

Supplementary Information
Individuals, Institutions, and Innovation in the
Debates of the French Revolution

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1 Preparing and characterizing speech data

Data preparation

We create our corpus from the Archives Parlementaires (AP) of the French Revolution Digital Archive (FRDA), a digitized collection of texts made available through the efforts of Stanford University Libraries and the Bibliothèque nationale de France. These texts, which span the years 1787-1794, include transcripts of parliamentary deliberations, letters, reports, speeches, court actions, and other first-hand accounts of the proceedings of the National Constituent Assembly, the Legislative Assembly, and the National Convention.

FRDA files use Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) guidelines, so tag structure is consistent and produces valid xml. The TEI structure follows the formatting of the original document, tracking individual speeches. For example, the following rhetorical exchange:

```

<sp>
  <speaker>M. de Menou.</speaker>
  <p> Je demande qu'on n'interrompe pas M. l'abbé Maury. En parlant contre
  la chose publique, il lui fait plus de bien que ceux qui parlent pour.
  </p>
</sp>
<sp>
  <speaker>M. l'abbé Maury.</speaker>
  <p> Pour continuer à servir la chose publique, j'examinerai quels ont
  été les résultats de cette usurpation d'autorité de la part de votre
  comité ecclésiastique. (On rappelle M. l'abbé Maury à l'ordre). M. de
  Mirabeau a parlé dans cette discussion et a renforcé de sa théologie les
  arguments qui nous avaient déjà été présentés. A Dieu ne plaise que je
  veuille rapprocher ici les principes qu'il a posés en faveur de la
  religion avec les conséquences qu'il en a tirées. Il ne nous est permis
  de scruter les intentions de personne. M. de Mirabeau vous a dit que les
  évêques devaient se faire d'autant moins de scrupules d'outrepasser les
  circonscriptions actuelles de leurs diocèses que chaque évêque était un
  évêque universel, que sa juridiction était reconnue par les canons, et
  que c'était le premier des quatre articles enseignés par le clergé de
  France en 1682. Cela est trop important, trop capable de faire illusion
  pour que je ne rappelle pas ici la vérité ; je ne calomnie pas les
  intentions de M. de Mirabeau.... Je rapporte ses propres expressions.
  </p>
</sp>
<sp>
  <speaker>M. de Mirabeau.</speaker>
  <p> Non ! </p>
</sp>
<sp>
  <speaker>M. l'abbé Maury.</speaker>
  <p> Il m'est extrêmement important de savoir ce que M. de Mirabeau a dit.
  </p>
</sp>
<sp>
  <speaker>M. de Mirabeau.</speaker>
  <p> Permettez, monsieur.... </p>
</sp>
<sp>
  <speaker>M. l'abbé Maury.</speaker>
  <p> Je prends la liberté de demander publiquement à M. de Mirabeau s'il
  n'a pas dit que tout évêque était un évêque universel ? si je me suis
  trompé je vais être redressé. </p>
</sp>
<sp>
  <speaker>M. de Mirabeau.</speaker>

```

```

<p> Je réponds, monsieur, que je n'ai jamais dit que tout évêque fût un
évêque </p>
<p>universel ; ces ridicules paroles ne sont jamais sorties que de votre
bouche. J'ai dit que, suivant le premier des quatre articles des
libertés de l'Eglise gallicane, les évêques recevaient leurs
juridictions immédiates de Dieu, que l'essence d'un caractère divin
était de n'être circonscrit par aucune limite et par conséquent d'être
universel; qu'il me paraissait qu'en toute langue conforme aux règles du
bon esprit la circonscription diocésaine était purement temporelle,
qu'elle ressortissait uniquement de la puissance temporelle, et non de
ce que vousappelez la puissance ecclésiastique. Voilà, monsieur, ce
j'ai dit ; mais je n'ai jamais prétendu que l'ordination fit d'un évêque
un évêque universel (On applaudit..) </p>
</sp>
```

Speeches are contained in speech tags (`<sp>`) and broken into paragraphs (`<p>`). Each speech is associated with a speaker string contained in speaker tags (`<speaker>`). We concatenate all paragraphs from each speech tag into single speeches and set text to lower case. Contractions are separated, and all words with fewer than 3 characters are removed. We remove stop words in Table 1, consisting of pronouns, articles, and other common words from the top 100 most probable words. After removal we use the 10,000 most probable words as a vocabulary. The raw corpus contains 44,953 speeches and 9,930,592 words; the vocabulary corpus contains 44,913 speeches and 4,765,773 words. Figure 1 shows the speech and word count per week over the NCA using the final vocabulary. Interestingly, the week of highest speech count contains the “Flight to Varennes”, when the King tried to flee France only to be caught after two days. Figures 2 and 3 show the overall vocabulary speech length distribution, and the mean and variance of speech lengths per week.

We coarse-grain the vocabulary words of each speech into a probability distribution over 100 semantic topics using Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA)[1]. We use the implementation found in python package `lda` (<https://pypi.python.org/pypi/lda/1.0.5>), using collapsed Gibbs sampling with default Dirichlet hyperparameters $\alpha = 0.1$ for topics and $\beta = 0.01$ for words. The most probable words for each speech’s resulting topic mixture are shown in the the topics appendix (§8).

Variations in French naming conventions, recording practice, and OCR error required manual collection of speaker strings from the `<speaker>` tag of each speech into unified individuals. For every month, we examined the most frequent speaker strings, assigning them to known individuals until at least 80% were covered. Figure 3 shows the fraction of coverage per month. Tables 2 and 3 show the top 40 speakers ranked by raw (non-presidential) speech count. The first includes speeches given on behalf of committee; the latter does not (see the appendix on defining committee speech, §5).

2 Novelty, transience, and resonance

We have a list S of speech topic mixtures $s^{(j)} = \left(s_1^{(j)}, s_2^{(j)}, \dots, s_i^{(j)}, \dots, s_K^{(j)}\right)$ where j indexes chronological order and i indexes topic, $1 \leq i \leq K$. The novelty

of speech j is its mean surprise (KLD) given the speeches within a window of length w beforehand (Figure 5):

$$\mathcal{N}_w(j) = \frac{1}{w} \sum_{d=1}^w \text{KLD} \left(s^{(j)} | s^{(j-d)} \right), \quad (1)$$

We refer to w as the measurement scale. Resonance \mathcal{R} is novelty less transience \mathcal{T} , where the latter is novelty in Eq. 1 under time reversal:

$$\begin{aligned} \mathcal{R}_w(j) &= \frac{1}{w} \sum_{d=1}^w \left[\text{KLD} \left(s^{(j)} | s^{(j-d)} \right) - \text{KLD} \left(s^{(j)} | s^{(j+d)} \right) \right] \\ &= \mathcal{N}_w(j) - \mathcal{T}_w(j) \end{aligned} \quad (2)$$

Novelty and transience are measured relative to a center speech (Figure 5). Figure 6a shows a density plot of novelty and transience per center speech at scale 7. Speeches close to the identity ($x = y$) line are symmetric in surprise from the past and from the future. Resonant speeches break this symmetry, differing more from their past and aligning more with their future. Accordingly, they are found below the identity line where novelty outweighs transience. This asymmetry is evident in Figure 6c, showing box plots of KLDs making up novelty and transience for a sample of resonant center speeches.

In choosing when to speak and what to say, a speaker has some control over the relative novelty of his speeches, compared to those preceding. The reception of his speech, as measured by transience, is essentially out of his control. Figure 6a shows our first result using these measures: an increase in novelty is matched in general by an equal increase in transience, shown in the symmetry about the identity line. In essence, the more novel one's content is, the less likely it is for that content to propagate into subsequent speeches. However, as shown in Figure 6d, resonance increases with novelty overall, our second result. We measure the expected resonance of any speech given some level of novelty with a linear model:

$$\mathbf{E}[\mathcal{R}|\mathcal{N}] = \beta_{int} + \beta_{\mathcal{N}}\mathcal{N} + \sigma, \quad (3)$$

shown in the fit line of Figure 6d. We define novelty effectiveness Γ :

$$\Gamma = \frac{d\mathbf{E}[\mathcal{R}|\mathcal{N}]}{d\mathcal{N}} = \beta_{\mathcal{N}} \quad (4)$$

the rate at which resonance increases with novelty. Figure 8 shows a positive novelty bias for Γ from small to large scale. Figure 7 contains transience v. novelty and resonance v. novelty density plots at several example scales.

2.1 Testing novelty bias for news of the day

One potential driving factor of novelty bias is the unexpected interjection of external and attention-grabbing material into otherwise structured debate. The speeches containing these “news of the day” items would override the discussion at hand and potentially receive an artificial boost to their resonance. Given the daily nature of our data, we partially control for this phenomenon by adding daily fixed effects to the model in Eq. 3 by removing β_{int} and incorporating categorical variables D_m for each day after the first:

$$\mathbf{E}[\mathcal{R}|\mathcal{N}] = \sum_{m=1}^M \beta_m D_m + \beta_N \mathcal{N} + \sigma. \quad (5)$$

This alteration provides a separate intercept for each calendar day, removing the influence of abnormally novel daily proceedings on the slope β_N .

Figure 9 presents Γ over scale for this new model. Figure 10 shows the Bonferroni-corrected significance of daily categorical variables for each model over the same range of scale. As these figures show, novelty bias is conserved even when controlling for variation in daily content.

2.2 Null Models for Speaker-Level Properties, and corrections for Multiple Testing

In the main paper, we tested the top forty speakers, separately, for novelty, resonance, and ΔR values that differed significantly from the population average (including the other thirty-nine speakers). While a simple t -test can provide a simple p -value statistic, it considers neither the correlations between N , R , and ΔR , nor the possibility of non-Gaussian distributions, nor the effects of multiple testing (if one tests forty speakers, a few $p < 0.05$ results are expected to be found, even if each speaker’s values are independent).

To solve this problem, we construct an explicit null model, where the speaker identities are redistributed randomly (without replacement) across all of the speeches. We then determine the probability that an effect of size equal to that measured on the data would be found in the nulls. Since many of the speakers turned out to have very strong deviations, we ran 40,000 nulls.

Having found this new set of p -values, we then correct for multiple testing using the Holm-Bonferroni method. Holm-Bonferroni takes a collection of p -values, and provides corrected significance bounds given that many measurements were made at once. The Holm-Bonferroni is uniformly more powerful than the older Bonferroni correction, reducing both Type I and Type II errors. These are the p -values reported in the main paper.

2.3 Effects of Speaker Order

It is natural to think that the order in which speakers enter a debate will have an effect on both their novelty and resonance. In Figures 11 and 12 we show

this effect, using the new-item speech markers to find the start of a debate.

While the variance in both these relationships is high, we can detect weak effects in the expected direction for novelty (early speeches have slightly higher novelty, on average, reflecting natural tendencies for debates to move from one topic to another), and weaker effects yet for resonance, with later speeches having slightly lower resonance, reflecting the higher transience that occurs when debates are followed by a change in topic.

This implies that a speaker’s novelty and resonance are determined both by the content of his speech, and his ability to enter a debate in the early stages. We can think of these as two parallel strategies for a speaker, should he choose to alter his relationship to the debate in progress.

What happens when we attempt to separate these two effects? In addition to N , R , and ΔR , we can measure the delay-corrected versions of these quantities, N' , R' and $\Delta R'$. For example, N' :

$$N' = \langle N_i - \langle N \rangle_{p_i} \rangle_i, \quad (6)$$

where i indexes speech number for the speaker in question, p_i is the relative position of i in the debate in which it appears, $\langle N \rangle_{p_i}$ is an average over the N s for all speakers, conditional on appearing at position p_i , and $\langle \dots \rangle_i$ is the average over all the speeches for the speaker in question.

With the exception of the zeroth position (the new item being introduced), speech order is a weak effect, and any particular speaker in question needs to differ significantly from the standard distribution of debate-entry position to deviate. In Table 4 we show the forty top speakers whose values do move, and compare their measures from the main paper with the order-corrected values.

A few cases are suggestive, although we do not conduct a full error analysis. Robespierre achieves higher novelty and ΔR than expected given his speech position; while a speaker like Reubell’s low novelty is partly “explained away” by his tendency to enter debates later than others; Maury is another example. Lanjuinais’ novelty is high in the aggregate, but much of this can be explained away by the order in which he enters—correcting for this effect, he moves from slightly above-mean novelty to slightly below.

2.4 Presidential speech removal

Our analysis is focused on innovation and generation and disposal of content in the NCA. Because the president functions as an enforcer of the agenda, his speeches are much more formulaic in content than others. He often maintains order and announces the transition from one speaker to the next, in addition to introducing the general topic of discussion. Some examples out of context:

```
<sp>
  <speaker>M. le Président</speaker>
  <p> le rappelle à l'ordre. </p>
</sp>

<sp>
  <speaker>M. le Président.</speaker>
```

```

<p> Monsieur Pétion, je vous rappelle à l'ordre.</p>
</sp>

<sp>
  <speaker>M. le Président</speaker>
  <p> annonce à l'Assemblée qu'il a présenté
    différents décrets à la sanction du roi. </p>
</sp>

<sp>
  <speaker>M. le Président.</speaker>
  <p> Il faut auparavant délibérer sur la motion d'inscrire sur le
    procès-verbal l'explication donnée par MM. l'abbé Grégoire et de
    Mirabeau. </p>
</sp>

<sp>
  <speaker>M. le Président.</speaker>
  <p> Un de MM. les secrétaires va faire l'appel nominal, pour que les
    ecclésiastiques fonctionnaires publics...</p>
</sp>

<sp>
  <speaker>M. le Président.</speaker>
  <p> Je vais consulter l'Assemblée pour savoir si elle entend fermer la
    discussion. </p>
  <p>(Une première épreuve a lieu ; elle est déclarée douteuse.) . </p>
</sp>

```

We can see the effect this constraint on the president's speech has by measuring role-reflexive novelty, transience, and resonance: when a center speech is classified as presidential, new-item committee, or in-debate committee (committee appendix) we use KLD measurements from only window speeches of the same class. As an example, role-reflexive presidential innovation measures how divergent the president is from his own speech at a particular scale. As Figure 22 shows, the president is the least surprising compared to his own speech (novelty and transience), likely due to the constraints the role places on his conduct. Because of this formulaic nature, we remove presidential speeches from measurement windows when calculating novelty, transience, and resonance (Figure 5). All results are calculated this way except for those shown in Figure 22.

2.5 Novelty, transience, and resonance over time

Daily means of novelty, transience, and resonance are shown for scales 36 and 153 in Figures 13 and 14. The raw values for these scales are shown for the last month of the NCA in Figure 15. Because the FRDA doesn't include markup for sub-day time stamps, we space speeches within a day evenly over the 24 hours. In this figure we can see the effect of increasing scale: visually apparent daily patterns for resonance at scale 36 average out to multi-day ones at scale 153. These periodicities in resonance can be seen directly in the Lomb-Scargle periodograms [2, 3] for the final calendar year of the Assembly at differing scales (Figure 18). The daily pattern for scale 36 is evident in the power spike at ~ 30 times a month. Scale 153 shows more power concentrated at lower frequencies, and at much higher scale 874 we see monthly trends come to the

fore. Interestingly, the power spectra for the previous two calendar years are not as neatly defined (Figures 16 and 17, with direct year comparisons in Figure 19.)

3 Walkthrough of code producing novelty, transience, and resonance

The methods presented in this paper can be applied to an arbitrary dataset. This walkthrough refers to example scripts and data posted in the repository at https://github.com/CogentMentat/NTRevExample_FRevNCA. The repository is intended as a simple, contained example for people to get started with other data using these methods.

Processing falls into two main parts: applying Latent Dirichlet Allocation to NCA speeches and measuring novelty, transience, and resonance. We analyze these resulting measures to produce the results shown in the paper.

3.1 Applying LDA to a novel dataset

Before we can apply LDA, we clean and tokenize the speech data obtained from the FRDA (documented in §1 of the SI). For this walkthrough and the code example, we take a simpler approach, retaining stop words and using the top 10,000 non-numeric words of at least 3 characters. We subsequently use the `lda` package (<https://pypi.python.org/pypi/lda/1.0.5>) to learn our desired number of topics. `learn_topics.py` saves the resulting topics, topic mixtures per speech, and vocabulary used.

We can run this script in the terminal by navigating to the repository directory and issuing the following command:

```
python learn_topics.py example_FRev_speech_data_rawspeechonly_1790-06-01_1790-07-01.txt
10 .
```

This will take the month's worth of NCA speeches in `example_FRev_speech_data_rawspeechonly_1790-06-01_1790-07-01.txt`, learn 10 topics, and save the resulting files in the current directory (designated by `'.'`). For help on this or any of the scripts in the repository, one can see an explanation of the command line usage by invoking:

```
python <script name>.py --help
```

Note that the topic numbers, and the exact nature of the topic decomposition, will vary from run to run.

3.2 Measuring novelty, transience, and resonance

The saved topic mixtures are used to create novelty, transience, and resonance. § 2 of the SI describes what these measures are. The script

`calculate_novelty_transience_resonance.py` performs these methods using the following functions: `KLdivergence_from_probdist_arrays` calculates Kullback-Leibler divergence row-wise for two numpy arrays holding topic mixtures as their row vectors. Function `novelty_transience_resonance` uses the previous function to create our measures of interest for each speech, for a particular scale. Beginning at the “center” speech allowing a scale-size buffer of speeches falling before, this function calculates KLDs comparing the center speech to those in the past window and those in the future window. These measures are averaged to produce novelty and transience for that center speech. The function then moves forward by one speech, defining a new center speech and associated past- and future-windows and repeats the process until a future window can no longer be defined (at the end of the time-ordered NCA speech list). An example invocation of this script in the terminal is as follows:

```
python calculate_novelty_transience_resonance.py topic_mixtures.txt 10 .
```

This will take the topic mixtures file as created from the previous script, calculate our information measures, and save the file `novel_trans_reson.txt` in the current directory.

For convenience, `text_topic_ntr.py` performs both topic modeling and calculation of novelty, etc. `make_example_NTR.sh` provides an example of how to use this convenience function at the command line. Finally, one can navigate to https://github.com/CogentMentat/NTRexample_FRevNCA/blob/master/density_plots_TvN_RvN.ipynb to see density plot production for transience vs. novelty and resonance vs. novelty using the output of these scripts.

4 Role behavior

Debate at the NCA’s inception was chaotic, hampering progress towards the body’s goals. Gradually, however, the Assembly developed official rules and tacit practices to regulate debate. In an early advance, the Assembly passed a generalized *règlement* in late July 1789 establishing simple majority from at least 200 delegates as sufficient conditions for passing decrees. The document also created the positions of president and six secretaries, usually two of whom recorded the minutes at any one time. Its rules governing debate were treated as guidelines, and the structure of debate continued to evolve organically until the Assembly’s conclusion[4]. The committees embodied this evolutionary process. Each was created to handle a specific area of concern, typically crafting initial versions of decrees and presenting them to the Assembly. This pattern started before even the creation of the presidency, since the Rules Committee was given the responsibility to draft the aforementioned *règlement*[4].

These committees became indispensable workhorses for the emerging government:

In many respects, the single most important organizational develop-

ment was the emergence of the committee system...By 1790 the committees had become the workshops in which new laws and articles to the constitution were developed and initially debated. Most motions were systematically referred to committees before being considered in the full Assembly, so that their work came to set the rhythms of the constitutional process. To be sure, committee proposals were rarely accepted unchanged and without debate, particularly in the early months of the Assembly's existence[4].

The committees, however, became powerful entities themselves:

As the deputies moved beyond debates on the guiding principles and general division of power within the constitution, and as they concentrated more on the technical details of implementation, it was evident that the committees alone had the expertise necessary for understanding the full ramifications of many laws. ‘These committees,’ wrote Dinochau, ‘regulate the order of debate, classify questions, and maintain a continuity of principles, thus preventing an incoherence which might otherwise have menaced our decrees...Indeed, the committees became increasingly powerful not only within the National Assembly, but within the royal government as well. Whatever the deputies’ early reticence to assume the powers of the ‘executive,’ the ministers were soon deferring to the Assembly on all manner of questions, refusing to take responsibility for decisions without the authority of the appropriate committees. Since ‘executive authority was playing dead’—in Charles de Lameth’s phrase—the committees emerged as veritable *de facto* ministries. Men like Roederer on the Tax Committee, Gregoire and Durand de Maillane on the Ecclesiastical Committee, or Merlin (‘the Sorcerer’) on the Feudal Committee undoubtedly knew more about their areas of concern and wielded more real power in the implementation of laws than any of the corresponding ministers[4].

The president enforced the agenda, while proxies for each committee presented their committees’ proposed articles and decrees for debate. We split committee speech into two classes: new-item, presenting decrees before consumption, and in-debate, engaging in direct discussion with delegates. Details are in the Defining and Characterizing Committee Speech appendix (§5).

Figure 20 shows monthly speech counts and proportions for each of the three roles as well as their complement, encompassing general legislative speech. As the NCA developed organically, committee speech took a greater portion of the proceedings, eventually equaling that of the president. Figure 21 shows some characteristics of these roles in waiting time distributions. All three roles exhibit long tails compared to general debate speech. This is likely a feature of their debate-managing functions: they either enforce what content is discussed at what time or provide the content to be processed, bookending periods of general proceedings. Interestingly, the president’s tail is easily shorter than the

committees' pre-1791. This may be due to the immaturity of the committees' function, leaving more organizational room for the president to be "hands-on" with greater regularity before the committees "set the rhythm" of debate as quoted above. In 1791, the president's distribution seems to conform more to the committees'.

Although the president enforced the agenda, his powers were limited:

In reality, the considerable potential powers of the president were substantially reduced by the short, two-week duration of his tenure. While several individuals held the post more than once—including Thouret who held it four times, and André and Bureaux de Pusy who held it three times each—no one after Bailly held it twice in succession. In general, moreover, the presidents were closely scrutinized by the Assembly in all their actions and were vigorously taken to task if they failed to follow the rules or seemed openly to favor one faction over another. They frequently felt compelled to consult the full Assembly whenever important controversies arose: on whether individual deputies should be allowed to speak out of order, for example. Nevertheless, the president remained the ceremonial center of the National Assembly and the chief representative of that body in relations with the king and his ministers. In most day-to-day affairs he exercised considerable control over the speaker's platform and played a central and often dominant role in establishing the subject and sequence of debate and in assuring the order and continuity which the early assemblies had so badly lacked. In practice, moreover, many of the individuals chosen were powerful personalities, skillful in speaking and in asserting leadership[4].

Paradoxically, the assembly took the president to task when he "failed to follow the rules" (above), forcing the current holder of the powerful position into a tightly-bound set of behavior. This account illustrates the presidency as a highly constrained power, operating formulaically at the behest of the Assembly.

We see evidence of this in Figure 22, where we calculate mean novelty, transience, and resonance "reflexively" for each role. "Reflexive" means that novelty, transience, and resonance are calculated using only speeches that match the center speech's role. A presidential speech is compared to only other presidential speeches, etc. Past scale 10, the president is the most self-similar, even when compared to general speech, which is intuitively likely to be similar because of its serial nature in conversation. We take this as evidence for the president's formulaic nature, using a much more consistent vocabulary than general debate and other roles. We also see corroboration of other roles' function in this figure: As the provider of new material, instigating debate on new topics, new-item committee speech is the least self-similar. Given its more debate-centric nature, in-debate committee speech is more self-similar, but not as much as general speech.

5 Defining committee speech

The minutes of the NCA contain syntactic markers identifying whenever a committee representative speaks, taking the form of preambles to the actual output of the speaker. Below is an example of the preamble “au nom du comité” identifying the individual as speaking “in the name of” the finance committee.

```

<sp>
<speaker>M. Le Couteulx de Canteleu</speaker>
<p>, au nom du comité des finances, présente le projet de décret suivant,
qui est adopté sans discussion : </p>
<p><< L'Assemblée nationale, sur le rapport de son comité des finances,
décrète ce qui suit : </p>
<p>Art. 1<hi rend="superscript">er</hi>. </p>
<p><> Le directeur général du Trésor public est autorisé d'établir, sous
sa direction et sa surveillance, un bureau de correspondance générale
avec les receveurs de district, formé en quatre sections, entre
lesquelles seront partagés les quatre-vingt trois départements, avec un
directeur et deux chefs de bureau à chaque section, et autant de commis
qu'il sera nécessaire. Les comptes de chacun des receveurs de district
y seront tenus en partie double, pour s'assurer de la recette effective
et des sommes à disposer à terme fixe, pour les besoins du Trésor
public. </p>
<p>Art. 2.</p>
...
</sp>
```

We find several preambles in the corpus, contained in Table 5 with our labels for each in analysis, the general form of the preamble, and the regular expressions used in the search. Once cleaned of punctuation, these preambles occur as the first words in a speech. Regular expressions match only at the beginning of cleaned speech text. Figure 23 shows the gradually increasing proportion of these markers over time.

To learn the function of each of these markers in the debate stream, we obtain random samples of each from before and after January 1, 1791. We rate each speech on three categories: i) whether the speech is, in fact, spoken by a committee member, ii) whether the speech contains a new item of discussion in the proceedings, and iii) whether it presents official output. For category (i), we examine context in the AP to see whether the speaker associated with the marker is explicitly identified as a committee proxy. To rate category (ii), we examine context again, looking through previous speeches to see whether the speech in question broached a new item or fell in the period of discussion after an item’s introduction. “New items” quite often include starting proceedings as an order of the day or an agenda item. We also see blocks of new items (decrees, proposals, etc.) introduced in succession by the same committee, where each is a separate and specific issue even if collected under a general theme. Each of these is considered a new item in our analysis. We define official output in category (iii) as decrees or articles prepared by the committee and read aloud or presented as an official creation of the Assembly. Reports made in the vernacular are not considered official.

Table 6 contains our ratings for each sample. Rating labels IsCommittee, NewItem, and OfficialOutput, represent categories (i), (ii), and (iii). “nom

comité” and “rapporteur comité” markers are much more likely to mark the presentation of new items to the Assembly rather than engage in debate. Qualitatively, we notice a rough pattern of these more formal preambles introducing delegates presenting new items in the agenda. If a committee member engages in a debate after the item’s introduction, then less formal appellations are used: “rapporteur” or “membre comité.” This pattern is not always the case: as one can see in the NewItem column of Table 6, “rapporteur”-marked delegates do sometimes present new items, for instance when the president announces their committee credentials beforehand. As a last comment on these marker ratings, “rapporteur” is not reliably rated positively for category (i), IsCommittee. This is due to lack of *explicitly* stated association to a particular committee in context. The content presented was often implicitly committee-produced or very similar to committee output.

Based on the ratings, we group markers into two classes, in-debate (“rapporteur” and “membre comité”) and new-item (“nom comité” and “rapporteur comité”). Table 7 contains the speech count breakdown of each class and marker, and Figure 24 shows their monthly proportion of all speeches over time.

5.1 Committee speech and information processing

Figure 25 shows the speech-level relationship between resonance and novelty in scatter plots for several scales with speeches split into new-item, in-debate, and non-committee speech. Each scale shows speeches before and after 1791-10-31, the epoch dividing point found for the scale range most sensitive to new-item committee effect on Γ (see diachronic modeling appendix §7). One can see the development of a tail for high novelty as scale increases above 7, and only in the second epoch. We mark each plot with a threshold of convenience, $z(\mathcal{N}) = 3$, for comparison between epochs. In Figures 25 and Figure 26, new-item speech seems to dominate the tail. In Figure 26, we see that the tail also contains in-debate and non-committee speech. We account for the appearance of non-committee speech in the tail in the next paragraph.

To investigate the composition of tail speeches, we obtain the intersection of speeches above $z(\mathcal{N}) = 3$ for each class over scales 17, 36, and 153. Accounting is shown in Table 8. We sample the intersection and rate the resulting speeches for new-item status and official output as before. We add rating categories for a) the number of speeches contained within the OCR-defined speech as presented in the FRDA XML and b) whether the sampled speech contains committee speech. There were only ever one or two speeches contained within a sampled speech, so we use labels SpeechCount1 and SpeechCount2 to represent the number of sampled XML speeches containing one and two “real” speeches for category (a). We label category (b) with ContainsCommittee (similar to category (i), IsCommittee, but for multiple, erroneously combined, “real” speeches).

Table 9 contains the rating results. The non-committee tail sample always has committee speech within it, sometimes as a second sub-speech due to OCR error, presenting new items to the Assembly. Therefore, tail speeches in the non-committee class seem to be misdiagnosed, and should be considered part

of the new-item class. Because of their relatively low prevalence in the tail compared to classified new-item speech, and because of a lack of easily-defined machine-readable markers for these misdiagnosed speeches, we leave the committee speech classifications as-is.

6 Synchronic modeling of role behavior

According to historian Timothy Tackett, “the single most important source of prominence and impact within the Assembly was an individual’s success at the speaker’s rostrum...a successful and compelling manipulation of the spoken language became one of the most important—though certainly not the only—sources of power within the Assembly.”[4] As time progressed, a small fraction of all delegates came to dominate discussion. “Examining the roster of the top forty [orators], one is impressed by the presence of the lesser known deputies Camus, Andre, Demeunier, Regnaud, Bouche, Gaultier de Biauzat, and Goupil, interspersed among such high-profile personalities as Mirabeau, Barnave, Malouet, and Maury. Though the index can tell us nothing of the quality and impact of such oratory, it would suggest nevertheless that oratorical leadership in the Assembly went well beyond the ‘great speakers’ who figure most prominently in the standard accounts of the Revolution.”[4] Although $\mathcal{R} \propto \mathcal{N}$ at the speech level, the various characteristics of an orator—his demeanor, social standing, etc.—can break this overall trend. An unskilled, risk-prone delegate may “succeed” only rarely, accruing high mean novelty and low mean resonance scores.

In addition, an organization constrains an orator’s behavior using an agenda, a code of conduct, etc. The organization extends its powers by creating official positions tasked with a particular functions. An example is the president of the Assembly, created as a point of contact for the King and an enforcer of the daily agenda[4]. Delegates rotated frequently through this position, taking on its responsibilities as designated by the Assembly. The presidency then represents an organizationally imposed entity at the individual level, operating with a contiguous code of conduct no matter who was filling the position.

The Assembly created another specialized entity: the committee. Committees developed content outside of the debate process, presenting official documents for review on the debate floor in accordance with the agenda. The recorders of the NCA used a system of lexical markers to identify when a committee member was speaking. We catalog these and organize them into two semantic classes: “new-item” and “in-debate” committee speech (see the appendix on defining committee speech, §5). New-item speeches introduce official content to the Assembly floor, typically articles and draft decrees to be reviewed by the legislative body. As the harbingers of debate on official output of the NCA, these speeches mark shifts between periods of governmental attention on specific items. In-debate committee speeches occur when a committee member or reporter engages with other delegates in the midst of debate on some item. In the minutes, one will often see an “order of the day” or agenda item announced by the president, directly followed by a new-item committee speech

presenting an official document before a period of debate. Sometimes this debate is punctuated by “live” editing of the document by committee members, each marked by in-debate speech cues. Rotating committee members, delivering either new-item or in-debate speech, take on the responsibilities of the post. In this way, committee proxies are another organizationally imposed entity shaping discourse.

To understand synchronic informational roles in the system, we calculate mean z-scored novelty and resonance at scales from 1 to 5,000 for the top forty orators, the presidency, and both committee classes. Table 10 contains these quantities for scale 36.

In Figure 27, left plot, we see the outstanding novelty associated with new-item speech, and at larger scale, in-debate speech. As gatherers of new information, the committees act as information injectors through their proxies in debate. In addition, we see that many individuals’ profiles in novelty are readily separable and stable over large scale ranges. This is not the case for resonance (Figure 27, right plot), where substantially fewer individuals are measurably and reliably resonant or anti-resonant.

Combining an entity’s innovation and resonance outlines its informational role in the Assembly. The new-item combination of high novelty and high resonance embodies the positive relationship shown at the speech level. In contrast, the presidency shows greater novelty than normal (dipping lower at high scale), but lesser resonance. As an enforcer of debate, the president must break from preceding topics to further the agenda. However, he does not introduce new information to be immediately processed as does the new-item committee proxy.

6.1 Consistency of measurements over multiple timescales

In the main paper, we report results at the individual/role level for w equal to 36. How consistent are these results at longer, or shorter timescales? Fig. 29 plots the Pearson correlation with the reported results for novelty, resonance, and ΔR (resonance over/under the group-level prediction) as a function of w .

Novelty is very consistent on timescales from minutes (speech-to-speech) to months (w equal to 5000, the limit of our data); transience (not shown) follows a very similar curve. Interestingly, ΔR is more consistent than resonance itself. Tables 11 and 12 show the results for the two extreme timescales ($w=1$, or “speech-to-speech”, and w equal to 5000, equivalent to timescales of months).

7 Diachronic modeling of role behavior

7.1 Single epoch model

We start with a simple linear model,

$$\mathbf{E}[\mathcal{R}|\mathcal{N}] = \beta_{int} + \beta_{\mathcal{N}}\mathcal{N} + \sigma.$$

extending it to include time effects:

$$\mathbf{E}[\mathcal{R}|\mathcal{N}, t] = \beta_{int} + \beta_t t + (\beta_{\mathcal{N}} + \beta_{\mathcal{N}t} t) \mathcal{N} + \sigma \quad (7)$$

Novelty effectiveness then becomes a function of time:

$$\Gamma(t) = \frac{\partial \mathbf{E}[\mathcal{R}|\mathcal{N}, t]}{\partial \mathcal{N}} = \beta_{\mathcal{N}} + \beta_{\mathcal{N}t} t \quad (8)$$

Fitting Eq. 7 using OLS regression on z-scored \mathcal{R} and \mathcal{N} over a selection of increasing scales produces the trend lines in Figure 30. Parameter estimates with confidence intervals are shown in Figure 31. The effectiveness of novelty decreases with time over all but the highest scales (Figure 31). According to this single epoch model, discourse in the NCA becomes inexorably more intolerant of novelty.

Modeling Γ specifically for committee speech tells a more complex story. Monthly Γ s, fit using Eq. 3 and split into new-item committee vs. all other speech, show a divergence in behavior: new-item Γ drops during the final year of the NCA (Figure 32). The single epoch model cannot account for this change.

7.2 Two-epoch models

Historian Timothy Tackett describes a divergence of roles taken on by delegates in the Assembly. While bombastic orators won the battle for control of the debate floor, those with ambitious but unassuming souls entered committees and collectively gained power[4]. As time went on, committees gained more and more influence, becoming “de facto ministries,” independent of the blessing of debaters in the general NCA[4]. To explore the role played by new-item committee proxies, we develop a two-epoch model of the NCA. The first epoch considers reception of committee and non-committee speeches to be the same so uses the simplest linear model in Eq. 3:

$$\mathbf{E}[\mathcal{R}|\mathcal{N}, \mathcal{C}] = \beta_{int} + \beta_{\mathcal{N}} \mathcal{N} + \sigma,$$

The second treats the two speech types differently by introducing categorical variable C_n for new-item committee speech:

$$\begin{aligned} \mathbf{E}[\mathcal{R}|\mathcal{N}, \mathcal{C}] = & \beta_{int} + \beta_{\mathcal{N}} \mathcal{N} + \beta_{\mathcal{C}_n} \mathcal{C}_n + \\ & \beta_{\mathcal{N}\mathcal{C}_n} \mathcal{N} \mathcal{C}_n + \sigma, \end{aligned} \quad (9)$$

We fit the overall model by searching for the maximum-likelihood partition of two epochs in monthly units, fitting each epoch to its respective linear sub-model separately. Parameter estimates and R^2 for this new-item, two-epoch

model are shown in Figures 35 and 36. Resultant trend lines are added for new-item committee speech in Resonance v. Novelty scatter plots (Figure 34, second epoch). We constrain epoch length to be at least 4 months. As can be seen in Figure 33, the two-epoch model captures the committees' divergent Γ behavior. Figure 34 effectively illustrates this divergence in scatter plots of resonance and novelty for both epochs. Before 1790-10-31, new items presented by committees are treated similarly to other speech. Afterwards, we see new-item committee speech form an “efficient tail” – so named because of its comparatively low Γ (slopes of the trend lines shown in Figure 34). Consider two scenarios for a new item introduced to the speech stream, both with high novelty due to the inherent newness being presented. In the first, the floor takes up the new item and debates for a time. In the second scenario, the floor contributes little to no thoughts on the matter. In the latter scene, the transience of the speech is much higher than in the former, reducing resonance. Enough occurrences of the second scenario would drag the slope (Γ) of the resonance-novelty relationship down. This is what seems to happen in the second epoch for new items presented by committees. We discuss evidence for this no-debate hypothesis in the appendix on committee speech characterization (§5).

As mentioned in the committee identification section (§5), we find another class of “in-debate” committee speech. These speeches typically occur when committee members comment in the midst of debate on some item. We notice a pattern of item introduction by a committee member (a new-item committee speech), followed by general debate punctuated by committee member clarifications. Sometimes, these punctuations are actually “live” edits of official decrees presented by a committee member as the debate rolls forward. We can add another categorical speech class variable, \mathcal{C}_d for in-debate, to the second epoch model:

$$\begin{aligned} \mathbf{E}[\mathcal{R}|\mathcal{N}, \mathcal{C}_n, \mathcal{C}_d] = & \beta_{int} + \beta_{\mathcal{N}}\mathcal{N} + \beta_{\mathcal{C}_n}\mathcal{C}_n + \beta_{\mathcal{C}_d}\mathcal{C}_d + \\ & \beta_{\mathcal{N}\mathcal{C}_n}\mathcal{N}\mathcal{C}_n + \beta_{\mathcal{N}\mathcal{C}_d}\mathcal{N}\mathcal{C}_d + \sigma, \end{aligned} \quad (10)$$

Γ then becomes

$$\Gamma(\mathcal{C}_n, \mathcal{C}_d) = \frac{\partial \mathbf{E}[\mathcal{R}|\mathcal{N}, \mathcal{C}_n, \mathcal{C}_d]}{\partial \mathcal{N}} = \beta_{\mathcal{N}} + \beta_{\mathcal{N}\mathcal{C}_n}\mathcal{C}_n + \beta_{\mathcal{N}\mathcal{C}_d}\mathcal{C}_d,$$

where setting \mathcal{C}_n or \mathcal{C}_d to 0 or 1 produces Γ profiles for each of non-committee (Γ_0), new-item committee (Γ_n), and in-debate committee (Γ_d) speech classes:

$$\Gamma_0 = \Gamma(\mathcal{C}_n = 0, \mathcal{C}_d = 0) = \beta_{\mathcal{N}} \quad (11)$$

$$\Gamma_n = \Gamma(\mathcal{C}_n = 1, \mathcal{C}_d = 0) = \beta_{\mathcal{N}} + \beta_{\mathcal{N}\mathcal{C}_n} \quad (12)$$

$$\Gamma_d = \Gamma(\mathcal{C}_n = 0, \mathcal{C}_d = 1) = \beta_{\mathcal{N}} + \beta_{\mathcal{N}\mathcal{C}_d} \quad (13)$$

The effects committee speech classes have on Γ are embodied in $\beta_{\mathcal{N}\mathcal{C}_n}$ and $\beta_{\mathcal{N}\mathcal{C}_d}$, measured relative to the non-committee baseline $\Gamma_0 = \beta_{\mathcal{N}}$. Each represents the

effect of playing a particular role as a committee proxy. New-item committee speeches inject information into discourse, while those in-debate interact directly with the Assembly body during deliberation.

As before, we model each of the two epochs separately, using OLS regression and this model for each epoch and finding the best month partition date by maximum likelihood for the overall model. Estimated parameters for this all-committee, two-epoch model are shown in Figure 37; R^2 over scale is shown in Figure 39. The all-committee model is preferred by AIC over the single-epoch model for all scales 52. Figure 38 shows the committee Γ parameters in context of resonance v. novelty scatter plots. The epoch-dividing change-points chosen over a range of scales cluster at the end of 1790 (Figure 40).

Committee members retain their power when in debate, shepherding conversation in both epochs. As discussed before, committee proxies delivering new items to the debate floor see a drop in Γ in the second epoch. A discussion of the significance of this drop is included in §7.6.

7.3 Explaining the time dependence in the single-epoch model

We investigate the link between the single epoch model's temporal decrease in Γ and the new-item committee speech, removing said speech before fitting another single-epoch model via Eq. 7. Comparisons of fit parameters and R^2 for the two models are shown in Figure 42. Figure 41 shows a general increase in $\partial\Gamma/\partial t$ for sampled scales after removal (compare to Figure 30). Notably, at scale 27 $\partial\Gamma/\partial t$ is no longer distinguishable from 0. Since the new-item drop in Γ occurs only in the last year of the NCA, it manifests in a linearly decreasing Γ over time in the single-epoch model. Figure 43 shows a comparison of $\partial\Gamma/\partial t$ over scale, with and without new-item speeches. Removing these speeches drives up the time slope across scale, most notably to 0 in the \sim 20-60 speech scale range. This is exactly the range showing lowest values in new-item Γ . Without the shift in reception of new item speeches, the general Γ for the NCA is constant over time at this scale range.

7.4 Including all roles in the two-epoch model

Figures 44 to 47 show the effect of adding a presidential categorical variable to the all-committee model, creating an all-role model. Although the latter model is preferred by AIC (Figure 52), the presidential addition does not change the results from the former model.

7.5 Two-epoch model with fixed intercept

The previous models show how returns to resonance Γ evolve for each committee *internally*. To place each committee's resonance-novelty relationship in the context of the overall system, we fit another 2-epoch model where the intercepts of each role are fixed:

$$\mathbf{E}[\mathcal{R}|\mathcal{N}, \mathcal{C}_n, \mathcal{C}_d] = \beta_{int} + \Gamma_n \mathcal{N} \mathcal{C}_n + \Gamma_d \mathcal{N} \mathcal{C}_d + \sigma, \quad (14)$$

This is the model presented in the main paper. It retains the interaction terms and baseline intercept from Eq. 10, re-branding $\beta_{\mathcal{N}\mathcal{C}_n}$ as Γ_n and $\beta_{\mathcal{N}\mathcal{C}_d}$ as Γ_d . This model allows us to compare each committee’s resonance return to the other based on relative positions of each point cloud in the resonance-novelty plane. As in earlier results, new-item Γ drops in the second epoch, which begins at the end of 1790 (Figures 49 and 51). A discussion of the significance of this decrease is included in §7.6. Figure 49 is presented in the main paper. Modeling results are presented in Figures 48 and 50.

7.6 Two-epoch model significance via null order models

In our modeling methodology, we identify two-epoch partitions of the NCA using maximum likelihood estimation and correct for over-fitting using the AIC. Our key epochal result is that new-item committee speech shows less novelty effectiveness in the second epoch compared to the first for a range of scale in the low- to mid-tens of speeches. In this section we establish whether the epochal decrease is due to chance. We test for this with a random-ordering null model, creating 10,000 null replicates of speeches in the NCA, sampling order without replacement but maintaining the content and speaker information for each speech. For each replicate, we calculate null novelty, transience, and resonance for all speeches. Then, we fit both single- and two-epoch models for each null replicate: if the two-epoch model is favored by the AIC, we calculate the difference in new-item novelty effectiveness from the first to the second epoch. The fraction of null replicates favoring two epochs *and* producing cross-epoch difference magnitudes that exceed the real difference magnitude, out of all 10,000 replicates, is our (two-tailed) p-value. Table 13 shows the resulting p-values for the varying-intercept and fixed-intercept models (Eqs. 10 and 14). We obtain significance over the ordering null hypothesis at $\alpha = 0.01$ for the same range of scale we see the largest epochal differences in the real data.

8 Topic modeling and interpretation

We coarse-grain each speech vector into a probability distribution over $K = 100$ semantic topics using Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA)[1]. Tables 14 through 18 contain the top 15 words by probability for every topic mixture.

The sheer volume of information makes a direct examination of words in all one hundred topics difficult to make sense of. It is also often the case that looking at top words can conceal the larger conceptual issues at play. An alternative approach is to take an “exemplar” sample of speeches dominated by a particular topic, and, though close-reading, identify a rough semantics for that topic by comparison among the exemplars. In the interpretations below, each topic was named by looking at at least three exemplars. Some topics (*e.g.*, Topics 97 and

30) often only make up a fraction of a speech, even when considering exemplars; these require cross-comparison among a number of exemplars to determine the underlying semantics.

We present these interpretations in three different sections.

First, we examine the most common topics overall: those most likely to be found in a randomly-drawn speech. These are associated with speech practices found throughout the debates, and center around procedural management and the regulation of debate (*e.g.*, “discussion and approval of the minutes”), general patterns in which members express disagreement or concurrence (*e.g.*, “logical disagreement between members”) in an orderly fashion, or the breaking of that order (*e.g.*, “literal depictions of conflict and violence within the chamber”).

We also consider the most common topics found in the longer speeches (here, greater than one hundred words). These topics tend to be more substantive, and include expressions of patriotism and discussions of legal principles; they also include attempts to alter the nature of the chamber itself (“inventing and managing procedure”), and the discussion of praise- or blameworthy men beyond the chamber (our example is a speech in memory of Ben Franklin, but others include speeches praising the wisdom of Voltaire, or condemning the evils of Caligula).

Second, these two approaches allow us to see the regularly-occurring and persistent themes and practices in the Assembly, but tend to conceal the wider range of “semantic” topics: those describing the things the Assembly actually needs to govern and decide. These latter topics are more concentrated within particular debates, and tend to be invisible when the entire run of speeches is taken into account. The state’s taking over of Church property, for example, is an intensively debated subject, but is not discussed every week.

To solve this problem, and present some clearly semantic topics, we consider a debate, held in May 1790, on whether it is the Assembly, or the King, that has the power to declare war. This reveals some of the topics that correspond to the more “ordinary” use of the word: a coherent reference to a particular and specific concept or theme. The two that appear in this debate are “powers and abilities of the state to conduct war” and “powers of the King” (a less philosophical approach compared to the first, and focused more on the pragmatics of power), followed by a topic associated with reports of military unrest; when these topics appear, they are commingled with other, broader concepts, such as logical disagreement, discussion of praise- or blameworthy men beyond the chamber, and the temporal structure of events. We show some examples of how this commingling works, which allows a lower-frequency topic in that text to inflect the meaning of the dominant one.

In each of these cases, we present the topics in descending order by prevalence, with an example of one of the speeches with the greatest fraction of text assigned to the topic in question.

Third, to aid in the interpretation of our speaker-level results, we present the dominant topics (*i.e.*, the topics that have the highest probability of being found in a randomly-drawn speech) for a selection of speakers in Table 1 of the main text, and discussed in the paper itself.

Each speech is labelled by speaker, date, and speech number in our data. Our examples also serve to show the nature of our “speeches”, which may include interpolated action and third-hand reports in addition to reconstructed first person speech, and which are only imperfectly reconstructed from the OCR provided by the FRDA project. Note that many of the words in the speeches are dropped at the topic-modelling stage, either as stopwords (il, le, de, M.), as very low-frequency words (associated usually with unusual OCR errors), or because they are roman numerals.

Note: English translations are unaltered outputs from Google Translate, for reference only.

Most common topics overall

Topic 27: discussion and approval of the minutes

Example speech: Jean-François Reubell, 1791-05-09 (31706)

Jean-François Reubell, président, ouvre la séance. Un de MM. les secrétaires fait lecture du procès-verbal de la séance de samedi au soir. Un membre expose que les receveurs généraux des finances de la ci-devant Provence ont touché régulièrement un droit de 5 sols par minot de sel pour les réparations à faire aux embouchures du Rhône et qu'il est nécessaire de leur faire rendre compte de cette perception. Un membre observé que cette motion a déjà été présentée plusieurs fois à l'Assemblée et que le comité des finances, chargé de vérifier l'emploi de ces fonds, a répondre que le gouvernement s'en était emparé à cette époque. (L'Assemblée passe à l'ordre du jour et adopte le procès-verbal.) Un de MM. les secrétaires fait lecture du procès-verbal de la séance de dimanche, qui est adopté.

Jean-François Reubell, President, opened the meeting. One of MM. the secretaries read the minutes of the meeting of Saturday evening. One member states that the receivers general of the finances of the ci-devant Provence have regularly received a right of 5 sols per bushel of salt for the repairs to be made to the mouths of the Rhone and that it is necessary to make them account for this perception . One member observed that this motion has already been tabled several times in the Assembly and that the Finance Committee, which is responsible for verifying the use of these funds, replied that the government had seized them at that time. (The Assembly proceeded to the agenda and adopted the minutes.) One of MM. the secretaries read the minutes of the Sunday sitting, which was adopted.

Topic 90: technical management of committees

Example speech: Charles Malo Lameth, 1791-06-04 (34321)

Je ne trouve rien de raisonnable dans le renvoi au comité de Constitution ; l'affaire est du ressort du comité des rapports. Il a été rendu par l'Assemblée

un décret qui renvoie l'affairé très compliquée des Quinze-Vingts aux tribunaux. Sur ce, le directoire du département s'est permis des actes qui ont été condamnés aux tribunaux et aujourd'hui, il arrive à ce propos une adresse de la part de ce département. Cette adresse doit être renvoyée au comité des rapports pour vous en rendre compte. (Applaudissements.) Ma proposition est d'autant plus raisonnable que plusieurs membres du directoire du département sont membres du comité de Constitution; l'Assemblée ne veut pas sans doute qu'ils soient juges et parties. Je demande donc le renvoi seul au comité des rapports.

I find nothing reasonable in the reference to the Constitutional Committee; the case is the responsibility of the Reports Committee. A decree has been issued by the Assembly, which refers the very complicated work of the Quinze-Vingts to the tribunals. On this, the directory of the department has allowed acts that have been condemned to the courts and today, it arrives in this regard an address from this department. This address must be returned to the Reports Committee to report to you. (Applause.) My proposal is all the more reasonable since several members of the department's executive board are members of the Constitution Committee; the Assembly does not want them to be judges and parties. I therefore request that the report be referred to the Reports Committee alone.

Topic 24: timing and practical management

Example speech: Stanislas Marie Clermont-Tonerre, 1789-08-19 (942)

Stanislas Marie Clermont-Tonerre a invité le comité des rapports à s'assembler à cinq heures, celui des subsistances à six heures; ainsi que les trente membres désignés pour former les deux comités des matières ecclésiastiques et civiles, afin de se distribuer dans ces deux comités. La séance est continuée à 7 heures du soir. Séance du soir. L'Assemblée, qui avait été indiquée à -sept heures et demie, est ouverte par un rapport du comité de vérification, relatif à la députation du Couserans. Le point de difficulté consistait à savoir si la députation du Couserans était complète, et si M. Isle devait être considéré comme député direct, ou simplement comme suppléant.

Stanislas Marie Clermont-Tonerre invited the committee of reports to assemble at five o'clock, that of the subsistence at six o'clock; as well as the thirty members appointed to form the two committees of ecclesiastical and civil matters, in order to distribute themselves in these two committees. The session is continued at 7 o'clock in the evening. Evening session. The Assembly, which had been indicated at half-past seven, was opened by a report of the Audit Committee, relating to the deputation of Couserans. The point of difficulty was whether the deputation of Couserans was complete, and whether Mr. Isle was to be regarded as a direct deputy, or simply as substitute.

Topic 77: quarrels about who gets to speak

Example speech: Jacques Antoine Marie Cazalès, 1791-05-03 (31104)

Si c'est pour ne pas m'en-tendre que l'Assemblée veut qu'on ferme la discussion, je demande que la parole soit donnée à M. Déméunier. Un grand nombre de membres à gauche : Aux voix! aux voix! Un membre : Je m'oppose à ce que la discussion soit fermée sur la question de priorité. Vous venez d entendre l'opinion de M. Barnave en faveur du projet du comité : je soutiens que, avant de fermer la discussion, l'Assemblée doit accorder la parole à un membre qui la demande pour faire accorder la priorité à un autre projet de décret. (L'Assemblée décrète que la discussion sur la priorité n'est pas fermée et que M. Déméunier sera entendu.)

If it is not to be expected that the Assembly wishes to close the debate, I ask that the floor be given to Mr. Demeunier. A large number of members on the left: Aux voix! to the voices! One member: I am opposed to having the discussion closed on the question of priority. You have just heard the opinion of Mr Barnave in favor of the committee's draft: I maintain that, before closing the debate, the Assembly must give the floor to a member who asks for it to give priority to another project. of decree. (The Assembly decrees that the discussion on priority is not closed and that Mr Déméunier will be heard.)

Topic 34: procedural quarrels over the adoption of articles

Example speech: Honoré Gabriel Riqueti Mirabeau, 1789-10-29 (2689)

Honoré Gabriel Riqueti Mirabeau, au président. Vous venez de faire une mauvaise loi, par la manière de poser la question. Beaucoup de membres réclament contre le décret. La parole leur est refusée. On propose divers amendements sur la qualité de la propriété. L'Assemblée décide qu'il n'y a lieu à délibérer. Sur l'amendement de M. Ramel-Nogaret, on demande la question préalable, et il est arrêté qu'il n'y a lieu à délibérer. On se dispose à passer à un autre article. MM. Pétion de Villeneuve, Garat, le comte de Mirabeau, l'abbé Grégoire, montent à la tribune pour réclamer contre la manière dont les questions avaient été posées, et pour observer qu'on n'a pas délibéré sur tous les amendements et sur la motion principale, composée de l'article du comité et des amendements admis. Après un temps assez long, employé à des réclamations tumultueuses, l'Assemblée se décide à passer à un autre article.

Honored Gabriel Riqueti Mirabeau, to the President. You just made a bad law, by the way of asking the question. Many members are demanding against the decree. The word is refused. Various amendments are proposed on the quality of the property. The Assembly decides that there is no need to deliberate. On the amendment of Mr. Ramel-Nogaret, the question was asked beforehand, and it was decided that there was no need to deliberate. We are ready to move on to another article. Messrs. Petion de Villeneuve, Garat, the Comte de Mirabeau, and the Abbe Gregoire, rose to the tribune to protest against the manner in which

the questions had been put, and to observe that we had not deliberated on all the amendments and on the main motion, composed of the committee's article and the amendments accepted. After a long time, used to tumultuous claims, the Assembly decides to move on to another article.

Topic 55: literal depictions of conflict and violence within the chamber

Example “speech”: Jacques Antoine Marie Cazalès, 1790-09-29 (18117)

Jacques Antoine Marie Cazalès s’élance de la tribune au bureau du président. — Quelques membres de la droite le suivent. — Il parle avec violence. — Il fait des gestes menaçants. — Un député de M. le président court se placer entre M. de Cazalès et lui. — Les huissiers entourent M. le président qui se couvre. — La majorité applaudit, se découvre et reste dans le silence. — Le tumulte de la minorité recommence. — Elle devient un moment silencieuse. — Les agitations violentes de M. de Cazalès continuent ainsi que ses menaces au président, qui demeure ferme, et impose silence. — Quelques applaudissements se font entendre. — M. le président s’élève contre ces applaudissements. — Pendant quelque temps la délibération reste suspendue. — Peu à peu le tumulte de la droite diminue. — Le calme se rétablit.

Jacques Antoine Marie Cazalès rushes from the rostrum to the president’s office. - Some members of the right follow him. - He speaks with violence. - He makes threatening gestures. - A deputy chairman of the president runs between Mr. de Cazalès and him. The bailiffs surround the president who is covering himself. - The majority applauds, discovers and remains in silence. - The tumult of the minority begins again. - It becomes a silent moment. - The violent agitations of M. de Cazalès continue as well as his threats to the president, who remains firm, and imposes silence. -Some applause is heard. - The President protests against these applause. - For a while the deliberation remains suspended. - Gradually the tumult of the right diminishes. - Calm is restored.

Topic 79: goals of the assembly

Example speech: Antoine Destutt de Tracy, 1791-05-11 (31950)

Or, pour en venir là, je crois qu'il vaut beaucoup mieux éviter le trouble et la scission. Vous ne voulez pas vous comporter comme un ministre amovible. Il faut donc vous expliquer sur-le-champ. Vous en avez la force, vous en avez le droit, vous en avez le devoir (Applaudissements.) Expliquons-nous donc. (Applaudissements.) Quand vous n'aviez pas de Constitution, vos colonies n'en avaient pas; c'est tout simple. Vous en avez une, il en faut une aux colonies; il faut créer cette Constitution. Messieurs, avant la création du monde, il fallait un créateur : vous êtes, ce créateur (.Applaudissements.); c'est à vous à arranger les éléments de la chose à créer; sans quoi ils ne s'arrangeront pas tout seuls. Il faut donc que vous fassiez l'ouvrage du créateur. Hé! Messieurs, ces éléments sont tout arrangés par vos décrets. Vous avez décreté que toute personne, qui

était ou propriétaire ou contribuable à tel degré, avait droit dans les assemblées primaires. Sur quoi vous êtes-vous guidés? Ce n'est pas sur des lois écrites; c'est sur des droits naturels qui doivent être partout les mêmes. Eh bien! Messieurs, là-bas tout comme ici, prenez tous les citoyens actifs assemblés en assemblée primaire ; faites-leurnommer des membres d'une législature, une assemblée de notables,tout ce qu'il vous plaira; et voilà qui est arrangé. Et pourquoi? parce qu'il n'y a qu'un principe qui arrange tout. (Applaudissements.) Je demande la question préalable sur le projet du comité et j'accepte le décret de M. l'abbé Grégoire. (Applaudissements.)

Now, to get to that point, I think it is much better to avoid trouble and division. You do not want to behave like a removable minister. So you have to explain yourself right away. You have the strength, you have the right, you have the duty (Applause.) Let's explain. (Applause.) When you did not have a Constitution, your colonies did not have any, it's quite simple. You have one, you need one in the colonies; we must create this Constitution. Gentlemen, before the creation of the world, a creator was needed: you are, this creator (.Applications.); it is up to you to arrange the elements of the thing to be created; otherwise they will not arrange themselves. You must therefore do the work of the creator. Hey! Gentlemen, these things are all arranged by your decrees. You have decreed that any person, who was either owner or taxpayer to such degree, was entitled in the primary assemblies. What are you guided on? It's not about written laws; it is on natural rights that must be everywhere the same. Well! Gentlemen, there just as here, take all the active citizens assembled in primary assembly; have them nominate members of a legislature, an assembly of notables, whatever you please; and that is arranged. And why? because there is only one principle that fixes everything. (Applause.) I ask the previous question on the committee's draft and I accept the decree of Father Gregoire. (Applause.)

Topic 94: logical disagreement between members

Example speech: Gérard Lally-Tollendal, 1789-09-22 (1685)

On ne peut faire un seul argument contre la rédaction, sans renoncer à toutes les règles de la logique. On ne peut rien omettre, rien retrancher, rien diviser, parce que le caractère de la loi est indivisible. En un mot, de deux choses l'une : ou l'auteur de la motion est d'accord avec nous, et alors il n'est point nécessaire d'énoncer les principes en deux articles ; ou il est contraire à l'article énoncé, et alors il devient extrêmement dangereux de laisser énoncer des principes contraires à ceux qui sont dans nos coeurs, dans nos cahiers, et j'ajouterai même dans notre conscience. Je le répète, ce mot, avec tranquillité, avec respect, parce qu'il est plus sacré que celui des principes, dont on nous rebat si souvent les oreilles. La dernière phrase du discours de M. de Lally excite quelques murmures. On propose quelques amendements. Les choses étaient dans cet état, lorsque M. le Président est rentré.

One can not make a single argument against writing, without renouncing all the rules of logic. Nothing can be omitted, nothing entrenched, nothing divided, because the character of the law is indivisible. In a word, two things one: or the author of the motion agrees with us, and then it is not necessary to state the principles in two articles; or it is contrary to the article enunciated, and then it becomes extremely dangerous to let enunciate principles contrary to those which are in our hearts, in our notebooks, and I will even add to our conscience. I repeat, this word, with tranquility, with respect, because it is more sacred than that of the principles, of which we are so often rebelled. The last sentence of M. de Lally's speech excites some murmurs. Some amendments are proposed. Things were in that state when the President returned.

Topic 59: collaborative adoption of articles

Example speech: Jean-Marie Heurtault de Lamerville, 1791-08-07 (40360)

Jean-Marie Heurtault de Lamerville, rapporteur, soumet ensuite à la délibération les 2 articles suivants qui sont mis aux voix, après quelques observations, dans ces termes : Art. 11. "Dans aucun cas, le parcours général ne pourra s'exercer sur les prairies artificielles, et sur aucunes terres ensemencées ou plantées de quelque production que ce soit. " (Adopté.) Art. 12. "Partout où les prairies naturelles sont sujettes au parcours, il ne pourra y avoir lieu provisoirement que dans le temps autorisé par les lois et coutumes, mais jamais tant que la première herbe ne sera pas récoltée. " (Adopté.) (La suite de la discussion est renvoyée à la prochaine séance.)

Jean-Marie Heurtault de Lamerville, rapporteur, then submits to the deliberation the following 2 articles which are put to the vote, after some observations, in these terms: Art. 11. In no case may the general route be carried out on artificial grassland and on any land planted or planted with any production. " (Adopted.) Art. 12. "Wherever natural meadows are subject to the course, it can only take place provisionally within the time allowed by the laws and customs, but never until the first grass is harvested. (Adopted.) (Resuming the debate was deferred until the next sitting)

Topic 38: disagreement over adoption of articles

Example speech: Alexandre Lameth, 1791-04-10 (29711)

Je m'oppose à l'ajournement : Nous avons discuté cette question depuis une heure, il sera impossible demain de jeter de nouvelles lumières sur cette discussion; il me semble que l'article 3 est entièrement suffisant; que, en disant que le ministre pourra entretenir une correspondance, il est clair que si on lui demande si une loi existe, il répondra qu'elle existe ; il n'est donc pas besoin de faire un autre article. On a présenté différentes rédactions. Je crois que, de quelque manière que l'on tourne la réaction, il s'ensuivra que le ministre donnera une interprétation, un avis, et que cet avis sera prépondérant. De là je conclus

que tel article n'est bon à rien, qu'il est extrêmement dangereux et qu'il est nécessaire de l'écartier par la question préalable.

I oppose the adjournment: We have discussed this question for an hour, it will be impossible tomorrow to shed new light on this discussion; it seems to me that Article 3 is entirely sufficient; that, in saying that the minister may have a correspondence, it is clear that if one asks him whether a law exists, he will answer that it exists; so there is no need to make another article. Various articles have been presented. I believe that, in whatever way we turn the reaction, it will follow that the Minister will give an interpretation, an opinion, and that this opinion will be preponderant. Hence I conclude that such an article is useless, that it is extremely dangerous and that it is necessary to exclude it by the previous question

Topics associated with longer speeches

Topic 61: expressions of patriotism

Example speech: Louis Parent de Chassy, 1789-07-23 (304)

Louis Parent de Chassy, portant la parole, a dit: Nosseigneurs, la nation française, attentive à toutes les opérations et aux démarches que vous dicte votre sagesse éclairée, n'a pas besoin de vous engager à continuer les pénibles travaux qu'exige le but qui vous a rassemblés. Elle sait avec quelle confiance elle peut s'en rapporter à votre activité vigilante et à votre dévouement patriotique; elle sait que la révolution heureuse qui se prépare ne sera due qu'à votre zèle et à votre fermeté: aussi, eu s'applaudissant du choix qu'elle a fait, ne doit-elle que des reuiercîments à ses illustres et courageux représentants. La ville de Chartres nous a chargés de cette honorable commission. Organes de la sensibilité de nos concitoyens de tous les ordres, permettez-nous, Nosseigneurs, de déposer à vos pieds le tribut de reconnaissance qui vous est si légitimement dû par tous les bons Français. Permettez-nous de joindre lus élans de nos cœurs à ceux des habitants de cette ville, qui peuvent, à tous les moments, vous donner des marques non équivoques de la joie qu'ils ressentent ae voir le meilleur et le plus chéri des Rois, réuni avec les représentants de la nation qui l'adore.[...]

Louis Parent de Chassy, speaking the word, said: "Our nobles, the French nation, attentive to all the operations and procedures that your enlightened wisdom dictates to you, need not commit yourself to continue the painful labors required by the purpose that brought you together. She knows with what confidence she can relate to your vigilant activity and your patriotic devotion; she knows that the happy revolution which is being prepared will be due only to your zeal and your firmness; and, having applauded the choice she has made, she owes nothing but her recollections to her illustrious and courageous representatives. The city of Chartres has entrusted us with this honorable commission. Bodies of the sensibility of our fellow citizens of all orders, allow us, Our Teachers, to lay at your feet the tribute of gratitude which is so legitimately due to you by all the

good Frenchmen. Allow us to join our hearts with those of the inhabitants of this city, who can, at every moment, give you unequivocal marks of the joy they feel in seeing the best and most beloved of kings, met with the representatives of the nation that adores him.[...]

Topic 40: exhortation to deliberate

Example speech: député de Nemours, 1789-12-07 (282)

Dans toutes les circonstances difficiles, on ne doit point céder à un premier mouvement: une sage lenteur doit toujours influer sur le choix du moyen. Mais il ne s'agit pas ici de se livrer à des méditations profondes, de renvoyer à des bureaux l'examen d'une chose qui n'en est pas susceptible ; vous n'êtes pas sans doute divisés: je vous en conjure par tout ce que vous avez de vertu, de courage et de patriotisme, délibérons sur-le-champ. Un religieux de Vordre de Saint-Geneviève observe que la motion de M. Lally-Tollendal ne tend qu'à rétablissement de la milice dans les villes seulement; mais qu'il faut étendre cet établissement même sur les campagnes

In all the difficult circumstances, one must not yield to a first movement: a wise slowness must always influence the choice of means. But it is not a question here of engaging in deep meditations, of sending back to offices the examination of something which is not susceptible of it; you are not undoubtedly divided: I conjure you by all that you have of virtue, of courage and patriotism, let us deliberate on the spot. A religious of the order of St. Genevieve observes that the motion of Mr. Lally-Tollendal only tends to restore the militia in the towns only; but that must be extended even on the countryside.

Topic 98: inventing and managing procedure

Example speech: 1789-12-08 (3939)

En général on pétlt regarder comme impossible une bofine méthode d'élection; il faudrait trouver un moyen de déterminer le nombre des éligibles ; alors lé cåcul donnerait une bonne méthode d'élection. Il y a uh moyen déjà connu et publié, c'est le scrutin préparatoire, par lequel ceux qui, au premier toùr dë scrutin, n'auraient pas cinq ou six suffrages, seraient exclus ; il est naturel de pènsér que Celui qui èttr quatre-vingts suffrages n'en réunit pas Six fi'a pas un grand mérite Cette première élimination restreindrait les éligibles à un si petit nombre, qu'un autre tour de scrutin remplirait la condition par la pluralité absolue. Je persiste à croire que le scrutin de liste double doit subsister et qu'à l'égard du procédé des élèctibûs Oh pedt adopter les observations de M. le Comte de Mirabeau.

In general, one can consider as impossible a method of election; a way should be found to determine the number of eligible persons; then the hack would give a good method of election. There is a means already known and published; it is the preparatory ballot by which those who, on the first day of the poll, would not

have five or six votes, would be excluded; It is natural to expect that He who is eighty votes will not meet the six. This first elimination would limit the eligibles to so few that another ballot would fulfill the condition by absolute plurality. I persist in believing that double-list voting should continue, and that with regard to the process of elections, I should adopt the observations of Count de Mirabeau.

Topic 94: logical disagreement between members

[also appears above]

Topic 10: expressions of honor (or opprobrium) for great men

Example speech: Honoré Gabriel Riqueti Mirabeau, 1790-06-11 (11869)

Franklin est mort... (Il se fait un profond silence.) II est rétourné au sein de la Divinité, le génie qui affranchit l'Amérique et versa sur l'Europe des torrents de lumières ! Le sage que deux mondes réclament, l'homme que se disputent l'histoire des sciences et l'histoire des empires, tenait sans doute un rang bien élevé dans l'espèce humaine. Assez longtemps les cabinets politiques ont notifié la mort de ceux qui ne furent grands que dans leur éloge funèbre; assez longtemps l'étiquette des cours a proclamé des deuils hypocrites : les nations ne doivent porter que le deuil de leurs bienfaiteurs; les représentants des nations ne doivent recommander à leurs hommages que les héros de l'humanité. Le congrès a ordonné, dans les quatorze États de la confédération, un deuil de deux mois pour la mort de Franklin, et l'Amérique acquitte en ce moment ce tribut de vénération et de reconnaissance pour l'un des pères de sa constitution. Ne serait-il pas digne de vous. Messieurs, de nous unir à l'Amérique dans cet acte religieux, de participer à cet hommage rendu à la face de l'univers, et aux droits de l'homme, et au philosophe qui a le plus contribué à en propager la conquête sur toute la terre? L'antiquité eût élevé des autêts au puissant génie qui, au profit des mortels, embrassant dans sa pensée le ciel et la terre, sut dompter la foudre et les tyrans. L'Europe, éclairée et libre, doit du moins up témoignage de souvenir et de regret à l'un des plus grands hommes qui aient jamais servi la philosophie et la liberté. Je propose qu'il soit décrété que l'Assemblée nationale portera pendant trois jours le deuil de Benjamin Franklin. (La partie gauche applaudit avec transport.)

Franklin is dead ... (He makes himself profoundly silent.) He is returned to the bosom of the Godhead, the genius that liberates America and poured torrents of light over Europe! The wise man whom two worlds claim, the man whom the history of science and the history of empires argue over for each other, no doubt held a high rank in the human race. For a long time political cabinets have notified the death of those who were only great in their eulogium; long enough the etiquette of the courts has proclaimed hypocritical mourning: nations must only bear the mourning of their benefactors; the representatives of the nations must recommend to their homage only the heroes of humanity. The congress has ordered, in the fourteen states of the confederation, a mourning of two months

for the death of Franklin, and America is at this moment paying this tribute of veneration and gratitude to one of the fathers of its constitution. Would not he be worthy of you? Gentlemen, to unite ourselves with America in this religious act, to participate in this homage paid to the face of the universe, and to the rights of man, and to the philosopher who has most contributed to spread the conquest on all the earth? Antiquity would have raised altars to the powerful genius who, for the benefit of mortals, embracing heaven and earth in his thought, was able to subdue lightning and tyrants. Europe, enlightened and free, must at least bear witness to memory and regret to one of the greatest men who have ever served philosophy and liberty. I propose that it be decreed that the National Assembly will wear for three days the mourning of Benjamin Franklin. (The left side applauds with transport.)

Topic 21: threats to the nation from appointed officials and military

Example speech: Jean-François Reubell, 1790-01-19 (5294). Some overlap with Topic 4.

Il ne suffit pas, pour tranquilliser la nation, de nous occuper des mesures relatives à l'extérieur; il convient aussi de prendre les précautions les plus promptes et les plus propres à maintenir la tranquillité dans l'intérieur. Ce qui me détermine à vous faire cette observation, c'est qu'il se trouve en ce moment, à Paris, une grande quantité d'officiers de la ci-devant maréchaussée qui s'y sont rendus pour solliciter leur remplacement ou leur nomination à un grade supérieur, dans la gendarmerie nationale. Il serait intéressant, dans les circonstances actuelles, que tous les dépositaires de la force publique fussent à leur poste; et je demande que le ministre de la guerre soit chargé de donner ordre, dans le jour, aux officiers de la gendarmerie nationale qui sont à Paris, de se retirer dans leurs départements respectifs. Un membre : Ils n'ont pas de commission.

It is not enough, in order to reassure the nation, to deal with measures relating to the outside world; it is also necessary to take the most prompt and proper precautions to maintain tranquility in the interior. What determines me to make this observation to you, is that at this moment there is in Paris a large number of officers of the preceding maréchaussée who have gone there to solicit their replacement or their appointment to a superior rank in the National Gendarmerie. It would be interesting, in the present circumstances, for all the agents of the public force to be in their posts; and I ask that the Minister of War be instructed to give orders, in the day, to the officers of the National Gendarmerie who are in Paris, to retire to their respective departments. A member: They do not have a commission.

Topic 79: goals of the assembly

[Also appears above]

Topic 32: presentation of decrees by committees

Example speech: Pierre-François Gossin, 1791-08-02 (39986)

Pierre-François Gossin, au nom du comité de Constitution, présente un projet de décret relatif aux délibérations des municipalités de Frontignan et de Mar-seillan (Hérault). Ce projet de décret est ainsi conçu : “L’Assemblée nationale, après avoir entendu le rapport du comité de Constitution sur les délibérations des municipalités de Frontignan et de Marseillan, déclare que le décret du 24 mars dernier est une simple commission au directoire du département de l’Hérault, pour entendre les parties intéressées, en dresser procès-verbal et ensuite être statué définitivement par l’Assemblée nationale, ainsi qu’il appartiendra, sur les pétitions énoncées dans le décret du 24 mars. ” (Ce décret est mis aux voix et adopté.)

Pierre-François Gossin, on behalf of the Constitution Committee, presented a draft decree concerning the deliberations of the municipalities of Frontignan and Mar-seillan (Hérault). The draft decree is thus conceived: “The National Assembly, after having heard the report of the Constitutional Committee on the deliberations of the municipalities of Frontignan and Marseillan, declares that the decree of March 24th is a simple commission to the directory of the department Hérault, to hear the interested parties, draw up minutes and then be finally ruled by the National Assembly, as it will be on the petitions set out in the decree of 24 March. ” (The decree is put to the vote and adopted.)

Topic 12: legality and the law

Example speech: Maximilien Robespierre, 1791-09-03 (43049)

La loi qui remet dans les mains du juge la fonction de tempérer, comme on l’a dit, la justice par l’équité, est une loi invariable, constitutionnelle, parce qu’elle est fondée dans la nature même des choses. Ce que l’on a appelé l’équité, Messieurs, est une partie de la justice. Quoiqu’on ait séparé ces deux idées par deux expressions différentes, elles tiennent nécessairement aux mêmes principes, et il est vrai de dire que la loi n’est pas bien administrée dans une société quelconque, à moins que le juge ne pèse également la loi et les circonstances. Deux choses constituent le crime ; le fait matériel et l’intention. Il faut donc que, pour rendre un jugement légitime, le juge pèse toujours les circonstances relatives à l’intention ; si l’intention n’existe pas du tout, il déclare qu’il n’y a point de délit ; si l’intention est légère, il déclare que le délit est moins grave. Toutes ces opérations entrent nécessairement dans le jugement de celui qui est chargé d’administrer la justice ; il est donc absurde de vouloir distinguer ces deux choses, et de supposer que le juge ne prononcera que sur le fait, et point du tout sur l’intention ; or, dès qu’un juge ne peut juger sans examiner ces deux points, puisque cela tient aux principes de la liberté et est fondée sur la nature des choses, il s’ensuit que cette règle ne peut jamais être changée dans l’administration de la justice. Il n’y a donc aucune raison de distinguer un autre pouvoir pour prononcer sur les raisons d’équité, et pour tempérer par elle les

jugements rigoureux, ainsi l'on ne peut point supposer qu'il sera nécessaire de remettre au roi le droit de faire grâce. Il est évident que ce droit, d'après cet éclaircissement, ne peut être que le pouvoir arbitraire de dérober un citoyen à la juste punition qu'il a encourue par la loi.

The law which places in the hands of the juryman the function of tempering, as has been said, justice by equity, is an invariable law, constitutional, because it is founded in the very nature of things. What has been called equity, gentlemen, is a part of justice. Although these two ideas have been separated by two different expressions, they necessarily follow the same principles, and it is true to say that the law is not well administered in any society, unless the judge weighs equally, and law and circumstances. Two things constitute the crime; the material fact and the intention. It is therefore necessary that, in order to render a legitimate judgment, the judge always weighs the circumstances relating to the intention; if the intention does not exist at all, he declares that there is no offense; if the intention is light, he declares that the offense is less serious. All these operations necessarily enter into the judgment of the one who is in charge of administering justice; It is therefore absurd to try to distinguish these two things, and to suppose that the judge will pronounce only on the fact, and not at all on the intention; Now, as soon as a judge can not judge without examining these two points, since this is due to the principles of liberty and is based on the nature of things, it follows that this rule can never be changed in the administration of Justice. There is therefore no reason to distinguish another power to pronounce on the reasons of equity, and to moderate by it the rigorous judgments, so it can not be supposed that it will be necessary to hand over to the king the right to give thanks. It is obvious that this right, according to this enlightenment, can only be the arbitrary power to steal a citizen from the just punishment he has incurred by law.

Topics associated with the debate over powers to declare war

This section presents some of the main topics associated with a key debate in May 1790.

Topic 17: powers and abilities of the state to conduct war

Example speech 1: Maximilien Robespierre, 1790-05-15 (10619). Comingled with Topic 12 (legality, above)

S'il est un moment où il soit indispensable de juger la question de savoir à qui appartiendra le droit de faire la paix ou la guerre, c'est à l'époque où vous avez à délibérer sur l'exercice de ce droit. Comment pren-drez-vous des mesures si vous ne connaissez pas votre droit? Vous déciderez provisoirement, au moins, que le droit de disposer du bonheur de l'empire appartient au ministre. Pouvez-vous ne pas croire que la guerre est un moyen de défendre un pouvoir arbitraire contre les nations ? Il peut se présenter différents partis à prendre. Je

suppose qu'au lieu de vous engager dans une guerre dont vous ne connaissez pas les motifs, vous vouliez maintenir la paix ; qu'au lieu d'accorder des subsides, d'autoriser des armements, vous croyiez devoir faire une grande démarche, et montrer une grande loyauté. Par exemple, si vous manifestiez aux nations que, suivant des principes bien différents que ceux qui ont fait le malheur des peuples, la nation française, contente d'être libre, ne veut s'engager dans aucune guerre, et veut vivre avec toutes les nations avec cette fraternité qu'avait commandée la nature. Il est de l'intérêt des nations de protéger la nation française, parce que c'est de la France que doit partir la liberté et le bonheur du monde. Si l'on reconnaissait qu'il est utile de prendre ces mesures ou toutes autres semblables, il faudrait décider si c'est la nation qui a le droit de les prendre. Il faut donc, avant d'examiner les mesures nécessaires, juger si le roi a le droit de faire la paix ou la guerre.

If there is a moment when it is indispensable to judge the question of who will have the right to make peace or war, it is at the time when you have to deliberate on the exercise of this right. How will you take action if you do not know your right? You will tentatively decide, at least, that the right to dispose of the happiness of the empire belongs to the minister. Can you not believe that war is a means of defending arbitrary power against nations? There may be different parties to take. I suppose that instead of engaging in a war whose motives you do not know, you wanted to maintain peace; that instead of granting subsidies, of authorizing armaments, you thought you ought to make a great effort, and show great loyalty. For example, if you show the nations that, according to very different principles than those which have been the misfortune of the peoples, the French nation, happy to be free, does not want to engage in any war, and wants to live with all nations with that fraternity that nature had commanded. It is in the interest of nations to protect the French nation, because it is from France that freedom and the happiness of the world must go. If we recognize that it is useful to take these or any other similar measures, we should decide whether it is the nation that has the right to take them. It is therefore necessary, before examining the necessary measures, to judge whether the king has the right to make peace or war.

Example speech 2: Florent Louis Marie Du Chatelet Lomont d'Haraucourt, 1790-05-18 (10762). Comingled with Topic 10 (expressions of honor and opprobrium, above)

Je ne puis qu'applaudir à l'opinion de M. de Sérent, et je me bornerai à répondre à quelques objections. A Dieu ne plaise que je dise que le conseil du roi n'est jamais le foyer des intrigues et des passions ! Les ministres ne sont pas toujours ignorants et perfides; s'ils, s'égarent, la responsabilité les ramènera à la vertu ; et si la responsabilité n'est pas très puissante sur les délégués du prince, elle est certainement nulle pour les délégués du peuple. Une assemblée nombreuse peut être bien plus aisément corrompue. En Suède la diète est toujours remplie de gens soudoyés par la France, par l'Angleterre ou par la Russie. Les

alliances, la paix et la guerre y sont le résultat de la plus odieuse corruption... Si l'on ne permet aucune alliance qui ne soit traitée au milieu du pouvoir législatif, la France n'aura bientôt plus d'alliés... On propose de créer un comité diplomatique. La nation est bien maîtresse de divulguer ses secrets, mais non de faire connaître ceux des autres. Si ce comité ne rend pas compte à l'Assemblée, il sera un autre conseil d'Etat qui présentera de grands inconvénients, puisque les membres de ce conseil ne seront pas responsables. On a pensé que l'Espagne est intéressée à troubler notre Révolution ; j'observe que c'est l'Angleterre qui arme. On s'est livré à des détails très érudits, et l'on a examiné le pouvoir de nos rois, dans le rapport de la question dont il s'agit, en remontant jusqu'aux Germains. Mais les guerres, les traités, les alliances des Germains ne ressemblaient pas plus à nos traités, à nos guerres, à nos alliances, que nos armées, notre tactique et nos armes ne ressemblent aux leurs. Pour effrayer sur les suites du droit de paix et de guerre accordé au roi, on a attaqué la mémoire de plusieurs de nos princes. Est-il donc permis d'attaquer ainsi les rois chez un peuple qui s'est toujours distingué par son amour pour ses rois? Si le règne de Louis XIV fut plus glorieux qu'utile, peut-on oublier qu'il a valu trois belles provinces à la France? Sous son successeur, l'étendue de l'empire s'est encore accrue ; c'est sur les dernières années seules que l'histoire peut porter un regard sévère. La guerre de Sept ans fut seule défensive. On dit que la constitution anglaise est imparfaite; mais si l'expérience doit avoir plus d'empire sur les hommes que des systèmes non réalisés, nous croirons peut-être, avec l'Angleterre, que le droit de refuser les subsides est un moyen certain d'empêcher le roi d'abuser du droit de paix et de guerre pour opprimer la liberté. Je conclus et je dis que le droit de paix et de guerre doit être délégué au roi, mais que les traités de paix ne peuvent être obligatoires qu'après avoir été ratifiés par l'Assemblée nationale.

I can only applaud the opinion of M. de Sérent, and I will confine myself to answering a few objections. God forbid that I say that the king's council is never the center of intrigues and passions. The ministers are not always ignorant and treacherous, but if they go astray, the responsibility will bring them back to the virtue, and if the responsibility is not very powerful over the delegates of the prince, it is certainly null for the delegates of the people. A large assembly can be much more easily corrupt. In Sweden the diet is always filled with people bribed by the France, by England or by Russia, alliances, peace and war are the result of the most odious corruption ... If no alliance is allowed to be dealt with in the middle of the legislative power, France will soon have no more allies ... It is proposed to create a diplomatic committee. The nation is well mistress to disclose its secrets, but not to publicize those of others. If this committee does not report to the Assembly he will be another state council which will present great disadvantages, since the members of this council will not be responsible. It has been thought that Spain is interested in disturbing our Revolution; I observe that England is the weapon. We have given ourselves very learned details, and we have examined the power of our kings, in the relation of the question in question, to the Germans. But the wars, the treaties, the alliances of the Germans no

more resembled our treaties, our wars, our alliances, than our armies, our tactics, and our arms resemble theirs. To frighten upon the consequences of the right of peace and war granted to the king, the memory of several of our princes has been attacked. Is it therefore permissible to attack kings in this way with a people who have always distinguished themselves by their love for their kings? If the reign of Louis XIV was more glorious than useful, can we forget that it has earned three beautiful provinces to France? Under his successor, the extent of the empire has increased; it is only in recent years that history can bear a severe eye. The Seven Years' War was the only defensive. It is said that the English constitution is imperfect; but if experience is to have more influence over men than unrealized systems, we may perhaps believe, with England, that the right to refuse subsidies is a sure means of preventing the king from abusing the right to peace and war to oppress freedom. I conclude and say that the right of peace and war must be delegated to the King, but that peace treaties can only be binding after having been ratified by the National Assembly.

Topic 91: power of the King

Example speech 1: Jean Baptiste Chabroud, 1790-05-19 (10800). Comingled with Topic 10 (expressions of honor and opprobrium, above)

La question ainsi posée : “Doit* on déléguer au roi le droit de faire la paix et la guerre,” n'est pas difficile, Si j'avais à répondre précisément et sans explication, je dirais nette* ment : Non. Si l'on demandait : La nation doit-elle retenir ce droit ou le déléguer au Corps législatif? je dirais encore : Non. Si vous donniez au roi le droit de paix et de guerre, ce serait déposer à ses pieds la Constitution, en lui disant comme à Dieu : “Que votre volonté soit faite.” Le prince est toujours disposé à éléver son autorité sur les débris de la liberté des peuples. Quand je dis le prince, j'entends ses ministres : la volonté intime du prince est amie du peuple; l'infortune de l'un est l'adversité de l'autre. Les ministres, au contraire, ne trouvent pas leur bonheur dans la félicité publique, et pourvu qu'en lassant ils moissonnent, la fécondité à venir ne es inquiète pas. Le peuple écrasé gémit, il se tait jusqu'à ce que les siècles amènent une insurrection générale, qui met tout à sa place. On présente deux remèdes au danger que peut entraîner la délégation au roi du pouvoir de faire la guerre, le refus de l'impôt et la responsabilité. Le refus de l'impôt n'est-il pas illusoire quand les ministres ont attiré sur nos frontières des rivaux insolents? que peut la responsabilité sur les malheurs d'une guerre? Désespérant de séduire votre raison, on a cherché à gagner vos cœurs. On a parlé de cet antique amour des Français pour leurs rois ; on a prétendu que vous vouliez attenter à la prérogative de la couronne. C'est bien ainsi qu'on est sûr de nous intéresser, et le nom de Louis XVI produira toujours dans l'Assemblée nationale des acclamations et des transports.

*The question: “Must * delegate to the king the right to make peace and war, ” is not difficult, If I had to answer precisely and without explanation, I would say clearly: No. If one asked: Should the nation retain this right or delegate it to the Legislative Body? I would say again: No. If you give the king the right*

to peace and war, it would be to lay the Constitution at his feet, telling him, as to God, " May your will be done. " The prince is always disposed to elevate his authority over the debris of the liberty of the people. When I say the prince, I mean his ministers: the intimate will of the prince is friend of the people; the misfortune of one is the adversity of the other. Ministers, on the contrary, do not find their happiness in public felicity, and provided that, when they tire of harvesting, future fertility is not troubled. The crushed people groan, it is silent until the centuries bring a general insurrection, which puts everything in its place. Two remedies are presented to the danger that the delegation to the King of the power to wage war, the refusal of the tax and the responsibility may entail. Is not the refusal of the tax illusory when the ministers have attracted insolent rivals to our frontiers? What can responsibility for the misfortunes of a war? Desperate to seduce your reason, we sought to win your hearts. We have spoken of this ancient love of the French for their kings; it has been pretended that you wish to attack the prerogative of the crown. This is how we are sure to interest ourselves, and the name of Louis XVI. Will always produce acclamations and transports in the National Assembly. [...]

Example speech 2: Jean-François Reubell, 1790-05-18 (10768). Comingled with Topic 94 (logical disagreement among members, above)

Ceux qui ont voulu soutenir qu'il faut déléguer au roi le pouvoir de faire la guerre et la paix, et de conclure des alliances, ont si bien senti qu'ils manquaient aux principes, qu'ils se sont uniquement appuyés de l'intérêt national ; mais combien n'ont-ils pas ravalé la nation ! Je n'aurais jamais cru entendre dire dans cette tribune que les représentants de la nation, éius librement par elle, seraient plus aisément corrompus que les ministres et leurs adhérents. Toute guerre défensive entraîne des représailles; la guerre offensive en est une suite nécessaire. Vouloir que le roi ait le droit de faire la paix et la guerre, c'est vouloir réunir la volonté et l'action, la loi et l'exécution, c'est confondre tous les pouvoirs. En vain, on aurait dit que la nation refuserait les impôts, si le roi pouvait déclarer la guerre; en vain, on dirait que le roi pourra déclarer la guerre, s'il est possible de lui refuser les impôts. On fait aujourd'hui un armement de précaution, et on vous demande déjà de l'argent : si la nation peut refuser de l'argent, elle peut refuser la vie des individus qui la composent.

Those who wanted to argue that it is necessary to delegate to the king the power to make war and peace, and to make alliances, have felt so well that they lacked the principles, that they only relied on the interest national; but how many have they not swallowed up the nation! I never thought I heard it said in this gallery that the representatives of the nation, who were free from it, would be more easily corrupt than the ministers and their adherents. Any defensive war causes retaliation; the offensive war is a necessary sequel. To want the king to have the right to make peace and war, is to want to reunite the will and action, the law and the execution, to confound all the powers. In vain would it have been said that the nation would refuse taxes if the king could declare war; in vain

it seems that the king can declare war if it is possible to refuse him the taxes. Today we make a precautionary armament, and we are already asking you for money: if the nation can refuse money, it can refuse the life of the individuals who compose it.

Topic 62: military unrest

Example speech: Pierre Paul Nairac, 1790-05-19 (10806)

Pierre Paul Nairac, après cette lecture, ajoute : Je suis convaincu, Messieurs, qu'aucune de ces précautions ne sera démentie, lorsque l'intérêt de la patrie l'exigera; vous trouverez toujours des légions bordelaises prêtes à déconcerter les ennemis de la liberté. Je vais vous proposer un décret qui renferme tout à la fois, et les mesures nécessaires pour arrêter le désordre, et les témoignages de satisfaction qu'ont droit d'attendre de l'Assemblée nationale les volontaires de Bordeaux. "L'Assemblée nationale, instruite par des lettres qui lui ont été directement adressées, qu'un détachement de 1,500 hommes de la garde nationale de Bordeaux, s'est transporté dans la ville de Moissac, à l'effet de rétablir le calme dans celle de Montauban, approuve le zèle de ladite municipalité et de la garde nationale et l'attachement qu'ils ont témoigné aux décrets de l'Assemblée acceptés ou sanctionnés par le roi ; décrète que son président sera chargé d'écrire au maire et officiers municipaux de la ville de Bordeaux, ainsi qu'au détachement de 1,500 hommes envoyés à Moissac pour le maintien de l'ordre, et de leur témoigner la satisfaction de l'Assemblée nationale, sur leur patriotisme, leur générosité et leur zèle à défendre les décrets constitutionnels ; décrète, en outre, que son président enverra audit détachement une expédition du décret du 17 de ce mois, pour le rétablissement de l'ordre dans la ville de Montauban, et qu'il se retirera par devers le roi pour le supplier d'employer, à cet effet, s'il le juge convenable, le détachement de la garde nationale de Bordeaux.

Pierre Paul Nairac, after this reading, adds: I am convinced, gentlemen, that none of these precautions will be denied, when the interest of the country will require it; you will always find Bordeaux legions ready to disconcert the enemies of freedom. I am going to propose to you a decree containing all at once, and the measures necessary to stop the disorder, and the testimonies of satisfaction which the volunteers of Bordeaux are entitled to expect from the National Assembly. "The National Assembly, instructed by letters that were directly addressed to him, a detachment of 1,500 men of the National Guard of Bordeaux, has moved into the city of Moissac, to restore calm in that of Montauban, approves the zeal of the said municipality and the National Guard and the attachment they have shown to the decrees of the Assembly accepted or sanctioned by the King; decrees that its president will be charged to write to the mayor and municipal officers of the city of Bordeaux, as well as to the detachment of 1,500 men sent to Moissac for the maintenance of order, and to testify to them the satisfaction of the National Assembly on their patriotism, their generosity and their zeal to defend the constitutional decrees; decrees, furthermore, that his president shall send to said detachment an expedition of the decree of the 17th of this month,

for the reestablishment of order in the city of Montauban, and that he shall retire to the king to beg him to employ for this purpose, if it thinks fit, the detachment of the National Guard of Bordeaux.

Topic 92: defensive presentation of particular facts

Example speech 1: André Boniface Louis Riquetti Mirabeau, 1790-05-19 (10809). Comingled with Topic 55 (literal depictions of conflict and violence, above), Topic 64 (reference to written information)

Veuillez vous rappeler la manière dont j'ai exposé les faits. Au moment où l'on m'interrompait à cette tribune, j'ait dit que la garde nationale de Toulouse était partie avec six pièces de canon pour aller au secours de la municipalité de Montauban ; quelqu'un m'avait assuré ce fait, et lorsque je suis sorti de ma place, un député, que je crois être de la ville de Toulouse, m'a dit le même fait. Je vous l'ai raconté, mais je n'ai pas assuré que j'eusse des pièces authentiques. Lorsque, sur une lettre par^{*} ticulière, j'ai entendu accuser des membres de cette Assemblée et des ministres, j'ai bien pu, moi, rendre compte de mes inquiétudes. Je sais que les mille et un journaux ne manqueront point encore de calomnier mes intentions ; mais je le répète, celui qui dénonce la guerre civile ne l'attire pas, ne la cherche pas, n'en est pas le moteur. (On demande à M. de Mirabeau le nom du membre de VAssemblée qui lui a appris ce fait.) Il est beaucoup de membres de l'Assemblée que je n'ai pas l'honneur de connaître. Ce fait est connu de plusieurs membres de la partie de la salle où je suis. Je les interpelle de se faire connaître. (Personne ne répond.)

Please remember how I explained the facts. At the moment when I was interrupted at this tribune, I said that the National Guard of Toulouse had left with six pieces of cannon to go to the aid of the municipality of Montauban; Someone had assured me of this fact, and when I left my place, a deputy, whom I believe to be from the city of Toulouse, told me the same thing. I told you that, but I did not assure that I had authentic pieces. When, on a particular letter, I heard accusations from members of this Assembly and ministers, I have been able to give an account of my concerns. I know that the thousand and one newspapers will not fail to slander my intentions; but I repeat, he who denounces the civil war does not attract him, does not seek it, is not the driving force. (We ask M. de Mirabeau for the name of the member of the Assembly who has informed him of this fact.) There are many members of the Assembly whom I do not have the honor to know. This fact is known to many members of the part of the room where I am. I call on them to make themselves known. (Nobody's answering.)

Example speech 2: Jean François Ange Eymar, 1790-05-16 (10675). Comingled with Topic 99 (correspondence regarding decrees), Topic 38 (disagreement over adoption of articles, above)

Avant de vous mettre à même d'apprécier l'affectation indécente qui a été apportée à prononcer mon nom, je vais vous expliquer ce que c'est que Bouxwillers.

Bouxwil-lers est une dépendance du comté de Hanau, qui appartient au landgrave de Hesse-Darmstadt ; Neu-villers est une communauté voisine; dans cette communauté est un chapitre dont je suis le chef. On a affecté de dire qu'elle réclamait la conservation des biens ecclésiastiques, et notamment de ceux du chapitre dont je suis le chef... (Des murmures interrompent M. Vabbé d'Eymar),' Je n'inculpe pas le rapporteur, mais les commissaires du roi, parce qu'ils sont coupables, et je les dénonce d'avance; ils ont outrepassé leurs pouvoirs, en dénonçant ce qui s'est passé à Boux-wiliers : ces faits ne sont pas de leur compétence. Il est très glorieux pour moi de dire qu'une communauté, composée pour les deux tiers de protestants, a eu la bonté de demander la conservation de son chapitre, qu'elle annonce lui avoir fait tout le bien possible. J'ai l'honneur de le présider, et je partage la gloire de ses bienfaits. Quant à ma conduite particulière, je soutiens avec force les mandats qui m'ont été donnés, et je les maintiendrai toujours. On dit que ces menées empêchent l'organisation des assemblées primaires. Eh bien! j'atteste que l'Alsace, et surtout le comté de Hanau, désirent que ces assemblées soient organisées, pour y porter les vœux qu'on vous masque dans ce rapport. Je vais entrer dans la question..

Before you can appreciate the indecent affectation that has been made to pronounce my name, I will explain what it is that Bouxwillers. Bouxwil-lers is a dependency of the county of Hanau, which belongs to the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt; Neu-villers is a neighboring community; in this community is a chapter of which I am the leader. It has been affected to say that it demands the preservation of ecclesiastical property, and in particular of those of the chapter of which I am the head ... (Murmurs interrupt Mr. Vabbé of Eymar), 'I do not indict the rapporteur, but the commissioners of the king, because they are guilty, and I denounce them in advance; they exceeded their powers, by denouncing what happened at Boux-wiliers: these facts are not within their competence. It is very glorious for me to say that a community, composed for two-thirds of Protestants, had the kindness to ask for the preservation of its chapter, which it announces to have done all the good for it. I have the honor to preside over it, and I share the glory of its benefits. As for my particular conduct, I strongly support the mandates given to me, and I will always maintain them. It is said that these activities prevent the organization of primary assemblies. Well! I declare that Alsace, and especially the county of Hanau, desire that these assemblies be organized, in order to carry the vows hidden in this report. I will enter the question ..

Topic 30: timing and ordering of events

Example speech 1: Pierre François Bouche: 1790-04-01 (39116)

Monsieur le Président, je demande à faire une motion d'ordre sur la manière dont on doit discuter. Il ne s'agit pas de savoir tout d'abord si on établira un tribunal extraordinaire de 12 membres. La première question à traiter est celle de savoir s'il y aura un tribunal d'appel. Pour mettre de l'ordre dans la délibération et pour ne pas nous exposer à opiner sur une question complexe, il

faut la décomposer pour en traiter chaque partie séparément. Je demande donc que la discussion porte d'abord sur le point de savoir si l'on conservera, oui ou non, la voie de l'appel. (Assentiment.)

Mr. President, I ask to make a point of order on the manner in which we must discuss. It is not a question of knowing first whether an extraordinary tribunal of 12 members will be established. The first issue to be addressed is whether there will be an appellate court. To put order in the deliberation and not to expose ourselves to an opinion on a complex question, it must be broken down to treat each part separately. I therefore ask that the discussion begin with the question of whether or not the path of the appeal will be maintained. (Consent.)

Example speech 2: 1790-05-15 (10616). Comingled with Topics 17 and 91 above.

Lorsqu'on aura démontré que les effets doivent passer avant les causes, que les résultats doivent précéder les motifs qui les occasionnent, alors on aura prouvé que la question posée par M. de Lameth doit être discutée la dernière : mais si l'on veut discuter l'ordre naturel des choses, on sentira aisément qu'il faut d'abord décider si nous avons le droit de con sentir ou de défendre un armement. Au moment où les ministres s'emparent de ce droit, il faut examiner à qui il appartient ; laisser la question à l'écart, ce serait passer condamnation, puisque M. de Montmorin suppose la question jugée en sa faveur. En effet, il nous dit qu'on a armé 14 vaisseaux, parce que Sa Majesté est alliée à l'Espagne, parce que nous devons de la reconnaiss-* sance à cette puissance pour les secours que nous en avons reçus, parce qu'on ne peut se dispenser d'observer le Pacte de famille ; il nous dit que le roi de France ouvre des négociations, etc. Ainsi, les ministres prétendent exercer seuls le plein pouvoir de faire la paix ou la guerre ; mais les négociations supposent nécessairement des alliances, et ces alliances sont souvent des déclarations de paix ou de guerre, puisque c'est du résultat des négociations que l'un et l'autre résultent. Il faut prendre un parti ; notre silence préjugerait la question. Un ajournement à trois semaines la déciderait contre nous. Quand le roi arme, quand des négociations sont entamées, n'est-il pas probable que dans trois semaines la paix ou la guerre seront décidées? ainsi lorsqu'on propose d'ajourner, on propose en d'autres termes de donner, dans la circonstance présente, le droit de négociation, de paix et de guerre. Pour les plus grands amis du pouvoir arbitraire, ce serait encore une grande question : mais c'en est peut-être une pour le corps constituuant. On le met dans l'alternative de consentir ou de s'opposer à l'abandon d'un droit, sans lequel il n'est point de liberté politique. Vous vous ôteriez les moyens de résister aux ruses perfides des ministres ; vous vous exposeriez à ce que la Constitution fût en péril par une guerre mal à propos entreprise. On vous propose de vous abandonner à des hommes à qui l'on fait trop d'honneur en disant que leurs desseins sont douteux. Trois jours sont nécessaires pour discuter les principes; je demande que la motion de M. Alexandre de Lameth soit adoptée.

When it has been shown that the effects must pass before the causes, that the results must precede the motives which occasion them, then we shall have proved that the question put by M. de Lameth must be discussed last: but if we wish To discuss the natural order of things, it will easily be felt that we must first decide whether we have the right to recognize or defend an armament. At the moment when the ministers seize this right, it is necessary to examine to whom it belongs; to leave the question aside would be to pass sentence, since M. de Montmorin supposes the question judged in his favor. In fact, he tells us that we have armed 14 ships, because His Majesty is allied to Spain, because we owe gratitude to this power for the help we have received, because we can not dispense with observing the Family Pact; he tells us that the King of France opens negotiations, etc. Thus, the ministers claim to exercise alone the full power to make peace or war; but the negotiations necessarily involve alliances, and these alliances are often declarations of peace or war, since it is from the result of the negotiations that both result. We must take a party; our silence would prejudge the question. An adjournment to three weeks would decide it against us. When the king is armed, when negotiations are begun, is it not probable that in three weeks peace or war will be decided? Thus when one proposes to postpone, one proposes in other words to give, in the present circumstance, the right of negotiation, peace and war. For the greatest friends of arbitrary power, it would still be a big question: but it may be one for the constituent body. It is put in the alternative of consenting or of opposing the abandonment of a right, without which there is no political liberty. You would deprive yourself of the means of resisting the perfidious ruses of the ministers; you would expose yourself to the fact that the Constitution was in peril by a war inappropriately undertaken. You are offered to abandon yourself to men who are too proud to say that their designs are doubtful. Three days are necessary to discuss the principles; I ask that the motion of Mr. Alexandre de Lameth be adopted.

Topic 53: presentation and discussion of decrees

Example speech: 1789-10-01 (1984).

On propose d'adopter dès aujourd'hui, provisoirement, de confiance, et sauf la rédaction, les décrets proposés: discuter la rédaction, ce n'est pas adopter dès aujourd'hui. Jusqu'à présent, on ne vous a parlé que de réduction, et il est sans doute fort agréable d'adopter, même provisoirement, des réductions; mais on ne peut en faire aucune sans avoir un plan déterminé pour le département dans lequel elles sont faites. Si le ministre avait des plans, il devrait les remettre sous vos yeux ; s'il n'en a pas, ses promesses ne peuvent-elles pas paraître vagues et illusoires? Un autre objet me donne encore quelques inquiétudes. M. Necker a parlé, dans son rapport et dans les décrets d'aujourd'hui, de 15 millions de bonification provenant de l'imposition des ci-devant privilégiés : vous avez décidé, par votre décret sur l'impôt, que le profit de ces impositions tournerait à la décharge du peuple. Que devient alors cette bonification? Je demande qu'avant de délibérer on renvoie l'examen des décrets au comité des finances.

It is proposed to adopt today, provisionally, confidence, and except drafting, the proposed decrees: discuss drafting is not adopt today. So far, we have only been told about reduction, and it is probably very pleasant to adopt, even temporarily, reductions; but one can not do any without having a definite plan for the department in which they are made. If the minister had plans, he should put them back in front of you; if he does not, can his promises not appear vague and illusory? Another object gives me some more worries. Mr. Necker has spoken in his report and in the decrees of today of 15 million bonuses from the taxation of privileged precedents: you have decided, by your decree on the tax, that profit these impositions would turn to the dump of the people. What becomes of this bonus1? I ask that before deliberation the review of the orders be referred to the finance committee.

Topic 74: the reading of letters

Example speech: 1790-01-19 (5277)

Guy Jean Baptiste Target a fait lecture à l'Assemblée de la lettre suivante de M. d'Ollianison commandant des carabiniers. L'Assemblée ordonne qu'elle sera insérée dans le procès-verbal de cette séance, ainsi qu'il suit : "Lunéville, ce . " Monsieur le Président. "Je viens de recevoir la lettre en date du 4 .janvier, que Monsieur votre prédécesseur m'a adressée. Lecture en a été faite au corps des carabiniers, qui a reçu avec joie et reconnaissance cette marque de justice que lui rend l'Assemblée nationale ; ce qui ne peut que l'affermir encore davantage dans ses principes d'honneur et d'attachement au Roi et à la nation, lesquels, jusqu'ici, ont été inébranlables. Je vous prie, Monsieur le président, de vouloir bien assurer l'Assemblée que cette lettre a produit sur le corps que j'ai l'honneur de commander, l'effet qu'elle devait en attendre, "Je suis avec respect, M- le Président, "Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur, Signé, M. d'Ollianison

Guy Jean Baptiste Target read to the Assembly the following letter from M. d'Ollianison, commander of the carabiniers. The Assembly orders that it be inserted in the minutes of this meeting, as follows: "Lunéville, ce. " Mister President. "I have just received the letter dated January 4th, which your predecessor addressed to me. It was read to the Corps of Carabinieri, who received with joy and gratitude the mark of justice which the National Assembly gives him; which can only strengthen it even more in its principles of honor and attachment to the King and the nation, which up to now have been unshakeable. I beg you, Mr. President, to assure the Assembly that this letter has produced on the body that I have the honor to command, the effect it should have expected, "I am with respect, M - the President, "Your most humble and obedient servant, Signed M. d'Ollianison

Topic 4: concern over traitors and other internal threats to the nation

Example speech: 1791-06-21 (36370). Some overlap with Topic 21; includes dangerous decrees and threats from non-official persons.

Je ne puis que m'étonner que dans de pareilles circonstances on ne propose que des mesures aussi insignifiantes et aussi illusoires, et qu'on n'offre à la nation, pour garant unique, qu'un nouveau serment après tant d'autres. Les autres mesures déjà prises par l'Assemblée nationale me paraissent également faibles et insuffisantes ; mais je crois en même temps que ce moment-ci n'est pas propre à préparer les hommes ; qu'il faut connaître plus particulièrement le³ circonstances qui tiennent au grand événement qui nous occupe, avant de vous proposer d'autres mesures; et qu'il faut d'abord méditer profondément. Ce que l'Assemblée nationale doit faire pour ne point tromper la nation, c'est d'avertir tous les bons citoyens de veiller sur les traîtres, et au salut de la chose publique.

I can only be astonished that in such circumstances we propose only such insignificant and illusory measures, and that we offer the nation, as sole guarantor, a new oath after so many others. The other measures already taken by the National Assembly seem to me equally weak and insufficient; but I believe at the same time that this moment is not suitable for preparing men; that we must know more particularly the circumstances which are due to the great event which concerns us, before proposing other measures; and that one must first meditate deeply. What the National Assembly must do in order not to deceive the nation is to warn all good citizens to watch over traitors, and the safety of public affairs.

Topics associated with top speakers of main paper Table 1**Topic 22: structure of articles**

Example speech: Charles Antoine Chasset, 1790-10-12 (18645)

Charles Antoine Chasset, rapporteur. Nous arrivons maintenant au titre IV. Je vais donner lecture des articles. Les trois premiers articles sont adoptés sans discussion, ainsi qu'il suit : TITRE IV. Des créanciers particuliers des maisons, corps et communautés supprimés. Art. 1 . "Les frais faits sous le nom des maisons, corps et communautés auxquels l'administration de leurs biens a été laissée provisoirement, seront par eux acquittés. A l'égard des bénéficiers, corps, maisons et communautés, des mains desquels l'administration de leurs biens a été retirée, les dépens par eux faits, et qu'ils auront payés, ne leur seront pas remboursés : mais ceux légitimement faits et non payés, le seront des deniers du Trésor public. Ne seront, au surplus, acquittés des deniers du Trésor public parmi les dépens faits par les bénéficiaires, que ceux faits à raison de leurs bénéfices et pour leur utilité. Art. 2. "Les procureurs, les acquéreurs de leurs offices, leurs veuves, héritiers ou ayants-droit ; ceux qui prétendent être créanciers pour cause desdits frais, seront tenus de remettre dans trois mois, à

compter de la publication du présent décret, au secrétariat du district de leur domicile, sous récépissé du secrétaire, leur mémoire et les pièces et procédures. Dans trois aires mois le directoire du district donnera son avis, et le directoire du département arrêtera lesdits frais. Art. 3. "Pendant les trois premiers mois, les possesseurs des pièces et procédures pourront les retenir, mais passé ledit temps, ils seront tenus d'en faire la remise quand ils en seront requis ; sinon ils y seront contraints, même par corps.

Charles Antoine Chasset, rapporteur. We now come to Title IV. I will read the articles. The first three articles were adopted without discussion, as follows:
PART IV. Special creditors of homes, bodies and communities removed. Art. 1. "The expenses made under the name of the houses, bodies and communities to which the administration of their property has been provisionally left, shall be paid by them. With regard to the beneficiaries, bodies, houses and communities, from whose hands the administration of their property has been withdrawn, the costs by them made, and which they have paid, shall not be reimbursed to them: but those legitimately done and unpaid, will be money from the Treasury. Moreover, public funds will be paid out of the costs incurred by the benefactors only for their profits and for their utility. Art. 2. "The attorneys, the purchasers of their offices, their widows, heirs or assigns; those who claim to be creditors for the said expenses, shall be obliged to deliver in three months, from the publication of the present decree, to the secretariat of the district of their domicile, under receipt of the secretary, their memory and the documents and procedures. In three months the District Directory will give its opinion, and the Directory of the Department will stop the said expenses. Art. 3. During the first three months, the owners of the documents and procedures may retain them, but after that time, they will be required to remit them when they are required; otherwise they will be forced into it, even by body.

Topic 0: divisive responses from left and right

Example speech: Philippe-Antoine Merlin, 1791-06-18 (35884)

Les ennemis du bien public... (Rires à droite; applaudissements à gauche.) Je -demande qu'il soit fait mention dans le procès-verbal du mouvement qui vient de s'exciter de ce côté-ci (il désigne le côté droit) (Rires à droite; applaudissements à gauche.) Je demande pour l'honneur de l'Assemblée, qu'il en soit fait mention, afin que l'Assemblée ne soit pas réputée complice de cette infamie. (Applaudissements à gauche.) J'ai eu l'honneur de demander la parole pour reudre compte à l'Assemblée d'une nouvelle explosion que les ennemis du bien public viennent de faire dans la ville de Cambrai, et qui, fort heureusement, pour la chose publique, n'a tourné qu'à leur honte et à leur confusion. (Applaudissements à gauche.)

The enemies of the public good ... (Laughs on the right, applause on the left.) I ask that the record of the movement which has just been excited on this side (the

side Right) (Laughter on the right, applause on the left.) I ask for the honor of the Assembly that it should be mentioned, so that the Assembly will not be deemed to be complicit in this infamy. (Applause to the left.) I had the honor to ask for the floor to recount in the Assembly a new explosion which the enemies of the public good have just done in the city of Cambrai, and which, fortunately, for the public thing, turned only to their shame and confusion. (Applause to the left.)

Topic 83: discussion on the declaration of the rights of man

Example speech: Antoine Balthazar Joseph d'André, 1791-08-08 (40449)

Cet article est dans la Constitution elle-même. Notre Constitution étant fondée sur la déclaration des droits sera, je l'espère, aussi durable, aussi inébranlable qu'elle. D'après cela, les inquiétudes du préopinant ne peuvent pas être fondées. Quant à la réflexion de M. Roederer, elle ne souffre plus de difficultés, elle est adoptée. En ce qui concerne l'article 14, on peut changer un seul mot, quoique cependant, en lisant l'article attentivement, on voie bien que les représentants ayant le droit de constater la nécessité de la contribution publique, ce n'est pas d'y consentir dont il est question, mais c'est de la consentir. Or, y consentir après l'avoir constatée c'est évidemment la voter. Après cette explication, il est évident qu'il n'y a rien à changer. Je demande donc, Monsieur le Président, qu'il soit mis aux voix si la déclaration des droits restera telle qu'elle est, ou non. (L'Assemblée, consultée, décrète qu'il n'essaiera aucune modification à la déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen, sauf la rectification proposée par M. Roederer à l'article 17.) En conséquence, cette déclaration est mise aux voix dans les termes suivants : Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen "Les représentants du peuple français, constitués en Assemblée nationale, considérant que; l'ignorance, l'oubli ou le mépris des droits de l'homme sont les seules causes des malheurs publics et de la corruption des gouvernements, ont résolu d'exposer, dans une déclaration solennelle, les droits naturels, inaliénables et sacrés de l'homme ; afin que cette déclaration, constamment présente à tous les membres du corps social, leur rappelle sans cesse leurs droits et leurs devoirs; afin que les actes du pouvoir législatif et ceux du pouvoir exécutif, pouvant être à chaque instant comparés avec le but de toute institution politique, en soient plus respectés; afin que les réclamations des citoyens, fondées désormais sur des principes simples et incontestables, tournent toujours au maintien de la Constitution et au bonheur de tous. "En conséquence, l'Assemblée nationale reconnaît et déclare, en présence et sous les auspices de l'Etat suprême, les droits suivants de l'homme et du citoyen : "1 Les hommes naissent et demeurent libres et égaux en droits. Les distinctions sociales ne peuvent être fondées que sur l'utilité commune. "2 Le but de toute association politique est la conservation des droits naturels et imprescriptibles de l'homme. Ces droits sont la liberté, la propriété, la sûreté et la résistance à l'oppression. "3 Le principe de toute souveraineté réside essentiellement dans la nation. Nul corps, nul individu ne peut exercer d'autorité qui n'en émane expressément. "4 La liberté consiste à pouvoir faire tout ce qui ne nuit pas à

autrui; ainsi l'exercice des droits naturels de chaque homme n'a de bornes que celles qui assurent, aux autres membres de la société, la jouissance de ces mêmes droits. Ces bornes ne peuvent être déterminées que par la loi. "5 La loi n'a le droit de défendre que les actions nuisibles à la société. Tout ce qui n'est pas défendu par la loi ne peut être empêché, et nul ne peut être contraint à faire tout ce qu'elle n'ordonne pas. "6 La loi est l'expression de la volonté générale. Tous les citoyens ont droit de concourir personnellement, ou par leurs représentants, à sa formation. Elle doit être la même pour tous, soit qu'elle protège, soit qu'elle punisse. Tous les citoyens étant égaux à ses yeux, sont également admissibles à toutes dignités, places et emplois publics, selon leur capacité, et sans autre distinction que celles de leurs vertus et de leurs talents." 7 Nul homme ne peut être accusé, arrêté, ni détenu, que dans les cas déterminés par la loi et selon les formes qu'elle a prescrites. Ceux qui sollicitent, expédient, exécutent ou font exécuter des ordres arbitraires doivent être punis; mais tout citoyen appelé ou saisi en vertu de la loi doit obéir à l'instant: il se rend coupable par la résistance. "8 La loi ne doit établir que des peines strictement et évidemment nécessaires; et nul ne peut être puni qu'en vertu d'une loi établie et promulguée antérieurement au délit, et légalement appliquée. "9 Tout homme étant présumé innocent jusqu'à ce qu'il ait été déclaré coupable, s'il est jugé indispensable de l'arrêter, toute rigueur, qui ne serait pas nécessaire pour s'assurer de sa personne, doit être sévèrement réprimée par la loi. "10 Nul ne doit être inquiété pour ses opinions, même religieuses, pourvu que leur manifestation ne trouble pas l'ordre public établi par la loi. "11 La libre communication des pensées et des opinions est un des droits le plus précieux de l'homme : tout citoyen peut donc parler, écrire, et imprimer librement, sauf à répondre de l'abus de cette liberté, dans les cas déterminés par la loi. 12 La garantie des droits de l'homme et du citoyen nécessite une force publique: cette force est donc instituée pour l'avantage de tous, et non pour l'utilité particulière de ceux auxquels elle est confiée. "13 Pour l'entretien de la force publique, et pour les dépenses d'administration, une contribution commune est indispensable : elle doit être également répartie entre tous les citoyens, eu raison de leurs facultés. "14 Tous les citoyens ont le droit de constater, par eux-mêmes ou par leurs représentants, la nécessité de la contribution publique, de la consentir librement, d'en suivre l'emploi, et d'en déterminer la quotité, l'assiette, le recouvrement et la durée. "15 La société a le droit de demander compte à tout agent public de son administration. 16 Toute société dans laquelle la garantie des droits n'est pas assurée, ni la séparation des pouvoirs déterminée, n'a point de Constitution. 17 La propriété étant un droit inviolable et sacré, nul ne peut en être privé, si ce n'est lorsque la nécessité publique, légalement constatée, l'exige évidemment, et sous la condition d'une juste et préalable indemnité". (Cette déclaration est adoptée.)

This article is in the Constitution itself. Our Constitution being based on the Bill of Rights will, I hope, be as durable, as unshakable as it is. According to this, the preoccupying anxieties can not be founded. As for M. Roederer's reflection, she no longer suffers from difficulties; she is adopted. With regard

to Article 14, a single word can be changed, although, however, by reading the article carefully, it is clear that the representatives entitled to see the need for the public contribution are not to consent to it, but it is to consent to it. But to consent to it after having found it is obviously to vote. After this explanation, it is obvious that there is nothing to change. I therefore ask, Mr. President, that it be put to the vote if the bill of rights will remain as it is, or not. (The Assembly, consulted, declares that there will be no amendment to the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, except the rectification proposed by Mr. Roederer to Article 17.) Accordingly, this declaration is put to the vote in following terms: Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen "The representatives of the French people, constituted in the National Assembly, considering who; Ignorance, forgetfulness or contempt for human rights are the only causes of public misfortunes and the corruption of governments, have resolved to set forth, in a solemn declaration, the natural, inalienable and sacred rights of humanity. man; so that this declaration, constantly presented to all the members of the social body, constantly reminds them of their rights and duties; so that the acts of the legislative power and those of the executive power, which may at any moment be compared with the aim of any political institution, be more respected; so that the claims of the citizens, now based on simple and incontestable principles, always turn to the maintenance of the Constitution and the happiness of all. "Consequently, the National Assembly recognizes and declares, in the presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following rights of man and of the citizen:" 1. Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions can only be based on the common good. "2. The object of any political association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are freedom, property, safety and resistance to oppression. "3. The principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. No body, no individual can exercise authority which does not expressly emanate from it. "4. Freedom consists in being able to do all that does not harm others; thus the exercise of the natural rights of each man has limits only those which assure, to the other members of the society, the enjoyment of these same rights. These limits can only be determined by law. "5. The law has the right to defend only actions harmful to society. All that is not forbidden by law can not be prevented, and no one can be compelled to do everything that it does not order. "6. The law is the expression of the general will. All citizens have the right to compete personally, or through their representatives, in its formation. It must be the same for everyone, whether it protects or punishes. All citizens being equal in his eyes, are equally eligible for all dignities, places and public posts, according to their capacity, and without distinction other than those of their virtues and talents. 7. No man may be accused, arrested, or detained, except in the cases determined by law and according to the forms it has prescribed. Those who solicit, expedite, execute, or execute arbitrary orders must be punished; but every citizen called or seized by virtue of the law must obey the instant: he is guilty of violence by the resistance. "8. The law must establish only penalties strictly and obviously necessary; and no one may be punished except by virtue of a law established and promulgated before the crime, and legally enforced. "9.

Every man being presumed innocent until he has been found guilty, if it is deemed indispensable to arrest him, any rigor, which would not be necessary to secure his person, must be strictly repressed by law. "10. No one shall be troubled for his opinions, even religious, provided that their manifestation does not disturb the public order established by law. "11. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the most precious rights of man: every citizen can therefore speak, write, and print freely, except to answer for the abuse of this liberty, in certain cases. by the law. 12. The guarantee of the rights of man and of the citizen requires a public force: this force is thus instituted for the benefit of all, and not for the utility.

Topic 13: nationalization of church property

Example speech: Jean-Denis Lanjuinais, 1791-05-13 (32111)

Jean-Denis Lanjuinais, au nom du comité ecclésiastique, propose un projet de décret relatif à la circonscription des paroisses des villes de Clermont, Josselin, Quimperlé et Tulle. Ce projet de décret est ainsi conçu : "L'Assemblée nationale, où le rapport qui lui a été fait par son comité ecclésiastique : "1 De l'arrêté pris le 4 de ce mois par le directoire du département du Puy-de-Dôme, sur la délibération du directoire du district et du conseil général de la commune de Clermont, concernant la circonscription des paroisses de cette ville, et de l'avis de l'évêque de ce département; "2'De l'arrêté pris le 9 avril dernier par le directoire du département du Morbihan, sur les délibérations du directoire du district et de la municipalité de Josselin, concernant la circonscription des paroisses de Cette ville, et de l'avis donné le 9 mai par Gharlès Le Massé, évêque de ce département ; "3 De l'arrêté pris le 20 avril dernier par le directoire du département du Finistère, sur la délibération du directoire du district de Quirh-perlé, du 26 mars précédent, concernant la circonscription des paroisses de ce district, et de l'avis donné par l'évêque de ce département; "4 De l'arrêté du directoire du département de la Corrèze, du 27 avril dernier, sur la délibération du directoire du district de Tulle, du 10 mars précédent, concernant la circonscription des paroisses de cette ville, et de l'avis donné le Xavril par Jean-Joseph Brival, évêque de ce département, décrète : Art. 1 er . Département du Puy-de-Dôme, ville de Clermont. "Il y aura pour la ville de Clermont 5 paroisses, savoir : la paroisse cathédrale et celles du Port, de Saint-Genest, de Saiut-Allyre et de Saint-Robert. Elles seront circonscrites ainsi qu'il est expliqué par l'arrêté susdit du directoire du département du Puy-de-Dôme. Les autres paroisses de la ville de Clermont sont supprimées. Art. 2. Département du Morbihan, ville de Josselin. "Les 4 paroisses de la ville de Josselin sont réduites à une seule, qui sera desservie sous le nom et dans l'église de Notre-Dame-du-Ronxier, et comprendra tout l'ancien territoire de ces 4 paroisses. Art. 3. Département du Finistère, district de Quimperlé. "Il y aura, pour la ville de Quimperlé et les campagnes circonvoisines, 2 paroisses, celle de Saint-Colomban et celle de Saint-Michel; elles seront circonscrites ainsi qu'il est expliqué dans l'arrêté susdit du directoire du département du Finistère. Art. 4. "Les églises de Redené et de Tremeven sont conservées comme succursales de la paroisse de Saint-Colomban;

et celles de Bellac et de Baye le seront aussi comme succursales de la paroisse de Saint-Michel; lesdites succursales conserveront chacune son ancien territoires Art. 5. "Les autres paroisses du district de Quimperlé seront réduites aux douze suivantes, savoir: les paroisses de Clohar, de Moëlan, de Riec, de Nizon, de Meiven, de Nevez, de Saint-Thurien, de Bannalec, de Kerncvel, de Scaer, de Guerrien et d'Arzanno; lesdites églises seront circonscrites, ainsi qu'il est expliqué en l'arrêté susdaté du directoire du département.. Art. 6. "Les-églises de Pont-Aven et de Guiligomar seront conservées comme succursales r la première, de Nizon, la seconde, d'Arzanno; elles conserveront chacune son ancien territoire. Art. 7. Département de la Corrèze, ville de Tulle. "La paroisse cathédrale, qui sera desservie dans l'église de Saint-Martin, sera la seule paroisse pour la ville de Tulle et pour sa banlieue. Art. 8. "L'église des Pénitents-Blancs, celle de la Visitation et la chapelle d'Alverge seront conservées comme oratoires de ladite paroisse ; l'évêque de Tulle enverra, les dimanches et fêtes, un de ses vicaires célébrer la messe dans chacun de ces oratoires, et y faire les instructions spirituelles, sans pouvoir y exercer les fonctions curiales." (Ce décret est adopté.)

Jean-Denis Lanjuinais, on behalf of the ecclesiastical committee, proposes a draft decree relating to the conscription of the parishes of the cities of Clermont, Josselin, Quimperlé and Tulle. This draft decree is thus conceived: "The National Assembly, or the report which was made to it by its ecclesiastical committee:" 1 Of the decree taken on the 4th of this month by the directory of the department of Puy-de-Calais Dome on the; Deliberation of the Directory of the District and the General Council of the Commune of Clermont, concerning the district of the parishes of this city, and the opinion of the bishop of that department; "2 'Of the decree taken on April 9 by the directory of the department of Morbihan, on the deliberations of the directory of the district and the municipality of Josselin, concerning the constituency of the parishes of this city, and the opinion given May 9th by Gharles Massé, bishop of this department; "3. The decree taken on April 20th by the directory of the Department of Finistere, on the deliberation of the directory of the district of Quirh-pearl, of the 26th of March preceding, concerning the district of the parishes of this district, and of the notice given by the bishop of this department; 4 Of the decree of the directory of the department of Corrèze, of April 27, on the deliberation of the directory of the district of Tulle, of March 10 preceding, concerning the constituency of the parishes of this city, and the opinion given the Xavril by Jean-Joseph Brival, bishop of this department, decrees: Art. 1 st. Department of Puy-de-Dôme, city of Clermont. "There will be for the city of Clermont 5 parishes, namely: the cathedral parish and those of the Port, Saint-Genest, Saiut-Allyre and Saint-Robert. They will be circumscribed as explained by the abovementioned order of the directory of the department of Puy-de-Dôme. The other parishes in the city of Clermont are deleted. Art. 2. Department of Morbihan, town of Josselin. "The four parishes of the town of Josselin are reduced to one, which will be served under the name and in the church of Notre-Dame-du-Ronxier, and will include all the former

territory of these 4 parishes. Art. 3. Department of Finistère, Quimperlé district. "There will be, for the city of Quimperlé and the surrounding countryside, two parishes, that of Saint-Colomban and that of Saint-Michel; they will be circumscribed as explained in the aforementioned order of the directory of the department of Finistere. Art. 4. "The churches of Redené and Tremeven are preserved as branches of the parish of Saint-Colomban; and those of Bellac and Baye will be also as branches of the parish of Saint-Michel; the said branches will each retain its former territories Art. 5. "The other parishes of the district of Quimparlé shall be reduced to the following twelve, namely: the parishes of Clohar, Moelan, Riec, Nizon, Meiven, Nevez, Saint-Thurien, Bannalec, Kernvel, of Scaer, Guerrien and Arzanno; the said churches will be circumscribed, as is explained in the above-mentioned order of the directory of the department .. Art. 6. "The churches of Pont Aven and Guiligomar will be kept as branches, the first of Nizon, the second of Arzanno; they will each keep its old territory. Art. 7. Department of Corrèze, city of Tulle. "The cathedral parish, which will be served in the church of St. Martin, will be the only parish for the city of Tulle and its suburbs. Art. 8. "The White Penitents Church, the Visitation Church and the Alverge Chapel will be kept as oratories of the parish; on Sundays and feasts, the bishop of Tulle will send one of his vicars to celebrate mass in each of these oratories, and to make spiritual instructions there, without being able to exercise the ceremonial functions there. (This decree is adopted.)

Topic 86: editing of decrees

Example speech: Claude Pierre Delay d'Agier, 1790-10-16 (18819)

Claude Pierre Delay d'Agier propose une rédaction différente qui donne lieu à des discussions contraires pour la soutenir et la combattre. Alors s'élève la question de savoir laquelle de ces deux rédactions aura la priorité. Une partie des membres de l'Assemblée la demande pour la rédaction du comité, l'autre la demande pour la rédaction proposée par le membre de l'Assemblée. Cette question de priorité est mise aux voix; elle est décidée en faveur de la seconde rédaction, et l'Assemblée nationale, en l'adoptant par son décret, la place de manière qu'elle devient l'article 9 du décret par la division du septième article. L'article 8 est soumis à la discussion. On propose d'abord de ne faire qu'un seul article de celui-ci et du neuvième.

Claude Pierre Delay d'Agier proposes a different writing that gives rise to contrary discussions to support and fight it. Then comes the question of which of these two essays will have priority. Some of the members of the Assembly request it for the drafting of the committee, the other requests it for the wording proposed by the member of the Assembly. This question of priority is put to vote; it is decided in favor of the second drafting, and the National Assembly, by adopting it by its decree, places it in such a way that it becomes article 9 of the decree by the division of the seventh article. Article 8 is submitted for discussion. It is proposed first to make only one article of it and the ninth.

Topic 54: organization of the military

Example speech: Alexandre Lameth, 1790-09-21 (17825)

Alexandre Lameth lit les treize articles compris au titre du remplacement des officiers réformés par la nouvelle organisation ; ils sont mis aux voix et décrétés ainsi qu'il suit : remplacement des officiers réformés par la nouvelle organisation TITRE I . "Les officiers réformés par la nouvelle organisation seront remplacés suivant les. règles établies ci-après. "Art. 1 . Les sous-lieutenants en activité, réformés par la nouvelle organisation, seront remplacés dans leurs régiments, aux premières places vacantes de leur grade, sans concurrence avec les officiers de ce grade qui n'y auraient pas été employés en activité. "Art. 2. Les porte-drapeaux, porle-étendards et porte-guidons., réformés par la nouvelle organisation, seront remplacés dans le grade de sous-lieutenant, parmi lesquels ils prendront rang de la date de leur brevet, ou lettres de porte-drapeaux, porte-étendards et porte-guidons, conformément à ce qui va être prescrit. "Art. 3. Les porte-drap eaux, porte-étendard s porte-guidons prendront rang parmi les sous-lieutenants, de la date de leur brevet ou lettres de porte-drapeaux, pôrte-étendards et porte-guidons, et d'après cette disposition ils suivront leur avancement au grade de lieutenant; il en sera de même des sous-lieutenants, ci-devant dits de fortune. "Art. 4. Les porte-drapeaux, porte-éstandards, porte-guidons et sous-lieutenants, ci-devant dits de fortune, promus au grade de lieutenant, prendront rang parmi les lieutenants, suivant celui qu'ils devraient occuper s'ils avaient été promus à ce grade à leur tour .de sous-lieu tenant, et d'après cette disposition, ils suivront leur avancement au grade de capitaine, dans lequel ils prendront rang de la date de leur brevet de ce grade. "Art. 5. Les ci-devant cadets gentilshommes et les sous-lieutenants de remplacement seront remplacés dans leur arme et sur toute l'arme, aux premières places vacantes de sous-lieutenants, eans nuire néanmoins au droit accordé aux sous-officiers, d'obtenir une place sur quatre, immédiatement après le remplacement des sous-lieutenants en activité, réformés par la nouvelle organisation. "Art. 6. Les ci-devant cadets gentilshommes ayant eu le brevet d'officier comme sous lieutenant de remplacement, et les sous-lieutenants de remplacement prendront rang parmi les sous-lieutenants, en rentrant en activité de l.a date de leur brevet de sous-lieutenant. "Art. !.. Les lieutenants en activité, réformés ou remis en activité comme sous-lieutenants, par la nouvelle organisation, seront remplacés aux premières places vacantes de leur grade dans leur régiment, sans concurrence avec les officiers qui a uraient droit, rar leur ancienneté, à leur avancement dans ce grade, mais qui n'y auraient pas été employés en activité.

...

Alexandre Lameth reads the thirteen articles included in the title of the replacement of the reformed officers by the new organization; they are put to the vote and decreed as follows: replacement of the reformed officers by the new organization TITLE I. "The officers reformed by the new organization will be replaced according to the. rules set out below. "Art. 1. The second lieutenants in

active employment, reformed by the new organization, will be replaced in their regiments, in the first vacant places of their rank, without competition with the officers of this rank who would not have been employed there. "Art. 2. Flag bearers, standard bearers and handlebar holders, reformed by the new organization, shall be replaced in the rank of sub-lieutenant, from whom they shall rank from the date of their patent, or letters of flagship. , standard-bearers and handlebars, according to what will be prescribed. "Art. 3. The drapery carriers, standard bearers and handlebars, shall rank among the second lieutenants of the date of their patent or letters of standard-bearers, standard-bearers and handlebars, and according to this provision they will follow their advancement to the rank of lieutenant; the same will be the case with second lieutenants, who are said to have made a fortune. "Art. 4. Flag bearers, elendard holders, handlebars and second lieutenants, formerly known as fortune men, promoted to the rank of lieutenant, shall rank among the lieutenants, whichever they should occupy if they had been promoted to that rank, in their turn, and in accordance with this provision, they shall follow their advancement to the rank of captain, in which they shall rank on the date of their certificate of that rank. "Art. 5. The above-mentioned junior gentlemen and alternate substitutes shall be replaced in their weapon and on all the weapon, in the first vacant places of sub-lieutenants, in spite of the right granted to the non-commissioned officers, to obtain one place in four, immediately after the replacement of the second lieutenants in activity, reformed by the new organization. "Art. 6. The above-mentioned junior gentlemen who have been granted the certificate to become a second lieutenant, and the replacement sub-lieutenants shall take rank among the second lieutenants, on the date of their second lieutenant's certificate. . "Art. The lieutenants in active employment, reformed or reinstated as sub-lieutenants by the new organization, shall be replaced at the first vacant places of their rank in their regiment, without competition with the officers who were entitled, their seniority, to their advancement in this grade, but who would not have been employed there.

...

Topic 80: legislation on the relationship between King and assembly

Example speech: Joseph Ignace Guillotin, 1789-09-21 (1642)

Je propose une rédaction nouvelle de la question. 1 Tout acte émané du Corps législatif constitué, attquel le Roi aura refusé son consentement, ne pourra lui être présenté de nouveau pendant la durée de la même législature. 2 Tout acte émané du Corps législatif constitué, auquel le Roi aura déjà une fois refusé son consentement, pourra lui être présenté de nouveau et sans aucun changement pendant la durée de la législature suivante, et le Roi pourra refuser une seconde fois son consentement, 3 Tout acte émané du Corps législatif constitué pourra être présenté une troisième fois sans aucune espèce de changement, pendant la durée de la troisième législature; alors le Roi ne pourra refuser son corisentement, et l'acte passera en loi.

I propose a new wording of the question. 1. Any act emanating from the constituted Legislative Body, in which the King has refused his consent, may not be presented to him again during the term of the same legislature. 2. Any act emanating from the constituted Legislative Body, to which the King has already once refused his consent, may be presented to him again and without any change during the term of the following legislature, and the King may refuse his consent a second time. 3. Any act emanating from the constituted Legislative Body may be presented a third time without any kind of change, during the period of the Third Legislature; then the King can not refuse his corisentement, and the act will become law.

Topic 97: court of cassation

Example speech: Isaac René Le Chapelier, 1791-04-27 (30648). (Court of cassation: highest court of appeal, responsible for interpreting law and identifying miscarriages of justice.)

Vous avez décrété que la cassation ne pourrait avoir lieu que dans le cas de violation des formes ou des principes constitutionnels ; or, les formalités sont bannies du tribunal de paix, et le juge de paix ne pourra pas, dans ses fonctions très circonscrites, heurter les principes constitutionnels. Il ne doit donc pas y avoir lieu à la cassation pour les jugements du tribunal de paix; ce serait donner au plaideur la tentation de se ruiner pour un procès de 50 livres. (L'Assemblée décrète qu'il n'y aura pas lieu en cassation contre les jugements des juges de paix.) Qdestioh : Les demandes en renvoi du tribunal de district à un autre y pour cause de suspicion légitime, seront-elles de la compétence de la cour de cassation ? (L'Assemblée décrète l'affirmative satis discussion.) Question : Les demandes en prise à partie seront-elles de la compétence de la cour de cassation ?

You have decreed that the cassation could only take place in the case of violation of constitutional forms or principles; however, the formalities are banned from the tribunal of peace, and the justice of the peace will not be able, in its very circumscribed functions, to run up against the constitutional principles. Therefore, there must be no cassation for the judgments of the court of the peace; it would give the litigant the temptation to ruin himself for a 50-pound trial. (The Assembly decrees that there will be no cassation against the judgments of the justices of the peace.) Qdestioh: The requests for dismissal from the district court to another cause for suspicion legitimate, will they be the jurisdiction of the court of cassation? (The Assembly decrees the affirmative satis discussion.) Question: Will the requests in question be in the competence of the Court of Cassation?

Topic 97: requests for adjournment and pauses in discussion

Example speech: Stanislas Marie Adelaide de Clermont-Tonnerre, 1789-11-12 (3029)

Je retire ma motion et j'adopte celle de M. le comte de Grillon. On demande la mise aux voix de la motion de M. filin. Un membre fait remarquer que cette motion n'est qu'une sorte d'ajournement ; elle est rejetée. La motion de M. le comte de Grillon est ensuite adoptée et le décret suivant est rendu : "Après avoir entendu la lecture de la lettre du Roi relativement à la Chambre des vacations du parlement de Rouen, l'Assemblée nationale, empressée de donner à Sa Majesté un nouveau témoignage de son dévouement, a décrété que le vœu qui lui était annoncé par Sa Majesté devenait celui de l'Assemblée nationale, et que le président se retirerait devers le Roi, pour lui porter le présent décret.

I withdraw my motion and I adopt that of Count de Grillon. The question is put on the motion of Mr. Filin. One member pointed out that this motion is only a kind of adjournment; it is rejected. The motion of the Comte de Grillon was then adopted, and the following decree was issued: "After hearing the reading of the King's letter concerning the House of Representatives of the Rouen Parliament, the National Assembly, anxious to give to His Majesty, a new proof of his devotion, decreed that the vow which was announced to him by His Majesty should become that of the National Assembly, and that the President should retire to the King, to bring him the present decree.

Topic 84: pensions

Example speech: Emmanuel-Marie-Michel-Philippe Fréteau de Saint Just, 1790-07-26 (14678)

Emmanuel-Marie-Michel-Philippe Fréteau de Saint Just présente une nouvelle rédaction de l'article : elle obtient la priorité et est décrétée ainsi qu'il suit : Art. 5 "Les veuves et enfants qui ont obtenu des pensions, en conformité des ordonnances et règlements faits pour les départements, dans lesquels leurs maris ou leurs pères étaient attachés à un service public, et notamment les veuves et enfants d'officiers tués au service de l'Etat, jouiront de nouvelles pensions, rétablies en leur faveur, et pour la même somme à laquelle elles étaient portées, sous la condition néanmoins que les pensions desdites veuves et celles de tous leurs enfants réunies, n'excéderont pas la somme de 3,000 livres, qui sera le maximum des-dites pensions : les veuves des maréchaux de France, qui avaient obtenu des pensions, jouiront d'une pension de 6,000 livres, qui sera rétablie en leur faveur

Emmanuel-Marie-Michel-Philippe Fréteau de Saint Just presents a new wording of the article: it obtains priority and is decreed as follows: Art. 5 "Widows and children who obtained pensions, in accordance with the ordinances and regulations made for the departments, in which their husbands or fathers were attached to a public service, and in particular the widows and children of officers killed in the service of the State shall enjoy new pensions, reinstated in their favor, and for the same sum to which they were brought, provided, however, that the pensions of the said widows and those of all their children combined shall

not exceed the sum of 3,000 which will be the maximum of the said pensions: the widows of the marshals of France, who had obtained pensions, will enjoy a pension of 6,000 livres, which will be restored in their favor.

Topic 69: treasury

Example speech: Emmanuel-Marie-Michel-Philippe Fréteau de Saint Just, 1790-07-26 (14678)

Emmanuel-Marie-Michel-Philippe Fréteau de Saint Just rapporteur, soumet à la délibération les deux derniers articles du projet, dans les termes suivants : Art. 16 (art. 17 du projet). "Les sujets qui se trouveraient privés de leur emploi par l'effet des suppressions relatives à la présente organisation de la trésorerie nationale, obtiendront toute préférence pour leur rétablissement, soit dans les places de nouvelle création, soit dans toutes celles qui pourront devenir vacantes; et, en attendant, ils auront droit au traitement fixé par les décrets de l'Assemblée nationale en faveur des fonctionnaires publics. Si, après que tous les remplacements de sujets capables auront été opérés, il se trouve, dans l'espace de 3 années, des places disponibles, les sujets supprimés dans les autres parties de finance et d'administration entreront en concurrence pour les remplir, suivant leur mérite et leur ancienneté. Le bureau de comptabilité en parties doubles sera le seul excepté de cette règle, relativement aux connaissances particulières qu'il exige de ceux qui y seront attachés." (Adopté.) Art. 17 (art. 18 du projet). "Les quittances de toutes les parties prenantes, qui sont dans le cas de recevoir de différents payeurs du Trésor public, seront en papier timbré; mais les journaux, registres, livres servant aux comptes, à l'ordre et à la manutention de la trésorerie nationale, ainsi que les récépissés, reconnaissances, quittances, mandats, prescriptions de service et autres pièces servant à la comptabilité, ne seront point assujettis à la formalité du timbre." (Adopté.) Annexes au décret sur Vorganisation de la trésorerie nationale (1). Bureaux qui formeront la consistance habituelle et permanente de la trésorerie nationale, à compter du 1er octobre 1791, non compris les bureaux de comptabilité définitive. section de la recette. Bureaux chargés de suivre la rentrée et le versement au Trésor public, de toutes les contributions directes et indirectes.

Emmanuel-Marie-Michel-Philippe Fréteau de Saint Just rapporteur, submits to deliberation the last two articles of the draft, in the following terms: Art. 16 (article 17 of the draft). "The subjects who would be deprived of their employment by the effects of the deletions relative to the present organization of the national treasury, will obtain any preference for their restoration, either in places of new creation, or in all those which may become vacant; and, meanwhile, they will be entitled to the salary fixed by the decrees of the National Assembly for public officials. If, after all the replacements of capable subjects have been made, within the space of 3 years, there will be places available, the subjects deleted in the other parts of finance and administration will compete to fill them, according to their merit and seniority. The accounting office in double parts will be the only exception to this rule, as regards the special knowledge it requires of those who

will be attached to it. (Adopted.) Art. 17 (article 18 of the draft). "The receipts of all stakeholders, who are in the case of receiving different payers from the public purse, will be stamped paper; but the newspapers, registers, books used for the accounts, the order and the handling of the national treasury, as well as the receipts, receipts, receipts, money orders, service rescripts and other documents used for the accounting, will not be subject to the formality of the stamp. (Adopted.) Annexes to the Decree on the organization of the national treasury (1). Offices which will form the habitual and permanent consistency of the national treasury, as from October 1st, 1791, excluding the definitive accounting offices. section of the recipe. Offices responsible for monitoring the return and the payment to the Public Treasury of all direct and indirect contributions.

Topic 29: finance and loans

Example speech: Antoine-François Delandine, 1790-05-30 (11207)

Député de Montbrison, appuie les conclusions du rapporteur et l'Assemblée décrète : "Vu l'adresse portant délibération de la municipalité et conseil général de la ville de Montbrison, où le rapport du comité des finances, l'Assemblée nationale autorise les officiers municipaux de ladite ville à imposer la somme de 8,000 livres en 4 ans, sur tous les habitants de la commune qui payent 3 livres et au-dessus, de capitation ; les autorise, en outre, à se procurer par la voie d'emprunt le montant de ladite somme, jusqu'au recouvrement à faire, pour être employée en achat de grains destinés à l'approvisionnement de la ville et au soulagement des pauvres, sous l'obligation de rendre compte.

Member for Montbrison, seconded the conclusions of the rapporteur and the Assembly decreed: "In view of the address for deliberation of the municipality and the general council of the town of Montbrison, where the report of the Finance Committee, the National Assembly authorizes the officers Municipalities of the said city to impose the sum of 8,000 livres in four years, on all the inhabitants of the commune who pay 3 livres and above, of capitation; authorizes them, moreover, to obtain by loan the amount of the said sum, until the recovery to be made, to be used for the purchase of grain intended for the supply of the city and the relief of the poor, under accountability.

9 Speaker-Level Topic Distributions

High novelty, high resonance

Maximilien Robespierre

Dominant topics: 94 (logical disagreement); 21 (threats to the nation from appointed officials); 83 (discussion on the declaration of the rights of man)

Jérôme Pétion de Villeneuve

Dominant topics: 94 (logical disagreement); 0 (divisive responses from left and right); 30 (timing and ordering of events)

Jean-Denis Lanjuinais

Dominant topics: 13 (nationalization of church property); 86 (editing of decrees); 22 (structure of articles)

Alexandre Lameth

Dominant topics: 54 (organization of the military); 30 (timing and ordering of events); 55 (literal depictions of conflict and violence within the chamber)

High novelty, low resonance**Armand-Gaston Camus**

Dominant topics: 84 (pensions), 69 (treasury), 32 (presentation of decrees by committees)

Jacques Guillaume Thouret

Dominant topics: 59 (collaborative adoption of articles); 80 (legislation on the relationship between King and assembly); 97 (court of cassation)

Théodore Vernier

Dominant topics: 32 (presentation of decrees by committees), 29 (finance and loans), 22 (structure of articles)

Low novelty, high resonance**Jacques Antoine Marie de Cazalès**

Dominant topics: 55 (literal depictions of conflict and violence within the chamber); 77 (quarrels about who gets to speak); 9 (divisive responses from left and right)

Jean-Sifrein Maury

Dominant topics: 55 (literal depictions of conflict and violence within the chamber); 0 (divisive responses from left and right); 94 (logical disagreement between members)

Guillaume François Charles Goupil-Préfeline

Dominant topics: 34 (procedural quarrels over the adoption of articles); 86 (editing of decrees); 76 (requests for adjournment and pauses in discussion)

Jean-François Reubell

Dominant topics: 79 (goals of the assembly); 34 (procedural quarrels over the adoption of articles); 0 (divisive responses from left and right)

Honoré Gabriel Riqueti Mirabeau

Dominant topics: 94 (logical disagreement); 55 (literal depictions of conflict and violence within the chamber); 92 (defensive presentation of particular facts)

Low novelty, low resonance**Antoine Balthazar Joseph d'André**

Dominant topics: 79 (goals of the assembly); 38 (disagreement over adoption of articles); 90 (technical management of committees)

10 Close Reading Analysis: The War Powers Speech of May 1790

Sections 8 and 9 above provide an introduction to the relationship between topics in the LDA sense, and the rhetorical, conceptual, and technical moves visible to a historian or political scientist engaged in quantitative analysis.

To further drive intuition on how linguistic and semantic shifts are captured by our analytic methods, we consider two consecutive speeches from 15 May 1790, where, in the face of imminent threat from neighbouring powers, delegates debated where power lay to declare war. For each speech, we look at the LDA topics whose probabilities meet or exceed five percent for that particular speech. Translations from Google are provided for reference.

Speaker: M Duquesnoy

Messieurs, à la lecture qui vous a été faite hier de la lettre du ministre et surtout à cette mention insidieuse de la reconnaissance que la France doit à l'Espagne, j'ai bien soupçonné que les ministres voulaient tendre un piège à l'Assemblée nationale. Au moment actuel, ces soupçons acquièrent un nouveau degré de vraisemblance : rappelez-vous combien vous avez été choqués d'une expression de la dernière lettre-de M. de Saint-Priest. Le roi sera douloureusement affecté, si vous n'approuvez pas les mesures qu'il a prises. Aujourd'hui, en cherchant à vous réduire à opiner par oui ou par non sur la lettre de M. de Montmorin, en vous demandant si vous voulez ou non fournir les fonds nécessaires pour subvenir à un armement commandé par notre reconnaissance

envers l'Espagne, on sert merveilleusement bien les projets des ministres qui ont voulu jeter dans cette Assemblée un grand sujet de discorde parce qu'ils ne sont forts que quand nous sommes désunis. On ne cessera donc pas de donner aux ministres l'initiative ; l'inutilité des efforts, si souvent réitérés, dégoûtera sans doute ceux qui les renouvellement sans cesse; aussi je pense que ce n'est pas seulement sur la lettre du ministre qu'il faut délibérer, mais sur toutes les questions, sur les importantes questions auxquelles elle peut donner lieu ; et mon avis est que l'on suive, pour la parole, l'ordre de la liste qui est entre les mains de M. le président, et qu'on laisse à chaque orateur la faculté de proposer les opinions qui lui paraîtront les plus convenables; mais dire, comme M. l'abbé Maury, que ce n'est qu'une question d'argent, c'est une proposition qui doit révolter quiconque a l'honneur de porter le nom de Français.

Gentlemen, as you read yesterday from the Minister's letter and especially to this insidious mention of the recognition France owes to Spain, I suspected that the Ministers wanted to set a trap for the National Assembly. At the present moment, these suspicions acquire a new degree of likelihood: remember how shocked you were at the expression of M. de Saint-Priest's last letter. The king will be painfully affected if you do not approve of the measures he has taken. Today, by trying to reduce your opinion to yes or no on the letter from Mr. de Montmorin, asking you whether or not you want to provide the necessary funds to support an armament commanded by our gratitude to Spain, the projects of the ministers who have wished to throw a great deal of discord into this Assembly, because they are only strong when we are disunited, are marvelously well served. We will not stop giving ministers the initiative; the uselessness of the efforts, so often reiterated, will undoubtedly disgust those who renew them unceasingly; I think that it is not only on the letter of the minister that we must deliberate, but on all the questions, on the important questions to which it may give rise; and my opinion is that we follow, for the word, the order of the list which is in the hands of the President, and that we leave to each speaker the faculty of proposing the opinions which will appear to him the most suitable; but to say, like Father Maury, that it is only a question of money, it is a proposition which must revolt anyone who has the honor of bearing the name of Frenchman.

LDA topics: Topic 17 (powers and abilities of the state to conduct war); Topic 53 (presentation and discussion of decrees); Topic 74 (the reading of letters); Topic 61: expressions of patriotism; Topic 21: (crimes against the country and Assembly)

Speaker: M Alexandre de Lameth

J'ai demandé la parole pour chercher à établir la question. Personne ne blâmera certainement les mesures prises par le roi; nous pouvons délibérer maintenant, puisque les ordres sont donnés ; mais cette question incidente amène une question de principes. Il faut savoir si l'Assemblée est compétente, et si la nation souveraine doit déléguer au roi le droit de faire la paix ou la guerre : voilà la question... (L'orateur est interrompu par une longue agitation.) ; Il est

infiniment simple de traiter cette question avant la question ue circonstances, ou bien vous la préjugeriez : le ministre vous l'annonce assez dans sa lettre. Je crois que si vous vous borniez à accorder les subsides demandés, on pourrait entraîner la nation au delà des bornes 3ue notre prudence doit prescrire. Il faut, avant e prendre un parti, connaître toutes les circonstances, il faut savoir ce qui a précédé. La nation ne doit-elle pas être inquiète, quand le ministère a laissé près la cour dont les affaires nous occupent actuellement, cet homme, ce ministre appelé au conseil du roi, lorsqu'on a entouré l'Assemblée nationale de baïonnettes !.. Il est impossible qu'il y ait des raisons pour déclarer une guerre ; il est possible qu'il existe des arrangements entre différentes cours, car c'est ici la cause des rois contre les peuples. L'Assemblée nationale doit savoir pourquoi cet armement; elle doit examiner si elle peut déléguer le droit de faire la paix et la guerre. Cette question ne peut faire aucun doute dans cette Assemblée : le droit de faire verser le sang, d'entraîner des milliers de citoyens loin de leurs foyers, d'exposer les propriétés nationales ; ce terrible droit, pouvons-nous le déléguer? Je demande donc que nous discutions d'abord cette question constitutionnelle. On ne nous dira pas que nous délibérons quand il faut agir, puisque le roi a ordonné l'armement. (Cette proposition est très applaudie.)

I asked for the floor to try to establish the question. No one will certainly blame the measures taken by the king; we can deliberate now, since orders are given; but this incidental question brings a question of principle. It is necessary to know if the Assembly is competent, and if the sovereign nation must delegate to the king the right to make peace or war: that is the question ... (The speaker is interrupted by a long agitation.) It is infinitely easy to deal with this question before the question of circumstances, or you would prejudge it: the Minister tells you so in his letter. I believe that if you confined yourself to granting the subsidies requested, we could drag the nation beyond the limits which our prudence must prescribe. It is necessary, before making a decision, to know all the circumstances; one must know what has preceded. Should not the nation be anxious, when the ministry has left near the court whose business we now occupy, this man, this minister called to the king's council, when the National Assembly was surrounded by bayonets! It is impossible that there are reasons to declare a war; it is possible that there are arrangements between different courts, for this is the cause of kings against the people. The National Assembly must know why this armament; it must consider whether it can delegate the right to make peace and war. This question can not be doubted in this House: the right to shed blood, to drive thousands of citizens away from their homes, to expose national property; this terrible right, can we delegate it? I therefore ask that we first discuss this constitutional question. We will not be told that we deliberate when we must act, since the king ordered the arming. (This proposal is very applauded.)

LDA topics: Topic 17 (powers and abilities of the state to conduct war); Topic 30 (timing and ordering of events); Topic 91 (power of the King); Topic 94 (logical disagreement between members); Topic 21 (crimes against the country

and Assembly); Topic 79 (goals of the Assembly); Topic 4 (concern over traitors and other internal threats to the nation)

Interpretation

Between 15 and 22 May 1790, the Assembly debated its power to declare war. The debate begins with the foreign minister Montmorin trying to “stack the deck” by arranging in advance to have 20 deputies speak in favor of his proposal (read on May 14) to build new warships in reaction to Spanish maneuvers. It accelerates from being a budget request to being about principle, a shift led by Alexandre de Lameth. The two example speeches by Duquesnoy and Lameth occur near the beginning of this debate.

In the first example speech, Duquesnoy expresses suspicion of the Minister Montmorin’s letter. He suggests that the Minister is using the divisive nature of war to sow disagreement, and hence weaken, the Assembly. He then urges the Assembly to expand its deliberations beyond financial matters in order to address all questions that may arise from the possibility of war. He suggests a procedural order for this deliberation, and he ends his speech with an appeal to patriotism – “l’honneur de porter le nom de Français.” The LDA topics–powers to conduct war, decrees, letters, patriotism, and threats against the country and Assembly—reflect this content.

Lameth’s speech follows Duquesnoy’s, and he immediately asks to establish the question: must the sovereign nation delegate to the king the right to make peace or war? He states the terrible nature of war—bloodshed, displacement of the nation’s citizens, and vulnerability of the nation’s property. Like Duquesnoy, he discusses the Minister Montmorin’s divisive actions, seen as threats against the Assembly. LDA topics about the power of the state to conduct war and crimes against the country and Assembly persist from Duquesnoy’s speech to Lameth’s. However, new LDA topics—power of the King, and goals of the Assembly, for example—arise in Lameth’s speech, reflecting the shifts in semantic subjects and conversation themes from Duquesnoy to Lameth.

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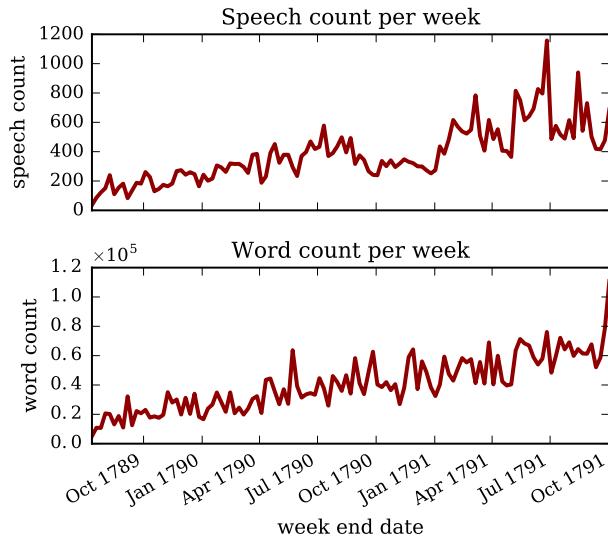


Figure 1: Corpus speech and vocabulary word counts per calendar week. The week of the highest spike in speech count contains the “Flight to Varennes”, when the King and his family attempted to flee France before being caught two days later.

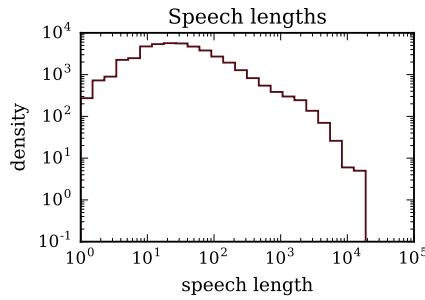


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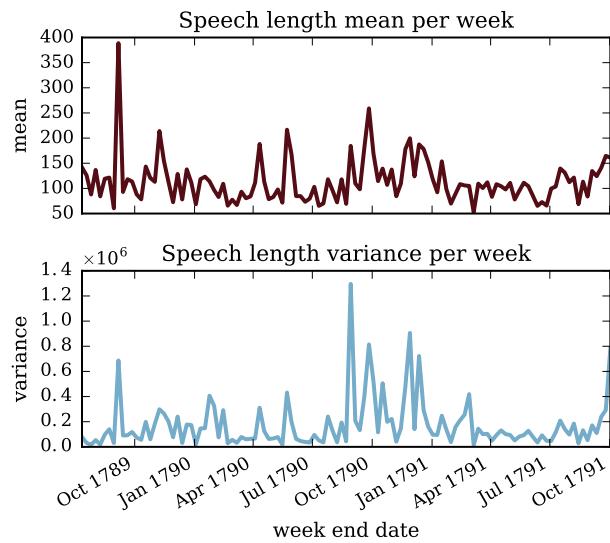


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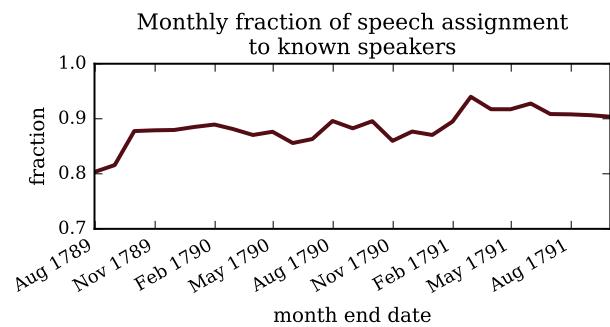


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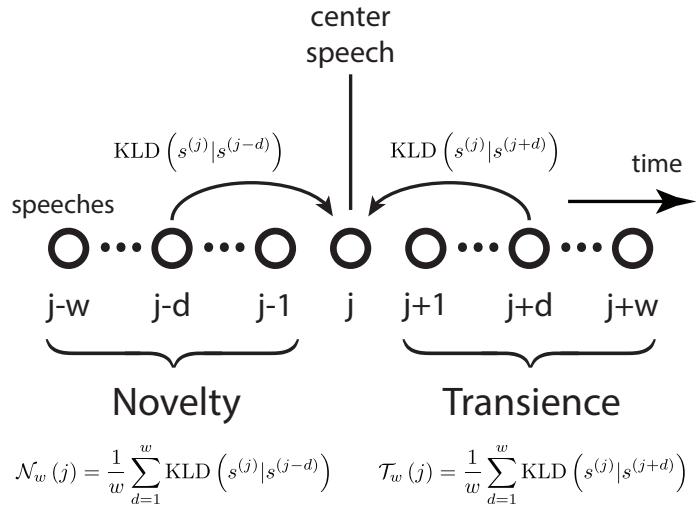


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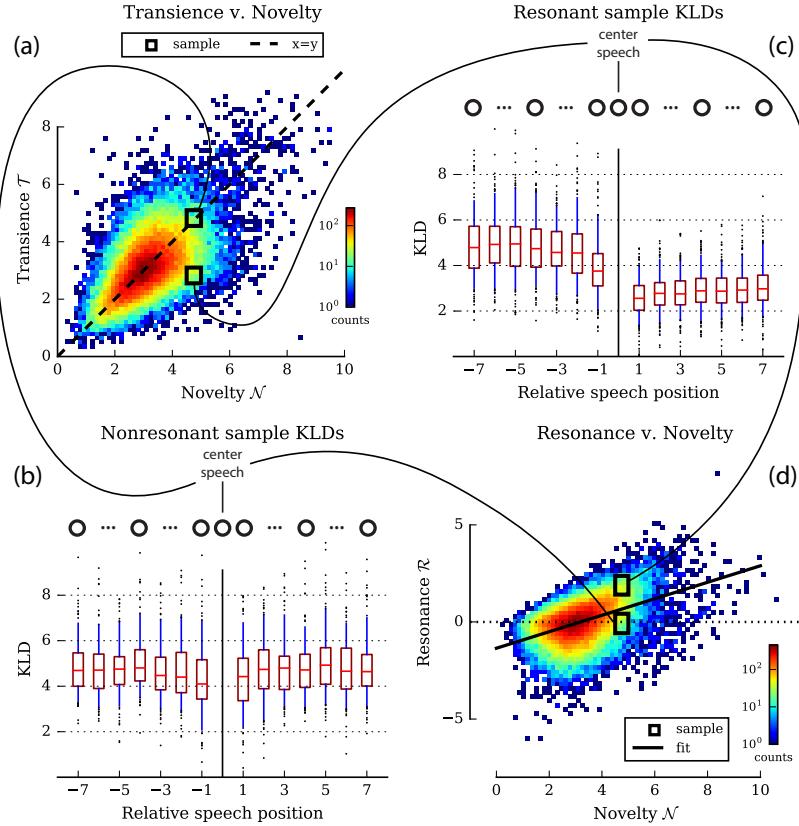


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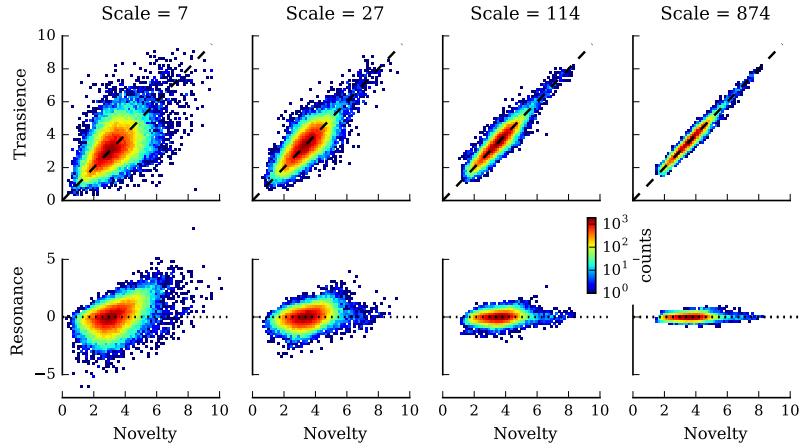


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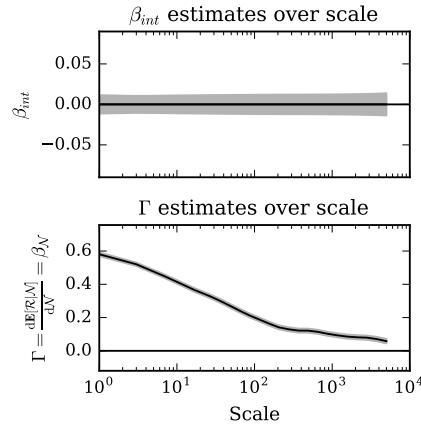


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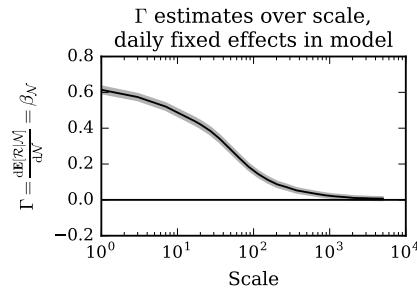


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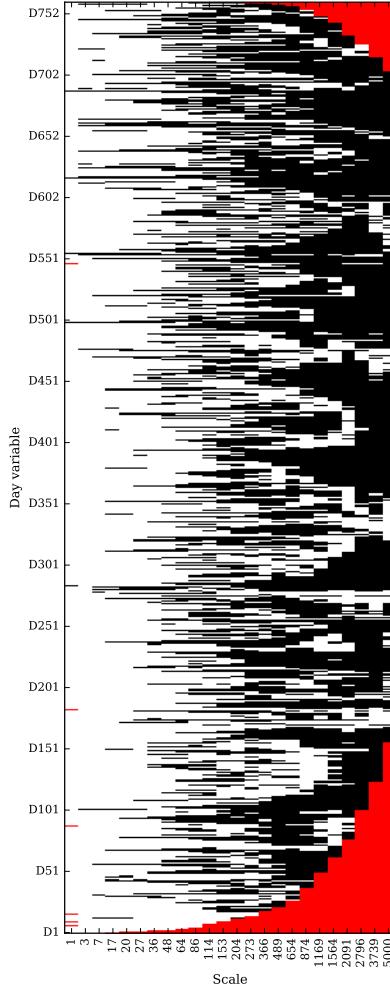


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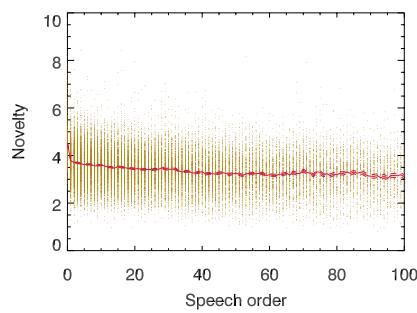


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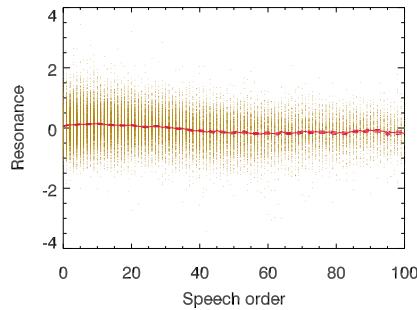


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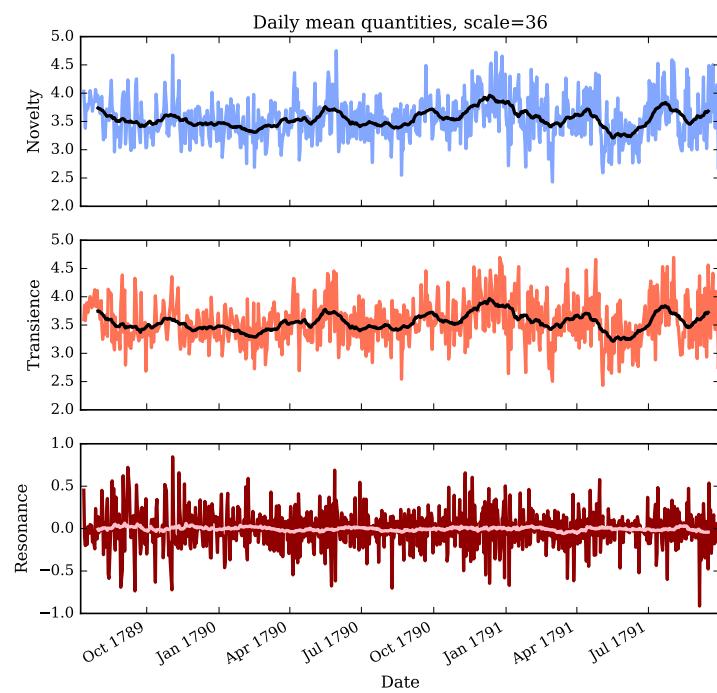


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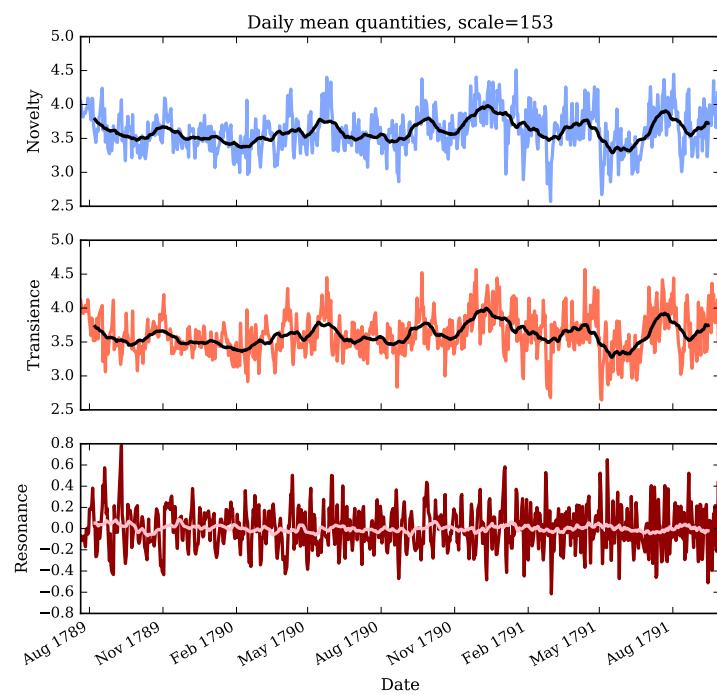


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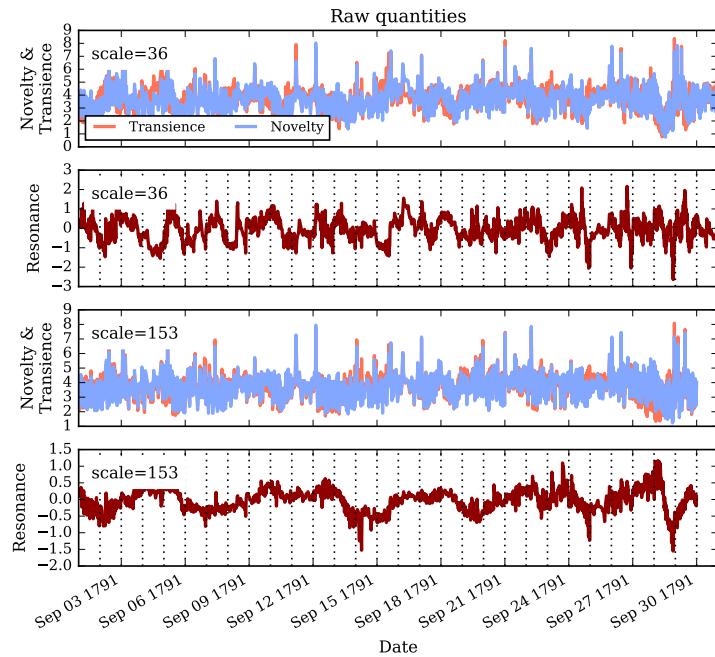


Figure 15: Comparison of raw resonance, novelty, and transience in September 1791, the last month of the NCA. Vertical lines in the resonance plots demarcate days. Note where excess transience over novelty produces low resonance, and vice versa. One can see daily patterns at scale 36, transitioning to multi-day patterns at scale 153. These patterns are exemplified in the power spectra of periodograms in Figure 18.

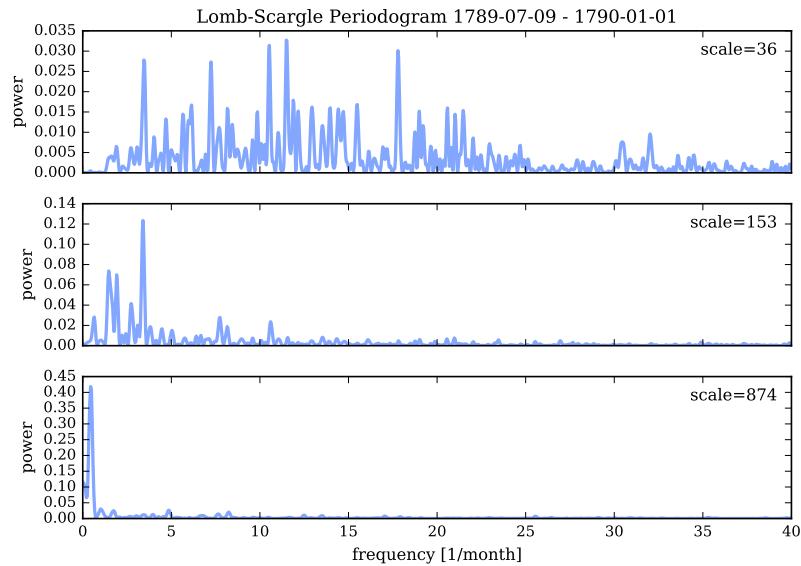


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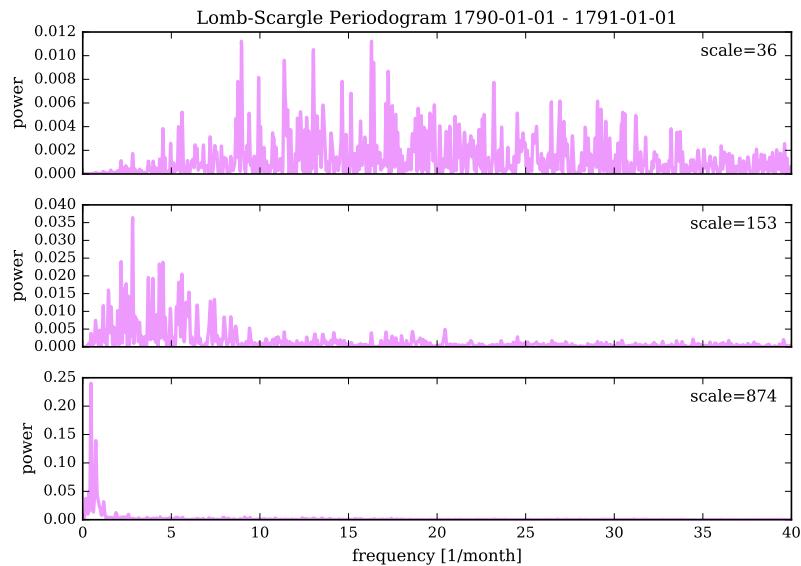


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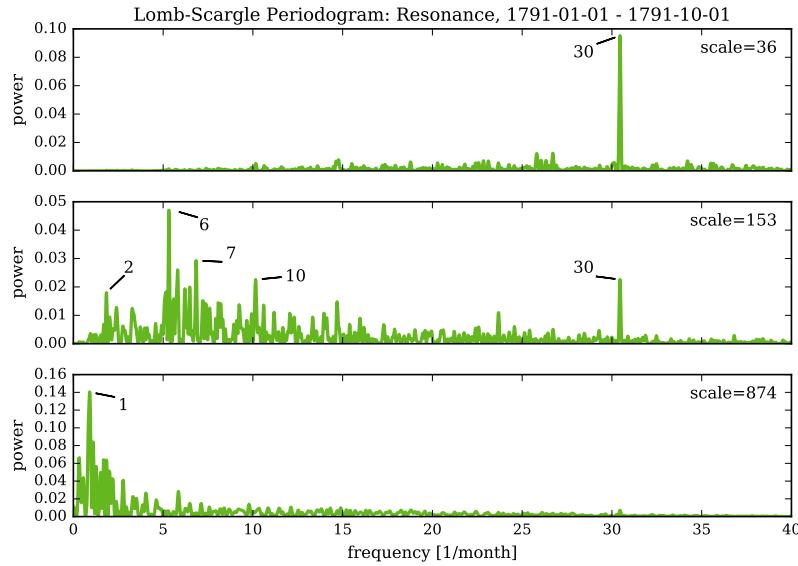


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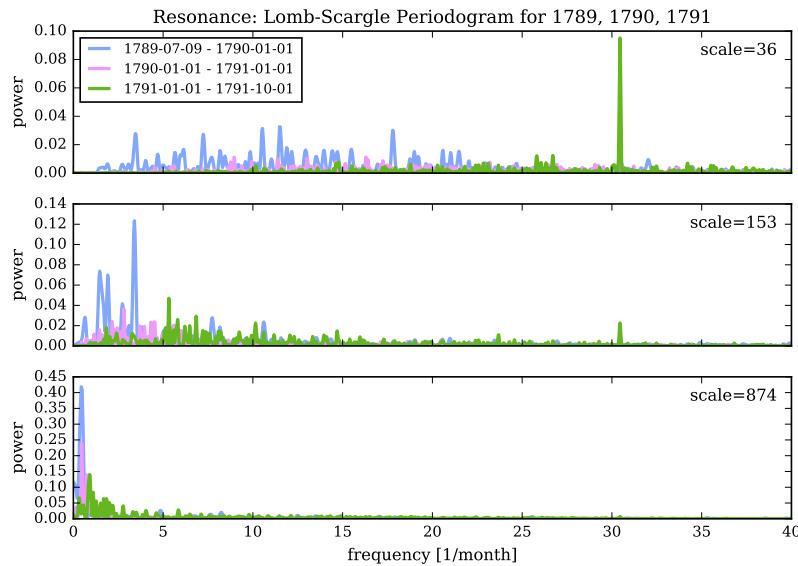


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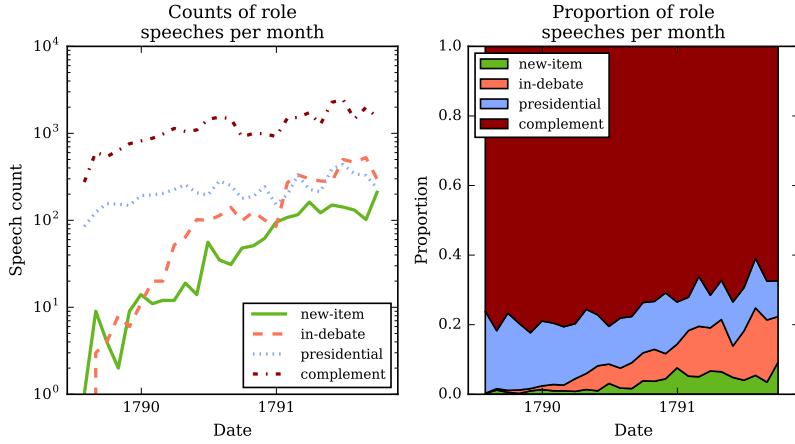


Figure 20: Monthly speech counts and proportion of the three organizational roles and their complement. As the NCA progresses, committee speech volume catches up to that of the president.

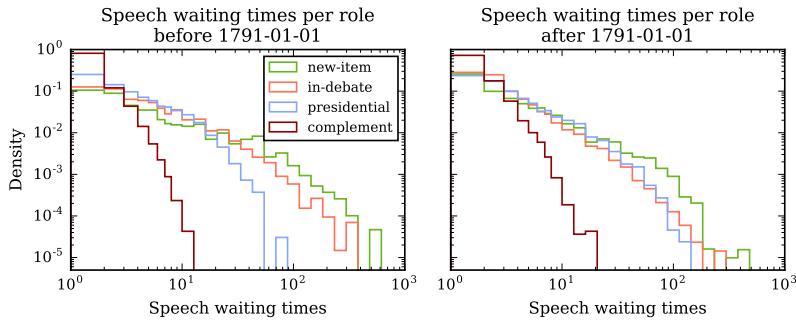


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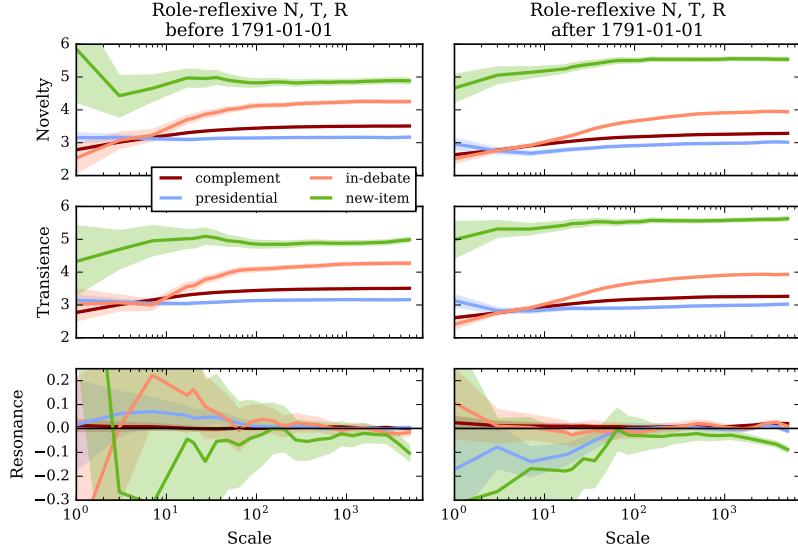


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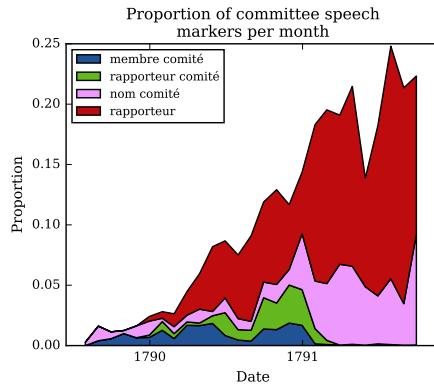


Figure 23: Monthly proportion of speeches containing each committee speech marker in Table 5.

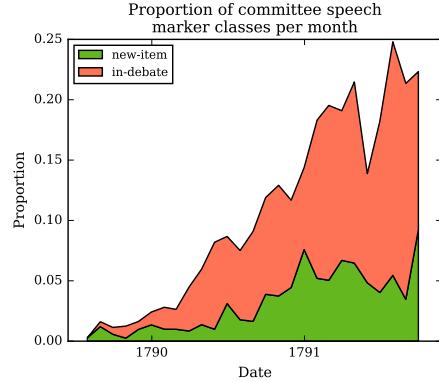


Figure 24: Monthly proportion of committee speech classes. Committee preamble assignment to class is shown in Table 7.

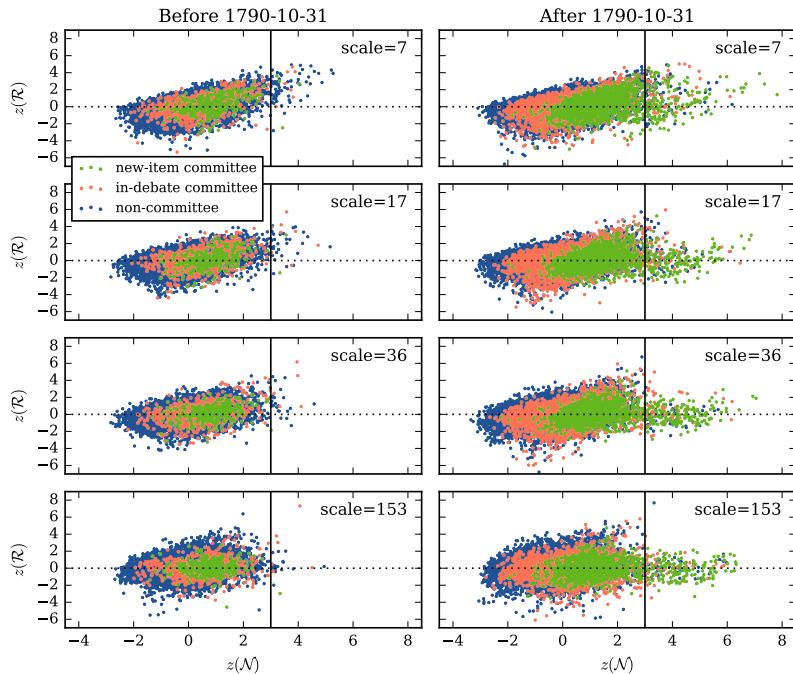


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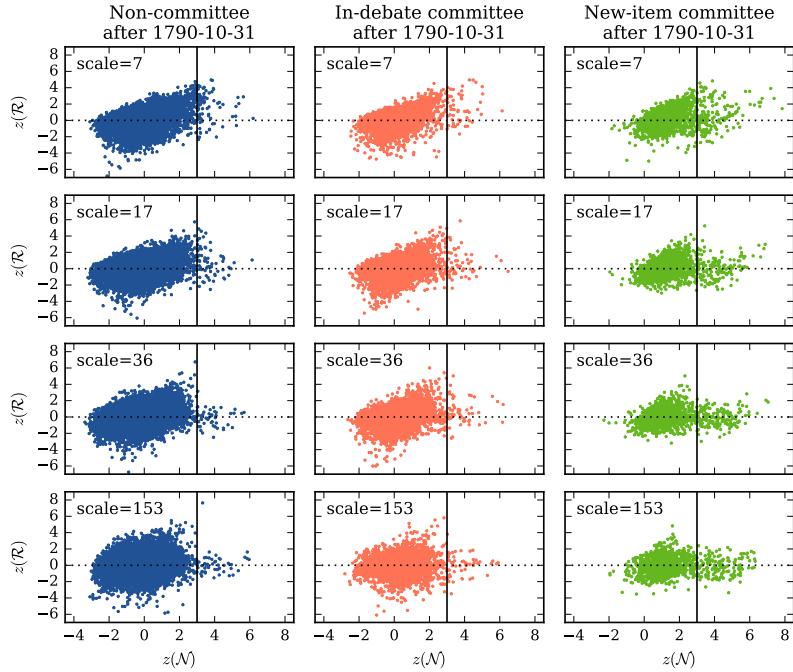


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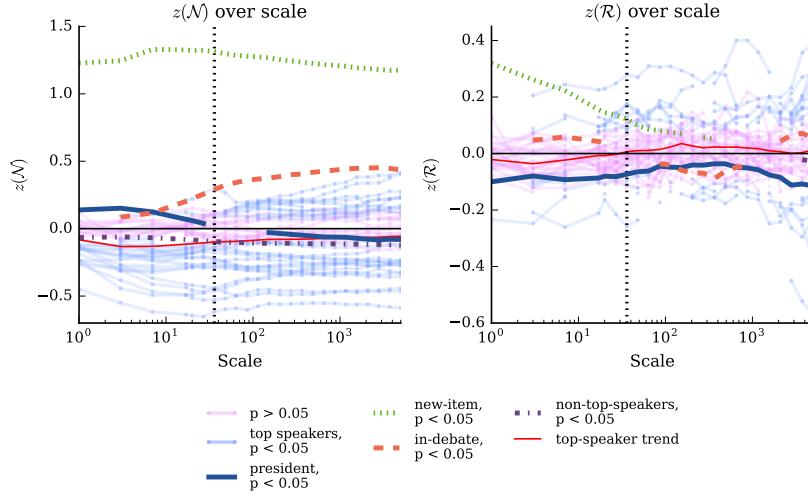


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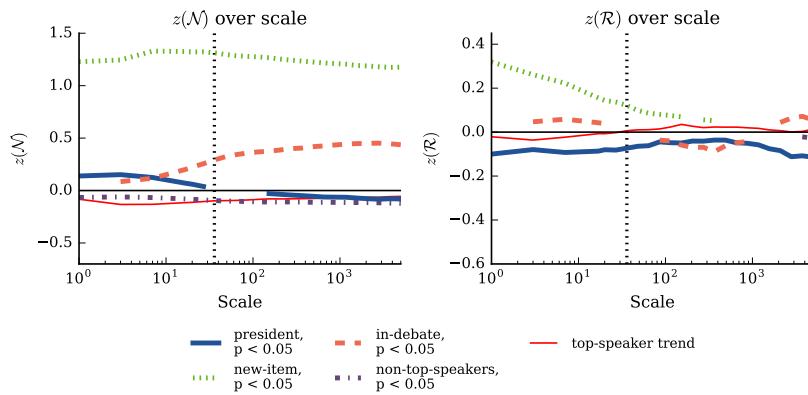


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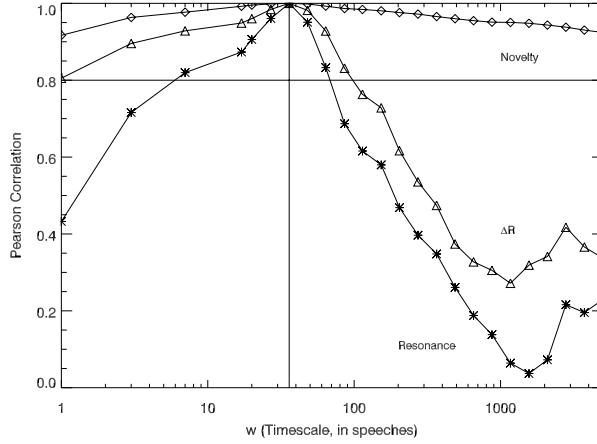


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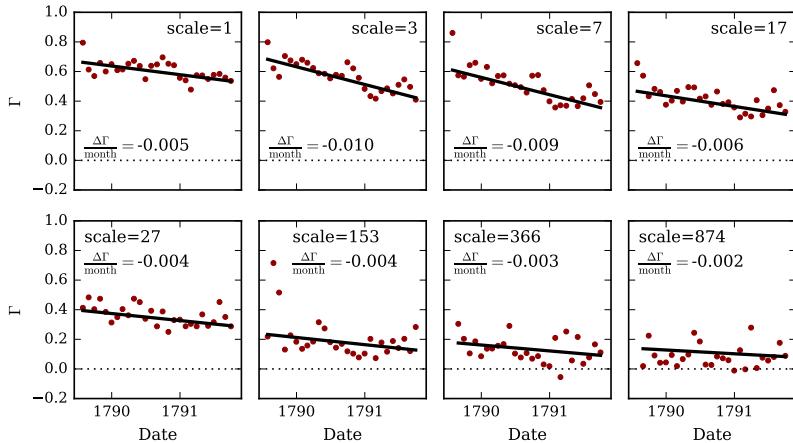


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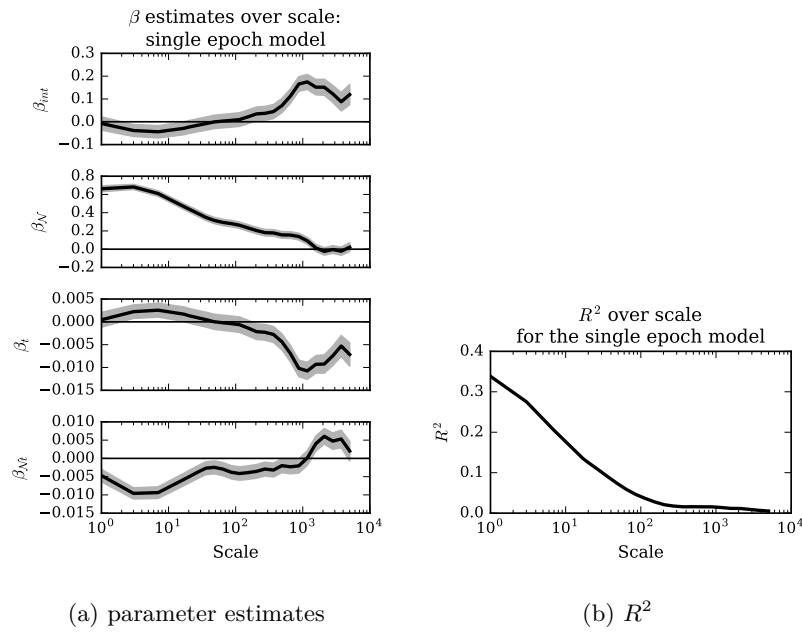


Figure 31: Fitted parameter values with 99% confidence intervals and R^2 over scale for the single epoch model. β_{Nt} , the parameter representing the slopes in Figure 30, is negative for all scale with reasonable R^2 .

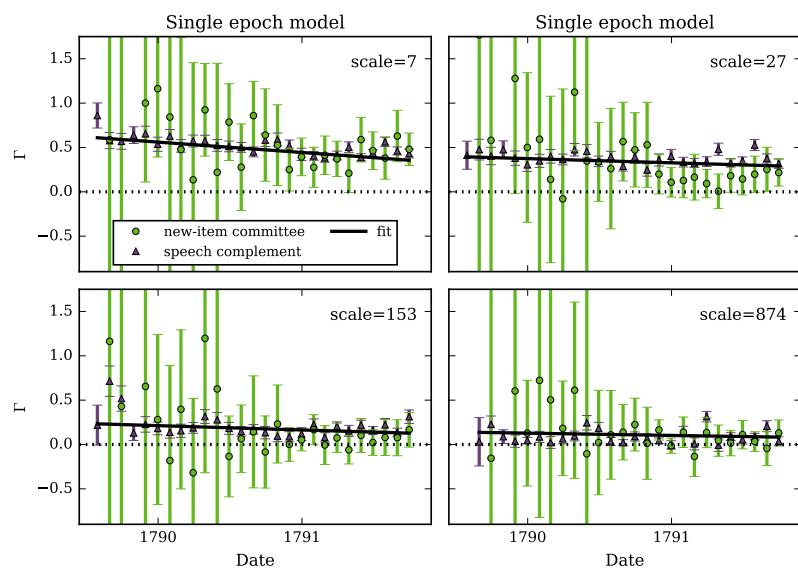


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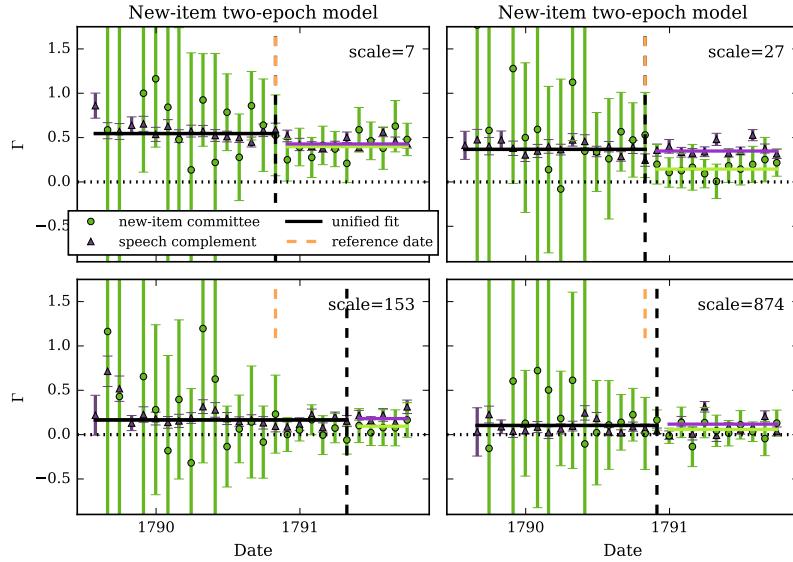


Figure 33: Monthly Γ behavior split between new-item committee and all other speech. In contrast to Figure 32, the new-item, two-epoch model captures the committees' drop in Γ . The reference divider, 1790-10-31, is used throughout the figures of this appendix.

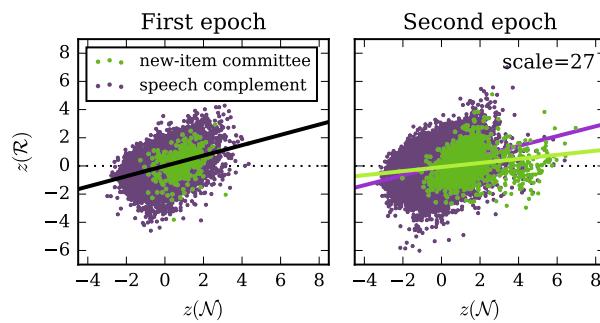


Figure 34: Fits of the new-item, two-epoch model for each epoch at scale 27. Parameters and R^2 over scale are shown in Figures 35 and 36.

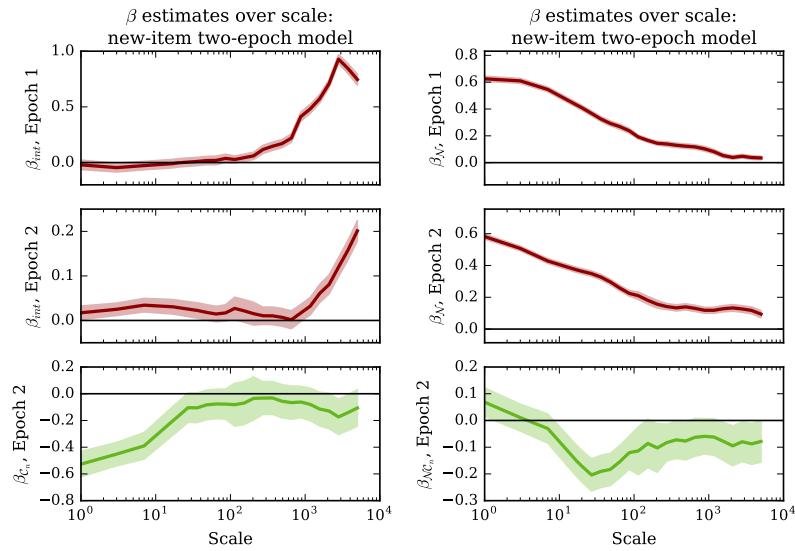


Figure 35: Fitted parameter values and 99% confidence intervals over scale for the new-item, two-epoch model.

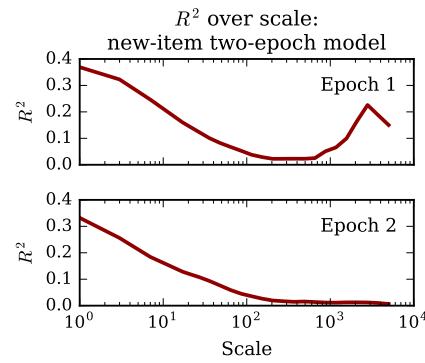


Figure 36: R^2 over scale for the new-item, two-epoch model.

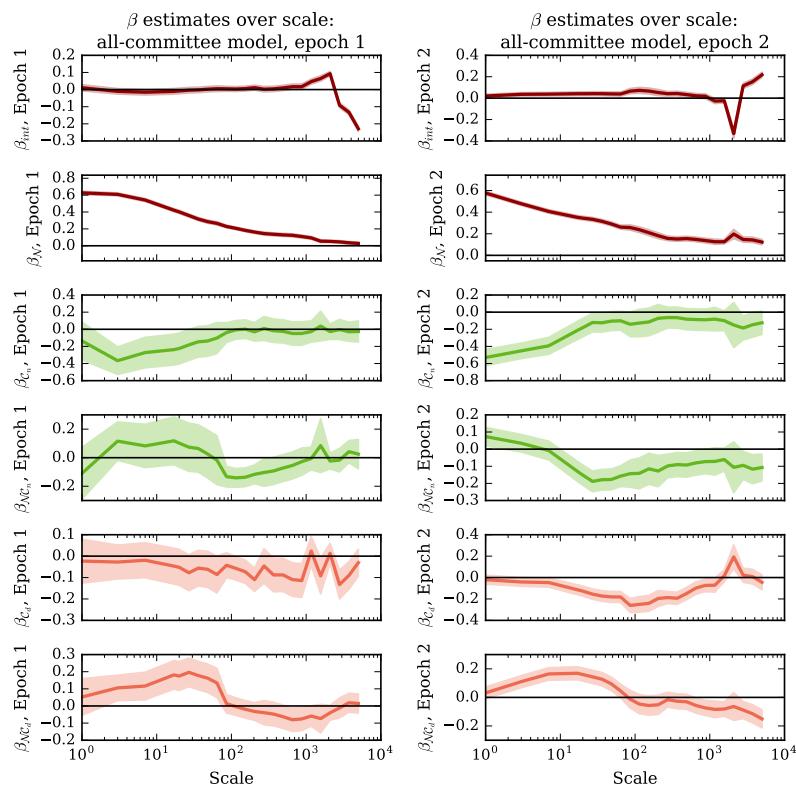


Figure 37: Fitted parameter values and 99% confidence intervals over scale for the all-committee, two-epoch model.

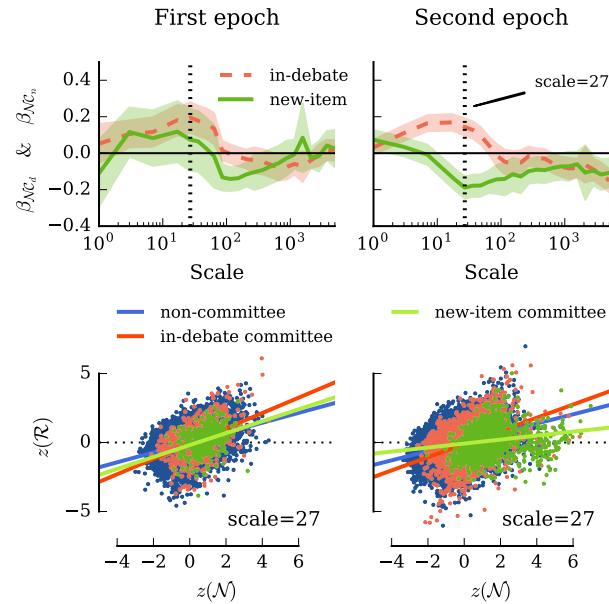


Figure 38: Slope parameters with 99% confidence intervals for the all-committee, two-epoch model over scale, with fits for each epoch at scale 27.

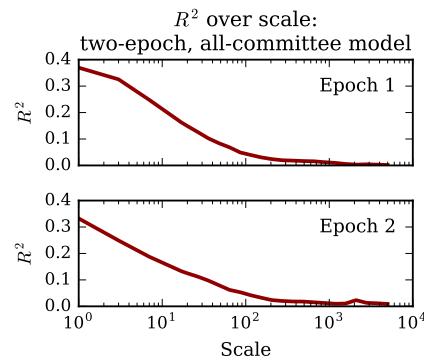


Figure 39: R^2 over scale for the all-committee, two-epoch model.

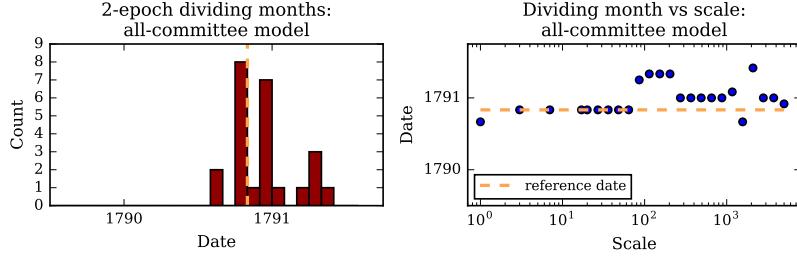


Figure 40: Epoch divider locations over scale for the all-committee, two-epoch model. At left, epoch division clusters around the end of 1790. At right, scales separate into contiguous zones of common partition. The reference divider for scales in the 10s of speeches, 1790-10-31, is useful when comparing this figure to Figure 33.

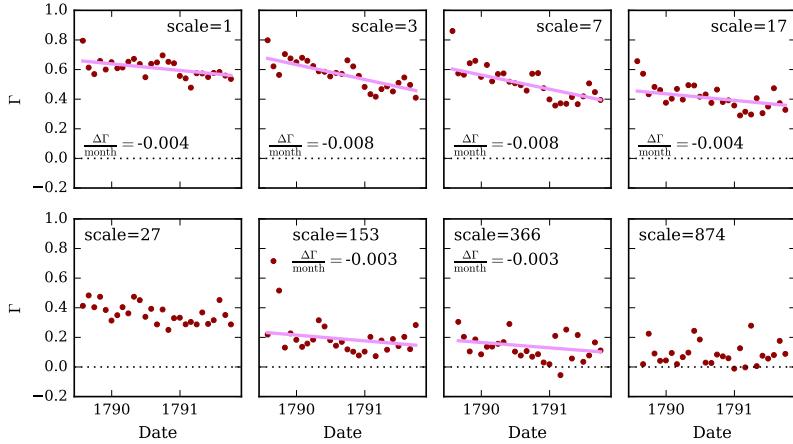


Figure 41: Novelty effectiveness $\Gamma(t) = \frac{\partial \mathbf{E}[\mathcal{R}|\mathcal{N},t]}{\partial \mathcal{N}}$ over a range of scales for the single epoch model, fit without new-item committee speech. Fit lines are not plotted if their associated $p > 0.05$. Note that the trend lines are not fits of the points in each plot. $\partial\Gamma/\partial t$ is comparatively higher than in Figure 30, to the point of non-significance at example scales 27 and 874.

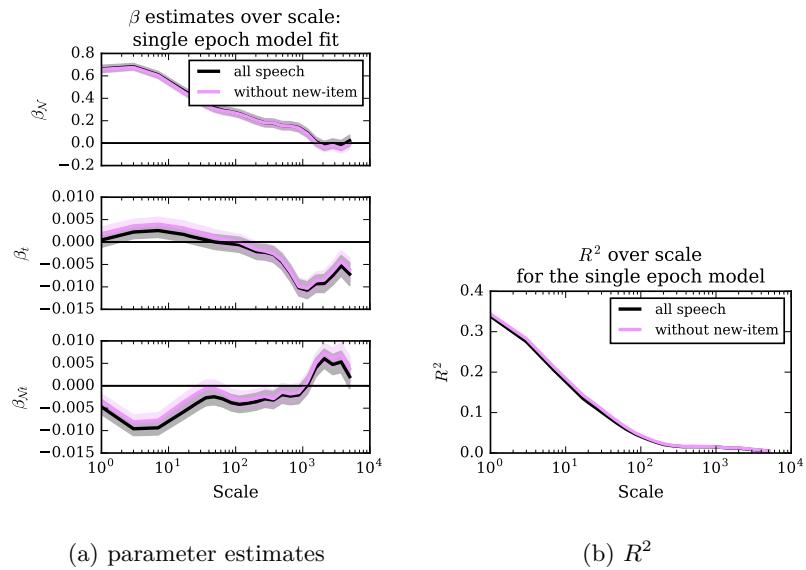


Figure 42: Comparison of fitted parameter values with 99% confidence intervals and R^2 over scale for the single epoch model fit with and without new-item committee speech. $\partial\Gamma/\partial t = \beta_{Nt}$ is shifted higher over all scale.

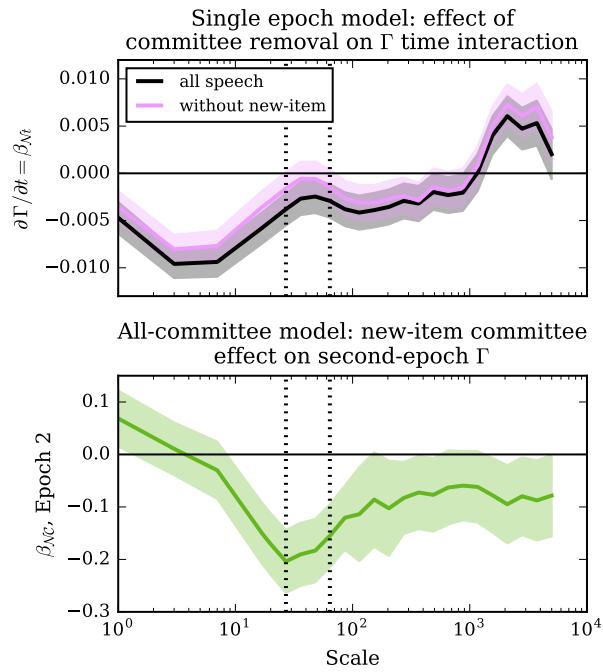


Figure 43: Explanation of decreasing Γ over time by epochal shift in new-item speech reception. $\partial\Gamma/\partial t = \beta_{Nt}$ for the NCA is shifted higher across scale when new-item committee speeches are removed. At scales between ~ 20 - 60 , marked by vertical lines, $\partial\Gamma/\partial t \approx 0$ after removal. Because this is the exact range of lowest Γ for new-item speech in the second epoch (bottom plot), the shift in new-item effectiveness is the reason for decreasing Γ over time in the single epoch model for that scale range.

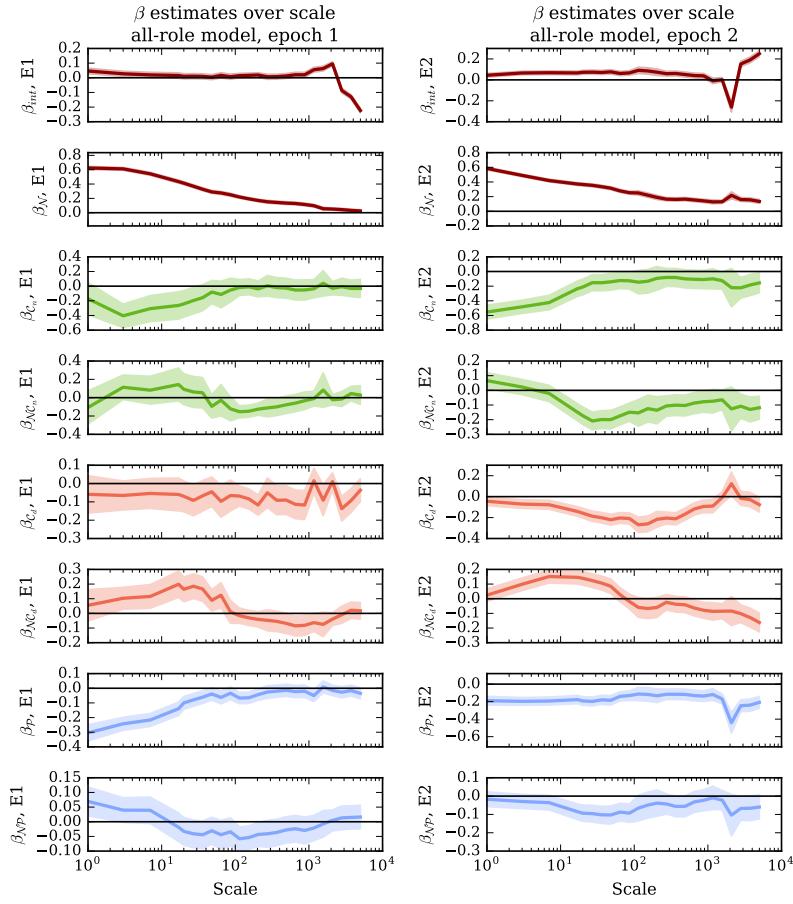


Figure 44: Fitted parameter values and 99% confidence intervals over scale for the all-role, two-epoch model.

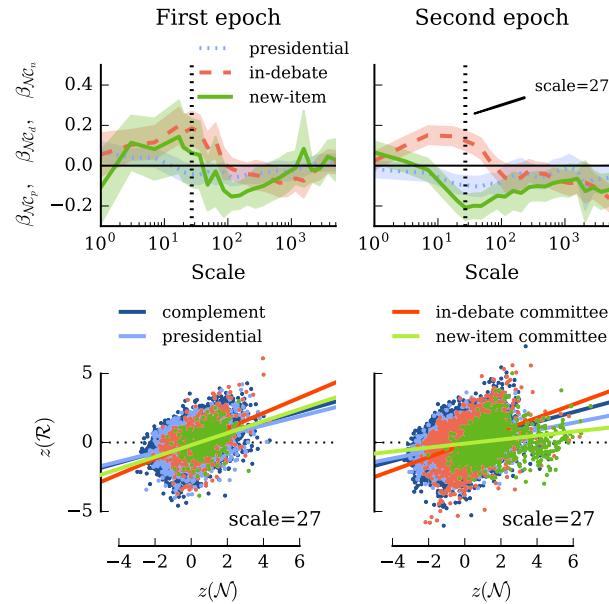


Figure 45: Slope parameters for the all-role, two-epoch model over scale, with fits for each epoch at scale 27.

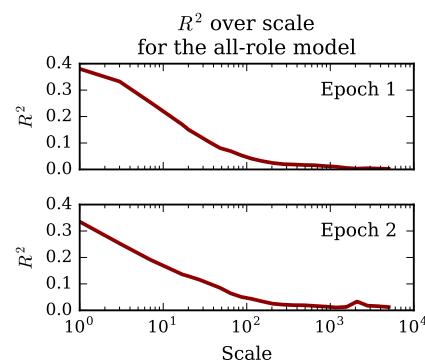


Figure 46: R^2 over scale for the all-role, two-epoch model.

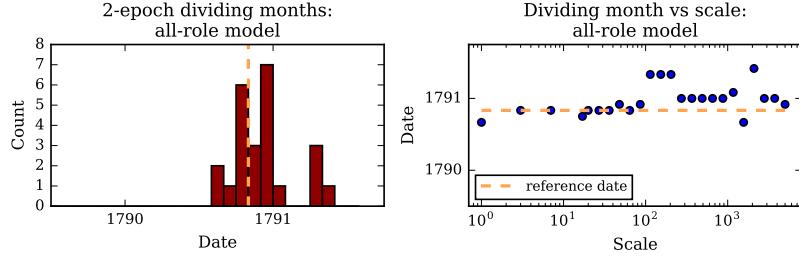


Figure 47: Epoch divider locations over scale for the all-role, two-epoch model. Results are comparable to those in Figure 40.

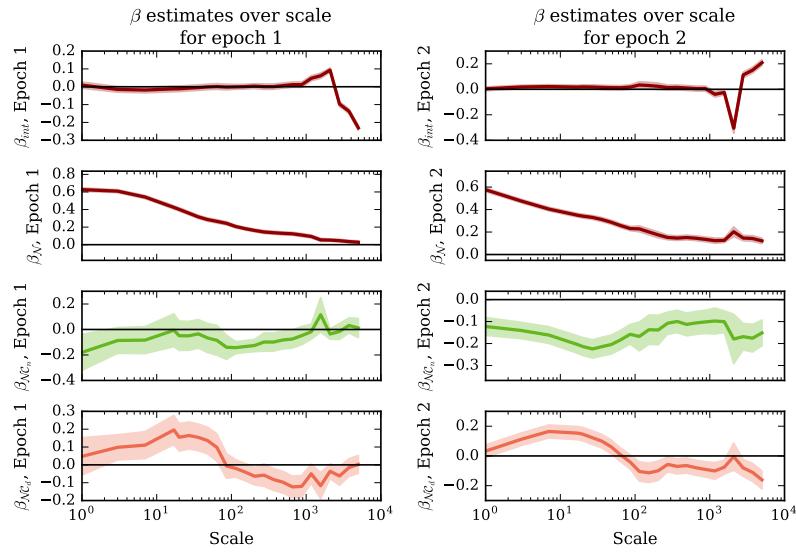


Figure 48: Fitted parameter values and 99% confidence intervals over scale for the all-committee, two-epoch, fixed intercept model.

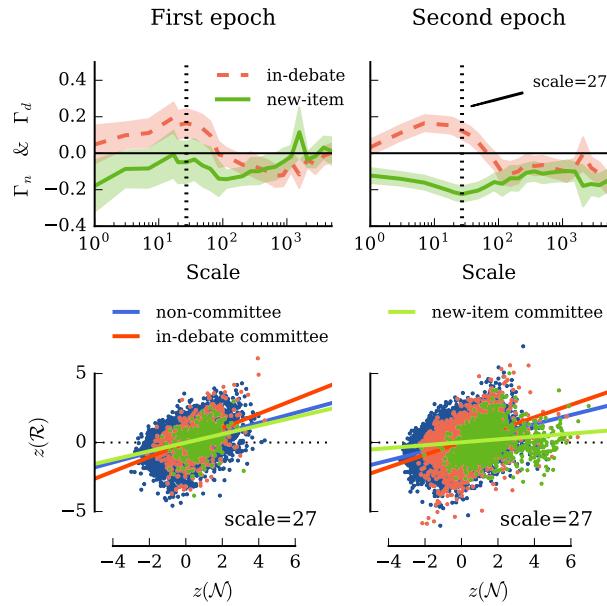


Figure 49: Slope parameters for the all-committee, two-epoch, fixed intercept model over scale, with fits for each epoch at scale 27. This is the plot presented in the main paper.

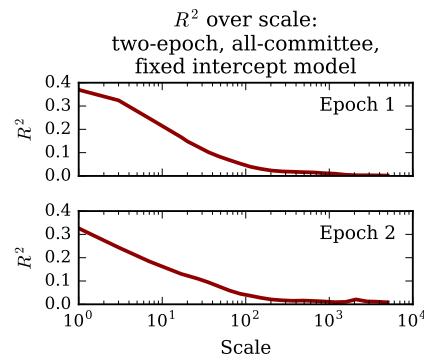


Figure 50: R^2 over scale for the all-committee, two-epoch, fixed intercept model.

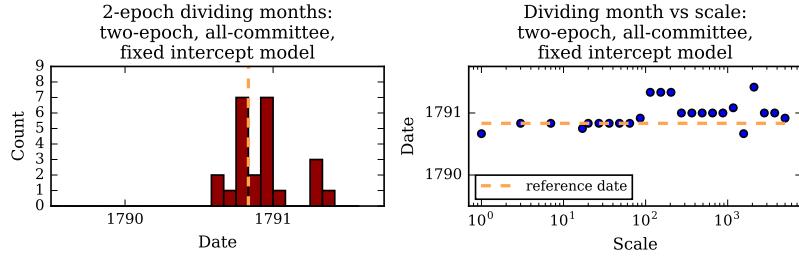


Figure 51: Epoch divider locations over scale for the all-committee, two-epoch, fixed intercept model. Results are comparable to those in Figure 40. The reference divider for scales in the 10s of speeches, 1790-10-31, is useful when comparing this figure to Figure 33.

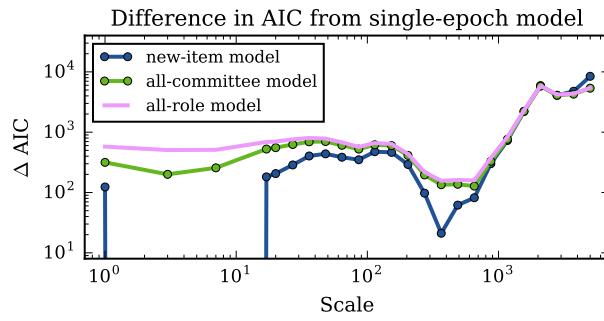


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Tables

rank	word	rank	word	rank	word	rank	word
0	les	12	nous	24	avec	36	avez
1	que	13	cette	25	faire	37	doit
2	des	14	aux	26	son	38	faut
3	qui	15	mais	27	ses	39	sera
4	est	16	ils	28	dont	40	était
5	vous	17	leur	29	comme	41	vos
6	dans	18	être	30	votre	42	ceux
7	pour	19	sont	31	soit	43	avoir
8	une	20	ces	32	lui	44	cet
9	pas	21	ont	33	peut	45	nos
10	par	22	elle	34	leurs	46	ainsi
11	sur	23	tous	35	donc	47	avait

Table 1: Stop words removed from the corpus, ordered using decreasing probability.

name	rank	speech count
Jean-Nicolas Desmeunier	1	1027
Armand-Gaston Camus	2	942
Antoine Balthazar Joseph d'Andre	3	864
Isaac René Le Chapelier	4	821
Jean-Sifrein Maury	5	758
Pierre Victor Malouet	6	698
Michel Louis Etienne Regnaud	7	659
Pierre François Bouche	8	653
Jacques Guillaume Thouret	9	636
Honoré Gabriel Riqueti Mirabeau	10	603
Pierre-Louis Prieur de la Marne	11	603
Jacques Antoine Marie de Cazales	12	599
Jean-Denis Lanjuinais	13	596
Louis Simon Martineau	14	595
Adrien Duport	15	522
Antoine Barnave	16	514
Pierre-Louis Roederer	17	494
Jean-François Gaultier de Biauzat	18	470
Emmanuel-Marie-Michel-Philippe Fréteau de Saint Just	19	469
Jean-François Reubell	20	461
Maximilien Robespierre	21	457
Guillaume François Charles Goupil-Préfeline	22	454
Jacques Joseph Defermon de Chapelières	23	449
Antoine Charles Gabriel Folleville	24	415
Philippe-Antoine Merlin	25	399
Jean Baptiste Chabroud	26	384
Charles Malo François Lameth	27	360
Foucauld de Lardimalie	28	335
Jérôme Petion de Villeneuve	29	318
Louis-Michel Le Peletier de Saint-Fargeau	30	303
François Denis Tronchet	31	299
Dominique Garat	32	295
Pierre-François Gossin	33	289
François Dominique de Reynaud Montlosier	34	283
Jean-Louis Emmery	35	269
Théodore Vernier	36	268
Alexandre Lameth	37	264
Charles Antoine Chasset	38	255
Jacques François Menou	39	255
Louis Marie d'Estourmel	40	239

Table 2: The top forty identified speakers, ranked by speech count. Presidential speech not included.

name	rank	speech count
Antoine Balthazar Joseph d'Andre	1	851
Jean-Sifrein Maury	2	756
Armand-Gaston Camus	3	697
Pierre Victor Malouet	4	684
Michel Louis Etienne Regnaud	5	659
Pierre François Bouche	6	640
Honoré Gabriel Riqueti Mirabeau	7	600
Jacques Antoine Marie de Cazales	8	599
Pierre-Louis Prieur de la Marne	9	595
Louis Simon Martineau	10	541
Isaac René Le Chapelier	11	526
Jean-Denis Lanjuinais	12	490
Antoine Barnave	13	485
Jean-François Reubell	14	461
Jean-François Gaultier de Biauzat	15	461
Maximilien Robespierre	16	457
Guillaume François Charles Goupil-Préfeline	17	450
Emmanuel-Marie-Michel-Philippe Fréteau de Sain...	18	421
Jean-Nicolas Desmeunier	19	417
Antoine Charles Gabriel Folleville	20	414
Pierre-Louis Roederer	21	373
Charles Malo François Lameth	22	358
Jean Baptiste Chabroud	23	351
Adrien Duport	24	337
Foucauld de Lardimalie	25	335
Jérôme Petion de Villeneuve	26	318
Jacques Joseph Defermon de Chapelières	27	304
Dominique Garat	28	294
Philippe-Antoine Merlin	29	289
François Dominique de Reynaud Montlosier	30	283
François Denis Tronchet	31	243
Louis Marie d'Estourmel	32	239
Alexandre Lameth	33	227
Guy Jean Baptiste Target	34	218
Jacques Delavigne	35	206
Bon Albert Brioso de Beaumetz	36	205
Jean Louis Gouttes	37	201
François Nicolas Léonard Buzot	38	201
Louis Marie Noailles	39	191
Gislain Louis Bouteville-Dumetz	40	188

Table 3: The top forty identified speakers without either presidential or committee speech.

Name	N/N'	R/R'	$\Delta R/\Delta R'$
Jean-Nicolas Démeunier	0.01/-0.01	0.03/0.02	0.04/0.03
Armand-Gaston Camus	0.29/0.13	-0.04/-0.10	-0.12/-0.18
Antoine Balthazar Joseph André, d'	-0.03/-0.03	0.02/-0.02	0.04/-0.01
Isaac René Le Chapelier	0.06/0.02	0.01/-0.03	0.00/-0.04
Jean-Sifrein Maury	-0.46/-0.37	0.07/0.13	0.21/0.28
Pierre Victor Malouet	-0.27/-0.24	0.08/0.07	0.17/0.17
Michel Louis Etienne Regnaud	0.00/0.00	0.02/-0.03	0.03/-0.02
Pierre François Bouche	-0.09/-0.09	-0.10/-0.11	-0.06/-0.07
Jacques Guillaume Thouret	0.16/0.22	0.00/0.03	-0.04/-0.01
Pierre-Louis Prieur	-0.27/-0.25	0.05/0.04	0.14/0.13
Honoré Gabriel Riqueti Mirabeau	0.03/0.15	-0.04/0.02	-0.04/0.02
Jacques Antoine Marie Cazalès	-0.44/-0.33	0.08/0.16	0.22/0.31
Jean-Denis Lanjuinais	0.06/-0.07	0.16/0.10	0.16/0.10
Louis Simon Martineau	-0.05/-0.05	0.08/0.05	0.11/0.07
Adrien Duport	0.07/0.08	0.05/0.05	0.04/0.04
Antoine Barnave	-0.04/0.05	-0.12/-0.07	-0.10/-0.04
Pierre-Louis Roederer	-0.10/-0.13	-0.03/-0.07	0.01/-0.03
Jean-François Gaultier de Biauzat	-0.13/-0.15	0.03/-0.03	0.07/0.02
Em. Fréteau de Saint Just	0.01/-0.02	-0.05/-0.07	-0.05/-0.06
Jean-François Reubell	-0.18/-0.14	0.11/0.11	0.17/0.18
Maximilien Robespierre	0.11/0.19	0.18/0.19	0.15/0.17
Guillaume Goupil-Préfeline	-0.21/-0.20	0.13/0.11	0.20/0.18
Jacques de Chapelières	0.35/0.22	-0.03/-0.09	-0.12/-0.19
Antoine Folleville	-0.44/-0.48	-0.01/-0.07	0.13/0.07
Philippe-Antoine Merlin	0.27/0.18	0.05/0.01	-0.02/-0.07
Jean Baptiste Chabroud	0.09/0.06	-0.02/-0.07	-0.04/-0.08
Charles Lameth	-0.15/-0.05	-0.06/-0.03	-0.01/0.03
Louis Foucauld de Lardimalie	-0.53/-0.46	-0.05/0.00	0.12/0.17
Pétion de Villeneuve	0.10/0.16	0.28/0.29	0.26/0.26
Louis-Michel de Saint-Fargeau	-0.20/-0.11	-0.01/0.08	0.06/0.15
François Denis Tronchet	0.24/0.26	-0.04/-0.04	-0.10/-0.11
Dominique Joseph Garat	-0.13/-0.03	0.00/0.04	0.05/0.08
Pierre-François Gossin	0.65/0.25	0.03/0.01	-0.16/-0.18
François Montlosier	-0.61/-0.52	-0.02/0.05	0.18/0.25
Jean-Louis Emmery	0.07/-0.04	0.02/-0.04	0.00/-0.06
Théodore Vernier	0.55/0.08	-0.14/-0.23	-0.30/-0.39
Alexandre Lameth	0.17/0.21	0.14/0.15	0.10/0.11
Charles Antoine Chasset	0.31/0.19	0.13/0.08	0.05/0.00
Jacques François Menou	0.40/0.32	0.02/0.03	-0.10/-0.09
Louis Marie d'Estourmel	-0.26/-0.23	0.07/0.07	0.16/0.16

Table 4: z -score Novelty, Resonance, and ΔR for selected speakers, corrected for speech timing effects relative to debate start and compared to uncorrected values. Note that z -scoring is done relative to the corrected baselines; *e.g.*, Lanjuinais has below average corrected novelty compared to the corrected novelties of other speakers.

Label	General form
nom comité	au nom du comité
rapporteur comité	rapporteur du comité
membre comité	membre du comité
rapporteur	rapporteur (without “du comité” following)
Label	General regular expression
nom comité	(au ai an ûu aïi cm du m nu qu) nom (du des? dû au dif jtu èu la)(ces)?(v)?(deux)?(trois)? (comité comitis cemité oomité comite)
rapporteur comité	rapporteur (du des? dtt dû) comité
membre comité	membre du (c b è e)omité
rapporteur	rapporteur(?! (du des? dtt dû) comité)
Label	Outlier regular expressions
nom comité	1. de coulantes au nom du 2. aîneau nom du comité 3. cidevan t de vieuzac au nom fiu comité 4. présenteau nom du comité 5. de saintlô au nom des comités 6. de bigarre au nom du comité des finances 7. de coûntances au nom du comité 8. de coûtantes au nom dy comité 9. nom du comité central 10. vaînê au nom des comités 11. au nom du comité d agriculture
rapporteur comité	1. comme rapporteur du comité
membre comité	1. de bîgorre membre du comité 2. membre et organe du comité 3. piempre du comité

Table 5: Labels, general forms, and regular expressions for each committee speech preamble marker. Regular expressions search for a variety of OCR and grammatical variations including plural usage, articles, etc. Data matched are the raw speeches cleaned of punctuation, set to lower case, having single space characters between words. Outlier expressions are those found in the manual search and sample-taking process.

Label	IsCommittee	OfficialOutput	NewItem	Sample Size
Before 1791-01-01				
rapporteur	6	7	4	10
membre comité	13	6	9	13
rapporteur comité	10	7	10	10
nom comité	10	9	10	10
After 1791-01-01				
rapporteur	6	6	2	10
membre comité	10	5	5	10
rapporteur comité	10	9	8	10
nom comité	10	8	8	10

Table 6: Aggregated ratings for committee marker samples before and after 1791-01-01. “nom comité” and “rapporteur comité” markers are much more likely to mark the presentation new items to the Assembly rather than engage in debate. An explicit connection to a committee was not always found for the “rapporteur” marker, producing lower IsCommittee counts, but the content reported qualitatively matched typical committee output.

Label	Pre-1791-01-01	Post-1791-01-01	NCA Total
in-debate committee speech class			
membre comité	235	14	249
rapporteur	819	3,243	4,062
new-item committee speech class			
nom comité	243	1,205	1,448
rapporteur comité	242	38	280
non-committee	20,493	18,421	38,914
Grand total			44,953

Table 7: Counts and assignment of committee speech preamble labels to in-debate and new-item speech classes, before and after 1791-01-01.

Scale	Speech class count		
	Non-committee	In-debate	New-item
17	61	35	143
36	48	40	150
153	49	45	146
Intersection	35	23	124

Table 8: Counts of committee speech classes above tail threshold for scales 17, 36, and 153, with size of the speech class intersection across scale. After analysis, non-committee tail speeches ($z(\mathcal{N}) > 3$) tend to be misclassified by the regex search procedure and should be considered new-item (Table 9).

Rating	Speech class count	
	Non-committee	New-item
SpeechCount1	4	9
SpeechCount2	6	1
ContainsCommittee	10	10
OfficialOutput	10	10
NewItem	10	10
Sample Size	10	10

Table 9: Aggregated ratings for samples of each speech class in the tail, above $z(\mathcal{N}) = 3$. SpeechCount1 and SpeechCount2 are the number of sampled speeches that actually contain one or two “real” speeches within them; those with two are misread during OCR. The non-committee tail sample always has committee speech within it, sometimes as a second sub-speech due to OCR error, presenting new items to the Assembly. Tail speeches in the non-committee class seem to be misdiagnosed, and should be considered part of the new-item class.

Name	$z(\mathcal{N})$	$z(\mathcal{R})$	$\Delta z(\mathcal{R})$	Type
High novelty, high resonance				
Jérôme Pétion de Villeneuve	0.10	0.28***	+0.25***	3g
Maximilien Robespierre	0.11**	0.18***	+0.14**	3g
Jean-Denis Lanjuinais	0.06	0.16***	+0.15***	3g
Alexandre Lameth	0.17**	0.14*	+0.09	2g
Charles Antoine Chasset	0.31***	0.13*	+0.04	3g
new_item	1.31***	0.12***	-0.27***	—
Adrien Duport	0.07	0.05	+0.03	2g
Philippe-Antoine Merlin (de Douai)	0.27***	0.05	-0.03	3g
Jean-Nicolas Démeunier (Desmeunier)	0.01	0.03	+0.03	3-
Pierre-François Gossin	0.65***	0.03	-0.17**	3g
Michel Louis Etienne Regnaud	0.00	0.02	+0.02	3g
in_debate	0.29***	0.02	-0.07***	—
Jean-Louis Emmery	0.07	0.02	0.00	3g
Jacques François Menou	0.40***	0.02	-0.10	2g
Isaac René Le Chapelier	0.06	0.01	-0.01	3g
High novelty, low resonance				
Jacques Guillaume Thouret	0.16***	0.00	-0.05	3g
Jean Baptiste Chabroud	0.09	-0.02	-0.04	3g
Jacques Joseph Defermon de Chapelières	0.35***	-0.03	-0.13**	3-
Honoré Gabriel Riqueti Mirabeau	0.03	-0.04	-0.04	3g
François Denis Tronchet	0.24***	-0.04	-0.11	3g
Armand-Gaston Camus	0.29***	-0.04	-0.13***	3g
Emmanuel[...] Fréteau de Saint Just	0.01	-0.05	-0.06	2g
president	0.02	-0.07***	-0.08***	—
Théodore Vernier	0.55***	-0.14**	-0.31***	3g
Low novelty, high resonance				
Guillaume François Charles Goupil-Préfelne	-0.21***	0.13**	+0.20***	3g
Jean-François Reubell	-0.18***	0.11*	+0.16***	3g
Louis Simon Martineau	-0.05	0.08*	+0.10**	3g
Jacques Antoine Marie Cazalès, de	-0.44***	0.08*	+0.21***	2d
Pierre Victor Malouet	-0.27***	0.08*	+0.16***	3d
Louis Marie Estourmel, d'	-0.26***	0.07	+0.15*	2d
Jean-Sifrein Maury	-0.46***	0.07	+0.20***	1d
Pierre-Louis Prieur [dit Prieur de la Marne]	-0.27***	0.05	+0.13***	3g
Jean-François Gaultier de Biauzat	-0.13**	0.03	+0.06	3g
Antoine Balthazar Joseph André, d'	-0.03	0.02	+0.03	2g
Low novelty, low resonance				
Dominique Garat	-0.13**	0.00	+0.04	3g
Antoine Charles Gabriel Folleville	-0.44***	-0.01	+0.12**	2d
Louis-Michel Le Peletier de Saint-Fargeau	-0.20***	-0.01	+0.05	2g
François Dominique de Reynaud Montlosier	-0.61***	-0.02	+0.17**	2d
nomatch nomatch	-0.05**	-0.02	-0.01	0-
Pierre-Louis Roederer	-0.10*	-0.03	0.00	3g
Louis Foucauld de Lardimalie	-0.53***	-0.05	+0.11*	2d
Charles Malo F Lameth	-0.15***	-0.06	-0.02	2g
Pierre François Bouche	-0.09**	-0.10*	-0.07	3g
Antoine Barnave	-0.04	-0.12*	-0.11*	3g

Table 10: Means/t-test entity categorization table, now including non-significant detections; w equal to 36 (as shown in main text). In contrast to the main text, we do *not* use the Holm–Bonferroni method here to correct for multiple comparisons.

Name	$z(\mathcal{N})$	$z(\mathcal{R})$	$\Delta z(\mathcal{R})$	Type
High novelty, high resonance				
new_item	1.23***	0.32***	-0.39***	—
Pierre-François Gossin	0.37***	0.08	-0.13*	3g
Jacques Guillaume Thouret	0.06	0.07	+0.04	3g
Jacques Joseph Defermon de Chapelières	0.16**	0.06	-0.04	3-
Charles Antoine Chasset	0.13	0.05	-0.03	3g
Jacques François Menou	0.19*	0.04	-0.07	2g
Jérôme Pétion de Villeneuve	0.03	0.04	+0.02	3g
Maximilien Robespierre	0.01	0.02	+0.01	3g
in_debate	0.02	0.01	+0.00	—
High novelty, low resonance				
Armand-Gaston Camus	0.23***	-0.01	-0.14***	3g
Philippe-Antoine Merlin (de Douai)	0.16**	-0.01	-0.10*	3g
Jean Baptiste Chabroud	0.02	-0.02	-0.03	3g
Honoré Gabriel Riqueti Mirabeau	0.02	-0.03	-0.04	3g
Emmanuel [...] Fréteau de Saint Just	0.03	-0.06	-0.08*	2g
Michel Louis Etienne Regnaud president	0.02	-0.09*	-0.11**	3g
Théodore Vernier	0.14***	-0.10***	-0.18***	—
Low novelty, high resonance				
Guillaume François Charles Goupil-Préfeline	-0.02	0.15**	+0.16***	3g
Jacques Antoine Marie Cazalès, de	-0.14***	0.07	+0.15***	2d
Louis-Michel Le Peletier de Saint-Fargeau	-0.19***	0.07	+0.18***	2g
Louis Marie Estourmel, d'	-0.14*	0.06	+0.15**	2d
Adrien Duport	-0.01	0.06	+0.06	2g
Antoine Charles Gabriel Folleville	-0.13*	0.06	+0.13***	2d
nomatch nomatch	-0.03	0.06**	+0.07***	0-
Louis Simon Martineau	-0.02	0.04	+0.05	3g
Jean-François Reubell	-0.09	0.02	+0.07	3g
Isaac René Le Chapelier	-0.02	0.02	+0.03	3g
Dominique Garat	-0.15**	0.01	+0.10*	3g
Louis Foucauld de Lardimalie	-0.24***	0.01	+0.14***	2d
Pierre Victor Malouet	-0.17***	0.00	+0.10***	3d
Low novelty, low resonance				
Jean-Denis Lanjuinais	-0.03	0.00	+0.01	3g
Jean-Sifrein Maury	-0.26***	-0.02	+0.14***	1d
Antoine Barnave	-0.03	-0.03	-0.01	3g
Charles Malo F Lameth	-0.14**	-0.03	+0.05	2g
Pierre François Bouche	-0.03	-0.03	-0.01	3g
Alexandre Lameth	-0.04	-0.04	-0.02	2g
Antoine Balthazar Joseph André, d'	-0.05	-0.04	-0.01	2g
Jean-François Gaultier de Blauzat	-0.14**	-0.04	+0.04	3g
Jean-Nicolas Démeunier (Desmeunier)	-0.07*	-0.04	-0.01	3-
Pierre-Louis Prieur [dit Prieur de la Marne]	-0.25***	-0.05	+0.10***	3g
François Dominique de Reynaud Montlosier	-0.45***	-0.06	+0.20***	2d
François Denis Tronchet	-0.08	-0.06	-0.01	3g
Pierre-Louis Roederer	-0.13**	-0.09	-0.02	3g
Jean-Louis Emmery	-0.07	-0.12	-0.08	3g

Table 11: Means/t-test entity categorization table, now including non-significant detections. $w=1$; speech-to-speech microscale. In contrast to the main text, we do *not* use the Holm–Bonferroni method here to correct for multiple comparisons.

Name	$z(\mathcal{N})$	$z(\mathcal{R})$	$\Delta z(\mathcal{R})$	Type
High novelty, high resonance				
Jérôme Pétion de Villeneuve	0.27***	0.32***	+0.30***	3g
Antoine Barnave	0.25***	0.29***	+0.28***	3g
Isaac René Le Chapelier	0.13***	0.23***	+0.22***	3g
Maximilien Robespierre	0.23***	0.19***	+0.18**	3g
Adrien Duport	0.30***	0.19**	+0.17**	2g
Pierre-Louis Roederer	0.08	0.17***	+0.17***	3g
Jacques François Menou	0.46***	0.17**	+0.14*	2g
Charles Antoine Chasset	0.36***	0.13*	+0.11	3g
Honoré Gabriel Riqueti Mirabeau	0.07	0.12**	+0.12**	3g
Pierre-François Gossin	0.60***	0.10	+0.06	3g
Jacques Joseph Déférém de Chapelières	0.41***	0.09	+0.06	3-
Armand-Gaston Camus	0.28***	0.08*	+0.06	3g
Jean-Denis Lanjuinais	0.01	0.07	+0.07	3g
Jacques Guillaume Thouret	0.33***	0.07	+0.05	3g
in_debate	0.44***	0.06**	+0.03	—
new_item	1.18***	0.03	-0.03	—
High novelty, low resonance				
François Denis Tronchet	0.56***	-0.06	-0.09	3g
Théodore Vernier	0.50***	-0.09	-0.12*	3g
Jean Baptiste Chabroud	0.10*	-0.10	-0.11	3g
Philippe-Antoine Merlin (de Douai)	0.29***	-0.11*	-0.13**	3g
Alexandre Lameth	0.28***	-0.12*	-0.13*	2g
Jean-Louis Emmery	0.02	-0.18*	-0.18*	3g
Louis-Michel Le Peletier de Saint-Fargeau	0.33***	-0.20*	-0.22**	2g
Jean-Nicolas Dèmeunier (Desmeunier)	0.17***	-0.20***	-0.21***	3-
Low novelty, high resonance				
Jean-Sifrein Maury	-0.28***	0.39***	+0.41***	1d
Jacques Antoine Marie Cazalès, de	-0.24***	0.28***	+0.29***	2d
Antoine Charles Gabriel Folleville	-0.44***	0.27***	+0.30***	2d
Michel Louis Etienne Regnaud	-0.03	0.17***	+0.17***	3g
Guillaume François Charles Goupil-Préfeilne	-0.24***	0.16**	+0.18**	3g
Louis Simon Martineau	-0.06	0.16***	+0.16***	3g
François Dominique de Reynaud Montlosier	-0.59***	0.11	+0.15*	2d
Charles Malo F Lameth	-0.07	0.10	+0.10	2g
Louis Foucauld de Lardimalie	-0.47***	0.08	+0.10	2d
Pierre François Bouche	-0.22***	0.05	+0.06	3g
Low novelty, low resonance				
Louis Marie Estourmel, d'	-0.32***	0.00	+0.02	2d
Pierre Victor Malouet	-0.25***	-0.01	+0.01	3d
nomatch nomatch	-0.08***	-0.07***	-0.06***	0-
Jean-François Reubell	-0.27***	-0.07	-0.05	3g
Dominique Garat	-0.05	-0.10	-0.09	3g
Pierre-Louis Prieur [dit Prieur de la Marne]	-0.34***	-0.10	-0.08	3g
president	-0.08***	-0.11***	-0.11***	—
Antoine Balthazar Joseph André, d'	-0.03	-0.13**	-0.13**	2g
Jean-François Gaultier de Biauzat	-0.22***	-0.19**	-0.17**	3g
Emmanuel [...] Fréteau de Saint Just	-0.04	-0.20***	-0.20***	2g

Table 12: Means/t-test entity categorization table, now including non-significant detections. $w=5000$; largest timescales available in data. In contrast to the main text, we do *not* use the Holm–Bonferroni method here to correct for multiple comparisons.

scale	varying-intercept p	fixed-intercept p
1	0.0085	0.1255
3	0.0922	0.1585
17	0.0016	0.0033
27	0.0022	0.0043
36	0.0033	0.0042
64	0.0355	0.0553
153	0.5520	0.7361

Table 13: Two-tailed p-values for the epochal difference in new-item novelty effectiveness (described in §7.6). p-values are calculated as the fraction of 10,000 randomly-ordered replicates of the speech data producing novelty, transience, and resonance favoring a two-epoch model *and* producing a difference magnitude in new-item novelty effectiveness *exceeding* the difference magnitude from the real data. We report the p-values for the parameters measuring new-item novelty effectiveness from both varying- and fixed-intercept models: these are differences for parameter β_{NC_n} in the varying-intercept model (Eq. 10) and Γ_n in the fixed-intercept model (Eq. 14). These show significance at $\alpha = 0.01$ for a range of scale producing the largest epochal difference in new-item Γ (Figures 38 and 49).

0	1	2	3	4	5
cela	prisons	citoyens	églises	décret	criminelle
membre	accusation	avaient	état	circonstances	deux
bien	prévôt	commandant	ecclésiastique	assurer	loi
messieurs	accusés	deux	revenus	nécessaires	dépositions
rires	faits	été	pauvres	toutes	preuves
demande	marseille	nîmes	propriétés	compte	procédure
voix	affaire	étaient	culte	rendre	juge
droite	décret	plus	été	exécution	juges
oui	assemblée	municipaux	propriété	moyens	accusation
plusieurs	été	garde	bénéfices	plus	jugement
non	comité	soldats	dimes	prendre	fait
membres	ationale	municipalité	nation	commissaires	témoin
applaudissements	procédure	ville	ecclésiastiques	ationale	juré
gauche	tribunal	officiers	clergé	mesures	accusé
murmures	contre	régiment	biens	assemblée	jurés
6	7	8	9	10	11
corse	personne	procureurs	intérêt	peuples	diocèse
avignonais	ationale	entre	nombre	celui	ecclésiastiques
français	rendre	remplir	classe	tout	autorité
droits	après	commissaires	besoins	sous	civile
pays	demandé	public	bien	justice	culte
assemblée	fait	exercer	travail	encore	vicaire
peuple	garde	autres	tout	sans	ecclésiastique
pape	chez	exercice	moins	jamais	curé
ville	arrêté	publics	citoyens	grand	prêtres
réunion	assemblée	juges	toutes	lois	clergé
été	ordres	places	état	peuple	eglise
comtat	paris	seront	encore	homme	curés
veu	dit	tribunaux	nation	liberté	évêques
france	été	officiers	sans	hommes	évêque
avignon	roi	fonctions	plus	plus	religion
12	13	14	15	16	17
celle	desservie	toiles	villes	nation	ministres
été	ecclésiastique	celles	basrhin	fait	nations
non	succursale	sortie	nord	duc	étrangers
doivent	seront	livres	comité	droit	droit
autre	curé	étranger	électeurs	titre	affaires
toutes	art	entrée	assemblée	contrat	ministre
entre	directoire	royaume	chefieu	droits	roi
autres	département	toutes	districts	france	traités
lois	district	seront	directoire	domaine	puissances
tout	cidevant	tarif	administrateurs	traité	nation
point	aura	autres	constitution	louis	français
loi	église	droit	ville	domaines	étrangères
plus	ville	quintal	district	prince	paix
elles	paroisses	marchandises	départements	été	france
même	paroisse	droits	département	roi	guerre
18	19	20	21	22	23
terre	bâtiments	royaume	amis	compter	septembre
sol	toulon	juifs	coupables	temus	premier
terrains	ans	demande	moyens	desdits	août
après	concours	autres	toutes	sans	depuis
sans	grade	cidevant	révolution	pourront	décrets
marais	seront	député	loi	articles	novembre
terrain	port	été	publique	autres	avril
bois	etat	alsace	liberté	lesdits	juillet
droit	ports	assemblée	constitution	auront	octobre
mines	vaisseau	etats	sans	été	janvier
terres	mer	bretagne	ennemis	article	décembre
propriétés	service	pays	citoyens	présent	été
propriétaire	vaisseaux	députés	plus	décret	dernier
propriétaires	officiers	provinces	peuple	seront	mois
propriété	marine	province	contre	art	décret

Table 14: Top 15 words of topics 1 through 23.

24	25	26	27	28	29
annonce	fonds	conseil	matin	paru	assemblée
démie	dettes	municipalité	soir	avons	municipalités
matin	emprunt	été	demande	nom	habitants
jours	dette	municipalités	secrétaire	après	citoyens
assemblée	banque	administrateurs	donne	devoir	délibération
lève	intérêts	syndic	passe	présenter	général
congé	intérêt	procureur	hier	proposer	municipal
député	créanciers	districts	suite	cru	maire
demain	finances	administration	assemblée	projet	conseil
levée	escompte	avis	discussion	pensé	officiers
demande	rentes	général	lecture	décret	municipaux
soir	état	directoires	procèsverbal	été	commune
trois	millions	directoire	séance	messieurs	paris
heures	billets	département	jour	comités	municipalité
séance	caisse	district	ordre	comité	ville
30	31	32	33	34	35
manière	nommer	suit	assemblées	plusieurs	annonce
avant	nombre	mis	partie	propose	membres
délibération	choix	entendu	coloniale	article	fauteuil
ajournement	plus	nom	état	ajournement	comte
point	suffrages	après	france	membres	été
moment	scrutin	suivant	générale	amendements	place
non	primaires	propose	libres	décrète	donné
décider	nomination	rapport	colons	voix	démission
questions	élections	adopté	hommes	délibérer	curé
agit	citoyens	décrète	décret	lieu	évêque
discussion	assemblée	projet	saintdomingue	assemblée	député
assemblée	élection	nationale	couleur	amendement	maury
demande	électeurs	assemblée	colonne	demande	président
savoir	membres	comité	assemblée	préalable	assemblée
question	assemblées	décret	colonies	question	abbé
36	37	38	39	40	41
adopté	royaume	car	seront	elles	prochaine
corps	tout	observation	projet	moment	ans
directoire	ecclésiastiques	quant	sciences	publique	pouvoir
administrés	civique	avis	ouvriers	toute	revision
bâtiments	décret	article	sous	même	constituant
rapport	fait	parce	administration	moyens	gouvernement
autorise	préter	comité	paris	temps	constitutionnel
ationale	assemblée	paraît	académie	point	convention
emplACEMENT	roi	cela	départements	intérêt	ationale
maison	fonctionnaires	pense	arts	enfin	législatures
département	prêté	prépinant	ouvrages	tout	vœu
district	publics	demande	chaussées	messieurs	nation
assemblée	constitution	très	ponts	sans	assemblée
décret	loi	serait	canal	toutes	législature
comité	serment	crois	travaux	plus	constitution
42	43	44	45	46	47
sommes	partie	soldat	payement	titre	poids
encore	dès	corps	acquéreurs	net	sols
besoins	qué	défense	adjudication	tit	valeur
comité	est	état	décret	ancienne	plus
somme	aussi	places	elles	mois	titre
état	point	service	baux	lieutenant	cloches
mois	dit	ministre	seront	secours	commission
dépense	qué	officiers	aliénation	régiment	sous
fonds	fait	soldats	ventes	capitaine	espèces
année	plus	hommes	prix	campagnes	culture
finances	lès	militaires	municipalités	art	pièces
public	lès	troupes	vente	services	argent
trésor	dès	guerre	domaines	pension	fabrication
dépenses	dès	militaire	nationaux	livres	monnaies
millions	lés	armée	biens	ans	monnaie

Table 15: Top 15 words of topics 24 through 47.

48	49	50	51	52	53
eût	elles	ici	plus	sans	décret
depuis	assemblées	moment	paris	propose	bien
devait	nombre	fait	augmentation	ordre	justice
dit	administration	pouvons	chaque	secours	dire
messieurs	département	encore	savoir	plus	pouvez
point	royaume	même	dépense	établissements	moment
pouvait	districts	bien	année	traitement	devez
alors	division	devons	sols	ordres	encore
après	assemblée	tout	jusqu	hôtel	serait
même	plus	été	total	maison	doute
fait	population	messieurs	frais	invalides	sans
fut	comité	plus	traitement	hôpitaux	plus
étaient	départements	sommes	liv	religieuses	aujourd
avaient	chaque	notre	somme	maisons	hui
été	villes	avons	livres	religieux	messieurs
54	55	56	57	58	59
chaque	mirabeau	papier	dettes	cas	titre
lieutenants	droite	inspecteurs	autres	chacun	suivants
compagnies	élève	sans	titulaires	même	conçu
infanterie	entendre	procèsverbaux	titre	plus	seront
plus	plusieurs	timbre	comité	articles	termes
sousofficiers	monsieur	générale	titres	toutes	donne
militaire	membres	autres	évaluation	titre	mis
seront	tribune	sous	officiers	après	projet
généraux	murmures	enregistrement	indemnité	pourront	voix
régiments	partie	droits	été	pourra	articles
service	parole	droit	prix	auront	lecture
corps	ordre	bois	finance	chaque	art
régiment	président	conservation	remboursement	aura	rapporiteur
grade	assemblée	seront	offices	seront	adopté
officiers	demande	actes	liquidation	art	article
60	61	62	63	64	65
cents	france	décrète	particuliers	imprimé	rente
neuf	bonheur	arrêtés	bureaux	signé	dime
sept	patriotisme	donner	administrateurs	faite	seigneur
dix	assemblée	sanction	administration	mention	rentes
huit	sentiments	été	publiques	écrit	propriétaire
cinq	citoyens	exécution	régisseurs	remis	seigneurs
six	ationale	ordres	droits	archives	été
trois	liberté	arrêté	généraux	commissaires	fief
quatre	notre	majesté	perception	assemblée	cas
deux	messieurs	décret	postes	bureau	indemnité
deniers	français	président	contributions	lettres	cidevant
mille	constitution	décrets	employés	pièces	rachat
sous	patrie	nationale	seront	procèsverbal	fonds
cent	nation	assemblée	receveurs	fait	droit
livres	plus	roi	régie	été	droits
66	67	68	69	70	71
aura	toutes	magistrats	commis	président	edit
coupable	lois	toulouse	trésor	assister	estimée
puni	ordres	cour	dépenses	satisfaction	porte
crime	exécution	eaux	état	mention	autre
commis	ministère	metz	public	ordonne	maison
été	sous	rennes	ationale	paris	deux
délit	agents	rouen	général	répond	depuis
défauts	responsabilité	arrêt	bureau	hommage	fait
mort	fonctions	bordeaux	trésorerie	procèsverbal	ladite
tout	roi	vacations	comptabilité	séance	paris
cas	exécutif	paris	commissaires	députation	sieurs
peines	administration	baillage	extraordinaire	barre	celle
loi	ministres	offices	compte	fait	rue
contre	pouvoir	chambre	comptes	nationale	jusqu
peine	ministre	parlement	caisse	assemblée	sieur

Table 16: Top 15 words of topics 48 through 71.

72	73	74	75	76	77
perception	année	laquelle	présenté	faite	aller
produit	contribuables	suis	organisation	soient	nominal
villes	répartition	tres	présenter	décrétée	motion
gabelle	revenus	donner	objet	amendement	appel
culture	livre	ministre	propose	mise	demandent
droit	raison	etc	décret	angely	ajournement
sel	rôles	honneur	discussion	propose	fermée
impôts	chaque	fait	rapport	saintjeand	parole
provinces	contributions	signé	assemblée	voix	priorité
plus	impôt	lecture	constitution	assemblée	plusieurs
prix	foncière	nationale	travail	appuie	membres
millions	imposition	monsieur	plan	adoptée	assemblée
droits	revenu	président	articles	proposition	voix
tabac	impositions	assemblée	projet	demande	demande
impôt	contribution	lettre	comité	motion	discussion
78	79	80	81	82	83
contre	rien	même	peu	nombre	public
nationaux	autre	aucun	état	celle	sans
commerce	crois	fonctions	quelques	quatrième	déclaration
dette	dire	lieu	jours	après	principes
livres	plus	sans	nombre	second	tout
monnaie	fait	cas	plusieurs	plus	lois
valeur	messieurs	pouvoir	même	autre	constitution
plus	demande	législature	fait	partie	société
émission	dit	pourra	été	premier	homme
millions	parce	décret	moment	troisième	citoyen
circulation	tout	membres	temps	trois	citoyens
papier	très	administratifs	depuis	classe	liberté
numéraire	car	roi	très	seconde	droit
argent	cela	législatif	encore	première	loi
assignats	bien	corps	plus	deux	droits
84	85	86	87	88	89
état	sceaux	articles	contre	manière	intérêt
gratifications	autorise	décret	temu	assemblée	négociants
liste	celui	ceuxci	justice	dernier	notre
ans	patentes	premier	après	domaines	royaume
traitements	lettres	décrété	devant	aliénation	français
secours	roi	ajouter	acte	état	étranger
services	proclamation	mot	commissionnaire	comité	agriculture
après	décrets	disposition	paix	mai	industrie
décret	mois	rapporteur	officier	biens	marchandises
service	relatif	rédaction	tribunal	nationaux	ports
personnes	concernant	mots	juge	département	compagnie
traitement	portant	demande	pourra	même	inde
pension	jour	amendement	lieu	municipalité	manufactures
été	même	propose	cas	décret	france
pensions	décret	article	police	celle	commerce
90	91	92	93	94	95
renvoie	volonté	devoir	seront	fait	dispositions
finances	legislatif	dire	elles	principes	mère
pétition	gouvernement	été	corps	comment	royaume
renvoyée	liberté	honneur	service	parce	parents
membre	lois	crois	ordre	droit	plus
compte	loi	tout	armes	cela	roi
constitution	représentants	avais	ligne	sans	régent
affaire	pouvoirs	bien	publique	non	fils
rapports	exécutif	plus	troupes	question	biens
rapport	constitution	messieurs	force	dire	régence
comités	droit	assemblée	citoyens	plus	loi
renvoi	peuple	moi	nationale	quand	droit
assemblée	nation	suis	garde	point	père
demande	roi	mes	nationales	bien	enfants
comité	pouvoir	mon	gardes	dit	famille

Table 17: Top 15 words of topics 72 through 95.

96	97	98	99
charge	affaires	bien	plus
madame	seront	grand	celle
ladite	jugements	aussi	même
chambre	judiciaire	nombre	don
faites	parties	seraient	district
veuve	district	moyen	communauté
femme	justice	peu	adhésion
tailleur	paix	autre	adresses
marchand	juge	celui	fait
cidevant	appel	aurait	patriotique
compter	jugement	pourrait	décrets
intérêts	cassation	moins	nationale
roi	tribunaux	même	assemblée
somme	tribunal	serait	ville
livres	juges	plus	adresse

Table 18: Top 15 words of topics 96 through 99.