CHAPTER 4

The French Revolution and Napoleonic Empire (1789–1815)

May 1789:	Louis XVI convenes the French Estates General.
July 1789:	The Bastille falls to French rebels.
August 1789:	French revolutionaries proclaim the Declaration of the Rights of Man.
January 1793:	Louis XVI is executed in Paris.
October 1793–July 1794:	The Reign of Terror takes place in France.
December 1799:	Napoleon becomes dictator of France.
October 1805:	Britain controls the seas after victory over France at Trafalgar.
July 1807:	The Treaties of Tilsit mark Napoleon's triumph on the Continent.
June 1812:	Napoleon begins the invasion of Russia; ends in defeat in December.
March 1814:	Napoleon abdicates after his loss to a monarchical coalition.
March 1815:	Napoleon escapes from exile and resumes war.
June 1815:	Napoleon suffers his final defeat at Waterloo.

Europe became economically and intellectually modern as the changes engendered by the industrial revolution and the Enlightenment spread over the region in the 1700s and after. New political currents joined those that brought industry into European civilization. As these political, economic, and intellectual forces converged in the 1780s, an even more tumultuous transformation began to sweep across the continent.

In France, these movements brought about a modernizing political revolution that burst to the surface in 1789. Within that nation, rebels quickly completed the destruction of the old social structure and governing system. The revolution soon spread into other European states. For twenty-five years, the violence of rebellion and revolutionary wars accompanied the birth of a more fully modern European political system.

■ THE ORIGINS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

From the latter Middle Ages onward, economic modernization caused the bourgeoisie to grow increasingly rich and ambitious without equivalent gains in political influence or social privilege. This dynamic segment of society thus felt more and more hostile toward the *Ancien Regime.* When bourgeois leaders began their overt political attack, the specific target at first was the monarchy. The government faced a dangerous foe.

Revolutionary Trends

Intellectual currents that originated in the 1600s also helped to foster a rebellious mood by the latter 1700s. Enlightenment theorists had poured out increasingly hostile commentaries on the *Ancien Regime.* Ultimately, the critics, who hated despotism whether enlightened or not, became the leading voices of the modernizing intellectual movement. Their weapons against aristocracy, monarchy, and the established churches were mostly spoken and published assaults. By the late 1700s, revolutionaries used these Enlightenment ideas, but they also wielded the executioner's blade in their attack on the *Ancien Regime.*

Long-term political trends combined with socioeconomic and intellectual developments to bring France to the point of violent revolution by 1789. The era of warfare launched in the reign of Louis XIV (1643–1715) continued through the 1700s and plunged France so deeply into debt that it invited political chaos. When France provided money and troops to help the American colonists in their revolt against the British (1775 to 1783), the expenditures pushed the government to the brink of financial disaster.

The French monarchy's huge war debt gave the long subdued nobility its chance to challenge royal authority. Aristocrats used their control of judicial agencies to block the king's attempt to increase taxes in order to pay royal debts. They hoped by this move to force convocation of a policy-making assembly that they intended to dominate. Their goal was a weakened monarchy and greater aristocratic power. Ironically, this upper-class action opened the way for a middle-class revolutionary triumph over both the king and the nobles.

French Society on the Eve of Revolution

The formal structure of French society as revolution neared in the late 1780s remained unchanged from the shape it had taken in the Middle Ages and Early Modern period.

The Clergy and Nobility

According to the long-held traditional view, the four hundred thousand members of the First Estate (clergy) and the Second Estate (nobility) deserved an honored place at the top of the social order, and they had many special rights. Despite their prestige and privileges, without power over the king, the aristocrats and members of the upper clergy felt deeply dissatisfied.

The Commoners

The twenty-five million people who belonged to the Third Estate included more than two million bourgeois financiers, industrialists, merchants, and professionals, many of whom were rich and well educated. About ten million peasants in the Third Estate owned land in the 1780s. Another ten million farmers worked either as sharecroppers or hired laborers. Approximately two million artisans, unskilled

laborers, and servants who lived in cities also ranked among the commoners who comprised the socially diverse Third Estate. Regardless of wealth, education, or other distinctions, the masses of people who belonged to this Estate held an inferior position.

The French bourgeoisie harbored deep resentment toward the privileged upper estates. Members of this dynamic middle class also became increasingly disturbed by the way both monarchical government and the traditional estate structure prevented the realization of their economic and political ambitions. The explosive potential of this attitude was all the greater because certain aristocrats had the same progressive outlook. Even the less reform-minded nobles could find common ground with the bourgeoisie in their opposition to monarchical power.

French peasants lived better than any other European rural folk. This circumstance, however, did not make them contented. Peasants felt hostile toward nobles who still could demand fees for necessities such as the use of a mill, who could raise rents arbitrarily, and who had the exclusive right to hunt on farms where the rural commoners lived. Furthermore, a series of bad crop years in the 1780s, persistent inflation, and an unfair tax burden intensified the bitterness of the peasantry. Similar conditions oppressed urban commoners. The rising prices that brought higher incomes for businesspeople and landlords in the latter 1700s confronted city workers with economic disaster. Rents more than doubled in Paris, and the bread that provided most of their calories also took as much as half their income. Wages rose much more slowly than living costs. Then a depression struck in the late 1780s.

By 1789, the aristocracy stood ready to attack the monarchy to regain lost power. The Third Estate at that point had strong grievances against both the monarch and the aristocrats. The potential for revolution in France was unusually high.

The Financial Crisis (1786–1789)

For the government of King Louis XVI (reigned 1774–1792) a massive debt rather than social issues or the price or availability of bread was the most critical problem in 1789. The amount owed by the monarchy had surged upward from less than two billion livres in the mid-1770s to more than four billion by the late 1780s. As always, the government's military spending accounted for most of the debt. The recent drastic deficit increase resulted from the cost of aid to the American revolutionaries.

The king could have paid his debts by establishing a more equitable tax system that tapped the wealth of the first two estates and the upper bourgeoisie. Instead, he avoided a confrontation with these now more assertive classes and borrowed heavily at high interest. Then, in 1786, the banks stopped the loans. Charles de Calonne, the royal controller-general or treasurer, decided that government finance required sweeping reform. His plan included provisions for increased taxes on the first two estates and the bourgeois business community, a step these groups would vigorously resist.

Confrontation with the Aristocratic Parlements

In early 1787, when an assembly of leading aristocrats and clergymen called by the king to consider Calonne's plan rejected it, Louis had to try another approach to find a solution to the crisis. By long tradition, French kings could establish new policies by presenting decrees to thirteen aristocratic judicial bodies, the **Parlement of Paris** and the twelve **parlements** of the subdistricts (provinces) of the kingdom.

The Parisian *Parlement* accepted parts of Calonne's proposal but rejected the critical element, taxes on the rich and privileged. Louis ordered the establishment of his policies against the will of the *Parlement,*

as tradition allowed, and disbanded the Parisian group. He then presented his financial decree to the provincial *parlements,* but they proved to be more hostile to the reform than the *Parlement* of Paris.

Even though the king had the right to override the decision of the *parlements,* he could not end their resistance. The rebellious judicial aristocrats called for a convocation of the Estates General (see Chapter 3), which had not met since 1614. When it convened, these aristocrats intended to dominate it and establish changes that would increase noble influence in government. Facing financial collapse and a possible rebellion at every level of society, the king yielded. In August 1788, Louis appointed a new controller-general, Jacques Necker, and charged him with the task of arranging for the Estates General to meet.

■ MODERATE REVOLUTION

The aristocracy welcomed the calling of the Estates as an opportunity to restore some measure of the power that they had enjoyed in the Middle Ages. Louis accepted the convocation of this assembly as a way to stifle revolt and end the financial crisis. Unknowingly, the nobles and the king had launched a revolution that quickly gave the upper bourgeoisie control over France and, soon thereafter, led to a violent destruction of the old order.

The Estates General

The perception of royal despotism that had somewhat closed the ranks of all three estates against the king could not keep them together after elections to the assembly got under way. The Third Estate and a significant minority of reformist clergy and nobles demanded a break from traditional procedures for the Estates General. In earlier assemblies, the three estates had an equal number of delegates, they met as separate units, and each group arrived at a single vote on an issue, a procedure that gave control to the two upper estates. One clergyman, Abbé Emmanuel Sieyès, wrote a pamphlet titled "What Is the Third Estate?" in which he argued that the mass of commoners who made up this class was the nation and should decide every question. Most members of the two upper estates held a different view. They insisted on the old system that ensured their victory on every vote.

The Election of Delegates

Louis agreed to double representation for the Third Estate (about three hundred delegates for each of the upper estates; approximately six hundred for the Third). He would not, however, allow votes in the assembly by head, a method that would enable Third Estate delegates and their progressive aristocratic supporters to win on virtually all issues.

In the ensuing elections, all the adult male nobles and most of the clergy had the right to vote and directly selected their representatives. The government restricted the vote of the Third Estate by gender and economic status—only male taxpayers could cast ballots. The lower estate also selected representatives by voting for electors who then chose estate delegates. Urban businesspeople and lawyers won a disproportionate share of Third Estate seats as a result of these procedures.

The Cahiers

Election rules also allowed voters to compose ***cahiers de doleances,*** grievance statements. The *cahiers* indicated a strong consensus among all estates for an end to careless government spending and

the abuse of power. Furthermore, the statements revealed wide agreement on the need to have a constitution that maintained royal authority but gave the estates influence over laws and guaranteed certain liberties, such as freedom of the press. The *cahiers* reflected conflicts, too. The upper estates spoke out for a continuation of their historic privileges, while Third Estate *cahiers* demanded the abolition of special upper-class rights.

The Formation of the National Assembly

Conditions in France rapidly worsened in the months before the Estates General met. Many businesses failed, masses of urban workers lost their jobs, prices shot up, and riots erupted. In an atmosphere thus charged, the representatives of the Estates convened on May 5, 1789. Deadlock immediately developed.

Third Estate delegates refused to conduct business unless they voted by head. The monarchy, clergy, and nobility demanded adherence to the tradition of one vote per estate. The Third Estate responded with a truly revolutionary step. On June 17, 1789, it acted in the spirit of Abbé Sieyès' tract and declared that the Third Estate was the **National Assembly.** A few days later, the clergy voted to join this Assembly.

The Tennis Court Oath

When the Third Estate representatives gathered on June 20, 1789, their hall was locked. They mistakenly assumed that the government had closed the chamber as an act of opposition and convened in a nearby indoor tennis court. There, the delegates pledged not to disband until they completed a constitution for the nation. Three days after the Third Estate took this **Tennis Court Oath,** Louis ordered the three estates to gather in their separate chambers as before. The privileged estates' delegates complied. Rebellious Third Estate representatives spurned the decree. As rumors of mob action against the king began to spread, he issued a new decree. On June 27, Louis told the three estates to merge. France now had a National Assembly dominated by the mostly bourgeois Third Estate delegation.

The Fall of the Bastille

The royal government and the aristocrats, most of whom now forgot their opposition to monarchy and sided with the king, still had the power to stop the revolt. Royal troops posed an especially terrifying threat to the rebels. The Bastille, a fort built to protect Paris in the Middle Ages, housed a few of the king's troops. Parisians believed it held stores of guns and ammunition as well. They knew that the king imprisoned his enemies there and that its cannon could blast one of the most rebellious working-class districts. Even though the citizens of Paris had these reasons to consider the Bastille a practical danger, they despised it more as a symbol of monarchical and aristocratic power.

Soon after Louis' concessions to the National Assembly on June 27, the multiplication of royal troops near the king's palace indicated that he was ready to use force to regain full control. Then, on July 11, Louis heightened fears by his dismissal of Necker, the reform-oriented controller-general.

Parisians responded forcefully to apparent threats and hard times. A year earlier, they had spent half their income on bread. Now it took more than three-fourths of their earnings to purchase this essential food. Mobs raided bakeries and stole bread. Seized by fear of an attack by royal troops, they also invaded shops and government centers in search of weapons.

In one such weapons raid on July 14, several hundred citizens converged on the Bastille, with its forbidding double ring of ninety-foot high walls. They called for the surrender of gunpowder and the

redirection of the threatening cannon. Negotiations with de Launay, the commander of the Bastille, quickly broke down. Bastille troops killed nearly one hundred rebels and more than seventy others suffered wounds.

As the crowd threat grew, de Launay's troops convinced him to open the fort rather than continuing the fight. The enraged crowd, even though allowed entry, broke into frenzy, and the Bastille fell. Six of the approximately one hundred defending troops and de Launay died as the Parisians took the fort. The invaders then decapitated the dead commander and troops and displayed their heads, impaled on pikes, as a sign of their victory over despotism. This great symbolic triumph caused July 14, 1789, to become celebrated as the first day of French liberty.

In response to this mob action, Louis visually expressed his acceptance of the National Assembly and its revolution. He entered Paris wearing a hat decorated with the three colors associated with the city's revolt—the red and blue that symbolized Paris and the white of the royal family's flag. Royalist nobles began to leave the country.

The business and professional elements who had launched the revolution intended to have decisions made by them and not by street crowds as in the Bastille raid. They organized for control of the city by selecting a mayor, Jean Bailly, and placing the marquis de Lafayette in charge of a revolutionary French Guard loyal to bourgeois leaders. Lafayette, as a moderately reformist aristocrat who had joined the American revolutionaries in their struggle for liberty, made an ideal leader for this bourgeois security force.

The Great Fear

Events in other French cities somewhat paralleled developments in Paris. In the countryside in mid-July, peasants began to dismantle the old aristocratic system. In some areas, when the peasants demanded it, the clergy simply surrendered their right to collect tithes, and the nobles gave up their power to take fees. More radical action sometimes took place, as when the peasants seized and burned the records of their obligations to the lords.

These conditions bred hysteria as members of all social factions feared violence by their enemies. The extreme anxiety that gripped the French people for three weeks in late July and early August 1789 became known as **the Great Fear.**

The August Decrees

As the peasant revolt and the Great Fear climaxed, actions by the National Assembly indicated the revolutionary leadership's acceptance of the spontaneous rebellion sweeping the country. In a single night, August 4, 1789, the delegates' **August Decrees** proclaimed an end to all noble privileges. More dramatic steps followed in the Assembly.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen

The responsibilities of the National Assembly included the production of a constitution, a duty that caused this body of representatives to become known also as the **Constituent Assembly.** Its members began this work with a statement of political principles on August 26, 1789. In the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen," the Assembly affirmed that government belonged to the people rather than the king. The document further declared that all citizens had natural and irrevocable rights to liberty,

equality, property ownership, security, and freedom of thought and expression. The Declaration of Rights completed the process begun in the August Decrees of formally ending the *Ancien Regime.*

The Women's March on Versailles

Louis XVI turned resistant again at this point. He issued no approval of the measures the Assembly passed in August. Popular fear of repression rose. So did the price of bread, to even more prohibitive levels than before. A group of Parisian women responded to these circumstances on October 5, 1789, with a mass march to the king's palace twelve miles away in the suburb of Versailles. A small contingent of men went along. Within hours, Lafayette and several thousand troops of his French Guard followed to maintain control in the interest of the bourgeoisie.

Once at Versailles, the protesters demanded reduced bread prices, to which the king agreed. His verbal submission failed to satisfy them, and they forcibly entered the palace, killing several guards in the process. Lafayette helped convince the king to comply with the wishes of the crowd and relocate in Paris. On October 6, the royal family and the commoners of Paris went together to the more revolutionary environment of the capital city. The king soon accepted the August Decrees and the Declaration of the Rights of Man.

The Civil Constitution of the Clergy

The August Decrees ended clerical privileges. Lawmakers soon took additional steps against the Church. In November 1789, they seized clerical lands and began to sell government notes, **assignats,** with this property as collateral. Thereafter, they drew up a Civil Constitution of the Clergy (July 1790), a document that thoroughly subordinated the Church to the state. Under its provisions, the government reorganized the Church, gave the election of its leaders over to the citizens, and placed the clergy on the state salary rolls. Most of the clergy refused to accept this new religious constitution. As a result, many Catholic commoners changed from supporters of revolution to opponents.

The Constitution of 1791

The National Assembly adopted a new constitution in September 1791. It formally nullified the absolute authority exercised by French kings for generations. A **unicameral** (one-house) legislature, the Legislative Assembly, would decide all matters of taxation and spending. The monarch could temporarily veto assembly actions, but votes against the king in three subsequent legislatures could override his will. The ruler remained in charge of foreign policy and the military.

Limited Democracy. The constitution gave the vote to all males who paid taxes equivalent to three days' wages. But citizens voted for electors, who then chose legislators. Furthermore, the constitution allowed only the richest men to become electors or members of the legislature. Only about 50,000 of the approximately twenty-five million citizens could qualify. Even with such limitations on citizen power, this constitution promised France the most democratic system in Europe.

A Bourgeois Economic Order. The new system granted economic as well as political dominance to upper middle-class business and professional people. The tariffs, tolls, and organizations that might

restrict trade within France were nullified, allowing the business community to trade more profitably. Taxes on foreign goods to reduce competition from abroad and laws against labor unions further ensured the success of French businesspeople. The constitution did give the workers something, however: the freedom to choose their jobs.

Administrative and Judicial Modernization. Constitutional provisions for the new bureaucracy and court system also reflected the attitudes of the now dominant middle class. Political leaders streamlined the administrative structure of France, establishing eighty-three uniform governing territories. These **departments** contained smaller units: districts, cantons, and communes. Citizens elected the officials who governed these local political divisions. The constitution provided for a similarly rational reorganization of the courts, provided for jury trials in criminal cases, and outlawed the use of torture.

Liberalism

In the Constitution of 1791, the Assembly wrote into law the High Enlightenment vision of an ideal system. It guaranteed freedom of thought and expression, individual liberty, legal equality, property rights, and government by the people, or at least by the bourgeois-defined citizenry. In the 1800s, this new creed of individual rights became known as **liberalism,** a modern political ideology that would well suit European states as they industrialized.

The Political Left, Center, and Right

Despite the many common attitudes of the liberal bourgeois leadership, factions appeared as the Assembly debated the constitutional issue of a royal veto. **Radicals,** those in favor of the most drastic change, wanted the king to have no veto power at all. In keeping with European practice, this group in favor of the most sweeping change sat on the left side of the hall, viewed from the platform at the front. The most conservative faction sat on the right, and on this issue took a stand for a royal veto that the legislature could not override. Members seated in the center advocated a veto by which the king could suspend a law until legislators repeatedly reversed it. The moderate **Center** had its way.

In this and subsequent debates, the **Left** distinguished itself by its stand for popular sovereignty—the sharing of political power by *all* the people. Leftists showed their commitment to this principle especially in the arguments over voting rights. They advocated the vote for every adult. The Center opposed popular sovereignty, but favored the extension of political power to more of the people than did the **Right.** The Constitution of 1791 completed a moderate revolution that the bourgeois liberal Center had led. The Left lost on most issues but had not suffered a permanent defeat.

■ THE ORIGINS OF THE RADICAL REVOLUTION

The administrative and judicial reforms, the Constitution of 1791 as a whole, and much else done by the National Assembly promised a better life for most French people. The revolution thus far, however, embodied the values of the upper bourgeoisie and opened the way for this predominantly business class to pursue its dreams. Before the National Assembly adjourned, September 30, 1791, the delegates voted to bar themselves from the new Legislative Assembly. They expected their successors to perpetuate the moderate revolution. But many people did not share this vision of the new order. They wanted more drastic change.

The *Sans-Culottes*

Male French aristocrats in the 1700s wore knee-length breeches. Wealthy members of the bourgeoisie tended to copy the styles of the nobles. Poorer male commoners, however, donned full-length trousers, and thus became known as the people "without breeches" *(sans-culottes* in French). In the cities, and especially in Paris, the *sans-culottes* provided vital support for the revolution of 1789–1791. Even so, the new regime severely limited their political role and remained unresponsive to their insistent demand for economic relief, especially affordable bread.

Thus, the lower bourgeoisie, craft workers, unskilled laborers, and servants who comprised the *sans-culottes* became a force for a radical revolution. This left-wing contingent wanted an equal voice in government and an increase in their relative wealth. Members of the aristocracy and upper bourgeoisie who sympathized with the cause of the lower classes greatly strengthened the drive for drastic change.

The Legislative Assembly

When the Legislative Assembly convened in October 1791, the prospect of war as well as radical revolution loomed on the horizon. King Louis had tried to escape from France in June 1791, supposedly with the intention of helping to organize an invasion by *émigré* French nobles and foreign enemies of the revolution. The Assembly had heard warnings that Austria now intended to launch such a counter-revolutionary assault on the new regime. As the legislature confronted critical issues, especially the consideration of war, several factions and political clubs struggled to carry votes their way.

The Political Clubs

In 1789, groups of activists had formed associations in order to influence the course of events. These **political clubs** gradually increased in power as the National and Legislative Assemblies proceeded with their work.

The Jacobins. The most radical of the leading clubs met in Paris in a monastery located in the Rue St. Jacques. Because of the street name, club members became known as **Jacobins.** Maximilien Robespierre led this group as it developed a network of clubs across France. Even though as advocates of popular sovereignty the Jacobins belonged to the Left, this mostly bourgeois club wanted to maintain control over the more radical *sans-culottes,* with whom they sympathized. Jacobins also struggled for central government supremacy over local political authority.

The Girondins. The delegates to the Legislative Assembly included a contingent from the department of the Gironde, a district in the Bordeaux region. These **Girondins** shared the Jacobin hostility toward aristocratic and monarchical power but opposed popular sovereignty. **Girondin federalism**—a belief in strong local government—also clashed with Jacobin centralizing ideals. On the question of war, the Girondins favored a very aggressive response to the foreign danger. They urged a war against Austria both to defeat this enemy and encourage popular revolutions against monarchy in other countries. The Assembly declared war on Austria on April 20, 1792. Both Austrian and Prussian troops thereupon invaded France and drove back the revolutionary armies.

power in keeping with the will of the sovereign people. Anyone who opposed the revolutionary government thus threatened popular sovereignty and deserved no mercy.

This paradoxical dictatorial-democracy began to cut down assumed enemies in October 1793. During a ten-month Reign of Terror, the former queen, Marie Antoinette, and other nobles died on the guillotine. Most Jacobin Terror victims, however, were not aristocrats. Advocates of federalism, such as the Girondins, and supporters of a more extreme democracy than the Jacobins could tolerate also suffered the same fate. No one was safe. The revolutionary courts even ordered the execution of Danton and Jacques Hébert, a leader of the *sans-culottes.* A wave of violence swept across France. Victims of the Jacobin Terror died not only on guillotines but also in mass drownings, before firing squads, and, sometimes, by cannon shot. The revolutionaries slaughtered thirty to forty thousand before the Terror ended in July 1794.

The Jacobin Republic

The Convention never implemented the democratic Constitution of 1793. Confronted with crises from the outset, the delegates to the constitutional assembly began to act as a representative legislature. In practice, it became a **Jacobin Republic,** in which one political faction not only executed assumed traitors but also enacted a revolutionary program. Legislation ended imprisonment for debt, abolished slavery in French colonies, and outlawed the granting of noble titles. The Convention also established the metric system, a new calendar with ten-day weeks and a ten-month year, and, as a blow against the conservative power of the Catholic Church, a state Religion of Reason. Metric weights and measurements became popular and permanent. The new calendar and religion did not. The peasants, the vast majority of the French population, held lowly social rank, but their resistance to the latter two anti-church reforms made certain that these changes could not succeed.

Carnot, the Organizer of Victory

The Jacobin republic achieved its most unqualified success on the battlefield against the European coalition. In mid-1793, the Convention selected Lazare Carnot as its Organizer of Victory. He lived up to his title. The Levy-in-Mass gave France an army of more than one million by the early months of 1794. With this largest army in European history, Carnot's generals rolled back the forces against them. The march toward victory abroad reduced the crisis atmosphere in France enough to make the dictatorship of the Jacobins and their reign of terror intolerable to the nation.

The Thermidorean Reaction

The ten months of the new calendar had vividly descriptive names. On the ninth day of Thermidor ("heat") of Revolutionary Year II (July 27, 1794), Convention delegates reacted against the Terror and Robespierre. They clamored so loudly that he could not speak to the assembly, and then voted for his arrest. Within a day, this **Thermidorean Reaction** brought Robespierre's death on the guillotine.

The Demise of the Jacobin Republic. Radical revolution ended with the execution of Robespierre. A much more moderate republican spirit prevailed thereafter. The Thermidoreans brought the Girondins back into the governing assembly and eased restrictions that the radicals had placed on the press, the

economy, theater productions, and Catholic worship. **Reactionaries,** people who want to reverse the process of social change, took more drastic counterrevolutionary steps in the southwestern districts of France. The new Thermidorean government, however, continued its moderate bourgeois liberal course for the country as a whole.

The Constitution of 1795. The Thermidorean reaction ensured that the radical Constitution of 1793 would remain a dead document forever. The revolutionary assembly that had created it remained committed to republican government but not to popular sovereignty. A new body of law, the Constitution of 1795, denied the vote to the twenty-five percent of the people at the bottom of the economic scale. It also called for a **bicameral** (two-house) legislature, a structure less susceptible to the influence of the masses than a unicameral assembly. As a further guarantee of political moderation, the Convention stipulated that upper-house (Council of Elders) members be at least forty years old and married or widowed. Finally, Thermidoreans arranged for a restrained executive by planning a five-member **Directory** to be nominated by the lower house (Council of Five Hundred) and elected by the Council of Elders. France still had its modern state but a very different one than the Jacobin democrats had intended. The government of the Directory that began to operate would look less to the masses and more to the military for its support—a fateful redirection.

■ THE DIRECTORY

The new government under the Constitution of 1795, known as the Directory, emphasized order rather than revolutionary change. At the outset, however, this law-and-order government faced turmoil. The requirement that two-thirds of the members of the new legislature be people who had served in the National Convention sparked outbursts in Paris. General Napoleon Bonaparte commanded a revolutionary army force that suppressed the Parisians with a "whiff of grapeshot," a form of cannon fire. More disorder followed.

The new republic represented the interests of a rich minority—the bourgeois business classes. The Directory forcefully displayed its opposition to actions in support of the masses when Jacques Babeuf, a journalist, attempted to carry out his **Conspiracy of Equals.** Babeuf intended to overthrow the infant capitalist regime, outlaw private property, and distribute wealth equally among the people. The Directory discovered this plot to establish socialism, thwarted it in May 1796, and executed Babeuf the next year.

Opponents of the moderate republic who struck from the Right used different methods than had Babeuf on the Left. Monarchists campaigned for election to the legislature and the Directory in 1797. Enough royalists won to shock the Directory into defensive action. Once more the government turned to the army, this time to bar royalists from the government.

The Militarization of the Revolution

The necessity of having a powerful military to fight European enemies of revolutionary France and the dependence of the Directory on the army to suppress opposition on the Left and Right in France made young generals popular prospects for government leadership positions. By the latter 1790s, no military figure could equal the appeal of Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821).

The Rise of Napoleon

In 1768, France annexed the culturally Italian island of Corsica, Napoleon's homeland. He began military training in the schools of France at age nine, the beginning of his preparation to conquer Europe. Early in the revolutionary wars, Napoleon displayed exceptional talent as an artillery lieutenant, and he advanced in rank with remarkable speed. He became a brigadier general at age twenty-six and took command of the French armies in Italy two years later (1796). The young general led his forces to victory over the Austrian army there by 1797.

After a triumphal visit to France, Napoleon opened a campaign in Egypt in July 1798. He planned to strike a devastating blow against Britain by seizing the route to that enemy's imperial riches in India. Instead, the British navy blocked Napoleon's access to supplies from France. In August 1799, the general deserted his men and fled home. He suffered no damage to his reputation and soon thereafter took over the government.

The Eighteenth Brumaire

In late 1799, the Directory gave the nation little hope for success in the dream of spreading the ideals of 1789 to all of Europe. Life also had become increasingly miserable within France. As support for the moderate republic virtually disappeared, Napoleon arrived from Egypt. Two members of the Directory, Roger Ducos and Abbé Sieyès, plotted with the general to overthrow the government. Their coup succeeded, and on November 9, 1799 (18th Brumaire on the revolutionary calendar), the rule of the Directory ended. Republican government also ended as Napoleon established his military dictatorship.

■ THE NAPOLEONIC DICTATORSHIP

Napoleon issued a new fundamental law for France, the **Constitution of the Year VIII** (1799, the eighth year of the revolutionary calendar). The constitution deceptively appeared to create a representative republic. Despite giving the right to vote to all males over twenty, a radically democratic step for a European state at that time, the electorate did not directly select legislators. Napoleon could choose the representatives he wanted, so voters had no real power.

The constitution further limited popular influence by having one representative house, the Tribunate, discuss laws without voting, while the Legislative Chamber had to vote on legislation without debate. Napoleon also organized the executive body, the three-member Consulate, in a way that gave him dominance as "First Consul." Napoleon had ensured his personal authority over all government action.

In February 1800, the French, by a margin of three million eleven thousand one hundred seven to one thousand five hundred sixty-two, accepted the constitution of the Consulate and, thus, Napoleon's absolute power. Two years later, another **plebiscite** (a yes-no vote on an issue) approved by an even larger margin the extension of Napoleon's term as First Consul, from ten years to life, and allowed him to choose his successor.

Government under the Consulate

Napoleon achieved broad popular support for the Consulate by his quick and effective response to the problems of France. He began by taking steps to restore order, dispatching forces to end banditry in southern France and the royalist rebellion that had continued for years in the *Vendée*. Napoleon also initiated reforms that within four years made him almost universally popular.

Administrative, Judicial, and Educational Reform

Revolutionaries had combined the reorganization of France's administrative system with election procedures that enabled the citizens to select local officials. A law of February 1800 left this bureaucratic structure unchanged but gave Napoleon the power to appoint all the system's leaders.

Early the next year, Napoleon revised the court system and took responsibility for selecting most judges. His expansion of the educational system in 1802 brought more students into the schools, but central control over their learning also greatly increased. With loyal subordinates in charge of an efficiently organized governmental, judicial, and educational machine, Napoleon could control the nation as no king ever had. He began to rule with appealing effectiveness over a modern but despotic system.

The Concordat of 1801

Land-hungry peasants, resentful of the property-rich and privileged aristocrats, had carried out a revolution in the countryside in 1789. They took the farms and nullified noble rights, and then became a conservative force. When the revolutionaries launched their attack on the Roman Catholic Church, much of the peasantry turned actively counter-revolutionary. Napoleon shared the *philosophes'* dislike of religion, but he won the hearts of the rural masses by concluding a settlement with Catholic leaders on July 16, 1801.

The **Concordat of 1801** allowed the Church to resume the practice of public processions and the operation of its seminaries. It also proclaimed that Roman Catholicism was the faith of most citizens and accepted the right of the Pope to dismiss bishops. The battle between the Church and the revolutionary state had ended with the Napoleonic state victorious: The compromise did not accept Catholicism as the state religion, as it had been before the revolution. Furthermore, the government kept the power to appoint bishops, left the clergy on state payrolls, and extracted an agreement that the church would accept the loss of its lands. With few concessions, Napoleon had converted the Church and its followers into his allies.

Honors and Jobs

Napoleon found ways to appeal to others than loyal Catholics. He established the Legion of Honor in 1802 to provide a system for rewarding exceptional accomplishments in public or military affairs, an indication of his agreement with the bourgeois idea of "careers open to talent." Members of the middle class who longed for a new "aristocracy" not determined by family bloodline thereafter could anticipate satisfaction of their desires. For workers with the less grandiose dream of having employment, the First Consul had a reward as well. Napoleon launched a program of government-funded projects that multiplied the number of jobs. The Consulate's military needs also guaranteed that certain industries would thrive and create both greater business profits and still more work.

The Code Napoléon

In a single decade, the French Revolution added an avalanche of laws and several constitutions to the confusing accumulation of codes from previous centuries. Thus far, the revolution had not provided the integrated national legal code that France needed.

The revolutionaries made law reform possible by removing the structure of the old regime. Efforts to develop a coherent system of legal codes then began in the mid-1790s; the work was incomplete when Napoleon seized power. By 1804, however, he had guided the reorganization process through a successful

first stage with the production of the Civil Code. Four additional sections emerged during the next six years to complete a unified body of national law.

This five-part **Code Napoléon** reflected the authoritarian and regressive spirit of the French dictator. It legalized the supremacy of bosses over workers, men over women, and fathers over families. Male family heads could even send their teenaged offspring to jail. The new law did not establish the greater democracy promised by rebels in the mid-1790s, but it remained true to other revolutionary principles. The Code ensured equal treatment under the law for most people as well as personal career choice, religious toleration, private property rights, and minimal restrictions on business. Overall, Napoleon had established a legal system that embodied bourgeois liberal principles. Most French citizens and many people in regions conquered by France found this new order appealing.

Peace in Napoleon's European Realm

In December 1798, a Second Coalition against France emerged. It included Russia, Austria, Great Britain, and several smaller states. The ability of France to endure against European alliances in the 1790s could not forever justify the costs of the war. The nation wanted peace. Napoleon delivered that and new territories as well.

Soon after the First Consul took power, Napoleon directed an overwhelming campaign against Austrian forces in Italy, climaxing in a victory at Marengo in June 1800. General Jean Moreau then led further attacks that took Austria out of the war. In February 1801, the Austro-French Treaty of Lunéville left Italy and extensive German territory under Napoleon's sway.

Because policy differences with Britain already had caused Russia to quit the Second Coalition, after Lunéville, Napoleon faced only the British. The war continued. When neither power could win decisively, they resorted to peace. The Peace of Amiens (March 1802) let France keep its conquests in Europe: Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, and parts of Germany. The treaty also provided for the return of French colonies that Britain had taken. At the end of a decade of struggle, France stood supreme in Europe.

The Empire

The Consulate had taken self-government away from the French citizens, but it provided satisfying compensation: domestic and international peace, an effective governing administration, a system with new personal rights guaranteed, a more prosperous economy, and a large European empire. In 1804, Napoleon offered the nation another prize—himself as emperor and the founder of a new dynasty.

Popular Monarchy

By the early 1800s, the revolution had removed a widely despised king and brought a new but immensely popular despot to power. The First Consul arranged his transition to greater majesty by writing still another constitution that made him Napoleon I, Emperor of the French. It also specified that a Bonaparte male heir would inherit his throne. More than three million and five hundred thousand voted for the new constitution; only two thousand and five hundred sixty-nine opposed it. A lavish ceremony in the cathedral of Notre-Dame on December 2, 1804, formally established the new empire.

The Conquest of Europe

Napoleon had established peace, but he longed for a larger European empire. The Peace of Amiens had stopped the war with Britain but not Napoleon's drive for more power beyond France. He tightened his grip on Switzerland and Italy and attempted to end British commercial activity within his vast continental holdings. Great Britain responded with a declaration of war on France, May 16, 1803. By 1805, the British had drawn Austria, Russia, and Sweden into the Third Coalition against France.

Napoleon reacted swiftly with an attack on Austria at Ulm in Bavaria. In this battle, October 17, 1805, the emperor's armies won decisively and took thirty thousand prisoners. A simultaneous attempt to overwhelm Britain failed miserably. Napoleon positioned his forces for a cross-Channel invasion of Britain, and then sent his fleet toward the Caribbean. He expected British Admiral Lord Horatio Nelson to pursue his navy westward while the fleet secretly doubled back to join the attack on Britain.

Trafalgar. Lord Nelson followed his adversaries, caught them off the southwest coast of Spain at Trafalgar, and defeated the combined French and Spanish navies (October 21, 1805). Nelson died of injuries sustained in the Battle of Trafalgar, but his fleet triumphed so completely that France could no longer challenge Britain at sea. His victory left Napoleon with no way to reach Great Britain except in a fantasy of digging a passageway for his troops under the English Channel.

The Battle of Austerlitz. The Austrians continued to fight after their defeat at Ulm. The French marched to engage the armies of both Russia and Austria in the latter's territory in late 1805. On December 2, Napoleon led his forces to their most stunning victory as the French army devastated the Russians at Austerlitz before they joined ranks with the Austrians. The French suffered about nine thousand killed or wounded, but Russian casualties numbered thirty thousand. The outcome convinced Austria to quit the war, a decision formally arranged on December 26, 1805, in the Treaty of Pressburg. Despite the heavy losses, Russia refused to sign the peace agreement.

The Battles of Jena and Auerstadt. Before Austerlitz, Prussia contemplated joining the Third Coalition. Instead, after the French victory in Austria, the alliance dissolved. Months of diplomatic maneuvering followed as Napoleon tried to arrange treaties with Prussia and Russia that would give France a still stronger hold on Central Europe. This grab for greater power inspired Prussia to declare war on France, October 1, 1806. Because Russia and France remained enemies, the Prussian action marked the formation of a Fourth Coalition, but this new alliance posed no serious threat to Napoleon. On October 14, he turned his two hundred thousand battle-hardened warriors against the ill-prepared Prussians at Jena and Auerstadt. A single day of combat crushed the Prussians. Twenty-six days after the declaration of war, Napoleon held the Prussian capital of Berlin. King Frederick William III of Prussia (reigned 1797–1840) fled to Memel, seven hundred miles to the east at the edge of his realm.

The Treaty of Tilsit. Prussia had not surrendered to Napoleon, but only Russia remained actively in the war. Napoleon's armies marched northeast and subdued the Russians at Friedland on June 14, 1807. Tsar Alexander I (reigned 1801–1825) accepted defeat on June 21. He and Napoleon met June 25 on a raft in

the Nieman River to sign the Treaty of Tilsit. As the emperors agreed to peace terms, King Frederick William waited apprehensively on the bank for Napoleon's decision about the fate of Prussia.

The Grand Empire of France

By late 1805, Napoleon had gained control over most of the continent. At Pressburg (December 1805), Emperor Francis II of Austria surrendered several of his Italian territories. Other Italian rulers suffered losses to France as well. Napoleon gave his brother Joseph the throne of Naples in southern Italy in 1806.

The French emperor expanded his authority northward also. He gave his brother Louis the newly created Kingdom of Holland in June 1806. On July 12, Napoleon established the Confederation of the Rhine, which consolidated and subordinated most of the states of Germany. This extension of French power into Germanic territories brought an end to a very old, if symbolic, European institution. It prompted Francis II to become simply the Emperor of Austria on August 6, as he dropped his title to the Holy Roman Empire, a formal union of the German lands founded in the 900s but a virtual fiction in modern times.

At Tilsit, the Russian emperor accepted the new map of Europe established by Napoleonic conquests up to that time, July 1807. The treaty dictated to Frederick William of Prussia at Tilsit that he also recognize these territorial arrangements and limit the Prussian army to forty thousand. Prussia subsequently received notice of requirements to pay 120 million francs to France and surrender additional territory on the Elbe River.

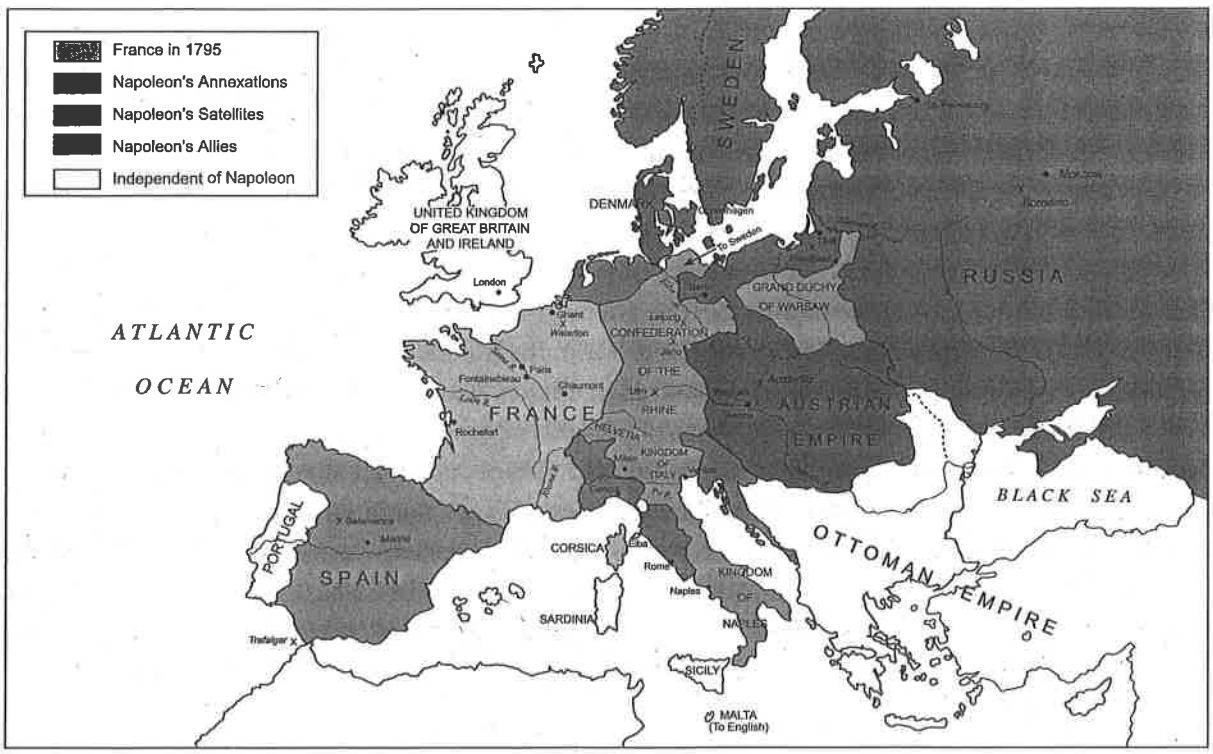

Figure 4.1: Europe in 1810

The Continental System. Napoleon then turned his attention westward to the Iberian Peninsula. His Berlin Decree, November 21, 1806, had ordered an end to trade between continental countries and Britain. This **Continental System** could not prevent the entry of British goods, because Europeans

needed the products of British industry and France could not control all borders. When Portugal refused to comply with this policy, Napoleon responded by dispatching an army of occupation in November 1807. The emperor reaffirmed in his Milan Decree, December 17, 1807, that commerce between Britain and the continent was forbidden. His word, however, still did not stop the movement of British goods.

The Bonaparte Kingdom of Spain. Emperor Bonaparte continued his westward advance. A French army of 100,000 swept into Spain in March 1808 and drove Charles IV from his realm. Subsequently, Napoleon gave the Kingdom of Naples to General Joachim Murat and brought Joseph Bonaparte from that southern Italian state to the throne of Spain.

The Fall of Napoleon

The European monarchies' fierce military resistance to France had proved futile against a nation aroused by revolutionary zeal and intense patriotism. The patriotic spirit that the French exhibited seemed not to exist in other European nations. The conquest of Spain, however, brought a foreboding change for Napoleon. An opposing patriotic tide began to rise in Iberia that would eventually sweep him from Europe.

The Peninsular War (1808–1813)

The mostly peasant population of Spain supported its monarchy and despised the alien French regime. Nobles similarly hated the elements of bourgeois liberal doctrine that Napoleon extended throughout his Grand Empire, and Spain had no significant middle class to which French bourgeois ideals might appeal. Finally, the Continental System, which Napoleon's armies came to enforce, worsened economic conditions for the Spanish. They rebelled.

Guerrilla War against the French. Napoleon now faced a new kind of enemy. The Peninsular War did not take place between state armies massed on battlefields. Independent Spanish warrior groups called **guerrillas** (the word entered the English language at this time) struck without warning against Napoleon's troops as the French moved about the country. The guerrillas attacked them in their camps, killed the wounded in their beds, poisoned their water supply, and then disappeared into hideouts. Vicious suppression tactics failed against the patriotic Spanish warriors.

Spanish Victory. Still, in the opening years of this fight, Napoleon continued to dominate the continent as completely as Britain did the European seas. The Peninsular War, however, ended the standoff. Sir Arthur Wellesley brought a British force into Spain, and by August 21, 1808, it won a battle over the French at Vimeiro. After a brutal struggle, the Spanish guerrillas and British troops drove Joseph Bonaparte from the Spanish throne in 1813. The war had kept four hundred thousand French warriors south of the Pyrenees. Napoleon needed them elsewhere.

Patriotic Rebellion and War in Germany

The lessons of the Peninsular War led the Archduke Charles, commander of the Austrian army, to call for Germans to unite in a war of national liberation. He invaded French-held Bavaria with an army of nearly two hundred thousand in April 1809. A few Germans responded to the Archduke's patriotic plea, but not enough. Napoleon left Spain and took Vienna, Austria, by mid-May. Seven weeks later, he

won a victory at Wagram that ended the war. The Treaty of Schönbrunn on October 14, 1809, took thirty-two thousand square miles and three-and-a-half million people away from the Austrian Empire.

Patriotism in Prussia inspired a much more serious threat. The fondness for French liberalism had waned in Central Europe as Napoleon exploited conquered territories economically to strengthen his empire. The example of French invaders deeply devoted to their own country also had begun to encourage the growth of Prussian or, more broadly, German, patriotism.

Prussian leaders took advantage of the new climate of opinion. They freed the serfs, ended the practice of allowing only nobles to serve as military officers, established a national draft to raise a citizen army, improved the treatment of recruits, and carried out other reforms that advanced Prussia toward the Enlightenment's modern vision of the state. When the Prussian government completed its program of change in 1813, it stood as a formidable enemy for Napoleon. It could fight with popular support.

The Deadly Invasion of Russia

The Treaty of Tilsit (1807) ended warfare between Russia and France but did not bring harmony. Many differences troubled Franco-Russian relationships, but none so much as conflicts over the Continental System. This policy struck Russia with special severity, because its highly agricultural economy required active trade with industrial Britain. Tsar Alexander finally refused to submit to the Continental System.

Napoleon decided to smash Russia. He marched four hundred thousand men to the country's border at the Nieman River during the last weeks of spring in 1812. Behind France's Grand Army came another two hundred thousand reserves. In late June, Napoleon took the first of his troops across the river. His forces poured over the border for the next three days.

About half the men who trekked toward Moscow were French; the rest came unwillingly from client states such as Sweden, the Netherlands, Prussia, Poland, Switzerland, Austria, and Italy. The Russians retreated before them, destroying almost everything in the areas they evacuated. Napoleon had planned to live off the land.

The Battle of Borodino. Seventy miles west of Moscow, Russian general Mikhail Kutusov commanded the forces that stood and fought Napoleon at Borodino, September 7, 1812. The Russians lost but took a very heavy toll among the French. Napoleon entered Moscow's Kremlin one week later. No leaders met him to surrender, and the city surrounding the Kremlin's walls lay virtually empty. Fires erupted in Moscow the next day and burned for nearly a week, taking still more of the supplies that Napoleon needed.

Russian Victory. No word of submission came from Tsar Alexander during the next five weeks. French troops lacked the supplies to occupy Moscow through the winter. They began to withdraw on October 19, returning along their invasion route already stripped of resources. During the retreat from Moscow, early snows and an unusually harsh winter brought misery to Napoleon's men. They fell from hunger, exhaustion, and cold. Guerrilla bands and the tsar's Cossack cavalry inflicted still more casualties. Fewer than fifty thousand (about ten percent) of Napoleon's troops survived to cross the western Russian border in mid-December 1812. By then, Napoleon was in Paris raising an army to replace the one he had lost. The emperor filled its ranks with many who were adolescents.

The Conquest of France

A new and ominous coalition confronted Napoleon in 1813. Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden converged on the unseasoned French warriors in Prussia at Leipzig. The battle raged for three days in mid-October and ended in a devastating defeat for Napoleon. British and Spanish invaders struck France from the south the next month. The Coalition's armies seized Paris at the end of March 1814. Napoleon abdicated. The victors permitted him to retain his imperial title but placed the emperor on Elba, an Italian coastal island. In France, they also enthroned Louis XVIII, a Bourbon and the brother of Louis XVI.

The Hundred Days. Exile and the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty failed to remove the threat of Napoleon to Europe. On March 1, 1815, the emperor invaded southern France with fewer than two thousand men. King Louis sent an army to defeat Napoleon, which met the exiled emporer and swore allegiance to him. Napoleon took Paris on May 20 and began a second reign, this time for only one hundred days.

Waterloo. Napoleon soon raised still another army and invaded Belgium. He made progress at first against the coalition, which now included most of the leading European states. His attack on the British at Waterloo, June 18, 1815, brought him close to another victory. But the British army under the Duke of Wellington held throughout the day, and the Prussians arrived to ensure Napoleon's defeat. He would fight no more battles. Napoleon surrendered to the British, who rejected his request for retirement in Britain. They took him instead to the island of St. Helena, more than one thousand miles from the southwest coast of Africa. Napoleon died there in 1821.

French revolutionaries in 1789 destroyed the old sociopolitical order in their own country, an act of modernization that immediately threatened aristocratic and monarchical institutions all over Europe. The inherent conflict between France and the royalist states led to bitter war that persisted throughout the 1790s. The inability of the revolutionary government to win either the war or wide support at home in the late 1790s led the French to turn to Napoleon, a military hero, for victory abroad and an end to domestic chaos.

Napoleon fashioned a new system, a dictatorship made popular with widely appealing reforms and imperial triumphs. His conquests gave France control of most of the land from the Atlantic Ocean to the western borders of Russia by 1808. The French took many of their bourgeois liberal reforms with them into the territories they seized, and many people there welcomed the revolutionary changes the invaders brought.

When Napoleon extended control into the Iberian Peninsula in 1808, however, popular resistance erupted, especially among the Spanish. They preferred their king and traditional ways. Central European people turned more hostile, too, as French liberalism seemed increasingly alien and exploitative. A new coalition of European monarchical states, led by Britain, then emerged and pursued Napoleon to his final defeat at Waterloo in 1815. The monarchies had stopped Napoleon, but not the forces of political modernization that he unleashed in Europe.

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Test Yourself

1) Robespierre intended for the reign of terror to
   a) create the conditions required for democracy to exist
   b) end lower-class influence on the revolution
   c) subordinate the lower bourgeoisie to the upper bourgeoisie
   d) stop the rising power of the French military

2) The way the Directory (French government, 1795–1799) suppressed its enemies resulted in
   a) the closing of the Catholic Church
   b) strengthened military influence in French government
   c) aristocratic support for the Directory
   d) the Reign of Terror

3) Judging by social circumstances in France that brought the first acts of political rebellion in May and June 1789, the people who are the most likely to launch a revolution are
   a) economically comfortable, well-educated people who lack privileges and power
   b) urban mobs of hungry, frightened, lower- and lower-middle-class people
   c) rising young military leaders from the lower classes
   d) aristocrats who have lost traditional powers in government

4) In the following list, which is the most important reason for Napoleon's disastrous failure in his invasion of Russia in 1812?
   a) the loss of French troops at Borodino
   b) the refusal of the Tsar to appear and admit defeat after the seizure of Moscow
   c) the guerrilla raids on the French during Napoleon's withdrawal from Russia
   d) the inability of Napoleon to get supplies for his troops

5) The way in which Napoleon governed shows that he recognized the necessity for a fully modern state to
   a) practice unlimited democracy
   b) maintain at least a moderate degree of genuine democracy
   c) keep broad popular support for government
   d) avoid deceiving the public about the true extent of its influence

6) Revolutionary violence most clearly affected the actions of Louis XVI immediately after
   a) the September Massacres
   b) Napoleon's whiff of grapeshot
   c) the Reign of Terror
   d) the fall of the Bastille

7) The principles acted on by the people who most influenced France from June 1789 to the fall of Napoleon indicate that, overall, it is most reasonable to conclude that the goal of the French revolution was government of, by, or for
   a) the bourgeoisie
   b) urban workers
   c) peasants
   d) the Third Estate

8) Working from the text rather than memory, write a fact-supported essay justifying your answer to multiple-choice item 7.

Test Yourself Answers

1) **a.** It appears certain that Robespierre used dictatorship and terror in the belief that he could make the revolution lead to democracy. Other optional completions have a hint of accuracy but are not good choices. For example, Robespierre would use terror against lower-class rebels that he thought threatened his control, but he did not want to end the influence of that whole social category.

2) **b.** The text emphasizes the importance of the militarization of government that resulted from Directory actions, but suggests nothing about influences on aristocratic attitudes. The Reign of Terror happened before the Directory existed, and the Churches never closed.

3) **a.** Aristocrats unintentionally helped set the stage for revolt, and city crowds affected events, but mostly after the first acts of rebellion. The best choice for a completion recognizes the direct control of the bourgeoisie in the "first acts" of revolution.

4) **d.** All the optional completions indicate an influence on the French failure in Russia, but the problem of supplies hurt Napoleon's forces on the march to Moscow, made it impossible to wait out the Tsar over the winter, and ensured great losses during the retreat. Much else influenced the French loss, but the answer that refers to supplies is the best option in this list.

5) **c.** Napoleon established certain rights that liberals wanted, but the nature of his government and the letter of the law in his codes left no hint of popular sovereignty. The first two optional completions, therefore, cannot be correct. The ways that Napoleon so effectively courted popular support included giving a false sense of representative government in the Consulate and the probably deceptive hint of democracy shown in holding plebiscites. Napoleon did not seem to think that being honest with citizens was a necessity, but he obviously knew the value of popular support.

6) **d.** The text gives no indication of the effect of the September Massacres on the king, and his execution took place before the terror or the "whiff of grapeshot." The crowd's seizure of the Bastille directly led to Louis XVI's public actions, suggesting his acceptance of the revolution.

7 and 8) **a.** The principles and actions aimed at determining who controlled and benefited from government throughout the 1790s, as diverse as they were, mostly favored bourgeois power and interests. When Napoleon took charge as dictator, he built a system very much in keeping with many bourgeois ideals. He gave the French orderly government, equal treatment for people under the law, policies friendly to business, honors for people because they showed their worth to society rather than because of aristocratic family history, and much more that the bourgeoisie believed in and that others had come to value. Thus, the text indicates that Napoleon provided government "for" the bourgeoisie and suggests that middle-class people also had a better chance than before of becoming leaders in Napoleonic France—meaning that to a certain extent it was government "of" even if not "by" the bourgeoisie. An analysis and discussion of revolutionary leaders and actions during the 1790s and a more detailed treatment of the Napoleonic system along the lines suggested here could hardly make a stronger case for any of the four completions other than the bourgeoisie. Urban workers and peasants certainly influenced the revolution, but it would be difficult to support the conclusion that it was "government of, by, or for" city workers, peasants, or even the Third Estate as a whole.