revolution.”¹⁹² Moreover, revolutionaries continued to understand fanaticism and superstition in terms of the hygienic discourse of the French Enlightenment. Churches were corrupted by the miasmas of fanaticism. Lascivious priests continued to exercise their sexual power over the imagination of women. The countryside constituted a stagnate space of superstition and prejudice that prevented the spread of Reason and Enlightenment. However, unlike the French Enlightenment, the Revolution constructed superstition and religious fanaticism into categories of political deviance that necessitated persecution, imprisonment and elimination. If the Revolution was to be successful, it first needed

¹⁹¹ Here I am borrowing the term of François Furet. However, while Furet believed that the counterrevolutionary plot was imaginary and the embodiment of all that was antithetical to the revolution, I would maintain that the threat from the religious opponents was real. François Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, trans. Elborg Forster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 52-56.

¹⁹² *AP*, 35:276.

to counteract the degenerative and denaturalizing effects of superstition and fanaticism. It was for this reason that revolutionary religious policies were imagined to constitute a regenerative bulwark that was above all bodily and gendered. The newly regenerated society of the revolution was to be austere, virile, rational, and above all, singularly devoted to the Patrie. The primary way in which local and national revolutionary figures expressed their values was through the production of religious rituals and ceremonies, in which bodies would be articulated, arranged and displayed in accordance with the values of the Revolution. It was above all the exterior and material body which provided the metaphorical means through which the revolutionaries would dramatize their vision of society. Gone were the lascivious priests, riotous women, greedy merchants and lazy workers. In their place were a new set of bodies: those of magistrates, soldiers, mothers, and hardworking laborers. In terms of space, sacrality of churches as the center of society were replaced with Temples of Reason. If superstition and fanaticism were degenerative, effeminate, and melancholic, the revolutionaries wanted to erect a new religious cult, a cult of muscles, that was virile, sanguine, rational and patriotic.

The new religious culture of the cult of muscles was deeply shaped by the political culture of total war. Throughout 1792 and 1793, the declarations of war and the revolutionary government's subsequent mass mobilization of civil society hastened the radicalization of the Revolution. In particular, the *levée en masse* led to the widescale reconfiguration of ideas about gender and citizenship, culminating in the figure of the "citizen-soldier."¹⁹³ As Alan Forrest, Karen

¹⁹³ Daniel Moran, "Introduction: The Legend of the *Levée en masse*," in *The People in Arms: Military Myth and National Mobilization since the French Revolution*, ed. Daniel Moran and Arthur Waldron (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1-7; Alan Forrest, "*La patrie en danger*: The French Revolution and the First *Levée en masse*," in *The People in Arms: Military Myth and National Mobilization since the French Revolution*, ed. Daniel Moran and Arthur Waldron (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 8- 32; Karen Hagemann, "The Military and Masculinity: Gendering the History of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1792-1815," in *War in an Age of Revolution, 1775-1815*, ed. Roger Chickering and Stig Förster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). 337-352; Alan Forrest, "Citizenship and Masculinity: The Revolutionary Citizen-Soldier and His Legacy," in *Representing Masculinity: Male Citizenship in Modern Western Culture*, ed. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and

Hagemann, and Joan Landes have emphasized, the universal conscription of 28 August 1793 began to closely associate citizenship, military service, and masculinity. It was out of devotion to the Patrie and civic obligation that all men were supposed to take up arms and defend the Republic against invading armies. Moreover, the *levée en masse* was to be total: young men were to join the military, married men were to build arms and transport provisions, women were to work as seamstresses and encourage the men in their life to contribute to the war effort, and even children and old men were to contribute to the war effort. The Pyrenean deputy, Bertrand Barère, would remark: “Thus all the French, of both sexes, of all ages are called by the Patrie to defend liberty. All physical or moral faculties, all political or industrial means are acquired for it; all metals, elements are its tributaries.”¹⁹⁴ In short, the Republic required a total mobilization of its human and natural resources. Yet despite this mobilization, it would be men, through service and obligation, who would be able to exercise full active citizenship.¹⁹⁵ As Dartigoeyte would declare, it was by “the sacred duty” and “the will of the French people” that the National Convention proclaimed the *levée en masse* ordering the young and unmarried men to the frontiers.¹⁹⁶ As David Bell and Alan Forrest would note, the *levée en masse* was a key element in regeneration and the project of nation building in Year II.¹⁹⁷

Anna Clark (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 111-126; Joan Landes, “Republican Citizenship and Heterosocial Desire: Concepts of Masculinity in Revolutionary France,” in *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, ed. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann and John Tosh (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 96-112; Wolfgang Kruse, “Revolutionary France and the Meanings of *Levée en Masse*,” in *War in an Age of Revolution, 1775-1815*, ed. Roger Chickering and Stig Förster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 299-312; David Bell, *The First Total War: Napoleon’s Europe and the Birth of Warfare as We Know It* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2007), 137-153; Jennifer Ngaire Heuer, “Citizenship, the French Revolution, and the Limits of Martial Masculinity,” in *Gender and Citizenship in Historical and Transnational Perspective: Agency, Space, Borders*, ed. Anne R. Epstein and Rachel G. Fuchs (New York: Palgrave and MacMillan, 2017), 19-27.

¹⁹⁴ *Le Moniteur Universel*, 25 August 1793, 1068.

¹⁹⁵ Hagemann, “The Military and Masculinity,” 346-348.

¹⁹⁶ ADG, 1 L 146, *arrêté* of Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte, 10 December 1793 (Auch: 1793), 2; For the extension of the *levée en masse* into the Hautes-Pyrénées, see: ADG, 1 L 148, *arrêts* of Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte, 15 September 1793 (Tarbes: 1793), 1-12.

¹⁹⁷ Forrest, “The French Revolution and the First *Levée en masse*,” 25; Bell, *The First Total War*, 140.

In the South West, the political culture of total war influenced the development of symbols and rituals of the Sacerdotal Revolution. The primary means through which revolutionaries in Year II articulated their vision of a new society was through a series of symbols and practices encoded in the rhetorical matrix of the cult of martyrs, festivals, banquets, and even fasting. As the historian Lynn Hunt argued, “political symbols and rituals were not metaphors of power; they were the means and ends of power itself.”¹⁹⁸ When the Revolution challenged the symbolic representations of the traditional order, they in turn needed to invent their own repertoire of political symbols. While it is possible this diverse body of “texts” as statements regarding the politics of religion in revolutionary France, it is also possible to discern from these symbols and rituals as statements regarding gender roles and the biopolitics of the revolution. In this cult of muscles, the bodies of martyrs, soldiers, magistrates, and mothers expressed a new revolutionary ethos. Over the course of the Sacerdotal Revolution, the Jacobins in the South West developed three different models of masculinity that were to define the ideal of citizenship: the republican martyr, soldier, and the republican magistrates. Most prominently, the representatives on mission and local Jacobin groups developed a cult around the martyrs of liberty, namely: Jean-Paul Marat, Louis-Michel Lepelletier, Joseph Bara, and Joseph Agricol Viala. Not only were these martyrs revered for their self-sacrifice, they also became symbols of the new republican political culture of the Sacerdotal Revolution.

The earliest revolutionary religious cult to appear in the South West of France was in fact the cult of the martyrs of liberty. Throughout 1793 and 1794, the French republic saw the emergence and proliferation of civic cults centered on the slain bodies of Louis-Michel Lepelletier, Jean-Paul Marat, Joseph Chalier, Joseph Bara, Charles Nicolas Beauvais de Préau, Pierre Marie

¹⁹⁸ Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution*, 54.

Baille, Joseph Agricola Viala and Claude Dominique Côme Fabre de l'Hérault.¹⁹⁹ These deaths shocked and angered the public. In response, the revolutionary government organized elaborate funeral ceremonies, where the wounded bodies of the fallen martyrs of liberty were put on display, the most notable being those of Lepelletier and Marat. The immediate effect of this new fixation on the macabre was the growing call for vengeance against all internal and external enemies. As Sophie Wahnich had noted, the death of Marat in particular led to public outrage and a growing demand for revenge that eventually culminated in the call that Terror be made order of the day.²⁰⁰ In the South West, radical revolutionaries organized funeral ceremonies, expressed outrage and called for swift retribution. In a speech given during a funeral held in honor of Marat and Lepelletier, Jacques Pinet bitterly remarked:

Such was, Brothers and Friends, Pelletier [sic], such was the man whom royalism had [taken] as its first victim: his death is even more of a heinous crime, that the tyrants must expire; Citizens, we must not cry for him, but avenge him; it is by overturning thrones, it is by purging the soil of liberty of the enemies of the people that we will satisfy [the debt] we owe to the shade of Pelletier [sic]. Pelletier [sic], a man dear to our hearts, if your spirit [génie] hovers above us at this moment, deign to stop for a moment, and listen to the oath that we will swear: you constantly fought against the traitors, they had stabbed you; well, we swear to avenge you, and we swear to put down our arms only when we will have brought down the enemies of the people: this oath we will hold, or we will die like you.²⁰¹

Thus, for Pinet, the wounded body of Le Pelletier hovering over the ceremony demanded that other

¹⁹⁹ The program for the *décadaire* festival on 10 Frimaire Year II in Condom specified that it would honor the memory of Marat, Le Pelletier, Beauvais, Chalier and other martyrs. The program also indicated that one of the bridges was named after Jean-Paul Marat. ADG 1 L 693, *Ordre de la celebration de la fête décadaire du 10 frimaire l'an 2.e de la République* (Condom: an II [1793]), 1-2; for more on the cult of the martyrs, see: Quinlan, "Men without Women?," 40-43; de Baecque, *The Body Politic*, 280-307; Ronald Schechter, "Terror, Vengeance, and Martyrdom in the French Revolution: The Case of the Shades," in *Martyrdom and Terrorism: Pre-Modern to Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Dominic Janes and Alex Houen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 152-178; Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*, 74-83; Albert Soboul, "Religious Sentiment and Popular Cults during the Revolution: Patriot Saints and Martyrs of Liberty," *New Perspectives on the French Revolution: Readings in Historical Sociology*, ed. Jeffry Kaplow (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1965), 338-350; Franck Paul Bowman, "Le 'Sacré-Cœur' de Marat (1793)," *Les Fêtes de la Révolution: Colloque de Clermont-Ferrand* (Paris: Société des Études Robespierriennes, 1977), 154-179; Coleman, *The Virtues of Abandon*, 264-271.

²⁰⁰ Sophie Wahnich, *La liberté ou la mort: Essai sur la Terreur et le terrorisme* (Paris: La fabrique éditions, 2003), 27-37.

²⁰¹ BM Pau Ee 1911, Jacques Pinet, *Discours prononcé le 29me jour du premier mois de l'an 2 de la République, à l'occasion d'une pompe fenebre, en l'honneur de MARAT et PELLETIER* (Bayonne: an II [1793]), 15.

bodies avenge it by purging the enemies of the republic from the face of the earth. Moreover, as de Baecque observed, a corpse was a community affair: when confronted with the terrible spectacle, the wounded body provided the necessary conditions for the community to commit to collective action.²⁰² Jacques Barère, the president of the Judicial Tribunal of the district of the Plaine in the Hautes-Pyrénées, likewise lingered on the bloody cadaver of Le Pelletier, as a way to remind his listeners that the Patrie was in danger and needed to be defended.²⁰³ The macabre imagery and the subsequent calls for retribution was indicative of a violent masculinity that appeared during the Terror, whereby the people would rise up and exterminate its enemies.²⁰⁴

Yet, the grotesque spectacles of wounded bodies of fallen martyrs were more than simply a call to arms: they were also didactic symbols of civic virtue to be emulated. As de Baecque astutely argued, the wounded body inherently was a narrative text: not only was the wound a mark of counterrevolution, but the presence of a wound also gave the revolutionaries a chance to talk about the virtues of the slain martyr in the form of a eulogy.²⁰⁵ The lurid descriptions of maimed bodies were often accompanied by stories of self-sacrifice and virtuousness. Both Jacques Pinet and Jacques Barère reported that the final words of Le Pelletier were “I am satisfied to spill my blood for the Patrie; I hope it will serve to consolidate Liberty.”²⁰⁶ For both Pinet and Barère, the greatest civic virtue was self-sacrifice and social usefulness. When discussing the thirteen-year-

²⁰² de Baecque, *The Body Politic*, 283-289; Schechter, “Terror, Vengeance, and Martyrdom in the French Revolution,” 152-178.

²⁰³ ADHP 2 J 133/2, Jacques Barère, *Éloge funèbre de Michel Lepelletier, Député du Département de Lyone. Prononcé lors d’un Service fait en son honneur par la Société des amis de la République de Tarbes, Département des Hautes-Pyrénées*, (Tarbes: an II [1793-1794]), 19.

²⁰⁴ Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution*, 96-113; de Baecque, *The Body Politic*, 280-296; de Baecque, “L’homme nouveau est arrivé,” 197-199, 204-205.

²⁰⁵ de Baecque, *The Body Politic*, 280-296.

²⁰⁶ Jacques Barère alternatively attributed to Le Pelletier the lines: “I am satisfied to spill my blood for the Patrie: I hope it will serve to consolidate Liberty, Equality, and make known their enemies.” ADHP 2 J 133/2, Barère, *Éloge funèbre de Michel Lepelletier*, 19; BM Pau Ee 1911, Pinet, *Discours prononcé...en l’honneur de MARAT et PELLETIER*, 14.

old martyr, Joseph Bara, Augustin Bousigues marveled at how the young hussar knew he would die for the Patrie at such a young age and praised his usefulness to the republic.²⁰⁷ Not only did the revolutionaries praise their self-sacrifice, but also their bravery. In the same speech, Bousigues invoked the intrepid valor of the shades of Fabre de l'Hérault, a representative on mission who died fighting the Spanish. In other instances, the speakers reminded their audiences that the martyrs were either fathers in real life, like Lepelletier, or figuratively, like Marat.²⁰⁸ They were also friends of the people.²⁰⁹ In many of the eulogies, the revolutionaries celebrated their hatred for kings, patriotism, courage, generosity, charity, simplicity and purity of their manners, and honesty. Above all, the martyrs of liberty embodied on all levels the spirit of regeneration. Le Pelletier, for example, not only represented the possibility of regeneration as a former member of the aristocracy, his work to reform the penal code and public education only furthered the regeneration of the entire nation.²¹⁰ Thus by establishing the cult of the martyrs, the revolutionaries sacralized a model of masculine citizenship defined by self-sacrifice, civic virtue, and devotion to the Patrie.²¹¹

Like the cult of the martyrs, festivals of the Sacerdotal Revolution also exalted the bodily

²⁰⁷ BM Pau Ee 1912, Augustin Bousigues, *Discours prononcé par Bousigues fils, Administrateur du District de Tarbes, à la fête de la première Décade de Pluviôse*, (Tarbes: an II [1794]), 1; for more on the cult of Bara, see: Raymonde Monnier, "Le culte de Bara en l'an II," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 52, no. 241 (1980): 321-344.

²⁰⁸ Pinet noted that the National Convention adopted his daughter. BM Pau Ee 1911, Pinet, *Discours prononcé...en l'honneur de MARAT et PELLETIER*, 14; ADG 1 L 693, Montagnard Society of Condom, "Par son patriotisme," in *Ordre de la célébration de la fête décadaire du 10 Frimaire de l'an 2.e de la République* (Condom: an II [1793]), 5.

²⁰⁹ For example, see: AM Tarbes I 5, Augustin Bousigues, "Discours prononcé par Bousigues fils, administrateur du district de Tarbes, dans la ci-devant cathédrale, aujourd'hui Temple de la Raison, le jour de la fête nationale pour la reprise de Toulon," in *Apperçu de la fête célébrée à Tarbes le second Décadi de Nivôse, de l'an 2 de la république Française, une et indivisible, en honneur de la reprise de l'infâme Toulon, aujourd'hui Porte de la Montagne* (Tarbes: an II [1794]), 11.

²¹⁰ BM Pau Ee 1911, Pinet, *Discours prononcé...en l'honneur de MARAT et PELLETIER*, 8.

²¹¹ Jacques Barère opened his eulogy by stating: "Brothers and friends, render to *Michel Lepelletier*, Representative of the sovereign [people], the last honors of a religious and civic cult, such is the objective of that august, but appalling ceremony." ADHP 2 J 133/2, Barère, *Éloge funèbre de Michel Lepelletier*, 3; See also, BM Pau Ee 1911, Jacques Pinet, *Discours...en l'honneur de MARAT et PELLETIER*, 3-4; Coleman, *The Virtues of Abandon*, 264-271.

sacrifices of soldiers and veterans and promoted a form of republican masculinity embodied in the figure of the citizen-soldier. Dartigoeyte and Cavaignac designed the *décadaire* festivals to be places where young men could learn about the law and develop martial skills needed for war.²¹² The arrangement of festivals themselves also would prominently feature the presence of soldiers, veterans, and the wounded.²¹³ At times, the representatives on mission would use the body of the wounded soldier to hector men into enlisting in the military. During the festival of Reason celebrated at Pau, Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme reproached some soldiers for having failed to fight in a battle against the Spanish on 17 Pluviôse Year II (5 February 1794): “Without a doubt, you will remember, my good friends, for the rest of your life, the mistake that you committed, because it deprived you of the benefit of sharing in the glory that covers your comrades, on 17 Pluviôse, against the satellites of the tyrant of Spain.”²¹⁴ Reportedly, Monestier’s words were so touching that they caused many of those addressed to cry out of shame. In other instances, the rhetoric of the representatives on mission and generals could take a harsher tone. In a ceremony inaugurating a temple of Reason at Perpignan in the department of the Pyrénées-Orientales, a military procession gave way to anger over the atrocities committed by the king of Spain against his prisoners.²¹⁵ The tone of many of the festivals was militaristic, celebrating the victory of French troops while denouncing the influence of religious fanaticism. During a festival celebrating the retaking of Toulon from the English, the commune of Tarbes inaugurated its first temple of

²¹² ADG 1 L 147, *arrêté* of Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac, 16 Brumaire Year II (6 November 1793), 2.

²¹³ Quinlan, “Men without Women?,” 41; de Baecque, *The Body Politic*, 297-307; Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, 63-66, 142-43, 280; Forrest, “Citizenship and Masculinity,” 118-121.

²¹⁴ BM Pau Ee 1912, *Relation de la Fête révolutionnaire qui a eu lieu dans la commune de Pau, le 20 Ventôse, l’an second de la République française, une et indivisible, à l’occasion de l’inauguration du Temple de la Raison*, 20 Ventôse Year II / 10 March 1794 (Pau: an II [1794]), 2.

²¹⁵ Myrthe Peyron, *Général de Brigade, Commandant la Commune de Perpignan en état de siège, Toute la République. Détail de ce qui s’est passé à Perpignan, le 17 ventôse, l’an second de la République, une et indivisible et sur-tout démocratique, à l’occasion de l’inauguration du Temple de la Raison*, (Perpignan: an II [1794]), 2.

Reason. In explaining the reasoning behind the festival, the municipal government listed the celebration of the *décadi*, the taking of Toulon, and the inauguration of the rights of man in the popular society (henceforth, the temple of Reason).²¹⁶ Thus overall, the juxtaposition of soldiers and civic festivals sacralized the new masculine figure of the citizen-soldier while the same militarizing the revolutionary religion.

Festivals were also moments where revolutionaries choreographed their ideas regarding women. In general, women participated in festivals of Reason in one of two ways. First, in certain instances, revolutionaries would choose a local woman to play a “living goddess” during the ceremony. For example, during the festival of Reason in Saint-Sever on 10 Frimaire Year II, a citizeness named Bustarret represented the goddess Liberty, while flanked by a battalion of soldiers raised for the *levée en masse* from Dax and a choir of young girls sing patriotic hymns.²¹⁷ As historians Michel Vovelle and Joan Landes pointed out, the goddesses embodying the various revolutionary ideals were abstractions and interchangeable.²¹⁸ Unlike the heroic republican martyrs, these goddesses lacked a distinct personality and were replaceable. More commonly, women participated in revolutionary religious rituals as mothers and daughters. The *procès-verbal* of the festival of Reason celebrated in Tarbes on 10 Germinal Year II reported: “The interesting sex, the young citizenesses, preceding the mothers of families, seemed to say with grace: until now we were useless, but we have virtues, and we will soon have the fertility of those who follow us, and whose generous sons gloriously combat the enemies of the Patrie.”²¹⁹ During the festival of

²¹⁶ AM Tarbes I 5, *Apperçu de la fête célébrée à Tarbes...en honneur de la reprise de l'infâme Toulon*, 1.

²¹⁷ ADL 67 L 1, *Procès-verbal de la cérémonie...pour l'Inauguration du Temple de la Vérité*, 1.

²¹⁸ Joan Landes, *Visualizing the Nation: Gender, Representation, and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 102-110; Michel Vovelle, “The Adventures of Reason, or from Reason to the Supreme Being,” in *Rewriting the French Revolution: The Andrew Browning Lectures 1989*, ed. Colin Lucas (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 139-142.

²¹⁹ BM Pau Ee 1911, *Extrait du registre des délibérations de la société révolutionnaire et montagnarde de Tarbes, chef-lieu du département des Hautes-Pyrénées* (Tarbes: an II [1793], 6-7.

Reason in Pau, groups of young citizenesses walked under banners with the words “Our Hearts to the Patrie” and “Our Hands to Patriots.”²²⁰ Thus, roles assigned to women during a festival frequently grouped women together as mothers and daughters, as to highlight the revolutionary ideals about the republican mother who produces children for the nation and encourages them to defend it. Despite the role for women during these festivals, women overall played secondary roles. Through the ritual effacement of women, they were rendered docile witnesses to the spectacle of republican masculinity at the center of these festivities.²²¹

Revolutionary religious culture of Year II also reinforced certain biopolitical ideas about productive bodies laboring for the Patrie. By the spring of 1794, war had come to place strain on the local economy of the South West.²²² Additionally, the revolutionaries in the Pyrenean departments were increasingly facing the prospect of famine and shortages. In face of potential economic catastrophe, the representatives on mission found it impossible to believe that a country as abundant as France could ever experience famine.²²³ Instead, they accused priests of spreading fanaticism amongst artisans and farmers in order to discourage their work through observance of the sabbath and other religious holidays.²²⁴ In his *arrêté*, Daritgoeyte asserted that “an idle, lazy

²²⁰ BM Pau Ee 1912, *Relation de la Fête révolutionnaire...à l'occasion de l'inauguration du Temple de la Raison*, 7-8.

²²¹ Quinlan, “Men without Women?,” 41.

²²² For more on subsistence in the South West, see: Alan Forrest, *The Revolution in Provincial France: Aquitaine, 1789-1799* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 246-280.

²²³ Regarding the role of the government in reinforcing the artificiality of famines, Cobb observed: “It was the government, as the acute de Tocqueville reminds us, that invented the *pacte de famine*, and it was authority that first gave credence to the *disette factice*, by denying that shortage could ever be explained in natural terms. Those of productivity, drought, or other disasters. As shortage was thus ‘artificial,’ the implication was that it had been contrived for political reasons. It followed that plenty would return, once the ‘guilty’ had been punished.” Richard Cobb, *The Police and the People: French Popular Protest, 1789-1820* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 269-270.

²²⁴ ADG 1 L 147, *Arrêté* of Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte, 21 Floréal Year II (10 May 1794), 1-2. According to the *arrêté* of Dartigoeyte, “Given the various complaints of a large number of popular societies, administrative and municipal bodies, on the new intrigues of malicious [individuals], who persuade workers to leave their workshops and stores on the days of the former Sunday and former holidays, and farmers to abandon their ploughs, etc. Having seen for ourselves, that the wheat is very neglected, and that they are suffocated by an enormous quantity of weeds; Instructed that in order to cause the carelessness of farmers, one makes use, on one hand, of the means of fanaticism; and on the other, the false news that one plans to seize grain to the detriment of brave farmers.”

or debauched man” could not be virtuous and was incapable of honoring the Supreme Being.²²⁵ To render bodies more productive, the representatives arrested priests, created public “*lists of lazy and suspect citizens of the commune*,” attacked prejudices that limited agricultural innovation, regulate the cabarets and enforced the observance of the *décadi* cult.²²⁶ The representatives on mission also did not shy away from trying to sacralize productivity and autarky. During the festivals of reason, battalions of farmers and artisans marched under banners that declared that “Agriculture is the first wealth of a people” and “We also defend the Patrie.”²²⁷ In another instance, Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme proclaimed a “civic fast” [*carême civique*] for a period of sixty days.²²⁸ While praising the generosity of local revolutionaries, Monestier urged the Pyrenean departments to adopt Lenten abstentions from meat, remain productive, and share their excess supplies with the government. Thus, by rendering the question of subsistence as a moral question, revolutionaries in turn proposed religious solutions in order to combat laziness, promote careful resource management, and create more productive bodies.

Replacing the miasmatic churches and cathedrals of the Catholic Church were temples of Reason, and later, the Supreme Being. Revolutionary temples were frequently located in churches or cathedrals closed down following the abdication of the clergy or on the order of a decree. Remarking on the announcements made to the National Convention and in public papers, Chantreau marveled that: “in the space of two *décades* 2346 churches have been changed into

²²⁵ Ibid., 2.

²²⁶ ADG 1 L 147, *arrêté* of Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte 21 Floréal Year II (10 May 1794), 1-4; *arrêté* of Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte, 25 Floréal Year II (14 May 1794), 1-2; *arrêté* of Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte, 26 Messidor Year II (14 July 1794), 6; ADL 8 L 1, *arrêté* Pierre-Laurent Monestier de la Lozère, 25 Germinal Year II (14 April 1794), 3; see also Monestier de la Lozère’s work decree: ADL 8 L 1, *arrêté* Pierre Laurent Monestier de la Lozère, 29 Germinal Year II, 1-3.

²²⁷ BM Pau Ee 1912, *Relation de la Fête...à l’occasion de l’inauguration du Temple de la Raison*, 9-10.

²²⁸ A note about the word “*carême*”: in French the term can be used to refer to fasting or Lent. “*jeûne*” is the more specific word for “fast.” ADHP 1 L 149, *Proclamation du Citoyen Monestier (du Puy-de-Dôme), Représentant du Peuple près l’armée des pyrénées occidentales et dans les départements des Hautes et Basses-Pyrénées, Sur le Carême civique* (Tarbes: an II [1794], 9-18.

temples of Reason; that everywhere festivals are celebrated in honor [of the National Convention], whose ceremony was an august simplicity and frank expression of fraternity. These are free arms which are elevated towards the Eternal; they have shown it a new kind of men.”²²⁹ In revolutionary temples, members of the civil administration or the popular societies were to celebrate the weekly *décadaire* cult, where speakers would give rousing patriotic speeches, offer moral lessons, and give public readings of the laws. The relationship between temples of Reason and popular societies was ambiguous: members of popular societies were charged with maintaining the cult, and at times, would hold their meetings in temples of Reason.²³⁰ Yet this mixing of the two institutions did not come without its own critiques. In a report by the committee of public instruction in Gers on 26 Ventôse Year II (16 March 1794), Toulouset complained about the mixing of politics and moral instruction.²³¹ He chided the way Jacobins dressed for the *décadi*, their frivolous behavior, and unprepared speeches. He went on to say bluntly: “the temple of Reason has only been until now a club.”²³² He then distinguished between a popular society and a temple of reason by noting that the former was “especially devoted to the essential discussion of grand measures of public safety,” while in the latter, “*moeurs* must be the principal object.”²³³ While in a popular society debates were burning and rapid, discussions in a temple of Reason needed to be measured and focused on the development of manners necessary for moral and political development. As the

²²⁹ ADG 1 L 459, *Les documens de la Raison*, no. 7, 109.

²³⁰ For example, see: ADHP 1 L 1181, MS “Minutes of the Société des amis de la constitution de Lourdes,” 17 Germinal Year II - 6 April 1794; ADHP 2 J 128/3, *arrêté* of Jean-Baptiste-Benoîte Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, 12 Ventôse Year II (2 March 1794), 4; ADL 8 L 1, *arrêté* of Pierre Laurent Monestier de la Lozère, 25 Germinal Year II (14 April 1794), 3.

²³¹ ADG 1 L 459, Toulouset, “Rapport sur les fêtes décadares, en la séance de la Société populaire d’Auch, le 26 Ventôse par le citoyen Toulouset,” in *Journal du Département du Gers*, no. 72, 7 Floréal Year II - 26 April 1793 (Auch: an II [1794]), 285-287.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Ibid.

misgivings of Touleset, the religious institutions of Year II witnessed an interpenetration of religion and politics.

The new “clergy” of the revolutionary religions was a mix of civil officials and popular societies. In the decrees promulgated by the representatives on mission, the functions of “priest” overseeing the civic religious ritual were to be performed by magistrates. Dartigoeyte and Cavaignac’s *arrêté* of 16 Brumaire Year II (6 November 1794) had specified that during the day of the *décadi*, members of the constituted authority, except for religious ministers, would read the laws and an abridged report on the state of the Republic.²³⁴ Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme would likewise proclaimed that a municipal officer in a sash would read and explain laws and decrees, and the popular society, “the eye and light of the people,” would designate orators to instruct the people.²³⁵ However, it remained unclear if these secular officiants of the *décadi* would in turn constitute religious ministers of the new regime. During his sermon in a temple of Reason, Pinet declared that reason was the only intermediary between humanity and the Supreme Being.²³⁶ But Pinet’s sermon also makes an ambiguous distinction between priests and ministers of the Supreme Being.²³⁷ However, it was after the establishment of the cult of the Supreme Being that revolutionaries began to discuss the possibility of a new clergy more openly. Following the fall of Robespierre on 10 Thermidor Year II (28 July 1794), the anti-clerical Pierre-Joseph Cambon (1756-1820) delivered a report in the name of the Finance Committee regarding the payment of public debt. On 2 Sans-Culottide Year II (18 September 1794), Cambon urged the National Convention to declare “*The French Republic no longer pays the salaries or expenses of any*

²³⁴ ADG 1 L 147 *arrêté* of Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac, 16 Brumaire Year II (6 November 1793), 1-3.

²³⁵ ADHP 2 J 128/3, *arrêté* of Jean-Baptiste-Benoîte Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, 12 Ventôse Year II - 2 March 1794, 5; see also: BM Pau Ee 1912, *arrêté* of Pierre-Laurent Monestier de la Lozère, 27 Pluviôse Year II - 15 February 1794 (Mont-de-Marsan: an II [1794]), 2.

²³⁶ BM Pau Ee 1911, Pinet, *Discours prononcé par PINET aîné...jour de la fête de la Raison*, 3.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

religion [culte].”²³⁸ He further expressed unease over petitions requesting funds to build and repair temples of the revolutionary cults and salaries for “the ministers serving the temples said to be of reason, philosophy, or that one dedicated to the Supreme Being.”²³⁹ He warned the National Convention: “Proclaim a religious principle, [and] immediately there will be a need for temples tended by people who will claim to be [its] ministers; they will ask for salaries or income. If they succeed in their first request, they will soon raise new claims, and soon they will establish hierarchies and privileges.”²⁴⁰ Thus, Cambon’s remarks further highlighted the fundamental ambiguity of the new revolutionary religions and whether or not their officiants constituted a new type of revolutionary clergy, all of which were fundamentally abhorrent to anti-clerical Jacobin.

In addition, the representatives on mission played an important cultic role in the new revolutionary religion. The French Revolution, along with the subsequent reforms of religious worship, refashioned the cultural frame on which political authority based itself and altered the ways in which legitimacy could be claimed, best embodied in the representatives of the people.²⁴¹ On one hand, they occupied a liminal space between legislator and executive in their missions to the military or to establish revolutionary governments; yet on the other hand, they remained representatives of the people, they were the literal manifestation of the sovereign will of the people.²⁴² With the establishment of the revolutionary cults, the representatives on mission became occupied the center of charismatic significance in the new rituals. In many festivals of Reason, the

²³⁸ *AP*, 97:266; Albert Mathiez, *After Robespierre: The Thermidorian Reaction*, trans. Catherine Alison Phillips (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1931), 139-143.

²³⁹ *AP*, 97:266.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁴¹ Clifford Geertz, “Centers, Kings, and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power,” in *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 121-125, 143-146; Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, 46-61; Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution*, 52-57.

²⁴² Michel Biard, *Les missionnaires de la République: Les représentants du peuple en mission (1793-1795)* (Paris: Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, 2002), 17; Colin Lucas, *The Structure of the Terror: The Example of Javogues and the Loire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 259.

representatives on mission delivered the speeches that represented the climax of the ceremony.²⁴³ In other instances, they would perform secularized versions of older religious rituals, like the civic baptism. Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, facing an intractable shortage of subsistence goods in the South West, would call for a six *décade* (e.g., a period of 60 days) imposed a civic fast to help alleviate the dearth of supplies.²⁴⁴ At certain moments, the very body of the representative on mission could become an object of veneration. During the festival of Reason at Pau, an altar of the Patrie and a large verdant arch, decorated with the portraits of Marat and Lepelletier, a Phrygian cap, laurels, and two poplars, was placed outside the house of Monestier, marking it as a sacred space.²⁴⁵ The new sacral charisma was not lost on the revolutionaries, who would describe each other as apostles and missionaries. “I have already described to you its first miracles; I am going to tell you today those that [Reason] have just performed again under my eyes. Our colleague, Dartigoeyte, by his civic preaching, has electrified all the spirit leading our hearts. I have seconded him by all of my means in that philosophical apostolate.”²⁴⁶ Thus, if magistrates constituted the new clergy, the representatives on mission were then the Revolution’s high priests.

The sacrality of the representatives on mission was evident in the two “attempts” on the lives of Dartigoeyte and Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme. For some Jacobins, accusations against the representatives on mission could constitute a type of *lèse-nation*. In a letter to the Committee of General Security, the Society of the Friends of Liberty and Equality of Auch declared that the

²⁴³ For example, see: BM Pau Ee 1911, Pinet, *Discours prononcé par PINET aîné...jour de la fête de la Raison*; BM Pau Ee 1912, *Relation de la Fête révolutionnaire...à l’occasion de l’inauguration du Temple de la Raison*, 3-5; AM Tarbes P 14/1, MS “Procès verbal de la fête de la raison, célébrée dans la commune de Tarbes, chef lieu du département des hautes pyrénées, sous les yeux de Monestier et de Féraud représentant du Peuple français, décadi 10 germinal de la république, une, indivisible, et imperissable.”

²⁴⁴ ADHP, 1 L 149, Jean-Baptiste Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, *Proclamation sur le Carême civique*.

²⁴⁵ BM Pau Ee 1912, *Relation de la Fête révolutionnaire...à l’occasion de l’inauguration du Temple de la Raison*, 3-4.

²⁴⁶ “Letter of Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac to the National Convention, 3 Frimaire Year II (23 November 1793),” in *AP*, 80:378.

denunciation made against Dartigoeyte amounted to liberticide.²⁴⁷ In the departments of the Basses- and Hautes-Pyrénées, an orator from the popular society of Pau would likewise liken Bousigue's denunciation of Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme to an assassination attempt: "O Marat! O Lepeletier!..... you have had the glory of dying victims; O Collot-d'Herbois! O Robespierre! You are judged worthy of being associated with their sort. And you too *Monestier* (du Puy-de-Dôme), you are assassinated by an ingrate, a calumny to your virtues is, to the eyes of those who appreciate you, a blow of the dagger plunged in your entrails."²⁴⁸ By invoking violent imagery associated with the assassinations of Marat and Lepelletier, as well as the attempts on the lives of Collot d'Herbois and Robespierre, it was clear that the speaker considered words to be just as dangerous as real daggers. This is all the more remarkable because denunciation had by that time become an essential tool of the revolutionary government to supervise the conduct of its personnel as well as the wider population, hence the creation of surveillance committees.²⁴⁹ Yet it was quite possible that the vigorous defense mounted by the popular societies on behalf of the representatives on mission was indicative of a type of sacral charisma imbued in the body of the representative of the people on mission. The assassinations of Marat and Lepelletier, both of whom were also representatives of the people, and their subsequent funerary ceremonies only reinforced the sense of a sacral aura around the bodies of the representatives on mission.

The "Theatre Affaire" further dramatized with the sacrality of the representative on mission with a physical attack on Dartigoeyte's body. By the month of Germinal Year II (21 March - 19

²⁴⁷ ADG 1 L 459, "La société des amis de la liberté et de l'égalité séante à Auch, au comité de Sûreté générale," in *Journal du Département du Gers*, 13 Germinal Year II - 2 April 1794 (Auch: an II [1794]), 269.

²⁴⁸ According to the popular society of Auch, "Denunciation, in a republican government, is the safeguard of the rights of people, but it must be based on facts and founded on proof; otherwise, it is calumny and defamation, or to better say it, it's a liberticidal and counterrevolutionary act that merits spectacular punishment." ADPA, Pau, 29 L 3, *Procès-verbal de la Séance de la Société Montagnarde et Régénérée de la Commune de Pau*, 14 Prairial Year II - 2 June 1794 (Pau: an II [1794]), 7-8.

²⁴⁹ Colin Lucas, "The Theory and Practice of Denunciation in the French Revolution," *The Journal of Modern History* 68, no. 4 (1996): 777-785; de Baecque, *The Body Politic*, 233-246.

April 1794), the news of the ultra-revolutionary Hébertist conspiracy sent shockwaves throughout France, which put pressure on other radicals like Dartigoeyte.²⁵⁰ However, by the end of the month, an enraged listener, Pierre Lacassaigne, hurled a brick at the representative on mission as he was addressing the popular society of Auch.²⁵¹ Although the brick shattered at the feet of Dartigoeyte, the incident set into motion a wave of harsh repression in Gers. In a letter to the National Convention on 18 Germinal Year II (7 April 1794), Dartigoeyte recounted: “I must render justice to the people of Auch: they manifested the most intense indignation and respect for the national representation. This event redoubled my activity; Montagnards do not fear death; they could all, if necessary, cement the happiness of the people with their blood.”²⁵² By invoking his willingness to die, Dartigoeyte was clearly appropriating to himself the charismatic sacrality of previous martyrs of liberty, like Marat and Lepelletier. Following the attempt, various popular societies and other representatives on mission expressed their outrage over the Theatre Affair.²⁵³ Yet it was the *Journal du Département du Gers* that got to the heart of the matter when it noted the special sacrality of the representative on mission that made the scene all the more dramatic: “We have not

²⁵⁰ Martyn Lyons, *Revolution in Toulouse: An Essay on Provincial Terrorism* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1978), 65.

²⁵¹ For a first hand account of the incident, see: ADG 1 L 694, “Session of the Popular Society of Auch, 17 Germinal Year II - 6 April 1794”; See also: Lyons, *Revolution in Toulouse*, 65; Cabannes, *Dartigoeyte*, 191-214; Gilbert Brégail, “Le Gers pendant la Révolution,” *Bulletin de la Société d’histoire et d’archéologie du Gers*, 32 (1931): 280-296.

²⁵² Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte to the National Convention, 18 Germinal Year II - 17 April 1794 in *RASCP*, 12:443.

²⁵³ The popular society of Montarax was indignant: “What! Dartigoeyte assassinated? What! The friend of the people, the innocent preacher of the Mountain, the intrepid supporter of liberty; a representative of the people, assassinated in the middle of the people! And the assassin lives?” ADG 1 L 459, Popular Society of Montarax (Saint-Clar), “Adresse aux citoyens Pinet, Monestier et Cavaignac, représentants du peuple,” in *Journal du Département du Gers*, no. 71, 27 Germinal Year II - 16 April 1794 (Auch: an II [1794]), 282; For the *arrêté* of Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, Pinet, and Cavaignac, see: Cabannes, *Dartigoeyte*, 196; Pinet and Cavaignac likewise wrote to the National Convention about the attack and their subsequent *arrêté*, writing: “You know of the horrible attempt committed on our brave and dignified friend Dartigoeyte at the tribune of the Popular Society of Auch; you have seen the scoundrel’s hand almost brought down one of the most worthy defenders of the Republic, in a moment where, in the middle of the people, he thundered against evildoers. Imbued with horror and indignation, and wanting to avenge the outraged national representation, we immediately issued an *arrêté* to order the Extraordinary Commission to go there.... The monsters! All of them will perish and soon the land of liberty will be purged of these slaves who want kings.” Jacques Pinet and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac to the National Convention, 30 Germinal Year II - 19 April 1794 in *RASCP*, 12:695.

noticed, in mixed accents of sadness and indignation of the members, the servile idolatry of persons, but a sentiment of profound love for the Patrie, assassinated in the person of one of its most faithful representatives.”²⁵⁴ The perceived attempt on Dartigoeyte’s life was shocking precisely because he, as representative of the people, was a literal embodiment of the sovereign will of the people. Thus, to attack the representatives of the people was an attack on the sacral power of the people.

Yet in contrast to the sacral aura of secular authority, the representatives on mission could also be obscene and profane. In particular, representatives on mission like Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme and Dartigoeyte at times embraced an irreverent and crude performativity found in Jacques-Réne Hébert’s boorishly radical newspaper, *The Père Duchesne*. In his newspaper, Hébert refashioned himself into a hard-working furnace maker, whose down to frankness and down to earth manners were used to appeal to the sans-culottes of Paris.²⁵⁵ The most striking feature of his widely distributed paper was the way he used slang and coarse language to convey his extreme radical political opinions about the state of politics.²⁵⁶ Above all else, “Hébertist discourse” was

²⁵⁴ ADG 1 L 459, “Observations,” in *Journal du Département du Gers*, no. 70, 23 Germinal Year II - 12 April 1794, 279.

²⁵⁵ While an early historiographical tradition had argued for the existence of a “Hébertist movement” that led the sans-culottes, recent scholarship has been skeptical about the existence of such a movement and its relationship with the sans-culottes movement. For an example of the earlier scholarship, see: Louis Jacob, *Hébert: Le Père Duchesne, Chef des sans-culottes* (Paris: Gallimard, 1960); Morris Slavin went so far as to argue that the destruction of the Hébertists by the Jacobins fundamentally destroyed their own position in turn, since it severed the relationship between the sans-culottes and the Jacobins. Morris Slavin, *The Hébertistes to the Guillotine: Anatomy of a “Conspiracy” in Revolutionary France* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994), 265; For a more updated evaluation of the Hébertist movement, see: Denis Richet, “Hébertists,” in *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, ed. François Furet and Mona Ozouf, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 363-369; Charles B. McNamara, “The Hébertists: Study of a French Revolutionary “Faction” in the Reign of Terror, 1793-1794” (PhD diss., Fordham University, 1974), 1-15, 450-462.

²⁵⁶ Hébert justified his use of crude language, by writing: “If I wanted to be a good wit, I would have done well as any other [writer]. I can also speak latin; but my natural language is that of the Sans-Culotterie; I prefer to be read by the poor buggers, I prefer to teach them good truths, and to warn them about the schemes of traitors, than to take the tone of our pretentious journalists who, in order to please the little mistresses and supposed honest men, dare to name things by their name. It’s necessary to swear with those who swear, fuck. My coarseness, whatever one says, does not displease as some morons claimed. All those who love frankness and probity are not afraid of the buggers and fuckers which I pepper here and there, my joys and my angers; delicate ears hurt by my expressions, would find them charming if I wanted to be an apostle of aristocracy.” Jacques-Réne Hébert, *Le Père Duchesne*, ed. Albert Soboul,

characterized by its exterminatory rhetoric, distrust of the rich, and support harsh stance towards religion.²⁵⁷ Although radicals like Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme and Dartigoeyte were by no means “Hébertists” in their political orientation, they still adopted many of the rhetorical styles of the Père Duchesne and his allies. For example, in his address to the soldiers and popular society of Aignoua, Monestier frequently used the words “foutre,” bougre, and other slang as he called for unity and celebrated the destruction of a cross.²⁵⁸ When it came to religious matters, Dartigoeyte was also known to profane. A letter dated on 4 Germinal Year II (24 March 1794) and forwarded to the Committee of General Security commented on how Dartigoeyte would use coarse language to threaten priests to renounce their ministry and get married.²⁵⁹ Even in the later Thermidorian denunciations, accusers would connect the representatives on mission more directly to Hébertism. In a denunciation against Monestier, Leon Basterreche would write: “It was Monestier who demoralized all of our cantons, in preaching the most obscene and disgusting speeches. He even outdid the heinous Hébert. It was he who went with his cronies, after leaving an orgy, to pull down all the paintings in a church and tear them to pieces.”²⁶⁰ While Basterreche was clearly inflating the moral impropriety of Monestier, it is still revealing nonetheless of the extent to which the representatives adopted Hébertist outrance in their campaign to impose the Sacerdotal Revolution.

no. 257, n.d. (Paris, Éditions d'histoire sociale 1969), 2; For more on the use of language by Hébert, see: Michael Sonenscher, “The *sans-culottes* of the Year II: Rethinking the Language of Labour in Revolutionary France,” *Social History* 9, no. 3 (1984): 324-328; Jacques Guilhaumou, “L’idéologie du Père Duchesne: Les forces adjuvantes (14 juillet-6 septembre 1793),” *Le Mouvement social*, no. 85 (1973): 81-116.

²⁵⁷ Bell, *The First Total War*, 139-140, 175-178; Hockin, “*Les Hommes Sans Dieu*,” 185-146; McNamara, “The Hébertists,” 242-257; Slavin, *The Hébertists to the Guillotine*, 254-255.

²⁵⁸ BM Pau, Ee 1912, *Arrêté* of Monestier (du-Puy-de-Dôme), Représentant du Peuple près l’Armée des Pyrénées Occidentales et les Départemens environs *À ses frères d’armes et aux Citoyens Républicains formant la Société Républicaine et Montagnarde d’Aignoua, District d’Ustarits, Département des Basses-Pyrénées* (Belchenia: an II [1793]), 1-3.

²⁵⁹ Cabannes, *Dartigoeyte*, 122-123.

²⁶⁰ Archives Nationales D/III/354-355, Léon Basterreche, “Dénonciations des Crimes de Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme aux membres composant les comités de gouvernement.”

The new religious culture imagined by revolutionaries in Year II was a veritable cult of muscles. Whereas the old, corrupted world of fanatical vapors was characterized lascivious priests, hysterical women, superstitious farmers, effeminate aristocrats, and immoral atheists, the new regenerated religious culture was above all a celebration of the masculine vigor of the French Republic. At the center of this regenerated society stood the enlightened magistrate interpreting the sacred laws of the Republic in a temple of Reason. Like the Christian Church, the Republic too had its own martyrs: Saint-Marat, Saint-Bara, and Lepelletier. Most importantly, by understanding the religious rituals of the Sacerdotal Revolution, it is possible to ascertain the type of political community imagined by the revolutionaries in the South West: it was to be an austere society completely willing to sacrifice itself for the good of the Patrie.

Conclusion: The Biopolitics of Year II

Probably the most complete vision of what society was to look like under the Sacerdotal Revolution came from Chantreau's account of his trip from Toulouse to Paris. In his newspaper, Chantreau recounted his feelings of transport while meeting sans-culottes along the way. In the Limousin, Chantreau was "charmed" and "delighted" to see the public spirit expressed on the day of the *décadi*.²⁶¹ He remarked that "peasants of the countryside and inhabitants of the towns all celebrated the civic day of rest that public opinion commanded; hypocritical constrain was not on any face. In the fields, I saw in the morning farmers run to the *décadaire* instruction with ease and good will that men with two faces would try in vain to affect."²⁶² He then went on to observe that "a good citizen, in a naïve language, recounted to his brothers the duties that tie him to society."²⁶³

²⁶¹ Chantreau, *Les documens de la Raison*, no.14, 210.

²⁶² Ibid., 211.

²⁶³ Ibid.

Ebullient and on the verge of tears, Chantreau declared: “That was the sacred equality..... The love of his neighbor which that virtuous citizen preached to his brothers..... and his brothers listened!”²⁶⁴ In the towns he noted that all the stores were closed, and that the women wore festive clothing. Describing physiognomy of the townspeople, Chantreau wrote: “throughout I did not see any grimace, no affectation of *appearing on the order of the day*. Hilarity, frankness abound in the temple of Reason, one places themselves without tumult and with deference for the elderly and weak infants.”²⁶⁵ In these temples, “love for the laws of this small city were preached, and each applauded. Those applauses were sentimental, a kind of tacit oath that each individual pronounced on the interior.”²⁶⁶ Encountering a group of farmers who still celebrated the Sunday in Berry, Chantreau concluded: “Between your sharefarmers and these good men, I found a century of difference.”²⁶⁷ Thus, Chantreau outlined for his readers what a world under the Sacerdotal Revolution would look like: simple, egalitarian, transparent, hardworking, patriotic, and above all, free of any kind of religious strife that would have characterized a fanatical society.

Radical revolutionaries in the South West imagined opposition to the Revolution and its religious reforms in terms of the medicalized discourse of fanaticism and superstition. During the French Enlightenment, philosophes such as Deleyre, Voltaire and the baron d’Holbach diagnosed fanaticism and superstition through a bodily and moral framework. Thus, they portrayed fanaticism as a type of madness that infects the brain of the victim. Since fanaticism was a terminal ailment, the philosophes discouraged persecution, in favor of the gradual spread of Enlightenment. Others like the abbé Grégoire called for the complete moral, political and bodily regeneration as the surest means of eliminating the pernicious effects of superstition and fanaticism. The French

²⁶⁴ Chantreau, *Les documens de la Raison*, no.14, 211.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 212.

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ Ibid., 212-213.

Revolution changed the ways one would understand fanaticism and superstition. As opposition grew to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy or to the Revolution more generally, revolutionaries transformed fanaticism and superstition into political categories of deviance. This politicization in turn helped revolutionaries to delegitimize their opponents by portraying them as irrational. However, unlike the philosophes of the French Enlightenment, revolutionaries were impatient. The health of the nation demanded the immediate repression and elimination of those deviancies from the political body. The existence of priests was not only a political problem: their sexual power also posed a threat to the public health of the nation. Thus, they proscribed purgation and marriage as the surest means of protecting the nation.

As Antoine de Baecque had long demonstrated, the political concept of regeneration was both medical and religious in its original conceptualization at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It was for this reason that the abbé Henri Grégoire's plan for regeneration of French Jews was to be a "physical, moral and political regeneration." When revolutionaries in the South West attempted their own regeneration, they similarly imagined regeneration as an all-encompassing process. Since regeneration needed to be physical, moral and political, the revolutionaries erected a new revolutionary religion that embraced those qualities. Theirs was a cult of muscles, where the gender disorder of fanaticism and superstition was regularized through religious rituals and marriage. If priests exercised their power over women primarily through their bodies and imagination, only marriage could in turn disarm their sexual power.

As will be seen in the next chapter, revolutionaries will take these principles developed and apply them to larger groups: the Sephardic Jewish community of Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne and the "fanatical" Basques of Labourd. Thus the experience of both groups were determined by the twin discourses of the Sacerdotal Revolution. On one hand, the universalist discourse of the Sacerdotal

Revolution discussed in the third chapter created new political possibilities for the Sephardim of Saint-Esprit. In fact, a surveillance committee of Saint-Esprit, comprised of a majority Jewish membership, would be the only one of its kind in all of France and would go on to exercise considerable political influence throughout the period of the Terror. In contrast, accusations of Basque particularism and fanaticism would lead to a policy of deportation and internment that closely resembled Grégoire's own vision of regeneration for French Jews prior to the Revolution. Relocated into the interior, Basques were to be transformed into good republicans. Ultimately, the intended goal of the Sacerdotal Revolution would be the creation of new French citizens, united in their worship of the Supreme Being and devotion to the Patrie.

Chapter 5: Making Citizens and Fanatics: Religion, Identity and Assimilation during the Terror (1793-1794)

“Fanaticism speaks Basque.”
- Bertrand Barère¹

“The most unbearable despotism covered all of France. It is only that dreadful regime that must impute as much turmoil as crime. Like superstition and fanaticism, it shows how it is easy to blind the judgment of the multitude and deaden the natural pity for men.”
- Abraham Furtado²

On 18 November 1789, the Biltzar of the Basque-speaking *pays* du Labourd drafted a response to the National Constituent Assembly’s decision to abolish all privileged institutions in the kingdom of France. In the “Exposition de l’État des Basques français du Labourd,” the Basque provincial assembly lamented the hostility that it faced in defending its existence: “It is a strange fatality to not be able to exercise the first of all rights, the defense on one’s existence, without being accused of stubbornness, or lack of patriotism.”³ For the Biltzar, Basques were being asked either to choose between adding more tax burdens to their precarious economic situation, or risk isolating themselves from the rest of France: “Such is the situation of the French Basques of Labourd for having announced that one cannot add to their current burden without attacking their life and removing their privileges without losing forty-five thousand Frenchmen.”⁴ As the exposition would outline in a later section, privileges were essential means to maintain the

¹ Bertrand Barère, “Rapport du comité de salut public sur les idiomes,” in Michel de Certeau, Dominique Julia and Jacques Revel, *Une politique de la langue: La Révolution française et les patois* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), 295. All translations are mine, unless noted in the footnote or cited in an English translation.

² Abraham Furtado, “Mémoires d’un patriote proscrit,” in *Mémoires de Terreur: l’an II à Bordeaux*, ed. Anne de Mathan (Pessac: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 2002), 84.

³ “Exposition de l’état des Basques français du Labourd, pour servir à régler le traitement particulier qu’ils ont droit d’attendre, et de réponse aux reproches que leur font quelques journaux,” in Albert Darricau, *France et Labourd* (Dax: 1906), 45.

⁴ Ibid.

economic stability of a region marked by harsh soil.⁵ They complained that the newspapers were unjustly accusing them of refusing to embrace political regeneration unleashed by the Revolution: “Everyone has cast a stone at them, they are brought before the nation, either as stubborn people, who cling to their regime only by habit, refusing to regenerate themselves with it; or as evil Frenchmen incapable of sacrificing nothing to the great work of the regeneration of the state.”⁶ That same day, the Biltzar voted to dissolve itself. This chapter will explore the fate of two groups, accused of “obstinacy” and whom revolutionaries wanted to regenerate and assimilate into the new regime: Basques and Sephardic Jews of southwestern France.⁷ Both intertwined histories would reveal the promises and the limits of regeneration in Year II.

This chapter argues that the Sacerdotal Revolution (1793-1794) represented a crucial moment of identity formation and nation building in southwestern France. While the previous two chapters highlighted the ways in which the universalist discourse of the Sacerdotal Revolution defined the parameters of inclusion and exclusion in the French nation, this chapter in turn focuses on the more concrete experiences of two groups living in the borderlands of the Republic. Through a comparative analysis of the Sephardic community of Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne, and the Basques communities of Labourd, Basse-Navarre, and Soule, this chapter details the ways in which these groups confronted, negotiated, embraced, or rejected the secular notions of republican citizenship and national belonging put forward by the Revolution. If during the Ancien Régime identity for Basques and Sephardim was articulated primarily through the language of corporate privilege and local institutions, then the period of the French Revolution represented a moment of reconfiguration, in which older identities and corporate solidarities were swept away in favor of a

⁵ Ibid., 50-51.

⁶ “Exposition de l’état des Basques français du Labourd,” 45.

⁷ For accusations of “obstinacy” of Jews, see: Ronald Schechter, *Obstinate Hebrews: Representations of Jews in France, 1715-1815* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 40-50.

new universalist discourse of republican citizenship. Tensions over issues of identity, religion, and national belonging were most acute in the borderlands of southwestern France during the phase of the Sacerdotal Revolution. In the case of the Sephardim, the universalist discourse of the Sacerdotal Revolution provided the Sephardic community of Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne with greater opportunity for political participation and the ability, through anticlerical discourse, to position themselves as ideal republican citizens. In the case of the Basques, however, the Sacerdotal Revolution led many radical revolutionaries in the South West to suspect the loyalty of Basques living along the Spanish border and label them “religious fanatics” in need of regeneration. Thus, the growing consciousness of Basque identity as specifically Catholic and “traditionalist” was a modern construction that emerged during this period.⁸ As my chapter contends, these vastly divergent experiences during the Terror would continue to shape the way that French Basques and Jews related to the French nation throughout the nineteenth century, whether through an embrace of secular and anticlerical republicanism, or of religion as a constitutive component of a distinctive ethnic identity.

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section discusses the religious and political institutions of the Sephardic Jewish community of Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne and the Basque pays of Labourd, Basse-Navarre and Soule [collectively known as, the Pays Basque]. On the eve of the Revolution, both the Sephardic Jews of Saint-Esprit and the Basques of the Pays

⁸ Historians have come to question the assumed stability of “traditional” society and have suggested that it too was also a fundamentally modern construction. For more, see: Charles Tilly, “Did the Cake of Custom Break?,” in *Consciousness and Class Experience in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. John Merriman (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1979), 29-39; Eric Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing Tradition,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1-14; Bernard Dov Cooperman, “Defining Deviance, Negotiating Norms: Raphael Meldola in Livorno, Pisa and Bayonne,” in *Religious Changes and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Western Sephardic Communities*, ed. Yosef Kaplan (Boston: Brill, 2019), 157-190; for more specifically traditionally rural and peasant society, see: James R. Lehning, *Peasant and French: Cultural Contact in Rural France during the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1-21; Peter Guardino, *The Time of Liberty: Popular Political Culture in Oaxaca, 1750-1850* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 40-90.

Basque defined their identity largely in terms of privileges that integrated them into the political apparatus of the Ancien Régime. As historians like Talitha Ilacqua and Frances Malino, the eighteenth century represented a period of gradual integration and modernization for Basques and the Sephardim, respectively.⁹ The second section analyzes the dissolution of these privileges during the early period of Revolution. Both the Sephardim and Basques initially resisted the dissolution of their privileges. However, through a process of negotiation, both communities eventually came to embrace the universalism of the new order.¹⁰ The third section analyzes the Jewish surveillance committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. This Surveillance Committee was unique in that it was the only one in France where the leadership was primarily comprised of Jewish Jacobins.¹¹ Empowered following the arrival of the representatives on mission in 1793, the Surveillance Committee would go on to enforce the religious policies of the Terror while at times acting as advocates for other Jewish communities in France. Thus, the Terror opened up greater

⁹ For modernization and the Pays Basque, see: Talitha Ilacqua, "Territory and the Politics of Identity in the Basque Country during the French Revolution," *French History* 31, No.3 (2017): 333-234; Manex Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale du Pays Basque: La Révolution de 1789*, vol. 4 (Donostia : Elkarlanean, 2002); for more on the Sephardic Jews of Bordeaux and Bayonne, see: Frances Malino, *The Sephardic Jews of Bordeaux: Assimilation and Emancipation in Revolutionary and Napoleonic France* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1978), 1-26; for more on French Jews in general during the Ancien Régime, see: Jay Berkovitz, *Rites and Passages: The Beginnings of Modern Jewish Culture in France, 1650-1860* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 35-58.

¹⁰ For Sephardic opposition to emancipation, see: Malino, *The Sephardic Jews of Bordeaux*, 27-48. Sephardic Jews initially opposed emancipation on grounds that they already in fact had achieved citizenship by the 1780s, and on a fear that any association with the cause of the Ashkenazim would lead to their immediate loss of privileges. For Basque opposition to dissolution of privileges, see: Victor Dubarat, "L'Union de Béarn à la France en octobre 1620," *Bulletin de la Société des sciences, lettres et arts de Pau* 43 (1920), 99-108; Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale du Pays Basque*, 4:165-243; Helen J. Castelli, "Response of the Pays Basque to the Convocation of the Estates General in Pre-Revolutionary France," in *Anglo-American Contributions to Basque Studies: Essays in Honor of Jon Bilbao*, ed. William A. Douglass, Richard W. Etulain, and William H. Jacobsen (Reno: Desert Research Institute, 1977), 93-103; Ilacqua, "Territory and the Politics of Identity in the Basque Country," 235-245. In the South West, both the Basque-speaking province of Basse-Navarre and Gascon-speaking province of Béarn resisted calls to participate in the convocation of the Estates-General in 1789. Both *pays d'états* insisted that they were in fact separate and independent from the kingdom of France. The Navarrese went so far as to refuse to send deputies to the Estates-General, only agreeing to incorporation on 30 December 1789. Basque notables also opposed the creation a department comprised of the Pays Basque and Béarn.

¹¹ Ernest Ginsburger, "Première Partie: Histoire," in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau / Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne. Procès-verbaux et correspondance 11 Octobre 1793 - 30 Fructidor an II*, ed. Ernest Ginsburger (Paris: Librairie Lipschutz, 1934), 8.

political opportunities for the Sephardic Jews of the South West. In contrast, the final section analyzes the experience of the Basques during the Terror, focusing particularly on the internment of Basques.¹² During the Terror, revolutionaries began to manifest distrust towards the Basques of Labourd, emphasizing their linguistic difference and religious affinity with Spain. This chapter maintains that growing scrutiny of Basque linguistic and religious created a different path towards modernity grounded in a sense of “traditional” Basque culture. Ultimately, this chapter argues that the religious policies of the Terror laid the foundations for modernity in the nineteenth century: either, the embrace of republican universalism, or its rejection predicated on nationalism.

This chapter proposes to analyze questions of identity, religion, and acculturation during the Terror through a comparative analysis of Sephardim and Basques in the South West.¹³ On one hand, there were significant differences that existed between the two groups. The Sephardim were a religious and ethnic group.¹⁴ Following the forced conversion and expulsion of Iberian Jews, some conversos migrated to southwestern France in the sixteenth century and established themselves as a merchant corporation whose existence depended on agreements made with the royal government. It was only in the eighteenth century that the royal government recognized these communities as Jewish. In contrast, Basques were an ethno-linguistic group who lived in the *pays*

¹² James E. Jacob, “The French Revolution and the Basques of France,” in *Basque Politics: A Case Study in Ethnic Nationalism*, ed. William A. Douglass (Reno: Basque Studies Program, 1985), 51-101; Mayi Castaingts-Beretervide, *La Terreur et la deportation des Basques du Labourd, 1794* (Sare: Ikuska, 1994); Pierre Haristoy, *Les Paroisses du Pays basque pendant la période révolutionnaire (Cantons de Bayonne, Bidache, Espelette, Hasparren et les paroisses de Saint-Jean-de-Luz et Ciboure)*, v.1 (Pau: Imprimerie Vignancour, 1895).

¹³ Historian and anthropologist, Anne Zink, had previously conducted a comparative study of Basques and Sephardic Jews of the South West during the Ancien Régime. Anne Zink, *Pays ou circonscriptions: Les collectivités territoriales de la France du Sud-Ouest sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2000), 219-253.

¹⁴ Gérard Nahon, “From New Christians to the Portuguese Jewish Nation in France,” in *Moreshet Sepharad: The Sephardi Legacy*, ed. Haim Beinart, vol. 2 (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1992), 336-364; Miriam Bodian, “‘Men of the Nation’: The Shaping of Converso Identity in Early Modern Europe,” *Past and Present*, no.143 (1994), 48-76; Yosef Kaplan, “The Self-Definition of the Sephardi Jews of Western Europe and their Relation to the Alien and the Stranger,” in *An Alternative Path to Modernity: The Sephardi Diaspora in Western Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 51-77; David Graizbord, “Becoming Jewish in Early Modern France: Documents on Jewish Community-Building in Seventeenth-Century Bayonne and Peyrehorade,” *Journal of Social History* 40, no.1 (2006): 147-180; see also: David Sorkin, “The Port Jew: Notes Toward a Social Type,” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 50, no. 1 (1999), 87-97.

of Labourd, Basse-Navarre and Soule.¹⁵ However, on the other hand, both communities, who lived near one another in the South West and who were under the jurisdiction of the same representatives on mission during the Terror, also defined their identities in similar ways. First, both communities maintained transnational ties with other members of their groups in Spain. Second, Basques and Sephardic Jews defined their identity primarily by their local corporate institutions and privileges during the Ancien Régime. Third, Basque deputies in the Estates General and Sephardic representatives initially resisted the abolition of privileges, preferring instead to maintain their local and communal autonomy. Fourth, unlike the Gascon-speaking communities in the Bigorre and Béarn, both the Sephardim and Basques were the targets of revolutionary projects of regeneration and assimilation during the Terror. A comparative analysis of the Sephardim and Basques thus would reveal the ways that the religious policies of the Terror sought to reshape identities in the borderland, while also demonstrating the ways that these groups either accepted these new identities or rejected them that would later inform nation-building practices of the nineteenth century.¹⁶

Finally, this chapter will center the role of the religious policies of the Terror in shaping the development of modernity for the Basque and Sephardic Jewish communities of south-western France. Typically, modern narratives of Jewish history discuss the Enlightenment and the early years of the French Revolution, only to skip over the period of the Terror and immediately begin

¹⁵ Marianne Heiberg, *The Making of the Basque Nation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), ix-xii, 11-36; Jacob, "The French Revolution and the Basques of France," 51-65.

¹⁶ For more on the borderlands, see: Peter Sahlin, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*, 1-9; Caroline Ford, *Creating the Nation in Provincial France: Religion and Political Identity in Brittany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 3-7, 220-227; William A. Douglass, "A Western Perspective on an Eastern Interpretation of Where North Meets South: Pyrenean Borderland Cultures," in *Border Identities: Nation and State at International Frontiers*, ed. Thomas M. Wilson and Hastings Donnan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 62-95. Through a comparative analysis of the western and eastern Pyrenees, Douglass challenged Sahlin's depiction of a static French-Spanish borderland, by arguing that there was not one single borderland; rather, there was a multiplicity of overlapping borderlands that varied according to political, social and economic circumstances.

to discuss the Napoleonic regulations.¹⁷ In contrast, while histories of Basque Country do discuss the period of the Terror, these narratives do not explore the ways in which the Terror was a constitutive experience of modernity. Following the insight of historian Ari Joskowitz on the role of Jewish anti-Catholicism and anti-clericalism in French Jews' articulation of modernity, national belonging and religiosity, this chapter argues that religious policies of the Terror provided a critical space for ethnic and religious minorities to negotiate, accept or reject particular forms of citizenship and national belonging.¹⁸ For the Jewish surveillance committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, enforcing the religious regulations of the Terror not only provided its members, and the community more broadly, with an opportunity to demonstrate their patriotism; it was also a means for them to define their own secular vision of society, where religious practices were subject to the regulations of the French state regardless of confessional identity. Furthermore, the condemnation of (Catholic) fanatics provided an Other against which the Jewish community could contrast itself. Conversely, the Terror was a transitional moment for Basques. If Basque identity was mainly defined in terms of language and the foral regime of privileges under the Ancien Régime, the abolition of privileges under the National Constituent Assembly and religious persecution under the Terror provided a new way in which modern Basque identity would be reconstituted during the nineteenth century. Thus, the Terror, and specifically its religious policies, represented the

¹⁷ For example, France Malino's book on the Sephardim of Bordeaux only devotes a few pages to discussing the Terror. Malino, *The Sephardic Jews of Bordeaux*, 59-64; Similarly, Jay Berkovitz only devotes a few pages to the history of the Terror. Berkovitz, *Rites and Passages*, 111-114; Maurice Samuels does not even discuss the Terror in his study of French universalism. Maurice Samuels, *The Right to Difference: French Universalism and the Jews* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016); even Arthur Hertzberg's treatment of the French Revolution focuses more on the pre-revolutionary and early revolutionary period, and does not discuss the Terror at any significant length. Arthur Hertzberg, *The French Enlightenment and the Jews* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968); in a more general overview, Nigel Aston devotes a small chapter on the experience of Protestants and Jews during the Terror. Nigel Aston, *Religion and Revolution in France, 1780-1804* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2000), 250-258.

¹⁸ Ari Joskowitz, *The Modernity of Others: Jewish Anti-Catholicism in Germany and France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014), 1-23, 81-92, 270-277; for more on the role of the religious Other in eighteenth-century French thought, see: Schechter, *Obstinate Hebrews*, 236-255.

precipices of modernity for both the Sephardic Jewish community of Saint-Esprit and the Basques of the South West.

Section 1: Ancien Régime Identities in the South West on the Eve of the Revolution

During the Ancien Régime, collective privileges and local institutions that embodied those privileges largely defined Sephardic and Basque identity in the South West. This section provides an overview of the different regimes of corporate privileges that existed for Basques and Sephardic Jews in the Ancien Régime. In particular, it looks at the Basque *fueros* and provincial assemblies, and the Sephardic *nation* [a merchant and philanthropic organization] and the roles that corporate privileges and institutions played in identity formation. Finally, it considers the role of religion. For the Sephardic Nation of Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne, and Sephardim more broadly, broad patterns of secularization meant that religion played a decreasing role in the defining of communal identity, as the community became more acculturated. Similarly, religion did not seem to play a major role in the way that Basques came to define themselves. Instead, the Basques and Sephardic Jews articulated their identity primarily in terms of corporate privileges, law, custom, *moeurs*, and language. By the end of the Ancien Régime, corporate privileges and customs provided the basis for the slow integration and assimilation of Basques and Sephardic Jews into French society. As the next section will demonstrate, the eventual abolition of corporate privileges and local institutions proved traumatic and disruptive for these communities, and eventually led to the reconstitution of their identity in response to universalist ideas about citizenship.

In the eighteenth century, Basques and Sephardic Jews lived in a region characterized by administrative incoherence and overlapping political, judicial, and economic jurisdictions. At the broadest level, the South West was broadly divided into two military *gouvernements* headed by

governors in Bordeaux and Pau: Guyenne and Gascogne, and Béarn.¹⁹ In addition, the French monarchy also imposed its own administrative divisions: the *généralités* and the intendants. Initially developed as different institutions, the fiscal territories of the *généralités* and the administrative jurisdictions of the intendants began to overlap in the seventeenth century, and practically became indistinguishable by the eighteenth century.²⁰ However, in the South West, *généralités* and the intendants only added further confusion to the administrative chaos of the region. The problem was most acute in Béarn and the Pays-Basques, where administrative boundaries remained unstable and rapidly changing. In 1716, the royal government created the *intendance* of Auch and Pau, comprising Bayonne and the *pays* of Labourd, Basse-Navarre, Soule, and Béarn, amongst others.²¹ Then between 1767 and 1774, the monarchy separated the *intendance* of Auch and Pau, into the *intendance* of Pau and Bayonne and the *intendance* of Auch, which were conjointly administered by Étienne-Louis Journet and Marius-Jean-Baptiste-Nicolas d'Aine. The monarchy then reestablished the *intendance* of Auch and Pau between 1775 and 1784. Finally, a royal edict once again reorganized the city of Bayonne and the *pays* of Labourd, Basse-Navarre, Soule, Béarn, Bigorre and several other territories into Pyrenean *intendance* of Pau and Bayonne. The new arrangement was too troublesome, and Louis XVI restored the intendancies of 1775. As the complicated history of royal administration demonstrated, the South West lacked a consistent

¹⁹ Governors were originally military commanders. When they became a threat to royal power, their position was reduced to a largely symbolic one. Jean-Louis Masson, *Provinces, départements, régions. L'organisation administrative de la France d'hier à demain* (Paris: Éditions Fernand Lanore, 1984), 31-34; James B. Collins, *The State in Early Modern France*, Second Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 20-21, 57-64; for more on military governments in the South West, see: Alan Forrest, *The Revolution in Provincial France: Aquitaine, 1789-1799* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 6-7; Zink, *Pays ou circonscriptions*, 27, 91-92.

²⁰ In 1789, there were 32 *intendances* and 33 *généralités*. The *généralités* of Toulouse and Montpellier belonged to the same *intendance*. For more on the *généralités* and intendants, see: Masson, *Provinces, départements, régions*, 41-45; Collins, *The State in Early Modern France*, 22-23, 63-65.

²¹ Pierre Tucoc-Chala and Christian Desplat, *La principauté de Béarn*, vol. 1 (Pau: Société nouvelle d'éditions régionales et de diffusion, 1980), 381-387; Forrest, *The Revolution in Provincial France*, 6-9; Zink, *Pays ou circonscriptions*, 87-88.

administrative framework that hampered the development of broader regional identities and solidarities.

Unlike the larger territorial and administrative districts in the South West whose jurisdictional boundaries constantly shifted, intermediary financial and judicial precincts provided a more stable and enduring framework for local identity to develop. In her study of the Ancien Régime concept of *pays* [tr. region, country, or territory], the historical anthropologist Anne Zink argued that juridical and fiscal jurisdictions like the *sénéchaussé* (secular courts) or the *pays d'état* and *pays d'élection* played an important role in shaping the cultural and territorial meaning of *pays* by fostering a sense of shared practices. Thus, institutions like the *sénéchaussée* help explain why there were three Basque *pays* instead of single Basque province, despite common linguistic and ethnic solidarities. During the eighteenth century, *sénéchaussés* or *bailliages* performed two important roles. First, they represented the first layer of secular and royal judiciary.²² Second, they also functioned as electoral precincts in the selection of deputies for the Estates General. As a result, *sénéchaussés* and *bailliages* provided the fundamental constituencies that helped shape and define the personality and interests of deputies serving in the Estates General in 1789.

Equally as influential in determining the identity and character of a particular *pays* were the financial institutions of the South West. During the eighteenth century, the *pays* were divided into two types of fiscal systems. First, there were the *pays d'élections*, which were local financial districts – the *élections* – defined by the direct imposition of royal taxation and the lack of a provincial estate.²³ Second, there were *pays d'états*, which were regions that had retained their

²² For more on *sénéchaussées* (and *bailliages*), see: Masson, *Provinces, départements, régions*, 27-29; Collins, *The State in Early Modern France*, xxxvii-xxxviii, 12-13, 140-141, 356; Zink, *Pays ou circonscriptions*, 25-37.

²³ For more on *pays d'élections*, see: Masson, *Provinces, départements, régions*, 36-37; Zink, *Pays ou circonscriptions*, 38-46, 53-57; Collins, *The State in Early Modern France*, 22-23, 61-64; Ilacqua, "Territory and the Politics of Identity in the Basque Country," 330-331.

provincial estates. Along the Spanish border in the South West, most *pays* had a provincial assembly, including Labourd, Basse-Navarre, Soule, Béarn, Bigorre, and Marsan. In contrast to *pays d'élection*, the royal government could not directly tax the *pays d'état* without the consent of the provincial assemblies. Moreover, these provincial assemblies further claimed to embody and defended the specific interests of the *pays vis-à-vis* the monarchy.²⁴ As Anne Zink observed, the *pays d'états* were so important that the boundaries of the future departments largely respected those of the *pays d'états*. Thus, for example, the enclaves of the Bigorre were maintained in the formation of the department of the Hautes-Pyrénées, despite the desire of some revolutionaries to establish uniform and rationalized territorial units.²⁵ In addition to the Bigorre, the National Constituent Assembly also joined the Basque-speaking *pays d'états* of Labourd, Basse-Navarre, Soule with the Gascon-speaking *pays* of Béarn to form the Basses-Pyrénées. Within this department, each Basque *pays* formed a separate district. Therefore, even with the dissolution of Ancien Régime, fiscal regions like the *pays d'état* continued to shape the future identity and character of the modern departments.

In addition to the institutions of the monarchical state, Basques and Sephardic Jews also organized themselves into corporate bodies. During the Ancien Régime, corporate institutions were collectivities endowed with certain privileges and legal personality, and capable of petitioning the king, collecting taxes, borrowing money, regulating social relationships, and exercising a degree of autonomous self-government.²⁶ Not only did they provide a particular *pays*

²⁴ For more on *pays d'états*, see: Masson, *Provinces, départements, régions*, 37-41; Zink, *Pays ou circonscriptions*, 41-46, 49-51, 57-65; Ilacqua, "Territory and the Politics of Identity in the Basque Country," 330-331. For a more in-depth study of a *pays d'états*, see: William Beik, *Absolutism and Society in Seventeenth-Century France: State Power and Provincial Aristocracy in Languedoc*, 117-146.

²⁵ Zink, *Pays ou circonscriptions*, 96, 102. Bertrand Barère, a deputy from Bigorre, was also influential in the formation of the department.

²⁶ Gail Bossenga, *The Politics of Privilege: Old Regime and Revolution in Lille* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 5-8; Zink, *Pays ou circonscriptions*, 253, 331-332; for communal autonomy of French Jews, see: Berkovitz, *Rites and Passages*, 13-34.

with internal coherence, they also claimed to speak on its behalf. Estates were corporate bodies with the power of political representation. Each of the Basque *pays* possessed their own individual estates.²⁷ In Labourd, the Biltzar [or Bilçar] was a popular assembly composed of thirty-five members of the Third Estate [maire-abbés] representing each parish of the *pays*.²⁸ The Biltzar was notable for its exclusion of the nobility and clergy and for its practice of direct democracy which required the deputies of the assembly to directly consult with their constituencies before making a decision. Following a royal decree in 1660, the royal government brought the Biltzar under closer surveillance and curtailed many of its powers. In stark contrast to the Biltzar of Labourd was the Estates General of the “Kingdom of Navarre” which included greater participation from the noble and clergy.²⁹ Established in 1523 by Henri II d’Albret, king of Navarre, the Estates General of Navarre, like its counterpart in France, was divided into three estates who voted by order: the nobility, clergy, and the Third Estate.³⁰ Although incorporated into France in 1620 under the Act of Union, the assembly generally maintained its control over the affairs of the *pays* due to its status and prestige. Finally, the Cour d’Ordre of the *pays* of Soule represented an intermediary between the more popularly inclined Biltzar and aristocratic Estates General of Basse-Navarre. The Cour

²⁷ Ilacqua, “Territory and the Politics of Identity in the Basque Country,” 331.

²⁸ Eugène Goyheneche, *Le Pays Basque: Soule, Labourd, Basse-Navarre* (Pau: Société nouvelle d’éditions regionales et de diffusion, 1979), 119-132, 253-272; Maïté Lafourcade, “Les assemblées provinciales du Pays Basque français sous l’Ancien Régime,” *Lapurdum*, no. 4 (1999): 305-308.

²⁹ Goyheneche, *Le Pays Basque*, 287-302; Lafourcade, “Les assemblées provinciales du Pays Basque français,” 313-318.

³⁰ Prior to 1512, the Kingdom of Navarre was comprised of on both sides of the Pyrenees, including Hautes-Navarre (in present day Spain), Basse-Navarre (in present day France), and the principality of Béarn. Following an invasion of Navarre and annexation of Haute-Navarre by Ferdinand II of Aragon, Henri II d’Albret reconsolidated the kingdom in Basse-Navarre and the Béarn. Eventually, Henri III of Navarre would go on to become king of France as Henri IV in 1589, bringing along with the kingdom of Navarre and principality of Béarn in personal union. Finally, under the rule of Louis XIII, Basse-Navarre and Béarn were formally incorporated under the Act of Union of 1620. Following Henri IV, kings of France styled themselves as “Kings of France and Navarre.”; Goyheneche, *Le Pays Basque*, 289-290; Lafourcade, “Les assemblées provinciales du Pays Basque français,” 313; for more on the incorporation of the kingdom of Navarre and the principality of Béarn, see: Victor Dubarat, “L’Union de Béarn à la France en octobre 1620,” *Bulletin de la Société des sciences, lettres et arts de Pau* 43 (1920): 99-120, 159-160, 163-168; Christian Desplat, “Louis XIII and the Union of Béarn to France,” in *Conquest and Coalescence: The Shaping of the State in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Mark Greengrass (London: New York, 1991), 68-83.

d'Ordre was comprised of two assemblies: the Grand Corps, which was an assembly that included the nobility, clergy and members of the Third Estate, and voted by order; and the Silviet, which included only members of the Third Estate and had the sole power to initiate legislation.³¹ However, the monarchy abolished the Silviet in 1730. In addition, each of these corporate assemblies elected an executive [the syndic], a treasurer, and secretaries, who worked alongside a representative of the king.³²

Much like the Basque *pays*, the Sephardic Jewish community of Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne organized its *nation* (or communal government) in a similar fashion. During the Ancien Régime, Bayonne was juridically and linguistically distinct from the Basque-speaking territories.³³ In turn, the port city was divided into three sections by the Adour and Nive rivers, with the bourg Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne situated on the right bank of the Adour river. Although the Jewish community generally fell within the administrative jurisdiction of the municipality of Bayonne, with the support from canons of the *collégiale* of Saint Esprit, the community was able to maintain its own judge and *procureur*.³⁴ In addition to the municipal government of Bayonne, the Règlement of 1752, with the backing of the royal government, provided a framework for the general organization

³¹ Goyheneche, *Le Pays Basque*, 273-286; Lafourcade, “Les assemblées provinciales du Pays Basque français sous l'Ancien Régime,” 309-313.

³² In Labourd, there was a syndic who exercised executive authority, acted as treasurer, and acted as liaison between the *procureurs du roi* and *lieutenant général* of the bailliage of Labourd. They were elected by the deputies of the Biltzar. After the decree of 1660, the syndic of the Biltzar was brought under closer surveillance of the *procureur du roi*. In Soule, the syndic général of the Cour d'Ordre was elected by the Silviet only. Finally, in Basse-Navarre, the Estates elected a syndic from the nobility for life. In addition, the treasurer, huissier and secretary were all elected for life. Lafourcade, “Les assemblées provinciales du Pays Basque français,” 305-314.

³³ Ilacqua, “Territory and the Politics of Identity in the Basque Country,” 331; Goyheneche, *Le Pays Basque*, 160.

³⁴ “L'indépendance du Bourg Saint-Esprit vis-à-vis de Bayonne (9 December 1783),” in *Les “Nations” juives portugaises du sud-ouest de la France (1684-1791): Documents*, ed. Gérard Nahon (Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Centro Cultural Português, 1981), 127; Ginsburger, “Histoire générale,” 3; See also, Anne Zink, “L'installation des Juifs à Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne au XVIIIe siècle,” *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 49, no. 3 (1994): 639-669; Anne Zink, “L'émergence de Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne: La place d'une ville nouvelle dans l'espace juif à l'époque moderne,” *Archives Juives* 37 (2004): 9-27.

of the community in Saint-Esprit.³⁵ According to this communal constitution, power was distributed to three syndics, six notables, four adjoints and a treasurer. In turn, these officers met in the Assembly of Thirteen convoked by the syndics, and deliberated on matters concerning charity, taxation, education, internal discipline, and other needs of the Jewish community. The *Règlement* was also explicit in excluding rabbis from taking part in “any affairs of the Nation” that were deemed to be outside of the rabbi’s religious duties.³⁶ Thus similarly to the estates of the Pays Basque, the Jewish *nation* claimed the right to speak in the name of the community before the king and his agents, but also provided internal coherence for the community. However, there was one major difference between these two corporate entities: the provincial assemblies were medieval institutions representing a particular territory, while the Sephardic *nation* was a corporation of Portuguese merchants, originally formed from conversos fleeing Iberia.³⁷

If corporate bodies provided the institutional means by which Basques and Sephardim expressed their demands and interests to the royal government, the collection of privileges and customs of these corporate bodies also constituted an important ideological language by which they articulated a sense of identity. For Basques, the most important of these privileges were the *fueros* (French: *fors*).³⁸ In general, *fueros* were concessions granted by a king or prince that could include tax exemptions, hunting and fishing rights, political autonomy, special judicial rights, and

³⁵ For the text of the *Règlement*, see: “Les règlements de la Nation Portugaise de Saint-Esprit (1754),” in *Les “Nations” juives portugaises du sud-ouest de la France (1684-1791)*, 172-211. Nahon included two versions of the *Règlement* of 1754; for more on the *Règlement*, see: Henry Léon, *Histoire des Juifs de Bayonne* (Paris: Armand Durlacher, 1893), 139-156; Hertzberg, *The French Enlightenment and the Jews*, 228-232; Nahon, “From New Christians to the Portuguese Jewish Nation in France,” 349-350; Berkovitz, *Rites and Passages*, 18-23.

³⁶ Article XXXIII of the *Règlement* stated: “The rabbi will take no part in any affairs of the *Nation* and will content himself with all that concerns his ministry, without being permitted to augment his wages or ordinary remunerations, carried by the said state, under any title or pretext whatsoever.” “Les règlements de la Nation Portugaise de Saint-Esprit (1754),” 196.

³⁷ Schechter, *Obstinate Hebrews*, 28-34.

³⁸ This chapter will use the Spanish terms *fuego/fueros* instead of the French terms *for/fors* in order to avoid confusion with the English preposition and for clarity of writing.

dispensation from military service.³⁹ In addition, French and Navarrese kings were required to swear an oath to preserve and protect the provisions of the *fueros* before they ascended the throne.⁴⁰ Between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries, at the request of the monarch, *fueros* for each of the Basque territories of Gascony and northern Iberia were officially recorded and codified.⁴¹ The most important of the *fueros* in the Pays Basque was that of Basse-Navarre. From 1238 until the sixteenth century, the *Fuero General* served as a basis for the general governance of the Kingdom of Navarre. By the beginning the sixteenth century, the Estates General of Navarre began to initiate reform of the *fueros* to clarify confusing elements within Navarrese customary law. However, Henri IV instead established a commission of jurists to draft an official version, known as the *Fors et Coutumes du Royaume de Navarre deça ports* (composed 1611; printed 1644), which centralized the authority of the monarch and removed articles requiring the king to swear an oath. After initial resistance from the Estates of Basse-Navarre, the Chancellerie of Navarre registered the new *fueros* in 1611. Thus, foralism, or the political and ideological discourse that emphasized the protection or restoration of the *fueros*, transitioned from a period of development and elaboration to one of historical memory in the eighteenth century, where the *fueros* continued to serve as an important point of reference for writers.⁴²

³⁹ Étienne Dravasa, “Les privilèges des Basques du Labourd sous l’Ancien Régime,” (Phd diss., University of Bordeaux, 1950), 63-65; Jean Goyhenetche, *For et coutumes de Basse-Navarre: Édition critique du For modern du Royaume de Navarre (basse Navarre), 1511-1645* (Donostia: Elkar, 1985), 9-11; Heiberg, *The Making of the Basque Nation*, 20-24; Jacob, “The French Revolution and the Basques of France,” 51-65; Maïté Lafourcade, “Les fors basques et les droits de l’homme,” *Lapurdum*, no. 8 (2003): 329-348.

⁴⁰ Jacob, “The French Revolution and the Basques of France,” 62. In the Edict of Union of 1620, Louis XIII swore an oath to protect the *fueros*.

⁴¹ The *fueros* of Labourd were officially codified in France in 1514; Soule in 1520; in Basse-Navarre, the codification of the *fueros* was more complicated. Following the annexation of Haute-Navarre, attempts were made to recodify the *fueros* for the newly constituted kingdom of Navarre, centered in Basse-Navarre. Following the ascension of Henri III of Navarre to the throne of France, the process was later entrusted to a commission of jurists named by the king. After the resistance of the Estates of Navarre over the final draft of the *fueros*, the Chancellerie of Navarre registered the updated *fueros* in 1622. Lafourcade, “Les fors basques et les droits de l’homme,” 333.

⁴² Jean Goyhenetche, *Les Basques et leur histoire: Mythes et réalités* (Donostia: Elkar, 1993), 132-138; foralism was not unique to the Pays Basque, and could also be found in Béarn. For more, see: Christian Desplat, *Pau et le Béarn au XVIIIe siècle*, vol. 2 (Pau: J & D éditions, 1992), 1226-1296.

By the end of the eighteenth-century, works began to appear from neo-foralist jurists and historians deploring expansion of the monarchical state at the expense of Basque customary law and calling for the restoration of the *fueros*. One important source for the historical neo-foralist discourse was the remonstrances of the provincial estates of the Pays Basque, which recounted the conquest and dismemberment of the kingdom of Navarre by Ferdinand II of Aragon, the loyalty of the Bas-Navarraais to their legitimate king, the election of the kings, and their solemn oath to protect the laws, *fueros* and privileges of their subjects.⁴³ Furthermore, the provincial estate of Navarre distinguished the two kingdoms of France and Navarre by insisting that Navarre “had never been conquered” and that its monarchy was only established with “the consent of the people.”⁴⁴ In addition to the juridical language of the provincial estates, neo-foralist discourse also drew on the language of the Enlightenment.⁴⁵ Although centered on the history of either the Basques or the Navarrese, the neo-foralist narrative of an elective and constitutional monarchy, valorization of the seigneurial society, and its critique of the centralized state resembled the Germanist discourse of philosophes like Henri de Boulainvilliers (1658-1722) and Montesquieu (1689-1755). Ultimately, the work of these neo-foralist authors of the late-eighteenth century would ground the identity of Basques in the categories of *fueros*, language and moeurs.

⁴³ Goyhenetche, *Les Basques et leur histoire*, 110-114; for examples of this language in the remonstrances, see: Archives Départementales des Pyrénées-Atlantiques, 1 C 1607 MS “Remonstrances sur Les insinuations laïques” (1720-1729); ADPA 1 C 1585 MS “Remonstrances sur les francs-fiefs de l’année 1772.” Archives Départementales des Pyrénées-Atlantiques will be abbreviated as ADPA.

⁴⁴ ADPA 1 C 1585 MS “Remonstrances sur les francs-fiefs de l’année 1772.”

⁴⁵ Goyhenetche, *Les Basques et leur histoire*, 134-138; for more on Boulainvilliers, see: Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 565-574; Harold A. Ellis, *Boulainvilliers and the French Monarchy: Aristocratic Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1988); for more on the Germanist thesis of French history, see: Keith Michael Baker, “Memory and Practice: Politics and the Representation of the Past in Eighteenth-Century France,” in *Inventing the French Revolution: Essays on French Political Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 31-58.

The most important of these neo-foralist historians, jurists, and ethnographers were the Chevalier Jean-Philippe Béla (1709-1796), Barthélémy-Jean-Baptiste Sanadon (1729-1796), Étienne Polverel (1738-1795), and Dominique Joseph Garat (1749-1833). The Chevalier Béla was a military officer who wrote a comprehensive history of the Basque people that remains unpublished.⁴⁶ Sanadon was another literary figure and would later be elected as constitutional bishop of the Department of the Basses-Pyrénées during the Revolution.⁴⁷ Much of his work drew on the writings of Béla. Étienne Polverel was a jurist who defended the privileges of the Estates General of Navarre.⁴⁸ During the Revolution he would lead Bas-Navarrese opposition to inclusion in the Estates General as France, insisting that the Kingdom of Navarre was separate from that of France. Alongside Léger-Félicité Sonthonax in 1793, Polverel would issue the first decree ordering the emancipation of slaves in Saint-Domingue and pushed the revolutionary government to extend abolition to the entire French empire. Finally, Garat was a *gens de lettres* who worked for the *Mercure de France* and went on to serve as a deputy, alongside his brother Dominique Garat, for the *pays* du Labourd during the Revolution.⁴⁹ Garat's work was largely anthropological in nature. These four authors would be pivotal in articulating the neo-foralist discourse of the late-eighteenth century.

For the neo-foralist authors of the late-eighteenth century, Basque identity was determined their laws, moeurs, language and geography. According to the neo-foralist historian Jean-Baptiste Sanadon, the common historical identity was fundamentally tied to “the identity of language, moeurs, and customs....”⁵⁰ Furthermore, neo-foralist historians maintained that Basques in Spain

⁴⁶ Goyhenetche, *Les Basques et leur histoire*, 96-106; Zink, *Pays ou circonscriptions*, 305-306.

⁴⁷ Goyhenetche, *Les Basques et leur histoire*, 106.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 106-108.

⁴⁹ Goyhenetche, *Les Basques et leur histoire*, 34-39; see also, Isidoro de Fagoaga, *Domingo Garat: El Defensor del blitzar* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Vasca Ekin, 1951).

⁵⁰ When commenting on the common traits between Basques in France and in Spain, Sanadon observed: “All these Peoples have the same language, called by the Castilians, *Bascuense*; by the French, *Basque*; and by the natives

and France had preserved their identity for millennia. According to the chevalier de Béla, Basques, by “the nobility of the origin, merited as much to be placed in the rank of the most ancient nations of Europe, that by their incorruptible *moeurs*, their steadfastness in their primitive language and audacious valor with which they had supported for their liberty a bloody and nearly continual war which had rendered them celebrated in the world.”⁵¹ Thus, Basques served as an extraordinary example of an ancient people who remained unchanged in their language, *moeurs*, and laws. Sanadon understood the history of the Basque as a history of how they preserved their identity in face of repeated invasion by the Celtiberians, Carthaginians, Romans, Visigoths, Moors and French. In each section of his *Essai sur la Noblesse des Basques*, Sanadon observed: “It is a singular privilege, that no Nation of Europe can neither dispute with the Basque, nor perhaps share with them, to have conserved since the most remote times, their *moeurs*, their character and above all their language.”⁵² Not only was Basque identity pristine, European identity was in contrast unstable and heterogenous. In his ethnographic treatise published in the *Mercure de France*, the philosophe Dominique-Joseph Garat likewise asserted: “Around [the Basques], the Peoples changed languages, *moeurs* and laws twenty times; they still show the character, they still obey the laws, they still speak the language that they had for three thousand years.”⁵³ Thus, neo-foralist historians and ethnographers defined Basque identity in terms of language, *moeurs*, and law.

of the *Pays, Huscara*. Their *moeurs* and their customs are exactly the same; the difference between a Spanish Basque and a French Basque is infinitely less than what one would remark between two Spaniards or Frenchmen from two Provinces, or from any two neighboring Towns. However, throughout all of time, the identity of language, *moeurs* and customs was regarded as a clear proof of the original identity.” Barthélemy-Jean-Baptiste Sanadon, *Essai sur la noblesse des Basques, Pour servir d'Introduction à l'Histoire générale de ces Peuples* (Pau: E. de Vignancour, 1785), 14-15.

⁵¹ Quoted in Goyhenetche, *Les Basques et leur histoire*, 98.

⁵² Sanadon, *Essai sur la Noblesse des Basques*, 211; see also, *ibid.*, 207-209.

⁵³ Dominique-Joseph Garat, “Lettre sur Bayonne et sur les Basques,” in *Mercure de France*, 8 February 1783, no. 6, 62.

Key to this articulation of identity was the role that the kingdom of Navarre played in Basque historical memory. Each of these neo-foralist authors emphasized the fundamental attachment of Basques to primitive conceptions of liberty and their opposition to all forms of foreign domination. Garat would declare in his letter to the *Mercure*:

Our troubled curiosity goes to seek out in the two Poles tribes of Savages in order to observe man in the simplicity of his needs and *moeurs* of Nature, and we do not deign to cast a glance on a People who are next to us, nearly under our eyes, and who offer us man such that he was under the influence of those primitive institutions, where the instinct of Nature was the only legislator of societies.⁵⁴

Those like Garat believed that the love of their primordial liberty and attachment to their first institutions were the driving force of Basque history.⁵⁵ In the neo-foralist narrative, the establishment of the kingdom of Navarre represented a mythic moment, in which these primitive institutions and customs became institutionalized. According to the neo-foralist historian and jurist Polverel, the Navarrese created the fundamental laws (or *fueros*) under which they wanted to live before they elected a king.⁵⁶ At the moment of election, Polverel described a scene where the first king of Navarre swore before an assembly of prelates, nobles, barons, *ricos hombres*, chevaliers, *infanzons*, and representatives of the towns to maintain and protect the *fueros*.⁵⁷ This solemn and mythic moment was once again reenacted during the incorporation of the kingdom of Navarre and the sovereignty of Béarn into the kingdom of France. Following Louis XIII's entry into Béarn and his issuing of the Edict of Union, neo-foralist writers insisted that the French king promised

⁵⁴ Garat, "Lettre sur Bayonne et sur les Basques," 62.

⁵⁵ Sanadon likewise maintained: "In each of these conditions [of the reciprocal contract between Prince and the Nation], is there not found a decided penchant for liberty, that passion for independence, which, from the entry of the Carthaginians into Spain, until the establishment of the Kingdom of Navarre, had, nearly without interruption, put arms in the hands of the Basques, and had made them attempt the greatest efforts and support the most terrible assaults, against the most powerful and bellicose Nation." Sanadon, *Essai sur la Noblesse des Basques*, 172.

⁵⁶ Étienne de Polverel, *Mémoire à consulter et consultation sur le franc-aleu du Royaume de Navarre* (Paris: 1784), 240.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 241.

to protect and maintain the *fueros* of the Bas-Navarrese.⁵⁸ Thus, from the primordial establishment of the Basque people to the creation of the kingdom of Navarre and later its incorporation into the kingdom of France, neo-foralist maintained that the specific legal and customary identity of the Basques were preserved and institutionalized.

Equally as important for the idea of Basque identity was their distinctive language which distinguished them from other groups in the region. In his letter on Bayonne and the Basques, Dominique Garat praised the bucolic beauty of the Basque language. He claimed that all the “reason and extent in the ideas of this People, [who are] energetic, fine, and delicate in their feelings, they owe it to the language which they speak.”⁵⁹ According to Garat, the picturesque images constructed out of the Basque language was due in part to its closeness to the ancient world and to its primordial and mythic character.⁶⁰ Other writers interested in the history of the Basque language hypothesized that Basque was connected to either the Armenia, Cantabria or Phoenicia.⁶¹ Sanadon even remarked that the Welsh and the Basques were possibly “the only Peoples of Europe who had conserved in its purity the language of their first founders,” and insisted that unlike the

⁵⁸ Sanadon wrote: “That Prince having come to Béarn in 1620, he reunited Navarre to France by a solemn Edict, where he declared expressly that without infringing the *Fueros*, *franchises*, liberties, and rights belonging to his Subjects of the Kingdom of Navarre, that he wanted to be inviolably kept and maintained for them. This provision of the Edict of reunion formed the basis of the oath that each of our Kings since Louis XIII had made to the Kingdom of Navarre, during his ascension to the Crown. Each of these oaths is a new title for the Basques, a solemn vow and an authentic confirmation of the *franchises*, rights and liberties of the Kingdom of Navarre.” Sanadon, *Essai sur la Noblesse des Basques*, 205-206.

⁵⁹ Garat, “Lettre sur Bayonne et sur les Basques,” 66; for a Spanish text celebrating the Basque language, see: Manuel Larramendi, *De la antigüedad y universalidad del bascuense en España* (Salamanca: 1728).

⁶⁰ Reflecting on the antiquity of the Basque language, Garat remarked: “Its origin touches that of the Peoples who began History, it is the same, and that often gave me an idea which can only be judged well by those who know some of the primitive languages. The same characters and nearly the same beauties are found in all those which, by their antiquity, approach the times when the human race, having escaped some great catastrophe, recovered from its fright, left the forests, descended the mountains, and began to rebuild again, so to speak. These beautiful languages, these languages which shock man as if they were made for being spoken by beings more perfect than him, would they not escape these times prior to History, where humankind could have, in its physical and moral faculties, a perfection that the misfortunes which had struck the Globe made him lose in the ruins of the primitive world? Look at the languages whose birth is posterior, none can be compared.” Garat, “Lettre sur Bayonne et sur les Basques,” 67-68.

⁶¹ Joseph Justus Scaliger, *Scaligeriana sive ex ore Josephi Scaligeri per F.F. P.P.*, comp. Jean Vassan and Nicolas Vassan (Geneva: 1666), 36-39, 119-120, 196-197; Sanadon, *Essai sur la noblesse des Basques*, 22-30, 41-55; see also, Matthieu Chiniac de La Bastide, *Dissertation sur les Basques* (Paris: 1786).

Welsh, the Basques were the only group able to “trace their descent back to the first inhabitants who had inhabited Spain, and have always occupied the *pays* that they still occupy in that part of Europe.”⁶² Regardless of the historical reality regarding the development of the Basque language, the emphasize on the antiquity of Basque was a means to suggest that language, like the *fueros*, constituted an enduring component of Basque identity that remained stable throughout the centuries.

If neo-foralist historians stressed the importance of language, *moeurs*, and laws in the history of Basque identity, religion was conspicuously absent in neo-foralist historical narratives. Unlike narratives of the history of France that would stress the conversion of Clovis to Catholicism, no similar moment is discernable in the works of Garat, Sanadon and Polverel. This is especially notable, given Basque presence in the Iberian Peninsula during the Reconquista. Instead, sometimes these authors would depict Basques as practicing a type of natural religion. In his *Essai sur la Noblesse des Basques*, Sanadon characterized the ancient Basques as neither superstitious polytheists nor atheists; rather, they only adhered to a type of natural religion: “The Basques... worshiped a God and worshiped him only. That God, unknown to all their neighbors, had neither Temples, nor Altars; he did not have a particular name.”⁶³ Furthermore, the only worship that they performed was a dance celebrated on the full moon, “under the eyes and inspections of the elders.”⁶⁴ Thus, the early Basques embodied the mythic natural religion of the Enlightenment. The more anthropological work of Garat likewise attributed popular morality to reflexes of nature and their passions.⁶⁵ When religion was mentioned, it was simply to note that they were deeply loyal to the Church. Sanadon insisted: “Moreover, if one cannot reproach the Corps of the Basque Nation

⁶² Sanadon, *Essai sur la Noblesse des Basques*, 30.

⁶³ Ibid., 213-214.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Garat, “Lettre sur Bayonne et sur les Basques,” 62-64.

with blind idolatry, one cannot deny the Basques who descend from it of having been constantly faithful to the Christian Religion....”⁶⁶ However, despite this recognition of their attachment to Christianity, Sanadon does not refer to religion anywhere else in his work. More crucial for his neo-foralist narrative of Basque identity was language, *fueros*, *moeurs*, and territory. Thus, to a certain extent, their attachment to Christianity was more an incidental reflection of these aspects of Basque identity, rather than a constitutive element in and of itself.

Like with Basques, a complex set of ideas surrounding law, ethnicity, community, language, and religion shaped the formation of Sephardic identity in southwestern France during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Above all, the converso experience of emigrants settling within the French cities of Peyrehorade, Bidache, Labastide-Clairence, Bordeaux and Bayonne deeply affected the way that Sephardim constructed their ideas about themselves. Conversos of the Western Sephardic diaspora primarily came from the Iberian kingdoms of Portugal and Spain.⁶⁷ Following popular anti-Jewish riots in Spain in 1391, forced conversion, continued hostility towards new converts, and expulsion, conversos or New Christians emerged as a distinct subgroup within Iberian society. Consequently, Sephardic conversos who later resettled outside the Iberian Peninsula were confronted with a unique problem: the trauma for some of practicing a religion that they did not believe in and the feeling of isolation from sources of religious knowledge about Judaism.⁶⁸ As a result, these converso émigrés would need to reeducate themselves about

⁶⁶ Sanadon, *Essai sur la Noblesse des Basques*, 215-216.

⁶⁷ Nahon, “From New Christians to the Portuguese Jewish Nation in France,” 336; Bodian, ““Men of the Nation,”” 49-65.

⁶⁸ David Graizbord cautioned against assuming the latent Jewishness of émigrés and innate desire to be “reunited” with Jewish laws and people. Rather, their embrace of normative Judaism was in part shaped circumstances and social pressure, that were reinforced by social and economic contacts between the converso émigrés and those of the Western Sephardic diaspora. Graizbord, “Becoming Jewish in Early Modern France,” 165; Kaplan, *An Alternative Path to Modernity*, 16-17; Bodian, “Men of the Nation,” 49; Sorkin, “The Port Jew,” 93; as Cooperman reminded us: Jewish norms were not stable and but were contested and subject to change. Cooperman, “Defining Deviance, Negotiating Norms,” 188-189.

Judaism and redefine their own Jewish identity. Additionally, not all the conversos who resettled in southwestern France immediately adopted strict normative standards of Judaism, since it would prevent them from crossing the border into either Spain or Portugal where their observance of the Halakah would expose them to accusations of “Judaizing.”⁶⁹ Other Sephardim also chose not to accept the Halakhic norms all together, like Uriel da Costa and Baruch Spinoza in Amsterdam.⁷⁰ Thus, the converso experience of the Western Sephardic diaspora living in southwestern France affected the way in which New Christian émigrés and their descendants came to understand their religious identity. According to historians like Yosef Kaplan, the result of this experience was that New Christians came to see Judaism as a religion, as opposed to an all-encompassing way of life.⁷¹

The Sephardim of southwestern France also had a complex ethnic identity tied to their common Iberian origin. Following the forced conversion of Iberian Jews in the fourteenth century, lingering animosity towards New Christians led to further anti-converso violence and the appearance of the first “purity of blood” statute in Toledo in 1449.⁷² By the sixteenth century, hostility towards conversos was driven by the emerging belief that certain ethnic and racial traits endowed those with Jewish blood with a lust for wealth and power, arrogance and a desire to exploit the vulnerable. These new beliefs were reflected in the appearance of new terminology like *gente de linaje*, *esta gente*, *esta generación*, *esta raza* and the gradual spread in Iberian society of statutes that targeted conversos on racial grounds.⁷³ Following the annexation of Portugal to the Spanish kingdom and the migration of Portuguese conversos to Spain, new terms emerged like *la*

⁶⁹ Graizbord, “Becoming Jewish in Early Modern France,” 149; Cooperman, “Defining Deviance, Negotiating Norms,” 181-185.

⁷⁰ Kaplan, *An Alternative Path to Modernity*, 19.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁷² Bodian, “Men of the Nation,” 54.

⁷³ Bodian, “Men of the Nation,” 57-58; for more on the concept of *limpieza de sangre* in early-modern Spain, see: María Elena Martínez, *Geneological Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 26-60.

nación portuguesa or *la gente portuguesa* that associated “Portuguese” with “Judaizer.”⁷⁴ Despite hostility and persecution, those conversos who eventually settled elsewhere in Europe continued retain the ethnic labels as Men of the Nation (or *Nação*) and Portuguese, thus reflecting a level of internalization of Iberian ethnic and racial concepts.⁷⁵ In southwestern France, this continued sense of ethnic solidarity manifested itself in several ways. First, the Sephardim continued to speak and write in Spanish and Portuguese well into the eighteenth century.⁷⁶ Second, Sephardim who returned to Judaism continued to regard those Iberian conversos who still remained outside normative Judaism as part of the *nação*, in spite of Jewish norms that would have placed a boundary those who were observant and those who were not.⁷⁷ Third, in contrast to members of the *nação*, the Sephardic relationship with their German-speaking co-religionists was far more strained and hostile.⁷⁸ This relationship was best reflected in the work of Isaac de Pinto, who insisted on the superiority of the Sephardim and their difference from the Ashkenazim.⁷⁹ Thus, the Sephardim also understood their Jewishness as a type of ethnic identity based on membership to the *nação*.

⁷⁴ Bodian, “Men of the Nation,” 59-60.

⁷⁵ Bodian, “Men of the Nation,” 60-63; Sorkin, “The Port Jew,” 95-96; Graizbord, “Becoming Jewish in Early Modern France,” 162-164.

⁷⁶ For examples of Spanish language Sephardic works composed in France, see: Antonio Enríquez Gómez, *La culpa del primero peregrino* (Roano: 1644); Antonio Enríquez Gómez, *Luis dado de Dios a Luis y Ana: Samuel dado de Dios a Elcana y Ana* (Paris: 1645); Ishac de Acosta, *Historia sacra real: glosa paraphrastica sobre la megvila ô volumen de Ester* (1691); additionally, portions of the meeting minutes of the Sedaca of Bordeaux were composed in Spanish. For example, see: *Le registre des deliberations de la Nation juive portugaise de Bordeaux (1711-1787)*, ed. Simon Schwarzfuchs (Paris: Fundação Colouste Gulbenkian Centro Cultural Português, 1981), 82-90, 96-97, 102-120, 125-126, 128-142, 144-146, 153-155; for more on language, see: Nahon, “From New Christians to the Portuguese Jewish Nation in France,” 352-358; Bodian, “Men of the Nation,” 66; for the example of the multilingual R. Raphael Meldola, see: Cooperman, “Defining Deviance, Negotiating Norms,” 164, 166, 169-170.

⁷⁷ Bodian, “Men of the Nation,” 70-75; Kaplan, *An Alternative Path to Modernity*, 17-18.

⁷⁸ Yosef Kaplan, “The Self-Definition of the Sephardic Jews of Western Europe and Their Relation to the Alien and the Stranger,” *Crisis and Creativity in the Sephardic World, 1391-1648*, ed. Benjamin R. Gampel (New York: Columbia University Press) 121-145; Bodian, “Men of the Nation,” 67-70; Malino, *The Sephardic Jews of Bordeaux*, 29; Schechter, *Obstinate Hebrews*, 111-115; Hertzberg, *French Enlightenment and the Jews*, 180-185.

⁷⁹ [Isaac de Pinto], *Apologie pour la Nation juive ou réflexions critiques sur le premier chapitre du VII. Tome des Oeuvres de Monsieur de Voltaire, au sujet des Juifs* (Amsterdam: 1762), 15-17.

Legal status further shaped the boundaries of Sephardic identity in early-modern France. Between the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 until the Edict of Toleration of 1787, France was in theory comprised of only Catholic subjects.⁸⁰ This legal fiction of Catholicity was due in part to the privileges granted to the merchant corporations of the Portuguese New Christians.⁸¹ Jewish settlement in the South West began with the *lettres patentes* of Henri II in 1550.⁸² The *lettres patentes* granted to “Merchants and other Portuguese called New Christians” the right to settle in the kingdom with their families, servants, and merchandise. Henri III later their charter in 1574, in two new *lettres patentes*, adding the provision that the “Spanish and Portuguese who resided and reside in our city of Bordeaux can remain here freely and securely without being investigated in their life nor otherwise, permit to “Spaniards and Portuguese who had previously resided and reside in our city of Bordeaux, can freely and surely remain without investigations into their lives or otherwise [sans estre recherchés en leur vie ni autrement].”⁸³ As Abraham Furtado was to remark later, the provision prohibiting investigations into the backgrounds of the New Christians was a tacit acknowledgement of the French monarchy that they were Jews.⁸⁴ The *lettres patentes* of Louis XIV in 1656 would continue this trend, by opening settlement up in the rest of France to the Sephardic New Christians. However, the most important change came in 1723, when the Sephardim were official recognized as Jews for the first time.⁸⁵

⁸⁰ Peter Sahlins, “Fictions of a Catholic France: The Naturalization of Foreigners, 1685-1787,” *Representations*, no.47 (1994): 85-90, 95-102.

⁸¹ Malino, *The Sephardic Jews of Bordeaux*, 2-7; Nahon, “From New Christians to the Portuguese Jewish Nation in France,” 337-341.

⁸² “Lettres de naturalité et dispenses pour les portugais appelez nouveaux chrétiens (22 December 1550),” in *Les “Nations” juives portugaises du sud-ouest de la France (1684-1791)*, 22-26.

⁸³ “Sauvegarde octroyée par le roy aux Espagnols et Portugais de la ville de Bourdeaux (11 November 1574),” in *Les “Nations” juives portugaises du sud-ouest de la France (1684-1791)*, 30; for the other *lettre patente*, see: “Privilèges octroïés par le roy aux Espagnolz et Portugais de la ville de Bourdeaux (11 November 1574),” in *Les “Nations” juives portugaises du sud-ouest de la France (1684-1791)*, 26-28.

⁸⁴ Nahon, “From New Christians to the Portuguese Jewish Nation in France,” 338.

⁸⁵ “Lettres Patentes du Roy, pour les Portugais des généralitez de Bourdeaux et d’Auch (June 1723),” in *Les “Nations” juives portugaises du sud-ouest de la France (1684-1791)*, 35-39.

Throughout the eighteenth century, the Jewish communities would appoint representatives in Paris, like Jacob Rodrigues Pereire, to lobby on their behalf before the king and secure the issuing of *lettres patentes* at the beginning of each reign.⁸⁶ Not only did these *lettres patentes* grant the Sephardim legal existence in France, they granted them extensive privileges and forms of legal equality *avant la lettre*.⁸⁷ Like the Basque *fueros*, Sephardic legal privileges would become an important source of identity that would be mobilized in later debates with the Ashkenazim over the question of emancipation. In other words, they would serve as a symbol of their acculturation and inclusion within the French kingdom.

While the Sephardic identity was intimately connected with Judaism, secularization and acculturation became increasingly important constitutive elements of that Sephardic identity by the end of the eighteenth century. The historian Arthur Hertzberg would remark that “among the Sephardim personal religiosity was becoming ever more tepid. The community remained formalistically orthodox, but laxness in faith and practice was ever more in vogue at the very top of the social pyramid and was descending to the masses.”⁸⁸ Other historians like Gérard Nahon would disagree with this assessment, emphasizing the increasing expressions of piety and charity of individuals who left wills.⁸⁹ Be that as it may, the image of the assimilated and secularized Sephardi was promoted in apologetical works of the eighteenth century. In his refutation of Voltaire, Isaac de Pinto declared: “The Jew is a chameleon, who takes throughout the colors of the different climate that he inhabits, the different peoples whom he frequents, and the different forms

⁸⁶ Nahon, “From New Christians to the Portuguese Jewish Nation in France,” 338-341; Hertzberg, *French Enlightenment and the Jews*, 223.

⁸⁷ Sorkin, “The Port Jew,” 88, 91.

⁸⁸ Hertzberg, *The French Enlightenment and the Jews*, 208-209.

⁸⁹ Nahon would observe: “During the Age of Enlightenment Christian wills were ‘de-Christianized.’ By contrast, Jewish wills attest to a certain explicit process of rejudaization.” Nahon, “From New Christians to the Portuguese Jewish Nation in France,” 358-361; for examples of wills from this period, see: “Annexe: I. Testaments publiés,” in Gérard Nahon, *Métropoles et périphéries sefarades d’Occident: Kairouan, Amsterdam, Bayonne, Bordeaux, Jerusalem* (Paris: Passages, 1993), 317-358.

of government under which he lives.”⁹⁰ For de Pinto, Jews did not resist integration; rather, they willingly embraced the surrounding culture of wherever they lived. In drawing a distinction in the *moeurs* of the Sephardim from other Jews, de Pinto stressed that unlike the Ashkenazim, they “do not wear a beard, and do not affect any distinction in their dress: the well-to-do amongst them pursue research, elegance and pomp as much as the other nations of Europe, from whom they differ only in worship.”⁹¹ Thus for de Pinto, the Sephardim were notable for their ability to assimilate into European society, unlike their German-speaking co-religionists. Other signs of assimilation and acculturation were noted in the diaries of Rabbi Ha'im Yosef David Azulai. In many instances, Azulai complained about signs of what he believed was laxity amongst the Jewish communities of Bayonne and Bordeaux. Whether it was the secularized curriculum of the Talmud Torah of Bordeaux, transgressions of rules of ritual purification by local notables, eating of forbidden foods in public, notables without beards, spread of scientific and philosophical ideas, association with non-Jews, throughout Azulai was witness to a gradual secularization and assimilation of the Sephardic communities in the mid-eighteenth century.⁹²

The Sephardic reaction and response to the Edict of Tolerance of 1787 and the Malesherbes commission was illustrative of the tension within the community between maintaining their

⁹⁰ [De Pinto], *Apologie pour la Nation juive*, 12.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁹² For Azulai's experience in the Talmud Torah of Bordeaux, see: Ha'im Yosef David Azulai, *The Diaries of Rabbi Ha'im Yosef David Azulai ('Ma'agal Tov' – The Good Journey)*, trans. by Benjamin Cymerman (Jerusalem: The Bnei Issakhar Institute, 1997), part II, 171; for his discussion of a fossil shown to him in Bayonne, see: *Ibid.*, 1:117; for “philosophical questions bordering on heresy” see, *ibid.*, 2:161, 167-168, 173; for more on notables who “had cut their beards,” see: *ibid.*, 2:164; on profaning the Sabbath and eating profaned food, see: *ibid.* 2:174; relationships between Jews and non-Jews, *ibid.*, 2:176-177; neglect of ritual bath, *ibid.*, 2:175; for more on Azulai's experiences, see: Yocheved Beer, “Hakham Yaakov Athias— A Portuguese Rabbi Facing the Winds of Enlightenment and Secularization,” in *Religious Changes and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Western Sephardic Communities*, ed. Yosef Kaplan (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 417-421; for the regulations of the Nation of Bordeaux regarding education, see: *Le registre des deliberations de la Nation juive portugaise de Bordeaux (1711-1787)*, 297-302, 443-451. The regulation of 1761 emphasized the need for Hebrew grammarians who were “the most attached to the literal sense of the text, the only means of discovering the true duties that were prescribed to us by God.”

privileged status and communal autonomy and the desire to seek greater toleration for religious practices. In 1787, the French monarchy promulgated an edict of tolerance that granted civil rights to Protestants living in France.⁹³ The edict allowed Protestants to register births, marriages and deaths before parish priests or royal judges and granted them the free practice of commerce, arts, crafts, and other professions regardless of their religion. Despite the civil rights granted to Protestants, they were still nonetheless denied any political rights to form a group, community, or a particular society.⁹⁴ For the Sephardim who had already enjoyed a broad range of privileges, if extended to French Jews, the Edict would have completely undermined the autonomy of the Sephardic *nation*. Unlike their Ashkenazic and Avignonese co-religionists interested in the edict, the overall response of the Sephardim was silence. In a later correspondence between Moyese Gradis and the former *intendant* of Bordeaux, Dupré de Saint-Maur, Gradis stressed that the Sephardim desired to live like other Frenchmen, with the same rights and privileges, adding that “it has always been one of our principles to assimilate to the other citizens of France.”⁹⁵ At the same time, according to Gradis, assimilation needed to be pursued with their status as a privileged corporate body intact. Furthermore, Gradis wrote that the Sephardim above all feared being confused with their German-speaking co-religionists, and thus lose the commercial advantages tied to their autonomy. Later when Bordeaux and Bayonne sent Lopes-Dubec, Abraham Furtado and Fonseca to Paris to continue discussions with Dupré de Saint-Maur and Malesherbes, the representatives insisted on

⁹³ Malino, *The Sephardic Jews of Bordeaux*, 27-28; Jeffrey Merrick, *The Desacralization of the French Monarchy in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), 135-164; for the text of the law, see: *Édit du Roi, Concernant ceux qui ne sont pas profession de la Religion Catholique. Donné à Versailles au mois de Novembre 1787* (Paris: 1788).

⁹⁴ The third article of the edict specified: “Let us not however understand that those who will profess a Religion different from the Catholic Religion, can regard themselves as forming in our Kingdom a corps, a community or a particular society, nor can they, in that title, form in a collective name any demand, give any power of attorney [donner aucune procuration], take any deliberation, make any acquisition, or any other act whatsoever.” *Édit du Roi, Concernant ceux qui ne sont pas profession de la Religion Catholique*, 5-6.

⁹⁵ Quoted in: Malino, *The Sephardic Jews of Bordeaux*, 29.

maintaining corporate distinctions and privileges of the Sephardic Jews, while also advocating for a general expansion of civil rights that they did not have.⁹⁶ Thus, the reaction of Sephardim to the Edict of Tolerance and the Malesherbes commission demonstrates the way that the Sephardim positioned themselves in the Ancien Régime: like the Basques, corporate autonomy and the preservation of privilege was to serve as a foundation for the way they viewed themselves.

By the end of the Ancien Régime, both Basques and Sephardic Jews in the South West drew on a wide repertoire of laws, institutions, languages, privileges, religious practices, and historical memory in defining their identity within society. Local institutions like the Estates General of Navarre or the Sephardic *nation* helped to provide a framework for maintaining the internal coherence of these groups. Additionally, the corporate system of privileges added another layer of complexity, where groups defined their relationship with royal institutions through a series of *fueros*, *lettres patentes*, and charters and resisted any attempt by the monarchy to impose greater administrative and fiscal uniformity in the region. Religion likewise was an important aspect that added content to identity within the South West; however, it was by far not the most important category in a region that was already marked by ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity. For the historian Anne Zink, in this society indifferent to difference, the most important category in determining identity was privilege. Following her own analysis of Basque and Sephardic identity in the South West, Zink remarked: “It is by privileges, positive or negative, that groups distinguish themselves, not only because they render life more or less easy, but because they enter into the image that each of these groups gives itself. One can be indifferent to difference, one is not to privileges.... Privileges represent perhaps a surer way of understanding the pays.”⁹⁷ However, with

⁹⁶ Malino, *The Sephardic Jews of Bordeaux*, 30-36; for a more detailed outline of the position of the Sephardic representatives in Paris, see: Léon, *Histoire des Juifs de Bayonne*, 153-154.

⁹⁷ Zink, *Pays ou circonscriptions*, 253.

the elimination of privileges and corporate autonomy during the early phases of the revolution, religion would become one of the dominant factors in defining membership to the French nation during the period of the Terror.

Section 2: Nations within a Nation

With the coming of the Revolution in 1789, the heterogenous world that characterized the South West would come to an abrupt and unexpected end. In Paris, revolutionaries were developing an idea of the nation that was sovereign and the source of all political legitimacy.⁹⁸ In turn, this new conception of the nation rejected the old system of privileges and plurality that characterized the Ancien Régime in favor of unity, uniformity, and centralization. During the early years of the Revolution, Sephardic and Basque attachment to privileges and their corporate identity soon came into conflict with the new revolutionary state. While Basques and Sephardic Jews were willing to collaborate with the French state, they nonetheless insisted on maintaining the system of privileges and local autonomy that shaped their daily lives during the Ancien Régime. As this section will demonstrate, revolutionary demands for assimilation, integration and centralization ultimately presented a crisis for Basques and Sephardim living in the South West. Following the August Decrees, the older Ancien Régime identities were obliterated in favor of a new concept of citizenship based on revolutionary universalism. This section will first discuss the integration of the Basque Country into the revolutionary state, with particular emphasis on the *pays* of Labourd and Basse-Navarre. Then it will turn to the emancipation of Sephardim. In both instances, Basques and the Sephardim attempted to negotiate their new status by maintaining their old institutional autonomy. After fierce opposition from revolutionaries, both the Sephardim and Basques agreed

⁹⁸ Ilacqua, "Territory and the Politics of Identity in the Basque Country," 343; Samuels, *The Right to Difference*, 32-45.

to accept the conditions of their new status. The later sections of this chapter will then explore the consequences of the reconstitution of these identities during the period of the Terror in the South West, with a particular focus on the religious policies of the Terror.

The convocation of the Estates General brought shock, consternation, and uncertainty to the Pays Basque. According to the decree of convocation, each *bailliage* or *sénéchaussée* was to elect one deputy for the First and Second Estates, and two deputies for the Third Estate.⁹⁹ However, the decree in turn sparked controversy in both the *pays* of Labourd and Basse-Navarre. With regards to Labourd, the decree specified that Labourdins were supposed to participate in the assembly of the *sénéchaussée* of Bayonne.¹⁰⁰ Dominique-Joseph Garat appealed the decision to the French monarch, requesting that Labourdins convene in their own *bailliage* to designate their delegates to the Estates General: “I come, as a Basque, to present to you the petition of a small province.... The Basques ask not to be combined with Bayonne.... There is hatred and rivalry between the peoples of Labourd and Bayonne; the language is different. The Labourdins are a people unto themselves, hidden amongst gorges in the mountains; they have never changed their customs....”¹⁰¹ For Garat, questions of ethnic difference between the Francophone Bayonnais and the Basque-speaking Labourdins necessitated that Labourd choose its own deputies. The monarchy issued a special ruling on 28 March 1789 to allow Labourd to hold a separate meeting to decide its delegates. With regards to Navarre, the question was much thornier. In the decree of

⁹⁹ Ilacqua, “Territory and the Politics of Identity in the Basque Country,” 336.

¹⁰⁰ Castelli, “Response of the Pays Basque to the Convocation of the Estates General in Pre-Revolutionary France,” 98; Jacob, “The French Revolution and the Basques of France,” 68; Goyheneche, *Le Pays Basque*, 371-376; Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale du Pays Basque*, 4:111-135.

¹⁰¹ Quoted in: Castelli, “Response of the Pays Basque to the Convocation of the Estates General in Pre-Revolutionary France,” 98; elsewhere, Garat wrote: “Never has the *pays* of Labourd recognized Bayonne as its capital. Their languages, *mœurs*, customs which govern their property, ways of contributing to taxes, very often their commercial interests, all are different. These differences have given rise to sentiments of jealousy between the Bayonnais and Basques which easily become enmity.” Quoted in: Michel Etcheverry, “Les Basques et l’Unification Nationale sous la Révolution,” *Société des sciences, lettres et arts de Bayonne*, no. 11 (1933): 76.

convocation, the monarchy accidentally referred to Navarre as a “province” instead of a “kingdom,” which brought immediate rebuke from the Estates of Navarre.¹⁰² Furthermore, the provincial estates had the special privilege to select its own delegates, not the *sénéchaussée*, which it considered to be an essential provision of its constitution.¹⁰³ The monarchy quickly issued a revised decree in April, not before the Navarrese decided to refuse to send any delegation to the Estates General of France. Historian James Jacob noted that defense of regional identity and privileges tended to be more characteristic of border provinces.¹⁰⁴

The gathering of the Estates General of Navarre in the first half of 1789 demonstrated the tension many in the region felt between adhering to King’s decree of convocation to the Estates General of France and the need to preserve corporate privileges and local autonomy. The meeting of the provincial estates in Basse-Navarre were marked by an intense conflict between the nobles and clergy who refused to comply with decree, fearing that it would undermine the constitution of Navarre, and the members of the Third Estate who wanted to participate in the Estates General of France.¹⁰⁵ Over the objections of the Third Estate, the Estates General of Navarre designated a delegation of one representative for the First and Second Estate, two representatives for the Third

¹⁰² During a session of the Estates General on 27 March 1789, the provincial estates declared: “Navarre is not a Province of the Kingdom of France; It is a separate Kingdom submitted to the King of France, but distinct and independent of the Kingdom of France.” They further added that “But such is the Constitution of the Kingdom of Navarre, that *its Kings cannot make any Laws without the Counsel, consent and will of the Men of the Three Estates*. The Constitution older than the Monarchy of Navarre, because the Navarrese established that Constitution before giving themselves a King.” ADPA 1 C 1540, MS “Deliberations of the Estates of Navarre,” 27 March 1789; The remonstrance sent to Louis XVI complained about the reference to Navarre as a province instead of a kingdom: “The letters of convocation which had been addressed to Navarre, harm the rights and constitution of the Kingdom.... In that they qualify Navarre as *a Province of the Kingdom of France*, while Navarre has never ceased to be a Kingdom distinct and separate from that of France.” “Très-humbles et très-respectueuses rémonstrances des États-Généraux du Royaume de Navarre, au Roi (4 April 1789)” in *Tableau de la Constitution du Royaume de Navarre, et de ses rapports avec la France*, ed. Étienne de Polverel (Paris: 1789), 13-14; Castelli, “Response of the Pays Basque to the Convocation of the Estates General in Pre-Revolutionary France,” 94-95; Etcheverry, “Les Basques et l’Unification Nationale sous la Révolution,” 78-80.

¹⁰³ “Très-humbles et très-respectueuses rémonstrances des États-Généraux du Royaume de Navarre, au Roi (4 April 1789),” 14.

¹⁰⁴ Jacob, “The French Revolution and the Basques of France,” 67.

¹⁰⁵ Castelli, “Response of the Pays Basque to the Convocation of the Estates General in Pre-Revolutionary France,” 95-97; Goyheneche, *Le Pays Basque*, 374-376; Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale du Pays Basque*, 127-135.

Estate, and Étienne de Polverel, as syndic, to meet with the king in Versailles instead of the Estates General of France. The Bas-Navarrese provincial estates also decided to limit the powers of the deputation to only a consultive role in all matters that pertained to legislation and administration.¹⁰⁶ The provincial estates feared that investing the delegation with too much power risked exposing the privileges and administrative autonomy to outside intervention from the French state. Historian Talitha Ilacqua noted that this decision represented more an Ancien Régime mentality to send deputies to the King to assure the protection of provincial privileges rather than an expression of some sort of nationalistic sense of separatism.¹⁰⁷ Regardless of their intent, Louis XVI refused to meet with the delegation, citing his displeasure over their non-participatory status.¹⁰⁸ Overall, the actions of the Estates General of Navarre and its delegation to Versailles represented the fundamental dilemma between wanting to participate in the general revolutionary moment and the desire to protect and preserve their own corporate privileges and local autonomy.

The August Decrees represented a turning point in the early phases of the Revolution, where the demand of the nation began to overtake the particularistic arguments put forward by the Basque provincial assemblies and their deputies in the Estates General. In August 1789, the National Constituent Assembly decreed that “all the particular privileges of provinces, principalities, *pays*, cantons, towns, and communities of inhabitants, either pecuniary, or of any other nature, are abolished without return, and will remain mixed [*confondus*] in the common right

¹⁰⁶ “Extrait du Brevet des Délibérations des États-Généraux du Royaume de Navarre du 5 Juillet 1789,” in *Tableau de la Constitution du Royaume de Navarre, et de ses rapports avec la France*, ed. Étienne de Polverel (Paris: 1789), 327-335.

¹⁰⁷ Ilacqua, “Territory and the Politics of Identity in the Basque Country,” 336.

¹⁰⁸ During their time in Versailles, Louis XVI refused to swear the oath demanded of the king of Navarre. The deputation recounted in a *mémoire* sent back to the provincial estates: “The king agrees with the new formula; He is very disposed to swearing the oath; and however, he still defers. He deferred, first, because he feared to appear to contradict the system manifested by the National Assembly of wiping out the constitution, rights and privileges particular to all the *pays* that are under the domination of the King.” ADPA 1 C 1601 MS “Mémoire de la députation du Royaume de Navarre au Comité de Correspondance et aux États généraux du dit Royaume,” found in “Extrait du registre de la députation des États généraux de Navarre,” 26 July 1789-31 August 1789.

of all the French.”¹⁰⁹ This provision of the August Decrees essentially abrogated the entire system of corporate privileges and local autonomy that underpinned the entirety of Basque existence under the Ancien Régime.¹¹⁰ In addition, throughout the frantic deliberations in the National Constituent Assembly, the Basque deputies from Labourd and Soule remained quiet, and voted in support of the August Decrees. The reaction from Labourd was swift. The Biltzar rebuked its deputies, threatening the Garat brothers with recall, and declaring that their votes were invalid: “Convinced of the justice of the views of the National Assembly, [the French Basques of Labourd] will not fear to say that the voluntary abandon that their representatives may have made of their privileges would be radically and essentially null as contrary to their mandate.”¹¹¹ The Biltzar continued its opposition to the August Decrees into November in its “Exposition de l’État des Basques français du Labourd.” The Labourdin assembly rejected the idea that they were either stubbornly resisting regeneration or rejecting the nation; for the Biltzar, the August Decrees threatened to wreak economic damage in a region.¹¹² Despite its concerns, the Biltzar convened for the final time on 18 November 1789 to dissolve itself.¹¹³ In its last meeting, the assembly requested, if the constitution of Labourd could not be maintained, then Labourd should be united only with the two

¹⁰⁹ *Archives parlementaires de 1787 à 1860: Recueil complet des débats législatifs et politiques des chambres françaises*, ed. Jérôme. Mavidal, Émile Laurent and Émile Clavel, vol. 8 (Paris: Librairie administrative de Paul Dupont, 1875), 398. Henceforth, *Archives parlementaires* will be abbreviated as *AP*.

¹¹⁰ Castelli, “Response of the Pays Basque to the Convocation of the Estates General in Pre-Revolutionary France,” 98; Jacob, “The French Revolution and the Basques of France,” 76-79; Ilacqua, “Territory and the Politics of Identity in the Basque Country,” 331-332; Goyheneche, *Le Pays Basque*, 376-382; Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale du Pays Basque*, 4:181-187.

¹¹¹ “Moyens de la protestation contre l’abolition des privilèges de leur province arrêtée et délibérée par les Basques français du païs de Labourd dans leur assemblée générale du premier septembre 1789 par les soussignés à ce députés” in Darricau, *France et Labourd*, 40.

¹¹² “Exposition de l’état des Basques français du Labourd,” in Darricau, *France et Labourd*, 45. After providing a typology of the different types of privileges that existed in France, the Biltzar argued that the privileges of Labourd were recompense for the wars that it experienced as a frontier province and were intended to help reduce poverty, depopulation, economic stagnation in a region marked by infertility and harsh terrain. *Ibid.*, 45-58.

¹¹³ During its final session on 18 November 1789, the Biltzar voted to “give full powers to the aforementioned syndic conjointly with the Bureau of the Committee, to solicit the National Assembly to maintain its current constitution and to ask it, in the case that it cannot succeed, to be united to the provinces of Basse-Navarre and Soule only, with the condition nonetheless that the assemblies of this department will be alternated in the three Basque provinces.” ADPA 1 C 1621, MS “Deliberations of the Bilçar,” 18 November 1789.

other Basque *pays*. Thus, the August Decrees presented the Pays Basques with a dilemma: it either had to accept the complete and total integration of the new French state, which would have brought about an end to corporate privileges and local autonomy, or hold firm to its corporate and local autonomy, at the expense of isolating itself in a moment of revolutionary reform.

The August Decrees likewise presented a similar dilemma for the Bas-Navarrese, ultimately resulting in the dissolution of the Kingdom of Navarre by the end of the year. The Bas-Navarrese viewed the August Decrees with unease and concern, believing that its provisions could lead to the dissolution privileges, constitution, and autonomy of the Basque kingdom.¹¹⁴ In October, a debate over the title of the king would spark a deeper discussion over the status of Navarre in the National Assembly. When some members of the National Assembly complained about the formulation of “King of France and Navarre,” Dominique Garat, *aîné*, intervened explaining that Navarre considered itself to be a separate kingdom and then pointed out the absence of the delegation from the chamber.¹¹⁵ The discussion was soon adjourned and renewed several days later, on 12 October 1789, with the reading of a letter from Polverel. In it, he asked that the title be kept, stressing the need for reciprocity between France and Navarre, and proposed that a

¹¹⁴ In a *mémoire* sent to the Correspondence Committee at the end of August, the Bas-Navarrese delegation expressed its unease over the August Decrees and the confusion: “One could say that the name of province was not applicable to Navarre, but it is perhaps a great imprudence to leave the fate of Navarre to the accident of interpretation of that word; because the National Assembly of France was to be the only interpreter. It had interpreted it by the decree of the famous night of 4 August, [when] it declared unequivocally that the particular privileges of the provinces, *principalities*, towns, corps and communities of inhabitants, either pecuniary, *or of any other nature*, were abolished *without return* and would remain mixed [confondus] in the common law of all the French. From then on the deputation had the moral certainty, either it would not be received in the assembly national; or that it would be received only on the condition of having its credentials rectified; or that, if it were received upon its examination and without contesting its powers, one would regard its presence only as an act of compliance to the decrees of the National Assembly, as a renunciation by Navarre of its independence, constitution, rights and privileges.” ADPA 1 C 1601 MS “Mémoire de la députation du Royaume de Navarre au Comité de Correspondance et aux États généraux du dit Royaume,” found in “Extrait du registre de la députation des États généraux de Navarre,” 26 July 1789-31 August 1789.

¹¹⁵ *AP*, 9:285. Some members of the National Constituent Assembly felt that the title “King of the French” was both less feudal in its formulation and more universalistic in range.

“federative treaty” be made between the two kingdoms.¹¹⁶ In the ensuing debate, deputies continued to criticize the Navarrese formulation of the royal title for its particularism. Finally, Mirabeau intervened to declare that “Nothing is more contrary to monarchical unity than the variety of titles; in place of being a veritable fusion of homogenous parts, would that empire thus composed of diverse parts, soon be divided?.... Monarchical unity, without which we will never be but badly constituted, is an essential principle.”¹¹⁷ For the revolutionaries in the National Assembly, the demands of the nation demanded uniformity, unity and centralization of the state; any form of federation and provincial autonomy was unacceptable to the regenerated nation. Although the debate was adjourned once more, the Bas-Navarrese eventually acquiesced and announced the integration of Navarre into the new regenerated nation on 30 December 1789. The dissolution of the Kingdom of Navarre thus represented the triumph of the new anticorporatist logic of the National Assembly and the end to Basque corporate identity.

The revolutionary transformation of the Pays Basque culminated with the creation of the department of the Basses-Pyrénées in 1790. Motivated by the desire to rationalize and standardize the chaotic administrative boundaries of the Ancien Régime in order to “melt the various people of France into a single people,” the National Constituent Assembly set about reorganizing the *pays* into *départements*.¹¹⁸ The process of incorporating the Pays Basque into a new department was

¹¹⁶ AP, 9:409. In his letter, Polverel added: “In this uncertainty, the Estates of Navarre have believed they should merge with France and renounce their Constitution only when France could offer them a Constitution as good as theirs; in the meantime, they offered and asked the National Assembly of France a federative treaty.”

¹¹⁷ AP, 9:411.

¹¹⁸ Translation quoted from: Ilacqua, “Territory and the Politics of Identity in the Basque Country,” 344; for the original quote, see: Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès, *Vues sur les moyens d’exécution dont les Représentans de la France pourront disposer en 1789*, Second Edition (1789), 131-133, footnote 1; for more on the formation of the départements, see: Mona Ozouf, “Département,” in *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, ed. François Furet and Mona Ozouf, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 494-503; Antoine de Baecque, *The Body Politic: Corporeal Metaphor in Revolutionary France, 1770-1800*, trans. Charlotte Mandell (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 106-121; Masson, *Provinces, départements, régions*, 92-165; Marie-Vic Ozouf-Marignier, *La formation des départements: La représentation du territoire française à la fin du 18e siècle* (Paris: Éditions de l’École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1989), 35-212.

fraught and tense, as the local rivalries between *pays* and cities manifested themselves during the negotiation. The Bayonnais supported the creation of a Basco-Dacquois department, oriented towards the north, which would ensure Bayonne's domination over Labourd and the coastal regions of the Lannes.¹¹⁹ In contrast, the Biltzar and the Estates General of Navarre advocated for the creation of a Basque department comprised of Labourd, Soule, and Basse-Navarre.¹²⁰ In a letter of the Estates of Navarre to the National Assembly, they noted that "The Basques of Navarre, Labourd and Soule, all have common origins, the same language, same mores, same taste, same customs. Nature had destined them for their relations and their national character, as well as for their local situation, to form only one people, ruled by the principles of a common administration, and by uniform laws."¹²¹ Thus for the Basques of Basse-Navarre and Labourd, considerations about linguistic and cultural homogeneity should serve as the basis for the creation of the department. When the Comité de Constitution proposed on 8 January 1790 that the Pays Basque be united with Béarn, the Basque deputies mobilized these same arguments during the debate on 12 January 1790 to oppose union with the Gascon-speaking *pays* of Béarn.¹²² During the debate, Dominique Garat raised concern over the proposal, declaring: "The assemblage proposed to you is physically and morally impossible. Bring together some men who speak one language, and others who speak another; what do you want them to say to each other? They will end by separating, as the men of the tower of Babel."¹²³ Despite the fears of the Basque deputies, the National Assembly voted in favor of merging the Pays Basque and Béarn into a single department, the Basse-Pyrénées.¹²⁴

¹¹⁹ Zink, *Pays ou circonscription*, 97-98; Ilacqua, "Territory and the Politics of Identity in the Basque Country," 329.

¹²⁰ ADPA 1 C 1621, MS "Deliberations of the Bilçar," 18 November 1789.

¹²¹ Quoted in Ilacqua, "Territory and the Politics of Identity in the Basque Country," 345.

¹²² Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale du Pays Basque*, 4:196-206.

¹²³ *AP*, 11:170.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 11:171.

Unlike with the Pays Basque, the letters of convocation to the Estates General addressed to the Sephardim proved far less controversial in that they provided provisions for the inclusion of the Sephardim in the election of deputies. In fact, the inclusion of Sephardim was indicative of their growing status within France.¹²⁵ At Bordeaux, the royal government gave instructions for each corporation to choose delegates to send to the assembly of the Third Estate, including the Sephardic corporation. Despite a minor attempt by the local leaders to exclude the Sephardim, the *repertoire de délibérations* of the *nation* announced that Azevedo aîné, David Gradis, Lopes Dubec and Abraham Furtado were selected as representatives on 2 March 1789.¹²⁶ Then through a series of votes, Gradis and Furtado were selected as electors, and Gradis was nearly chosen as a deputy to the Estates General, just short by a few votes.¹²⁷ In contrast to Bordeaux, the situation was far more complicated in Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne.¹²⁸ First, delegates were to be chosen directly by the inhabitants. Second, the local Christian population, with the support of a judge, tried to exclude the Sephardim as electors. Only after the intervention of the seneschal into the matter were the Sephardim of Saint-Esprit able to select Silveyra and Fonseca to join the ten Christian deputies. What the convocation of the Estates General demonstrated in the case of the Sephardim was that they enjoyed considerable privileges on the eve of the Revolution in France.

However, these privileges also would mean that the Sephardim of the South West would be more unwilling to campaign overtly for greater civil and political rights. Although the corporations of Bordeaux each had a right to draw up a *cahier de doléance*, the Bordelais Jews

¹²⁵ Malino, *The Sephardic Jews of Bordeaux*, 41; Léon, *Histoire des Juifs de Bayonne*, 154; see also, Liber Maurice, "Les Juifs et la convocation des États Généraux (1789)," *Revue des études juives* 64, no. 128 (1912), 249-261.

¹²⁶ "Repertoire des deliberations (2 March 1789)," in *Le registre des deliberations de la Nation juive portugaise de Bordeaux (1711-1787)*, 578; Maurice, "Les Juifs et la convocation des États Généraux," 254.

¹²⁷ Malino, *The Sephardic Jews of Bordeaux*, 41-42; Léon, *Histoire des Juifs de Bayonne*, 154.

¹²⁸ Maurice, "Les Juifs et la convocation des États Généraux (1789)," 255-261.

chose not to do so in order to avoid drawing any unwanted attention to themselves.¹²⁹ In general, the political strategy of the Sephardim was silence. This strategy was most apparent in the reaction of the Sephardim to the abbé Grégoire's vocal support for emancipation. Departing from his previous *Essai sur la régénération physique, morale et politique des Juifs*, the abbé Grégoire's *Motion en faveur des juifs* (1789) argued for the emancipation of all French Jews.¹³⁰ The work represented a new shift in Grégoire's thinking about French Jews, where Jews should become citizens in virtue of the fact of their humanity, rather than on condition of their assimilation into French society. Regardless of the intentions of the abbé Grégoire, the Sephardim of southwestern France were aghast at the thought of being associated with their German-speaking co-religionists.¹³¹ In response, the "deputies of the *Nation juive portugaise*" of Bordeaux thanked the curé of Embermenil for his advocacy on behalf of all French Jews.¹³² Nevertheless, they believed that no further legislation was needed since the Declaration of the Rights of Man was already sufficient enough, and that only by "liberty of their persons and their property" that "Jews, of all the Provinces of the Kingdom, will become happy and useful."¹³³ They went further to warn: "If the conduct or the unfortunate fate of some Jews of Alsace and the Trois-Evêchés determined the National Assembly to make some Regulation which must be common to all the Jews of the Kingdom, those of Bordeaux would regard it, with reason, as well as all their fellow Citizens, as

¹²⁹ Malino, *The Sephardic Jews of Bordeaux*, 41-42.

¹³⁰ Henri Grégoire, *Motion en faveur des Juifs, par M. Grégoire, curé d'Embermenil, Député de Nancy; précédée d'une Notice historique, sur les persécutions qu'ils viennent d'essuyer en divers lieux, notamment en Alsace, et sur l'admission de leurs Députés à la Barre de l'Assemblée Nationale* (Paris: 1789), 45-47; for more on *Motion en faveur des juifs*, see: Samuels, *The Right to Difference*, 32-33; for an analysis of the *Essai sur la régénération*, see Chapter 4.

¹³¹ Schechter, *Obstinate Hebrews*, 166-167; Malino, *The Sephardic Jews of Bordeaux*, 45; Hertzberg, *French Enlightenment and the Jews*, 341.

¹³² *Lettre adressée à M. Grégoire, Curé d'Embermenil, Député de Nancy, par les Députés de la Nation Juive Portugaise, de Bordeaux* (Versailles: 1789), 1-2.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 2.

an injustice as gratuitous as it would be cruel.”¹³⁴ The Sephardic Jews of Bordeaux feared that any new legislation common to all French Jews would bring new restrictions and legal disabilities that did not previously exist for the Sephardim. They already had near total equality and pointed to their participation in the convocation of the Estates General and election of a captain of a patriotic regiment as proof of their status. Thus, the already extensive privileges enjoyed by the Sephardim meant that they were more unwilling to campaign overtly for greater civil and political rights.

The debate over the political status of Jews at the end of December highlighted the tension for the Sephardim between wanting to maintain their privileges and corporate autonomy, while at the same time securing greater civil and political rights under the new revolutionary regime. By the winter of 1789, it was becoming clear that the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen did not apply to Jews nor Protestants, thus necessitating a special law on non-Catholics.¹³⁵ Then following a discussion of whether or not to extend citizenship rights to Protestants on 21 December 1789, Stanislas Marie Adélaïde, the comte de Clermont-Tonnerre, proposed a broadly worded decree that sparked a debate over the status of Jews.¹³⁶ Two days later on 23 December 1789, the comte de Clermont-Tonnerre delivered a speech forcefully arguing for the emancipation of Jews, Protestants, actors, and executioners. The comte de Clermont-Tonnerre opened by noting that the language of the Declaration of Rights of Man had already provided the framework for political enfranchisement, but only prejudice prevented the extension of these rights.¹³⁷ According to him, religion was a private matter, separate from the state, and the universality and sovereignty of the

¹³⁴ Ibid., 3.

¹³⁵ Malino, *The Sephardic Jews of Bordeaux*, 48.

¹³⁶ *Courier français* (22 December 1789), 6-7. According to the *Courier français*, “M. Reubell had thus asked M. de Clermont, if, amongst the active Citizens, he intended to include the Jews. Yes, cried the honorable member, *I agree, and I take pride in it*. That great question was adjourned until two o’clock tomorrow”; for more on the debate, see: *AP*, 10:693-695; David Sorkin, *Jewish Emancipation: A History Across Five Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), 92-95.

¹³⁷ *AP*, 10:754; see also, Samuels, *The Right to Difference*, 34-40; Malino, *The Sephardic Jews of Bordeaux*, 48; Léon, *Histoire des Juifs de Bayonne*, 155; Hertzberg, *French Enlightenment and the Jews*, 360-361.

General Will required the nation to transcend religious beliefs. Then while addressing accusations that Jews formed a nation apart, the comte de Clermont-Tonnerre declared:

But, one will say to me, the Jews have judges and particular laws? But, I would respond, it is your fault, and you must not allow it. We must refuse all to Jews as a nation, and accord all to Jews as individuals; we must not recognize their judges; they must only have ours; we must refuse legal protections to the so-called laws of their Judaic corporation; they must not make in the State either a political corps or an order; they must be citizens individually.¹³⁸

According to the comte de Clermont-Tonnerre, only by renouncing their corporate and political assimilation could French Jews become full active citizens. For those like the comte de Clermont-Tonnerre the universalism of the French Revolution did not mean the renouncement of religion or cultural practices; rather, it would mean that the Sephardim would have to choose between trying to maintain their corporate identity and privileges or status as French citizens.

Despite the backing and support from influential revolutionaries like the abbé Grégoire, the comte de Clermont-Tonnerre, Maximilien Robespierre and Mirabeau, the National Constituent Assembly voted to defer decision on the status of French Jews, forcing the Sephardim to change their political strategy.¹³⁹ At the end of the month, the Sephardim sent new delegations to Paris to lobby the members of the National Assembly.¹⁴⁰ The Sephardim of Bordeaux and Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne also addressed their own separate petitions to the National Assembly, repeating many of their past arguments with supporting documents to attest to their own participation as active citizens during the early phases of the Revolution.¹⁴¹ They also denied that they lived under separate judges or under separate laws. Then on 28 January 1790, Talleyrand presented a report

¹³⁸ *AP*, 10:756.

¹³⁹ Malino, *The Sephardic Jews of Bordeaux*, 48. The vote was 408 to 403 against Jewish emancipation.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 49-50.

¹⁴¹ For example, see: “Adresse à l’Assemblée nationale, 31 Décembre 1789,” in *La Révolution française et l’émancipation des juifs*, vol. 5 (Paris: EDHIS, 1968), 1-8; [David Silveyra], “Adresse présentée à l’Assemblée nationale, par le Député des Juifs Espagnols et Portugais, établis au Bourg Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne,” in *La Révolution française et l’émancipation des juifs*, 5:1-8.

by the Comité de Constitution recommending “That the Jews to whom ancient laws had accorded the quality of citizen, as well as those who are in the immemorial possession of enjoying it, retain it, and in consequence are active citizens, if they meet all the other qualifications demanded by the Assembly’s decrees.”¹⁴² Le Chapelier later intervenes to argue that the question was one only of preserving rights already acquired by the Sephardic and Avignonese Jews, and that the status of the Ashkenazim should be adjourned until a later date. After a heated debate, the National Constituent Assembly voted 374 to 224 in favor of decreeing that “all the Jews known under the name of Portuguese, Spanish and Avignonnese Jews will continue to enjoy the rights which they had enjoyed until present, and which had been accorded by the *lettres-patentes*. In consequence, they will enjoy the rights of active citizens, when they meet the conditions required by the Assembly’s decrees.”¹⁴³ The status of the remaining French Jews would have to wait until 29 September 1791 for the National Assembly to grant them active citizenship.¹⁴⁴

Like with the Pays Basque, the early phase of the Revolution represented a moment of transition between the world of corporate privileges to the era of abstract individualism for the Sephardim of the South West. In particular, emancipation was a moment predicated on the dissolution of the Sephardic *nation* that had existed in France since the sixteenth century.¹⁴⁵ Immediately following the emancipation decree, the Sephardic *nation* met one final time on 18 February 1790 to dissolve itself.¹⁴⁶ In its deliberations, the *nation* declared that “The Jews of Bordeaux can no longer be considered as a *corps* of the *Nation*, the Assemblée des Anciens, which

¹⁴² AP, 11:364; for more on the debates of 28 January 1790, see: Malino, *The Sephardic Jews of Bordeaux*, 51; Hertzberg, *French Enlightenment and the Jews*, 342; Samuels, *The Right to Difference*, 43-46; Sorkin, *Jewish Emancipation*, 95-97.

¹⁴³ AP, 11:365.

¹⁴⁴ Malino, *The Sephardic Jews of Bordeaux*, 55; Sorkin, *Jewish Emancipation*, 97-101.

¹⁴⁵ Malino, *The Sephardic Jews of Bordeaux*, 53-57; Hertzberg, *French Enlightenment and the Jews*, 326-328.

¹⁴⁶ “Repertoire des deliberations (2 March 1789),” in *Le registre des deliberations de la Nation juive portugaise de Bordeaux (1711-1787)*, 578-579.

represented it, is immediately dissolved and one is occupied at once with the formation of an Association of *Bienfaisance*.”¹⁴⁷ According to historian Frances Malino, the Sephardim essentially came to subordinate their religious tradition to the demands of the new French nation. Along the way, Sephardic arguments in favor of emancipation hinged on their ability to demonstrate their ability to assimilate into French society.¹⁴⁸ Eventually, the community stopped playing an important role as they acquired these new rights. Additionally, historian Maurice Samuels suggested that French ideas about the nation as a voluntary affiliation made it possible for the revolutionary government to assimilate cultural and religious differences.¹⁴⁹ Despite these changing notions, historians like Jay Berkowitz would argue that the Revolution changed little in the daily lives of Jews and, in fact, slowed the pace of modernization that was already present in the Ancien Régime.¹⁵⁰ This chapter suggests otherwise. In the following section, this chapter explores the effect of these new universalistic discourses about the nation affected the Sephardic Jewish community of Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne. As it will demonstrate, the universalist discourse of the Sacerdotal Revolution made it possible for the Sephardic Jewish community to play a more active role in local government. Additionally, by embracing the Sacerdotal Revolution, the representatives on mission and their Jacobin allies would come to celebrate these Jewish Jacobins as ideal citizens under the revolutionary government.

¹⁴⁷ “Repertoire des deliberations (2 March 1789),” in *Le registre des deliberations de la Nation juive portugaise de Bordeaux (1711-1787)*, 579.

¹⁴⁸ Malino, *The Sephardic Jews of Bordeaux*, 55-56.

¹⁴⁹ Samuels, *The Right to Difference*, 30, 37-38.

¹⁵⁰ Berkovitz, *Rites and Passages*, 90-92.

Section 3: The Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau

With the coming of the Revolution in the South West, the Sephardim began to play an increasing role in revolutionary politics. Especially after the “regeneration” of the revolutionary government in the fall of 1793, the Sephardim would go on to occupy important leadership positions within the local municipal government, the popular society and, most importantly, the surveillance committee. This ascent to political power during the Terror was likewise accompanied by an embrace of an anti-clerical and anti-Catholic political discourse of the Sacerdotal Revolution that stressed national belonging and the promises of universalism, while condemning the backwardness and resistance of religious fanatics to revolutionary change. This section will argue that through their embrace of the religious policies of the Terror, the Jewish Jacobins of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau attempted to position themselves as a type of “vanguard of modernity.”¹⁵¹ Through their decrees and correspondence with the representatives on mission, revolutionaries in other parts of France, and neighboring Jewish communities, the members of the Surveillance Committee refashioned themselves as ideal republican citizens devoted to the patriotic universalism of revolutionary religion.

Overall, Jewish participation in the communal affairs of Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne was limited between 1790 and 1793.¹⁵² Following the creation of the new revolutionary departments, the National Assembly used the Adour River to separate Saint-Esprit from Bayonne, constituting Saint-Esprit as a commune comprised of two sections, Saint-Esprit and Saint-Étienne.¹⁵³ Due to a fire in the archives of Bayonne, much of the history of this period is unknown aside from details

¹⁵¹ I borrow this term from: James E. Sanders, *The Vanguard of the Atlantic World: Creating Modernity, Nation, and Democracy in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014).

¹⁵² Ginsburger, “Première Partie: Histoire,” 7.

¹⁵³ Ginsburger, “Première Partie: Histoire,” 7; Pierre Hourmat, *Histoire de Bayonne: La Révolution, 1789-1799* (Bayonne: Société des sciences, lettres et arts de Bayonne, 1992), 26.

gleaned from the records of the municipal government.¹⁵⁴ What is certain was that despite granting of active citizenship by the National Constituent Assembly, revolutionaries in Saint-Esprit initially excluded the Sephardim during the municipal elections of February 1790.¹⁵⁵ Eventually by 26 April 1790, the Conseil Municipal of Saint-Esprit invited a deputation of the Jewish community to the Maison Commune and asked it to create a list of Jewish active citizens.¹⁵⁶ Besides expanding the voter base, the municipal government also wanted to use this list to encourage Jews to enroll for service in the National Guard. From June 1790, Patto and Furtado were elected captain and lieutenant of the National Guard, respectively.¹⁵⁷ Service in the National Guard soon raised difficulties, with some insisting that its Jewish members should serve on the day of the Fête-Dieu and assist in Catholic ceremonies, while Jews in the National Guard refused. However, following the intervention of the National Assembly and the Comité de Constitution, flexibility was granted to the Jewish recruits.¹⁵⁸ Greater participation by the Jews of Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne would not take place until 1793 with the arrival of the representatives on mission in the South West and constitution of local authorities.

If the Sephardim did not occupy important posts within the communal administration before 1793, they still nonetheless demonstrated their strong attachment to the Revolution. In fact, the Jacobin Club at Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne included many Jewish members.¹⁵⁹ Letters written

¹⁵⁴ Ginsburger, "Première Partie: Histoire," 4.

¹⁵⁵ ADPA, pôle de Bayonne, E dépôt Saint-Esprit 1 D 1, "Registre de délibérations du Conseil Municipal de Saint-Esprit," 8 February 1790.

¹⁵⁶ ADPA, pôle de Bayonne, E dépôt Saint-Esprit 1 D 1, "Registre de délibérations du Conseil Municipal de Saint-Esprit," 26 April 1790; Hourmat, *Histoire de Bayonne*, 30.

¹⁵⁷ Hourmat, *Histoire de Bayonne*, 30-31.

¹⁵⁸ ADPA, pôle de Bayonne, E dépôt Saint-Esprit 1 D 1, "Registre de délibérations du Conseil Municipal de Saint-Esprit," 30 May 1790; for mention of Patto and Furtado, see ADPA, pôle de Bayonne, E dépôt Saint-Esprit 1 D 1, "Registre de délibérations du Conseil Municipal de Saint-Esprit," 23 June 1790.

¹⁵⁹ Zosa Szajkowski, "The Attitude of French Jacobins toward Jewish Religion," in *Jews and the French Revolutions of 1789, 1830 and 1848* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1970), 408; Ginsburger, "Première Partie: Histoire," 7; Hourmat, *Histoire de Bayonne*, 77.

from the representatives on mission in the region to the Committee of Public Safety in 1793 also attest to the perception that the Sephardim in Saint-Esprit were deeply attached to the Revolution. In a letter to the Committee of Public Safety on 20 April 1790, Louis Ichon and Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte contrasted the greedy commercial interests the Bayonnais with the more republican residents of Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne: “We believe that the Bayonnais are civic-minded, but we have noticed that the wealthy merchants influence the people. These people only think about their commerce and interests.... The citizens of the Bourg-Saint-Esprit are true republicans but are too few in number to guard the citadel.”¹⁶⁰ Thus, for those like Ichon and Dartigoeyte, the Jacobins of Saint-Esprit were considered more politically reliable than the more commercially oriented Bayonnais. However, not all the representatives on mission were as generous. In his letter report, Julien Bernard Dorothée Mazade-Percin likewise observed that the patriotism of the Bayonnais was “infinitely less fervent than that of the neighboring town of Saint-Esprit.”¹⁶¹ However, he warned that the commercial interests of the Jews with the Spanish threatened security in the region. He further questioned whether they could ever overcome their separatism and become good citizens: “Without doubt, the Jews are very much attached to the Revolution, because they owe it so much; but this species of man forms a world apart and we will never nationalize it perfectly, as long as it will not mix with the peoples amidst whom they live without merging.”¹⁶² Despite lingering skepticism about assimilation, representatives on mission arriving later in the year would come to rely on the Sephardim of Saint-Esprit as active collaborators in the revolutionary government of Year II.

¹⁶⁰ Letter of Pierre Louis Ichon and Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte to the Committee of Public Safety, 20 April 1793, in *Recueil des actes du Comité de salut public avec la correspondance officielle des représentants en mission et le register du Conseil exécutif provisoire*, vol. 3, 1 Avril 1793 – 5 Mai 1793 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1890), 363. Henceforth, this collection will be abbreviated as *RACSP*.

¹⁶¹ Letter of Julien Bernard Dorothée Mazade-Percin to the Committee of Public Safety, 12 May 1793, in *RACSP*, 4:133.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 134.

With the arrival of Jean-Baptiste-Benoît Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme and Jacques Pinet as representatives on mission to the Army of the Western Pyrenees in the summer of 1793, the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau was born. On 11 October 1793, Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme and Pinet issued an *arrêté* establishing the surveillance committee at Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne and extending its jurisdiction over the southwestern half of the district of Dax in the Department of Landes.¹⁶³ During the Terror, surveillance (or revolutionary) committees were one of the many essential organs of the revolutionary government, responsible for receiving denunciations, issuing arrest warrants for suspects, and bringing suspects before the revolutionary tribunal.¹⁶⁴ While surveillance committees existed as early as 1792 as a means of monitoring foreigners, the Law of Suspects further extended the scope of their powers to include investigative authority to arrest “suspects.”¹⁶⁵ The historian Ernest Ginsburger would remark that the Surveillance Committee of Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne was by its composition “in reality a Jewish Surveillance Committee: this fact is unique in the history of the French Revolution.”¹⁶⁶ Members were named during a session of the popular society of Saint-Esprit and presided over by Monestier and Pinet. The members of the committee included: Silveyre, *jeune*; Castro, *ainé*; Bernal the

¹⁶³ Communes under the jurisdiction of the surveillance committee, include: Tarnos; Ondres; Montagne Seignans (Saint-Martin de Seignans); Haute Montagne (Saint-André); Mont Baludor (Saint-Barthélemy); Josse; Biadous; Marat de Hinx (Saint Martin de Hinx); Pelletier Marsac (Saint-Jean de Marsac); Barra (Saint-Marie de Gosse); Vertue (Saint-Laurent de Gosse); Biarrotte; Vincent de Tyrosse; Cap Brutus (Capt Breton); Labenne; Gaubion; Benesse; Saubrigue; Orx. Jean-Baptiste-Benoît Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme and Jacques Pinet, “*Arrêté* of 11 October 1793,” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 73; see also, Ginsburger, “Première Partie: Histoire,” 8; Hourmat, *Histoire de Bayonne*, 173.

¹⁶⁴ Maurice Genty, “Comités de surveillance (ou Comités révolutionnaires),” in *Dictionnaire historique de la Révolution française*, ed. Albert Soboul (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1989), 258; Colin Lucas, *The Structure of the Terror: The Example of Javogues and the Loire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 124; Jacques Godechot, *Les institutions de la France sous la Révolution et l'Empire* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1968), 326-333; Jean-François Dalbergue, “Les comités de surveillance révolutionnaire dans les Landes durant l’an II,” *Les Landes et la Révolution: Actes du Colloque de Mont-de-Marsan, 29-30 septembre 1989*, ed. Bernadette Suau (Mont-de-Marsan: Conseil Général des Landes, 1992), 151-158; Antoine Richard, “Le comité de surveillance et les suspects de Dax,” *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 7, no. 37 (January-February 1930): 24-40; John Black Sirich, *The Revolutionary Committees in the Departments of France, 1793-1794* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1943).

¹⁶⁵ For more on the Law of Suspects and its relation to religious fanatics, see Chapter 4.

¹⁶⁶ Ginsburger, “Première Partie: Histoire,” 8.

American; Dandrade; Bergez; Jean-Baptiste Henriques Castro; Peyrous de Saint-Étienne; Tavaréz, *aîné*; Simonet; Leon de Saint-Étienne; Nunez, *aîné*; Valery, *neveu*. Thus, membership on the Surveillance Committee of Saint-Esprit was intimately connected the local popular society. Furthermore, the newly constituted surveillance committee was to assist in choosing “good Republicans of the town of Saint-Esprit” for the regeneration of the Conseil Général of the commune.¹⁶⁷ During a ceremony held around a tree of liberty to celebrate the regeneration of the commune on 9 Brumaire Year II (30 October 1793), Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme “baptized” (or renamed) the commune Jean-Jacques Rousseau.¹⁶⁸

The Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau regulated various aspects of communal life, including food provisioning, currency, and organizing recruitment and supply to the Army of the Western Pyrenees. Above all, the most important was the *problème des subsistances*.¹⁶⁹ With the perceived threat of shortage and famine hanging over the heads of local officials like the sword of Damocles, the Surveillance Committee would order requisitions, inspections, and arrests to ensure that Jean-Jacques Rousseau was well provisioned with supplies and that bakers, grain merchants and farmers respected the price controls of the General Maximum. For example, on 17 Brumaire Year II (7 November 1793), the Surveillance Committee expressed its distress at seeing long crowds of people outside the doors of bakers and resolved to visit the

¹⁶⁷ Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme and Pinet, “Arrêté of 11 October 1793,” 73.

¹⁶⁸ “Session of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 9 Brumaire Year II (30 October 1793),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 89-90.

¹⁶⁹ Richard Cobb would noted regarding the question of subsistence: “Discussions that could be classified under this broad heading took up even more time than personal denunciations; and they could be approached from the most unexpected angles, as almost any topic - even *déchristianisation* - could be envisaged *sous le rapport des subsistances*.” Richard Cobb, *The Police and the People: French Popular Protest, 1789-1820* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 253-254; for more on the question of subsistence and revolutionary regulation, see: *ibid.*, 246-290, 302-324; Antoine Richard, *Le gouvernement révolutionnaire dans les Basses-Pyrénées* (Bayonne: Éditions Harriet, 1984), 96-119; Ginsburger, “Première Partie: Histoire,” 15-20.

bakers to ensure that they were selling bread of good quality to indigent republicans.¹⁷⁰ In another instance, the Committee stressed the need of educating the people on the benefits of the price controls of the General Maximum.¹⁷¹ In addition to enforcing price controls on subsistence goods, the Surveillance Committee and the representatives on mission also sought to stabilize the paper currency.¹⁷² In an acerbic *arrêté* on 24 Vendémiaire Year II (15 October 1793), decrying a plot by Spanish fanatics to undermine the paper currency of France, the representatives on mission prohibited the circulation and use of metallic currency.¹⁷³ In turn, the Surveillance Committee issued its own decrees to pursue speculators and hoarders, as well as conduct home searches.¹⁷⁴ Finally, the Surveillance Committee played an important role in encouraging recruitment, hunting down deserters, and requisitioning material and equipment for the military.¹⁷⁵ On 19 Germinal Year II (8 April 1794), the Surveillance Committee announced to General Larroche that they had “found in the mail depot in the former convent of Saint-Bernard, twelve superb young men who

¹⁷⁰ The Committee remarked: “The Committee, distressed at seeing people in crowds at the doors of bakers without the power to satisfy its needs and instructed about the legitimate complaints carried against these citizens, decrees that its members will divide and go to the bakers, accompanied by two municipal officers, in order to take note of the quantity of flour, its quality, and make sure that the best bread is not taken from the poorest and most interested class of all good Republicans.” “Session of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 17 Brumaire Year II (7 November 1793),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 96.

¹⁷¹ The Committee decreed: “The Committee considering how important it is to show the people the advantages of the Maximum; considering that the always active greed redoubles its efforts to elude that beneficial law; considering that it is principally egoism that should be blamed if the indigent class can only procure objects of the first necessity at exorbitant prices; considering finally that the time has come to aid our brave sans-culottes in putting an end to the arbitrariness that is as vexing as it is scandalous; [the Committee] decrees that the municipality will be invited immediately to make a new proclamation tending to encourage citizens to understand the advantages that result from the law of the Maximum...” “Session of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 26 Nivôse Year II (15 January 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 135-137.

¹⁷² Richard, *Le gouvernement révolutionnaire dans les Basses-Pyrénées*, 145-152; Hourmat, *Histoire de Bayonne*, 189; Ginsburger, “Première Partie: Histoire,” 34-39.

¹⁷³ Archives Départementales des Landes 8 L 1 Jacques Pinet, *ainé*, Jean-Baptiste-Benoît Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, Pierre-Anselme Garrau and Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoyte, *arrêté* of 24 Vendémiaire Year II / 15 October 1793 (Mont-de-Marsan: an II [1793]), 1-6. Henceforth, Archives Départementales des Landes will be abbreviated as ADL.

¹⁷⁴ For example, see: “Letter of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau to Jean-Baptiste-Benoît Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme and Jacques Pinet, 3 Brumaire Year II (24 October 1793),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 86.

¹⁷⁵ Richard, *Le gouvernement révolutionnaire dans les Basses-Pyrénées*, 120-138; Hourmat, *Histoire de Bayonne*, 201-207; Ginsburger, “Première Partie: Histoire,” 40-44.

had escaped the requisition.”¹⁷⁶ Thus, Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau was crucial body regulating various market, monetary and military aspects of communal life.

Above all, the Jacobins of Jean-Jacques Rousseau were deeply concerned with the war against religious fanaticism. In a letter to Claude-Alexandre Ysabeau, the representative on mission in Bordeaux, the Surveillance Committee wrote about how its baptism by Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme imbued it with a new sense of zeal for the principles of the Revolution, akin to a religious miracle: “That political baptism made the fanatics sulk while it gave satisfaction to the soul of those who seek to propagate the principles of this celebrated and sensitive philosophe [Jean-Jacques Rousseau] who laid the foundations of our sublime constitution, so to speak.”¹⁷⁷ It went on to write that its duty was to combat the rich and enlighten the inhabitants of the countryside who “vacillate and are fanaticized.”¹⁷⁸ In fact, most of the Committee’s religious policies were made after this ceremony. Before that, focus was more on political and economic suspects. Many times, in decrees or letters, the Committee would insist that it was “attached to enlightening the inhabitants of the countryside” and took measures aimed at “striking fanaticism” at its very roots.¹⁷⁹ Likewise, the Committee would describe its struggle against fanaticism in increasingly eschatological terms. On 6 Nivôse Year II (26 December 1793), the Committee fulminated that fanaticism was seeking again to “raise its haughty head” and lamented that various communes

¹⁷⁶ In the same letter, they also noted that they found fifty-one young men in a military workshop but could not risk requisitioning them without anyone to replace them. “Letter of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau to General Larroche, 19 Germinal Year II (8 April 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 215.

¹⁷⁷ “Letter of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau to Claude-Alexandre Ysabeau, 22 Brumaire Year II (12 November 1793),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 100.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ “Session of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 25 Germinal Year II (14 April 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 218; “Session of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 27 Prairial Year II (15 June 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 265.

were already “backsliding in their progress towards reason and philosophy.”¹⁸⁰ After acknowledging that the commune of Jean-Jacques Rousseau “lost its republican vigor for secret and malicious plots,” it declared that “the public interest demands vigorous action against the apostles of error.”¹⁸¹ The religious tone of this *arrêté* demonstrates that the Committee was increasingly conceptualizing its religious policies in cosmic terms. The battle is no longer simply between republicans and fanatics; rather, it was a struggle against the apostles of error. The establishment of the Cult of the Supreme Being after Floréal Year II only further intensified the missionary zeal of the Committee.¹⁸² Thus, one effect of the Sacerdotal Revolution in Saint-Espirit-lès-Bayonne was the way the discourse of fanaticism polarized society between the regenerated revolutionaries and the religious fanatics who corrupted the countryside.¹⁸³

The Surveillance Committee played an important role in initiating and enforcing many of the religious policies of the Terror.¹⁸⁴ First, the Committee would urge the municipality to remove religious symbols from public space, prohibit religious processions, and ensure that the communal bell was only rung for “purposes of public utility.”¹⁸⁵ Second, the Committee took the lead in closing down churches and synagogues in the commune, establishing a temple of Reason,

¹⁸⁰ “Session of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 6 Nivôse Year II (26 December 1793),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 128.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 129.

¹⁸² “Sessions of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 12-13 Prairial Year II (31 May – 1 June 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 252-253.

¹⁸³ For more on fanaticism, see Chapter 4.

¹⁸⁴ For more on the different types of policies of the religious Terror, see: Michel Vovelle, *1793, La Révolution contre l'Église: De la Raison à l'Être supreme* (Paris: Editions Complexe, 1988), 45-192. These could include, forced clerical abdications; clerical marriages; removal of church bells; closing of churches and synagogues; celebration of revolutionary religious rituals; seizing of religious items; iconoclasm; masquerades; and the renaming of streets and cities; see also, Richard, *Le gouvernement révolutionnaire dans les Basses-Pyrénées*, 153-197.

¹⁸⁵ The minutes from the meeting noted: “The Committee considering that in a revolutionary moment and after all the principles decreed relative to religious worship; there must no longer exist any sign nor public demonstration which can awaken fanaticism; decrees as a measure of general safety that the municipality of that commune will be invited to take measures so that the bell here is only rung for purposes of public utility and not otherwise; that burials are no longer followed by any religious demonstration; that no other sign whatsoever in which case could be.” “Session of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 4 Frimaire Year II (24 November 1793),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 107.

organizing civic festivals to promote the new revolutionary religion, and policing the revolutionary days of rest. On 1 Nivôse Year II (21 December 1793), the Surveillance Committee decided to use a former church as the local temple of Reason and proceeded to send Silveyra and Bernal to invite the representatives on mission to take part in the celebration.¹⁸⁶ In another instance, the Surveillance Committee and municipality of Jean-Jacques Rousseau ordered the closing of local synagogues.¹⁸⁷ Like the representatives on mission, it even sometimes organized civic festivals.¹⁸⁸ To ensure that people actually observed the new revolutionary religions, the Committee would send its representatives throughout on Sunday afternoons to “observe if the work of farming is suspended....”¹⁸⁹ In another instance, the Surveillance Committee encouraged Catholics and Jews to offer their religious items on the altar of the Patrie.¹⁹⁰ Thus, the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau played an important role in introducing and enforcing the Sacerdotal Revolution.

The Surveillance Committee also disciplined the religious behavior of everyone under its authority. Sometimes the Committee would meet with either Catholic priests or Jewish rabbis in order to instruct them on proper conduct. Upon learning that the rabbi Attias was not “preaching in the sense of the revolution,” the Committee ordered that he make a public disavowal of those principles and “henceforth only preach about the great morality of reason and the beneficent

¹⁸⁶ “Session of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 1 Nivôse Year II (21 December 1793),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 124.

¹⁸⁷ “Session of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 13 Frimaire Year II (3 December 1793),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 112-13.

¹⁸⁸ “Letter of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 15 Pluviôse Year II (3 February 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 155.

¹⁸⁹ “Session of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 27 Prairial Year II (15 June 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 266.

¹⁹⁰ “Letter of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau to the Directoire of the District of Dax, 2 Messidor Year II (13 July 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 272.

revolution....”¹⁹¹ During that same meeting, the Committee also summoned a priest named Tachoures in order “to be indoctrinated by the president and to order him to announce feasts of the *décade* in place of those of deceivers and imposters.”¹⁹² The Committee also asked Tachoures to abdicate the priesthood. Additionally, the Committee would follow up with priests or rabbis to determine if they conformed to revolutionary religious norms. For example, the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau on 17 Nivôse Year II (6 January 1794) summoned the *curé* Rouy to verify that neither he nor his parishioners had celebrated the Feast of the Three Kings.¹⁹³ Finding that the priest was “too penetrated by the principles of the Revolution” to cause a public disturbance, ruled that there was no reason to bring an indictment against him.¹⁹⁴ In another instance, the Committee would order the release of Jean-Baptiste Lacase, a former constitutional priest, whom they described as “always manifesting love for the revolution that he had even preached in his commune the importance of submitting to the laws and respect for the constituted authorities.”¹⁹⁵ Sometimes the Surveillance Committee would arrest a person for not conforming to revolutionary religious sociability. On 7 Ventôse (25 February 1794), the Committee ordered the arrest of the widow Daguerre, who “appeared to be of fanatical principles” and who “never showed herself, nor approached any civic festival....”¹⁹⁶ Similarly, the Committee placed Armand

¹⁹¹ “Session of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 5 Frimaire Year II (25 November 1793),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 106.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

¹⁹³ “Session of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 17 Nivôse Year II (6 January 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 132.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ “Session of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 2 Ventôse Year II (20 February 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 171.

¹⁹⁶ “Session of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 7 Ventôse Year II (25 February 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 171; after an inquiry by the representatives on mission, the Surveillance Committee further added: “It is not all, the patriots are revolted by the tepidness: to take part in civic festivals, tepidness all the more criminal as her family encourages by example, infected by the contagion, does not grow tired of this estrangement for the new order of things, so that one of the children of citizeness Daguerre, aged 21, and who consequently evaded the conscription law.” “Session of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 10 Ventôse Year II (28 February 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 179.

Giraud under arrest for “never [giving] any proof of the slightest love for our revolution” and accused him of “always [shying] away from civic festivals....”¹⁹⁷ Thus, the Surveillance Committee acted as an important disciplinary institution of the religious Terror.

Part of the appeal of the revolutionary religion for the Surveillance Committee was its patriotic universalist discourse. By banning public displays of religious symbols, closing churches and synagogues, and establishing revolutionary religions, radical revolutionaries like Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme and Pinet attempted to transcend particular religious identities and recenter society around a new national cult devoted to the Supreme Being and the Patrie. The Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau similarly expressed this universalist desire to transcend particular religious identities in an *arrêté* ordering the closure of two synagogues in the commune on 13 Frimaire Year II (3 December 1793):

The Committee, considering how it is important for the regenerated France to sap fanaticism at its very foundations; considering that the slightest exterior sign of any worship would contrast in a striking manner with the views of a legislator who yearns for a universal national religion; considering that the spectacle of two hundred citizens of the same communion praying to god in different synagogues to what awakens the solicitude of the true children of the Patrie, especially when the temple of reason opens its doors to all sects indistinctly; considering finally independently of these political considerations, reasons of convenience must encourage these prayers to come together.¹⁹⁸

For the Surveillance Committee, the promise of universal national religion was that it would be open to all sects. Only through the removal of marks of distinction in religious worship could the revolutionaries bring about the regeneration of mankind. A similar sentiment was expressed on 12 Prairial Year II (31 May 1794) when the Committee sent out a circular to all the communes of its

¹⁹⁷ The Surveillance Committee reported on 18 Ventôse Year II: “Armand Giraud Me. écrivain, put under arrest, never gave any proof of the slightest love for our revolution; he had always shied away from the civic festivals, imbued with an odious fanaticism, he saw with a very evil eye all the interior and exterior signs of the impostor, for which *his émigré son* was its minister for around two years.” “Session of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 18 Ventôse Year II (8 March 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 187.

¹⁹⁸ “Session of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 13 Frimaire Year II (3 December 1793),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 112.

canton regarding the Festival of the Supreme Being. Noting that the festival “certainly has enough to fix the attention of citizens of all sects,” it invited everyone to take part in the celebration and to “make the Eternal and the Patrie the object of our adorations” so that fanaticism could not “reach for the souls of republicans.”¹⁹⁹ Again, the center of this new religious belief was to be the Supreme Being and the Patrie. Thus, the appeal of universalist discourse lay in its promise to transcend religious difference and unite everyone in common patriotic devotion.

The Jewish members of the Surveillance Committee also used their position to advocate on behalf of other French Jews facing persecution and urge other Jewish communities to embrace the universal patriotic religions of the Revolution. Upon hearing that the popular society of Nancy made “the expulsion of the Jews from French territory the order of the day,” the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau immediately wrote to the Lorrain Jacobins that their *arrêté* “will only serve to revolt the regenerated sans-culottes” and urged them to “hasten to abjure these measures dictated only by hate and prejudice.”²⁰⁰ The Committee asked the popular society: “Would fanaticism sharpen again its dagger at Nancy?”²⁰¹ They then went on to speak of the spirit of unity at Jean-Jacques Rousseau:

It is not the same amongst us. The city of J.-J. Rousseau... offers a completely delightful spectacle: each citizen there adores the Supreme Being, in his manner, and the ministers of the different communions help each other and embrace each other fraternally. The Representatives of the People who enlighten these countries and who feed our sessions only applaud this gentle rapprochement, ah! Could it be otherwise!²⁰²

Forming “one and the same family,” the Jewish members Surveillance Committee leveraged its position of authority and the universalist rhetoric of the Sacerdotal Revolution to come to the

¹⁹⁹ “Circular to the Communes of the Canton, 12 Prairial Year II (31 May 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 252-253.

²⁰⁰ “Letter of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau to the Popular Society of Nancy, 17 Brumaire Year II (7 November 1793),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 96.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Ibid.

defense of their coreligionists in eastern France.²⁰³ In fact, the true fanatics were those in the popular society who insisted on religious difference. Additionally, the Jewish Jacobins of Jean-Jacques Rousseau also encouraged their coreligionists in neighboring cities and towns to embrace the Sacerdotal Revolution. On 1 Ventôse Year II (19 February 1794), the Popular Society of Bidache wrote to that of Jean-Jacques Rousseau: “The Former Jews, who also had a synagogue in Bidache, were quick to imitate you.”²⁰⁴ They further added that the synagogue and its furnishings were donated to the local popular society and stressed that “this act of citizenship and reason should be a good lesson for fanatics of all sects, and therefore deserves to be known.”²⁰⁵ Thus, through their embrace of the universalist discourse of the Sacerdotal Revolution, the Sephardic Jacobins of Jean-Jacques Rousseau positioned themselves as the embodiment of a new type of post-confessional republican citizenship to both Jews and non-Jews in Revolutionary France.

Despite the attempt by the Surveillance Committee to spread the Sacerdotal Revolution at Jean-Jacques Rousseau and beyond, the myriad of *arrêtés*, meeting minutes, and letters written by and to the Committee attest to a general resistance by Jews and Christians to the religious policies of the Terror. From Nivôse Year II (21 December 1793 – 19 January 1794) onwards, indications of resistance appear more frequently in the writings of the Committee. In a letter to the Committee of Public Safety on 15 Nivôse Year II (4 January 1794), the Surveillance Committee admitted that although fanaticism was “believed to be extinguished by the abdication of priests,” there were still “certain lying apostles” who were trying to use principles drawn from “the sacred rights of man” (presumably, the *liberté des cultes*) to revive it.²⁰⁶ Invoking the hygienic discourse of the

²⁰³ The letter also described the Revolution as descending from heaven. Ibid., 96-67.

²⁰⁴ ADPA, pôle de Bayonne, E Dépôt Saint-Esprit 2 1 24, “Letter of the Popular Society of Bidache to the Popular Society of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 1 Ventôse Year II (19 February 1794).”

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ “Letter of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau to the Committee of Public Safety, 15 Nivôse Year II (4 January 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 131.

Enlightenment, the Committee recommended trying “to spread the public spirit in the countryside” instead of using violence.²⁰⁷ In another letter to the administrators of the Directoire of the District of Dax, the Committee raged that “fanaticism reigns still in some communes....”²⁰⁸ As late as Messidor Year II (19 June – 18 July 1794), the Committee complained that Christians still wore their “symbols of superstition such as the cross of Saint-Esprit” and that Jews still wore their “clothes particular to the day of the former Saturday.”²⁰⁹ The most telling moment came during a meeting of the popular society of Bayonne. During a meeting on 1 Floréal Year II (20 April 1794), a letter from the popular society of Jean-Jacques Rousseau was read in which the society complained “that there are still exterior symbols of religion disapproved of by liberty and by law, either at the former Cathedral, or at the [popular] society,” and invited the municipality of Bayonne “to remove them from the eyes of Republicans.”²¹⁰ In response to the letter, a Bayonnais Jacobin took the floor and said, “that the inhabitants of J.J. Rousseau extend their surveillance throughout, that he praised their zeal and activity, but he reproached them that while they sought to crush fanaticism outside of their commune, they suffered that there was still a synagogue amongst them and that the Jews observe their Sabbath....”²¹¹ As the comments indicate, despite the efforts of the Surveillance Committee and municipality of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the people of the commune

²⁰⁷ In a letter to Dartigoeyte regarding the state of the countryside, the Committee remarked: “Our soldiers, led only by love of the Patrie, fly from victory to victory; also aristocrats of all kinds are at bay; all would be wonderful in our surroundings if fanaticism, so often defeated, did not seek again to subjugate the weak inhabitant of the countryside. This one must be spared; he cries [about his] altars, his bulles, his relics. Eh bien! It is necessary to substitute the priestly mummeries with the language of reason and fraternity.” “Letter of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau to Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte, 29 Nivôse Year II (18 January 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 138.

²⁰⁸ “Letter of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau to Administrators of the Directoire of the District of Dax, 6 Pluviôse Year II (25 January 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 144.

²⁰⁹ “Session of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 11 Messidor Year II (29 June 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 283; “Session of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 17 Messidor Year II (5 June 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 287.

²¹⁰ ADPA, pôle de Bayonne, E Dépôt Bayonne 2 I 15, “Session of the Popular Society of Bayonne, 1 Floréal Year II (20 April 1794).”

²¹¹ Ibid.

simply ignored the regulations and continued their religious practices, thus indicating some level of resistance to the religious Terror.

By the end of Year II, Pinet and Cavaignac would publicly celebrate the members of the Surveillance Committee to be model citizens whose “zeal and constant solicitude” in the war against religious fanaticism were “worthy of praise.”²¹² In turn, the Committee would profess their everlasting attachment and commitment to the two radically anticlerical representatives on mission. In their final letter to Pinet and Cavaignac before their dissolution under the Thermidorian Reaction, the Committee wrote: “For us... who will always be proud of having marched by the light of your banner, we will never give up watching the enemies of the public good.”²¹³ This zeal on the part of the Surveillance Committee throughout Year II represented one way that revolutionaries chose to exercise their citizenship under the Terror.²¹⁴ Especially for the Sephardic Jacobins of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the period of Terror was one of intense political participation in local and departmental politics that contrasted starkly with the earlier faces of the revolution. Thus, to a certain extent, regeneration of local revolutionary institutions during the Terror paradoxically extended political engagement by those who were formerly excluded from politics. In addition, the zealous enforcement and promotion of the religious Terror by the Surveillance Committee force historians to revise the way that they understand the religious politics of the

²¹² Archives Départementales des Hautes-Pyrénées 1 L 149, Jacques Pinet and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac, *arrêté* of 21 Messidor Year II (9 July 1794). In letter to the National Convention, Pinet and Cavaignac also singled out Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Mont-de-Marsan as model republicans: “The cities of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (Saint-Esprit, old style) and Mont-de-Marsan must be distinguished above all; the best principles reign there, love of the patrie, republicanism warms all the hearts, and the first of these two cities has all the more merit that it forms in some way a single and same city with Bayonne, where there reign stills and where there reigned for a long time, to the exception of a small number of patriots of the Popular Society, the most engrained aristocracy, love of the king and Spaniards, and hate for liberty and equality.” “Letter of Jacques Pinet and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac to the National Convention, 28 Germinal Year II (17 April 1794),” in *RACSP*, 12:654.

²¹³ “Letter of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau to Jacques Pinet, 29 Fructidor Year II (15 September 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 338.

²¹⁴ Danièle Pingué, “Les comités de surveillance: sources et problématique: l’exemple de la Haute Normandie,” *Rives méditerranéennes*, no.18 (2004): 31-38.

Terror. The historian Ari Joskowitz recently argued that anticlericalism and anti-Catholicism were means by which Jewish intellectuals and politicians sought to articulate their own understanding of modernity, national belonging, and proper forms of religious sociability.²¹⁵ Thus each order to close a church and synagogue, establish a cult, or prohibit religious symbols served as a means to demonstrate not the Sephardic Jacobin's willingness to integrate, but also demand others to conform to the new social and political order. As the next section will demonstrate, similar demands made of the Basques would carry disastrous consequences.

Section 4: "Fanaticism Speaks Basque"

Whereas the universalist discourse of the Sacerdotal Revolution made possible the political inclusion of Sephardic Jews in the revolutionary government of Year II, its exclusionary discourse in turn transformed Basques into religious fanatics in need of revolutionary regeneration. Over the course of Year II, anxiety over the Spanish border and suspicion of Basque religiosity would lead revolutionaries in the South West to order the deportation and internment of as many as 4,000 Basques villagers living near the border.²¹⁶ It must be stressed, this policy of deportation and internment was entirely unprecedented in the history of the Revolution. While revolutionaries in the Vendée and Lyon resorted to extreme forms of mass violence, as others in the East would fantasize about guillotining a quarter of the German-speaking population, the decision to deport and intern an entire population of villagers was unique to the South West.²¹⁷ As this section demonstrates, the internments were an extension of the Sacerdotal Revolution in the South West,

²¹⁵ Joskowitz, *The Modernity of Others*, 3-9, 76-92, 274-277.

²¹⁶ Forrest, *The Revolution in Provincial France*, 235.

²¹⁷ For the proposal to guillotine a quarter of the German-speaking population, see: David Bell, "Lingua Populi, Lingua Dei: Language, Religion, and the Origins of French Revolutionary Nationalism," *The American Historical Review* 100, no. 5 (1995): 1416; for more on violence in the Vendée and elsewhere, see: Jean-Clément Martin, *Violence et Révolution: Essai sur la naissance d'un mythe nationale* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2006).

since the targets of repression were defined in terms of religious categories. Through this targeted repression and their accusations of religious fanaticism, revolutionaries in the South West contributed to a redefinition of Basque identity in terms of religion. Ultimately, it was during this period that revolutionaries would politicize Basque religiosity in their justification of internments.

By the summer of 1793, two important events came to define the politics of the Pays Basque of the department of the Basses-Pyrénées: the declaration of war against Spain and opposition to the Constitutional Church. First, the kingdom of Spain declared war on the French Republic on 7 March 1793.²¹⁸ As a result, revolutionaries would fix a vigilant eye on the Pyrenean border, fearful of an invasion by the “Tyrant of Castille.”²¹⁹ Additionally, the strong kinship ties between Basques on both sides of the border would draw the suspicion of Parisian authorities. War against Spain would also require the mass mobilization of resources in the region to support the military, thus placing more strain on the loyalties of the local population.²²⁰ Second, the establishment of the Constitutional Church and the installation of the Sanadon as the constitutional bishop of the department would further divide the Pays Basque. While figures for four of the districts of the Basses-Pyrénées are unknown, it is still possible to note that the percentage of the clergy swearing the constitutional oath in the Basque-speaking district of Ustaritz was below 23 percent, while in the Gascon-speaking district of Pau were as high as 70 percent.²²¹ The split of the clergy into constitutional and refractory factions in turn led to more public hostility and

²¹⁸ Forrest, *The Revolution in Provincial France*, 282-285.

²¹⁹ Martyn Lyons, *Revolution in Toulouse: An Essay on Provincial Terrorism* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1978), 131-146; Alphonse Aulard, *Le culte de la raison et le culte de l'Être Suprême (1793-1794): Essai historique* (Paris: Félix Alcan Éditeur, 1892), 129. In reference to one of Dartigoeyte's tirades against refractory priests, Aulard noted: “It's necessary to remember that at that moment priests of the South-West were in league with Spain, who invaded [France].”

²²⁰ Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale du Pays Basque*, 4:265-290.

²²¹ Forrest, *The Revolution in Provincial France*, 170.

unrest.²²² Further exacerbating the religious struggle was the proximity of the Spanish border and the emigration of priests hostile to the Constitutional Church to Spain. Thus, on the eve of the Terror, the Pays Basque was polarized by the Constitutional Church and in a state of alarm over the impending war with Spain. Likewise, both the declaration of war and religious polarization would lead many revolutionaries in Paris to suspect the loyalty of the region.

General ambivalence towards the Basque language was manifested in the debates over linguistic pluralism, as revolutionaries came to believe that the use of patois and other non-French languages were impediments to national regeneration. As early as February 1790, politicians like the abbé Grégoire blamed civil disturbance on the inability of peasants to understand the language of revolutionary government.²²³ At the core of the issue was the anxiety that patois-speaking priests were manipulating illiterate peasants into opposing the Revolution. This suspicion became even more pronounced during the Terror, when revolutionaries proposed several projects to purify the French language by eliminating patois and other non-French languages.²²⁴ On 8 Pluviôse Year II (27 January 1794), Bertrand Barère presented a report that denounced non-French languages as tools of counterrevolution. In his report, Barère famously declared: “Federalism and superstition speak Bas-Breton; emigration and hatred of the Republic speaks German; counterrevolution speaks Italian; and fanaticism speaks Basque. Let us break these instruments of injury and

²²² Forrest, *The Revolution in Provincial France*, 174-180; Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale du Pays Basque*, 4:228-239.

²²³ *Gazette nationale, ou Le Moniteur universel*, 11 February 1790, no. 42, 169.

²²⁴ For more on the linguistic policies of the French Revolution, see: Bell, “Lingua Populi, Lingua Dei,” 1403-1437; de Certeau, Julia, and Revel, *Une politique de la langue*, 9-60, 137-169; Sophia Rosenfeld, *A Revolution in Language: The Problem of Signs in Late Eighteenth-Century France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 123-180; for a classic account on the relationship between language and modernization, see: Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976), 67-94; for a more skeptical account of Jacobin language policy, see: Martyn Lyons, “Politics and Patois: The Linguistic Policy of the French Revolution,” *Australian Journal of French Studies* 18, no. 1 (1981): 264-281. Lyons believed that the policies themselves were less important than the ethnographic data that they provided; Patrice Higonnet, “The Politics of Linguistic Terrorism and Grammatical Hegemony during the French Revolution,” *Social History* 5, no. 1 (1980): 41-69. Higonnet argued that the linguistic policy was more of an “ideological compensation” and diversion from the failure of the revolutionary government to address material social problems.

error.”²²⁵ For Barère, Machiavellian priests had “confused the *law* and *religion* in the thought of these good inhabitants of the countryside.”²²⁶ While praising the valor of the Basques in defending the Republic and their ancient and sonorous language, Barère nonetheless worried that priests were using it to corrupt them: “But they have priests, and the priests use their language in order to fanaticize them; but they are ignorant of the French language and the language of the laws of the Republic. It is necessary that they learn it...”²²⁷ Although Barère did not question the patriotism of the Basques, he believed that their language made them susceptible to the influence of priests, who acted as unfaithful intermediaries between the Republic and the people. Only by eliminating the Basque language, would the frontier truly be secure. Additionally, the abbé Grégoire would also warn in his later report on patois that non-French languages and dialects in frontier regions undermined the security and unity of the Republic and facilitated the spread of religious fanaticism.²²⁸ Thus, the debate over linguistic pluralism was actually about the relationship between the language, religion and the nation in borderland regions.

If members of the National Convention worried about the Basque language, the representatives on mission were even less charitable to the Basques. In a letter written to the Committee of Public Safety on 20 April 1793, Ichon and Dartigoeyte warned: “Do not count on

²²⁵ Barère, “Rapport du comité de salut public sur les idiomes,” 295.

²²⁶ Barère, “Rapport du comité de salut public sur les idiomes,” 293; for more on the politics of the Basque language during the Revolution, see: Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale du Pays Basque*, 4:386-397; Aurélie Arcocha, “Sur la traduction en basque des textes officiels de la période révolutionnaire,” in *1789 et les Basques: histoire, langue et littérature: colloque de Bayonne, 30 juin-1er juillet 1989*, ed. Jean-Baptiste Orpustan (Talence: Presses universitaires de Bordeaux, 1991), 171-194; Egoitz Urrutikoetxea, *La politique linguistique de la Révolution française et la langue basque* (Bayonne: Elkar, 2018).

²²⁷ Barère, “Rapport du comité de salut public sur les idiomes,” 294.

²²⁸ Henri Grégoire, “Sur la nécessité et les moyens d’anéantir les patois et d’universaliser l’usage de la langue française (16 Prairial Year II),” in *Une politique de la langue*, 304; for a letter written to Grégoire concerning the Basque language, see: Pierre Dithurbide, “Letter from Citizen Dithurbide to Hénri Grégoire, 1 Messidor Year II (19 June 1794),” in *Lettres à Grégoire sur les patois de France, 1790-1794: Documents inédits sur la langue, les moeurs et l’état des esprits dans les diverses régions de la France, au début de la Révolution*, ed. Augustin Gazier (Paris: 1880), 158-160.

the Basques, because fanaticism disposes them in favor of the Spaniards.”²²⁹ For the representatives on mission, Basques living along the border were disloyal religious fanatics who would turn on the French at any moment: “We were assured that all the Basques on the border near the camps usually go to confess in Spain, and that the commanders of the camps tell us that one cannot trust any Basque, that they are in an enemy country, and that in case of defeat, they would have the Basques on their hands.”²³⁰ Although Ichon and Dartigoeyte admit that perhaps this was an exaggeration, it nonetheless is indicative of tensions between military leaders in the area and local communities. Moreover, like Barère and Grégoire, the threat of the Basque was precisely tied to their religious identity as Catholics and their ability to cross the border.²³¹ However, the fears of the representatives on mission and the military commanders in the western Pyrenees were not unfounded. In June 1793, the Spanish army had invaded the valley of Baïgorry, seizing the village of Les Aldudes with the support of the local inhabitants frustrated with the religious policies of the Revolution.²³² In an assembly held on 20 June 1793, the Aldudiens appealed to the Spanish king, accusing the French of depriving them of the means of subsistence and trying to impose “impious and pernicious maxims on the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Religion and on political government....”²³³ Following the French counteroffensive in the valley, the Aldudiens in turn evacuated their village, choosing to follow the Spaniards in retreat. Radical

²²⁹ Letter of Pierre Louis Ichon and Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte to the Committee of Public Safety, 20 April 1793, in *RACSP*, 3:363.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

²³¹ In his report, Grégoire remarked: “It is especially on our frontiers that dialects, common to peoples of opposed limits, establish dangerous relationships with our enemies, while, in the extent of the Republic, such jargon is as much a barrier that harms the movements of commerce and reduces social relations. By the respective influence of *moeurs* on language, and language on *moeurs*, they impede political amalgamation, and a single people becomes thirty.” Grégoire, “Sur la nécessité et les moyens d’anéantir les patois,” 304.

²³² Forrest, *The Revolution in Provincial France*, 233; Antoine Richard, “Les Basques pendant la guerre franco-espagnole (1793-1795),” *Annales révolutionnaires* 14, no. 2 (1922): 131-135; Jean Etcheverry-Ainchart, “La Vallée de Baïgorri sous la Révolution,” in *VIIIème Congrès d’Etudes Basques: Baiona, Ustaritz, 1954*, ed. Jean-Claude Larronde (Donostia: Eusko Ikaskuntza, 2003), 207-216.

²³³ Quoted in: Richard, “Les Basques Pendant la guerre franco-espagnole,” 132.

Jacobins would later use this incident as evidence of Basque treachery and it would come to inform their later decision to deport and intern Basques living along the border. What comments of the representatives on mission and the grievances of the Aldudiens demonstrate is that in the summer of 1793, religion was becoming a significant point of contention for both the Basques and the revolutionaries in the region.

Local rivalries in Labourd were equally influential in the decision to deport and intern the Basques living along the border. By October, Jacobins in Bayonne and Saint-Jean-de-Luz expressed distrust towards the Basques of Labourd. On 20 October 1793, the popular society of Bayonne resolved to send twenty-four members to “go fraternize with our brave brothers of the countryside and establish amongst them popular Societies.”²³⁴ Then again on 5 and 6 Brumaire Year II (26-27 October 1793), the Bayonnais decided to send “fiery patriots, who spoke with perfection the Language of the *Pays*, to go preach... about the apostolic mission of the revolution and all that tends to the true salvation of the Patrie.”²³⁵ However, it was in Chauvin-Dragon (Saint-Jean-de-Luz), that the question of internment was first raised.²³⁶ During a session of the popular society of Chauvin-Dragon on 2 Frimaire Year II (22 November 1793), began their meeting by denouncing the pernicious influence of fanaticism and demanded the abdication of priests.²³⁷ A member then rose to denounce the “coquins de Basques,” “bougres de Basques,” and “faiseurs de

²³⁴ ADPA, pôle de Bayonne, E Dépôt Bayonne 2 I 15, “Session of the Popular Society of Bayonne, 20 October 1793.”

²³⁵ ADPA, pôle de Bayonne, E Dépôt Bayonne 2 I 15, “Session of the Popular Society of Bayonne, 5 Brumaire Year II (25 October 1793)”; During the following meeting, Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, Cavaignac and Dartigoyte were present and remarked that the question of the “regeneration of the Pays Basque” was interesting; however, they did not see translation into Basque as necessary. ADPA, pôle de Bayonne, E Dépôt Bayonne 2 I 15, “Session of the Popular Society of Bayonne, 6 Brumaire Year II (26 October 1793)”; see also, Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale du Pays Basque*, 4:293-294.

²³⁶ Saint-Jean-de-Luz was renamed “Chauvin-Dragon” in honor of a revolutionary martyr, Chauvin the dragoon, who died in an assault against the Spanish. Ginsburger, “Première Partie: Histoire,” 9; for more on Chauvin-Dragon during the revolution, see: Goyhenetche, *Le pays basque*, 402-405.

²³⁷ ADPA, pôle de Bayonne, E Dépôt Saint-Jean-de-Luz 1 D 2, “Session of the Popular Society of Saint-Jean-de-Luz, 2 Frimaire Year II (22 November 1793).”; See also, Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale du Pays Basque*, 4:295-297.

prières” who had betrayed the French in favor of the Spanish. The popular society then supported a plan, proposed by Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, to evacuate the villages of the borderlands. Two days later, the Conseil Général of the Chauvin-Dragon, the surveillance committee and commissaires from the popular society met together in an assembly to deliberate on a “measure of general security.”²³⁸ In its decree, the assembly accused the Basque commune of Sare of “constantly manifesting the most marked hatred of the Revolution” and serving as a foyer for aristocrats, spies, and deserters. The assembly fulminated that “the lack of patriotisms of the inhabitants of the commune must draw the condemnation of all patriots and republican revenge, that it is dangerous to leave in its environs individuals as corrupt and who by their knowledge of the localities could still maintain their criminal liaisons with Spain.”²³⁹ They then went on to propose that the representatives on mission oversee the entire evacuation of the Basque village, intern its inhabitants in churches, oblige the interned villagers perform useful tasks for the Republic, and establish a military cordon in the region.²⁴⁰ Thus, it would be local revolutionaries, at the urging of Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, who would be the first to support the policy of deportation and internment of Basque villagers living along the border.

In the months leading up to the *arrêté* of 13 Ventôse Year II, the opinion of the representatives on mission regarding the Basques rapidly worsened. On 13 Nivôse Year II (2 January 1794), Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, Pinet and Cavaignac asked the Committee of Public Safety about the possibility of transferring a certain number of inhabitants from the Basque

²³⁸ ADPA, pôle de Bayonne, E Dépôt Saint-Jean-de-Luz 1 D 1, “Deliberations of the Conseil Général of Saint-Jean-de-Luz, 4 Frimaire Year II (24 November 1793).”

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ The decree specified that farmers be sent to Lot and Lot-et-Garonne; sailors, carpenters, and artisans to Gers; the elderly, infirm, and children were to be sent to national houses in distant departments; the grain of Sare was to be sold to Chauvin-Dragon; hay and straw was to be given to the army; the proceeds were then to be used to pay for the travel expenses and subsistence of the deported Basques. Ibid.

commune of Sare.²⁴¹ Then on 28 Nivôse Year II (17 January 1794), Jean-Bertrand Féraud, the representative on mission to the Army of the Western Pyrenees, reported that his enforcement of the *arrêté* of Dartigoeyte and Cavaignac prohibiting public religious worship had provoked unrest in the *pays de Soule*.²⁴² However, just days prior to 13 Ventôse, Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, Pinet, and Cavaignac sent the Committee of Public Safety a dire letter, detailing the latest betrayal by the Basques.²⁴³ For the representatives on mission, the Pays Basque was infested with fanaticism: “you have been instructed for a long time that a large part of the ... Pays Basque, and principally the part which neighbors the Spanish frontier, is inhabited by men that superstition, fanaticism and the love of gold had sold to the Spaniards.”²⁴⁴ They further added that the region is so “rotten that one cannot hope for any progress in the public spirit, as long as the present generation will exist; only terror and terrible punishments can contain men who are royalist in their hearts and Spaniards by fanaticism and interest. Their hearts are closed to the love of the Patrie and to republican principles.”²⁴⁵ They then went on to describe a recent desertion, where forty-seven “monsters” met up in a cabaret in Itxassou, participated in an orgy, and then deserted to the Spanish army. They further added that the plot was devised by a refractory priest who lived just over the border, and that upon inspection, gold was found in the place where they met. They ended their letter by recommending that the Pays Basque “should be purged, as the Vendée, by iron and fire....”²⁴⁶

²⁴¹ Letter of Jean-Baptiste Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, Jacques Pinet and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac to the Committee of Public Safety, 13 Nivôse Year II (2 January 1794), in *RACSP*, 10:40-41.

²⁴² Letter of Jean-Bertrand Féraud to the Committee of Public Safety, 28 Nivôse Year II (17 January 1794), in *RACSP*, 10:259.

²⁴³ Forrest, *The Revolution in Provincial France*, 234; Goyheneche, *Le pays basque*, 408; Castaingts-Bertervide, *La Terreur et la deportation des basques du Labourd*, 118-131; Antoine, *Les basques pendant la guerre franco-espagnole*, 135-137.

²⁴⁴ Letter of Jean-Baptiste Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, Jacques Pinet and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac to the Committee of Public Safety, 7 Ventôse Year II (25 February 1794), in *RACSP*, 11:398.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 11:398-399.

²⁴⁶ Letter of Monestier, Pinet and Cavaignac to the Committee of Public Safety, 7 Ventôse Year II,” 11:399; for more on the Vendée, see: David Bell, *The First Total War: Napoleon's Europe and the Birth of Warfare as We Know It* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2007), 154-185; Jean-Clément Martin, *La Vendée et la France* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1981).

Thus, on the eve of the deportations, revolutionary opinion of Basques living in the borderlands reached a nadir. For the revolutionaries, the Pays Basque constituted a new front in the Vendée.

The *arrêté* of 13 Ventôse Year II (3 March 1794) ordering the deportation and internment of Basques living along the Spanish border was the culmination of a long process that transformed the Basques into quintessential religious fanatics willing to betray the Revolution.²⁴⁷ In the preamble of the *arrêté*, Pinet and Cavaignac announced that period of mercy and indulgence was over.²⁴⁸ In light of the recent desertion of forty-seven Basques to Spain, the representatives on mission resolved to take measures “so rigorous that the blood of traitors flows at an instant” and “carry horror, terror and fear to these men who cherish priests, chains, and kings....”²⁴⁹ For Pinet and Cavaignac, “these monsters” who preferred to befriend “the slaves of a tyrant and the valets of the odious Inquisition” needed to be chained up “like ferocious beasts....”²⁵⁰ They decreed that the inhabitants of Sare, Itxassou, and Ascain would be taken from their homes and placed in interior departments, at least twenty leagues from the border. They also threatened the inhabitants of Espelette, Aïnhua and Souraïde with the same punishment if they detected the slightest suspicion of hatred for the Republic and love for the Spanish. The *arrêté* further ordered all those subject to internment would be arrested and placed in various free churches and *maisons nationales*

²⁴⁷ For more on the *arrêté* and internment, see: Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale du Pays Basque*, 4:297-300; Goyheneche, *Le pays basque*, 408-409; Forrest, *The Revolution in Provincial France*, 234; Castaingts-Beretervide, *La Terreur et la deportation des basques du Labourd*, 127-132; Richard, “Les Basques pendant la guerre franco-espagnole,” 135-137.

²⁴⁸ Archives Nationales D/III/356-357, Jacques Pinet and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac, “*arrêté* of 13 Ventôse Year II (3 March 1794).” From my exploration of the archives in the département of the Pyrénées-Atlantiques, Hautes-Pyrénées, Landes and Gers, there exists no copy of this *arrêté* because of a fire destroying much of the revolutionary era documents. Louis Soulice attested to the existence of the *arrêté* and provided a transcription in his inventory of the revolutionary archival material. Louis Soulice, *Essai d’une bibliographie du département des Basses-Pyrénées: période révolutionnaire, 1789-1800* (Pau: A. Lafon, 1874), 62-63; I am citing a transcription sent to the National Convention by Chaudron-Rousseau and included in the denunciation of Pinet and Cavaignac in Year III. A copy also exists at, AN AF/II/262/2212. Henceforth, Archives Nationales will be abbreviated as AN.

²⁴⁹ AN D/III/356-357, Jacques Pinet and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac, “*arrêté* of 13 Ventôse Year II (3 March 1794).”

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

in Bayonne and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, where they would remain under close surveillance. Finally, the *arrêté* established the Extraordinary Commission to prosecute similar crimes in the departments of the South West. Overall, the *arrêté* of 13 Ventôse Year II represented the culmination of months of anxiety over the loyalty of Basques living in villages along the border. From the Spanish occupation of Les Aldudes until the desertion at Itxassou, the representatives on mission and their local collaborators attributed these incidents to the religious fanaticism of Basques. Thus, unlike the Sephardic Jacobins of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the discourse of fanaticism played a greater role in constructing the Basque as the quintessential religious fanatic. Even in the alleged account of desertion at Itxassou, it is not surprising that a refractory priest figured in the narrative. Therefore, the *arrêté* of 13 Ventôse Year II and the anxiety over Basque religiosity should be seen as a continuation of the Sacerdotal Revolution.

Following the *arrêté* of 13 Ventôse Year II, Pinet and Cavaignac would further elaborate the justification of their harsh measures by spinning the incidents in the Pays Basque into a vast conspiracy of refractory priests and Spaniards to transform the region into the next Vendée. In a letter to the Committee of Public Safety on 18 Ventôse Year II (8 March 1794), Pinet and Cavaignac announced that they interned those “scoundrels the Basques, creatures and spies of the Spaniards” and assured the Committee that with “the vigorous measures that we have taken, we thwarted the plot to deliver all the parts of the frontiers that we occupy to the Spanish.”²⁵¹ They added that “blood of the monsters will flow, in expiation for so many crimes.”²⁵² On 27 Ventôse Year II (17 March 1794), the representatives on mission insisted on the existence of a Spanish plot,

²⁵¹ “Letter of Jacques Pinet and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac to the Committee of Public Safety, 18 Ventôse Year II (8 March 1794),” in *RACSP*, 11:601.

²⁵² *Ibid.*

noting that “all the Basques betrayed us, because they are entirely sold to the Spaniards.”²⁵³ Pinet and Cavaignac updated the Committee on the internment: “The measure of internment of the Basques continues with vigor, and we hope that we will finally purge this miserable *pays*, acquired by Spain through gold and priests, and which furnishes it with a nursery of spies who would give it possession of our plans of operations well before we would execute them.”²⁵⁴ Again, the emphasis in the writings of Pinet and Cavaignac was that the Basques sided with the Catholic king of Spain, who bought them off with money and religion. For the representatives on mission, Spain was the embodiment of all that was Catholic, and hence counterrevolutionary religious fanaticism, as opposed to the revolutionary cult of Reason.²⁵⁵ Then again on 6 Germinal Year II (26 March 1794), Pinet and Cavaignac connected their investigation of an alleged counterrevolutionary plot in the department of the Landes to the Basque plot: “But at the same time malicious men, former nobles, former seigneurs, priests, all the royalists secretly prepared a new Vendée. This conspiracy extends to the limits of the frontier and enveloped all the department of the Landes. It was manifested to us in a partial manner; a considerable emigration of the inhabitants of the Pays Basque first announced its existence.”²⁵⁶ By invoking the image of priests, Spain and the Vendée, Pinet and Cavaignac justified their internment by associating the Pays Basque with symbols of religious fanaticism in revolutionary discourse.

²⁵³ “Letter of Jacques Pinet and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac to the Committee of Public Safety, 27 Ventôse Year II (17 March 1794),” in *RACSP*, 12:28.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁵ For example, see Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme’s sermon on the Spanish. Archives Municipales Tarbes FRev I 5, Jean-Baptiste-Benoît Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, *Discours prononcé au Temple de la raison, en présence du peuple et de son Représentant, MONESTIER (du Puy-de-Dôme), le Décadi 20 Floréal, jour consacré à la célébration de nos victoires sur l’Espagnol* (Tarbes: an II [1794], 1-12. This speech is largely a condemnation of Spanish religious persecution and fanaticism; for French attitudes towards the Spanish, see: Jean-Frédéric Schaub, *La France espagnole: Les raciness hispaniques de l’absolutisme français* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2001).

²⁵⁶ Letter of Jacques Pinet and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac to the Committee of Public Safety, 6 Germinal Year II (26 March 1794), in *RACSP*, 12:200.

Although much of the process remains lacunary, it is still possible to reconstruct the general movement of the deportation and internment of the Basques in churches in Landes. According to the *arrêté* of 13 Ventôse, all those who were to be deported were to be sent Bayonne and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, where they would be under surveillance of the local revolutionary committee.²⁵⁷ Additionally, the *arrêté* specified that Hiriart and Harismendy, of the surveillance committee of Chauvin-Dragon, Doyambéhère, of the committee of Bayonne, and Simonet, from the committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, were to oversee the deportations. According to the later interrogation of Miguel Hirigoyen in Year III, revolutionaries arrested everyone in the village of Sare.²⁵⁸ The villagers were then marched from Saint-Pée, through Ciboure and Chauvin-Dragon, to Bayonne.²⁵⁹ On 1 Germinal Year II (21 March 1794), the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau informed the municipal officers of both the communes of Cap Brutus and Saint-Vincent-de-Tyrosse that they were to expect the arrival of two-hundred-fifty and two-hundred prisoners and should take the necessary measures to receive them.²⁶⁰ Then on 4 Germinal Year II (24 March 1794), the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau placed one of its

²⁵⁷ Castaingts-Beretervide, *La Terreur et la deportation des basques du Labourd*, 130.

²⁵⁸ When asked if the elderly, sick, children, and parents of citizens serving the Republic were exempted from the arrests, Miguel Hirigoyen, who participated in the expulsions, replied: "None of these people, he replied, were excepted. Not even the blind. He even made appeals in vain [il fit même vainement des représentations] either for some of the latter, or for the sick, or for the parents of those serving the Republic; they were not heard; and that the commissaires responded that no one should be left here at the mercy of the Spaniards." Quoted in: "Extraits du procès-verbal dressé le 12 Thermidor an III (27 juillet 1795) par la commission chargée d'enquêter sur 'L'affaire de l'internat des Basques'," in *La Révolution dans les Basses-Pyrénées*, ed. Claude Laharie (Pau: Archives Départementales des Pyrénées Atlantiques, 1989), 252.

²⁵⁹ Pierre Haristoy, *La période révolutionnaire (Cantons de Bayonne, Bidache, Espelette, Hasparren et les paroisses de Saint-Jean-de-Luz et Ciboure)*, vol. 1 (Pau: Imprimerie Vignancour, 1895), 253-254. Due to the destruction of the Departmental Archives of the Basses-Pyrénées and the Municipal Archives of Bayonne, the only narrative that we have of these events comes from Pierre Haristoy. However, it should be noted that the clerical historian was hostile to the Revolution, and as such, should be used carefully. For more, see: Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale du Pays Basque*, 4:8-10; Goyhenetche, *Les basques et leur histoire*, 187-205.

²⁶⁰ "Letter of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau to the municipal officers of the commune of Cap Brutus, 1 Germinal Year II (21 March 1794)," in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 197; "Letter of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau to the municipal officers of the commune of Saint-Vincent-de-Tyrosse, 1 Germinal Year II (21 March 1794)," in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 197.

members, Bergès, in charge of the prisons and ordered him to provide daily reports on the state of the prisoners.²⁶¹ From the letters and minute meetings of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, it appears that concerns over the spread of disease and overcrowding in the prisons led the Committee to send another one-hundred-and-one detainees to the “newly purified” churches of Ondres on 12 Germinal Year II (5 April 1794).²⁶² However, overcrowding may have continued to be a problem for the municipal governments of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Cap Brutus, Saint-Vincent-de-Tyrosse, and Ondres, leading Pinet and Cavaignac to order the redistribution of detainees throughout the district of Dax in the Department of Landes.²⁶³ In response to the “humane and beneficent views of the representatives of the People,” the Directoire of the District of Dax ordered the names, ages, and place of origin of all Basque women, men, and children held in churches in the Cap Breton and Saint-Vincent-de-Tyrosse.²⁶⁴ Upon learning that Basques were also held in churches of Ondres, the District extended its orders to cover that commune too.²⁶⁵ Finally, on 27 Floréal Year II, the District of Dax ordered the redistribution of detainees to the

²⁶¹ “Session of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 4 Germinal Year II (24 March 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 199.

²⁶² “Letter of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau to Jacques Pinet and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac, 12 Germinal Year II (1 April 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 208; “Letter of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau to the Conseil Général of Ondres, 16 Germinal Year II (5 April 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 212.

²⁶³ No copy of this *arrêté* of 12 Floréal Year II (1 May 1794) exists to the best of my knowledge. However, its existence is attested by the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the District of Dax, and the municipal government of Saint-Étienne-d’Orthe. The “humanitarian discourse” and provisions regarding tables mentioned by the Surveillance Committee and the District of Dax is very similar to the language of the *arrêté* of 5 Prairial Year II. It is very possible that the 12 Floréal *arrêté* in the department of Landes was a precursor to the more general provisions of the 5 Prairial Year II *arrêté*. “Letter of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau to the administrators of the District of Ustaritz, 16 Prairial Year II (4 June 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 257; ADL 28 L 2 District de Dax, “Session of the Directoire of the District of Dax, 15 Floréal Year II (4 May 1794);” ADL E Dépôt Saint-Étienne-d’Orthe 1 D 6, “List of Basques” in MS “Registre de la municipalité de Saint-Etienne d’Orthe.” This document contains no date and was presumably written between 27 Floréal Year II (16 May 1794) and 19 Prairial Year II (7 June 1794).

²⁶⁴ ADL 28 L 2, “Session of the Directoire of the District of Dax, 15 Floréal Year II (4 May 1794).”

²⁶⁵ ADL 28 L 2, “Session of the Directoire of the District of Dax, 17 Floréal Year II (6 May 1794).”

cantons of Dax, Tarnos, Peyrehorade, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Pouillon and Castets.²⁶⁶ Thus, between Ventôse and Floréal Year II, revolutionaries moved hundreds of Basque detainees from the borderlands in the Basses-Pyrénées and interned them in churches in the department of the Landes.

In general, the living conditions of Basques detainees throughout internment were harsh. First, local authorities in the Districts of Ustaritz and Dax appear completely unprepared for the internments. In a letter sent to general Laroche on 2 Germinal Year II (22 March 1794), the mayor and municipal officer of Cap Brutus noted that they had not received any decree fixing provisions for the detainees held in their temple of Reason and asked a series of questions regarding how much bread to give each detainee, general provisioning, sleeping conditions, hygiene, and how to deal with those who were sick.²⁶⁷ The Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau likewise complained about shortages in supplying the prisons.²⁶⁸ The Committee issued an order that detainees be allowed to eat their food outside if the weather was good, and specified that “whenever detainees need water, it cannot be refused under any pretext.”²⁶⁹ The District of Dax also issued its own regulations regarding the quality of food served to prisoners and detainees.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁶ According to the register of the Directoire of the District of Dax, 132 detainees were to be held at Dax; 125 at Tarnos; 143 at Peyrehorade; 125 at Jean-Jacques Rousseau; 118 at Pouillon; and 122 at Castets. ADL 28 L 2, “Session of the Directoire of the District of Dax, 27 Floréal Year II (16 May 1794).”

²⁶⁷ The mayor and municipal officer asked: “1). How much bread to give to each man (we do not have bread here, it is only *méture*)? 2. Can we allow them to buy wine and other provisions? 3). Can we permit them to have light during the night by lantern? 4). We note that we do not have meat; 5). Can we permit them to have mattresses? We made them carry straw to sleep. 6). Can we allow them to go out in pairs to wash their clothes? 7). If there are sick people, are we authorized take them out of the prison in order to bring them to another place to treat them?” Quoted in: Haristoy, *La période révolutionnaire*, 1:256-257.

²⁶⁸ “Letter of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau to the municipal officers of the commune of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 5 Floréal Year II (24 April 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 225; “Letter of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau to the municipality of Ustaritz at Bayonne, 4 Messidor Year II (22 June 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 275.

²⁶⁹ “Session of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 2 Floréal Year II (21 April 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 221; in general, the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau was marked by high degree of concern for the detainees. This care was in turn rebuked by the Surveillance Committee of Dax. “Letter of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau to the Surveillance Committee of Dax, 22 Messidor Year II (10 July 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 292.

²⁷⁰ ADL 28 L 2, “Session of the Directoire of the District of Dax, 18 Floréal Year II (7 May 1794).”

In addition to concerns over subsistence, the revolutionaries overseeing the internment also struggled to contain an outbreak of disease amongst the Basque detainees. In a dire letter to Pinet and Cavaignac, the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau warned: “Measles has already manifested itself there, and if smallpox arises, it is feared that the contagion will spread elsewhere. Therefore, it is time to prevent this new plague.”²⁷¹ A petition to the District of Dax also reveals that the municipal authorities of Vincent de Tyrosse had struggled with an outbreak of disease and were authorized by Pinet and Cavaignac to call for a doctor.²⁷² Finally, the decision by the District of Dax to redistribute detainees throughout the cantons on 27 Floréal Year II precipitated a child-separation crisis.²⁷³ By 16 Messidor Year II, the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau seems to suggest that the crisis was resolved after they “sent the Basque women and children detained in the [prison of the] Grande Redoute to their families disseminated in the district of Dax.”²⁷⁴ However, due to the lacunary sources, it is not clear how widespread the separations were in the South West. Thus, the conditions of Basques detainees held in internment in Year II was marked by poor living conditions, administrative incompetence, and disease.

Pinet and Cavaignac intervened one more time to give shape to their vision of internment: the complete regeneration of the Basques detainees. On 5 Prairial Year II (24 May 1794), Pinet and Cavaignac issued an *arrêté* ordering the redistribution of Basque detainees throughout the departments of Gers, Landes, Lot, Lot-et-Garonne, Basses- and Hautes-Pyrénées.²⁷⁵ The

²⁷¹ “Letter of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau to Jacques Pinet and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac, 12 Germinal Year II (1 April 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 208; see also, “Session of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 8 Germinal Year II (28 March 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 208.

²⁷² ADL 28 L 2, “Session of the Directoire of the District of Dax, 4 Messidor Year II (22 June 1794).”

²⁷³ “Letter of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau to the municipality of Ustaritz at Bayonne, 4 Messidor Year II (22 June 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 275.

²⁷⁴ “Letter of the Surveillance Committee of Jean-Jacques Rousseau to administration of the District of Ustaritz, 16 Messidor Year II (4 July 1794),” in *Le comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 288.

²⁷⁵ ADL 8 L 1 Jacques Pinet and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac, *arrêté* of 5 Prairial Year II (Mont-de-Marsan: an II [1794]).

representatives on mission declared that in light of war and public safety, “all sensibility must be silent” for “men whose continual emigration and constant conduct announces hatred for the republican government, and their ardent love for Kings and all the henchmen of fanaticism.”²⁷⁶ However, in trying to balance prudence and security, with the demands of humanity, Pinet and Cavaignac devised a new plan to regenerate and make these detainees more useful:

Considering that in removing these men from the frontiers, and consequently from the Spaniards, by dispersing them, by putting them with other citizens, one can hope to return them to the Patrie, and to make them good republicans; this hope is all the better founded, as belonging almost entirely to the estimable class of sans-culottes, it is largely due to ignorance in which the priests held them, that one must attribute their crimes.²⁷⁷

By dispersing them in smaller numbers, the representatives on mission hoped to refashion the Basques into good republican citizens devoted to the Patrie and break the hold of religion over them. Probably the most remarkable aspect of these new provisions is that they resembled those outlined by the abbé Grégoire in 1789 to bring about the “moral, physical and political regeneration” of French Jews.²⁷⁸ Like Grégoire in his essay on French Jews, Pinet and Cavaignac believed the problem of the Basques lay primarily with the persistence of superstition and fanaticism. Only by redistributing them throughout France, the Basques, like the Jews, would become good republican citizens. Ironically, Grégoire’s plan of assimilation and regeneration would be applied to the Catholic Basques of Labourd, instead of the Sephardic Jews of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Not much more is known about the execution of this *arrêté* and the internment of Basques in the surrounding departments.

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ For more on Grégoire’s essay on regeneration, see: de Baecque, *The Body Politic*, 136-137; Schechter, *Obstinate Hebrews*, 87-95; Samuels, *The Right to Difference*, 24-27; Sepinwall, *The Abbé Grégoire and the French Revolution*, 56-77.

Although internment would formally come to an end during the Thermidorian Reaction, the Thermidorian discourse condemning the measures of Pinet and Cavaignac continued to reinforce the image of Basques as quintessentially Catholic (if not religious fanatics). Following the recall of Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme in Messidor and Pinet and Cavaignac in Fructidor Year II, the National Convention sent Marc Antoine Baudot, Étienne-Joseph Delcher and Pierre-Anselme Garrau as representatives on mission to the Army of the Western Pyrenees, and Monestier de la Lozère as representative on mission to the departments of Landes, Hautes- and Basses-Pyrénées.²⁷⁹ The *arrêtés* of 8 and 10 Vendémiaire Year III (29 September and 1 October 1794), issued by Baudot and Garrau, officially ended the internment and allowed the Basques detainees to return home.²⁸⁰ Revelations about Basques internments would not reach the Thermidorian Convention until 1795. On 12 Nivôse Year III (1 January 1795), the newly elected president of the popular society of Bayonne, Léon Basterrèche, sent an address to the National Convention, condemning the conduct of Pinet and Cavaignac.²⁸¹ Basterrèche was the former mayor of Bayonne, whom the representatives on mission imprisoned during the Terror.²⁸² In his denunciation, Basterrèche accused Pinet, Cavaignac and Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme for persecuting the Basques for their religion: “Your *églésiades*, where three- to four-thousand Basques, a nation as brave as loyal, perished; because they loved liberty without licentiousness; that they detested atheists, and they rejected the moral maxims that you and your worthy colleague Monestier (du Puy-de-Dôme) disseminated in our region.”²⁸³ For Basterrèche, the treatment of the Basques was fundamentally

²⁷⁹ Michel Biard, *Missionnaires de la République: Les représentants du peuple en mission (1793-1795)* (Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2002), 455, 476, 489-490, 510, 555-556, 565.

²⁸⁰ Soulice, *Essai d'une bibliographie du département des Basses-Pyrénées*, 76; Haristoy, *La période révolutionnaire*, 1:262.

²⁸¹ Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale du Pays basque*, 310-311.

²⁸² Hourmat, *Histoire de Bayonne*, 160-161.

²⁸³ ADPA 1 L 13, Léon Basterreche, *Léon Basterreche de Bayonne au représentant Pinet aîné, député par le département de la Dordogne; Pour servir de supplément à la dénonciation des citoyens de Bayonne* (s.d.), 5.

tied to their religion. He further denounced the deplorable conditions of their detention in “living sepulchers,” filled with putrid air and disease. In another denunciation, Basterrèche would accuse Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme of “de-moralizing our cantons” and, specifically in “Saint-Pé, pays Basque, where the inhabitants had conserved their patriarchal *mœurs*, one of his agents guillotined a [statue of] a Christ before all the people. The day after, 50 families took refuge in the woods and mountains to flee similar atrocities.”²⁸⁴ For anti-terrorists like Basterrèche, the internment and persecution of French Basques was intimately tied to their religious identity. Thus, Thermidorian discourse only reinforced the association between Basques and Catholicism.

In contrast to this Basterrèche’s discourse was the use of neo-foralist historical discourse in the investigation conducted by Guillaume Chaudron-Rousseau, representative on mission to the Army of the Western Pyrénées between 13 Nivôse Year III (2 January 1794) and 29 Thermidor Year III (16 August 1795).²⁸⁵ Investigations into the conduct of Pinet, Cavaignac and Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme most likely were connected with Jean-Lambert Tallien’s condemnation of French war crimes in Spanish Basque Country by Pinet and Cavaignac on 27 Germinal Year III (16 April 1795). In his caustic speech, Tallien had demanded an investigation into French conduct during the invasion of northern Spain.²⁸⁶ Meanwhile, Monestier de la Lozère and Chaudron-Rousseau were conducting their own investigations into allegations.²⁸⁷ At Saint-Jean-de-Luz, the municipal government began investigating those involved in the internments.²⁸⁸ Chaudron-Rousseau then

²⁸⁴ AN D/III/354-355, Léon Basterrèche, “Dénonciations des Crimes de Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme aux membres composant les comités de gouvernement.”

²⁸⁵ Biard, *Missionnaires de la République*, 479.

²⁸⁶ *Gazette nationale, ou Le Moniteur universel*, 29 Germinal Year III (18 April 1795), no. 209, 330-331.

²⁸⁷ Forrest, *The Revolution in Provincial France*, 235.

²⁸⁸ ADPA, pôle de Bayonne, E Dépôt Saint-Jean-de-Luz 1 D 1, Guillaume Chaudron-Rousseau, “*arrêté* of 11 Floréal Year III (30 April 1795).” A transcript of this *arrêté* is found in the deliberations of the Conseil Général; for a list of those accused of those responsible for the internments in Chauvin-Dragon, see; ADPA, pôle de Bayonne, E Dépôt Saint-Jean-de-Luz 1 D 1, “List of Citizens from the Arrondissements of the Commune of Jeandeluz [sic], 25 Floréal Year II (14 May 1795).” See also, “ADPA, pôle de Bayonne, E Dépôt Saint-Jean-de-Luz 1 D 1, Guillaume

sent two reports to the Committee of Public Safety and the National Convention, detailing the responsibility of Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, Pinet and Cavaignac in the internment of the Basques. He specifically accused Monestier of initially proposing internments.²⁸⁹ In a separate report, he demanded justice for “the French Basques of the District of Ustaritz towards which one had exercised evils which the French Revolution presents no example.”²⁹⁰ Unlike Basterrèche’s denunciation, religion played no role in Chaudron-Rousseau’s narrative of the internment. Instead, he emphasized neo-foralist ideas that Basques were “idolators of liberty,” who resisted repeated foreign invasion throughout history and maintained separate privileged instructions under the Ancien Régime. Above all, Basques were defined as a people who were attached to their *moeurs*, language, and customs.”²⁹¹ Thus, it was the duty of the Republic to punish the guilty and compensate the victims in both French and Spanish Basque Country. But beyond his calls of justice, Chaudron-Rousseau’s report demonstrates that neo-foralist ideas about Basque identity continued to exist alongside revolutionary stereotypes of Basque religiosity.

During the Terror of Year II, Basque identity was fundamentally reconfigured along religious lines. In contrast to the Jewish community of Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne, perceived resistance to the Sacerdotal Revolution reinforced in the minds of radical revolutionaries that Basques were untrustworthy religious fanatics in need of regeneration. In many ways, the internment of the Basques, coterminous with the Sacerdotal Revolution, was an extension of the religious policies of the Terror. Suspicion of Basque religiosity led revolutionaries to believe that

Chaudron-Rousseau, “*arrêté* of 15 Prairial Year III (3 June 1795).” A transcript of this *arrêté* is also found in the deliberations of the Conseil Général.

²⁸⁹ AN D/III/354-355, “Letter of Guillaume Chaudron-Rousseau to the Committee of Public Safety, 3 Messidor Year III (21 June 1795).” In his letter, he wrote: “I discovered in the register of the Popular Society of Saint-Jean de Luz a Deliberation relative to the same topic and which I send you a verified excerpt. You will see that the inventor and agitator of the atrocious measure of interment... is our Colleague Monestier, du Puy-de-Dôme.”

²⁹⁰ AN D/III/356-357, “Letter of Guillaume Chaudron Rousseau to the National Convention, 18 Prairial Year III (6 June 1795).”

²⁹¹ Ibid.

they were conspiring with Spanish priests against the Revolution. Even the story of the desertion of Basque soldiers in Itxassou was predicated on the rumor that their desertion was organized by a priest. Symbolically interned in churches closed during the Sacerdotal Revolution, radical revolutionaries like Pinet and Cavaignac eventually intended to use internment as a means to assimilate and regenerate suspect Basques and transform them into good republican citizens devoted to the Patrie. Unwittingly, this reconfiguration of Basque identity help explains the emergence of a Basque nationalism in the nineteenth century that precisely emphasized Catholicism as a constitutive part of Basque identity.

Conclusion: Towards Modernity

This chapter argued that the Terror, and more specifically the Sacerdotal Revolution of Year II, constituted an important moment of identity formation and nation building in the South West. While the previous two chapters analyzed the parameters of inclusion and exclusion, respectively, in the French nation, this chapter centered more on the experience of two groups in the borderlands of the Republic. As such, it highlighted the important role of the Sacerdotal Revolution not only in providing the conditions of belonging through its universalist discourse, but also its exclusionary discourse that transformed those who fell outside its universalist discourse as the Other. In turn, although it lasted no more than a year, the experience of the Terror and the deployment of its universalist discourse would continue to play an important role in how both groups would come to relate to the French nation. On one hand, nineteenth-century French Jews would still employ the anticlerical and universalist discourse of the radical Revolution as a way to stake their claims to citizenship in France.²⁹² On the other hand, Basques would come to embrace

²⁹² Joskowicz, *The Modernity of Others*, 2-26, 270-277.

religion as one of the constitutive components of their ethnic identity. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the motto of a conservative and clerical Basque-language newspaper, *Eskualduna* (the Basque) would be “Euskaldun, Fededun” (“He who says Basque, says a Believer”).²⁹³ Thus, the paradoxical effect the universalist discourse of the Sacerdotal Revolution in the long term was to make possible a “secularized” form of citizenship, stripped of particular religious identities, and reinforce the clerical and conservative identities of groups excluded from this universalist discourse. In other words, secular forms of identity and citizenship and “traditionalist” and “conservative” forms of identity and nationalism were both constitutive elements of a type of modernity brought about by the Sacerdotal Revolution. True, the Revolution made Jews into Frenchmen; but also, it made Basques into Catholics.

As the first section of the chapter demonstrated, this trajectory was far from certain. During the Ancien Régime, a mix of corporate privileges, local institutions, language, and customs played a more important role in how groups defined themselves than religion. On one hand, the status of Basques and Sephardic Jews differed greatly. Basques in France were split between three different *pays*, understood as separate and independent from each other. Each of these *pays* had their own institutions, like the Biltzar in Labourd or the Estates General in Basse-Navarre. Only through the writings of neo-foralist elites like Sanadon, the Chevalier de Béla, Polverel and Garat that a sense of commonality was imposed on the region: “Basques” were to be understood primarily in terms of the ancientness of their love for liberty, language, *fueros*, and simplicity of their *moeurs*. In contrast, Sephardic Jews had established themselves within France as converso merchant corporations and only later reassumed a Jewish identity. However, both of these groups converge in a sense that at the end of the Ancien Régime, they defined their citizenship and belonging in

²⁹³ Jacob, “The French Revolution and the Basques,” 83.

terms of privileges and corporate status. In the writings of the neo-foralist authors, religion seemed to play little to no role in defining Basques and their relation to France. Likewise, the Sephardim of Bordeaux and Bayonne had achieved and maintained a degree of equal rights and privileges based on arguments about their ability to assimilate into French society. Thus, in the composite kingdom of France, religion would only play a secondary role to the regime of privileges.

With the coming of the Revolution, these Ancien Régime notions of belonging, citizenship and identity would unravel in face of the anti-corporatist discourse of the Revolutions. Again, a comparison between Basques and Sephardic Jews is fruitful here. On one hand, both groups approached the revolution on different terms. In the eyes of the monarchy, there was no question that the Basques would participate in the convocation of the Estates General. Basques comprised three important *pays d'états* of the South West, opposition of Navarre notwithstanding. While Basques already had established civil status within the kingdom, French Jews did not. However, both converge in their opposition to the August Decrees and the demands of the National Assembly for these groups to assimilate into the new order. Above all, both groups wanted to preserve their corporate privileges and local autonomy and saw the August Decrees as an existential threat. They also fiercely resisted revolutionary debate over their status, whether it was the Sephardim's letter to Grégoire asking him not to advocate on their behalf, or the Bas-Navarrese deputies refusing to participate at all in the deliberations of the National Assembly on grounds that they represented an independent kingdom. Thus, reform would come as a shock. For Basques, their historical institutions were dissolved overnight, with the assent of their representatives in the National Assembly, and they were regrouped into a new department dominated by Gascon-speakers of Béarn. For the Sephardim, emancipation meant that their old corporate institutions were to be dissolved and reconstituted only as voluntary associations. In other words, the beginning of the

revolution represented the dissolution of their Ancien Régime identities. Now individuals granted abstract political rights, they would have to come to reconstitute a new identity in the years to follow.

It was in this void left by the August Decrees and emancipation that the Terror would constitute a moment of reformulation of concepts of citizenship, belonging and the nation. As previous two chapters demonstrated, the Sacerdotal Revolution articulated a form of belonging grounded in universalist revolutionary religion that was hostile to all forms of particularism and separatism. Again, the intertwined history of the Sephardim of Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne and the Basques of Labourd help illustrate the inclusionary and exclusionary dimensions of this universalist discourse. On the one hand, Jews of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (Saint-Esprit) embraced the Sacerdotal Revolution, becoming one of its most important promoters in the region. Through the universalist and anticlerical discourse of the Terror, Jews of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, especially those sitting on the Surveillance Committee, were able to position themselves as model republican citizens devoted to the Patrie and achieve a political exercise of citizenship that not even emancipation was sufficient to provide them. On the other hands, radical revolutionaries would come to define Basques in terms of their religious identity, culminating in Pinet and Cavaignac's order to intern those living along the Spanish border. Reconstituted as religious fanatics, the representatives on mission intended to use internment to assimilate and regenerate these Basques, along lines first imagined by Henri Grégoire in his essay on Jews. As this conclusion suggests, these two different experiences would continue to shape the way that French Basques and Jews related to the French nation throughout the nineteenth century.

In conclusion, the Terror constituted a crucial moment in the shaping of citizenship, belonging and identity in the South West. First, the Sacerdotal Revolution left the possibility for

all French Catholics, Protestants, Jews, and Muslims to freely worship the Supreme Being and serve the nation as good republican citizens. However, perceived difference also served as the grounds to justify the complete exclusion, and even internment, of those deemed religious suspect to the Revolution. This chapter makes the case that historians need to center the period of the Terror as an important moment in the history of nation building, especially for Jews and Basques living in the South West.

Epilogue: Building Castles in Spain: The Sacerdotal Revolution in the Age of Thermidor (1794-1795)¹

“Thus, in breaking up an assembly whose plan was to take from us a province that we could regard as just indemnity for our war expenses, we would have thought... not to have done anything illegitimate, unjust..., to have acted only in the interests of France and... to have done our duty.”
- Jacques Pinet, aîné²

“It was the victory of Fleurus that killed not only the pontiff of the cult of the Supreme Being, but also the cult itself.”
- Alphonse Aulard³

Writing from the newly conquered Spanish port of San Sebastián on 22 Fructidor Year II (8 September 1794), Jacques Pinet announced the coming apparition of Spanish saints before the National Convention. Since 15 Prairial Year II (3 June 1794), the Army of the Western Pyrenees began its advance into northern Spain which eventually culminated in the occupation of the Spanish Basque province of Gipuzkoa by September 1794.⁴ During the occupation, Pinet and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac ordered the closing of churches, arrest of priests and confiscation of religious items, which presumably, the representatives on mission sent to Paris. In his letter he explained that “no sooner had the news of the departure of the Spanish saints spread, whose next appearance

¹ “There is no one, I think, who has not in idle moments imagined himself the hero of a romance. Such fictions, which we call “castles in Spain,” usually cause only faint impressions in the brain, because we pay little heed to them and they are soon dissipated by more real objects that demand our attention. But if some occasion for melancholy occurs that makes us avoid our best friends and dislike what we used to make us happy, then, seized by our sadness, our favorite romance will be the only idea that can distract us from it.” Etienne Bonnot de Condillac, *Essay on the Origin of Human Knowledge*, trans. Hans Aarsleff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 57.

² Jacques Pinet, *Le Conventionnel Pinet d'après ses mémoires inédits*, ed. Henri Labroue (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1907), 32. Henri Labroue's is a published copy of Pinet's unedited memoirs, with commentary placed throughout the text. All translations are mine, unless noted in the footnote or cited in an English translation.

³ Alphonse Aulard, *Le culte de la raison et le culte de l'Être suprême (1793-1794). Essai historique* (Paris: Félix Alcan Éditeur, 1893), 297.

⁴ Antoine Richard, “L'armée des Pyrénées occidentales et les représentants en Espagne (1794-1795),” *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 11, no. 64 (1936): 302-306; Antoine Richard, *Le gouvernement révolutionnaire dans les Basses-Pyrénées* (Bayonne: Éditions Harriet, 1984), 223-229; Jean Ansoborlo, *Les soldats de l'An II en Pays Basque: L'armée des Pyrénées-occidentales, de Sare 1793 à Bilbao 1795* (Bayonne: Société des sciences, lettres et arts de Bayonne, 1988), 14-20; Manex Goyhenetche, *Histoire générale du Pays Basque: La Révolution de 1789*, vol. 4 (Bayonne: Elkar, 2002), 341-351.

at the bar of the National Convention we have announced, than the desire to make the same trip immediately seized several of these other grave characters.”⁵ According to Pinet, “[t]he mania to see Paris” had become general, and was no longer limited to the Holy Roman Emperor, the Prussian king or the duke of Brunswick.⁶ He informed the Committee of Public Safety that he had just “sent a passport to these new travelers,” and further added that these “blessed saints” were “totally disgusted with possessions of this world” and brought with them treasure to deposit on the bureau of the Convention.⁷ Pinet’s sarcastic letter about the arrival of saint statues seized in Spain attests to three important observations. First, it indicated that even after the overthrow of Maximilien Robespierre on 9-10 Thermidor Year II, partisans of the Sacerdotal Revolution continued to attack religious worship. Second, it indicated that Pinet and Cavaignac, who oversaw the capitulation of the Spanish city, also applied their religious policies in Spanish territories under their control. Thirdly, the letter also marked the end of Pinet and Cavaignac’s administration in the South West. With the departure of the representatives on mission, the Sacerdotal Revolution in the South West would lose two of its most ardent apostles.

In closing this dissertation, this chapter will provide a brief overview of the final months of the Sacerdotal Revolution in the South West. This chapter makes three arguments. First, it contends that the French occupation of Gipuzkoa under Pinet and Cavaignac marked the final effervescence of the Sacerdotal Revolution in the region. Furthermore, this chapter maintains that the appearance of the Sacerdotal Revolution in Spain was intimately connected with Pinet and Cavaignac’s attempt to annex Gipuzkoa to the French Republic. Finally, it claims that the eventual

⁵ “Letter of Jacques Pinet to the Committee of Public Safety, 22 Fructidor Year II (8 September 1794),” in *Recueil des actes du Comité de salut public avec la correspondance officielle des représentants en mission et le registre du Conseil exécutif provisoire*, ed. François Alphonse Aulard, vol. 16 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1904), 593.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

end to the Sacerdotal Revolution was tied more to the end of armed conflict and increased factional infighting than to any dissatisfaction with the movement itself. The history of the Sacerdotal Revolution during the Thermidorian period was marked by four events: the invasion of northern Spain, the fall of Robespierre, the recall of the representatives on mission, and the formal separation of Church and State in Year III. With the departure of the representatives on mission, the political purges of Year III, the opening of peace talks with Republic's enemies, the Sacerdotal Revolution effectively came to an ambiguous denouement. Finally, this chapter ends with a general conclusion and summary of the dissertation.

Section 1: Ambiguities of Thermidor

In general, the end of the Sacerdotal Revolution in the South West was not the result of general opposition from revolutionaries newly empowered by the Thermidorian Reaction; rather, the religious policies of the Terror came to an end nearly a year later, following a desire by the National Convention to fully extricate itself from religious disputes altogether. The Thermidorian period in the South West was marked five major events. First, the invasion of northern Spain by the French army, which saw both the exit of Pinet and Cavaignac from the district of Ustartiz, while also the extension of the Sacerdotal Revolution to the occupied territory of Gipuzkoa. Second, the overthrow of Robespierre in Thermidor by his opponents in the National Convention. Third, the general recall of Jean-Baptiste-Benoît Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, Pinet, and Cavaignac. Fourth, the arrival of Monestier de la Lozère and the beginning of the Thermidorian reconfiguration in Year III. Finally, the general separation of Church and State by Year III. This section suggests that the first four of these events did not necessarily lead to the overturning of the Sacerdotal Revolution; rather, it was the eventual declaration of peace between France and its

enemies, as well as the factional infighting between the Thermidorians and the Montagnards in the National Convention that led many deputies to support the final separation of Church and State.

By the summer of Year II, the Army of the Western Pyrenees, at the urging of representatives on mission and with the support of the Committee of Public Safety, began its general offensive against the Spanish in the Pyrenees.⁸ After initial reservations from general Jacques Léonard Muller, French forces pressed into Spain on 6 Thermidor Year II (24 July 1794). In a proclamation read to the soldiers, the representatives on mission to the army declared: “Brave soldiers! That moment, so long desired and awaited with such impatience, has arrived where the brave army of the Western Pyrenees, finally arising above all obstacles that malice had created around it to condemn it to nullity, will prove to Europe... that it is the worthy sister of the armies of the North and South.”⁹ The military operations quickly resulted in a swift French victory over émigré and Spanish forces.¹⁰ In the east, the left flank of the French army commanded by Bon-Adrien Jeannot de Moncey, accompanied by Pinet and Cavaignac, took control of the Batzan valley, while the center, accompanied by Garrau took Vera on the Bidasoa river. Then at the beginning of August, the French army in the west overran Irun and captured Pasajes and Hernani.¹¹ San Sebastián soon capitulated to the French army on 16 Thermidor Year II (3 August 1794)

⁸ Richard, “L’armée des Pyrénées occidentales et les représentants en Espagne,” 303-306; Richard, *Le gouvernement révolutionnaire dans les Basses-Pyrénées*, 223-229; Maïté Lafourcade, “L’occupation du Guipuzcoa et la Terreur,” *Justice et politique: La Terreur dans la Révolution française*, ed. by Germain Sicard (Toulouse: Presses de l’université Toulouse, 1997), 189-198. Alan Forrest, *The Revolution in Provincial France: Aquitaine, 1789-1799* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 286-288; Ansoborlo, *Les soldats de l’An II en Pays Basque*, 14-20.

⁹ Jacques Pinet, Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac and Pierre-Anselme Garrau, “Les représentants du peuple près l’armée des Pyrénées-Occidentales aux braves soldats qui composent cette armée,” in *Réimpression de l’ancien Moniteur: seule histoire authentique et inaltérée de la Révolution française depuis la réunion des États-Généraux jusqu’au Consulat (mai 1789-novembre 1799)*, vol. 21 (Paris: Plon Frères, 1847), 443

¹⁰ For an account of the military operation, see: “Letter of Jacques Pinet, Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac and Pierre-Anselme Garrau to the Committee of Public Safety, 11 Thermidor Year II (29 July 1794),” in *Réimpression de l’ancien Moniteur*, 21:406-408. See also Moncey’s report on the invasion, following Pinet, Cavaignac, Garrau’s letter.

¹¹ For an account of the military operation, see: *Journal des débats et des décrets*, no. 691, 25 Thermidor Year II, 422-425.

without any resistance. Finally, Tolosa fell soon afterwards, thus rendering control of central and eastern portions of the province of Gipuzkoa to the French Republic.

On the eve of the French invasion of northern Spain, revolutionaries in southwestern France portrayed the war against Spain as a type of crusade against religious fanaticism. Such rhetoric was not new and goes back to the sixteenth-century when the Spanish intervened on the side of the Catholic League during the wars of religion.¹² Furthermore, the Spanish Inquisition had long served as an enduring symbol of religious fanaticism and a foil against which eighteenth-century writers had advanced their own arguments in favor of religious toleration.¹³ However, in the climate of war and the Sacerdotal Revolution, revolutionaries would draw on these older tropes as they described their own struggle as one of liberation and emancipation against the forces of religious fanaticism. During one speech delivered in a temple of Reason to commemorating a recent French victory over the Spanish army, the struggle was described as a type of battle between the natural religion and fanaticism.¹⁴ The representatives on mission were even more direct when they deployed eschatological rhetoric in their address to the French soldiers on the eve of the invasion of northern Spain:

Soldiers of liberty, destroyers of tyranny and fanaticism, you before whom all thrones topple, you whom the torch of Reason precedes, you who gives to the universe, to posterity,

¹² For example, see: [Antoine Arnauld], *Coppie de l'anti-Espagnol faict à Paris* (Paris: 1590), 18. Arnauld alleged that Philip III of Spain was half-Moor and half-Jew. For more on anti-Spanish political writings during the wars of religion, see: David Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680-1800* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 87, 101; Myriam Yardeni, *La conscience nationale en France pendant les guerres de la religion (1559-1598)* (Paris: Béatrice-Nauwelaerts, 1971), 270-277, 317-330; see also, Jean-Frédéric Schaub, *La France espagnole: Les raciness hispaniques de l'absolutisme français* (Paris: Seuil, 2003); See also, Jean René Aymes, *Voir, comparer, comprendre: regards sur l'Espagne des XVIIIe et XIXe siècles* (Paris: Presses Sorbonne nouvelle, 2003).

¹³ Juan Pablo Domínguez, "A State within the State: The Inquisition in Enlightenment Thought," *History of European Ideas* 43, no. 4 (2017): 376-388.

¹⁴ Archives Municipales of Tarbes, Rév Fr, I 5, *Discours prononcé au Temple de la raison, en presence du peuple et de son Représentant, Monestier (du Puy-de-Dôme), le Décadi 20 Floréal, jour consacré à la celebration de nos victoires sur l'Espagnol* (Tarbes: an II [1794]), 1-8. The speaker declared, "Fanatical Spaniards!... You fight for the cause of kings against the people, and we fight for the cause of the people against kings. And because it is a God who punishes crimes and recompenses virtue, judge if that god sides with the Spaniards, who fight under the standards of crime, or the French, who defend the cause of virtue." Archives Municipales will henceforth be abbreviated as AM.

the astonishing example of a people as just as they are courageous, as great as they are formidable, as magnanimous as they are terrible, your destiny is forever fixed: through you liberty, which fanaticism and despotism had driven from amongst the peoples, will see its empire reestablished, and the happiness of mankind will be your work.¹⁵

For Pinet, Cavaignac, and Garrau, the French invading forces were a type of crusading army meant to overturn despotism and religious fanaticism and reestablish the reign of liberty and reason. Thus, guided by a self-imposed civilizing mission, the revolutionaries believed that they were bringing about the regeneration of the Spanish people.

However, as French occupation of Gipuzkoa began to set in, Pinet and Cavaignac immediately began to quarrel with the local Basque notables over whether the province was to be established as an independent republic or annexed into the Republic. In general, many Gipuzkoans welcomed the French armies.¹⁶ Additionally, the local bourgeoisie also had consumed the liberal ideas of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution.¹⁷ Following the capitulation of San Sebastián, the Diputación of Gipuzkoa at Guetaria sent Joaquín Berroeta-Zarauz y Aldamar, Fernando Echabe-Asu y Romero and José Hilarión Maíz y Javier Leizaur to open negotiations with the French and request that the Junta General of the people be allowed meet and deliberate over the fate of the province.¹⁸ All of these representatives supported the idea of a transforming the province into an independent republic. In case that the revolutionaries reject the request to convoke the Junta General, the representatives also carried with them a project of accord,

¹⁵ Pinet, Cavaignac and Garrau, “Les représentants du peuple près l’armée des Pyrénées-Occidentales aux braves soldats qui composent cette armée,” in *Réimpression de l’ancien Moniteur*, 21:443.

¹⁶ Lafourcade, “L’occupation du Guipuzcoa et la Terreur,” 189-198.

¹⁷ In 1765, the Real Sociedad Bascongada de Amigos del País was founded in Gipuzkoa and was an important source of Enlightenment ideas. For more, on the Gipuzkoan bourgeoisie, the Enlightenment, and the Revolution, see: Álvaro Aragón Ruano, “La Guerra de la Convención, la separación de Guipúzcoa y los comerciantes vasco-franceses y bearneses,” *Pedralbes: revista d’història moderna* 31 (2011): 170-182; Elisabel Larriba, “Las Reales Sociedades Económicas de Amigos del País y la presna de la Ilustración,” in *Les élites et la presse en Espagne et en Amérique latine: des Lumières à la seconde guerre mondiale*, ed. Paul Aubert and Jean-Michel Desvois (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2001), 33-47.

¹⁸ D. Cirilo Chico Coméron, “Actitudes políticas en Guipúzcoa durante la Guerra de la Convención (1793-1795),” (PhD Diss: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2011), 40-42.

comprised of seven articles, the third of which requested that Gipuzkoa “be the independent province as it was in 1200.”¹⁹ The representatives on mission permitted the Juntó General to meet. The Juntó General then sent Pinet and Cavaignac a proposal of accord comprised of eight articles, which requested that: the French respect the Catholic worship in Gipuzkoa; the military leaders punish insubordinate soldiers; the representatives on mission clarify their obligations in defending the territory; and the French refrain from interfering in the provisional government of the province.²⁰ Thus, in the negotiations with the French military and the representatives on mission, the Gipuzkoan notables tried to maintain a degree of independence vis-à-vis the French Republic.

In contrast, Pinet and Cavaignac strongly supported the annexation of the Basque province.²¹ In general, revolutionaries were divided over whether or not it was appropriate for a republic to either annex foreign territory or establish “sister republics” in conquered territories.²² Regardless of the tergiversations of some revolutionaries, Pinet and Cavaignac clearly expressed their desire to annex the province.²³ In their address to the French soldiers on the eve of invasion, the representatives on mission declared that “the Spanish territory which we will enter must be part of the republic” and that “what matters for us is to fix the limits of the republic with our triumphant arms.”²⁴ Right from the outset, the representatives on mission declared their intention

¹⁹ Quoted in: Chico Coméron, “Actitudes políticas en Guipúzcoa durante la Guerra de la Convención (1793-1795),” 41.

²⁰ Ibid., 43-44.

²¹ Richard, “L’armée des Pyrénées occidentales et les représentants en Espagne,” 306-312.

²² For more on this debate, see: Andrew Jainchill, *Reimagining Politics after the Terror: The Republican Origins of French Liberalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 141-196; Edward James Kolla, *Sovereignty, International Law, and the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 121-205.

²³ Pinet would further elaborate in his memoir: “The project of making Spain cede Gipuzkoa was far from being inconceivable; its possession would have assured to France two excellent ports in the gulf of Gascony, that of Pasajes and that of San Sebastián, while it only possesses that of Bayonne, where vessels of war cannot enter because of the rip current which obstructs its mouth. We would have been all the more justified in thinking thus, [since] the Committee of Public Safety kept asking us: ‘When will you tell us of the occupation of the port of Pasajes and San Sebastián?’” Pinet, *Le Conventionnel Pinet d’après ses mémoires inédits*, 32.

²⁴ Pinet, Cavaignac and Garrau, “Les représentants du peuple près l’armée des Pyrénées-Occidentales aux braves soldats qui composent cette armée,” in *Réimpression de l’ancien Moniteur*, 21:443-444; for more on the

was to annex Gipuzkoa. After granting the Junta General the right to deliberate, Pinet wrote to them, saying:

If the commissaires named by the inhabitants of Gipuzkoa come to ask *that this province be part of the territory of the Republic*, if they come throw themselves into the arms of the greatest and most generous peoples, the representatives will make their voices reach the National Convention which... will pronounce what seems suitable for the glory and majesty of a people of which it is the organ.²⁵

Thus, from the start, negotiations between the Gipuzkoan commissaires and the representatives on mission could only end with the annexation of the Basque province. When the Junta General insisted on the possibility of independence, Pinet and Cavaignac sent a blistering reply: “The Representatives of the People declare to the Junta General that it must renounce the idea of forming a separate Republic,” reasoning that an independent republic of Gipuzkoa would be too small, lack resources and manpower, and would only end up relying on the French Republic to defend it from Spain.²⁶ The representatives on mission then gave the Junta General twenty-four hours to decide if it wanted to be a part of the French republic, lest the revolutionaries treat it as a conquered territory. Thus, for the representatives on mission, the desired outcome of the occupation was the annexation of Gipuzkoa to the French Republic.

rhetoric of natural limits, see: Peter Sahlin, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 19-22, 34-43, 96-99, 186-192.

²⁵ “Letter of Jacques Pinet, 18 Thermidor Year II (5 August 1794),” quoted in: Richard, “L’armée des Pyrénées occidentales et les représentants en Espagne,” 307.

²⁶ Jacques Pinet and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac, *arrêté* of 2 Fructidor Year II (19 August 1794), quoted in: Chico Coméron, “Actitudes políticas en Guipúzcoa durante la Guerra de la Convención (1793-1795),” 390-393; in his memoirs, Pinet would further reflect: “I could have committed an error, but my intentions would have been pure; I would have been determined neither by a spirit of tyranny nor by a sentiment of cruelty towards the peaceful inhabitants who were animated by a desire of independence; I would have thought that this pretention of the inhabitants of Gipuzkoa, in supposing it to be sincere, was a chimera of impossible execution; because how can one suppose that a small country, pressed between France and Spain, could have conserved its independence? Spain, irritated by that change, would certainly have, at the first favorable opportunity, invaded a province that it would never have ceased to regard as belonging to it. On the other hand, that pretention to establish itself as a free and neutral State could have been regarded as a ruse put forward and suggested by the Spanish government in order to prevent France from appropriating that province for itself, and make it cede it as an indemnity for the cost of war: a ruse to which the inhabitants would have lent themselves willingly in order to not become a French province.” Pinet, *Le Conventionnel Pinet d’après ses mémoires inédits*, 31-32.

Frustrated with the Junta General, Pinet and Cavaignac transform Gipuzkoa into a “*pays conquis*” and introduced the Terror into the administration of the province.²⁷ Initial step towards instituting the Terror first came with the *arrêté* of 29 Thermidor Year II (16 August 1794) which established a surveillance committee, comprised of eleven French members and one Spanish member, in the city of San Sebastián.²⁸ Like its French counterparts, this committee would have a wide ranging authority to investigate and arrest anyone deemed suspect. Then citing the ingratitude of the Gipuzkoans and their refusal to promptly accept annexation, Pinet and Cavaignac issued an *arrêté* on 6 Fructidor Year II (23 August 1794) declaring that the province would be governed as a “conquered territory.”²⁹ The *arrêté* further specified that the representatives on mission would at a later date “establish there such a mode of government which will be judged the most useful, according to the localities and circumstances, and according to what may require the precautionary measures needed for the conservation of the conquests of the army of the Republic.”³⁰ The representatives also ensured that “the interests of the inhabitants will be looked after, their needs listened to, and the solicitude of the Representatives of the people will watch over them.”³¹ The *arrêté* also prohibited all local assemblies, provided measures for securing subsistence, outlined provisions for the taking of hostages, and threatened punishment for anyone found trying to “arouse the imagination of the people.”³² The *arrêté* also stressed that National Convention wanted

²⁷ Richard, “L’armée des Pyrénées occidentales et les représentants en Espagne,” 308-310; Richard, *Le gouvernement révolutionnaire dans les Basses-Pyrénées*, 225-229; Lafourcade, “L’occupation du Guipuzcoa et la Terreur,” 189-198.

²⁸ Jacques Pinet and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac, *arrêté* of 29 Thermidor Year II (16 August 1794), quoted in: Fermín de Lasala y Collado, *La separación de Guipúzcoa y la paz de Basilea* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1895), 166-169.

²⁹ Archives Départementales des Hautes Pyrénées 1 L 149, Jacques Pinet and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac, *arrêté* of 6 Fructidor Year II (23 August 1794). Henceforth, Archives Départementales des Hautes Pyrénées will be abbreviated as ADHP.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² ADHP 1 L 149, Jacques Pinet and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac, *arrêté* of 6 Fructidor Year II (23 August 1794).

to make San Sebastián “a formidable rampart of the republic.”³³ Finally, the members of the Junta General at Guetaria were arrested and held as hostages in Bayonne two days later.³⁴ Thus, by mid-August 1794, Pinet and Cavaignac effectively established the Terror in San Sebastián.

As Terror began to creep into the streets of San Sebastián, Pinet and Cavaignac decided to further regenerate the city by introducing the Sacerdotal Revolution. The two anti-clerical representatives on mission had long complained that Spanish priests and French émigrés were trying to convince the local people that French armies were comprised of anthropophagi.³⁵ However, the representatives on mission were under strict orders from the Committee of Public Safety and the conditions of the capitulation of San Sebastián to respect the freedom of religious worship in the Spanish Basque territories.³⁶ The religious policy of the representatives on mission soon changed after Pinet discovered a correspondence between the Junta General and the Spanish government. In a letter to the Committee of Public Safety on 8 Fructidor Year II (26 August 1794), after accusing the Junta General of purposely delaying its decisions, Pinet then turned to the question of priests: “We must not hide it from you, citizen colleagues, we live here in the midst of our most cruel enemies. A people who are cagots, superstitious, fanatical and enslaved, having for a master a tyrant, a tribunal of blood, and priests, [who] must detest a nation which has also shaken despotism and all prejudices.”³⁷ He further remarked that the Spanish were trying to foment another Sicilian Vespers against the French army. Pinet and Cavaignac followed up their letter by

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ “Jacques Pinet to the Committee of Public Safety, 8 Fructidor Year II (26 August 1794),” in *RACSP*, 16:353.

³⁵ “Letter of Pinet, Cavaignac and Garrau to the Committee of Public Safety, 11 Thermidor Year II (29 July 1794),” in *Réimpression de l’ancien Moniteur*, 21:411.

³⁶ “The Committee of Public Safety to Jacques Pinet, Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac, and Pierre-Anselme Garrau, 22 Thermidor Year II (9 August 1794),” in *RACSP*, 15:796; “Capitulation accordée par le général de division commandant les troupes de la république, au gouverneur de la ville et citadelle de Saint-Sebastien, et à ses magistrats, 16 Thermidor Year II (3 August 1794),” in *Journal des débats et des décrets*, no. 691, 25 Thermidor Year II, 420.

³⁷ “Jacques Pinet to the Committee of Public Safety, 8 Fructidor Year II (26 August 1794),” in *RACSP*, 16:353.

issuing a new *arrêté* on 12 Fructidor Year II (30 July 1794) ordering the placement of sentinels outside the doors of all churches.³⁸ Finally, facing panic and turmoil, Pinet and Cavaignac issued the *arrêté* of 23 Fructidor Year II (10 August 1794), which ordered the arrest of all priests, their imprisonment in Bayonne, the closing of all churches, and prohibited the wearing of religious clothing.³⁹ In another *arrêté* of 22 Fructidor Year II (9 August 1794), the representatives on mission decreed the seizure of religious items, which were to either be burned or sent to the National Convention.⁴⁰ Finally, the denunciation of Pinet and Cavaignac by the anti-Jacobin, Léon Basterreche, seems to suggest that Pinet and Cavaignac may have also celebrated festivals in San Sebastián, similar to those of the Sacerdotal Revolution in southwestern France.⁴¹ Thus, by the end of Year II, Pinet and Cavaignac began to introduce the Sacerdotal Revolution into Gipuzkoa.

Although, Pinet and Cavaignac were to leave soon afterwards, the final days of their mission are important in that they represent the last effervescence of the Sacerdotal Revolution in the South West and its connection to a nation-building project. As will be discussed later, the timing of these events is important since they demonstrate the continuation of the Sacerdotal Revolution in the South West long after Robespierre was toppled on 9-10 Thermidor Year II. Additionally, the timing of the Sacerdotal Revolution in Gipuzkoa is also significant in that it immediately followed from the attempts by the representatives on mission to annex the province. As the last few *arrêtés* of Pinet and Cavaignac attest, it was not enough to simply establish military rule or arrest priests, if the French wanted to firmly establish control over Gipuzkoa, they would

³⁸ Jacques Pinet and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac, *arrêté* of 12 Fructidor Year II, quoted in: Fermín de Lasala y Collado, *La separación de Guipúzcoa y la paz de Basilea* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1895), 170-171.

³⁹ ADHP 1 L 149, Jacques Pinet and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac, *arrêté* of 23 Fructidor Year II (10 August 1794).

⁴⁰ Richard, "L'armée des Pyrénées occidentales et les représentants en Espagne," 311.

⁴¹ Archives Départementales des Pyrénées Atlantiques, pôle de Pau, 1 L 13, Léon Basterreche, *Léon Basterreche de Bayonne, au représentant Pinet aîné, député par le département de la Dordogne; Pour servir de supplément à la dénonciation des citoyens de Bayonne*, 7-8. Henceforth, Archives Départementales des Pyrénées Atlantiques will be abbreviated as ADPA.

also need to change the *moeurs* of the people. In the *arrêté* of 12 Fructidor, the representatives on mission observed that the inhabitants of Gipuzkoa were still under the empire of prejudice and that reason had made little progress amongst them.⁴² In their *arrêté* of 23 Fructidor, it was the Gipuzkoan religiosity that opened them up to the rumors spread by priests.⁴³ Years later, Pinet would recall in his memoir that “the Spanish peasants, who were ignorant, fanatical and superstitious, regarded the republican French as heretics, the agents of hell, and, stimulated by their priests, were well disposed to bring themselves to commit all kinds of offenses, persuaded that in murdering them they would do a work pleasing to God.”⁴⁴ Thus, the *moeurs* of the Spanish peasants constituted a barrier to French rule, and religious restrictions were needed in order to secure the French conquest of the province. More than anything else, the simultaneous push by Pinet and Cavaignac to annex Gipuzkoa, their transformation of the province into a *pays conquis*, and their simultaneous imposition of religious restrictions, despite orders from the Committee of Public Safety, ultimately demonstrate that war, religion, and nation-building were interrelated concepts in the Sacerdotal Revolution.

As Pinet and Cavaignac battled Spanish priests in northern Spain, another profound transformation was taking shape in Paris: the overthrow of Maximilien Robespierre by the National Convention. Over the course of the Spring of 1794, dissatisfaction with the religious policies of Robespierre and a jurisdictional conflict between the Committee of Public Safety and Committee of General Security bubbled over into outright conflict.⁴⁵ In the lead up to Thermidor,

⁴² Pinet and Cavaignac, *arrêté* of 12 Fructidor Year II, quoted in: Fermín de Lasala y Collado, *La separación de Guipúzcoa y la paz de Basilea*, 170-171.

⁴³ ADHP 1 L 149, Jacques Pinet and Jean-Baptiste Cavaignac, *arrêté* of 23 Fructidor Year II (10 August 1794).

⁴⁴ Pinet, *Le Conventionnel Pinet d'après ses mémoires inédits*, 34.

⁴⁵ Donald M.G. Sutherland, *The French Revolution and Empire: The Quest for a Civic Order* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 229-233; Martyn Lyons, “The 9 Thermidor: Motives and Effects,” *European Studies Review* 5, no. 2 (1975): 123-146.

Robespierre had increasingly attacked representatives like Joseph Fouché for their political forms of atheism – that many others, like Pierre-Arnaud Dartigoeyte and Cavaignac had expressed in their own Sacerdotal Revolution. Additionally, members of the Committee of General Security, like Jean-Pierre-André Amar and Marc-Guillaume Alexis Vadier, deeply opposed Robespierre's move to recognize the existence of God and the immorality of the soul in his Cult of the Supreme Being. Finally, Vadier's own investigation into Catherine Théot, the so-called "Mère du Dieu," whom Vadier revealed wrote to Robespierre that he was a new Messiah, and Robespierre's intervention to prevent her trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal further alienated many Montagnards who feared that Robespierre was compromising too much when it came to Catholicism.⁴⁶ As Martyn Lyons observed, "religious questions lay at the heart of the Montagnard opposition to Robespierre, and were not merely an excuse for that opposition. Catholicism, and its alternatives... formed, after all, the most important cultural issue of the Revolution."⁴⁷ In other words, "the coup of 9 Thermidor was a revolution of the Left."⁴⁸ Therefore, it would be a mistake to confuse the eventual conservative politics of the Thermidorian Reaction with opposition to the Sacerdotal Revolution.⁴⁹ To a certain extent, the Thermidorian opposition to Robespierre was meant only to continue the war against Catholicism. Even as Pierre-Nicolas Chantreau lamented

⁴⁶ Catherine Théot was a visionary who predicted the end of the world and believed that Robespierre was the new Messiah. One of her followers was the former deputy and Carthusian monk, dom Christophe Antoine Gerle. During Vadier's investigation, Robespierre personally intervened to protect both from being brought before the revolutionary tribunal.

⁴⁷ Lyons, "The 9 Thermidor," 138.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 141.

⁴⁹ Françoise Brunel noted that "with the notorious exception of Vadier, who undeniably entertained the Convention at Robespierre's expense during the Théot affair, nothing proves that these same members were in fact hostile to the Cult of the Supreme Being." François Brunel, "Bridging the Gulf of the Terror," in *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture*, Vol. 4: The Terror, ed. Keith Michael Baker (Oxford: Pergamon, 1987), 328; see also, Jonathan Smyth, *Robespierre and the Festival of the Supreme Being: The Search for a Republican Morality* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 127-153.

the duplicity of Robespierre, the anti-fanatic journalist vowed to continue the work of the Sacerdotal Revolution in the South West.⁵⁰

Simultaneously and immediately following the fall of Robespierre, many of the radical Montagnard representatives on mission in the South West were recalled and replaced with more “moderate” Jacobins. The first of the representatives on mission to be recalled was Jean-Baptiste-Benoît Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme. During the month of Floréal Year II, Augustin Bousigues, the vice-president of the district of Tarbes and cousin-in-law to the powerful Bertrand Barère, accused Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme of mismanaging a requisition of grain from Gers.⁵¹ He also expressed dissatisfaction at seeing churches in Tarbes still open. In response, Monestier returned to Tarbes in Prairial Year II to defend himself and ordered the arrest of Bousigues and Jacques Barère. Eventually, continued feuding between Monestier and the Barère family led the Committee of Public Safety, of which Bertrand Barère was a member, to recall the representative on mission. Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme departed from the South West on 17 Messidor Year II (5 July 1794). As for Pinet and Cavaignac, the National Convention ordered their recall as part of a general move to renew all representatives on mission in a general decree of 26 Thermidor Year II (13 August 1794).⁵² The two representatives on mission to the Army of the Western Pyrenees ended their mission on 24 Fructidor Year II. Like Pinet and Cavaignac, the National Convention also recalled Dartigoeyte on 26 Thermidor Year II, but the representative continued in his role until Brumaire Year III, when another decree on 3 Brumaire Year III (24 October 1794) formally ended his

⁵⁰ Archives Départementales du Gers, 1 L 459, Nicolas Chantreau, *Les Documens de la Raison*, no. 19, 289-303. This was to be the last issue of Chantreau’s newspaper.

⁵¹ Louis Ricaud, *Les représentants du Peuple en mission dans les Hautes-Pyrénées: I.- Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, nivôse-messidor an II*, vol. 1 (Tarbes: E. Croharé, 1899), 87-125; Richard, *Le gouvernement révolutionnaire dans les Basses-Pyrénées*, 201-204.

⁵² Richard, *Le gouvernement révolutionnaire dans les Basses-Pyrénées*, 201-204.

mission.⁵³ Overall, the Committee of Public Safety and the National Convention did not recall any of the southwestern representatives on mission for their religious policies. In fact, it was only by Germinal Year III that the anti-religious conduct of the representatives on mission gained any attention in Paris, which most likely due to the renewed conflict between Thermidorians and Montagnards in the National Convention in the month of Germinal. If the recalls did have any effect on the Sacerdotal Revolution, it was to deprive the movement of an important source of institutional support going into Year III.

If the recall of the radical Montagnard representatives on mission did little to dampen the Sacerdotal Revolution, their successors were also uninterested in removing religious restrictions put in place by their predecessors. First, Dartigoeyte, who lingered in the South West until the beginning of Brumaire Year III, did little to reverse any of his religious policies during the Thermidorian period.⁵⁴ François René Auguste Mallarmé and Pierre Laurent Monestier de la Lozère replaced Dartigoeyte, in the Gers and Haute-Garonne, and Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, in the Landes, Basses-Pyrénées, and Hautes-Pyrénées, respectively. As noted in the previous chapters, Monestier de la Lozère had already actively collaborated with Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme, Pinet, and Cavaignac to spread the Sacerdotal Revolution in the South West.⁵⁵ Further confirming this disposition, was Monestier de la Lozère's *arrêté* of 14 Frimaire Year III (4 December 1794).⁵⁶ Monestier de la Lozère opened his *arrêté* on fanaticism by declaring that “bad-

⁵³ Michel Biard, *Missionnaires de la République: Les représentants du peuple en mission (1793-1795)* (Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2002), 486; for more on Dartigoeyte's extended mission in the Gers and Haute-Garonne, see: Gilbert Brégail, “Le Gers pendant la Révolution,” *Bulletin de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie du Gers* 33, no. 1 (1932), 51-53; Martyn Lyons, *Revolution in Toulouse: An Essay on Provincial Terrorism* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1978), 69-82.

⁵⁴ Lyons, *Revolution in Toulouse*, 147, 154-163.

⁵⁵ For example, see: Archives Départementales des Landes, 8 L 1, Pierre Laurent Monestier de la Lozère, *arrêté relatif à l'anéantissement du fanatisme, à la célébration des fêtes décadares, et à la régénération de l'esprit public*, 5 Prairial Year II (24 May 1794), 1-8.

⁵⁶ ADHP 1 L 150, Pierre Laurent Monestier de la Lozère, *arrêté* of 14 Frimaire Year III (4 December 1794), 1-5.

intentioned men wanted to attack [republican liberty] by resuscitating fanaticism, and provoking the ideas of the people towards the return of the exercise of public religious worship.”⁵⁷ He clarified that “there is no liberty when worship, above all exclusive, is publicly established and that publicity of others, who have the same right to the protection of the laws, is neither solicited nor established.”⁵⁸ For Monestier, republican government was inherently opposed to public religious worship, and insisted that the republic recognized no religion, nor paid any religious minister. He concluded by reaffirming that no one could be bothered for their religious beliefs.⁵⁹ He further decreed that anyone, including priests, who tried to provoke the reestablishment of any worship prohibited by the laws and found guilty of public disturbance, will be punished by the revolutionary tribunals. In other words, Monestier differed little from his colleagues who promoted the Sacerdotal Revolution while maintaining that the freedom of religious worship prohibited public worship.⁶⁰ Thus, incoming representatives on mission like Monestier de la Lozère were uninterested in removing many of the religious policies put in place by their predecessors.

An ambiguous end to the Sacerdotal Revolution came by spring of 1795 with a series of laws proclaiming the formal separation of Church and State. First, at the urging of Pierre-Joseph Cambon, the National Convention passed the law of 2 Sans-Culottide Year II (18 September 1794) which declared that the French Republic would no longer pay the salaries of any religious minister, thus severing all state support for the Constitutional Catholic Church.⁶¹ Despite the initial step towards separation, those like Marie-Joseph Chénier, speaking in the name of the Committee of

⁵⁷ Ibid., 2.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 2.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 4.

⁶⁰ For more, see Chapter 3.

⁶¹ For Cambon’s proposal, see: *Journal des débats et des décrets*, no.728, 2 Sans-Culottides Year II, 532-539; for more on the decree, see: Alphonse Aulard, *Christianity and the French Revolution*, trans. by Lady Frazer (New York: Howard Fertig, 1966), 135-136; Nigel Aston, *Religion and Revolution in France, 1780-1804* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2000), 191.

Public Instruction, still argued that fanaticism could only be destroyed by public institutions and instruction and would propose the institution of a civic festival on every *décadi* throughout the Republic.⁶² More general religious liberty was not granted until the Law of 3 Ventôse Year III (21 February 1795).⁶³ The law reaffirmed that the exercise of any religious worship could not be disturbed and that the Republic did not salary any religion. It further stipulated that the state would not furnish or rent any building for religious worship, prohibited religious ceremonies being held outside their respective establishments, prohibited anyone religious minister from appearing in public in their religious clothing, and ordered the surveillance of all religious gatherings.⁶⁴ Finally, the law of 11 Prairial Year III (30 May 1795) permitted citizens to use churches which had not been alienated by the Republic, provided that all religious ministers swear an oath of submission to the laws.⁶⁵ These laws were further amalgamated into one with the law of 7 Vendémiaire Year IV (29 September 1795) and the Constitution of Year III.⁶⁶ While each of these laws provided more freedom for religious worship, many of the conditions set by the National Convention were remarkably similar to those of the Sacerdotal Revolution: surveillance of religious worship, and the prohibition of religious worship and the wearing of religious clothing in public. Thus, by the end of Year III, the Sacerdotal Revolution came to an ambiguous end.

If the Sacerdotal Revolution came to an ambiguous end by the end of Year III, it is clear that two of the most important contributing factors were the general move towards peace with foreign powers and the exclusion of the radical Montagnard faction from the National Convention.

⁶² For Chénier's report, see: *Journal des débats et des décrets*, no. 820, 2 Nivôse Year II, 12-16. Note: although the speech was delivered on 1 Nivôse Year II, the report only appeared in the following issue of the journal at the end; see also, Aulard, *Christianity and the French Revolution*, 137-138.

⁶³ Aulard, *Christianity and the French Revolution*, 138-141.

⁶⁴ For the decree of 3 Ventôse Year III and the debate over its terms, see: *Journal des débats et des décrets*, no. 881, 4 Ventôse Year III, 54-55; *Réimpression de l'ancien Moniteur*, 23:523-528.

⁶⁵ For the text of the decree and Lanjuinais's speech, see: *Journal des débats et des décrets*, no. 978, 12 Prairial Year III, 584-585; Aulard, *Christianity and the French Revolution*, 142-144.

⁶⁶ Aulard, *Christianity and the French Revolution*, 144-146.

When comparing the timeline of the Sacerdotal Revolution to that of war, it is evident that war preceded the general spread of religious restrictions and peace preceded the general relaxation of these restrictions.⁶⁷ For the South West, France declared war against Spain in March 1793, and the first movements towards the Sacerdotal Revolution appeared in October of 1793. Likewise, the French government reentered peace negotiations with the Spanish on 9 January 1795 (20 Nivôse Year III), a little over a month before the Law of 3 Ventôse Year III (21 February 1795) was passed by the National Convention.⁶⁸ Boissy d'Anglas's report on the Law of 3 Ventôse Year III likewise tied the military success of the Republic with the need to address the internal religious unrest: "It is amidst all these triumphs that your three committees... come to fix your gaze on some interior evils that your wisdom must both know and heal."⁶⁹ With the threat of invasion retreating, the deputies of the National Convention gained new impetus to resolve the dispute over religious worship. Likewise, the decrees on religious worship also coincided with increased factional strife within the National Convention between the Thermidorians and the members of the remaining Montagnards, known as "the Crest," and their eventual expulsion by Prairial Year III.⁷⁰ Thus, the driving force behind the general expansion of religious freedom was not an overall dissatisfaction

⁶⁷ Aulard, *Le culte de la raison et le culte de l'Être suprême*, 297. Aulard made a very similar argument in his work on the Cult of Reason and the Cult of the Supreme Being; for more on international politics during this period and the Treaty of Basel, see: Denis Richet, "The Treaties of Basel and the Hague," in *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, 151-152; Kolla, *Sovereignty, International Law, and the French Revolution*, 160-205.

⁶⁸ Édouard Ducéré, *L'armée des Pyrénées occidentales: Éclaircissements historiques sur les campagnes de 1793, 1794, 1795* (Bayonne: Bulletin de la Société des Sciences, Lettres et Arts de Pau, 1881), 123-129; Albert Sorel, "La diplomatie française et l'Espagne de 1792 à 1796," *Revue historique* 11, no. 4 (1879): 326-330; Bibliothèque Municipale de Pau, Ee 1914, *Discours prononcé au Temple de l'Égalité, le 20 brumaire de l'an 3 de la République Française, une et indivisible, au nom du Comité d'instruction publique; par l'Adjoint aux Adjudans Généraux Bellouguet member dudit Comité*. This speech indicates that revolutionary cults continued to operate in the department of the Basses-Pyrénées at least by 20 Brumaire Year III; Aulard, *Le culte de la raison et le culte de l'Être suprême*, 301. Outside of the South West, Aulard would note that at Aix-la-Chapelle, Louis-François Portiez would establish a Temple of Supreme Being on 30 Frimaire Year III.

⁶⁹ François Antoine de Boissy d'Anglas, "rapport of 3 Ventôse Year III," in *Réimpression de l'ancien Moniteur*, 23:523-524.

⁷⁰ Mette Harder, "A Second Terror: The Purges of French Revolutionary Legislators after Thermidor," *French Historical Studies* 38, no.1 (2015): 33-60.

with the Sacerdotal Revolution by the National Convention, as attested by Chénier's ambitious plan of civic education in Nivôse Year III or the general restrictions built into these laws; rather, the turn towards ending the Sacerdotal Revolution had more to do with the National Convention's perception of the war and the factional strife between Thermidorians and the Crest more than anything else.

Section 2: General Conclusion

My dissertation has endeavored to argue that revolutionaries in France attempted to use religion to define concepts of citizenship, belonging, and identity between the years 1789 and 1794. Through a careful analysis of political and religious debates in Paris and in southwestern France, my dissertation contends that religion became one of the primary means through which revolutionaries debated, contested, and negotiated the meaning of French citizenship. It suggests that the religious conflict of the French Revolution took on a drastic and totalizing cultural form in reaction to the collapse of the Constitutional Church to provide a national religious consensus and the looming threat of a war that polarized and politicized identities inside and outside of the French Republic. As a result, revolutionaries came to embrace a type of universalism predicated upon an exclusionary national identity precisely because war, religion, and Terror had strained the limits of belonging and citizenship within the newly constructed Republic. It was for this reason that the debate over religion was defined by an inherent tension between universalism and particularism. All those who fell outside universalizing embrace of revolutionary religion became suspect, and as a result, the quintessential Other of the French Revolution: religious fanatics clinging to their priests, kings, and local identities. At the same time, the universalizing discourse of the Sacerdotal Revolution also provided other groups willing to embrace the ideals of the

Revolution a chance to exercise their citizenship. Thus, the Sacerdotal Revolution of Year II represented an attempt to eliminate difference as embodied in religious particularism and refashion a new religious political culture centered on the devotion to the Patrie.

The Sacerdotal Revolution was neither inevitable nor foreordained; rather, the road to religious revolution was marked by a series of contingent attempts to overcome difference and forge a national consensus. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, French political and religious life was divided between two interconnected but separate ontological spheres of authority: the temporal realm of secular rulers as embodied in the person of the French king, and the spiritual realm as embodied in the mystical body of the Church. However, with the promulgation of the papal constitution of *Unigenitus* in 1713, the French monarchy found itself caught up in an intractable religious controversy between Jansenist and ultramontane factions within the Gallican Church. The stalemate was eventually broken in the mid-eighteenth century when Jansenist and philosophe critics of ecclesiastical authority began to introduce spatial and corporeal metaphors into the religious dispute as a means to justify temporal intervention into spiritual affairs. This in turn had two consequences: first, temporal authority was rendered territorial and bodily; second, the church and its rituals were declared to be exterior, public, material and thus subject to temporal regulation. Alongside this religious controversy, another group of ecclesiastical historians, novelists, and philosophes began promoting a new form of pastoral care rooted in *bienfaisance* and the primitive church. The so-called *bon curé* imagined by these writers was to be a married man who actively involved himself in the community and his family. Similarly for women, domesticity, conjugal love, and education of children were imagined by these writers to serve as a worthy alternative to the life of convent. Both the disputes over temporal and spiritual authority and the emergence of the literary *bon curé* served as a foundation

for the later reterritorialization, nationalization, and regeneration of the Gallican Church by the French Revolution. By rendering the Church and its clergy bodily, material, and territorial, eighteenth-century writers attempted to bridge the gap between the spiritual and temporal realms by bringing them together under the aegis of the secular state.

With the formation of the National Assembly in 1789, revolutionaries would go on to mobilize territorial and corporeal arguments first developed in the eighteenth century to justify their own vision of regeneration for the Catholic Church. Soon after the passage of the August Decrees, revolutionaries would use these same territorial and corporeal arguments in their debate over ownership of ecclesiastical property. By adding their own anticorporate discourse, radical members of the National Assembly brought about the territorial nationalization of the Gallican Church. Likewise, during the debates over the status of the religious orders in France, revolutionaries once more transformed the debate over religion into one over moral and physical bodies of the Church and the Nation. The language of territoriality and corporeality eventually culminated in the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. As previously noted, it was revolutionaries like Armand-Gaston Camus who best used spatial arguments as a way to express the jurisdictional superiority of the will of the Nation over the Church. The Gallican Church thus rendered territorial, material and bodily, and now constitutional, was then to serve as a vehicle of regeneration and the basis for a new national religious consensus. These territorial and corporeal arguments were critical in the history of the Sacerdotal Revolution. By bringing the Church and state together, and subordinating the spiritual to the temporal, eighteenth-century writers of the Enlightenment and later revolutionaries ultimately linked the fate of the Constitutional Church to that of the Revolutionary government. When the Constitutional Church eventually failed to forge this new

consensus, radical revolutionaries would go one step further in their quest for unity by proposing their own religious revolution.

My dissertation argued that the emergence of the Sacerdotal Revolution in the South West during the Terror was a direct response to the failure of the Constitutional Catholic Church to resolve the conflict between national and religious identity. If the territorialization and nationalization of the Catholic Church helped to close the divide between the spiritual and temporal spheres of authority, it also meant that a rejection of the Constitutional Church would also manifest itself opposition to the Revolution. Amidst a climate of war and Terror, revolutionaries became increasingly intolerant of criticisms directed towards the Constitutional Church. Following the declaration of war against Spain, the Federalist Crisis of 1793, and the arrival of representatives on mission to the departments of the South West, spatial and corporeal metaphors were used once more to justify restrictions on religious practices in the region that were deemed suspect. The representatives on mission, in close collaboration with local Jacobin militants in the departmental administration, ordered the closing of religious buildings, the dismissal of religious ministers, clerical marriages, the confiscation and destruction of religious items, and the establishment of a new revolutionary religion; in short, revolutionaries in the South West called for a Sacerdotal Revolution to realize the unfinished promises of the French Revolution. The new revolutionary religion was universalist, rational, and militaristic, as opposed to the corrupt and superstitious beliefs of particular religious sects. Through these new revolutionary cults, the representatives on mission and popular societies demanded that their fellow citizens devote themselves bodily and spiritually to the Supreme Being and the Patrie. Thus, my dissertation argued that the Sacerdotal Revolution sought to resolve the conflict between feelings of religious belonging and national belonging by conflating religious worship and republican citizenship.

My research demonstrated that at the heart of this new revolutionary religion was a political culture of exclusionary universalism that sought to transcend religious difference by grounding it in abstract notions of natural religion. Emblematic of this universalism was the debate over the meaning of the freedom of religious belief. Revolutionaries like Monestier du Puy-de-Dôme and Monestier de la Lozère attempted to draw a distinction between religious belief that was particular and exclusive, and religious belief that was universal and national. Accordingly, each was able to maintain that the French Republic upheld the principles of religious freedom by insisting that those freedoms only applied to forms of religious belief that were universal in nature. Those whose religious beliefs fell outside of these abstract and universal forms were declared to be religious fanatics, and thus subject to all forms of revolutionary surveillance and repression. Republican citizenship above all else was to be defined by devotion to the Patrie, the general will, and collective unity; religious fanatics, in contrast, were defined by attachment to exclusionary forms of worship, the will of priests, and disunity. As a result, the Sacerdotal Revolution came to define the limits of republican citizenship during the Terror by declaring all those who rejected the new religious order to be fanatics and counterrevolutionaries.

By studying the Sephardic Jewish community of Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne and the Basques of Labourd, my dissertation sought to understand how the universalist and exclusionary discourse of the Sacerdotal Revolution affected the ways that religious and ethnic minorities thought about their feelings of national belonging. Through a comparative analysis of both communities, my dissertation contended that the Sacerdotal Revolution politicized the religious identities of each group. If prior to the French Revolution, Basques and Sephardic Jews defined their identity in reference to a complex collection of corporate privileges, local institutions, language, and history, the Revolution in turn came to emphasize these groups with a new religious significance that was

fundamentally political. Moreover, the Sacerdotal Revolution presented each group with a model of citizenship predicated upon the universalist discourse of revolutionary religion. For the Sephardic Jews who embraced the Sacerdotal Revolution, the Terror represented a moment of political empowerment and influence in the region. In contrast, for Basques who rejected the Constitutional Catholic Church and the Sacerdotal Revolution, revolutionaries like Pinet and Cavaignac declared them to be religious fanatics who threatened the security of the Patrie in the borderlands. Although political debate regarding the Basques prior to the Terror emphasized either language, privileges, or corporate autonomy, it was during the Terror that their religious identity became the center of political debate. As indicated in the decrees of the representatives on mission, not only was deportation and internment of Basque villagers living along the Spanish border a measure of national security, it also constituted a project of regeneration that would transform the religiously suspect Basques into good republican citizens. Thus, the experiences of the Sephardic Jews and Basques represented the different possible paths towards citizenship during the Terror.

Ultimately, as the French invasion of northern Spain demonstrated that concepts of identity, religion, and the nation were fundamentally interconnected in borderland regions. From the very start, the representatives on mission imagined the war between France and Spain was a type of religious crusade against fanaticism. When the French eventually seized control of Gipuzkoa, revolutionaries immediately sought to convince the population to accept the annexation of the province into the French Republic. It was only after Gipuzkoa became a *pays conquis* that the representatives on mission set about introducing elements of the Sacerdotal Revolution in the province: the closing of churches, arrests of priests, seizing and destruction of religious objects, and even possibly the celebration of civic festivals reminiscent of those celebrated in southwestern France. For the representatives on mission, it was the *moeurs* of the people, and in particular, their

religious fanaticism, that constituted an obstacle to French rule and integration of the province into the Republic. It was in Gipuzkoa that the relationship between religion, identity, and the nation were most transparent. In short, the Sacerdotal Revolution was fundamentally a project of nation building in a borderland region where revolutionaries suspected the loyalty of the inhabitants.

The historian Alphonse Aulard long observed that revolutionaries did not attack Christianity because they read Voltaire or the abbé Raynal; rather it was “because the Catholic priest conspired with the enemy from outside. They toppled the altar, not out of philosophy, but out of patriotism, not to realize an *a priori* principle, but to ensure national defense.”⁷¹ This dissertation maintains that Aulard was only partially correct in his observation. The Sacerdotal Revolution was partly motivated by concerns of “national defense.” Afterall, the Sacerdotal Revolution was manifestly a militaristic cult of muscles. However, what Aulard missed and what this dissertation has demonstrated, is that war implied more than “national defense.” War polarized identities and pushed the meaning of citizenship to its limits in a borderland region.⁷² War was also brought with it an entire political culture that imbued representations with a new meaning.⁷³ War additionally led to reconfiguration of gender roles, religious belief, and ethnic identity. Thus, war was not simply a concern over borders and enemies; it was entailed an entire cultural revolution – a Sacerdotal Revolution.

⁷¹ Aulard, *Le culte de la raison et le culte de l'Être suprême*, 20.

⁷² For example, see: Sahlins, *Boundaries*, 1-24.

⁷³ For example, see: David Bell, *The First Total war: Napoleon's Europe and the Birth of Warfare as We Know It* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2007).

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