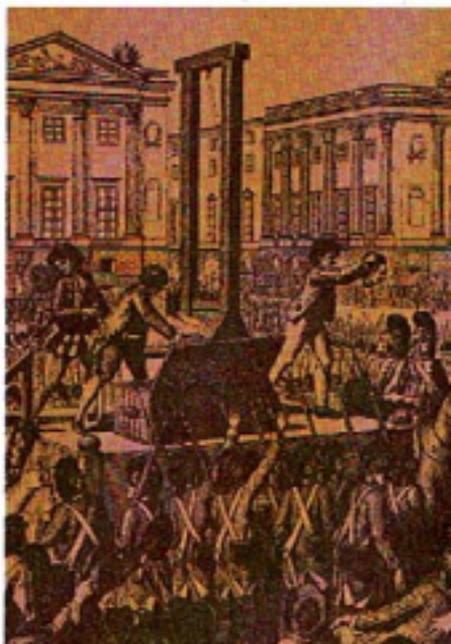


The Age of Democratic Revolutions



CHAPTER 18 1603–1815

The liberal ideas of the Enlightenment stimulated revolutionary movements aimed at abolishing absolutist monarchies and extending the rights of ordinary citizens. In America, colonists broke away from England and signed a Declaration of Independence, left, carefully summarizing their grievances. In France, a long and bloody revolution erupted many times into mob violence. At right, an executioner displays the head of Louis XVI to the waiting crowd.

On the night of October 17, 1787, a young Englishman traveling in France returned to his quarters after having had dinner with a group of French friends. Throughout the meal the major topic of conversation had concerned the political conditions in France. What the young man heard deeply disturbed him. In his diary he recorded his impressions of the evening.

One opinion pervaded the whole company, that they are on the eve of some great revolution in the government: that everything points to it . . . a great ferment amongst all ranks of men, who are eager for some change without knowing what to look to or to hope for: and a strong leaven of liberty, increasing every hour since the American revolution. . . .

The troubled young diarist was Arthur Young, who later became well known throughout Europe as an agricultural expert. For many months he traveled all over France, carefully noting conditions, recording his observations, and becoming more and more convinced that the nation was on the verge of a profound upheaval. Less than two years after that disturbing dinner party, the most important revolution of modern times erupted in France.

The French Revolution had been in the making for a long period of time. By the end of the 18th century, the people had lost faith in the existing system of government, feeling it to be unjust and unfair. Loyalty to the monarchy was undermined by a growing desire for change, an attitude that reforms were necessary and right.

A similar sense of dissatisfaction had existed among the American colonists scarcely twenty years before Young's visit to France, as it had among the English themselves a century earlier. The specific conditions differed in the case of each

nation, but the general problem was the same: People were unhappy with the way they were being governed. The idea of the divine right of kings and royal absolutism gave way to the idea that kings must share their power with parliaments, the representatives of the people, because governments existed for the benefit of the people and not for a privileged few.

These democratic ideas grew so widespread that the late 17th and the 18th centuries became an age of democratic revolutions, as first Englishmen, and then Americans and Frenchmen, resorted to force to change their governmental systems. When the age came to a close, these revolutions had established more firmly than ever before the principles and practices of constitutional government, of representative institutions, and of democratic procedure.

This chapter tells how:

1. The Puritan Revolution curbed absolutism in England.
2. England strengthened its democracy with a bloodless revolution.
3. The American Revolution gave birth to a new nation.
4. Growing dissatisfaction paved the way to revolution in France.
5. The French Revolution brought drastic changes.
6. Napoleon was a son of the revolution.

1 The Puritan Revolution curbed absolutism in England

The 17th century was an age of absolutism in most of Europe. In England, however, conditions were different. The power of the English kings never became so great as that of their European contemporaries because of the importance of

Parliament. Even the Tudors, who had almost unlimited power, had to reckon with Parliament. Without its consent, a ruler could not make or repeal laws, or impose new taxes. Parliament's "power of the purse" was an effective tool for curbing an overly ambitious king.

The Tudors shrewdly avoided conflicts with Parliament, particularly over finances. Although they acted upon the principle of divine right, they refrained from discussing it. With strong support from the middle class, to whose interests they catered, the Tudors achieved a high degree of success and England enjoyed a long period of prosperity.

James I raised an important issue. Trouble began when Elizabeth I died in 1603 and James, king of Scotland, succeeded to the throne as the first of the Stuart kings. (He was the son of Mary, Queen of Scots, who had been imprisoned and finally beheaded on the charge of plotting against Elizabeth.) For the first time, England and Scotland had the same king, though each maintained its own separate government.

James I, born and raised in Scotland, did not understand the English very well. He was a learned man who lacked common sense; his contemporaries called him "the wisest fool in Christendom." To make matters worse, James had exaggerated notions about the powers of the king. He was a firm believer in the divine right of kings and even wrote a book about it. Particularly annoying to the English was his habit of lecturing Parliament on the subject of royal power. Not content with exercising the considerable authority he inherited from the Tudors, he insisted that any restriction whatever on his power was wrong.

Since the English had a long tradition of parliamentary checks on royal power, James' position was unwise, especially since he was in constant need of money.

Parliament became so irritated with him that it refused to grant him the revenues he needed. In effect, the monarch had raised an important constitutional question—whether the king or Parliament was supreme in England.

The problem was intensified by the profound changes which English society had undergone during the 16th century. Two classes had grown greatly in importance. One, the gentry, included landed gentlemen (also called squires) ranking just below the nobility. The other consisted of merchants and manufacturers. Both groups had considerable economic strength and, through their representatives in the House of Commons, were eager to increase their political power at the king's expense.

Another factor that complicated the situation was religion. The religious compromise worked out during the reign of Elizabeth proved satisfactory to many Englishmen but displeased several groups. One group included the Roman Catholics; another was the High Church party, composed of people who wished to reintroduce more Roman Catholic practices and ceremonies into the Anglican Church. At the other extreme were Calvinist Protestants, including many of the politically ambitious gentry and middle class, who felt that the English Church was too "popish." Most of them wanted it to reform, particularly by abandoning such rituals as kneeling and making the sign of the cross at baptism. Because these reformers insisted on "purifying" the English Church, they were generally referred to as Puritans. Another group of Calvinist Protestants, the Presbyterians, wanted a new type of national church without bishops; they were especially strong in Scotland. Still another group of Protestants favored completely independent congregations, and were known as Separatists.

When James became king, the Puritans presented him with a petition asking for

reforms, which he refused to grant, warning them that if they did not conform to the practices of the Church of England, he would "harry them out of the land."

Charles I complicated the quarrel. When James died in 1625, his son Charles succeeded him on the throne as Charles I. Like his father, Charles I favored absolutism and opposed the Puritans. Parliament, with many Puritan members, was just as suspicious of Charles as it had been of his father. Hence, it continued the practice of voting the monarchy inadequate revenues, much to the irritation of the new king.

Charles tried to raise money by forcing his subjects to contribute funds to the government; rich men who would not pay were imprisoned and poor men were drafted into the army. In 1628 Charles particularly needed funds because of the naval expeditions he had sent to aid the French Huguenots of La Rochelle. Parliament took advantage of the situation to force the king to agree to the Petition of Right, which condemned arbitrary taxation and imprisonment. Friction continued, however, and Charles finally reached such a deadlock with Parliament that he decided to by-pass it altogether. In 1629 he dismissed it and ruled alone for the next eleven years.

Charles hoped that by providing the country with efficient personal government he could diminish the stature of Parliament, but he antagonized too many important groups. He made enemies of the Puritans by persecuting their leaders and supporting the High Church party; as a consequence, thousands of Puritans emigrated to America in the 1630's. In addition, Charles alarmed property owners with his attempts to raise money through forced loans. When he tried to impose the Anglican religion upon the Presbyterian Scotch, open rebellion broke out in 1638.

Desperately in need of funds to put down the Scottish rebellion, Charles finally recalled Parliament in 1640. Its members refused to vote any money, however, unless Charles made certain concessions. He refused and after only three weeks dismissed the assembly, known as the Short Parliament. He then called for new elections. The Parliament that reconvened later in 1640 remained in session for the next twenty years, and was appropriately called the Long Parliament.

The Long Parliament, with essentially the same membership as the Short Parliament, was no more accommodating than its predecessor. Before it would grant any money, it demanded important reforms:

- 1) Parliament must meet at least once every three years.
- 2) Royal courts, responsible only to the king, must be abolished.
- 3) The king must no longer levy taxes without the consent of Parliament.

Although Charles reluctantly agreed, he had no intention of keeping his word.

Cavaliers fought Roundheads in the Civil War. Led by the Puritan faction, Parliament made further demands. The king, at the head of a band of soldiers, invaded the House of Commons to arrest five of its leaders, but they had fled. Armed Londoners came to the defense of Parliament, and the king went northward to collect an army. About 120 Lords and 200 Commoners joined him, and he gathered an army from the north and west of the country. The followers of Charles were called Cavaliers; they included most of the nobles and large landholders, and they opposed extreme Protestantism.

About 30 Lords and 300 Commoners, including many Puritans, remained in Parliament to govern the country. They raised an army which drew its support from the south and east of England. The men of Parliament and supporters of the

ENGLISH CIVIL WAR 1642-1646



Puritans were called Roundheads because they cut their hair short as a protest against the elaborate hair styles of the day.

Civil war began in 1642. Fighting took place on a small scale, and, though the Battle of Edgehill in October was indecisive, other early engagements favored the royalists. Then the Roundheads discovered within their midst an unknown country squire with extraordinary military and leadership qualities. He was Oliver Cromwell, a devout Puritan. Using severe discipline, he trained an army which defeated the Cavaliers at Marston Moor in 1644 and again in 1645 in the Battle of Naseby. A year later the king surrendered and the war ended.

For the next two years king and Parliament tried unsuccessfully to come to terms. Cromwell strongly distrusted the king, but Parliament was reluctant to deal harshly with him. Finally Cromwell took

matters into his own hands and, with the support of the army, excluded nearly 100 members from Parliament. The remaining members convicted Charles of treason and had him beheaded in 1649.

A *Commonwealth* replaced the monarchy. After the death of Charles I, Parliament declared England to be "a Commonwealth and Free State . . . without any king or House of Lords." But it was easier to abolish the monarchy than to establish a new system of government acceptable to the people. Each of the three chief groups in the country—Parliament, the army, and the royalists—had its own ideas as to how the government should be run. The House of Commons was composed of middle-class landowners and merchants who opposed extreme forms of democratic government. The army, however, included a great many persons from the lower economic classes with advanced political ideas who demanded reforms, such as a written constitution and broadened suffrage. The royalists, on the other hand, wanted the monarchy restored.

Disgusted with all the quarrels, Cromwell took over more and more control of the government. In 1653 he abolished Parliament altogether and became Lord Protector of England under a written constitution called the Instrument of Government. Cromwell himself believed in a large measure of political and religious freedom, but the continued fighting among different factions forced him to rule England as a military dictator.

Cromwell was also forced to take other steps he considered unwise, such as closing theaters and alehouses, prohibiting mixed dancing and cockfighting, and ruling that games on Sunday were illegal. His chief supporters were the Puritans, who believed these idle amusements to be sinful.

When Cromwell died in 1658, there was no one strong enough to replace him.

Furthermore, most Englishmen had had their fill of Puritanism. In 1660 a new Parliament called on the son of Charles I, an exile in France, to become king, and he gladly accepted the invitation.

The so-called Puritan Revolution produced several important changes in the English government. It deprived the monarchy of arbitrary courts and the power to make laws by royal proclamation or to levy taxes without the consent of Parliament. The revolution also gave rise to democratic ideas—that the people should have a voice in the government, and that they should be granted religious liberty.

Section Review

1. In what way did the English monarchy under the Tudors differ from most of the monarchies in Europe?
2. Why did both James I and his son Charles I quarrel with Parliament?
3. Explain why personal rule by Charles I failed.
4. How and why did Oliver Cromwell become a dictator?
5. What were the chief results of the Puritan Revolution?

2 England strengthened its democracy with a bloodless revolution

Although the Puritan Revolution had limited the English monarchy, kings still had considerable authority. In effect, power was shared by king and Parliament.

Conflicts continued during the Restoration. In May 1660 royalty was restored to England in the person of Charles II, son of the unfortunate Charles I. Thirty years old at the time, Charles II was gay and fun-loving; his subjects called him the Merry Monarch. During his twenty-five year reign, known as the Restoration, the English went as far in the direction of

amusement as the Puritans had gone in the direction of austerity. For all his gaiety, Charles was clever and intelligent, with common sense and wit. He was lazy and cynical, however, and did not accomplish much for England.

Charles II favored the Roman Catholic religion and wanted to restore royal power. Mindful of his father's fate, he moved cautiously so as not to provoke Parliament. Nevertheless, some people suspected his plans, and once more the issues of religion and royal despotism began to emerge.

The controversy had two important results. One was the passage in 1679 of the Habeas Corpus Act, a safeguard against arbitrary imprisonment. Anyone who believed himself to be unjustly imprisoned could obtain a writ of habeas corpus (Latin for "you have the body"), which compelled the government to explain why the prisoner was being held. Another consequence was the beginning of modern political parties. The Whig party, which represented the middle class and the upper nobility, supported Parliament. The Tory party, representing the lesser nobility and the gentry, supported the king.

Since Charles II had no legitimate heirs, the issue between Whigs and Tories was reduced to the question of who would succeed Charles on the throne. The legitimate successor was Charles' brother James, an ardent Roman Catholic and proponent of divine right. Although the Whigs tried to have a law passed to keep him off the throne, the Tories defeated it; when Charles died in 1685, James became king.

The Glorious Revolution confirmed the power of Parliament. James II, intent on reasserting his own authority and that of the Roman Catholic Church, soon antagonized almost everyone. His open contempt for Parliament and his support of the Church of Rome alarmed even the Tories. His opponents were somewhat re-

assured by the fact that he was growing old. They were also aware that after his death the throne would pass to his two daughters by his first wife, who were Protestants. However, the king's second wife gave birth to a son in 1688, creating the possibility of a long line of Roman Catholic monarchs. Tories then joined with Whigs in offering the crown to James' older daughter, Mary, who had married William III of Orange, the ruler of the Dutch and a staunch Protestant.

In November of 1688, William and Mary landed in England at the head of a large army. James could offer little resistance, because his army commanders did not support him. He fled to France, and William and Mary were proclaimed the new rulers of England and Scotland. This reassertion of parliamentary authority is known as the Glorious Revolution, or Bloodless Revolution.

In order to safeguard the results of the Glorious Revolution, Parliament passed several important measures, usually called the Revolution Settlement. One of these, the Bill of Rights of 1689, guaranteed freedom of speech in Parliament, provided for frequent meetings of that body, and forbade the king to interfere with the election of its members. Other clauses guaranteed the right of the people to petition the government, forbade excessive bail, and protected the nation from the illegal use of the army. Another part of the Revolution Settlement, also passed in 1689, was the Toleration Act, which granted religious freedom to various Protestant groups, although those who were not members of the Anglican Church could not hold public office. A third measure, the Act of Settlement of 1701, provided that no Roman Catholic could be ruler of England, automatically excluding the descendants of James II by his second wife.

By making the king subordinate to Parliament, the Glorious Revolution was

a striking victory for the principles of parliamentary government and the rule of law. It was also a victory for the principle of the right of rebellion against tyranny. After 1688, government in England was thought of as a sort of contract between king and people, with each having recognized responsibilities and obligations. The Glorious Revolution thus established a *constitutional monarchy*—that is, a democratic nation with a royal head.

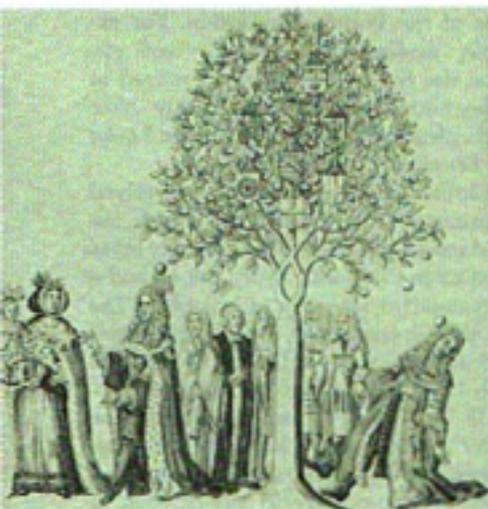
Cabinet government developed under a new line of kings. Anne, the second daughter of James II, came to the throne in 1701. The last of the reigning Stuarts, she died in 1714 leaving no heirs. The Act of Settlement had stipulated that the throne was to go to the monarch's closest Protestant relative, who in this case was a German, the elector of Hanover. Although this ruler became George I of England and began the Hanoverian dynasty, his heart remained in his native land. He spoke no English and spent much time in Germany.

Unfamiliar as he was with English conditions, George I depended greatly upon his *cabinet* for advice and assistance. This institution had first taken shape under Charles II, when the most influential members of his Privy Council met with him in his private office, or cabinet. The cabinet members belonged to Parliament and most of them were ministers—administrative heads of governmental departments. Beginning with the reign of George I, the cabinet came to exercise true executive functions, such as policy formulation. This development owed much to Robert Walpole, the leader of the Whig party.

It so happened that for half a century after 1714 the Whigs controlled the House of Commons. Thus George I and his successor George II, who ruled from 1727 to 1760, chose their ministers from the Whig party. Walpole, who headed the party from 1721 to 1742, served during this time



The English Government underwent profound changes in the first 150 years after the Tudors. The monarchy lost much of its power as a result of the Puritan Revolution, satirized above as a fight between Cavalier and Roundhead dogs. Parliament asserted its supremacy in the Glorious Revolution, depicted in the cartoon below left. Fruit from an orange tree (representing the new ruler, William of Orange) knocks the crown from the head of James II and falls one of his officials. The cabinet assumed executive powers under the guidance of Robert Walpole, whose economic program drew criticism; he is shown below right as a fat tax collector on a barrel drawn by an angry British lion.



as the principal minister—a position that later came to be called prime minister.

Walpole was always careful to see that cabinet members were chosen from the majority party in the House of Commons. In this way he hoped to gain support for executive policies from the legislative arm, or Parliament as a whole. He carried this principle to its logical conclusion in 1742, when he resigned as prime minister because he lost his majority in the House of Commons. Walpole's actions firmly established the tradition that the executive branch of government in Great Britain must resign when its policies were no longer approved by the House of Commons. This principle removed the danger of conflict between the legislative and executive branches of the government, and meant that the actual executive—the prime minister and cabinet—came to represent the dominant party in Parliament.

Section Review

1. Describe two important developments that resulted from political conflicts during the reign of Charles II.
2. Why did Parliament force James II to abdicate? In what respects was the Glorious Revolution a victory for the principles of parliamentary government and the rule of law?
3. Why and how did cabinet government develop under the Hanoverian rulers?

3 The American Revolution gave birth to a new nation

While England was undergoing upheaval and change, its colonies in North America had grown and prospered. For over a century after the establishment of Jamestown in 1607, the colonists went their own way with little interference from the mother country and slight influence on the rest of the world.

The colonies and England grew apart. It has been said that the American Revolution really began when the first Englishman set foot on the soil of the New World. Certain conditions in America tended almost from the beginning to separate the colonists from their mother country.

To begin with, a new national type—the American—was created. Society in the New World differed from that in Europe. Social position and wealth counted for less. The opportunities for ambitious people to better themselves were greater, since the availability of cheap land enabled almost everyone to own some property. The rough life of the frontier added another new element. Englishmen became more self-sufficient, less inclined to follow tradition. The population differed not only because of changes among the English immigrants, but also because of the presence of other nationalities. Many hundreds of adventurous settlers emigrated from Scotland, Germany, the Netherlands, France, and Ireland.

Another factor that helped set the American colonies apart was the growth of democratic ideals. When settlers crossed the Atlantic, they carried with them the ideas of the Puritan Revolution. For example, thousands of Puritans who opposed the tyranny of Charles I moved to Massachusetts; as a result, many New Englanders were familiar with John Locke and his social contract theory.

Another important difference involved government. The American colonists enjoyed more self-government than any other colonists in the world. Every colony had a representative assembly of colonists. The first of these assemblies, the Virginia House of Burgesses, was established as early as 1619. Like their ancestors in England, colonial lawmakers soon discovered "the power of the purse." They exerted pressure on the royal governor by threatening to withhold funds. Local affairs, such as

road building and repair and the enforcement of laws, were in the hands of the colonists themselves.

The English tightened their control. Like most European nations in the 17th and 18th centuries, England embraced the policy of mercantilism. According to this system, colonies were supposed to help the mother country by supplying raw materials and by buying finished goods. Starting about 1650, England passed a series of laws, the Navigation Acts, to control colonial trade. However, for more than a century, it did not enforce them strictly, and the American colonists, persistently ignoring the acts, carried on a profitable illegal trade.

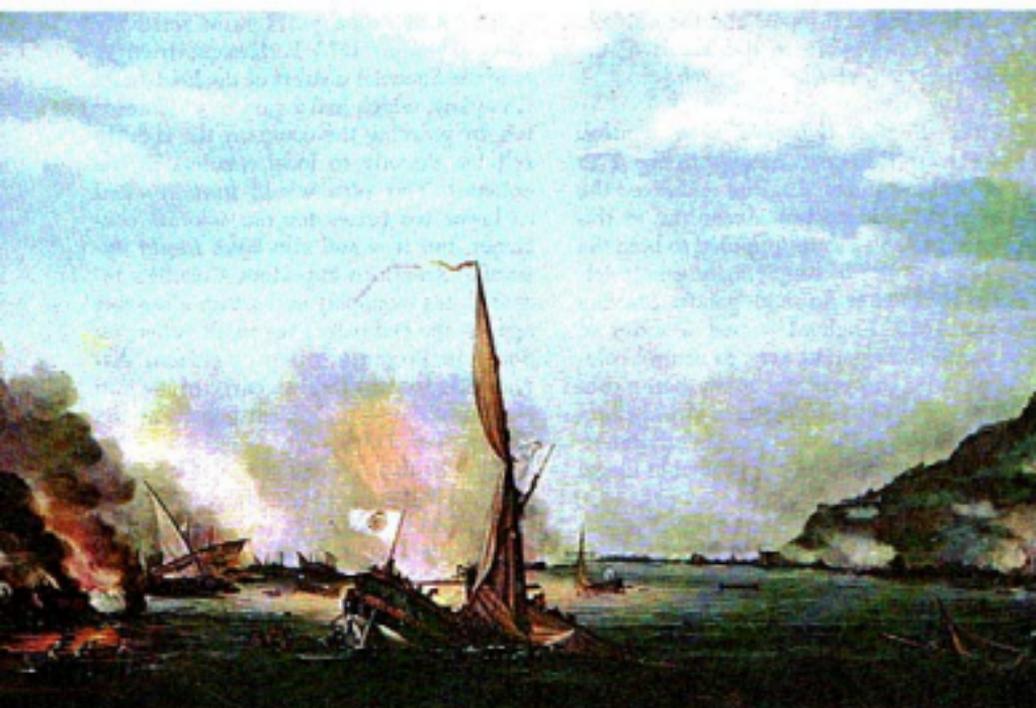
After England defeated France in the French and Indian War in 1763, the English government initiated a new policy toward its North American colonies. The colonists had contributed very little to the war, which was won largely with British troops, ships, and taxes. Moreover, the constant threat from the Indians in the interior necessitated continued protection from British troops, since the colonists provided none of their own. England reasoned that the colonists should share in the financial burden. Therefore the English government took steps to enforce the old Navigation Acts and also passed a series of new laws to raise money.

The Quartering Act of 1765 required Americans to provide quarters, various supplies, and transportation for British troops in the colonies. The Stamp Act, passed the same year, required the purchase of stamps for newspapers, playing cards, and various legal documents. Although the tax was not very high and the practice was common in most of Europe, the colonists bitterly opposed the law as "taxation without representation." Opposition was so intense that in 1766 the act was repealed.

The next seven years were relatively calm. Then in 1773 Parliament tried to ease the financial distress of the East India Company, which had a surplus of Chinese tea, by granting the company the right to sell tea directly to local retailers in the colonies. This plan would have resulted in lower tea prices for the colonial consumer, but it would also have meant bypassing American importers. Colonists resented this monopoly and set up a boycott against the company's tea in all American ports. In Boston a group of citizens disguised as Indians threw a cargo of tea into Boston harbor—an incident known as the Boston Tea Party.

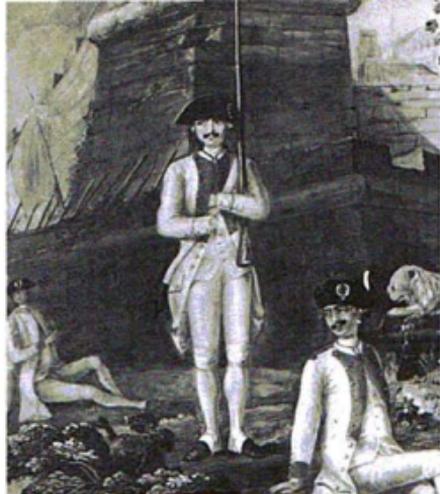
The British Parliament decided that the time had come to teach the colonists a lesson, and in 1774 it passed five so-called Intolerable Acts. These acts closed Boston harbor to shipping, ordered the colonists to cease their opposition, compelled them to pay for their acts of vandalism, and virtually revoked the charter of Massachusetts. The punishment was much too harsh, for closing the harbor meant economic ruin for Boston, and rescinding the charter ended local self-government. But King George III declared that "The die is cast. The colonies must either triumph or submit." Until this point the dispute had revolved around the problem of taxation; now the quarrel became a question of whether the colonists had the right to govern themselves.

American colonists won their freedom. In April 1775, British troops in Boston were ordered to confiscate munitions that the colonists were storing at Concord. On their way to Concord they met at Lexington a band of Minute Men, as the Massachusetts militia was called. Someone fired "the shot heard round the world," and fighting broke out. By the time the British returned to Boston, they had lost a third of their men.



At first, most American colonists did not want to break away from England. Only a determined minority of enthusiastic patriots argued for complete independence. As fighting continued, however, feelings grew more intense. The moderates gave way to the more radical patriots, especially since the British government seemed unwilling to compromise. The climax came on July 4, 1776, when representatives of the colonies, meeting in a Continental Congress, adopted the Declaration of Independence. This famous document was the work of a Virginian, Thomas Jefferson, who later became President of the United States. In stirring language, it set forth Locke's theory of natural rights to justify the colonists' right to revolt against British rule.

After that there was no turning back. What began as an American struggle for independence was almost immediately transformed into another world-wide conflict for empire among the European nations. During the next two years, the French secretly supplied the colonists with munitions. When the Americans won a decisive victory against the British in 1777 at Saratoga in New York, the French, anxious to strike back at the British, decided that the Americans were a good political risk and officially entered the war on the American side. A year later, Spain declared war on England, and both Spain and France sent strong naval forces to fight the English in the West Indies. The Netherlands joined the allies against England in 1780. England found itself fighting



The American Revolution, like other conflicts of the 18th century, involved many European nations. Spain and France both hoped to gain territory for themselves at the expense of England. Left, Spanish ships attacking the British at Gibraltar in 1782 are repulsed by fire from shore. French soldiers, like those above, proved a decisive aid to the colonists. English forces included mercenaries from Hesse, a state in western Germany. At right, Hessian troops display their fine uniforms, which include high boots and headgear.



not only for its North American colonies but for its empire as well.

The aid of the French fleet and 6000 French troops was decisive. In 1781 George Washington, who commanded the American forces, accepted the surrender of the British general, Lord Charles Cornwallis, at Yorktown, Virginia. In 1783 a peace treaty was signed and England recognized the thirteen colonies as independent.

The English navy, in a striking comeback in the final year of the war, defeated the fleets of France and Spain, so that England did not lose any other colonies.

The American Revolution had important results. Although independence did not immediately give the new American nation a democratic system of government,

the seeds of democracy were well planted. The Revolution ended many reminders of the European class system, such as inherited titles. In its place was established the principle of equality before the law. Voting rights, at first confined to the property-owning classes, were soon broadened.

For the first time in modern history, a large nation established a republic of a federal type—that is, an organization of separate states having a central government, with the states yielding some of their sovereignty to unite into one nation. Heretofore a republican form of government had been thought practical only for small nations, such as the Netherlands or Switzerland. The Americans also developed a strong belief in written constitutions and the principle of limited powers of govern-

ment. All thirteen states adopted written constitutions, each of which provided for the separation of legislative, executive, and judicial powers. In addition, each state constitution incorporated a bill of rights that repeated the philosophy of natural rights so eloquently stated in the Declaration of Independence.

Finally, the successful revolt of the American colonists and their statement in the great Declaration became a symbol and source of inspiration to all peoples seeking freedom, appealing to men in general, not just to Americans. It declared to the world at large that what the Americans had done, all peoples had the right to do. The American Revolution thus became an important factor in later independence movements.

Section Review

1. What factors made the American colonies grow apart from England?
2. Why did England change its trade policy toward the colonists after 1763? Name some events that led the colonists to proclaim their independence.
3. In what respects was the American War for Independence part of a worldwide conflict among European nations?
4. What were some of the results of the American Revolution?

4 Growing dissatisfaction paved the way to revolution in France

The French government had aided the Americans in their revolutionary struggle chiefly to harass the British. Many Frenchmen, however, sympathized deeply with the ideas of freedom and rebellion against tyranny for which the Americans fought. The success of the American revolt encouraged those Frenchmen who believed that far-reaching reforms were necessary for their own nation.

In some ways France at that time occupied an enviable position. With a population nearly triple that of England, a fine textile industry, and a flourishing export trade, France was probably the richest country in Europe. In all Western nations French was the language of the educated classes, and Paris was regarded as the cultural center of the Western world.

France was also the home of the Enlightenment. Through the writings of Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau, most educated Europeans came to believe in science, reason, and the inevitability of progress. They expected progress to come through government—provided there was enlightened leadership at the top. After about 1740, this faith became translated into a program of enlightened despotism as monarchs in most countries of Europe instituted reforms in an effort to make their governments more efficient. Ironically, France, the center of the Enlightenment, benefited least from enlightened despotism. Because the French monarchs failed to provide essential reforms, the despotism of the system was not tempered by enlightenment.

Inequality bred discontent. The root of the difficulty lay in the fact that French society was still legally organized along feudal lines, with unequal and unrealistic class divisions. Every person belonged to one of three classes, or "estates." The First Estate consisted of the clergy, the Second Estate was made up of the nobility, and the Third Estate included everyone else. Within this society, called the Old Regime, a person's status, civil rights, and privileges were determined by the estate to which he belonged. By the 18th century, people had become discontented with the old feudal arrangement of society.

Out of a total population of 24 million, the clergy numbered about 130 thousand or about one half of 1 per cent. Yet this

relatively small group was the largest single landholder, owning 10 per cent of the land. The nobility, or Second Estate, had around 200 thousand members. By the late 18th century, the Second Estate monopolized all the best positions in the government and army.

The Third Estate was itself divided into three groups. The upper level consisted of the bourgeoisie—lawyers, doctors, merchants, and businessmen. They strongly resented the privileged position and political ambitions of the nobility. They considered themselves the backbone of the country and saw no reason why the useless and arrogant nobles should enjoy favored treatment and receive the best governmental offices. As men of energy, ideas, and ambition, growing in wealth and numbers, they felt they deserved a larger role in the affairs of state.

Below the bourgeoisie in the Third Estate was a small group of city wage-earners, consisting of skilled artisans, servants, and laborers. Their standard of living declined steadily in the 18th century as prices rose three times faster than wages. Some of these city dwellers lived close to starvation and were a dangerous source of mob violence.

Over 80 per cent of the French population was made up of peasants, the largest element of the Third Estate. However, while they owned 40 per cent of the land and serfdom had largely disappeared, most of them were still burdened by certain dues and obligations imposed on them by the nobility. The existence of outworn customs and privileges particularly irritated the peasants. They saw no justification for maintaining a group of absentee landlords who, unlike their ancestors in feudal times, performed no useful services.

Weak kings failed to promote tax reforms. Under these circumstances, the greatest single problem facing the govern-

ment was the unfair tax system. Church, nobility, and bourgeoisie, the wealthiest elements of society, paid virtually no taxes; the First and Second Estates were exempted from most taxes by law, and the bourgeoisie could buy tax exemptions. The heaviest burden therefore fell on the peasants, who had the least money. As a result, France in the 18th century presented a strange spectacle. While the nation itself was prosperous, the government was constantly poor. The situation cried out for tax reforms, and since France was an absolute monarchy, vigorous leadership should have come from the king.

Unfortunately, Louis XV, who ruled from 1715 to 1774, and his grandson, Louis XVI, neither were vigorous nor were they natural leaders. Louis XV's chief interest was pleasure. He was aware of the unrest among the people, but he remained indifferent to it. When told how serious conditions had become, he is supposed to have replied, "Things will last in my time, but after me—the deluge."

Louis XVI, who was only twenty when he became king in 1774, sincerely wanted to govern well. However, he lacked a forceful personality, had no will power, and was afraid to offend people in direct contact with him.

Bankruptcy threatened the nation. During the reign of Louis XVI, the government of France rapidly approached bankruptcy. Fully three fourths of the total budget was devoted to military expenditures and to the payments on the public debt that had accumulated from previous wars. The debt increased even more sharply after 1778 when France joined the Americans in their struggle for independence. Actually, when compared to the public debt of other countries, that of France was not excessive, but the unbalanced tax system did not bring in enough revenue.

from the **Bill of Rights**, 1689

... the ... Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons pursuant to their respective letters and elections, being now assembled in a full and free representative of this nation, ... do ... for the vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties, declare

That the pretended power of suspending of laws or the execution of laws by regal authority without consent of Parliament is illegal.

That the pretended power of dispensing with laws or the execution of laws by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal. . . .

That levying money for or to the use of the crown by pretence of prerogative without grant of Parliament for longer time or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted is illegal.

That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king, and all . . . prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.

That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace unless it be with consent of Parliament is against law. . . .

That election of members of Parliament ought to be free.

That the freedom of speech and debates or proceedings in Parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament.

That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted. . . .

And that for redress of all grievances and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently.

And they do claim, demand, and insist upon, all and singular, the premises as their un-

doubted rights and liberties and that no declarations, judgments, doings, or proceedings to the prejudice of the people in any of the said premises ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter into consequence or example. . . .

from the **Declaration of Independence**, 1776

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their

right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. . . .

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by the authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved. . . .

from the **Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, 1789**

The representatives of the people of France, formed into a National Assembly, considering that ignorance, neglect, or contempt of human rights, are the sole causes of public misfortunes and corruptions of Government, have resolved to set forth in a solemn declaration, these natural, imprescriptible, and inalienable rights: that this declaration being constantly present to the minds of the members of the body social, they may be for ever kept attentive to their rights and their duties; that the acts of the legislative and executive powers of government, being capable of being every moment compared with the end of political institutions, may be more respected; and also, that the future claims of the citizens, being directed by simple and incontestable principles, may always tend to the maintenance of the Constitution, and the general happiness.

For these reasons, the National Assembly doth recognize and declare, in the presence of the Supreme Being, and with the hope of his blessing and favour, the following *sacred* rights of men and of citizens:

I. Men are born, and always continue, free and equal in respect of their rights. . . .

II. The end of all political associations, is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man; and these rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance of oppression.

III. The nation is essentially the source of all sovereignty; nor can any individual, or any body of men, be entitled to any authority which is not expressly derived from it.

IV. Political liberty consists in the power of doing whatever does not injure another. The exercise of the natural rights of every man, has no other limits than those which are necessary to secure to every *other* man the free exercise of the same rights; and these limits are determinable only by the law.

V. The law ought to prohibit only actions hurtful to society. What is not prohibited by the law, should not be hindered; nor should any one be compelled to that which the law does not require.

VI. The law is an expression of the will of the community. All citizens have a right to concur, either personally, or by their representatives, in its formation. It should be the same to all, whether it protects or punishes; and all being equal in its sight, are equally eligible to all honours, places, and employments, according to their different abilities, without any other distinction than that created by their virtues and talents.

VII. No man should be accused, arrested, or held in confinement, except in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms which it has prescribed. . . .

IX. Every man being presumed innocent till he has been convicted, whenever his detention becomes indispensable, all rigour to him, more than is necessary to secure his person, ought to be provided against by the law.

X. No man ought to be molested on account of his opinions, not even on account of his *religious* opinions, provided his avowal of them does not disturb the public order established by the law.

XI. The unrestrained communication of . . . opinions being one of the most precious rights of man, every citizen may speak, write, and publish freely, provided he is responsible for the abuse of this liberty, in cases determined by the law. . . .

During the late 1770's and in the 1780's, government officials made attempts to solve the financial crisis by taxing the wealthy classes. They failed, however, because the king refused to stand up for his officials in the face of outraged opposition from the nobility. Finally, unable to collect taxes or to borrow money, Louis consented in 1788 to having the Estates-General meet in 1789. (The Estates-General, consisting of representatives from each of the three estates, had last met in 1614.) By insisting upon a meeting of this body, the nobles had forced Louis' hand, but in so doing they had unknowingly opened the door to revolution.

Section Review

1. Why did the social system of the Old Regime cause dissatisfaction?
2. What was the most important problem facing the French government in the 18th century? Why did efforts to solve it fail?
3. Why did Louis XVI summon the Estates-General?

5 The French Revolution brought drastic changes

In its traditional form, the Estates-General consisted of three "orders," one for each estate. Each order included the same number of representatives, who met together and voted on various issues. When the orders had all arrived at a decision, they had only one vote apiece in the Estates-General. When the representatives were finally recalled after 175 years, liberal reformers objected to this traditional form because it would allow the clergy and nobility to join forces against the Third Estate and carry the vote. The king yielded to their appeals and allowed the Third Estate to have as many representatives as the other two orders combined. The crucial question of voting procedure, however, remained unsettled.

Conflicts between the Estates-General and the king led to violence. When the Estates-General convened at Versailles in May 1789, the Third Estate refused to participate unless all three estates met as one body and voted as individuals. After weeks of argument, the Third Estate, joined by some members of the clergy, declared that they were the National Assembly representing the people. This was an act of revolution, for legally the members of the Third Estate had no authority to compose themselves as a sovereign legislative power. On June 20, 1789, on an indoor tennis court, they vowed never to disband until a new constitution had been written for France; their vow became known as the Tennis Court Oath.

Although the king at first tried to preserve the Estates-General in its traditional form, he finally gave in and ordered the clergy and nobility who had not already done so to join the Third Estate in the National Assembly. Thus the Estates-General no longer existed. However, Louis plotted against the Assembly in secret by ordering royal mercenary troops to surround Versailles and Paris.

Meanwhile, the peasantry in the country and the workers in the cities were suffering from bad harvests and depression. Food was scarce, prices were high, and unemployment was widespread. When the king made threatening moves against the Assembly, the people became apprehensive. Crowds in Paris roamed the streets in search of weapons, and on July 14, they besieged the Bastille, an old fort used as a prison. Although there were no weapons there, the crowd believed otherwise. A misunderstanding led to bloodshed, and the infuriated mob stormed the fortress and massacred the small garrison. (Ever since, the French have celebrated Bastille Day on July 14 as a national holiday.) The mob then marched upon the Town Hall, murdered the mayor of Paris,

and set up a new municipal government. The king recognized the new government and ordered his royal troops to leave. In the rural areas the peasants, caught up in a wave of fear and hysteria, refused to pay taxes, attacked the manor houses of the nobles, destroyed the records of feudal dues, and in some cases burned the manors to the ground.

The National Assembly set up a constitutional monarchy. The National Assembly became alarmed by the spreading disorder and violence. On the night of August 4, it took a bold step and declared that feudalism was abolished and all manorial dues ended. The Assembly then set itself the task of establishing a new regime for France. As evidence of what it intended to do, it issued a Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen on August 27, 1789. Echoing the ideas of the Enlightenment, this famous document declared that government must be based on the fundamental principles of liberty, equality, and natural rights.

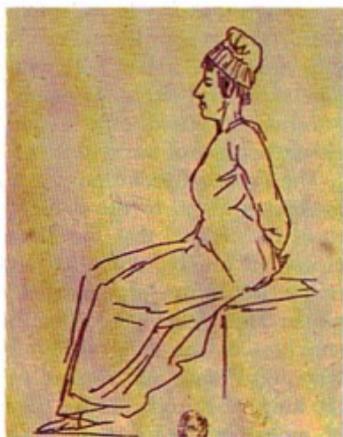
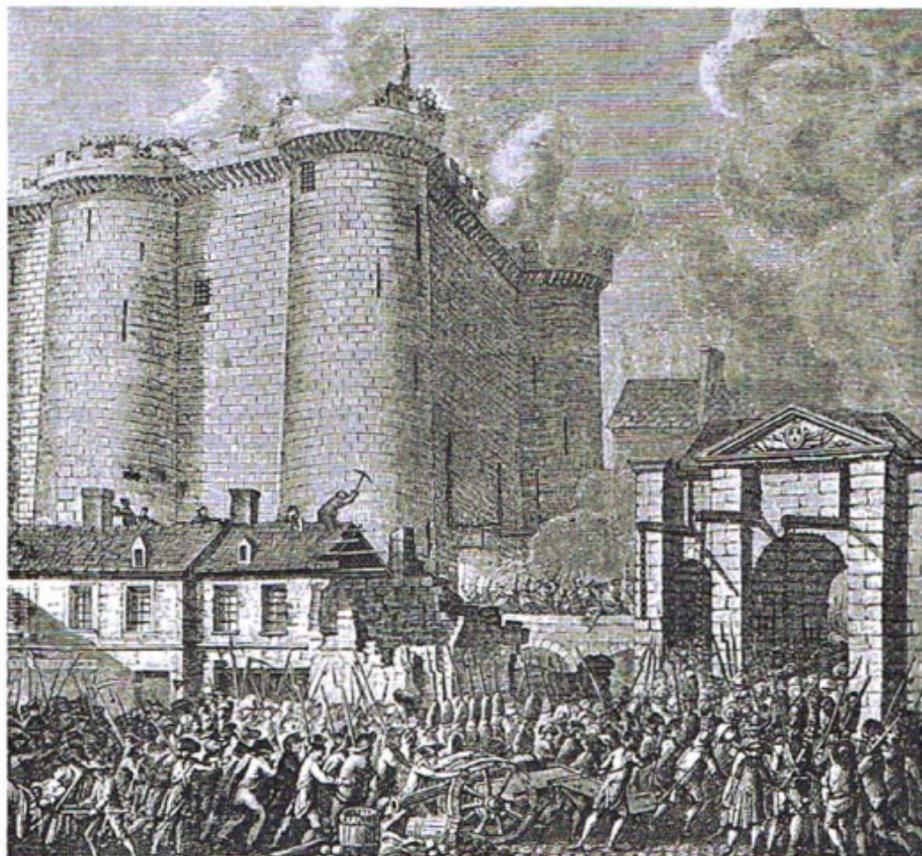
For the next two years the National Assembly (then located in Paris) labored to provide France with a constitution that would incorporate the principles of the Declaration. While the Assembly was working on the constitution, it tried to improve the financial situation in France, which had steadily grown worse. To raise money, the Assembly seized the vast land holdings of the Church, sold them, and used the money to pay off the public debt. The National Assembly then tried to place the Church under firmer government control by requiring public election of priests and bishops; all members of the clergy were supposed to take an oath to support this plan. The proposed system split the Church in France into two factions. One group took the oath; the other refused to do so and became bitterly opposed to the revolution.

As the revolution became more radical, it also aroused increasing opposition among the aristocracy. Louis XVI, becoming increasingly disturbed by the course of events, tried to escape from France with his family in June 1790, but was caught at Varennes, near the Luxemburg border. Louis had foolishly left behind a note denouncing the revolution, an action that encouraged the radicals to demand that the monarchy be abolished altogether.

Meanwhile, the Assembly had completely revamped the whole administrative structure of France. The constitution, completed by September 1791, declared France a constitutional monarchy. Laws were to be made by a Legislative Assembly, and while the king could delay legislation, he could not veto it absolutely. Although all privileges had been swept away and all men were equal before the law, the new government was designed primarily by and for the bourgeoisie. For example, election to the Legislative Assembly depended on property ownership, allowing only 50 thousand out of a total population of 24 million to qualify. After the king formally accepted the new constitution, the National Assembly was dissolved on September 30.

Foreign war led to a "second" revolution. The new constitution of France went into effect in October 1791 with the election of a Legislative Assembly, but this government lasted only eleven months, chiefly because of war with other countries.

The French Revolution was a source of increasing alarm to the monarchs of Europe, who feared that the universal principles of liberty, equality, and natural rights would undermine their own regimes. Their fears were intensified by the activities of the *émigrés*, French nobles who fled France and worked to persuade the kings of Europe to save the institution of monarchy by restoring it in France.



The French Revolution

The most dramatic of the events launching the Revolution was the fall of the Bastille, above. Successive waves of violence culminated in the Reign of Terror, one of whose first victims was Marie Antoinette; the sketch at left was made as she was carried to her execution. Meanwhile, France had gone to war, and citizen armies—like the one at right pulling cannon up the hill of Montmartre—had rallied to its defense. These commoners, dubbed *sans-culottes* (that is, those who did not wear knee breeches, like the aristocrats, but trousers instead), celebrated victories by dancing around Trees of Liberty that were decorated with emblems of the revolution.



The *émigrés* directed their frantic appeals to Emperor Leopold II of Austria because he was the brother of the French queen, Marie Antoinette. Leopold did not want to plunge his country into war, but in an effort to ease the almost unbearable pressure from the *émigrés*, he joined with the king of Prussia in August 1791 to issue the Declaration of Pillnitz, stating that it was the duty of *all* kings to "restore order in France." In other words, the rulers of Austria and Prussia were willing to move against the French revolutionaries only if the other rulers of Europe would move with them. Leopold knew full well, however, that neither Britain nor Russia was interested in war against France.

The *émigrés* seized upon the statement as the club they had been waiting for. They promptly warned the revolutionaries, who took them at their word, that they would soon be returning with all Europe behind them. The radicals in France, convinced that the revolution could never be safe unless monarchy were overthrown everywhere, became a war party and preached the necessity of international revolution. So strong did this war spirit become that on April 20, 1792, the Legislative Assembly voted overwhelmingly to declare war against Austria.

With war fever at a high pitch, suspicion against the king mounted. In August, when Louis XVI and his family were endangered by a Parisian mob, the Assembly suspended the monarchy, imprisoned the royal family, and shortly afterwards virtually destroyed its powers. Panic and hysteria gripped Paris. In September over 1000 royalists were dragged from prisons and executed by authority of a provisional government. The Legislative Assembly was abolished and a new National Constitutional Convention was elected on the basis of universal suffrage. Its purpose was to draw up a more democratic constitution. The uprising in August 1792 and the

September Massacre were an outgrowth of war hysteria and popular dissatisfaction with the constitution of 1791, and represented a "second" French revolution.

France became a republic. Beginning in September 1792 and for the next three years, France was ruled by the National Constitutional Convention, usually referred to as the Convention. When it first met, it proclaimed France a republic and defied all royalty by announcing that it intended to spread the ideas of "liberty, equality, and fraternity" throughout Europe. French armies swarmed over the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) and the area south of the Rhine; by 1793 France was at war with almost all of Europe, opposing a coalition that included England, Prussia, Austria, the Netherlands, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, and Sardinia.

As the war against this First Coalition proceeded, the revolution in France became more extreme. Louis XVI was tried for treason and convicted in December 1792. The following month he was sent to the guillotine.

During 1793 conditions approached a state of anarchy. French armies suffered several defeats; one of their best generals deserted to the Austrians. Food was scarce and prices high. Conservative peasants in the west, aided by returned *émigrés*, rebelled against the Convention, itself torn by quarrels between the moderate members, called Girondins, and the extreme radicals, the Jacobin party. In June a Parisian mob invaded the Convention and arrested the Girondin leaders, leaving the government in the hands of the Jacobins. When escaped Girondins incited revolts against the authority of the Convention in the large cities of the south, the situation grew even worse. To repress anarchy and counterrevolution and at the same time win the war against the First Coalition, the Convention took desperate measures.

Radicals instituted a Reign of Terror.

Executive authority was vested in a group of twelve members who were elected by the Convention and who were known as the Committee of Public Safety. Under the leadership of Maximilien de Robespierre, the committee launched a Reign of Terror to smash the menace of counterrevolution. All people suspected of hostility to the revolution were summarily tried on a charge of treason and executed. Between August 1793 and July 1794 more than 40 thousand persons died. Marie Antoinette was among the first to be sentenced and executed; the Girondist moderates soon followed. Thousands of others, regardless of class, were arrested and imprisoned.

Meanwhile, the war against the First Coalition had to be won. The Committee launched one program of price controls and another of national mobilization, called the *levée en masse*. In general the economic regulations were less successful than the *levée en masse*, which represented the first attempt in modern times to harness all the resources of a nation for the purpose of war. By the spring of 1794 France had the largest army in all Europe—800 thousand strong. Furthermore, unlike any other military force at the time, it was a citizen army with a strong spirit of nationalism. Frenchmen were not subjects fighting for a king but citizens fighting for a cause.

By the summer of 1794, this citizen army, commanded by vigorous young officers newly risen from the lower ranks, won a series of victories against the weak and divided Coalition forces, and, although the war against them was to continue until 1797, the nation was saved. There no longer seemed to be any justification for the harsh dictatorship of the Committee of Public Safety, and in July 1794 the Convention sent Robespierre and his followers to be “shaved by the national barber,” the guillotine. Thus, the Reign of Terror was ended.

Conservatives set up the Directory.

Power again rested in the hands of the bourgeoisie, who wished to reestablish a moderate republic. In October 1795 a new constitution ended the Convention and inaugurated a government known as the Directory. Under the new system, a two-house legislature was established which was responsible for electing a governing body of five men called Directors.

This new republic faced continuing inflation and other grave problems in addition to the war against the Coalition. Once again voting was restricted to the wealthiest property owners of the middle class and, as a result, neither royalists nor workers were satisfied. When free elections were held in 1797 and a great many royalist sympathizers were elected, the Directory called upon a successful young general named Napoleon Bonaparte for help. With the support of his army, the Directory violated its own constitution and declared the recent elections null and void.

After 1797 conditions in France became progressively worse. To be sure, Austria was forced to sign the peace treaty of Campo Formio—thanks largely to Napoleon’s stunning victories in Italy. This treaty gave France the Austrian Netherlands and considerable territory on the Rhine and in northern Italy; it also signaled the end of the war against the First Coalition. Within France, however, people grew increasingly dissatisfied with the corrupt and inefficient Directory. A new threat arose in 1798 when Britain joined with Russia in a Second Coalition against France. The situation was ready-made for a strong man.

Section Review

1. By what steps was the National Assembly created from the Estates-General?
2. What were the chief reforms of the National Assembly?
3. Describe the conditions which led to the “second” French revolution.

4. What significant changes in government were made by the Convention?
5. What conditions led to the Reign of Terror? What did the Committee of Public Safety accomplish?
6. Why was the Directory unsuccessful?

6 Napoleon was a son of the revolution

As it turned out, a strong man appeared in the person of Napoleon Bonaparte, who had saved the Directory in 1797. Napoleon was born on the island of Corsica in 1769 and educated in the best French military schools. He became a lieutenant of artillery in the army of Louis XVI, but as a member of the lesser nobility, he could look forward only to a life of obscurity. The outburst of revolution opened the door to fame and power. Within four years Napoleon rose to the rank of brigadier general. By 1797 he was in command of a French army in northern Italy and, in a series of brilliant campaigns, he smashed the forces of Austria. When he dictated the terms of Campo Formio, he was then twenty-eight years old and already a hero.

Napoleon was a man of insatiable ambition. Well aware of the growing unpopularity of the Directory, he bided his time until a favorable opportunity arose for him to seize power. Meanwhile, he conceived a bold plan to cripple England by seizing Egypt and striking at India, the jewel of the British Empire. Napoleon invaded Egypt in 1798, but the English fleet destroyed his transport ships, isolating his army.

At this point Napoleon learned of the formation of the Second Coalition and the desperate position of the Directory. Abandoning his army, he eluded the British fleet and returned to France. He made his Egyptian adventure seem a great triumph and appeared to many people as the sav-

ior of the nation. Quickly he entered into a conspiracy and overthrew the Directory by force on November 9, 1799.

Napoleon became First Consul. A new government, the Consulate, was set up with Napoleon as First Consul. The man into whose hands France had fallen was only a little over five feet tall, but he was a leader among men. He had a sharp, incisive mind with a remarkable capacity to grasp problems and make decisions quickly. It was also a well-stocked mind, for Napoleon had read deeply in history and law as well as in military science. People were dazzled by his masterful qualities. Even Napoleon himself came to believe that he was the "child of destiny."

Although a product of the revolution, Napoleon intended to rule as a dictator. He wrote a new constitution for France, complete with a legislature and universal suffrage, but all real power lay with the First Consul, who claimed to represent the interests of the whole nation. Napoleon then turned his attention to military affairs and defeated the armies of the Second Coalition. Austria made peace in 1801 and England in 1802.

The Consulate lasted five years, a period during which Napoleon carried out a number of important reforms in France. He centralized the government and increased its efficiency and power. He offered stability and internal order to all willing to work for him—royalists and republicans alike.

In many ways Napoleon completed the work of the revolution. All remaining privileges were swept away once and for all. Promotion and rank, whether in government or in the army, were based on proven ability, regardless of social origin. Careers were "open to talent." The reformed tax system, which had been introduced in principle in 1789, became a matter of practice after 1799. Inflation was halted

THE COURSE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

GOVERNMENT	PERIOD	CONTROLLED BY	
King and Estates General	May and June 1789	King	
National Assembly and King	1789-1791	Upper Middle Class	
Legislative Assembly and King	1791-1792		
National Convention	1792-1795	Parisian Masses Robespierre	
Directory	1795-1799	Upper Middle Class	
Consulate	1799-1804	Napoleon	
Empire	1804-1815		

and the national debt stabilized. Probably the most famous of Napoleon's reforms was the modernization of French law in a series of five codes known collectively as the *Code Napoléon*. They firmly established throughout the land the principle of equality before the law.

Napoleon also ruthlessly suppressed all opposition, but despite his denial of political liberty and true representative government, his ability to provide order, stability, and efficiency made him popular. He had himself crowned Napoleon I, Emperor of the French, in 1804 and thus the Consulate gave way to an empire which lasted for ten years, longer than any French government since 1789.

Napoleon made himself master of Europe. Napoleon ruled France for fifteen years—five years as First Consul and ten as emperor. Driven by relentless ambition, he spent fourteen of those years at war. The short-lived peace of 1802 was broken in 1803; by 1805 a Third Coalition of Britain, Austria, and Russia had formed against France. With amazing speed, Napoleon defeated the armies of Austria and Russia in a series of brilliant military campaigns. Only England with its navy continued to defy the emperor. After Lord Horatio Nelson destroyed the French fleet at the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805, British naval supremacy was secure and England could not be invaded.

In the years from 1806 to 1812, Napoleon stood like a giant over Europe. He was emperor of France and king of Italy (having created a Kingdom of Italy from Austrian possessions in the north). In 1806 he dissolved the Holy Roman Empire and created the Confederation of the Rhine, an alliance of west German states that became a satellite of France. Through his brothers, Napoleon also controlled other states of Europe. Joseph reigned in the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily; Louis became king of Holland (the Netherlands had been overrun in 1794); and Jerome ruled the Kingdom of Westphalia in Germany. Napoleon took the pope prisoner and declared the Papal States to be part of France. French troops occupied Prussia; the grand duchy of Warsaw was created as a French protectorate; and Russia was an ally.

Since Napoleon could not defeat the British navy, he decided to ruin England through economic warfare. He reasoned that much of the wealth of England derived from its large export trade to Europe. He therefore declared all of Europe closed to British goods, and even persuaded Russia to comply with his edict. First imposed in 1806, the Continental System was a failure, largely because the British were able to develop other markets, particularly in Latin America. To control the ports of the Iberian Peninsula, Napoleon invaded Portugal, installed his brother Joseph on the Spanish throne, and stationed a French army in Spain. Using guerilla tactics, the Spanish people fought desperately against the foreign troops. English forces under the Duke of Wellington took advantage of this revolt, invaded Portugal, then Spain, and by 1813 had driven the French army back into France.

European powers joined forces to defeat Napoleon. The people in the French satellite nations objected to Napoleon's

demand that they furnish him with money and soldiers. In addition, the Continental System provoked a great deal of resistance because it limited trade and led to shortages of manufactured goods (formerly supplied by the British) that French industry could not supply. Moreover, the British in retaliation had imposed a naval blockade on all of Europe, limiting imports of such colonial products as cotton, sugar, and tobacco. Most important of all was the growth of nationalism, which Napoleon never understood, although it developed as a movement of resistance against French control. All countries experienced an upsurge of patriotic feeling against the hated French, but it was particularly significant in Germany after about 1800.

The climax came in 1812 when Napoleon resolved to crush Russia. The loss of trade with Great Britain had seriously injured the Russian economy, and Czar Alexander withdrew from the Continental System in 1810. His withdrawal angered Napoleon, who assembled a huge army of more than 500 thousand men and invaded Russia in the summer of 1812. Although he won several battles, he could not annihilate the Russian army. In September he reached Moscow, which the Russians had evacuated. Within a few days fire broke out and destroyed almost the entire city; shortly afterward the cruel Russian winter set in. After five weeks Napoleon finally ordered a general retreat. No more than 30 thousand of his army returned to France alive. The rest of his men perished in battles, blizzards, and snowdrifts.

This blow to Napoleon's power ruined him. From all directions his enemies rushed together to strike at the French tyrant—Russians, Prussians, Spaniards, Englishmen, Austrians, Italians. Russia and Prussia announced a War of Liberation and, joined by Austria, defeated Napoleon's forces at the Battle of Leipzig, or Battle of the Nations, in October 1813.

NAPOLEON'S EMPIRE 1810



Napoleon's empire crumbled rapidly and an allied invasion of France in 1814 forced him to surrender and abdicate as emperor. The victorious allies restored the Bourbon monarchy, and Louis XVIII, a brother of Louis XVI, ascended the throne.

The victors banished Napoleon to the little island of Elba off the west coast of Italy. But the exile's ambition still burned. Hearing that the victors were quarreling among themselves, Napoleon escaped from Elba and landed in France. For a period of one hundred days, he again reigned as emperor. His return united the allies, who determined to crush this "common enemy and disturber of the peace of the world." The end came at the little Belgian village

of Waterloo in 1815. Here the British Duke of Wellington, aided by a Prussian army under Gebhard von Blücher, destroyed the French army that Napoleon had hastily assembled. Napoleon was then banished to the lonely island of St. Helena in the south Atlantic. He died of cancer in 1821, brooding over the fame and glory which he had lost.

French reform influenced other nations. Although first and last a military adventurer, Napoleon could rightfully claim to be a son of the revolution. His soldiers and administrators spread the ideas and reforms of the French Revolution throughout Europe.



Napoleon said proudly, "I am no ordinary man," a boast borne out by his dazzling career. He is shown above in the full vigor of his youth after leading French troops to victory at Arcole, Italy, in 1797. Seven years later, energy and ambition gained him an emperor's throne. Although Pope Pius VII had been invited to officiate at the coronation, Napoleon placed the crown on his own head, above right. Napoleon's successes alarmed the other nations of Europe, who formed an alliance to end his power. At right, he stands lonely and defeated as he sails into exile. Of him a fellow Frenchman said, "He was as great as a man can be without virtue."



In all of the countries conquered by the French, constitutions were drawn up; the remnants of feudalism were wiped out; and the Napoleonic codes, with their principle of equality before the law, were established. Church lands were confiscated; the Church was made subordinate to the state; and religious toleration toward non-Catholics became the law. Taxes were reformed, the manorial system and medieval guilds were abolished, and the metric system of weights and measures was adopted.

The importance of these reforms lay in the fact that they streamlined government and society, and thereby helped modernize them. But in no instance was Napoleon interested in promoting the principle of political liberty. What he adopted from the revolution and gave to the rest of Europe was its emphasis upon reason, order, and efficiency. He thought these con-

tributions of such universal significance that they would benefit everyone. In this sense he was the last of the enlightened despots, but he completely failed to understand the appeal of those other principles of the French Revolution, freedom and the desire of national groups to handle their own affairs. In the long run, this failure and his own boundless ambition brought about his destruction.

Section Review

1. What reforms did Napoleon make during the period of the Consulate?
2. Trace the steps by which Napoleon made himself master of Europe. Why did the Continental System fail?
3. What conditions created opposition to Napoleon? What were the most significant events that led to his banishment?
4. In what sense was Napoleon a son of the French Revolution?

Chapter 18

A Review

Section 1

During the 17th and 18th centuries, revolutionary upheaval led to fundamental changes in three Western nations—England, the United States, and France. Though the national movements and their results differed in many ways, basically they all represented attempts to achieve more democratic forms of government.

In England, trouble began when the absolutist Stuarts came to the throne. James I challenged the power of Parliament and Puritanism, while the misrule of his son, Charles I, led to civil war. A great leader, Oliver Cromwell, brought victory to Parliamentary forces and the king was executed in 1649. Because the Commonwealth that replaced the monarchy was plagued with internal quarrels, Cromwell was forced to rule as a military dictator. He became Lord Protector, but failed to restore harmony, and his death brought a return of the monarchy. However, significant changes in the

direction of more democratic government came as a result of the Puritan Revolution. It indicated that the English monarchy was not absolute.

Section 2

Charles II understood the fallibility of the monarchy and acted with caution in trying to extend royal power and the influence of the Roman Catholic Church. Two developments of his reign were the formation of modern political parties and the passage of the Habeas Corpus Act. His brother, James II, lacked Charles' wisdom and soon found himself deposed in the Glorious, or Bloodless, Revolution of 1688. By bestowing the crown on William and Mary and confirming the change in the Revolution Settlement, parliament made it clear that the English ruler was henceforth to be the representative of a strictly limited constitutional monarchy. The next fifty years saw

the development of a new kind of executive in the cabinet system, a uniquely English contribution to democratic government.

Section 3

While England was achieving political stability at home, its colonies in North America began agitating for greater control over their own affairs. A lax English mercantilist policy gave way to stricter control after 1763, but the colonies proved unwilling to accept greater control from the mother country. Tempers rose, compromise grew more and more difficult, and war broke out in 1775. A year later, the colonists declared their independence, and with the help of France and other European nations, England was defeated and the Americans won their freedom.

Section 4

One of the nations influenced by the American movement for liberty was France. It was a nation beset with growing discontent over the inequalities of the Old Regime and nearing bankruptcy because of an unrealistic tax structure. When King Louis XVI called a meeting of the Estates-General in 1789, the deep-seated dissatisfactions of the French erupted into revolution.

Section 5

The Estates-General transformed itself into the National Assembly and set about to reform the French government. A new constitution limited the monarchy, but other developments boded ill for the future of France—frequent mob violence in Paris, agitation by *émigrés*, a split in the Church, and the vacillation of the king. These elements played a part in the foreign war which began in 1792, soon putting an end to the existing government and to the institution of the monarchy itself.

In September of that year, a new ruling body, the Convention, established the first French Republic. Enemies within and without endangered the republic, and the revolution became more and more extreme, culminating in a Reign of Terror. When the tide of war turned in favor of France, the Convention gave way to the moderate Directory. Its weaknesses made it a prey to a strong man, the ambi-

tious Napoleon Bonaparte.

Section 6

Napoleon provided the leadership that France wanted, first as First Consul and then as emperor. He consolidated many of the revolutionary reforms in France, and by great military victories created a large European empire. But by 1814 it had crumbled under the combined onslaught of the other powers of Europe. However, Napoleon's most important legacy was the spread of the ideas of the French Revolution throughout Europe.

The Time

Some of the events named below are correctly placed under the period during which they occurred, and others are not. Rearrange the list so that all events appear in their proper time span.

1601–1650

- Stuart dynasty began.
- Habeas Corpus Act was passed.
- Civil War broke out between the Cavaliers and Roundheads.
- Petition of Right was passed.
- French and Indian War ended.

1651–1700

- Commonwealth was established.
- Instrument of Government was drawn up.
- Glorious Revolution took place.
- Bastille was stormed.
- Restoration began.

1701–1750

- Virginia House of Burgesses was established.
- Act of Settlement was passed.
- English cabinet government took shape under Walpole.
- Stamp Act was passed.
- Hanoverian dynasty began.

1751–1800

- Declaration of Independence was adopted.
- Directory was established.
- Battle of the Nations took place.
- Boston Tea Party was staged.
- Continental System was imposed.

1801–1815

- Holy Roman Empire came to an end.
- Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen was proclaimed.
- First French Empire was established.
- Battle of Waterloo took place.
- First French Republic was proclaimed.

The Place

1. Where were the following battles fought and who were the victors and vanquished in each? See the maps on pages 396 and 417.

Naseby Marston Moor
Leipzig Waterloo

2. Why was the victory at Trafalgar of strategic importance to the British?

The People

1. What contribution did each of the following persons make to the growth of democratic institutions or parliamentary government?

Robert Walpole Napoleon Bonaparte
Thomas Jefferson

2. Name the country and a significant event associated with each of these rulers.

Louis XVI William and Mary

Robespierre
Leopold II

Charles II
James II
Oliver Cromwell

3. Political and religious issues in 17th-century England often overlapped. To what cause or principles did each of these groups give their support?

High Church party Cavaliers
Puritans Roundheads
Presbyterians Tories
Separatists Whigs

Key Historical Terms

1. Describe the *cabinet government* that developed in England under Robert Walpole.

2. Define the following terms as they applied to the French Revolution: *émigrés*, *constitutional monarchy*.

Questions for Critical Thinking

1. How did a king's need for funds lead to the Puritan Revolution? to the French Revolution?

2. Was the Puritan Revolution a religious, social, or political revolution, or a combination of these? Explain.