W. W. Kitner

Origins of the Worship of Reason

During the French Revolution
ORIGINS OF THE WORSHIP OF REASON
DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

BY

WILLIAM WALTER KITNER
A. B. Illinois College, 1917

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

IN HISTORY

IN

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

1920
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

JUNE 5, 1920

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY
SUPERVISION BY WILLIAM WALTER KITNER

ENTITLED ORIGINS OF THE WORSHIP OF REASON DURING THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION.

BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

Albert Horne Lybyer
In Charge of Thesis

Evarts B.  Brown
Head of Department

Recommendation concurred in*

Committee
on
Final Examination*

*Required for doctor's degree but not for master's
This study was undertaken at the suggestion of Professor Albert H. Lybyer. The author wishes to express his appreciation for the courtesies extended and the valuable assistance he has given.
# ORIGINS OF THE WORSHIP OF REASON

## DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

### CONTENTS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapters</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I The Rise of the Gallican Church.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Origins of Rationalism in France.</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III The Eighteenth Century.</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV Church and State in France, 1789-93.</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V The Formation of the Cult of Reason.</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI The Fêtes of Reason.</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Appendices.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appendices</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Alleged Correspondance between Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair, King of France.</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II The Council of Basel.</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges.</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV Doctrines of the Cult of Reason.</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Bibliography.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bibliography</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sources</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Works consulted.</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION.

What was the French Revolution?

Probably no greater number of books has been written during the last one hundred and fifty years upon any one subject than upon this great turning point of the world's history. People of all temperaments, people with all possible points of view, have attempted to show with about the same success that the Revolution was primarily this or essentially that. The environment in which a person starts can not be over-estimated. The economist looking upon the Revolution sees in it the outcome of the desire of the masses of the people, after having been inflamed with the ideas of Turgot and the Physiocrats, for greater economic freedom; the philosopher sees the culmination of the Encyclopedists' dream for a greater intelligence on the part of the masses, and although it was a tedious and withal a very costly process, there are few who would affirm that the intellectual plane of the people was lower or no higher, after the Revolution, than before; the theologian sees in the Revolution the logical outcome of skepticism and doubt, lack of respect for conventional standards and the consequent destruction of all previously established rules; the political scientist sees an ignorant and for the most part unlettered people struggling through their slightly less ignorant representatives for a more satisfactory political expedient of government during a crucial period of the national life of the country; the military student sees the downfall of feudalism and mercenary armies in the "levées en masse" with the consequent rise of one of the greatest military and political geniuses that the world has known; the sociologist and criminal psychologist sees the mob character at its acme of development and growth, as well as illustrations of how men of various temperaments and ideals but with common
purposes of domination could sway this blind mass of seething, revengeful, half-mad or altogether mad humanity, first in one direction and then in another. But what does the historian see in this varied and complex mass of ideas, aspirations and actions? He may see the general evolution of a nation attempting to live its life in the best possible manner but amid the most perplexing and involved problems. These problems are met and an attempt is made by various leaders to solve these riddles, not always in line with their own selfish interests, but often in the hope that the nation may prosper in the end. Very often they must conclude that the only way for the nation to better itself is to follow their ideas alone and in rejecting utterly or to a large extent the ideas of their rivals and opponents. The historian may see, then, in the French Revolution the struggle of a nation to launch itself on a new path in all forms of life, and since all of the above aspects of life are imperative for the existence of a civilized nation and are interdependent, it is as ridiculous as it is untrue to say that the Revolution was first of all any one phase. It was a change in all phases of social life. It is necessary that we make fundamental observations of the group for certainly the mob played a very important part in the progress of the Revolution, even though that part was not the predominant one.

The criminal mentality which featured to such a large extent in many of the deeds of "The Terror" is the realistic thought of Le Bon.

"All the civilized societies inevitably drag behind them a residue of degenerates, of the unadapted, of persons affected by various taints. Vagabonds, beggars, fugitives from justice, thieves, assassins, and starving creatures that live from day to day constitute the criminal population of the great cities. In ordinary times these waste products of civilization are more
or less restrained by the police. During revolution nothing restrains them, and they can easily gratify their instincts to murder and plunder. In the dregs of society, the revolutionaries of all times are sure of finding recruits.......

"To these criminals, properly so called, the incurable plague of all societies, we must add the class of semi-criminals. Wrongdoers on occasion, they never rebel so long as the fear of the established order restrains them, but as soon as it weakens they enroll themselves in the army of revolution......

"All the revolutionaries, all founders of religious or political leagues, have constantly counted on their support."¹

They terrorized all the great assemblies from the Constituent Assembly to the Convention and for ten years they helped ravage France. If by some miracle this army of criminals could have been eliminated, the progress of the Revolution might have been very different. They stained it with blood from its dawn to its decline. "Reason could do nothing with them but they could do much against reason."²

This leads to the consideration of one of the most interesting and as its name implies, without doubt, the most awful period of the Revolution, namely, "The Terror." This period is characterized by the struggle for power of a number of various factions and leaders for the control of the state in its greatest crisis, all of them with a special program of betterment and regeneration of organization to meet the apparent needs of the time. On account of the great rivalry and jealousies between the various leaders of the different factions during this unfortunate period, while enemies, armed and militant on

²Ibid., p. 101.
the eastern frontier, and enemies within more dangerous still, plotting with those on the outside, were seeking to undermine faith and confidence in the central government, the governing groups decided on a policy of repression and rigour within, in order to deal a determined and decisive blow to the enemies without. Opposition to the central government, always apparent and for the most part very evident on all hands, gradually grew to greater proportions, until in addition to these elements, unsympathetic with the principles of republican government, the party in power was forced to deal also with rival republican parties. This, in brief, forms the actual state of affairs in the background of "The Terror" and if it is not sufficient to justify it in the minds of all people, it supplies the explanation for the methods used by the various parties struggling for the ultimate power, in order to save the Republic and its principles of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" from the military forces of reactionary Europe.

It is not our purpose to advance the thesis that "The Terror" was predominantly religious or irreligious. It was undoubtedly political in its last analysis and the religious or rather irreligious attitude taken by the leaders was a political expedient above all.

Viewed from the religious aspect there were four different sects formed during the progress of the Revolution; the Constitutional Church (Christian and formulated after the "Civil Constitution of the Clergy"), the Cult of Reason, the Cult of the Supreme Being and the Cult of the Theophilanthropists. It will be our purpose in this essay to trace somewhat summarily the origins of the second of these sects. Such a research would possibly be outside the scope of history if it were not for the fact that the rise of this cult was first of all a political expedient and must be considered as one of the turning points
of the Revolution. It marks undoubtedly the high water mark of unchristian radicalism of the Revolution not so much on account of its unchristian teachings, as the irreligious character of the propagators of the sect. The ultimate estimate of this movement must be left for the concluding remarks.
THE RISE OF THE GALLICAN CHURCH

The founding of the Gallican Church is usually assigned to the period of the struggle between Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII over the right of the King to exact subsidies from the clergy. In the past, the Kings of France had taxed church property in order to obtain funds for conducting the Crusades and the more energetic Kings had come to desire this special privilege (as it was considered by the Church) to become a permanent prerogative. Accordingly in 1294, Philip appealed to the clergy for a subsidy which was voted him by the majority in order to conduct his war with England. The minority, however, appealed to the Pope who gladly accepted the challenge by launching his famous Bull "Clericis laicos", a counter challenge to all of Europe as well as to France.

1 "The French monarch took up the war against the ecclesiastical supremacy, in which the Hohenstaufens, after having shaken the foundations of the Papacy, had perished." Gregorivius, F. Geschichte der Stadt Rome im Mittelalter - Eng. trans. from a German Ed. by Annie Hamilton. London, 1902.


3 Tardif, A. Sources du Droit canonique, p. 240, Paris, 1887.

4 Ibid., p. 404. The opposition consisted mainly in the persons of the monks of Cîteaux.

5 Published, October 18, 1296. Text in Henderson, E.F. Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages, pp. 432-4. London, 1876. Strange enough this rather peremptory Bull was followed a week later (October 25, 1296) by the Bull "Ineffabilis" in which the Pope made known his love and admiration for France and his willingness to sacrifice anything for its welfare. Parsons, Studies in Church History, II, pp. 413-4, 3 ed. Philadelphia, 1909.

6 Nevertheless, in the following year Philip succeeded in obtaining authorization from the Pope for himself and his successors, the right to ask (petere) contributions from the clergy and to receive them for the defense of the Kingdom, without the express authorization of the Holy See. Bull "Et si de statu" July, 1297. M. Bourgain in Revue des Questions Historiques, pp. 68-9.
At a later time the Pope even went so far as to express his intention of calling a General Council, and summoned the French clergy to attend.  

Philip retaliated by summoning the Estates-General, the National Assembly of the Kingdom, to meet at Paris on the 10th of April, 1302.  

The Clergy and the Third Estate supported the King, which gave the opportunity to the Pope to issue his famous Bull "Unam sanctam," an epitome of theocratic absolutism. However, with the defeat of the French at Courtrai (July, 1302), Boniface no longer hesitated but pursued a very determined policy, which attitude was consequently adopted by the King as well.  

William de Nogaret, famous professor of Law and stout defender of the royal prerogative, armed with full negotiating powers, set out for Italy to interview Boniface. At the head of a military following he forced his way into

---

7 Bull dated on Dec. 5, 1301, in which the Pope expressed the desire to be advised as to the conservation of the Liberties of the Church, the reformation of the Kingdom and good government in France.  

Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes XLIV, 1883, p. 394.  
This Council was to meet Nov. 1, 1302, in order to pass sentence upon the King of France, as to whether in his attacks on the rights of the Church, he was justified. "See Bull 'Ausculta, fili' Dupuy, Histoire du Differend, no. 48 and Bull addressed to the French Clergy, ibid., no. 53." Fleury, op. cit., p.16. Although M. A. Coville in Lavisse et Rambaud rejects the account of the Burning of the Bull at Notre Dame de Paris as being "impossible" during such an early period, op. cit., III, p. 30, the act is alluded to by the legate of the Pope, the Cardinal of St. Marcellin, in his 12 propositions to the King and in a letter from the King to the Pope, in which he places the blame for the act on certain of his followers, and in which he expresses a desire for reconciliation. Fleury, op. cit., pp. 37-40. See also Gregorovius, op. cit., V. 573.  

8 Lavisse et Rambaud, III, p. 31, indicate the 11th as being the date. Fleury, gives the 10th, pp. 17, 19.  


10 Issued, Nov. 18, 1302. See P. Mary - Le bulle Unam sanctam, in Revue des questions historiques, XXVI, 1879, pp. 91-130 and XLVI, 1889, pp. 253-7 for Latin text and commentary. English trans. of above in Henderson, op. cit. pp. 453-6. The Church Council was held in Rome, Oct. 30, 1302, in spite of the absence of the French prelates and the Bull is considered in part the work of the Council, Fleury, op. cit., p. 34.  

11 See Appendix II for résumé of events of the next year.  

12 For text of concession dated Mar. 7, 1302, see Fleury, op. cit., pp. 66-68.
the Pope's presence at Anagni on September 7, 1303. The shame and disgrace of it all was more than the Pontiff could endure, and he died a month later in Rome, after a nervous breakdown. Nogaret and his followers had been driven out of the city of Anagni a few days after the attack by the populace and the supporters of the Pope, and although he did not succeed in bringing Boniface to Lyons to be tried for heresy, as he had hoped to do, the death of Boniface gave him ultimate victory.

Benedict XI succeeded, a pope who was willing to submit to French influence. After a pontificate of scarcely a year he was succeeded by Bertrand de Got, Archbishop of Bordeaux, who was elected June 5, 1305, as Clement V. He absolved the perpetrators of the Anagni episode and thus the

13 Robert Holtzmann - Wilhelm von Nogaret, Freiburg in Breisgau, 1898, chap. IV, pp. 66-110 contains the most complete, scholarly account of this incident. Bodily insults to the Pope are discredited, p. 87, relying upon contemporary Italian records. Nogaret was aided in his "coup" by Sciarra Colonna, deadly enemy of the Pope who had been in France for some time previously encouraging opposition to the Pontiff. Fleury, op. cit., p. 68.

Boniface was held captive from Saturday evening, Sept. 7th, to Monday morning, Sept. 9th, Holtzmann, p. 94.

14 Oct. 11, 1303.
15 Holtzmann, op. cit., p. 102.
16 Ibid., p. 86.
17 Lavisse et Rambaud, III, p. 34.

18 In justice to the Papal dignity, he demanded that the guilty parties involved be punished but he died before anything was accomplished.

19 October 22, 1303-July 7, 1304.
20 He was in Poitou when he was elected and the coronation ceremony took place at Lyons, amid great pomp. Lavisse et Rambaud, III, p. 36. Fleury, op. cit., 97-99.
papacy sealed the act with a tacit approval.  

Probably the greatest source of the increasing power of the French National Church was to be found in the fact that for over seventy years, the Papal residence was at Avignon. Although not a French city at the time, French influence was predominant and consequently the Italian provinces and Germany were alienated from the Papal See during this time. Many of the Popes were French and French influence was at its greatest height during this period.

The Conflict with the Templars, the most powerful and richest order in the Kingdom, contributed in no small proportion to the strengthening of the royal power over the French Church. In September, 1307, royal agents were instructed to administer the affairs of the Order, after a number of members had been summoned before the Inquisition. Although it is probable that the accusations have been greatly exaggerated and not enough emphasis has been placed upon the desire of the King to obtain the rich revenues and property of the Order, many of the Knights avowed their guilt during the trial, evidently

---

21 The trial of Boniface VIII occupied the Pope the greater part of his pontificate and although William de Nogaret was unsuccessful in having Boniface proclaimed a heretic, the Bull "Rex gloria virtutum" of the 27 April, 1311, recognized that the King of France had acted according to his conscience and the other accused persons according to their zeal for the faith. The Papacy had been greatly humiliated but these grave incidents were settled by the General Council, convoked at Vienne (Oct. 13, 1311-May 6, 1312) which declared Boniface a legitimate Pope and not a heretic. Lavisse et Rambaud, op.cit., pp. 42-5. A penance was imposed upon William de Nogaret. Ibid.


under fear of torture. The judgment of individual members was left to the Bishops and Inquisitors of the respective dioceses, while the judgment of the Order as an Order was left to the Pope.25

On August 8, 1309, the Pontifical Commission26 which was to decide the future status of the Order in Europe held its first meeting in Paris. Practically all of the Templars brought before the Commission for hearing, denied the accusations that they had admitted before27. The Diocesan tribunal meeting in Paris condemned to death fifty-four members, unheard, and thus spread terror in the ranks of the Order. After such an exhibition the number willing to defend the Order was necessarily small. In the Oecumenical Council of Vienne28 the Order was dissolved29 for the sole reason, practically, because the King of France urged it. This is undoubtedly one of the best instances of the ascendancy of the Crown over the Church.

In 1367, the Emperor Charles IV persuaded Urban V to return to Rome,

25 Bull dated July 5, 1308, marks the Pope's acceptance of the arrangement.

26 For personnel of this Commission, see Fleury, p. 158. Carried on inquiry from Aug. 7, 1303-May 26, 1311 - Gieseler, p. 7. (See note 29.)

27 Detailed account of proceedings, ibid., pp. 168-170.

28 Met in Three sessions, see supra. note 27.

but when the Emperor refused to take up arms against the inveterate enemies of the Pope, the Visconti, together with his desire to be in France, the Pope was easily persuaded by the French cardinals to return to Avignon.  

"The Babylonian Captivity" ended with the return of Gregory XI to Rome amid the energetic protests of his cardinals in 1377. The turmoil was so great in Rome, however, that he was contemplating a return to Avignon when he was overtaken by death. In the election which took place in Rome, Urban VI, an Italian cardinal, was elected, but his arrogance alienated the French cardinals who left Rome and proceeded to elect a rival pope, Clement VII, pleading that the election had been forced on account of fear of the Roman mob, an excuse which seems to be justified under the circumstances. Thus, instead of uniting the Church, the return of the Papal residence to

---

30 Left Sept. 5, 1370, by the port of Corneto, where he had landed a little over two years before (Aug., 1368), arriving at Marseille. He died at Avignon, three months later, Dec. 19, 1370. Gregorovius, VI, pt. II, p. 453.

31 Six of his cardinals remained at Avignon but he left them Sept. 13 and sailed from Marseille, Sept. 29, arriving in Rome after an unfortunate voyage in April, 1377. Gregorovius - ibid., pp. 422, 481.

32 He was not able to stay in Rome but spent most of the time at Anagni from where he carried on negotiations with de Vico, Prefect of Rome and the rebellious Florentines. Milman, H. H. History of Latin Christianity, VII, New York, 1870., pp. 225-6. Fleury, op. cit., XX, 298-9.

33 For the personnel of the college see Parsons, op. cit., II, pp. 222-3 and Fleury, XX, p. 30.


36 Milman emphasizes the fact that any irregularity in the election was annulled by the fact that the various cardinals accepted honors from the newly elected pope and assisted at his coronation (Apr. 18, 1378) op. cit., 228-235.
Rome resulted in a schism which lasted for forty years (1378-1417). This period is marked by Nationalistic movements within the Church in Germany, England, France and the Italian states, because since the Papacy was in such a weakened condition, the various rulers saw their opportunity to free their countries from papal interference. As the ideas of a National French Church and an absolute pontifical authority were opposed, the political factions, followed, by coincidence, this division. In the Southwest, the Armagnac supporters of the King, as opposed to the English political pretensions, favored the Gallican Church, while in the Burgundian regions, the cause of orthodoxy held the field.

Charles VI working in harmony with the other sovereigns of Europe attempted to bring the schism to an end but on account of the rival jealousies of the pontiffs his efforts were without success. During the pontificate of Benedict XIII, the power of the Papacy was practically nil and this period is often called the return to the former law, "restoration of the liberties of the Church of France."

---

37 For history of schism see Herbert Bruce - The Age of Schism, an outline of Church history, 1304-1503, London, 1907.

Marked in France, especially by the stand of the Armagnac party in favor of the King and a National Church.
New York, 1915. Conditions changed from time to time especially from 1423, after council of Vienne to 1426. See Valois, op. cit., XIX-L.
Ibid., pp. 272-4. Valois, Noel - La Pragmatique Sanction de Bourges, pp. vi, ix, xxiv, xxv.


Finally, the discontented cardinals of both popes, seeing that neither one had any intention of abdicating, met at Pisa, declared both of the popes deposed and proceeded to elect an additional one, Alexander V. It was to end this scandalous condition in Christendom that Sigismund summoned the Council of Constance to meet in 1414.

During the fourth and fifth sessions of the Council, the superiority of general Councils as ultimate authority in the church was agreed upon by a majority of the members present after they had definitely ended the schism.

The Council of Basel (1431-7) continuing the work of the Council of

---

42 For discussion as to number of members present, see ibid., pp. 313-4.

43 Died in Bologna, May 3, 1410, after a pontificate of ten months. The conclave had followed him in his unhappy wanderings in avoiding the Plague and chose Balthazar Cosa (John XXIII) as his successor.

44 The two most important acts of the Council were:
1. The Decree "Sacrosancta" of Apr. 6, 1415 (Fifth Session) which declared that a general council had the right to reform even the papacy itself.
2. The Decree "Frequens", Oct., 1417, which provided that councils should be summoned, hereafter, regularly by the Pope, to act in an advisory capacity with him.

45 The Council did not meet on the day set for its opening, July 23, 1431, but held its first general session on Dec. 14 of that year.
See appendix II.
Constance expressed the doctrine that universal church councils had ultimate jurisdiction in questions concerning the canon.46 These decisions were a serious blow to the elaborate edifice erected by the papacy with so much tact, perseverance and sacrifice. In 1437, Eugène IV dissolved the Council and transferred it to Ferrara.47 The Council replied by a suppressing of the Bull of Translation48 for which the Pope excommunicated the whole council, but the latter, not to be outdone, suspended the pope.49 The King of France pronounced in favor of the Council and forbade his prelates to go to Ferrara, and in the following year convoked a National Assembly of the Clergy to meet at Bourges.50 The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, the work of the Assembly, reproduced the decisions of the council with a few unimportant modifications.51

Louis XI suppressed and then reestablished the Pragmatic Sanction according to circumstances and during his reign the clergy of France never knew under what régime they were living and who was to confer the benefices. The law


50 The French bishops met with the King's Council in the Sainte Chapelle at Bourges. Lavisse et Rambaud III, p. 336. See Appendix III for important provisions.

51 Paul Viollet considers the ordinances of 18 février 1407 (n.s.), mars, 1418, 8 février, 1423 (n.s.) as pragmatics in fact. "Libertez de l'Église gallicane, édit. Durand de Maillane, t. II, pp. 244-8, Isambert, t. VII, p. 125, t. VIII, pp. 59, 680 (lire surtout ce préambule) also t. IX, p. 3."

was nothing else but the good pleasure of the King.52

Charles VIII and Louis XII officially reestablished the Pragmatic and defended it vigorously. In 1479, Louis XI decreed that it be inviolably observed. Upon the conflict between Louis and Julius II in 1510, the Assembly of the clergy meeting at Orleans (transferred later to Tours) separated the kingdom from obedience to the Pope and voted subsidies to the King (September, 1510).53 The conflict was continued in the Council of Pisa, which was composed for the most part of French clergy and representatives of the University of Paris. It was called by the Emperor and held its first Session on September 11, 1511. At its eighth session, held at Milan, it declared the Pope contumacious because he did not obey its citation.54 Shortly after, the seat of its deliberations was transferred to Lyons. The King approved the decisions of this Assembly by Letters Patent and the Pope seeing that it was impossible to do anything with the King, put the Kingdom under an interdict55 and summoned a general Council to meet at the Lateran in Rome, May 3, 1512,56 where the Pope would be able to exert a greater influence upon its deliberations.

In 1472 a Concordat was arranged between Louis and Sixtus IV but there does not seem to have been a very serious attempt to carry out its terms. Cambridge Modern History, I, p. 387.
 Bull. "ad universalis Eccles. regim", Aug. 7, 1472, on apostolical reserves. Letters patent on the 31 October which ratified and promulgated this bull which thus became a concordat. Since the Parlement refused to register it, it never was executed. Tardif, op. cit., p. 252.
On account of the origin of the Pragmatic, it being the work of the Counsellors of the Parlement, the Universities and the prelates of an independent spirit the King was desirous to remedy conditions to which he accommodated himself with difficulty. He believed the Concordat which would assure to the crown all ecclesiastical promotions had a great advantage over the existing state of affairs in which the nobles participated to a large extent with their "good offices" (Solicitations benignes). Lavisse, ibid.
54Fleury, pp. 203-4, Apr. 21, 1512.
55Fleury, op. cit., p. 203.
The fourth session of the Council of the Lateran demanded the revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, which was done, and issued a "Monition" to the Church of France on Dec. 10, 1512, to explain its recent actions. Sessions of this Council continued after the death of Julius II. In the eighth session, Dec. 17, 1513, under Leo X, an act of Louis XII was read disavowing the Council of Pisa, and during the ninth session the French prelates humbly submitted and received absolution from the Pope. Louis XII died January 1, 1515, and was succeeded by Francis I, who continued the negotiations with the Pope. During the tenth session May 4, 1515, a final and peremptory citation was made against the French on the subject of the Pragmatic Sanction and it was definitely abolished by Francis. This was followed by the Pope's approval of the candidacy of Francis as King of France, December 19, 1516. Leo X inserted in his two bulls at this time that the pope had entire authority and full power over Councils, either to convoke, transfer and dissolve them.

59 Feb. 20-1, 1513, Fleury, p. 268.
60 Ibid., pp. 320-1.
62 Meeting of Francis and Leo X at Bologna, when the bases of the Concordat were determined upon, Dec., 1515.
The French chancellor Dupont and the Papal delegates attended to the composition of the document which was ratified by a papal Bull of August 18, 1516. "Bull 'Primitiva illa Ecclesia,' 18 Aug., 1516. "Socio approbante concilis, 19 Dec., 1516, which mentions the approbation of the council Tardif, op. cit., p. 253. It was registered by the council which solemnly pronounced the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction. Consult F. smear, p. 639.
63 IV Decree of the Session, Fleury, p. 364.
64 Grande Encyclopédie XXVII, p. 538.
65 Ibid.
On the 16 of August of this year, a Concordat was drawn up at Rome between Francis and the Pope, settling definitely the question of the selection of French bishops. The Pragmatic Sanction was abolished and the King nominated candidates for abbeys and priories, but the question of the annates the King held out. On the 13 of May, 1517, the King sent Letters Patent ordering the Parlements and all judges to observe, respect and execute the Concordat. On June 5th the Concordat was submitted by the King to the Parlement of Paris, which refused to register it. In its answer to the King it declared that it would continue to follow the Pragmatic and requested that delegations from the Universities be given a hearing. After repeated requests of the King, the Parlement, finally, registered the Concordat (March 22, 1517) indicating on the registration, however, that the registration was made under compulsion.

---

66See supra, note 64.
67If the Concordat is to be considered a triumph for the Gallician Church, it was for a new kind of Gallicanism, that of the King, no longer that of the church. MacDonald, op. cit. II, pp. 8-9. For summary see Lavisse et Rambaud, IV, pp. 173-4.
Annates restored by an appendix which was not signed. Expressed in Bull of Oct. 1, 1516. Text of "De annates" in Recueil Générale des Anciennes Lois françaises - par Isambert, Decruy et Annet, XII, pp. 98-9, Paris, 1828. Esmén, pp. 639-40. The French church fell a victim to an agreement which delivered over her freedom to Royal despotism. Stanley Leathes in Cambridge Mod. Hist. II, p. 38, considers it "the most immoral covenant that church history has yet recorded." See also Péridour, op. cit., p. 6.
69Text of Concordat, see Anciennes Lois françaises XII, pp. 75-57. Text: Anciennes Lois françaises, XII, pp. 114-8.
71"De expressissimo mandato regis," Anciennes Lois, XII, p. 75.
Protests were made two days later and these were followed by similar representations on the part of the University of Paris.72 The Dean of the Church of Paris demanded in the name of the chapter the convocation of an Assembly of the Gallican clergy. Public prayers for the abolition of the Concordat were proclaimed. This very thorough and persistent resistance retarded its execution so that the six months allowed by the Pope were not sufficient and the time was prolonged from six months to a year.73 Upon the captivity of Francis at the battle of Pavia, (Feb. 25, 1525), the more energetic spirits were noticeably cooled and the resistance diminished, upon the publication of the edicts of Francis I and Henry II, giving the Great Council jurisdiction over contested elections.72

In 1560 the Parlement again addressed remonstrances to the King asking for the reestablishment of elections and the Pragmatic,74 which were followed by analogous demands by the clergy at the Estates General assembled at Orleans in the same year.75

The struggle between the King of France and the Papacy took definite

72 Esmein - op. cit., p. 642 - Fleury, XXV, p. 503.
74 Grande Encyclopédie - XXVII, p. 538.
75 Assembly of Notables, Aug. 21, 1560 - met at Fountainebleau. Met later at Orléans.
For accounts (procès verbaux) of the meetings of the Estates at Orléans see ibid., pp. 56-63.
form again under Henry IV, on the matter of the citation of the Queen of Navarre, one of his feudal subjects, to appear before the Inquisition at Rome within six months. The King remonstrated and sent a "mémoire" to the Pope in which he reminded the pontiff that the "Kings of France have always retained and preserved for themselves and their church above all other monarchs, the freedom and ancient liberty, such as may be understood by the Law of God and the General and Universal Church Councils, having always resisted the Popes in the past". Gregory XIV answered the attack by two bulls, the first in which he declared the King a heretic and all of his dominions forfeited, and the second, in which he menaced the nation with an interdict if it did not separate itself immediately from the king. At an assembly of cardinals and ecclesiastics (September 21, 1591) at Mantes, the French nation was forced later to obey the King, Henry IV. The authorities which the assembly cites in this connection are very interesting.

Henry IV (1589-1610) contributed in a measure to the tolerant religious growth of France in signing the Edict of Nantes (April 15, 1598), the safeguard of the religious and political liberties of the French Protestants until its revocation, Oct. 27, 1685. Thus the nine religious Wars, instead of exterminating heresy and establishing the Catholic Church in France without any

76La Grande Encyclopédie, XVIII, p. 405.
78Authority of the Holy Scripture, Holy Decrees, General Councils, Canonical Constitutions, Examples of the Holy Fathers of which antiquity is full, and the rights and liberties of the Gallican Church, in which its bishops have always gloried, and which they have always struggled to maintain. See complete text - Anciennes Lois, XV, pp. 31-2.
80Really culmination of a movement, ibid., p. 667.
81The French religious Wars were in a large measure greatly influenced if not dominated by political considerations on the part of the leaders of both sides. They extend over a period from 1562-1595.
opposition, left that country exhausted but tolerant. Full civil rights and protection of the law were in possession of the heretics as a result of a religious policy or expediency for political ends on the part of the sovereign. 82

The French Church under Richelieu is in itself a topic of no small proportions, and only the barest outline can be given here. This Councillor of State "par excellence" who directed affairs in France and Europe to a large extent by his inexhaustible diplomatic resources contributed in a great measure to the independence of the Gallican Church. His policy may be summed up in the following words: "Full Gallican liberties in practice but not in theory." It is the period of the great importance of those three lay bodies, which even though not having received the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, deliberated officially on Christian Doctrine: viz., the Parlement of Paris, the Sorbonne, and the University of Paris. 83

It is during this period that we note the rise of Jansenism 84 and the attendant struggle in the attempt to reconcile those two great factors in human destiny; Divine Grace and Free Will. The importance of the movement for us lies in the fact that it exerted a great influence on the Christian Church in France. The grandeur of this sect is in its high austere tone of morality. It was by the intellectual asceticism of its believers that it was able to exert an influence utterly disproportionate to its numbers. 85

---

82 Cambridge Modern History III, pp. 692-3.  
83 Lavisse et Rambaud, op. cit., V, pp. 343-4.  
84 Named on account of the founder, Cornelius Jansen, a Dutch Bishop.  
85 For full discussion of the movement see Parsons, op. cit., IV, pp. 108-44.
The text on this page is not legible due to the quality of the image. It appears to be a page from a book or a document, but the content cannot be accurately transcribed.
But it is in the Seventeenth century, under the reign of Louis XIV, that the Gallican movement received its greatest impetus.

The Liberties of the Gallican Church have formed the basis of much discussion and research. There are a few who defend even still, a certain Pragmatic Sanction attributed to Saint Louis in 1269, but the tendency of modern historical research is to discredit this document on account of certain discrepancies. The great literary contributions on this subject are two works of singular interest. The earlier work, that of Pierre Pithou, a member of the Parlement of Paris, collected the principal ideas of the Gallican movement, although it omitted five very important maxims which came to be identified with the movement in the work of Pierre Dupuy, who published his "Preuves des libertés de l'Église gallicane" at Paris in 1639. After many vicissitudes it came to be regarded as the authoritative work on the subject.

---

87 The principal ideas of this work are:
1. The Kings, Provincial and National Assemblies, have always conducted the religious affairs of the nation in their own name.
2. Superiority of General Oecumenical Councils in their decisions over those of the Pope although the Pope possessed the assembling and dissolving power as head of the Church.
3. Recitation of four means used by the French in the past to maintain their "liberties".
   a. Friendly conferences with the Supreme Pontiff.
   b. Careful examination of Papal Bulls.
   c. Appeals to a general council in case of disagreement or to a reconsideration of the question by the Pope.
   d. The designation of certain abuses and attempts for their remedy, La Grande Encyclopédie, XVIII, pp. 406-7.

88 It is interesting to note certain maxims, which although omitted by Pithou are considered essential and fundamental attributes of Gallican Christianity.
   a. That bishops receive their authority directly from Christ and not from St. Peter or the Pope.
   b. The primacy of bishops in their dioceses, for if the Pope exercised an immediate jurisdiction over the individual dioceses as universal bishop, the individual bishops may just as well not exist.
   c. The bishops are first in judgment of matters of faith.
   d. They are dependent only upon the infallible authority of the
This literary activity was followed by a more practical definition of the Principles of the Gallican party in "The Declaration of the French Clergy on Ecclesiastical Power," in the memorable Assembly of the French Clergy at Paris in 1682. It must always be remembered that the principles enunciated at this time were not considered innovations in any respect but were considered to have always formed the basis of the ecclesiastical organization of the French Church.

A complete analysis of the declaration comes rather under the head of theology, but it is important to consider the general provisions of the Act. The Church had come to be considered a national institution as opposed to its being a part of the ecclesiopolitical despotism with headquarters at Rome.

In this chapter it has been our effort to consider the independent character of Gallican Christianity and to emphasize the nationalist temper of the whole Church.

e. They can only be judged by their confrères. La Grande Encyclopédie, XVIII, p. 407.

Summary of Declaration -
1. The pope has no temporal power nor can he depose kings.
2. Recognition of the Decrees of the Council of Constance relative to conciliar authority and supremacy.
3. Pope can only govern the church according to the canon law and that he can not infringe especially upon the constitutions and recognized rights of the Gallican Church.
4. The judgments of the pope in matters of faith are open to attack until they have been confirmed by the judgment of the church. Débidour, op. cit., p. 8.

Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, was the guiding spirit of the Assembly and stands out throughout the rest of his life as the greatest French ecclesiastic and the stoutest defender of the "Gallican liberties".

Parsons in his effort to minimize the standing in piety and learning of the French Clergy during the Reign of Louis XIV exhibits a very unsympathetic attitude to French culture in general. His treatment of Christianity in France is quite prejudiced throughout his work especially when there is a question of the pontifical power at stake. Cf. Parsons, op. cit., IV, pp. 235-71.
of it. When this is considered in all of its importance it will not seem so striking and unusual that the French people found it rather easy to shift from one sect to another during the Revolution according to the circumstances and still maintain their consistency and sincerity of purpose: namely, that of devotion to the nation. Roman Catholicism for them was not something centered in Rome and distinctly separate from the state, such as the modern conception of that religion may be considered. It was the national religion of the French people, or at least the great majority of them and was certainly as important an element in the composition of the state as any one of a number of others. It would be a great mistake to believe, however, that Gallican Christianity differed from the Christianity of any other European nations in its fundamental Christian teachings. Only in the question of attitude toward the papacy was there any difference, and it was this attitude which formed the nationalistic aspect of Gallicanism.

92a. The feudal organization of the kingdom with the center of the system looking toward the King.

b. The concentration of power in the person of the King.

c. A common language and literature.

d. The Estates General and other Assemblies of the Realm.
ORIGINS OF RATIONALISM IN FRANCE.

Three great facts dominate the religious spirit and characterize the common mind during the Middle Ages; first, the power of the Church, secondly, the Catholic doctrine which forces reason to be silent and the flesh to mortify itself, and in the third place, the persecution of every one who does not submit to this power or who does not adhere to this doctrine. 1

These three principles are interdependent. The power of the Church resulted from the doctrine which it taught, that its dogmas, power and church organization came directly from God, the source of all power. The elect of God, to whom belong everything that God has created, are not those who love the pleasures and things of this world, but those who have left the world with all of its temptations and pleasures and have chosen the nobler life of celibacy, asceticism and meditation. In their effort to leave the world and no longer occupy themselves with material things, they find themselves endowed with all power and possessions in the world ultimately, for thus it has pleased God, the Maker and distributor of all things. The relationship between the theocratic nature and theory of the state and asceticism becomes very simple. The Church is the visible representative institution of God among men and the only one. The Church has always held the view of St. Augustine, which is also that of Mohammed, that all beliefs which are not of the accepted variety, bring with them eternal punishment, and therefore, a state of tolerance is the worst condition of affairs in which a person could find himself.

You can render a person no greater favor, than half-killing him if necessary in order to persuade him to renounce his sinful ways. What are a few hours, days or even years of nerve racking pain or prison life, when a person would have to spend eternities in unmentionable and indescribable tortures, if he swerve in the least from the dicta of the Church. Thus, the Catholic doctrine of the Middle Ages, or that which was the soul of it, Christian asceticism, fatally incited the Church in two directions, namely, to acquire a limitless power and to put this power in the service of a merciless intolerance.²

Now the philosophers of the eighteenth century combatted this power, this doctrine and intolerance of the Church, all at the same time; and all of their writings or ideas may be summed up in the following three words, "nature, reason and humanity", which form the three antitheses to the Catholic doctrine and which cause the eighteenth century to be predominantly and primarily Anti-Catholic and consequently, apparently unchristian. Let us consider, then, the precursors of this new attitude which was to have such an influence on the future.

The first great representative of the rationalistic spirit was undoubtedly Abelard (1079-1142), the possessor of a typically French intellect---keen, clear cut, and impatient of all mysticism and obscurity; condemning with frankness the credulity which is willing to

---

take beliefs on trust, without a rational justification. To him, a doctrine is not believed because God has said it, but because we are convinced by reason that it is so. Doubt, then, is no sin as the Church taught, for "by doubting we are led to inquire and by inquiry we perceive the truth". He confessed an admiration for the ancient philosophers, and found expressed in them the essential principles and doctrines of religion and morality. The noteworthy effort is made to establish a theory of ethics independent of dogmatic sanctions. Christianity itself seems to be first of all the rehabilitation of the natural moral law, which was revealed to the Greek sages so well; that which was mysterious and miraculous in Christianity he was inclined decidedly to minimize. "Shall we people Hell with men whose life and teachings are truly evangelical and apostolic in their perfection and differ in nothing or very little from the essential elements in the Christian religion?" This naturalistic tone appears in his treatment of particular dogmas; the three persons of the Trinity, for example, are resolved into the three attributes of God,—power, wisdom and goodness,—united in a single personality.

It was Thomas Aquinas, the Angelic Doctor (1225-1274), who brought faith and reason into a relation, which view was accepted by the Church throughout the Middle Ages and which institution canonized him as a Saint for the contribution which he made. He assumed two fields of knowledge, philosophy and religion; reason has full domination in the former field but is utterly insufficient in the latter,


where faith is the virtue, and which has the ultimate authority when there is a conflict. It gives to the person who longs to cling to his cherished ideas an argument which unanswerable. It was with Aquinas that Scholastic philosophy reached its height, and his ideas were considered final authority on all such matters.4

Scholasticism certainly contributed nothing in thought which would strengthen rationalism, but by its method of debate and inquiry it was to open the way, in spite of itself, into a thorough examination of creed and fact. The skeptical spirit was the result of this attitude, notwithstanding the apparent incongruity. Although there was an apparent lack of worthy subject matter for its efforts, it accomplished its function as a systematizer and rationalizer of religious dogma.5

But with the advent of the Renaissance, the Catholic world left the scholastic manner of thought and adopted the New Learning or the manner of thought of the Ancients. The return to the intellectual habits of Antiquity meant "the return to nature". Asceticism was too audacious a defiance against human nature to succeed, it was in vain that faith tried to be sincere and profound; the realities of life proved to be the stronger. In Italy of the fifteenth century we probably find the first ancestors in thought of the Encyclopedists who were to influence greatly the thought of the eighteenth century. It is the return to the thought of antiquity, that the way of nature


5 Rogers, op. cit., p. 204.
Scholasticism had been the result of a yearning for a rational insight of a desire to understand and find reasons for what was believed. - Thilly - op. cit., p. 221.
is best and that it is right to follow in the way she leads and to enjoy here below all of the joys which she offers to us, that characterizes more than anything else this new point of view. They sounded again the note of the "joy of living".

Names familiar in Italian literature and science may be cited here. That of Lorenzo Valla is probably the first one of importance that claims our attention. About 1430 he wrote his treatise "De voluptate acce vero bono" in which he showed himself a partisan of the new ideas, as did also the poet Antonio Boccadelli, the author of a thoroughly Epicurean poem, "Hermaphroditus". Valla's most popular work is his treatise on the pretended "Donation of Constantine" upon which the Popes had professed to base their claims for temporal sovereignty, and by which work he attempted to show that the alleged document was a forgery. Under the protection of Alfonso the Magnanimous, of Naples who had quarreled with the Pope, Valla attacked the whole ecclesiastical system and especially the moral decline of monasticism. These were characteristic illustrations of the influence exerted by the new culture. In fact, the destructive work was so great that it was long a question whether anything would be found to take the place of the religious bonds which had been broken. It was to be left to the scholars of another nation, Germany, with their sober temperament, to revolt alike against the medieval system and the extravagance of the Italian scholars, for not content with mere negation and revolt, they set about to construct, which work has come down to us as "The Reformation". Without discussing at length the literature of the Renaissance, which is not our subject,

7 Lodge, M. A. - Close of the Middle Ages. p. 525.
we may be able to make a resume of its spirit and estimate its significance in this hurried sketch of free-thought; it is no longer tradition but the great teacher of the ancients, nature, that the Italians appealed to for rules of thinking and living; breaking in so doing with false science, scholasticism and religious morality, that is with the triple teaching of the Church.

In brief, one may say, that beginning with the Renaissance, religious supernaturalism was to find itself gradually losing its place in the minds and hearts of men. Copernicus, Bruno, Vanini, and Campanella, whose writings were so often cited by Voltaire, lived during this period, and contributed their modern ideas to the period, laying the foundations for modern science and learning and the attendant skepticism.9

It is in Boccaccio, who did much to introduce the study of Greek into Italy but more especially as author of the "Decameron", that we find one of the characteristic exponents of the Italian Renaissance. In this collection of stories he displayed a contempt for superstition and a delight in life which were alien to the Middle Ages, which work was destined to influence English thought with Chaucer as well as the thought of the whole continent.10

---


Fischer, Kuno - op. cit., p. 117.

9 Lanson, op. cit., p. 168.

10 Ibid., pp. 236-9.
The growth of Humanism and Hellenism is characterized by a number of names in French letters and thought which can be cited only very briefly here. This period is dominated by the name of Marguerite of Angoulême, Queen of Navarre and sister of Francis I, one of the most beautiful tolerant spirits of all time. Her court became a veritable asylum for all the persecuted and it is most remarkable now who was able to evade the destruction which was ready from all sides to fall upon her. In one of her most characteristic works "Comedie jouée à Mont de Marsan en 1547" it is not the worldly or the superstitious (Catholic) woman, nor yet the wise one (Calvinist) but the one who does not dogmatize, the "shepherdess enraptured with the love of God", that is her ideal.11

In French literature and thought the name of Montaigne appears for its all-important place in early modern times. What could be more unusual than his "Essais" at this time? The adroit manner in which he advances his thesis, that a man after all has the right to study carefully and then judge for himself, has its interest for the historical student as well as the literary scholar. It marks the clear condemnation of the superstition and fanaticism of an intolerant Church and points definitely to a more "reasonable" state of affairs in the future, even though that time was far distant when he wrote. Their cautious skepticism and wide spirit of tolerant number of his essays stamp them as distinctly modern. Montaigne must be considered one of the great prophets in history rather than the exponent of the predominant ideas of his time.12

11 Lanson, op. cit., pp. 236-8.
Descartes, (1596-1615) founder of the Cartesian system of thought and of the first great system of Rationalism was probably the greatest single force of rationalism before the Revolution. With him the test for truth was not its harmony with tradition and custom but the clarity with which it is able to justify itself before the great judgment bar of the individual reason. Again with Descartes, as with Montaigne, it is not the subject matter which is of prime importance, so much as the spirit and method. The dualistic conception of the world and his theory of innate ideas were the source of much philosophic meditation and controversy and should be considered of minor importance.\(^13\)

But his "Method" in brushing aside all previous prejudices and habits of thought, beginning as though on a clear slate, and starting anew with the determination of admitting nothing that he could not consider absolutely certain, is of prime importance.\(^14\) This attempt to constitute a system of philosophy in which he escaped, for the most part, the errors and uncertainties of the old, must be considered his great contribution to the intellectual life of the world.\(^15\) This work gave the formula for French thought for two centuries.\(^16\)

---

13 Rogers, op. cit., pp. 257-76.
For full treatment of doctrines see Erdmann, II, pp. 11-19.

14 "No matter how far he allowed his skepticism advance one fact becomes more and more certain that the more he doubts the more certain the fact remains that he who doubts exists." Meditations II. Discourse upon method Part II, p. 46 (Torrey's trans.).

15 It is important to bear in mind that Descartes was very willing to accept authority in matters of faith - not however in questions of science and philosophy. Grande Encyclopédie - XXVI, p. 729.

16 Abry, Audic, Crouget, op. cit., p. 131.
More remarkable still is the significant influence which Descartes exercised over his followers, among whom were Malebranche, the inmates of Port Royal, Bossuet, Fénélon, la Bruyère—as well as the Hollander Spinoza.

In the development of rationalism it has been evident that the whole rationalistic philosophical system rested upon the premise that truth could only be determined by one criterion, which was the human reason. As reason may lead one astray, it is important to note that the system was not considered infallible—-the world must be satisfied with it until it is able to find a surer method for the determination of true knowledge. In the past where mistakes were made the common error was that the starting point in science and fact was the simple experience of sense impressions.

In its relation of the Revolution, rationalism was in the minds of the people, the enthronement of reason where tradition, abuse and corruption had been before—-was in general a destructive process much more than constructive and therefore was not able to stand the test of time. It had to give way to a more rationalized system of Christianity, for the people in their calmer moments were not willing to sacrifice the traditional teachings of one thousand years of Christianity, with all of the attendant promises and hopes for an "uncertain" and not too bright skepticism. What the people wished came to pass ultimately.  

17 Dewing, A. S. Introduction to the History of Modern Philosophy, Philadelphia, 1903, p. 27.  
The Renaissance had been the product of a great wave of enthusiasm and for the time carried everything before it, but— as seems inevitable— after the force had spent itself, a different attitude was assumed, that of disillusionment. The tendency to see things in a light in which they ought to be, always results in calmer moments in the apprehension of things as they really exist, with the corresponding distress occasioned by such a realization. Metaphysical interests were beginning to lose the interest they had caused yet the skepticism of Montaigne and Pascal was even more unwelcome. The dormant old beliefs of the Church had not been crushed even though they had received telling blows.¹

The result is called "The Enlightenment" for the lack of a better term, a misleading term in some respects, for the naming of the eighteenth century as the period of "Enlightenment" does not preclude the fact that both before and after there have been periods of great progress in intellectual development, nevertheless, the eighteenth century is a period of great development intellectually.² There are obvious features of this period which are most important, first, its

¹ Cushman, H. E. - A beginner's History of Philosophy, v. 2, Boston, c. 1911, p. 132.
² Professor J. G. Hibben in his "Philosophy of the Enlightenment" N. Y. 1910, p. 3, considers the period of the movement as beginning with the publication of Locke's "Essay on the Human Understanding" (1690) and ending with the publication of Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason" (1781). A better name for the period would be the "Age of Reason".

The English-French "illumination" (Aufklärung) terminated in the materialism of the eighteenth century.

Kuno Fischer-Geschichte der neuern Philosophie, I Band.
practical and unimaginative character; secondly, its hatred of vague enthusiasms and misty ideals and ideas; thirdly, its determination to apply the test of a severely accurate reason to everything and reject outright what will not stand the rigid test, and lastly, the constant reference in this trial as the court of final appeal, to the one undoubted fact, the individual himself, with his rights and his rational power of understanding. The result is a type of thought which does not interest one's sympathies very strongly, but which nevertheless, has a most valuable contribution to make. The individual stripped of all restraints was to submit all ideas of religion, social life, and moral law to critical examination by the intellect of man. It was the function of the "Enlightenment" to demolish the argument of "feeling", which when appealed to ended all further discussion. As a consequence, this period has been designated as lacking in the deeper elements of life and as quite superficial. The movement originated in England from where it was transplanted to France to obtain its greater fruition.

In this connection it is necessary to bear in mind that the movement was aristocratic in nature. To the few who are cultured,


4 Hibben, op. cit., p. 4, 6.


7 Hibben, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

8 Rogers, op. cit.
reason is to take the place of dogma; but to the masses who are not amenable to reason, religion was to suffice. A new aristocracy was to take the place of the old and corrupt one. The "illuminati" were to participate in the existing social privileges.  

The first phase of the period "The Deistic Movement" brought with it the familiar names of Tindal (1676-1737), Toland (1670-1722), Collins (1676-1727), Chubb (1675-1747) and Bolingbroke (1698-1751). The movement was a reaction against the biblical account of God's dealing with man. As consistent as the attitude it opposed, it found expression finally in a shallow optimism, in the dictum, that whatever is, is right; for the arguments brought against the God of revelation could be turned with equal effect against its God of nature.  

Once transplanted to France, the movement expressed itself by attacking popular religious beliefs which seemed to be irrational and harmful. On account of conditions in France, the strife took on a sharper and more virulent character. Against the intolerance and oppression of a corrupt clergy who used the instrument of traditional beliefs and abuses of the worst sort as weapons against all efforts

9 The French philosophers of the Eighteenth Century, on the whole, were not superior men intellectually, for they were inclined to make the small look large and the large look great. But although their perspective was inaccurate, they had an enthusiastic faith in progress and humanity. Cushman, op. cit., II, pp. 305-6.  


13 Rogers, op. cit., p. 371.
of reform, Voltaire and the Encyclopedists stood out as the deadliest foes of the established order. The influence took root in the brilliant circle of Frenchmen who contributed to the new Encyclopedia, a work which was to contain the extant knowledge of all mankind.\textsuperscript{14}

Abbe Fénelon, who stands at the threshold of the century, pictured an innocent state of nature, pleasant and happy,\textsuperscript{15} a prelude to the views of Jean-Jacques Rousseau with whom he had so many things in common. He dreamed of a benevolent monarchy, peaceful but the enemy of luxury, and of a return to the fabled "Golden Age". He was not withstanding opposed to the policy of Louis XIV whom he truly hated; as a Christian he could not forgive him for his wars; as noble, for his reduction of the nobility; and as a philosopher for the misery of the common people.\textsuperscript{16} It was the despotism of Louis XIV that rendered him so contemptible in the eyes of Fénelon and his odious policy which was the cause of all the ills of the country.\textsuperscript{17}

He was tolerant in matters of religion and favored a liberal attitude toward the Protestants. He believed the secular power should be kept separate from the ecclesiastical because the protection leads to religious servitude and persecution to religious hypocrisy.\textsuperscript{18}

Love of self, a spirit of domination, influence, reactionary ideas and politics, ultramontanism in religion, a wavering rationalism and a doubtful logic, all appear in Fénelon, a remarkable combination indeed.

\textsuperscript{14} Dewing, op. cit., pp. 137-9.
\textsuperscript{15} Lanson, op. cit., p. 619.
\textsuperscript{16} ibid.
\textsuperscript{17} ibid. p. 5.
Voltaire introduced the results of the English Enlightenment into France after having been influenced by Locke during the former's sojourn in England. Probably his greatest contribution to French civilization was his championing the cause of toleration in the "Calas Affair". The spirit of intolerance suffered a deadly blow from his genius and he left a reputation which altho far from spotless, has to its credit the most telling stroke against the greatest of all human curses.\(^1\)

As to his attitude toward the world, he expressed the idea that history was a series of lamentable follies, errors and stupidities, interrupted by certain glorious epochs which were preceded and followed by man's blunders and which are due, in large measure, to the efforts of Christian priests. Accordingly, he saw in Christianity the chief obstacle to the progress of reason and the happiness of humanity, which accounts for his violent attacks on the Church and the whole social and religious fabric. As the effort of Bossuet was to subject history to the guidance of Providence, the first care of Voltaire was to eliminate Providence and to substitute in its place a happy Providence of chance.\(^2\)

Diderot, (1713-1784), the next great light in French literature,\(^3\) freely declared himself as the "creature of nature". As the

---

\(^1\) See his "Prière à Dieu sur la tolérance" in his "Traité sur la tolérance", chap. 23.

\(^2\) Nevertheless, at times, one is struck with his tenacious Deism which is apparent in his article on "Dieu" in his "Dictionnaire philosophique".

Montesquieu is omitted from this sketch since he contributed little or nothing to the religious development of France. His contribution was preeminently in political science.

\(^3\) The zenith of Philosophical thought and revolutionary spirit of the French literature of the eighteenth century. Höffding, op. cit., pp. 475-6.
first apologist of scientific atheism, he set himself immediately apart from the Deists who are ordinarily considered the exponents of the religion of "The Enlightenment". His ideas are worthy of a summary at this point since they are the ones which influenced very greatly the leaders of the Commune of Paris during the Reign of Terror.

"God may or may not exist, but if he does, it is not in Nature and it is unnecessary to pay any attention to him. The important fact is that for us he does not exist and if we should say somewhat imprudently that he does not exist at all, there is nothing of consequence to censure". In case we meet God in his world and find ourselves face to face with him Diderot did not believe that God was so unfair as to be angry with us for having denied him when we have not the slightest reason for affirming his existence. A religion which punished sacrilege more than adultery was for him an immoral expedient and the price thus paid for morality, too great when it had to be purchased at the cost of crimes, fanaticism, wars, and tortures. The universe was one great billiard table upon which innumerable balls rolled about. As for ethics he believed a normal person found much greater pleasure in being honest than in being a rascal. Thus religion was the first attribute of Nature.21

The second was that Nature was the opposite of Society in which he saw the source of all the ills, distinctions, riches, oppression,

tyranny, corruption and misery. But this is not all. Society has even invented religion which is probably his way of expressing his belief that organized religion was a creation of man, since the idea of religion at that time could not be separated from the idea of organized Christianity. However, society did not even stop at this, it also invented morality, which likewise is therefore only a social institution. All of the Christian and even Stoic virtues are to him simply marks of ignorance and stupidity. After such a merciless attack, the conventions of society, thus robbed of their terror and fire, no longer held any sway over the populace who were held in rein only by these powerful weapons. During the Terror these doctrines were put into practise.22

Finally, Nature for Diderot meant science. He saw in it a method, means and results. It was the word used in its more modern sense with the experimental aspect emphasized. He was the forerunner of Helvétius and Holbach.23

Rousseau, one of the most remarkable of this circle, cast his lot with the movement of the Enlightenment, but later when his position became incompatible with that of the others he passed to a bitter hostility to the principle of rationalism. In his "Confessions" is found one of the frankest and sincerest attempts to describe his startling weaknesses and the inconsistencies of his complex nature. In a single word, Rousseau was a "sentimentalist" and consequently had an extraordinary capacity for feeling combined with a weakness of will that was abnormal. What would such a person become in the

22 Höffding, op. cit., p. 480.
group in which Diderot was a guiding spirit?\textsuperscript{24}

Rousseau believed in the individualism of the period. It was evident that before man could work out his own salvation, he had to make himself independent of the artificial environment in which he found himself placed. And before man could be an intelligent shaper of his own destiny he must first recognize his rights and powers, more or less in independence of the arbitrary environment which surrounds him. The Enlightenment brought this recognition of the reality of the individual into sharp relief. To get the real man, one must strip him of all artificialities.\textsuperscript{25} It was thought that by a pure effort of will he could separate himself from these, and could judge things from the standpoint of a purely individual reason, independent of his intellectual environment and freed from prejudices and traditions. Accordingly religion was carried back to the invention of priests and rulers, and it was held that such institutions could be thrown off at any moment. It was this that the French Revolution tried to do — to make a start entirely "de novo" — but it was found that christianity was too strongly interwoven in the very life of the nation to permit of such a process.

Rousseau was a Christian in the broad sense of the word. In a letter to the Archbishop of Paris, he wrote, "Monseigneur, I am a Christian, and a Christian at heart according to the teaching of the Gospels. I am a Christian, not as a pupil of the priests but as a pupil of Jesus Christ——. My Master speculated very little concerning dogmas; he enjoined good works rather than articles of faith;

\textsuperscript{24} Rogers, op. cit., p. 399.

\textsuperscript{25} Hibben, op. cit., p. 145.
he demanded belief in that only which was necessary to make men good". 26

A hint has already been made as to the materialistic or atheistic interpretation of phenomena. We now pass to a general characterization of the leading exponents of this manner of thought, which was to form the basis for all atheistic tendencies prominent during Revolutionary France.

Helvétius (1715-1771) the first prominent member of the school, attracted very general attention in 1754 with the publication of his famous work, "De l'esprit", incurring the righteous anger not only of the Jesuits but of the Jansenists as well on account of his ignoring altogether the idea of a soul. His religious standpoint was Deistic with special emphasis on the unknowableness of God. 27 He was quite Epicurean and advanced the customary principles of egoism, self-interest, pleasure, unconventionalism and materialistic psychology. 28

However the thinkers of the French Enlightenment may differ in details, they agreed with Helvetius that all phenomena of nature, physical and mental, are governed by law and that the mental and moral life of man is a necessary product of nature. 29

But it was Holbach, (1733-1789) and his "Système de la Nature" in 1770, that materialistic atheism found its greatest defender. This work has been referred to as the "Bible of Materialism" which describes its nature in a few words. The work was too advanced for Voltaire and Priestley, both of whom attacked the work vigorously on

27 Höffding, op. cit., p. 471.
29 Thilly, op. cit., p. 388.
account of its repudiation of the doctrines of Deism in any form whatsoever. 30 Other materialistic writers before Holbach had held the form at least of a diluted Deism or a vague pantheism. Whatever else may be said against him it must be admitted that in the end he was consistent in his contention. Lamettrie (1709-1751) the other champion of materialism in his "Homme machine" had hesitated at times to give a pantheistic interpretation to history. 31

"Holbach followed the lead of Bayle in his insistence upon the possibility of a high order of morality in connection with the most thorough-going materialism". Hibben characterizes him as having reached the lowest level of materialism. His argument is dogmatic and his temper is uncompromising, evidences of conviction and sincerity. 32

With Cabanis (1758-1808) one finds a complete physiological expression of the doctrines of materialism in his "Rapports du physique et du moral de l'homme". His philosophy is rather a disguised physiology. 33

The materialism of the eighteenth century in France in its various forms, more or less radical, expressed the hostility to all spiritualistic interpretations of nature and to all established forms of religion. With Holbach the opposition was even carried to the very idea of religion. The existing order of things could not assimilate or temper the new philosophy and therefore had to take issue with it to the death. In France the philosophy of materialism

32 ibid.
33 ibid., p. 134.
rather was destructive than constructive and therefore became a potent factor in an age of revolution.34

34 ibid., p. 135.
The opening of the Estates-General on May 4, 1789, was characterized by a religious procession of the Three Orders to the Cathedral of Notre Dame of Paris, a fitting prelude to introduce their activities. They were accompanied by the king, the queen, and the whole court. After hearing the "Veni Creator" the twelve hundred deputies made their way to Versailles where the meeting was to be held. The procession was greeted by the loud acclamations of the populace who thronged the streets and windows on the line of march. Strangely enough, the opening did not take place in the King's palace, but in the "Salle des Menus" on the Paris Avenue, a building which could accommodate four thousand auditors, beside the deputies.

In the opening session, Necker, the Minister of Finance and chief minister of the King, suggested that the two superior orders unite with the Third Estate, to discuss questions which were of common interest, after they had settled the question of "sacrifices" in regards to the taxation reforms. On the next day, the Third Estate met in the large hall, while the other two orders met separately to

---

1 Jobez, A.- La France sous Louis XVI, Paris 1877-93, III p. 540-2. Sermon given by Mgr. de la Fare, Bishop of Naney.

1a Rohrbacher - Historie universelle de l'Eglise Catholique, XIV p. 279, 9 Ed. Paris, 1900.

2 In the Salle des États - ibid. 542.
Under the name of "Salle des Trois Ordres" the "Salle des Menus" had been prepared for the meeting outside of the Chateau, Archiv. Parl. VIII - 1.

verify their powers. When the question of the union of the Orders was brought up, there was a great likelihood that the fifty nobles and the hundred curates in sympathy with the interests of the people would decide the issue.

On July 15, the day after the Bastille had fallen, the Archbishop of Paris proposed the singing of a "Te Deum" and a large number of those who had taken the "Tennis Court Oath", repaired to Notre Dame to give thanks to the Author of all victory. This was well received by the people and it would appear that the attitude of the populace, even in Revolution, was to be saturated with religion.

But on August 6, events began to take a different turn. Buzot, a deputy from Evreux, declared in the Assembly that "the Ecclesiastical estates belong to the nation", and two days later the Marquis de Lacoste proposed the following: 1st, that the ecclesiastical estates belong to the nation, 2nd, that tithes should be suppressed, 3rd, that the titularies be pensioned, 4th, that the salaries of the bishops and curates be determined by the provincial assemblies, and 5th, that all inmates of monastic institutions be pensioned since the

4 May 16, 1789, see deliberations in collections de Baudouin, tom 1, page 1, in - Duvergier - I, p. 20. Archiv. Parl. VIII, p. 28.

5 Michelet - 90-1. Estates had declared themselves representa- tives of ninety-six per cent of the population and, therefore, a "national assembly". 17 June 1789. -Duvergier I, 23.


10 ibid., p. 370.
orders are to be suppressed. Alexander de Lameth added his support to his proposition and expressed the idea that the nation may always suppress every useless institution. 11

Although the system of tithes was defended for three days 12 by a considerable number of the clergy, seeing that their attitude was distinctly unpopular some fifteen or twenty curates renounced their tithes and threw themselves upon the generosity of the state. 13 The great prelates, the Archbishop of Paris and the Cardinal de Larocheffoucauld, followed their example and renounced tithes for all of the ecclesiastics of France. 14

This had been preceded on the fourth of August by the abolition of the feudal services and dues, which marked the beginning of a new era in the social life of the French. 15 France had now emerged from her medieval social organization into modern life in the full sense of the word. Strangely enough this movement seems to have originated with individual nobles, who desired to make themselves popular at the expense of their less opulent fellow nobles. 16

Privilege, the cancerous growth in the social and religious life of the nation, had received its fatal stroke and for a short period

11 ibid.

12 See Archives for those days.


14 Arch. Parl. VIII, p. 394.


16 Michelet, p. 217.
noble and cleric vied with one another in renouncing privileges which they had enjoyed for centuries at the expense of the people whom they were supposed to protect and guide. Already in 1788, the provinces, one by one, had surrendered their provincial privileges in order to render the central government a unit\(^1\). What better manifestation of joy and thankfulness could be imagined than that of remembering God and his blessings? Accordingly, another "Te Deum" was to be held at the Royal chapel in the presence of the King and the assembly proposed by the Archbishop of Paris\(^1\). The people began to believe that the king was largely responsible for the happy state of affairs, for had he not summoned the Estates?\(^1\) Lally Tollendal, an Irish recruit to the French cause of liberty, said, "The King who has convoked us after the lapse of almost two centuries, shall he not have his reward? Let us proclaim him the restorer of French Liberty."\(^2\) Must one attribute such an idea to the tact of Louis XVI or the ignorance of the speaker? The idea undoubtedly partakes of both elements.

What more auspicious beginnings for the regeneration of the nation could be improvised! What an evidence of patriotic sacrifice on the part of so many! What a love for one's fellow men displayed?\(^3\)

---


\(^{18}\) Archiv. Parl. VIII, p. 349. "Te Deums" to be sung in all of the parishes and churches of the Kingdom. Sec. 18 of the decree. Duvergier I, p. 35.


\(^{20}\) Arch. Parl. VIII, pp. 349-50. It was decreed by the assembly accordingly.

\(^{21}\) Michelet – ibid.
The unsuspecting person would undoubtedly have hazarded the thought that the principles of Christianity were about to be put into practice in the life of the country.

In the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen"\textsuperscript{22}, an appeal, not to the written law or contested charters, or to the true or false liberties of the Middle Ages, as was the Petition of Right in England. Neither was it a generalization of the principles prevalent in the individual states, which each acknowledged in order to obtain a formula of confederation which would be acceptable to all, as was the case in America. The task was to give from some sovereign and supreme power a creed to the new age. Reason, discussed by a whole century of philosophers, profound thinkers, accepted by every well developed mind, had begun to penetrate the social order. The problem was to impose as authority on reason what reason had found at the bottom of free inquiry\textsuperscript{23}.

The Supreme Being was the guarantee of human morality. In the past, people had only duties; rights formed the prerogatives of the other classes. But now the rights of the people were proclaimed and advanced. There are still people who believe that grand discussion excited and armed the people, but the peasants did not need metaphysical formulae to rise in arms, for acts of violence had already taken place in the rural districts, which were only encouraged by the taking of the Bastille and the consequent letting loose of revolutionary passion\textsuperscript{24}.

\textsuperscript{22} Collection Baudouin, I, 51 in Duvergier, I, 33. (Aug. 28).

\textsuperscript{23} Michelet - pp. 205-6.

\textsuperscript{24} Michelet - p. 217.
"The Declaration of the Rights of Man" also contained a provision for religious liberty and not tolerance only\(^{25}\). After all, the struggle of the clergy to maintain their long cherished and traditional policy of intolerance, which appeared to be their most precious possession, was destined to be engulfed in the current of revolutionary reform\(^{26}\).

The next few months were characterized by a growing spirit for organic reform on the part of the Assembly, which was met by an equally determined resistance on the part of the Court party and the King, supported usually by the nobles and the higher clergy. The character of that Assembly, considered in the mass, its originality like that of the period, was a singular faith in the power of ideas. It firmly believed that truth, once found and written in the formula of laws, was invincible. It would require but two months (such was the calculation, however, of very serious men), to make the constitution; it would by its omnipotent virtue, overawe authority and the people: the revolution was then completed, and the world was to bloom again\(^{27}\).

When the fight for the secularization of Church lands was continued the prelates made a most heroic resistance and sought to defend "their property" as tenaciously as the early Christians had attempted to defend their faith\(^{28}\). Three distinct efforts were made in October, December and the following April (1790). This discussion

\(^{25}\) Section 10 of the Declaration. See text in Duvergier, Lois I, 38, August 26, 1789, incorporated into the constitution of 1791, (Sept. 3) Lois III, 239-55. Anderson, pp. 15, 59-60. Promulgated Nov. 3, 1789, See Duvergier - ibid.

\(^{26}\) Michelet, p. 224.

\(^{27}\) Michelet, p. 486.

\(^{28}\) (ibid - see additional sheet).
The following résumé of property and income of the clergy is significant:

Total amount of property in hands of the clergy

1/5 of the lands of France, valued at four thousand million francs.

In the project of the Assembly which did not appear until the spring of the following year the following outline of budget had been suggested:

Country curates and vicars.......................... 60,000,000.
Bishops......................................... 3,000,000.
Pensions to monks and nuns.......................... 33,000,000.
Pensions to separate ecclesiastics............. 12,000,000.

The most insignificant curate was to have (exclusive of house, and garden attached) at least 1200 francs a year and the whole of the clergy (except a few hundred men) would have risen from misery to comfort. —— Michelet, op. cit., pp. 290-1.

According to Necker, the entire revenues amounted to 150,000,000 francs.

Parsons - Studies in Church History IV, p. 605.

Two-fifths of the income from tithes, the residue from landed estates. Cambridge, Mod. Hist. VIII, pp. 53, 195.
began on October 18\textsuperscript{29}. On the 14th a Bishop of Brittany\textsuperscript{30}, and on the 24th the clergy of the diocese of Toulouse followed the example of the former and raised the shout of Civil War\textsuperscript{31}. It was also at this time that prelates in Brabant and Flanders were stirring up the peasantry to revolt against the Emperor\textsuperscript{32}.

Another element of vast importance and influence in spite of its unsavoury nature was the immorality of the clergy, especially of the higher clergy. Their immoral lives and practices contributed in large measure to popular ridicule of and consequent disgust for the prerogatives of the higher clergy\textsuperscript{33}. On November 2 - 4, the Assembly decreed that the Estates of the clergy were at the disposal of the nation\textsuperscript{34} and in December it decreed that the clergy no longer formed an Order in the Estates, and that "they do not exist" as such\textsuperscript{35}.

The Revolution, which at first seemed destined to bring the two classes of Nobility and clergy together for mutual protection against the attempts to destroy their vast privileges, had in fact caused a wider separation. Nobles who were proprietors, in certain provinces, as Languedoc for instance, gained by the suppression of church tithes more than they lost in the suppression of their feudal dues.

\textsuperscript{29} See motion of Tallyrand. Archiv. Parl. IX p. 398 and following. For list of speakers see Index of vol. pp. 775-6 under heading: "Biens ecclesiastiques".

\textsuperscript{30} Mintier, Bishop of Triquier. Archiv. Parl. IX, p. 484.

\textsuperscript{31} Michelet, p. 395.

\textsuperscript{32} Michelet, 75, 296.

\textsuperscript{33} Camb. Mod. Hist., op. cit., p. 56.

\textsuperscript{34} Duvergier I, 54-5 - Anderson - pp. 15-6.

\textsuperscript{35} Rohrbacher - p. 296.

\textsuperscript{35} Michelet, 299.
The majority of the nobles were not averse to partaking of the spoils of the clergy. In the debate on Monastic Vows on February 13, 1790, not a single noble came to the aid of the clergy, who were compelled to defend the old tyrannical system of irrevocable vows by themselves. Of course, they were the only ones who benefited by such an arrangement. On the 13th of this month the climax of the discussion was probably reached. Garat, the elder, deputy from Labour and member of the Parliament of Bordeaux, in the process of his debate invoked the rights of Nature, and repelled as a crime of ancient barbarity, this surprising of man's will, which on a word that has escaped his lips, or has been extorted from him, buries him alive forever. Amid shouts of blasphemy, the Bishop of Nancy rushed up to the tribune and uttered these significant words: "Do you acknowledge that the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion is the religion of the nation?" The answer was that the suppression of the convents was especially a question of finances, that there was no one who did not believe that the Catholic religion was the national religion; and that to sanction it by a decree would be to compromise it or to raise the question that it possibly had a rival.

The real secret of resistance, the only way that gave any seri-

36 Michelet, p. 345.
38 Michelet, ibid.
40 Ibid.
41 See especially remarks of Dupont, Deputy of Nemours - ibid., p. 589.
ous chance to the counter-revolution, the idea of the future Vendée, was first reduced to a formula at Nîmes: "Against the revolution, no result is possible without a religious war". In other words: "Against faith, no other power but faith". It is then in the South of France, that the elements of anarchy were particularly favored; were men of feverish passions, active and fervent, whose minds, full of intrigue and cunning, were well calculated not only to create a revolt, but to organize, regulate and direct an insurrection. Terrible means, that make us shudder when we remember the ruins and deserts made by ancient fanaticism

Dom Gerles, a Carthusian Friar and a warm patriot, but no less an ardent Catholic, upon being persuaded that the sole cause why the prelates were opposing the revolution was that they were concerned with the spiritual danger, said, "Nothing is more simple; in order to reply to persons who say that the Assembly wishes to have no religion, or that it is willing to admit every religion in France, it has only to decree that 'the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Religion, is and shall ever be the religion of the nation, and that its worship is the only one authorized.'" (April 12, 1790)

Charles de Lameth he did expected to escape the difficulty as on the 13th of February by insisting that the Assembly, which in its decrees, followed the spirit of the gospels, had no need to justify itself in this manner.

Mirabeau, speaking in the same vein, said, "Must we decree that the

---

42 Michelet, p. 350, Pressensé, p. 137.
44 Archiv. Parl. XII, p. 702.
45 ibid. For remarks on Feb. 13, see ibid., XI, 589-90.
sun shines?" and Baron de Menon, deputy of the nobility of Touraine, "I believe the Catholic religion to be the only one. I respect it infinitely. It is said that the gate of hell shall not prevail against it. Are we then to confirm such language by some miserable decree?"

But Duval d'Espremesnil interpreted these utterances in another light when he retorted "Yes, when the Jews crucified Jesus Christ, they said, 'Hail, King of the Jews!'" How much similarity was there in the motives of the populace in the two cases? More, possibly, than one might think.

Nîmes and Montauban gave the signal for revolt. The people, urged on by a rekindled fanaticism from the clergy, organized a considerable opposition at Nîmes and Toulouse in April and on May 10 a massacre at Montauban. Catholic volunteers proudly wore the white cockade of the Bourbons and shouted, "Down with the Nation." During this time the Assembly was following the clergy in the procession of Corpus Christi. "Nothing was more fatal to the Revolution than to be self-ignorant in a religious point of view, - not to know that it had a religion in itself.... It neither knew itself nor Christianity, it knew not exactly whether it was conformable or contrary to it, whether it was to go back to it or march forward."  

"Honor and spirit of party impelled the priests towards ingratitude; and they quitted the Revolution, their benefactress, for

---

47 Archiv. Parl. XII, p. 715.
49 Michelet, p. 366. - Pressensé - pp. 139-144.
episcopacy, their tyrant!" Because the Revolution had offered the priests an easy livelihood, and monks their liberty, the bishops designated every priest friendly to the Revolution as gained over, bought over and corrupted by temporal interests. Strange enough, it was to defend their prodigious fortunes, their millions, their palaces, horses, and mistresses, that the prelates imposed upon the priests the law of martyrdom. Many a one who wanted to preserve his income of eight hundred thousand francs, imputed to the country curate as a shame the twelve hundred francs' salary that he accepted from the Assembly.

But the counter-revolution stirred up in Nîmes and the South of France proved a failure because of lack of participation by the people. "To make a religious war, people must be religious. The clergy were not sufficiently believers to fanaticize the people. The month of June witnessed the Counter-revolution defeated in Provence". 50

On June 19, the Assembly abolished the hereditary nobility and on the same day legislated on Christian dogma, abolishing the Christian principle of transmission of sins as being as false as the transmission of virtue and superiority in the nobility. But the new religion could not be reduced to a formula on account of the dissensions in France and the reaction of egotism, fear and hatred on the part of the people.

50 Michelet, Bk. IV, Chap. 1.

51 Von Sybel - I, 236-41.

51a Michelet, p. 409.
We come now to the consideration of the most important act of
the National Assembly relative to our study. "The Civil Constitution
of the Clergy"\textsuperscript{52}, which was in fact the regulation of relations be-
tween Church and State under the new Constitution. The debate began
on May 29 and the final vote was taken on July 13\textsuperscript{53}.

The committee on the Church question submitted the proposed ar-
rangement by which the number of bishops was reduced by fifty, so
that each department would have a bishop at a salary of one thousand
a year. There were to be no archbishops and the ten metropolitan
seats were to be presided over by the senior bishop of the district,
thus lowering the prestige of the papacy, for all bishops were put
on the same plane. The bishop was to be elected by the departmental
electors and the parish priests by the district electors, which
elections were to take place in the church after mass. By this latter provision it was assumed altho not specifically stated, of course,
that the electors of the denominations would be excluded but at Stras-
bourg a Bishop was elected by a Protestant majority. Thus the right
of institution was taken away from the pope in line with Bossuet's
ideas of a century and a half before. The denial of the Papal in-
stitution was in the spirit of Gallicanism and the principle of election had had a long tradition\textsuperscript{54}. The Pope decided that the wisest

\textsuperscript{52} Text in Sloane - French Revolution and Religious Reform. Ap-
Lafont, Chap. III pp. 23-6, Rohrbacher, pp. 300-3.

\textsuperscript{53} Arch. Parl. op. cit. p. 51.

\textsuperscript{54} Acton - Lectures on the French Revolution, London, 1910,
p. 169.
policy to pursue was one of non-interference for the time being and accordingly the King gave his sanction on August 24. At the same time he resolved on flight, relying on the discontent in the provinces and the agitation that the clergy might inaugurate, or rather, continue, to restore his throne. On October 30, thirty French bishops signed the "Exposition of the principles of the civil constitution of the clergy" and submitted it to the Pope at his request. It was a compromise on the part of the clergy of the Gallican claims.

On November 27, 1790, the Assembly determined to enforce acceptance of the Civil Constitution, but the Pope continued officially silent and the King gave his sanction on December 26.

January 4, 1791, was the day appointed for all ecclesiastics to take the oath and no conditions or limitations were allowed. When the Assembly, however, refused to make a formal declaration that it meant no interference with the exclusive domain of religion, the great majority of clerical deputies declined to take the oath. In forty-five departments we know that there were 13,426 conforming clergy. It would follow that there were about 23,000 in the whole of France.

56a Rohrbacher, p. 304.
59 Duvergier II, p. 142 - Rohrbacher, pp. 304-5.
France, or about one-third of the whole, and not enough for the service of all the churches. The question was now whether the Church of France was to be an episcopal or a presbyterian one in organization. Talleyrand refused his election at Paris but before retiring he consecrated the Constitutional bishops and instituted Gobel at Paris which gives ground for his statement that but for him the French Constitutional Church would have been Presbyterian and consequently democratic, and hostile to monarchy.

Fauchet and Gregoire were especially hostile to Royalism. The former acted and perished with the Girondins but the latter held a rather tactful attitude toward the Revolution and managed to live through the Terror.

The non-juring clergy came to be regarded as traitors and rebels and the mob would not permit them to celebrate mass in the only church that remained to them in Paris. Bailly had said that when the law had spoken, conscience must be silent. But Talleyrand and Sieyès insisting on the principle of toleration succeeded in causing their formula to be accepted.

---

61 Parsons, op. cit., IV, pp. 608-10. It was supposed in 1762 that the French clergy numbered 194,000. See also other estimates. Camb. Mod. Hist., p. 53.

For numbers of clergy of Paris in each class - see appendix V. Pisani, op. cit., pp. 334-5. See also pp. 188-93 for rest of France.

62 Acton - op. cit., pp. 170-1.

63 Sloane, op. cit., pp. 142-6, Pressensé, pp. 184-5.

64 Sloane, ibid., also p. 154. Pisani, pp. 71-3.

65 Sloane, ibid., p. 185.


was entirely disregarded by the later Assemblies. 

Unfortunately, the Civil Constitution injured the cause of the Revolution very markedly, for the King was forced to call upon the reactionary powers of Europe for aid in getting back his kingdom in the condition, which he had received it. The Assembly had believed that there was nothing in the scheme to which the Pope would not consent, to avoid greater evils if the diplomacy of the King were conducted wisely. The judgment of Italian divines was in many instances favorable to the decree of the National Assembly and the College of Cardinals was not unanimous against it. Nevertheless, in March 1791, finding that he was unable to modify events the pope condemned the Civil Constitution. Unfortunately and more momentous still he condemned liberty and toleration and thus the Papacy alienated itself from the Revolution which had up to this time, at least, exercised a very moderate attitude toward the Pope as far as that was compatible with revolutionary ideas. As soon as the rejection of the Civil Constitution by the Pope became known, the annexation of the Papal territories in France was proposed (April 30, 1791). 

---

68 Pressensé, op. cit., p. 211.
71 On the 10th of this month he launched his famous Brief Quod aliquantum. For text see ibid., pp. 151-168. His brief "Charitas" Apr. 13, 1791, (in ibid 170-9) summoned all the juring clergy to retreat within forty days. Rohrbacher, p. 308.
feated at first, the proposition was adopted on September 14\textsuperscript{73}. The conflict thus instituted between the Revolution and the Church hastened the fall of the monarchy and the advent of persecution and religious war\textsuperscript{74}.

However moderate the attitude of the Assembly may be considered to have been toward the Roman Catholic Church its attitude toward the religious orders was certainly extreme. These organizations which really formed states within the states possessed extensive powers and more extensive domains. There had been considerable propaganda waged against the orders ever since Voltaire, and the sordid aspects of monastic life had been emphasized before the people much more than its elevating and redeeming attributes. Much was made over the point that many had been sequestered in convents, especially, against their will\textsuperscript{75}. It is unfortunate that exact figures are unavailable although the percentage would probably be small.

Already on February 13, 1790\textsuperscript{76} the Assembly had refused to recognize longer the vows taken by the religious of the monastic institutions and had suppressed the existing religious orders and brotherhoods. But provisionally, those establishments engaged in education and hospital work were authorized to continue, until the organization by the state of the Department of Public Instruction and Public Aid should be completed. Large pensions were granted to these inmates

\textsuperscript{73} Decree in Duvergier III, p. 207. Archiv. Parl. XXX, 631-2.

\textsuperscript{74} Acton, op. cit., p. 173.

\textsuperscript{75} Lafont, op. cit., p. 35.

\textsuperscript{76} See supra, note 37.
and produced another heavy drain upon the budget of the state. On September 30, 1791, the National (Constituant) Assembly transmitted its powers to that stormy Legislative Assembly which was to destroy the monarchy and found the Republic on its ruins. Although the Constituant maintained to the end the principle of the liberty of conscience, the mere Declaration of Rights was inadequate to redeem a nation torn asunder by such a religious struggle.

The persecution of refractory priests became steadily worse. They were not only forbidden to conduct services but were forbidden to meet together in numbers over three. At Rennes the attendants at the proscribed Mass were fined six francs. In a document entitled "Nouveau compte rendu au Roi" the refractory clergy protested against the accusations of rebellion with which they had been covered.

On March 19, 1792, the Pope launched a new brief in which he commended the non-juring priests and aimed especially at answering the Gallican principles enumerated in an exposition of principles, signed by eighteen Constitutional bishops. The pope wrote a letter to the King on the same day that the brief be withheld from publication for the present. On the 21 of March he published another brief.

77 Lafont, op. cit., p. 37.
78 Duvergier III, 466.
79 Pressensé - op. cit., p. 215.
80 Ibid., p. 258.
81 Ibid.
82 Ibid., p. 261.
83 Ibid., op. cit., 265.
null
in which he conferred on the former bishops and the administrators of their dioceses all of the necessary powers to absolve in cases reserved to the Apostolic See and to conduct ordinations contrary to ordinary procedure. The pope thus rendered possible the maintenance of an orthodox church in the grave circumstances of the epoch. But everything which came from Rome exasperated the leaders of the Revolution because they knew that the most redoubtable stronghold of the Counter-revolutionary movement was there. On Good Friday, April 6, the Legislative Assembly decided that there was no longer need for the teaching religious orders which formed the last hold of the Catholics and consequently this day was chosen to make the act more distressing to the Orthodox.

The attitude toward the King gradually became more and more strained so that on August 10, insurrectionists lead by revolutionaries from Marseilles advanced upon the palace of the Tuileries, overthrowing the monarchy and discrediting the Legislative Assembly. The leaders, registering the revolutionary will of Paris, prevailed upon the Assembly to vote that the King be suspended provisionally from the exercise of executive functions, and a day later declared for the election of a convention which was to be entrusted with the

85 Pressempé - ibid.
87 Pressempé- op. cit., p. 266. For policy of Pius VI See Pisani, op. cit., pp. 169-70.
88 Arch. Parl. XLI, pp. 335-52.
89 Address of the commune of Marseilles, June 27, 1792, which is typical of addresses sent to the Legislative Assembly from all parts of France between June 20 and Aug. 10, 1792, in Arch. Parl. XLVI, pp. 383-4. Anderson pp. 110-1. See Aulard, op. cit., II, 68-70, careful study of entire series in Aulard, Révolution Française- pp. 292-5.
task of framing a new Constitution. Danton was appointed virtual head of the Ministry, holding the portfolio of the Minister of Justice and was able to come to an understanding with this irregular body of Revolutionary leaders of Paris, which came to be known as the Revolutionary Tribune.

The Commune immediately set out to punish the defenders of the King. With the aid of the Revolutionary Tribunal (organized on August 17) they had no trouble in finding numbers of victims for their righteous vengeance.

On August 26, 1793, the Assembly decreed that all refractory priests should leave France under pain of ten years imprisonment or transportation to Guiana since the Assembly believed that they had had enough time in which to make up their minds.

On September 2 a decisive step was taken. Verdun was being besieged by the Austrian army and the nation was in distress, for this was the last fortress on the road to Paris. A decree ordering a


91 Among the prominent members of the Tribune were M. J. Chenier Fabre d'Eglantine, Hebert, Chaumette, Billand-Vorenne, Robespierre & Tallien. See Pressensé, op. cit., p. 287. Aulard, op. cit., II, pp. 72-6.


general search of houses for arms was utilized by the Commune to bring about the arrest and imprisonment of great numbers of their enemies. The prisons were filled with these victims and Marat had been urging their wholesale murder for some time in his journal. It was also on this day that he became a member of the Municipal Committee of surveillance. Two or three sections had voted the death of their prisoners. The climax of the day's happenings was reached when the populace fell upon a company of priests who were being conducted to the prison of the Abbaye and murdered them. The mob rushed over then to the Convent of the Carmelites which was not far distant and murdered over one hundred non-juring priests. During the night were two tribunals, improvised at the prisons of the Abbaye and La Force and the extensive program of execution of prisoners was carried out. As the Legislative Assembly was too frightened to act with determination the massacres did not cease until the 6th, when more than a thousand persons had been killed. Those who were instrumental in this episode were forced to remain in power or else be prepared to face the charge of being "Septemberers" or plain murderers.

On September 21, the Convention was constituted and France became a Republic. The sovereignty of the people was proclaimed, the


95 Bourne - ibid.

new constitution was to be submitted for sanction to the people and royalty was abolished. Unfortunately, however, this body was to be overawed and in fact, dominated by the Revolutionary Commune of Paris the ultimate arbiter of national policy for better or for worse.

On December 11, Louis was brought before the Convention for trial. Fifty-seven questions were asked and one hundred and sixty-two documents were read, but most of the questions were met by total denial. The King's defense was read by Deseze on the 26th which was followed by an interminable debate, the Girondins insisting upon due ceremony and solemnity in the trial. The Jacobins were exasperated but bided their time. On January 15, 1793, Louis was found guilty by unanimous vote (the doubtful being afraid to vote otherwise) and the next two days were taken up with the punishment to be meted out. The result was a majority of fifty-three votes for "Death", and he ascended the guillotine on the 30th.

The next few months were occupied with the struggle between the Girondins and the Jacobins, the latter finally emerging successful with their policy of a strong national executive so essential to successful national defense under such circumstances.

97 Complete account of trial with documents, etc. in Archives Parl. - LV - LVI.

98 Collection Portiez de l'Oise (Bibliothèque de la Chambre des Députés) tome 276 No. 8 in Archiv. Parl. LV, 617-634.


102 Aulard II, 191. Decree of March 18 punished with death all compromised priests—ones who were accused of disloyalty by six citizens were liable to transportation. Catholic Encyclopedia VI, p. 173.
Dumouriez, defeated at Neerwinden, rapidly retreated and something had to be done quickly. Revolutionary Committees for the arrest of suspects were formed in every one of the 44,000 communes of France. Property of the Emigres was confiscated and the Revolutionary Tribunal set out to deal with suspects. On June 1, the insurrectionary municipality of Paris enjoyed supreme power and the attack on the Girondin members of the Convention began. On June 14 after a vain struggle certain Girondin deputies disguised as National volunteers escaped to the South and the West which were the regions of their following.

The month of August witnessed the mobilization of all of the powers of the nation in a last attempt to stave off conquest by a foreign power. On September 3, Amar read a report against the twenty-two Girondists who were under arrest in their houses since late in June, and proclaimed the twenty fugitive Girondists traitors. Although seventy-three others were arrested for having signed protests against the arrest and suspension of the twenty-two members on June 6 and 19th, they were released through the mediation of Robespierre, who believed that he could use them in his struggle with the mountain.

Two weeks later all of France was thrown into a desperate state.

103 Acton, op. cit., pp. 222-3.
105a Lenôtre, G., op. cit., p. 75.
106 Aulard II, pp. 21-3.
of suspicion. No one felt safe; no one was safe for if one were not a "suspect" he might be "suspect of being a suspect". It was during this period that the guillotine was doing such thorough and efficient work daily.

Men who cherished the opinions of Voltaire and the Encyclopedists confused their contempt for Catholicism with love of country. Accordingly the new Calendar opened on September 22, 1792, the day when the Republic was proclaimed, was expected to break the associations of the old calendar with its Saints' days and recurring festivals. The leaders were successful to a large extent, for a time. The triumph of Radical Jacobinism during the "Reign of Terror" was to prove fatal to the State Church which the Constituant had inaugurated with so much care and solicitude.

---


THE FORMATION OF THE CULT OF REASON.

In considering the organization of the worship of Reason as a religion, the first consideration of importance is that the idea was not as novel as it may seem at first. True, the organization of the cult into a distinctly religious or irreligious body with ceremonies and ritual and a place to worship was left to Chaumette, aided in no secondary fashion by Hébert, Cloots and Momoro, who were one in a thorough policy of destruction of all vestiges of what remained of organized Christianity. The question of just which one was responsible for the cult is open to dispute, as are all questions of social origin and influence, but the three revolutionaries above-mentioned were certainly the leaders of the movement, and it was due to their efforts largely, that the cause was crowned with temporary success, at least.

As early as 1789, testimony is borne to the success of the revolutionary philosophy of the eighteenth century, by the clergy in their complaints to the Estates-General. "The lack of respect for the Sabbath", the audacity with which impiety attacks even the Divinity Himself", the frightful progress of incredulity", and more interesting still, "an impious and audacious sect that desecrates its false wisdom with the name of philosophy and seeks to overthrow the altars" and similar statements appear quite often in the Cahiers, especially those of the clergy. 1 The reaction against the ignor-

Archives Parlamentaires, 1ère Série, Paris, 19 , vol. I-IV.
ance and superstition of the Middle Ages was beginning to manifest itself on the minds of a certain number of people.

The great mass of the people, however, until recently accustomed to have all ideas of politics, ethics and religion thought out for them by men especially trained in these lines, was learning to attempt to think for themselves in terms of the very popular revolutionary eighteenth century philosophy. This attempt was to be accompanied by dire consequences from certain over-sensitive and over-emotional types, and the question as to whether these philosophical ideas are justifiable must rest as one of the livelily discussed subjects on this account. Privilege and oppression which had been thriving for centuries on the economic life of the country was to pay in one great payment for those enjoyments with the physical lives of their representatives. The old national religion which had supported monarchy, nobility and clerical privilege, and which still supported these institutions outside the borders of France, was no longer needed in Republican France. Although a majority of the parish priests sympathized with the cause of the peasants, i.e. with some sort of reform of the political and social position of the peasants, the central organization of the Church as a whole made common cause with the enemies of the Revolutionary government.

Since organized Christianity had made common cause with disaffection at home and invasion by foreign powers of the frontiers, reaction against the Christian religion was made much easier for those interested in such a movement. France, beset by foes from within and without, was in sore need of a spirit which would unite her efforts in one great final struggle for determination of her political life. This spirit was obtained by the deification of the
Republican principles and virtues, "liberty, equality, nature, fraternity, and reason", and although these principles are more or less interdependent, they were never very carefully distinguished by those orators who used them to stir up enthusiasm. All of them meant opposition to the past with its traditions of the Bastille and hope and joy in the future with its dream of a Utopian Republic in a Rousseauan "State of Nature".

The skepticism of Voltaire had borne noteworthy fruit as early as December, 1792, when a Deputy made a very merciless attack on religion and Christianity in particular. "While the old institutions of royalty were slowly tottering to their graves, only a breath of Reason was necessary to cause the altars of the gods to topple over and totter to destruction. Nature and Reason---these are the gods of men, these are my gods."  

But these more isolated outbursts of reaction against orthodoxy gave way to a definite and deliberate attempt of the leaders of the Commune of Paris during the first week of November, 1793, to substitute another religion for Christianity. It is interesting to note the religious psychology of these men in this relation, for in spite of their vaunted opposition to superstitious practices and

---


4. The following material counterparts of Roman Catholicism in the new religion are indicated:

Civic corteges take the place of former religious processions. The tablets of the Law were exposed on the Altars of the Nation as the Holy Sacrament had been before. The incense smokes - the analogy the symmetry between the two cults coincide in the smallest details. Both were equally intolerant of contradiction. The material sacred signs of the new cult were the cockade, the altar of the Nation, the tree of liberty and the Phrygian bonnet.

idolatry they resorted to these means in order to appeal to the people. What other language would the mob understand? Although the proletariat as a whole came to reject the use of images in Christian worship they were glad to see exhibitions somewhat typical of Roman pagan worship and the substitution for the former of the "animated image of Reason, the 'chef d'oeuvre' of Nature." Just how much artistic appreciation they had for this master-piece of creation must rest a subject for discussion.

This revolutionary religion, or Jacobin confession of faith, had for its dogmas an aggregate of ideas among which were the rights of man, hatred of tyrants and love for the Republic. These ideas formed the basis for a veritable gospel which was to be imposed by force upon the whole world, if necessary, for all humanity was to be regenerated along with the French, in spite of itself. Since many people were too ignorant to know what was for their best interests, the apostles of truth would enlighten the populace by such persuasive methods as the "holy" guillotine and periodical harangues. One is much better able to understand the manner of growth of militant religion throughout the world in the propagation of the Jacobin religion, if he has not understood it in Mohammedanism, the Crusades against the Albigenses and the Turks, the Inquisition and the extermination of heresy throughout medieval and modern times.


Carrière's idea in this respect was common to all, "We will make a cemetery of France rather than fail to regenerate it in our own way." And the Terrorists proceeded to put the former idea into practice since the latter one was questioned. A powerful faith creates strong wills which always seem to overpower weak ones. The respect for certain traditions and the rights of others, scruples which contributed in such a large degree to the downfall of the Girondists, form no part in the beliefs of the Jacobins. Never-ceasing activity and ability to excite the passions of the populace impressed the assemblies far more than talent and eloquence.12

"It is a religion without the supernatural, without mysteries, without revelation. God only figures in it in an accessory relation. It is a religion in which the acts of faith and adoration are applied, not to a supernatural object but to the political institution itself, to the nation conceived as source and instrument of moral as well as material happiness. The revolutionary patriotism was a religious sentiment and at the same time mystical." ibid. p. 33

7. See Appendix IV.

8. The French word "patrie" has been translated "nation or "republic" according to the better rendition of the meaning apparently in the mind of the person speaking of it.
"The French Republicans believed themselves cosmopolitan, but they are not except in their speech; they feel, think and act and interpret their universal ideas and their abstract principles with the traditions of a conquering monarchy which for 800 years had been working to fashion France after its image. They identify humanity with their nation, their national cause with the cause of all nations." Sorel, Albert - L'Europe et la Révolution française, Ed. 4, Paris, 1897, Partie I, p. 541. E. Montégut, La démocratie et la Révolution; la transformation de l'idée de patrie. Revue des Deux Mondes, la 15 novembre 1871, en passant.

9. Le Bon, op. cit., p. 194
10. ibid., p. 191.
11. ibid.
12. ibid., p. 197.
Contrary to popular conception, the cult of Reason did not owe its origin to the Convention. It was distinctly the work of the Municipal Council of the city and the General Council of the Department of Paris and it is to these interesting bodies that the credit or discredit for this peculiar religion is due. On the 7 of November, 1793, Chaumette introduced a measure which was adopted in the Municipal Council that the triumph of Reason be celebrated at Notre Dame on the following décadi (November 10). But this anti-Christian "masquerade" cannot be considered as a deliberate attempt to substitute in the place of the Roman Catholic Religion, a philosophical system of explaining phenomena on a rationalistic basis. Far from it. Rather than being an indication of any radical change in the French religious consciousness it was simply an expedient of national defense. It was one of the many steps in the Dechristianization of France in order to render it safer for Republican "government". Later when Robespierre decided that the Cult of the Supreme Being would be a better weapon against the opposition and the foreigner than the Cult of Reason on account of the apparent atheism of certain of its leaders, the mob of Paris gladly acclaimed Robespierre, the high priest of the new religion, and went in solemn procession with him to the designated "mountain" of worship.

13. The General Council of the Department of Paris invited the musicians of the "Opéra" to play the "Offrande à la liberté" before that divinity of the French in the "former" metropolitan Church and ordered the administration of Public Works to make the necessary preparations for this fête, which was to take place at ten o'clock in the morning and which was to be announced by drum and canon.


15. ibid., p. 203.
The "Triumph of Reason" must not be considered as the advent of atheism. We have these very significant words from the President of the Convention, Laloi, which followed the motion of Chaumette in the Convention, immediately after the abjuration of Gobel, for the dedication of a day in the calendar to Reason:

"You, who have just renounced error, will not preach anything else but the practice of social and moral virtues; it is the cult that the Supreme Being finds agreeable; you are worthy of it."

This was followed by "lively applause". True, the cult was decidedly anti-Christian, but it must not be considered an atheistical movement, simply because certain members were atheists. A very great number of influential members were as "devout" Deists.

16. See Appendix IV.


There is a facsimile of "Love and Reason Embracing", a painting by Bartolozzi, with the following verse below it:

"Peoples, can you look with indifference on Love, long blind, but today without a bandage; on Reason, sublime, borrowing the torch in order to change through its beams the destinies of France? Do thou, Love of Country, and thou, Sage Reason, set aflame the horizon of this vast universe. Spring up in all hearts; your holy alliance is the firmest hope of good citizens. Show us the Virtues as well as Liberty, hovering over the ruins of overturned homes. And thou, God of the humans, Supreme Intelligence, make the French the avengers of debased mortals. And everywhere the shield with the three colours shall be the happy emblem of omnipotence."

Neither the Constituant nor the Legislative Assemblies, nor even the Convention had any intention of destroying Catholicism. Many professions of faith were made by the Assemblies and it almost seems that, at times, the Assemblies found a special satisfaction in attesting their love and respect for Christianity. But they committed a grave fault in nationalizing the Church by imposing an oath on the clergy. The obligation of taking this oath served as the motive or pretext of the coalition of many of the clergy with the enemies of the Republic, which was to result in so much bloodshed and suffering.

At first the Convention insisted upon its respect for dogma, but soon the popular enthusiasm no longer distinguished the Church from religion. The Vendée, the connivance of the priests with the "émigrés" and the enemy, and that resistance to the law in which the Catholic sanctuary was the headquarters brought about first the violent attack and profanation of the church buildings, and later during the process of civil war, the attack not only on the non-essentials but also on the more fundamental questions of dogma. The process of dechristianization in the minds of Chaumette and Cloots was only a means of war.¹

The movement (never materialistic but generally deistic) seems to have been joyful and superficial at Paris while the people took part, but later when only a few of the more highly educated were interested, it became pedantic and sterile. In the provinces the movement was taken more seriously where grave and sincere attempts to

displace the old religion and establish the new one were made. The goddesses of Reason were not, as at Paris, actresses, but almost everywhere, as even the most hostile witnesses admit, were virtuous young girls belonging to the elite of the bourgeoisie.2

The outstanding characteristic of the movement in the provinces is that it was supported as a rule only by those in comfortable circumstances and of superior intelligence. The hearts of the people were not appealed to by intellectual ceremonies and they came to ignore or disdain these seances. It is on this account that Robespierre was able to bring about the political downfall of the cult very easily, because it could be considered aristocratic in the sense that the cult never meant a great deal as doctrine to anyone outside an aristocratic bourgeoisie.3

As an expedient of war, it is true that the cult was ardently adopted during the critical hours of national defense by all of the active patriots, Jacobins, members of the Revolutionary Committees, municipalities, and by the whole Revolution militant. This explains the reason why it is impossible to distinguish provincial differences of character and imagination in the history of the cult of Reason. There are none. The differences in manifestations in the various provinces have very little to do with differences of climate and race. If they do not celebrate the philosophical fetes in the same manner and if the process of dechristianization is different at

2 ibid., p. 200. Within twenty days nearly twenty-five hundred churches were transformed into temples of Reason (according to Gregoire). See Gazier - Études sur l'Histoire religieuse de la Révolut., p. 314.

3 ibid.
Chartres from that at Strasbourg, it is because Chartres is a long
distance from the enemy, while from the spire at Strasbourg one could
almost discern the Austrian outposts. If in the department of the
Haute-Vienne the triumph of the cult appeared to be peaceful while at
Gers it was violent, it is because at Limoges the revolution felt it-
self victorious while at Auch it was menaced by the machinations of
the clergy. 4

Slowly the Cult of Reason transformed itself into a cult of the
country. The busts of the "patriots", Marat, Chalier, and Le Peletier
were added to those of the philosophers in the temples, for these
three victims of patriotism personified in the popular mind "France
in Revolution, attacked by reaction". The people turned away from
the cold and abstract statue of Reason in order to honor nothing else
but the "Trinity of the victims of patriotism". 5

However, one must not believe that the manifestations of the
Cult of Reason abrogated everywhere the public exercise of Roman
Catholicism. In the provinces a great number of churches remained
open and it is very probable that among the faithful who attended,
more than one reader of the "Pere Duchesne" could be found. One
followed as a patriot the cortege of the goddess of Reason and as a
Catholic one heard mass. In many consciences the new faith co-exist-
ed with the hereditary one. The contradiction so human and above
all so French did not cease until the Terror became more powerful. 6

Even at Paris during all of the winter of 1793-4, although the
parish churches were closed, the Catholic ceremonies were openly

4 ibid., p. 201.


Mathiez, A. - Histoire religieuse de la Revolution francaise,
pp. 30-3.

6 Aulard, op. cit., p. 205.
celebrated in a number of chapels by an "innumerable host of zealous believers". 7

These incontestable signs of the persistence of Catholic beliefs caused the most enlightened promoters of the Cult of Reason much reflection. Perhaps the attempt at the process of dechristianization was premature and dangerous.

Prudhomme tried to refute these objections but he does it with a mildness which seems affected:

"The reason of the people has increased a great deal......
The most perfect indifference, worse than contempt and persecution, is going to achieve the annihilation of the Church......
In several parishes of the country, the village folk, deprived of their curate who was imprisoned as a suspect, have taken upon themselves the part of singing the offices; it is that much gained, and their prayers do not seem to be less efficacious."

The journalist concludes that the Cult of Reason will become universal and will silence all of the others without being involved with them. 8

Opposition soon arose of the nature expressed by Raffron du Trouillet, a lawyer and deputy to the National Convention from Paris, a regicide who considered Louis XVI an "odious monster". Although he had embraced the cult with ardor when it was first inaugurated he came to believe that reason was an object of study and not religion


For names of chapels, see ibid. These chapels were not closed until at the end of February 1794 by decrees of the Committees of the individual sections. ibid., p. 207.

and he concluded by an appeal for toleration on condition that the
various religions submit to the laws.9

Thus, Hebert and his friends were able to insult Christianity
but were not able to supplant it. The Catholic faith still lived in
many Catholic hearts and affirmed itself in the broad daylight.

Three months after the great ceremony at Notre Dame, even the
promoters of the cult began to question their work and decided "no
longer to bother the other cults", that is to say, they renounced
at the same time the ambitions both to destroy and to found.10

9 Reflexions sur les cultes et les pretres, par Raffron, depute
de Paris a la Convention nationale, Paris, Galletti, 5 nivose, An II,
in - 8 de 4 pages---Bibl. nat. Ld. 4/3, 941.

10 Aulard, op. cit., p. 209.
CONCLUSION.

It has been the object of this study to trace the development of the spirit of rationalism in French life and thought, considered especially in its religious relation. By considering somewhat in detail the growth of Gallican Christianity it has been possible to trace certain nationalistic traits which makes French Catholicism vary in certain important points from the forms of Catholicism prevalent in Germany, Italy, Ireland and the United States. On account of various political elements, religion in France became identified with the national organization of the state. Christianity was not a profession of the individual citizen, but, being linked to the state, supported by the state and supporting the state in turn, demanded the individual allegiance of all the French.¹

This idea was so deeply rooted in the French mind that with very few exceptions, a liberal form of Christianity was present in the minds of almost all of the Revolutionists, even among those who advocated the confiscation of the church lands, release of the priests and nuns from their vows, the opening of monasteries, etc.

Secondly, it has been aimed at to analyze somewhat in detail the dogmas and beliefs of the more prominent members of the cult in order to be able to place the cult in the catalog of religions.

Thirdly, an effort has been made to account for its origination at that particular time and to find out if possible to what precise extent it fulfilled the ideas of the eighteenth century.

And, fourthly, to ascertain if possible whether there really was an effort on the part of its promoters to establish a philosophical system of religion in which a philosophical conception of reason was enthroned and observed.

An estimation of the character of the leaders of the cult may be made at this time. There can be doubt whether Chaumette was a Deist, in spite of the many accusations to the contrary. As late as the 29 brumaire, II, Chaumette had the Commune vote a statue to Jean-Jacques, an action which one would not certainly expect from an atheist.²

Cloots was undoubtedly more nearly an atheist than any of the others. But if he was a devotee of the religion which he was inaugurating and which had for its favorite songs, the poems of M. J. Chenier, it is certain that he had nothing in him which was essentially materialistic or frankly atheistic.³

As for Hebert his best counterpart may be found in the Christian Socialists of the present day. A few days (three) before the ceremony of Notre Dame he wrote,

"When the good revolutionist, (sans-culotte), Jesus Christ appeared he preached righteousness, brotherhood, liberty, equality and contempt for riches...... They ("the deceitful priests") have made a God of blood of the best Jacobin that has ever lived and in his name they have slaughtered generations."⁴

² Aulard - op. cit., p. 82.

³ Text of his "Ode to Liberty"—favorite song of the period in Arch. Parl. LXXVIII, p. 711.

⁴ Père Duchesne, no. 307, cited from Aulard, op. cit., pp. 82-3.
He interpreted the Fête of Reason as a good joke on the priests and not as an event in the thought of the country. In the following number he has the Mother Duchesne (Jacqueline) examine her conscience and here is the result: "I do not believe in their Hell or Paradise any more than in Jean de Vert. If God exists, which is not too clear, he has not created us in order to torment us, but to make us happy." If God exists, which is not too clear, is this the audacity which has been so often reproached? The most that one can say about him is that he was a cynical skeptic. The reason that Hebert adored was undoubtedly in his view an emanation of God.

It is only necessary to consider the attitudes of avowed atheists of the time toward the Cult of Reason to know that the Cult was quite out of sympathy with their frame of mind.

Let us characterize the Cult of Reason as a semi-mystical, semi-deistic attempt on the part of its leaders and promoters to oppose the political enemies of Revolutionary France by adeification of the principles of the Revolution. Once in the hands of the populace this became a form of idolatry, even as did the religion of Jesus of Nazareth.

5 Père Duchesne, no. 311, see Aulard, op. cit., p. 83.

6 An allusion probably to Jehan de la Verta, fl. 1440. See Larousse, Grande Encyclopédie Universelle, XV, p. 941.

7 Père Duchesne, no. 312, see Aulard, ibid.

8 Aulard, op. cit., p. 85.

9 Especially, Condorcet, Naigeon and Salaville. See Aulard, op. cit., pp. 85-96.

LaFont, E. - La politique religieuse de la Révolution - pp. 12, 4, 5, 8, notwithstanding.
APPENDIX I

The first document purports to be a message from Boniface to the King:

"Bonifacius, episcopus, servus servorum Dei, à Philippe, roi de France, très noble. Nous voulons toy savoir que as choses espirituelles et temporelles tu es soubz nous. Et les croyans autrement nous reputons heretiques."

The second of these documents is the answer of the King:

"Philippe, par la grace de Dieu, roi de France, à Boniface, soi-portant pour esveque de Romme, salut petite or mulle. Nous voulons toy savoir que as choses temporelles nous ne recongnoissons mal que Dieu. Les croyons autrement nous reputons folz et hors de sens."


Lavisse et Rambaud, Histoire Generale, III, pp. 30-1, attributes these documents to Pierre Flotte, a royal jurist, who put them in circulation in order to incite the people against the Pope. The text of the bull in this instance is considerably more complete than the one given above and not so brutal in form.

G. P. Fisher in his History of the Christian Church cites this second letter in an unfortunate translation as genuine, pp. 242-3.

Parsons in his Studies in Church History, II, pp. 415-6 believes both forgeries and cites the Gallican, deMarca.
APPENDIX II

THE COUNCIL OF BASEL.

The work of the Council of Basle may be summarized as follows:

Dec. 14, 1431. I Session, in which the three aims of the council were set forth:
   1. To reform the Church in head and members.
   2. Extirpation of the Hussite heresy.
   3. Healing of the Greek Schism.

Dec. 18. Eugene IV decided to dissolve the Council since it seemed evident that the Council would never be organized.

Jan. 14, 1432. When the decision of the Pope arrived, the representatives were very much incensed and addressed an Encyclical to the Princes of Europe in which they expressed their intention of finishing the work planned by them. The French Bishops at Bourges sent notice of their support as did the Emperor Sigismund.

Jan. 15. II Session, announced the decrees of the Council of Constance in regard to superiority of Church Councils over the sovereign pontiff.

Apr. 29. It summoned Eugene to revoke his Bull of dissolution and appear before the Council.

Feb. 19, 1433. X Session, declared the Pope disobedient and stubborn. Eugene yielded and revoked the decree of dissolution and recognized its legitimacy.

Feb. 5, 1434. The Council, accordingly, revoked all the acts directed against the person and dignity of the Pope. After two years of comparative peace, the second conflict followed, when

Mar. 25, 1436. The Council decided to impose the decretals of the Council of Constance on the superiority of ecumenical Councils in the future to all Popes. The Pope tried in vain to bring the Council to moderation and in despair announced his intention of dissolving the council and recalled his representatives. The Council was divided into two parties—the Radicals under the Archbishop of Arles, and the Moderates, who preferred to support the Pope, rather than run the risk of another schism. At the XXIV Session, only 10 Bishops and 23 Abbots were present.

May 7, 1437. Since the Pope was determined to have the Council transferred, it suggested Avignon, but the Pope taking the advice of the minority

May 29, designated Ferrara.

July 31, The Council summoned the Pope to appear with his Cardinals within
six days.

Sept. 18, 
Eugene transferred the Council to Ferrara by the Bull, "Doctor gentium"; although the Council theoretically ceased to exist, it persisted ten years in opposition to the Holy See.

Oct. 1, 
The Council declared the Pope contumacious.

Jan. 24, 1438. 
Suspended the Pope from his functions and proclaimed the Council at Ferrara schismatic and

Mar. 24, 
Cited its members to Basel.

May 16, 1439. 
Adopted "The Three Verities of Faith" which declared every one who did not recognize the superiority of the Council a heretic.

June 26, 
Deposition of the Pope signed by 7 Bishops.

July 8, 
Elected an Anti-Pope, Amadeus, duke of Savoy as Felix V.

1445 
Council of Basel deserted by its supporters, Savoy, Aragon and Hungary and certain German princes.

APPENDIX III

THE PRAGMATIC SANCTION OF BOURGES.

The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges dealt in main with the following points:

1. The authority of Church Councils.
2. Diminution of Papal patronage.
3. Restriction of papal taxation.
4. Limitation of appeals.

Together these limitations are spoken of commonly as the "Gallican Liberties", i.e., the Liberties of the Gallican or French Church, and they implied the right of the National Church to administer its own affairs with only the slightest interference by the Pope. In other words they were essentially anti-papal.

(Pragmatic in the general sense means any sort of decree of public importance; in its more special usage it denotes an ordinance of the Crown regulating the relation of the National clergy to the Papacy. The modern equivalent is Concordat. Ogg, F. A. - Source book of Medieval History, p. 394n.)
Doctrines of the Cult of Reason.

Excerpts from various public utterances of prominent clergy and others, which give in concrete form certain predominate ideas.

Joseph Fouché, Deputy of the Loire-Inférieure, in his report to the Convention as Representative on Mission in the Departments of the Center and the West, wrote,

"The taste for Republican virtues and "austere forms" have penetrated the souls of all ever since they have ceased to be corrupted by the priests."¹

Parent, curate of Boissise-la-Bertrand, près de Melun, contributes a rather "Christian" aspect to the new religion, in his letter of abjuration to the Convention, wrote,

"No more priests, that does not mean, no more religion. Be just, be kind, love your fellow-men and you have religion, because in having all the virtues which can render you happy in rendering yourself useful to your brothers, you have all that is necessary to please the Divinity."²

Momoro, President, par interim, of the Department of Paris, in his remarks introducing Gobel to the Convention, on November 7, 1793, said,

"..... It will be but a short time until the French Republic will have no other cult than that of Liberty, Equality and Truth, a cult, originated in the breast of Nature, and which, thanks to your efforts, will soon be the universal cult."³


² Moniteur Universel, l'Intermédiaire, 19 brumaire an II, p. 191, col. 2.

³ Moniteur Universel, no. 49, 19 brumaire an II, p. 199, col. 3.

⁴ Moniteur Universel, no. 34, 10 brumaire an II, p. 189, col. 3.
Jean-Baptiste Gobel, Constitutional Bishop of Paris, in his renunciation of the priest-hood before the Convention made the following remarks, and expressed in general the same ideas as Momoro:

"Now that the Revolution is progressing with great strides toward a happy termination......today, there must not be any other public or national cult than that of Liberty, and Holy Equality, because the sovereign (people) wishes it so." 5

Another point of view is furnished by Robert Thomas Lindet, Deputy and Bishop of the Department of the Eure in his renunciation:

"When reason accomplishes such a brilliant victory over superstition, the legislator dares not neglect anything to assure its (that of reason) success and stability. The fetes and religious solemnities had become political institutions. Consider the immense void which the abandonment of these fetes have produced.


3. A few minutes before, the Bishop of Paris and his clergy went to Conseil-General of the Department of Paris had renounced the priest-hood before them. For account see "Procès-verbaux de la séance du 17 brumaire an II du Conseil général du département de Paris" in annexe no. 3, Archiv. Parl., op. cit. p. 566, and Collection Portiez (de l'Oise) t. 38, no. 14.


5. ibid.
Replace what you destroy with something. Forestall the murmurs of discontent, occasioned in the country by the tediousness of solitude, uniformity of work and the cessation of popular assemblies. Oh! that promptly instituted national fetes prepare the passage of the reign of superstition to that of reason. All of the departments are not equally right for this great revolution. The inhabitants of the country districts do not have the same means of education, which are present in the large cities. The method of accelerating the development of public opinion is by the prompt establishment of those civil assemblies, when all of the citizens will come together in order to learn their rights, celebrate their liberty and train themselves in virtue.

I request that the Committee of Public Instruction be charged with submitting a report immediately on the National Fetes."

But most significant of all, probably, is the response of the President of the Convention, Laloi, which contains the following interesting statements:

"The Constitution has guaranteed you the free exercise of religion and under this solemn guarantee, enlightened by reason and defying former prejudices, you have just raised yourselves to that eminence of the Revolution, where philosophy awaits you. Citizens, you have taken a decisive step toward the common happiness.

It was doubtless reserved for the inhabitants of Paris to give that great example to the entire Republic; there, the triumph of Reason will begin........

Do not let it be concealed, citizens, those playthings, (articles of Roman Catholic worship, previously referred to) outraged the Supreme Being, in the name of whom they were provided; they cannot be used in his cult since he demands only the practice of social and moral virtues; such is his religion, he does not wish any other cult but that of Reason. He has not ordered any other and this one will be henceforth the national religion,"7

Lindet’s abjuration was followed by that of Julien, of Toulouse, a Protestant minister, who furnishes a rather complete confession of faith:

"......I have fulfilled the duties of a Protestant minister for twenty years. I declare that from this day on I suspend the exercise of them. Henceforth, I shall have no other temple than the sanctuary of the laws, no idol than that of liberty, no other cult than that of the nation, no other gospel than the Republican Constitution, which you have given to independent France and no other system of ethics than that of equality and tender benevolence."8

Luc-François Lalande, Deputy and Bishop of the Department of the Meurthe, continued,

"I declare that henceforth, I do not wish to have any other desire than to spread and propagate everywhere the true principles of liberty, the eternal dogmas which are written in the great book of Nature and Reason; that book which all nations can read and in which they can learn their duties, that book which far from needing

to be augmented, corrected and commented upon, should serve to abridge, correct and augment all other books."

He regrets that he is unable to submit his letters of ordination to the priest hood as others had done, for he has left them at Nancy, " but instead of depositing those useless Gothic parchments, which are worthless now, I am going to deposit my ring and my gold cross (part of his insignia of bishop.) Could I put them to better use than to consecrate them to the good of the state and the public welfare?"9

Leonard Gay-Vernon, Montagnard Deputy and Bishop of Limoges in the Haute-Vienne, in his declaration before the Convention wrote, ".....I accepted the Episcopacy (in 1791) in order to contribute to the progress of the dawn of intelligence and to hasten the dominion of Reason and the reign of Liberty." 10

Sièyes, Deputy of the Sarthe, followed the example of a number of the clergy on the 10 of November 1793, and submitted his renunciation of the exercise of his priestly functions,

".....Although I have put aside my ecclesiastical character of life for many years and although in this regard my profession will be a repetition of a well known fact, still I take advantage of this new occasion to declare again, and a hundred times if necessary, that I do not recognize any other cult but that of Liberty and Equality, no other religion but that of Love of Humanity and the Nation."11

   Supplément au Bulletin de la Convention (8 November 1793) in ibid.

10. Procès-verbaux de la Convention, op. cit., p. 56, in ibid., p. 552-3
    Moniteur Universel, ibid.
    Archives Nationales, Carton C 280, dossier 766, in ibid., p. 554.
The list of priestly renunciations would not be complete without that of Francois Chabot, Deputy from the Loire et Cher.

After recounting his former unorthodox experiences he continues, "...I have already manifested aloud my opinion of the necessity of the substitution of the Cult of Law for that of all existing superstitions. I have therefore, renounced by word and act all cults but that of Liberty."12

11. The abjuration of Sièyes is not mentioned in the Procès-verbaux of the Convention in its meeting of the 20 brumaire an II, but the declaration of this Deputy may be found in the Bulletin de la Convention of that date as well as in the various published accounts in the journals of the day.
Moniteur Universel, no. 51 du 21 brumaire an II (lundi 11 novembre 1793), p. 208, col. 2.
Journal des Débats et des Décrets, no. 418, p. 271.
Journal de la Montagne, no. 162 du 21 brumaire an II, p. 1196, col. 2.

Moniteur Universel, op. cit., p. 206, col. 2.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sources


Barras, Mémoires, par George Duruy. 4 v. Paris, 1895.


Secondary Works consulted.

Abry, Audic, Crouget.


Acton, Lord J. E. E.


Adams, Charles K.

Democracy and Monarchy in France, N. Y., 1874.

Allison, A.


Argenson, Rene Louis de Voyer de Paulney, Marquis de,


Aubertin, Charles

Aulard, F. A.

L'esprit public au XVIIIe Siècle, Paris, 1889.

ibid.


ibid.

Etudes et leçons sur la Révolution française. - v. I, Chap. XI.

Becker, Bernhard


Beesley, A. H.


Bonnefon, Paul, comp.


Bourne, H. E.

La société française du XVIIIe Siècle Paris, 1905.

Buchez, P. J. B.

Revolutionary Period in Europe. N. Y., 1914.

Roux, P. C.


Carlyle, Thomas

Carne, Louis, count de
Catholic Encyclopedia,
Champion, Edme
Cunow, Heinrich
Cushman, H. E.
Dabney, R. H.
Débidour, A.
Dewing, A. S.
Ducros, Louis
Duprat, Pascal
Ellery, Eloise
Erdmann, J. E.
Esmein, A.
Estrée, P.
Fischer, Kuno
Fisher, G. P.
Forneron, H.
La Monarchie française au XVIIIe Siècle, études historiques. Paris, 1882, v. 6, France.
Beginner's History of Philosophy. 2 v. Boston, c.1911.
History of the Christian Church. N. Y., 1907.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Edition/Translation Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fraser, A. C.</td>
<td>Rational philosophy in history and system.</td>
<td>Edinburgh, 1858.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grande Encyclopédie</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hefele, C. J.</td>
<td>Conciliengeschichte, Freiburg im Breisgau 1869.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holtzmann, Robert</td>
<td>Wilhelm von Nogaret -Freiburg im Breisgau 1898.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lafont, E.</td>
<td>La politique religieuse et la Révolution française.</td>
<td>Paris, 1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lanson, G.</td>
<td>Histoire de la Littérature française.</td>
<td>Paris, 1918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lavallée, Théophile</td>
<td>Histoire des Francaises, 6 vol.</td>
<td>Paris, 1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LeBon, Gustave</td>
<td>La psychologie de Révolution. Trans. by Bernard Miall. N.Y., 1913.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pseud. of Gosselin.</td>
<td>The New France.</td>
<td>London, 1913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lilly, W. S.</td>
<td>The Eve of the French Revolution.</td>
<td>Boston, c.1892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MacCaffrey, James</td>
<td>History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century (1789-1908). Ed. 2. 2 v.</td>
<td>Dublin, 1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MacDonald, J. R. M.</td>
<td>History of European Philosophy. N.Y., 1917.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Editions/Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parsons, Reuben</td>
<td>Studies in Church History. 6 v. Philadelphia, c.1897. Ed. 3. v. II, IV, VII.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Edition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saisset, Émile</td>
<td>Précureurs et disciples de Descartes</td>
<td>Ed. 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smyth, William</td>
<td>Lectures on the French Revolution</td>
<td>Ed. 2. 2 v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephens, H. M.</td>
<td>History of the French Revolution</td>
<td>3 v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephens, H. M.</td>
<td>Revolutionary Europe</td>
<td>Ed. 8.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taine, H. A.</td>
<td>L'Ancien régime. Trans. by John Durand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibid.</td>
<td>La Révolution française, trans. by John Durand. Ed. 2. 3v.</td>
<td>N. Y., 1878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tardif, A.</td>
<td>Histoire des Sources du Droit Canonique</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thiers, L. A.</td>
<td>Histoire de la Révolution françiane</td>
<td>6 v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thilly, Frank</td>
<td>History of Philosophy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tilley, Arthur</td>
<td>From Montaigne to Molière, or the preparation for the Classical Age of French Literature</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valois, Noël</td>
<td>La Pragmatique Sanction de Bourges, 1348</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viollet, P.</td>
<td>Histoire des Institutions politiques et administratives de la France.</td>
<td>3 v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallon, H.</td>
<td>La Terreur. Ed. 2. 3 v.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibid.</td>
<td>Saint Louis et son temps. Ed. 2. 3 v.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>