

EUROPEAN HISTORY

The French Revolution of 1789

Causes

The French people revolted in 1789 against the government of Louis XVI as a result of a **combination of factors** such as the existing system of government, an incompetent king, financial crises, and the system of privileges among other factors. That the revolution broke in 1789 and not earlier is because the situation in France had deteriorated. The people of France could not wait any longer.

Political

Politically the revolt was triggered of by factors such as the existing system of government, an incompetent king as well as various influences from the American War of Independence, England and the Philosophers.

1. The Existing System of Government

- The existing system of government in France lacked political participation and representation of the people.
- This is in view of the fact that all the power was centred in the hands of one person- the French King. He was responsible for all the political appointments and he was the one with the final say on all state issues. This is confirmed by his words “The state is my self. The thing is legal because I wish it.”
- this clearly indicated that he treated France as his personal property and it clear shows his dictatorial tendencies as well as absolute arrogance.
- Furthermore France did not have a parliament. Of course there was a platform in the form of the Estates-General in which the people presented their grievances and proposals to the king. But then these last met in 1614 yet the year was now 1789.

- Thus all the decision making process was left in the hands of the King and the Royal Council. Thus France was left without checks and balances making Louis XVI a dictator.
- In addition all the political posts were monopolized by a group of a few individuals, the nobility. This was a privileged class that belonged to the second estate. They alone could be appointed to cabinet posts as ambassadors abroad and to commissioned ranks in the navy and the army. The bourgeoisie felt that their education and wealth made them qualify for the appointments.
- The legal system of France was pathetic and in shambles. France had about 360 different feudal codes. The government of Louis XVI was involved in the appointment of local councils in townships and meddled in parish administration.
- As a result there was the selective application of the law in favour of the Nobility and the clergy.
- In view of the above system of government the French people, particularly the Third Estate staged a revolution in May 1789 in order to correct the situation. Their aim was to achieve political participation by being involved in the affairs of the state and being represented politically through an assembly.

2 The Incompetent King

- The French King Louis XVI was directly responsible for the outbreak of the French Revolution because of his inconsistent policies. He had a weak-willed character that caused him not to follow up on reforms that he would have initiated.
- This is because Louis XVI would initiate a reform programme and then fail to complete it. For example in the 1780s he initiated an economic reform programme designed to stabilize the French economy.
- He appointed a number of economists like Turgot, Necker, Brienne and Calonne who all proposed that France do away with the existing system of privileges that hindered economic development. In particular they proposed a system of fairer taxation and the removal of tariffs in between the French districts in order to facilitate the movement of goods.

- Turgot advocated on honesty and efficiency and proposed to check on the power of the church, advocated for justice in taxation and the circulation of goods especially corn.
- Necker advocated for the maintenance of the status quo but became unpopular with the King and the nobility when he issued a statement on the financial position of France at a time when the participation of France in the American War of Independence had left the country on the verge of bankruptcy.
- Calonne who took over from Necker did not seek to curb the extravagance at the court but soon became unpopular among the nobility when he advocated for a land tax to be paid by everyone to improve on state revenue.
- The proposals the economists were opposed by the nobility, clergy, and the Queen. The King failed to support the economists and gave in to pressure and had each of the economists dismissed one after another. France lost the opportunity to stabilize the economy.
- The dismissal of the economists threw away an excellent opportunity to diffuse tension between the peasants and the clergy and the nobility over taxation.
- The circulation of goods especially corn could have helped to alleviate the devastating effects of the bad harvests of 1789.
- The dismissals also demonstrated that the government of Louis XVI lacked any form of seriousness towards solving the financial crises of France.
- These dismissals also showed that the economists were tolerated by the government of Louis XVI as long as they did not poke their noses into the affairs of the Nobility and the Clergy.
- Moreover the king's incompetence and inconsistency was clearly evident when called for the meeting of the Estates-General in May 1789 in order to chart the way forward for France.
- The expectation of the Third Estate was that it would meet jointly with the First and Second Estates comprising of the clergy and the nobility respectively and then draft their proposals for the King to consider.
- But then the king attempted to block this reform process by ordering the estates to meet separately. It was highly probable that the proposals from the Third Estate would not reach

the king since the procedure was that the Third Estate would present their proposals to the First and Second Estates before they are forwarded to the king.

- It was the king's action that triggered the revolution since the Third Estate reacted by taking a more radical move and declared itself as the National assembly thereby setting the revolution into motion.

- Louis XVI was dictatorial. Through the law of "Letters de Cachets" that allowed imprisonment without trial. The law undermined the freedom of the French people.

- Louis XVI had a weak-willed character. He allowed himself to succumb to the influence of those around him i e his wife, Nobility and the Clergy. It was this trio that blocked the economic reform process of the 1780s and have the economists fired by the King.

- They are also the ones that persuaded the king to order the meeting of the estates separately. It was this fateful move that triggered off the French Revolution.

- Louis XVI was careless. He allowed the extravagant expenditure at the court at a time when the country was nearly on its knees economically.

- He often went hunting with the members of the Court at a time when his presence was greatly needed. This approach that he took was too relaxed for such a critical moment.

- Furthermore the sending of the French soldiers by Louis XVI to participate in the American War of Independence also demonstrated the incompetence of the French king.

- This move backfired because it increased the French national debt since the war was financed from borrowings from the bourgeoisie.

- This in turn contributed to bankruptcy. At the same the participation of the French troops in the war exposed them to revolutionary ideas. For example the American Declaration of Independence pointed out that man were created with the alienable rights namely life and liberty.

- This explains why Lafayette who was the veteran of the American War of Independence became one of the revolutionary leaders.

- In view of the above it is clear that the people revolted against their king because his incompetence and stance was costing the country dearly.

Influences

1. The Philosophers

- The philosophers enlightened the people and made them revolutionary through their writings.
- For instance Voltaire wrote plays, novels, history and lampoons in which he attacked the power and the influence of the Catholic Church and attacked all the faults within the French society. He also preached the idea of religious tolerance.
- The Encyclopediasts produced a collection of all works in the form of a summary on all the existing knowledge from philosophy, history and science. Such works had the effect of enlightening the people.
- Another philosopher Montesquieu advocated for the limiting of the powers of the monarch and the privileges of the nobility. He also advocated for the right to debate and amend law before it is passed.
- Furthermore Rousseau wrote the Social Contract in which he argued that the General will of the people should be the ruling force in any society. He further argued that governments are there because of the people's consent.
- They also produced works that attacked everything in France hated by philosophers. Its contributors included Voltaire, Montesquieu and Rousseau. Their attacks were mostly directed to the Church and the State.
- Thus through their writings, the philosophers enlightened the people thereby creating a revolutionary atmosphere in France. This was mainly true among the intellectuals and the wealthier that had access to the writings.

2. England

- The English writings and institutions provided France with a practical example of a parliamentary democracy.
- This is in view of the fact that the French people had access to English writings. Some visited England and experienced the English form of democracy i.e. the French philosophers like Voltaire and Montesquieu were greatly influenced by the English writings.
- Rousseau's writings had many ideas found in the writings of the John Locke, an English philosopher.

- All these influences from England resulted in the spread of discontent and free thought in France and many scholars regard them as the very first causes of the revolution.
- It can then be said that these influences contributed fundamentally to the collapse of the old system.

3. The American War of Independence

- The participation of the French soldiers in the American War of independence had a great effect of exposing the soldiers to democratic and revolutionary ideas that in turn made them revolutionary upon returning to France.
- The war exposed the soldiers to democratic ideas e.g. the soldiers got exposed to the American Declaration of Independence that pointed out that all men were created with inalienable rights namely life and liberty.
- At the same time the soldiers fought on the American side fighting against the British that taxed the American people that lacked representation in the British parliament.
- After the war the soldiers returned to a France whose people had no control over the French taxation since there was no parliament.
- That the French soldiers got exposed to democratic ideas has been demonstrated by the fact that General Lafayette, a veteran of the American War of Independence, became one of the revolutionary leaders.

Economic

The Financial Crises

1. The French finances were chaotic and the country was on the verge of bankruptcy. This is in view of the fact that France had huge productive lands but lagged behind the other European countries in terms of economic development.
 - Such a scenario was due to the system of taxation in which the wealthier were exempted from paying taxes and the burden of taxation fell on the poorer sections of France.

- Thus the revenue raised from taxation was not enough for France to meet its liabilities e.g. the peasants had to carry the burden of both the direct and indirect taxes yet they were poor. They had to pay taxes namely *taille*, poll and tax on all property as direct taxes while they paid a salt tax and feudal dues as indirect taxes.
 - The peasants were not allowed to own mills or wine presses. They had to depend on their landlords for such services and had to pay taxes to these landlords.
 - Such a system was discriminatory to the Third Estate that had to carry the burden for taxation. It is therefore not surprising that some evaded taxation
 - Heavy punishments were imposed on all those that failed to meet their tax obligations e.g. in the year 1783, 11000 people were arrested and some of them were hanged.
 - The Bourgeoisie comprising of traders and industrialists were exempted from taxation. The same applied to the nobility especially the Greater Nobility who owned the largest and wealthiest landed estates in France.
2. There was a huge expenditure at the King's palace. The palace expenses accounted for one twelfth of the national budget. The Queen Marie Antoinette was the chief culprit of extravagancy. It is said that she owned 500 pairs shoes.
- The other culprits were the clergy who lived in luxury at the palace and spent most of the time banqueting and hunting.
 - Spending money extravagantly at a time when the situation was extremely bad demonstrated a lack of commitment by the rulers to the plight of the people. At the same time spending precious time hunting bears demonstrated a total disregard of the welfare of the people.
3. The failure of the economic reforms also accounted for the bankruptcy of the state. The king had appointed a number of economists one after another like Turgot, Necker, Brienne and Calonne to stabilize the economy.
- But all their proposals to improve the revenue base by introducing a system of a fairer taxation and removing the system of privileges were blocked by the tragic combination of the nobility, Clergy and the Queen.

- Necker attempted to reduce the expenditure at the palace when he persuaded the king to reduce the grants of favours and pensions.
- Like all other economists who had made proposals that were centrally to the wishes of the nobility, clergy and the Queen, Necker was dismissed by the king.
- When Necker was recalled to government in August 1788 he admitted that it was too late to rescue the situation of bankruptcy into which the government had fallen.
- Thus the failure by the king to solve the financial crisis in France drove the state deeper into bankruptcy. It was this situation that forced Louis XVI to agree to the meeting of the Estates-General in May 1789 that marked the beginning of the revolution.

Famine

- The famine of May 1789 triggered off the French Revolution. It was a result of a very bad harvest of 1788 that was aggravated by the harsh winter that froze the French rivers.
- This made transportation of food difficult. Famine caused disorder and distress in the country side.
- The people in the country side fled to the towns hoping to find work as the famine spread. The industrialists suffered the effects of competition from the imports from England under the Commercial treaty of 1786.
- Thus there was an increase in unemployment. Those fleeing the country side could not find employment as a result the towns like Paris ended up with an idle population that later became the famous mob during the revolution.
- It was this mob that caused riots and disorder. The government reacted by throwing them into prisons. This was evidently an act of desperation that failed to improve the situation.
- By the time Louis XVI called for the meeting of the Estates-General in May 1789 a revolutionary atmosphere had been created in France.
- The mob that was to play an instrumental role during the revolution was already in place.

Social

- The system of privileges that favoured the First and Second Estates was a great source of anger among the Bourgeoisie and the peasants. It alienated the Third Estate from other estates and the monarchy thereby leading to a revolution.
- This because the First and second Estates enjoyed and monopolized privileges e.g. the Greater Nobility comprised of 100 families that owned the largest and the wealthiest land estates in France. They were accorded privileges that placed them above the other classes in the state.
- The highest commands in the army and navy were reserved for them and they alone were appointed as ambassadors.
- They were exempted from paying taxation. They were very influential at the palace and could afford being absentee landlords i.e. left their landed estates to live in the towns.
- Also benefiting from the privileges is the Lesser Nobility comprising of 99 families. They had landed estates but could not afford the luxury of absenteeism as compared to the Greater Nobility. They had little political power and envied the privileges of the Greater Nobility and were greatly frustrated from being excluded from the higher, social and political life of France.
- Also bitter with the system of privileges were the Nobility of the Robe whose privilege was only the title. They envied the privileges of the Greater Nobility.
- This explains why there were a number of supporters of the revolution among the Lesser Nobility and the Nobility of the Robe.
- Real bitterness with the system was among the bourgeoisie and the peasants. For instance at the time of the revolution the peasants numbered 23 000 000 out of a total population of 25 million.
- This was the largest group but landless while others owned small patches of land from which they scraped a very bare living. It was this poor group that was burdened with direct and indirect taxation with heavy punishment for failing to pay.
- This group was condemned to serve in the militia with no possibility for exemptions. They were denied political rights. They were subjected to control by the nobility on whose land they lived and were subjected to various forms of feudal dues.
- In view of this scenario the peasants looked forward to the revolution for independence and freedom from unfair and the overburdening taxation and the control by the landlords.

- The bourgeoisie had a serious cause of discontent. They were almost completely excluded from the government of France despite their education and wealthy.
- They had no prospects for promotion in the French army and navy where commissioned ranks were preserved for the Nobility.
- They also had economic grievances. Their economic activities were being frustrated by the enormous extravagancy and luxury at the palace such that as at 1789 France was on the verge of bankruptcy.
- From the bourgeoisie point of view the enormous privileges enjoyed by the nobility accounted for the French bankruptcy.
- That the bourgeoisie were sufficiently educated and united to lead the revolution they became the fertile seedbed for the revolutionary ideas.
- Due to the above facts it is not surprising that most of the leadership of the revolution was drawn from the bourgeoisie class.
- The Catholic Church enjoyed a privileged position within France. It was the established church of France hence it was the only public worship allowed and recognized by law.
- The various forms of protestant faith that existed in France were not recognized.
- Within the church itself there were greater inequalities of income hence there was the group of poor parish priestly and the higher clergy.
- The majority of the six thousand parish priests received an annual salary of 30 and 70 pounds while the 134 Archbishops received around 2500 pounds.
- Furthermore the higher clergy were appointed to well-paid political posts and they lived in the palace in luxury and spend much of their time in the pleasures of hunting. Much of the day to day work in the countryside was left to the parish priests.
- At the same time the church had enormous wealth. It owned one fifth of the land in France with a yearly income of 500 000 000 francs of which only some 30 million were used to maintain hospitals, schools and other institutions.
- It is therefore not surprising that the parish priests who were frustrated with the privileged position of the higher clergy joined in the revolution alongside the peasants and the bourgeoisie who also greatly resented the privileged position of the Catholic Church.

The Course of the Revolution

The Meeting of the Estates-General May 1789

- The meeting of the Estates-General marked the beginning of the French Revolution.
- This is in view of the fact that the king's action precipitated the outbreak of the revolution. When it became apparent that the conditions within France had taken for the worse Louis XVI agreed to the meeting of the Estates-General that had last met in 1614.
- The meeting was expected to chart the way forward in solving the French problems. The king interfered with the process by ordering that the estates meet separately.
- The Third Estate had hoped for joint meeting with the First and Second Estates. Under the new arrangement it became clear to the Third Estate that their proposals would be blocked by other estates since they were expected to present their proposals to the First and Second Estates before being presented to the king.
- It is at this point that the Third Estate took a more radical move of declaring themselves as the National Assembly. Under the leadership of the bourgeoisie the National Assembly took an oath in which it vowed never to disband until a new constitution is agreed.
- Thus the meeting of the Estates-General in 1789 can be regarded as the beginning of the French revolution under the leadership of the bourgeoisie. It was the reactionary actions of the king that influenced them to rise for the king wanted to block the reform process.

The Risings

- The risings by the peasants in the countryside helped in speeding up the revolutionary process. This makes them the medium of change.
- The peasants rose soon after the news of the dismissal of Necker for the second time reached them in July 1789. To them Necker was the last hope in solving the French problems.
- Also joining in the rising was the mob in the towns that demonstrated in the streets of Paris, other towns and the provinces.

- They were soon joined by the soldiers and stormed the Bastille on 14 July. The Bastille was a prison famous for housing the political opponents of Louis XVI. To the French the Bastille symbolized the reactionary rule of Louis XVI.

- Its capture by the revolutionaries signaled the demise of the reactionary rule of the king. The events of 14 July in turn inspired the peasants in the countryside. They seized land from the nobility, captured the mansions and castles belonging to the nobility and then elected communes and councils to represent them on local level.

- Faced by this difficult situation Louis XVI agreed to withdraw his troops from the streets, recognize the newly created National Assembly and to the establishment of a National Guard. National Guard was a force created by the National Assembly to guarantee the revolutionary gains.

- Therefore the risings by the peasants resulted in the revolutionary gains namely land for the peasants, political participation and representation through the National Assembly and the Communes and Councils on both the national and local levels. All these gains and those to come were guaranteed by the newly created National guard.

The Sessions of the National Assembly

a) The August Session

- At this session the National Assembly under the leadership of the bourgeoisie achieved equality of all French people by abolishing feudalism.

- The French feudal structure was abolished by a total of 32 resolutions. The disgruntled elements among the nobility especially the Lesser Nobility and the Nobility of the Robe were invited to join the assembly.

- Each noble man, one after another rose giving up their privileges. Thus the feudal system collapsed as the peasants were freed from the control of the nobility. All feudal dues were abolished but the king refused to accept the resolutions of the August Session of the National Assembly that abolished feudalism.

- From the above it can be argued that the August Session brought equality within France by the abolition of the feudal system and its system of privileges. It is however important to realize that the reactionary tendencies of the king were present since he refused to accept the resolutions of the session.

b) The Declaration of Rights of Man

- The National Assembly under the leadership of the bourgeoisie pressed forward with the revolution by issuing a socio-political document that guaranteed the rights and liberty of the French people.

- This they achieved by modeling their document on the American war of Independence that declared that all man were created equal with inalienable rights namely life, liberty and freedom.

- Again Louis XVI refused to sign the document into law. The Third Estate, in particular its women reacted by demonstrating towards the palace demanding that the king accept the August Session resolutions, sign the Declaration of the Rights of Man into law and increase the supply of bread within the country.

- Faced with such a volatile situation the king gave in, accepted the resolutions of the August Session, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and promised to increase the supply of bread.

- Thus through the contributions of the bourgeoisie and the women the rights of the people were granted and guaranteed and the resolutions of the August session were confirmed.

c) The Civil Constitution of the Clergy

- Perhaps the most important contribution of the National Assembly to the revolution was the separation of the church from state affairs.

- This was achieved through the removal of the church influence from politics through the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. The new constitution coordinated the administration of the church, paid the salaries of the Clergy, cut ties with the Pope and made the Clergy to take an oath of loyalty.

- Again the king refused to accept the constitution pointing out that the revolutionaries had gone too far. Louis XVI had the support of the in condemning the constitution.
- Louis XVI and members of the royal family attempted to flee from Paris to Varennes and then escape to neighbouring states to join the émigrés, the nobility who had fled from France.
- The intent was to fight the revolution from outside with the neighbouring friendly states. They were detected on their way, arrested and returned to Paris as prisoners.
- The king was suspended from carrying out his duties and it was resolved that his future would be decided on upon the completion on the constitution of the country.
- Thus the Civil constitution of the Clergy separated the church from state affairs thereby putting to an end the enormous influence that the church enjoyed during the ancient regime. At the same time the Civil Constitution of the Clergy exposed the reactionary tendencies of the king whose actions identified him with the enemies of the revolution.

d) Economy

- The next task of the Assembly was to stabilize the economy that was in chaos and at the verge of bankruptcy.
- They attempted to achieve this by issuing paper currency called the Assignats. This currency was guaranteed by the church lands that had been nationalized. Some of the nationalized lands were put on auction. In this way the landless peasants were granted land.
- With time the assignats ended up losing their value and the establishment of the French economy was not well achieved.
- By attempting to stabilize the economy through money the National Assembly was attempting to achieve some of the revolutionary aims. The nationalization of the catholic lands enabled the landless to acquire land.

Émigrés

- These were the former nobility e.g. the Greater Nobility. They elected to leave France and settle in the neighbouring states such as Prussia and Austria.
- They vowed not to live in a France under the control of the revolutionaries. They intended to get help from sympathetic neighbours to fight the revolutionaries and restore the monarch with full powers.

The Constitution

- The work of the National Assembly culminated in the drafting of a new constitution of France. The provisions of the new constitution were:

1. Legislative Assembly

- elected members

2. Monarch

- With limited powers, a suspensive not absolute veto power, control of foreign policy, appointing the cabinet.
- shared power with the assembly.

3. Elections

- For the Legislative based on a franchise (qualification as a voter or to be voted for)

4. Land Guarantee

- Allowed the peasants to retain the lands gained during the course of the revolution.

5. Equality

- Equality before the law and in terms of appointments.

6. Rights of Man

- Guaranteed by the Declaration of Rights of Man

7. Local Government

- Communes and Councils established following the rising in the countryside and the provinces retained to represent people on local level.

8. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy

- It was incorporated into the constitution.

9. The National Guard

-retain to preserve the revolutionary gains.

The Jacobin Era: 1791 – 1794

The Jacobins

- These were the bourgeoisie and some section of the peasants. They were the revolutionaries and were the second most important group in the newly elected legislative assembly after the feullaints (the royalists – former nobility).

- Within the assembly the Jacobins were highly organized. Among them there were some sections, The Cordeliers consisting of the working class under the leadership of Madame Roland, the Girondins that wanted to use war to deal with the anti-revolutionary elements

in and outside France and the Herbertists under Herbert who wanted to do away with Christianity.

The Threat to the Revolution

- From the onset the revolution in France was under threat from the anti-revolutionary elements in and outside France. The aim of the anti-revolutionary elements was to overthrow the revolutionary government and restore the monarchy with its full powers.

Internal Threats

1. Royalists

- They wanted to overthrow the revolution and restore the monarchy to the throne with its full powers.

- They were the former nobility who chose to remain in revolutionary France. They had the majority in the legislative assembly where they were known as the feullaints. The existing franchise based on one's income enabled them to gain a majority in the assembly.

- These royalists aimed at removing the revolutionary government and the legislative assembly and do away with all the revolutionary changes that were enshrined in the constitution of September 1791.

- Among the changes were political participation and representation through the assembly, communes and councils; equality; rights of man and the land gains for the landless.

- The royalists hoped to restore the monarchy with full powers. They enjoyed support from the king who was sympathetic to the French situation.

- The fact that the royalists were against the revolution explain why they lacked zeal during the revolution.

2. Clergy

- They enjoyed enormous privileges during the ancient regime and they wanted to overthrow the revolution and help restore the king in order to regain their privileged position.
- They lived at the palace and had much influence in the French politics. They became alienated from the revolution because it took away their privileges.
- The conflict between the clergy and the revolutionaries was worsened by the provisions of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy that separated the church from the state.
- The constitution required that the clergy take an oath. During the time of the legislative assembly and onwards most clergymen refused to take the oath.
- Those refused to take the oath became known as the non-juring priests. The revolutionaries viewed their actions as anti-revolutionary.

3. Louis XVI

- His reactionary tendencies made him the biggest threat to the revolution.
- From the onset Louis XVI's identified himself with the anti-revolutionary elements. Well before the outbreak of the revolution Louis XVI allowed himself to be influenced by the anti-revolutionary elements such as his wife, nobility and the clergy to block the economic reform process by dismissing the economists one after another.
- Initially he refused to accept the revolutionary resolutions of the August Session of the National Assembly that brought equality to France as well as the Declaration of the Rights of Man. He only agreed after a women demonstration against him.
- Refused to accept the Civil Constitution of the Clergy pointing out that that the revolution had gone too far.
- He even attempted to flee France in 1791 to join the émigrés in the neighbouring states intending to fight the revolution from outside.
- During the period of the legislative assembly he used his suspensive veto powers to block the measures introduced by the legislative assembly to deal with threats to the revolution.
- The legislative assembly, on two occasions issued decrees ordering the émigrés to return to France or face death and the non juring priests to take an oath to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. In both cases the king vetoed the decrees.

- The king's actions were interpreted by the revolutionaries as anti-revolutionary.
- Furthermore the papers that were later discovered at the Tulleries Palace in 1792 indicated that the king corresponded with the émigrés and even financed their activities.

External Threats

1. Émigrés

- Organized an army with the help of sympathetic neighbouring states such as Austria and Prussia with the aim of removing the revolutionaries from power and restore the monarchy.
- These former nobility had elected to leave France because they were not prepared to live in a France that was controlled by the revolutionaries hence they were considered as enemies of the revolution.

2. Prussia and Austria

- These haboured and supported the émigrés much to the chagrin of the revolutionaries.

i) The Declaration of Piltitz

- Prussia and Austria issued this declaration pointing out that the cause of Louis XVI was also theirs. They openly declared their support for the French King in his struggle to regain his power.

ii) The Brunswick Manifesto

- This was another declaration by the neighbouring states in support of Louis XVI. In it they warned the French people against demonstrating against their king who was hindering revolutionary progress by using his veto power.
- The French people interpreted this declaration as a direct threat to France as a whole.

iii) The Declaration of War 1792

- The war with the neighbouring states was a threat to the revolution. Through this war the revolutionaries hoped to defeat the neighbouring states and neutralize the émigrés threat.
- To them the defeat of these elements outside France would enable them to deal with the revolutionary elements within France.

Measures Taken Against Revolutionary Threats

- The Jacobins played an important role in eradicating the threats against the French Revolution. This they achieved through legislation, imprisonment, executions, war, the removal of the King and declaring France a Republic.
- It is important to realize that in the process of removing these threats the revolutionaries ended up eroding some of the revolutionary gains namely democracy, equality and the rights of man.

Internal Threats

- The Jacobins, through legislation attempted remove threats to the revolution. The legislative assembly issued a decree that required the émigrés to return to France or face death.
- They also issued another decree that ordered the non juring priests to take an oath to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. The king then responded by vetoing the decree. The assembly reacted by reissuing the decree but then the king vetoed it again.
- Although these decrees were vetoed the Jacobins had taken the first step to deal with the threats to the revolution.
- In dealing with the threats of the royalists the Jacobins through the assembly issued the Law of Suspects. The assembly was aware of anti-revolutionary elements within France.

- This was clearly evident during the La Vandee peasant revolt. The National Guard that was sent to suppress it adopted an anti-revolutionary attitude. It was royalist in composition.

- Thus this law was aimed at the royalists. All those suspect of being anti-revolutionary were arrested and imprisoned. Also included were all those found to be lacking zeal in the revolutionary effort.

Executions

- Were used by the Jacobins to eradicate revolutionary threats. A Jacobin leader called Marat came up with the idea after realizing that the prisons were overflowing with prisoners.

- The prisoners were disposed by being murdered in the streets by soldiers in what became famously known as the September Massacres.

The Removal of the King and the Declaration of the French First Republic

- Perhaps the most important contribution by the Jacobins was the removal of the monarch and the declaration of the First French republic.

- This was after singling out the monarch as the main obstacle of the revolution. It was after the King used his veto power in a move to block the revolutionary process.

- A force called the Commune under Danton, a Jacobin leader was created. It stormed the King's palace at the Tulleries. The king was deposed from the throne in 1792 and executed in 1793 after trial.

- The monarchy was abolished and France was declared a Republic. A new constitution was agreed on and a new assembly called the convention was elected.

- Among other provisions the new constitution declared a universal male suffrage and attempted to introduce a number of democratic measures that increased the freedom and equality of the French people.

The Reign of Terror

- The Jacobins used terror to deal with the revolutionary threats within France. Committees such as the Committee of Public safety, Committee of General Security and the Revolutionary Tribunal were established to deal with problems within France.
- The Committee of Public Safety was run by 12 members in charge of government departments.
- The Committee of General security was responsible for the internal security of France. These committees identified the enemies of the revolution and all those people suspected of working against the revolution.
- The Revolutionary Tribunal worked as a court of law. Its verdicts were final, there was no appeal.
- Under Robespierre, one of the revolutionary leaders, the two committees and the tribunal were used to eradicate opposition to the revolution. He executed, in three months of his reign, more people than those killed in the entire period of the revolution.

External Threats

1. Legislation was also used by the Jacobins within the Legislative Assembly to deal with the external threats to the revolution.
 - A decree was issued by the Legislative Assembly against the émigrés who were working with the neighbouring states to overthrow the revolution and restore the monarchy.
 - The decree ordered them to return to France or face death. However this measure was blocked by the King who vetoed the decree on all two occasions that it was issued.
2. The Jacobins responded to the external threats from the neighbouring states by issuing the Edict of Fraternity that undertook to give support to any revolutionary movement within the neighbouring states that were harbouring the émigrés.
 - It was hoped that the spread of the revolutionary movements through out Europe would help eradicate threats on the French Revolution.

3. The Jacobins resorted to the use of war to protect the revolution. During one of the sessions of the Legislative Assembly a section of the Jacobins called the Girondins pushed for a war with the neighbouring states.
- They hoped that the defeat of the neighbouring states would enable them to deal directly with the émigrés. The committees came up with a number of measures to improve on the war effort.
 - Through the Law of Permanent Acquisition all Frenchmen were to be conscripted permanently into the French army.
 - All unsuccessful Generals were dismissed and executed. Through the measures introduced by General Carnot the French army was retrained and equipped.
 - All those lacking zeal in the war effort such as the royalists were arrested and sent before the tribunal that sentenced them to executions.
 - Through these efforts the Jacobins were able to post victories on the war front thereby preserving the revolution.
- However in the process of eradicating the revolutionary threats the Jacobins ended up destroying some of the revolutionary gains.
- The actions of the Jacobins were a direct violation of the Declaration of the Rights of Man e g the Law of Suspects imprisoned arbitrary all those suspected of being anti-revolutionary.
 - They were later murdered in the streets in what later became known as the September massacres orchestrated by Marat one of the Jacobin leaders.
 - The activities of the Jacobins compromised the revolutionary ideals. All those people that were opposed to the policies of Danton and Robespierre were summarily executed by the tribunal whose verdict was final.
 - Robespierre changed the procedures of the tribunal by packing the jury with his supporters, using one moral reputation instead to charge a suspect and denying legal representation during the proceedings.
 - Thus during the reign of terror number of executions exceeded those of the entire revolutionary period.

- This means that there was a gross human rights violation. The activities of the Jacobins compromised the revolutionary ideals such as political participation and representation of the people.
- The formation of the Committees of Public Safety and General Security as well as the Revolutionary tribunal led to the establishment of a dictatorship in France.
- Power became centred on a few individuals within the Jacobin Club e.g. Danton and Robespierre ended up controlling two of the most powerful institutions in France namely the Committee of Public Safety and the Convention.

The Directory

The establishment of the directory government was a response to some of the problems that the revolution had experienced before.

Lessons from the Revolution

1. The revolution France experienced a dictatorship by the leadership drawn from the Jacobin Club e.g. Danton, Marat and Robespierre. These leaders passed laws and did things that ended up destroying the ideals and achievements of the revolution.
2. A struggle for power among the Jacobins resulted in series of executions as the leadership attempted to dominate the scene e.g. Madame Roland of a section of the Jacobins was eliminated by Danton and Marat who were in turn eliminated by Robespierre.

3. The revolution witnessed a lot of events being controlled by the mob based in Paris. These mob groups were a source of the Jacobin strength.
4. The Royalists demonstrated that they were anti-revolutionary e.g. the National guard that was dominated by them adopted a counter-revolutionary attitude during the suppression of a peasant revolt in the La Vendée district. The main culprits were the émigrés that sought the assistance of the neighbouring states to remove the revolutionaries from power. Thus the Royalists were in full support of the monarchy.

The Directorate

- The Convention responded to the above lessons by establishing a directorate to rule France.
- It was a government headed by five people called directors. This meant that the days of the control of the affairs of the state by one person were over.
- Thus gone were the days of Robespierre who ended up dominating state affairs by himself.
- One director was expected to retire each year, continuity in national policy was achieved through the remaining four directors and at the same time avoiding a continuous reign of an individual.
- To avoid individuals dominating a new constitution was established that created an assembly with two chambers. The first chamber was a Council of 500 that proposed laws. Its members had an age limit of 30 years and above.
- The second chamber, the Council of Elders debated laws proposed by the Council of 500. Its age limit was 45 years and above.
- The age limits were meant to confine governance to mature individuals. By having a two chamber assembly, the new constitution introduced a system of checks and balances in the politics of France.
- The mob influence was reduced by limiting voting to the tax payers thereby removing elective powers from the mob.

- To prevent the resurgence of the Royalist because of the new elective laws based on a franchise two thirds of the deputies in the chambers were elected by the Convention itself.
- The Convention voted to maintain a Republican form of government thereby removing any hopes of the Royalist resurgence.
- The Jacobin Club was closed down thereby marking the end of the Jacobin era. This included all other clubs that existed in France.

Achievements

1. The directory reduced dictatorship by the individuals.
 - Instead of having extreme views by an individual such as what Robespierre had demonstrated a panel of five directors was given the control of government.
 - The directors will check and balance each other's power.
2. By establishing a two chamber assembly, a system of check and balances was introduced. Decision making was decentralized.
3. The mob that had dictated the revolution process up to 1794 was silenced. It no longer had any say in state issues. Thus political stability was achieved.
4. The directory continued with the war effort against neighbouring states e g Prussia, England, and Austria. This helped in preserving the revolutionary gains.
 - It was the directory that gave Napoleon Bonaparte the command of the army in the highly successful Italian campaign of 1796.
 - His victory secured for France a military and morale booster, territory for France on the left bank of the Rhine and Venetia that enabled France to create the Cisalpine Republic.
5. The directory made attempts to improve the French economy by making attempts to reduce inflation. The introduction of the assignats during the initial stages of the

revolution had resulted in inflation. That France was at war meant that the revolutionaries could not focus on the economy.

The Weaknesses

1. The constitution introduced by the convention was flawed. This was due to the fact that putting five people to rule at the same time created a bureaucracy.
 - This often resulted in too much bickering on important issues. Having one person retiring each year was in itself an insignificant step on having effective checks and balances
 - The remaining four directors were likely to jell together and continue with policies otherwise ineffective.

2. By limiting the voting to the tax payers the Convention had in effect deprived the peasants and the working class from participating in politics.
 - This was contrary to the revolutionary ideals that advocated for the political participation and representation of the people.
 - In any case it was the peasants and the working class that formed the Third Estate that played an important role during the revolution.
 - These measures meant to silence the mob were ineffective. It continued to cause problems. It attempted to remove the Convention through an armed insurrection in October 1795. It was only through the efforts of Napoleon Bonaparte that the directory survived.

3. By having two thirds of the members of both chambers of the assembly elected by the Convention demonstrated the dictatorial nature of the Convention. Other aspirants in some sections of France were excluded.

4. On the economic front inflation was not effectively tamed. It continued to rear its ugly face affecting the economy.

- Poverty remained the greatest challenge as shown by the rag-tag nature of the army that Napoleon Bonaparte commanded in the Italian Campaign in 1796.
5. At the war front there was stagnation even though Napoleon Bonaparte had secured a victory for France in Italy.
 - France remained at war with Britain. Russia and Prussia had withdrawn not so much as a result of the French victories but their own challenges.
 6. The directory lacked charismatic leaders who could pull the people to their side and along with their ideas.
 - But having a dictatorship of five people meant a dilution of individual ability. Thus there was no one to be identified with anything in credit.
 - Therefore any misfortune such as the failure to make progress economically and at the war front was blamed on all the five members of the directory.

The Napoleonic Era: 1799 - 1815

Introduction

- The rise of Napoleon Bonaparte is largely explained by a combination of factors such as the weaknesses of the directory, the ability of Napoleon as a soldier and a leader and the prevailing situation within France

- The weaknesses of the directory (see notes on the directory)
- The ability of Napoleon as a soldier. He was a brilliant soldier. According to Dennis Richard Napoleon's presence in battle was worth a hundred men e.g. the 1796 Italian Campaign remarkable, he transformed a rag-tag army into a strong force that was able to defeat the Austrian army.
 - Napoleon demonstrated his military skill by out-marching and out-maneuvering the enemy and then strike at the weakest point.

- The campaign brought benefits for France in the form of territorial gains. Through the Treaty of Campo Formio of October 1797 Austria gave up its claim on Belgium.
- France got territory on the Rhineland. Through these gains Napoleon created the Cisalpine Republic that included Venetia.
- These conquests brought a set of benefits for Napoleon. Napoleon forced the defeated powers to pay indemnities thereby relieving the National Treasury the burden of funding wars.
- The funds were used to feed and clothe the army and to develop France. In addition Napoleon looted the works of art from the conquered territory and placed them in the French museums hence brought prestige as France became an important cultural centre.
- In view of the above the people of France identified Napoleon as a person who would bring glory to France in many respects. Hence his popularity was greatly enhanced.
- Napoleon further enhanced his popularity by helping in suppressing the Babeuf conspiracy that aimed at removing the directory in a coup d'état. Babeuf aimed at abolishing private property and nationalize the land.
 - Such a move would have undermined the middle class that had acquired land following the auctioning of the church lands.
 - This could have placed France back to the dominance of the mob and the peasants, a thing that had been removed by the directory.
 - Here Napoleon's role was to expose the conspiracy and assisted in suppressing it. Babeuf and his leading supporters were executed and France was saved from yet another wave of revolution.
 - This made Napoleon popular in France.
- Napoleon went on to save the directory from yet another insurrection, this time organized by the Royalists. By opening fire and dispersing the crowds Napoleon saved the directory.
 - It is therefore not surprising that the directory felt that it owed its survival to Napoleon and elevated him to the command of the army.

- Napoleon also rose to power circumstantially when he returned from the Egyptian Campaign fighting the Second Coalition of Britain, Russia and England.
 - The coalition had driven France out of Switzerland and the Rhineland thereby eroding the gains of the Treaty of Campo Formio. At the same time Napoleon enjoyed the support from among the members of the Council of Elders e.g. Abbé Sieyès who backed Napoleon in the coup.
 - Napoleon's brother Lucien used an army to invade the assembly and drive the members out.
 - A new constitution was adopted. France was now ruled by a three consuls. Napoleon was the First Consul with enormous powers. He alone declared war and made the key appointments and controlled the legislative process.
 - With these centralized powers Napoleon consolidated his position and declared himself as the Emperor and took the title Napoleon I.
- From the above it is clear that the rise of Napoleon to power to become the Emperor was a product of a variety of factors that interacted to propel him to power. With these powers he was able to dominate both the French and the European politics up to 1815.

The Napoleonic Reforms

Aims

- To consolidate his position in France as the Emperor.
- To institute a benevolent despotism, meaning to have policies that benefit the people.
- The peace at Amiens with the British in 1802 gave Napoleon a breathing space to reorganize France.

1. Administration

- As Emperor all power was centred in his hands. He alone could declare war and make peace.
- He made the key appointments i e of the local officials such as the prefects, sub-prefects, mayors and the chief officials of the state in the military and civil posts.
- Proposed laws that were drafted by a special council state and submitted to the legislative board that voted without discussion.
- Approved the list of candidate to be voted for as members of the legislative board.

(ii) **The Legislative Assembly**

- this was retained from the revolution as it provided for political participation and representation. it voted on laws submitted to it by the special council.
- it's members were voted for by the people in elections .
- the list of the candidates was approved by the Emperor

(iii) **Local Government**

- the revolutionary government was retained though with the addition of Napoleonic ideas.
- Communes were retained but under mayors appointed by the emperor.
- Old councils of the revolutionary era where retained but as advisory boards
- Districts were created and prefects and sub-prefects were appointed to hear Government departments.

(iii) **Letters de Cachets and The Press Censorship**

- These were adopted from the ancient Regime and was introduced to check the level of opposition to his policies and to bring order
- under the system of letters de caches the letters entering and leaving France had contents monitored closely.
- Censorship was imposed on all press. Those to the Emperor were closes down.

(iv) **Legion of Honour**

- this was an idea borrowed from the ancient regime, Napoleon introduced a decoration known as the Legion of Honour for the distinguished services to the state.
- all those appointed on the merit to official duties and carrying them out efficiently were rewarded and given titles.
- thus a new type of Nobility emerged, comprising of title holders i. e Dukes, Admirals, Counts.

The Concordat Treaty

- This was an agreement between Napoleon and the Catholics. Through this agreement Napoleon hoped to reconcile with the church that had been alienated from the State.
- During the revolutionary era under the agreement the Catholics religion was made the official State religion that was granted the control of education.
- The Bishops were to appoint the Parish Clergy with the approval of the Government. In return the church recognizes the sale of the church lands to the peasants.
- Napoleon hoped that this arrangement would heal the breach with the Pope and Priesthood caused by the CCC. Furthermore Napoleon viewed a church as a valuable and essential support to his power.
- He also realized that the church had behind it a vast majority of the peasants whose loyalty he needed most.

7. Code Napoleon

- This was a written classification and summary of the laws of France on topics such as rights and duties, marriage, divorce, parentage, inheritance and property
- Since in 1789 there was confusion on the laws of France and especially appointed lawyers was tasked to codify the law.
- Thus no French was in any doubt as to his or her position before the law. The rules were made uniform and equal for all.
- Under family law the code aimed at strengthening the family as the foundation of the State. The authority of the father was greatly increased.

- The sons could not marry under the age of 25 without the consent of the father and in case of the daughters the age was 21. The position of the wife was made inferior to that of the husband in the family.
- In his private correspondence Napoleon I indicated his insensitivity to gender. He pointed out that the women's brain power was far inferior to that of the men and they were fitted for little education.
- The code confirmed the legal equality of all male citizens. This helped to bring social cohesion and enabled the French man and others to understand the main principles underlining the laws.
- The code brought toleration of all regions and a trial in public before the jury. The code was very successful that it was adopted by many countries in Europe

8. Military Reforms

- Napoleon I reorganized the French army that was expected to play a decisive role in the Napoleonic wars.
- He set up a semi-military squad called lycees. In this squad future soldiers were produced. The aim was to produce absolutely loyal soldiers devoted to the State.
- The army was reorganized, reequipped and trained. In this way Napoleon I produced a disciplined loyal, strong and professional army that was entirely devoted to him alone

9. Education

- Napoleon I introduced measures that provided each French man with an equal opportunity to get educated. Elementary schools were placed in the church.
- The Grand Master of the University of France was put in charge of all secondary education in France. Much emphasis was put on Maths and Science.
- The University was founded under the Grand Master with branches throughout the French districts.
- Technical schools were also established. Subjects considered as dangerous such as history, economics and philosophy were banned.

- Much emphasis was placed on male education

Careers Open to Talent

- This was a revolutionary idea. Napoleon appointed and promoted men to high offices in the State on merit or talent irregardless of one's origin or social class.
- For example many of Napoleon's Generals were men of lowly birth e. g Murat who was given charge of the Cisalpine Republic was the son of an innkeeper.
- The principle of the career opened to talent undoubtedly accounts for much of the strength of France at this time.

Economic Reforms

Napoleon I aimed at promoting economic stability in France

- (a) Established many technical schools with the aim of improving the French industrial processes and discovering new ones.
- (b) In industry Napoleon I increased domestic production by imposing high tariffs on imports and by encouraging new inventions
- (c) Initiated infrastructural development in France canals and ports were greatly improved and aided the expansion of industry
- (d) Promoted business interests by stabilizing the value of the French currency basing on Gold and setting up the bank of France to aid industrial development.
- (e) All the under utilized agricultural land was reclaimed, irrigation was introduced.
- (e) Peasants were allowed to retain land gained during the Revolution

Analysis of Napoleonic Reforms

- The reforms of Napoleon were characterized by a mixture of Revolutionary ideas, Napoleonic and ancient regime ideas.

Revolutionary

- There was political participation and representation through elections legislative council and completion of the codification of the law started by the Revolution.
- There was guarantee of rights and equality
- Equal opportunities were granted in education.
- Revolutionary methods of retraining, recruitment and reequipping were adopted in the military reforms.
- Stabilizing the French economy.

Ancient Regime

- Centralization of power by Napoleon just like Louis XVI of the ancient regime
- The adoption of letters de caches and press censorship of the ancient regime
- The adoption of the ancient regime system of reward the Legion of Honour.
- The revival of the old State church alliance through Concordat Treaty.

Napoleonic Ideas

- Appointments of prefects, sub-prefects and mayors in charge of Government departments and communes respectively in administration.
- Gender insensitivity in the code Napoleon and in education
- Establishment of University technical education, emphasis on Maths and Science, the banning of history, philosophy and economics
- The creation of a professional army loyal to Napoleon himself.
- The establishment of infrastructure, bank of France, new currency, industrial reforms and schools.

Motive of the Reforms

1 Consolidate his position as Emperor

- Efficiency and order in administration enhanced his

- Popularity
- Centralization enhanced his popularity
- Checking opposition through press censorship and letters de caches enhanced his popularity
- The Legion of honour enhanced his popularity among the new type of nobility.
- The concordat won Napoleon support and popularity with the Pope and church followers.
- Code Napoleon enhanced the authority of males by implicating the emperors authority. It also enhanced his popularity.
- Militarily reforms strengthened his position through creation of army loyal to him alone.
- Education reforms giving equal access opportunity enhanced his popularity.
- The careers open to talent that brought equality in making appointments enhanced his popularity
- Economic reforms that stabilizing the economy won him popularity especially among business class

Benevolence

The reforms were meant to benefit the people through efficiency and order in administration.

Political participation and representation through elections, legislative assembly local government, letters de caches, press censorship and centralization brought law and order in France.

Under the Legion of Honour, efficient officials were rewarded hence promoting efficiency
The careers open to talent gave the French man equal opportunities in terms of appointments.

The Concordat Treaty reconciled the State and the church after a long period of hostile and strained relations.

Educational reforms gave French man an equal access to education.

Codified law that granted rights and equality was accessible to all French man.

Military reforms created a professional army for defensive and offensive purposes.

Economic reforms stabilized the French economy

N.B Napoleon was a dictator

- centralization
- legislative council a rubber stamping board
- suppressed liberty
- adoption of Legion of Honour to back France to the ancient regime reminded the people of a new type of Nobility.
- adoption of Legion of Honour to back France to the ancient regime reminded people of a new type of Nobility.
- The education policy and Code Napoleon showed Napoleon's gender insensitivity.
- The army was loyal to him.
- He was benevolent.
- He used his dictatorial powers for the benefit of the people (see previous notes)

Foreign Policy

Aims

- To control the density of Europe i. e extending the boundaries of France
- it has also urged that Napoleon could not renounce the excitement of wars after his victories in the Italian campaign in 1796

Defeat of the Second Coalition

- The members of the second coalition were England, Russia and Austria. Of the three Austria was easier to attack and at the battle of Marengo, Austria was defeated by a force of 40 thousand men. France was able to regain territory that had been lost since the gains of the treaty of Campo Formio.
- Russia withdrew because it was unhappy with the coalition. There were jealousies and mutual suspicions.

- Against Britain, Napoleon aimed at destroying her overseas trade. He formed the League of Armed Neutrality with States that were offended by the British policy i. e Russia, Sweden and Denmark.

- Sweden and Denmark closed the British entrance to the Baltic Sea. Britain reacted by sending a naval force on Denmark and at the battle of Copenhagen the Danish fleet was destroyed and the league collapsed

Peace of Amiens 1802

- Following the breaking up of the second coalition, It was Britain that remained at war but the war was causing difficulties for the British trade. Napoleon also needed peace to consolidate his power in France.

- Thus through an agreement Britain restored the French colonies but retain Ceylon and Trinidad. Britain also promised to evacuate Malta and Egypt. It also promised to recognize the French boundaries as at 1802.

Napoleonic Wars

1. Renewal of War

- France and Britain soon clashed mostly because of the French occupation of the Austrian Netherlands and the French tariff system that hindered British trade. Thus war was renewed in 1802.

2. Trafalgar

- This was between France and Britain in October 21 1805 the French and the British navies met at Cape Trafalgar. The British victory left her an undisputed master of the seas.

3. The Third Coalition

- It was formed by Britain, Austria and Russia. Its aim was to drive France back to the original boundaries out of Belgium, the German states and Italy.

4. The Battle of Ulm and Austerlitz, 1805

- These were battles between Austria and France. Austria was defeated. Under the Treaty of Pressburg, Austria lost 3 million of her foreign population and Venetia was incorporated into the Kingdom of Italy that had been created.

- Austria further lost Dalmatia, Tyrol, The Adriatic Coast and the Rhineland.

5. The Battle of Jena

- It was a battle between France and Prussia. Prussia had been neutral between 1795 and 1805. Prussia was defeated at Jena and Napoleon took over the control of Berlin.

6. The defeat of Russia

- Following the defeat of Russia the Treaty of Tilsit was signed between Russia and France. Under the treaty France took over the control of Finland, Sweden and a share of the Turkish Empire.

- Russia agreed to enter into an alliance with France in order to enforce the continental system against Britain.

7. The Peninsula Wars

- France captured Portugal in 1808 following its refusal to enforce the continental system. Portugal was defeated by a combined French and Spanish army.

- Napoleon was able to gain complete control of Spain by enforcing the King to abdicate the throne. In his place he appointed his brother Joseph.

- Austria re-entered war in 1809 and was defeated at the battle of Wagram.

- Under the treaty of Vienna, it lost her large share of Poland to Russia and some provinces of the Adriatic to France and was compelled by Napoleon to join his continental system.
- Napoleon and Austria concluded a marriage alliance. When he married the daughter of the Austrian Emperor

The Continental System

- The French defeat at the Battle of Trafalgar had demonstrated that the French invasion of Britain was impossible. British wealth in the form of industries and international trade enabled her to sustain the war. The real danger for Napoleon was the British economic power.
- Napoleon decided to crush this power by destroying the British overseas trade. He hoped that this would cause unemployment in Britain that would make the British people force their government to withdraw from the war.
- Napoleon issued the Berlin in November 1806 that declared a blockade of the British Isles and forbade French allies to trade with Britain.
- Napoleon announced an immediate confiscation of all British goods on the European continent.
- Britain reacted by issuing the orders in council that declared an economic blockade on all the French allies that had accepted the continental system.
- Britain announced that it would use its navy to fight against Napoleon and his allies interfering with the British
- In December 1807, Napoleon issued more decrees in the form of the Milan Decrees calling for an economic blockade on Britain.

Effects

- 1807-1810, Napoleon attempted to enforce his decrees by sealing off the whole of the European coastline on Britain

- 1807, Denmark was forced into the system and in 1809 the French troops occupied the German States of Hamburg, Bremen, Danzig and Lubeck.

- He deposed Louis Bonaparte from the Dutch throne after he refused to enforce the system of ground that it would ruin the Dutch merchants. Thus Holland was placed under the direct control of France

- Napoleon was soon involved in a conflict with the Pope. They wished to remain neutral implying that the British trade could be carried on the Papal States

-Napoleon reacted by imprisoning the Pope and added the Papal States to his Kingdom of Italy

- The continental system was a disaster for France:

1. Trade declined and unemployment spread widely among his allies especially those of the Northern Germany.

2. Increase in opposition from the European traders. It was this middle class of traders that played a major role of arousing nationalist movements that developed against Napoleon and helped in bringing his downfall.

3. France lacked the naval power to enforce the system. The British counter blocked Napoleon's plans to use the Danish fleet was failed by the British destruction of the fleet at the Harbour of Copenhagen.

4. The English traders smuggled goods into continental Europe through the unprotected spots along the coastline such as Heligoland, Portugal, Sicily, and Salonica.

Napoleon's Dynasty System

- Napoleon established his control over conquered territories by appointing his relatives and friends to rule on his behalf.

-These rulers were expected to introduce Napoleonic administrative system.

- They also implemented Napoleonic ideas of free trade and the code of Napoleon

- Territories that fell under the dynasty system were:
 - The German States were grouped to form the Confederation of the Rhineland under Francis II of Russia who was forced to renounce his title of the holy Roman Emperor
 - Naples was placed under Napoleon's brother Joseph
 - Holland under Napoleon's brother Louis Bonaparte
- Spain and Belgium were also placed under Napoleon's relatives

The Moscow Campaign

- 1811, Tsar of Russia broke away from the continental system due to:
 - Napoleon appeared to be no longer interested in fulfilling the promise to break the Turkish Empire.
 - Napoleon seized a North German State of Oldberg that was ruled by the Tsar's brother-in-law.
 - The Russian Nobility opposed the continental system that destroyed their lucrative trade in timber and hemp with Britain.
 - Russia was secretly trading with England.
- Napoleon reacted to the Russian breakaway by organizing the invasion of Russia in 1812.
- With 600 000 men he marched into Russia in the summer of 1812.
- He was defeated by Russia in a space and time. The Russians evacuated their capital of Moscow. Napoleon found Moscow deserted and he became isolated in the Russian capital.
- Russia adopted a scorched earth policy of destroying villages and crops as they retreated. Thus there was no food for Napoleon's troops.
- Napoleon now faced the Russian winter. His troops had only brought summer wear hoping the campaign would end soon. Panic, despair and the cold affected the morale of the French troops
- The Russians destroyed the bridges built by the French on the Beresina River
- Thousands of the French troops died in the river, only 30 000 men re-crossed the Niemen River in December 1812

The War of Liberation

- Napoleon's humiliating defeat in the Moscow Campaign was a signal for Prussia to take action.
- Prussia experienced a revival. The Prussian society was re-organized by Prussian Minister Stend and Hardenburg.
- Serfdom was abolished, elected councils under the control of the middle class and the landowners were established, a new land distribution that benefited the peasants was introduced and military reforms introduced in which there was universal military service and training. A large professional army was created.
- This revival resulted in the rise of a Prussian nationalism. They now called for the removal of Napoleon in Germany.
- The entry of Prussia into the war opened a second front for Napoleon hence France was stretched.

The Battle of Dresden (August 1813)

- Napoleon was defeated by Austria that had joined war against him.

The Battle of Leipzig (the Battle of Nations), October 1813

- France fought against allies, Austria, Russia, Prussia and Sweden.
- Napoleon was defeated and fled to the Rhineland but the Confederation of the Rhineland that he created turned against him.
- King Joseph Bonaparte of Spain was driven out by the British Duke of Wellington who was now entering Southern France.
- The Russian Tsar and Prussian king entered Paris in March 1814, Napoleon was exiled to the Island of Elba.
- Under the first Treaty of Paris of 1814, France lost all her conquests in Germany, Belgium and Italy.

- Louis XVIII who was next in the Bourbon Monarchy was restored.

The 100 Days

- At the island of Elba, Napoleon enjoyed a great deal of freedom. He managed to escape and land in Southern France.
- He then marched to Paris in triumphal procession. The opponents of Louis XVIII welcomed the arrival of Napoleon I.
- Troops that were sent to arrest him actually joined him. Louis XVIII fled from France. Within three weeks of regaining power, Napoleon raised a new army and marched into Belgium.
- At the battle of Waterloo in 1815 Napoleon was defeated by the Fourth Coalition under the command of the Duke of Wellington. Napoleon's empire crumbled. He surrendered and was exiled to the Island of St Helena

Reasons for the Downfall of Napoleon I

- Lack of naval power thus was defeated at Trafalgar in 1805 in the war of liberation in 1814 and the Waterloo in 1815.
- Napoleon's continental system was doomed from the onset due to lack of a navy. The Danish fleet that he hoped to use was destroyed by the British.
- The continental system backfired. Napoleon's allies were actually dependent on the British trade. Hence his allies like Russia broke away in 1810.
- By taking direct control of Spain and Portugal in order to ensure the success of the continental system. Napoleon underestimated spirit of nationalism in these countries.
- Napoleon's poor judgment; Miscalculated that his entrance into the Russian capital would result in Russian defeat. He thought that the Moscow campaign would end in summer as he did not prepare for the winter and a low opinion of the Duke of Wellington's ability as a soldier.
- The people of France were becoming weary of war especially during the 100 days.

Motives of the Foreign Policy

- To control the destiny of Europe
- Acquired European territory
- Italian campaign - Cisalpine alliance
- Treaty of Tilsit - the Russian alliance
- the creation of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw
- Battle of Austerlitz – Austrian Netherlands, Adriatic Coast, Tyrol, Istria, Venetia, Dalmatia and the Rhineland
- Battle of Jena - Berlin
- Peninsula Wars -Spain, Portugal, German States
- Continental System-an attempt to break the economic power of Britain hence an outright control of Europe
- By 1807-09 Napoleon at the height of his power was now in control of continental Europe directly and indirectly
- The dynasty system clearly showed that Napoleon was in control

Territory Falling Under this System

1. Italy -Cisalpine Republic
2. The confederations of the Rhineland in Germany
3. Belgium
4. Spain
5. Portugal
6. The Grand Duchy of Warsaw

- After 1810 Napoleon now aimed at keeping his alliance and the control of Continental Europe
- He was facing rebellion from his allies and an attack by the fourth coalition against him.
- Thus he fought:
 - Moscow campaign 1812
 - Wars of Liberation 1814-1815

- Waterloo 1815

Methods used by Napoleon I

- Diplomacy
- Military campaigns
- Dynasty system

Diplomacy

- Peace of Amiens provided Napoleon with a breathing space in order to re-organize France
- Treaty of Tilsit – Napoleon secured the Russian alliance that was valuable in making the continental system effective
- Marriage alliance with Austria. Napoleon managed to secure an alliance with Austria that was important in his fight against the third coalition
- Continental system – Napoleon put together an alliance of continental Europe to enforce an economic blockage against Britain

Military Campaign

- Napoleon embarked on a series of wars to conquer Europe
 - Battle of Trafalgar – defeated
 - Battle of Jena – brought him Berlin
- Battle of Austerlitz –acquired Austrian Netherlands , Rhineland , Tyrol ,Adriatic coast, Venetia, Istria , Damaltia
- Peninsula wars enabled Napoleon to gain the control of continental Europe
- After 1810, he used military campaigns to deal with rebel allies and to defend France from the fourth coalition
 - Moscow Campaign
 - Battle of Dresden and Leipzig
 - Battle of Waterloo

The Dynasty System

- Napoleon placed relatives and friends to control and administer conquered territories on his behalf
- They implemented Napoleon's forms of administration and ideas.

Contribution of the Fourth Coalition to the defeat of Napoleon 1

Britain

Played a decisive role. Only member of the Fourth Coalition that had not been defeated by Napoleon 1. Victory against Napoleon 1 at Trafalgar kept the hope of defeating Napoleon 1 alive. Used its powerful navy to defeat Napoleon. Destroyed the Danish fleet that Napoleon hoped to use.

Destroyed the Continental System of Napoleon. Issued the counter Orders in Council in which it imposed a trade embargo against Napoleon's allies. Realised that it was actually the allies of Napoleon that needed her trade most. For example the Russian traders found the trade in timber and hemp with Britain quite lucrative.

Used its navy effectively to ensure trade was carried out to those allies of Napoleon that were willing to. Hence it ensured the continental system was disastrous for Napoleon.

At the Battle of Waterloo Britain played a crucial role. The British Duke of Wellington stood his ground against Napoleon 1 despite the fact that Napoleon regarded him as 'a bad general commanding bad troops.' The French attacks could not penetrate the thin British lines whose rifles were so deadly thereby forcing Napoleon to surrender and abdicate the throne before being exiled to the island of St Helena.

Russia

Contributed to the breakup of Napoleon alliance. Secretly continued trade with Britain before eventually walking out of the alliance hence weakened Napoleon's alliance.

Played a crucial role for the eventual defeat of Napoleon. Their victory in the Moscow campaign signaled the demise of Napoleon.

Adopted superior tactics; strategic withdrawal from Moscow left Napoleon isolated and demoralized; harassed Napoleon troops while camped in Moscow; helped to delay the French in Moscow until winter of which Napoleon was ill-prepared; deprived Napoleon and his troops of food through the scorched earth policy; destroyed bridges built on the Niemen River and attacked the French hence of the 600 000 soldiers that Napoleon started with only 30 000 made it back to France.

Also took part in the battle of Nations along with Austria, Prussia and Sweden in which they defeated Napoleon and forced him to flee to the Confederation of the Rhineland which in turn turned against him. Along with the Prussia King, the Prussian Tsar entered Paris in 1814 thereby forcing Napoleon to abdicate and flee to the island of Elba.

Prussia

Had been involved against Napoleon as a member of the first, second and third coalition though suffering defeats. But as a member of the Fourth Coalition Prussia scored significant victories against Napoleon. This was after it underwent a revival of its army and re-organization of its society.

Serfdom was abolished, elected councils under the control of the middle class and the landowners were established, a new land distribution that benefited the peasants was introduced and military reforms introduced in which there was universal military service and training. A large professional army was created.

This revival resulted in the rise of a Prussian nationalism. They now called for the removal of Napoleon in Germany. Also encouraged other nationals under the dynasty system to fight against Napoleon promising them independence. The entry of Prussia into the war opened a second front for Napoleon hence France was stretched.

Also took part in the battle of Nations along with Austria, Russia and Sweden in which they defeated Napoleon and forced him to flee to the Confederation of the Rhineland that turned against him. Along with the Russian Tsar, the Prussian King entered Paris in 1814 thereby forcing Napoleon to abdicate and flee to the island of Elba.

Austria

Also been involved in the struggle against Napoleon 1 as a member of the first, second and third coalitions. As a member of the Fourth Coalition it scored a significant victory that contributed to the defeat of Napoleon 1.

At the battle of Dresden of August 1813 Austria defeated Napoleon 1.

Also took part in the battle of Nations along with Prussia, Russia and Sweden in which they defeated Napoleon and forced him to flee to the Confederation of the Rhineland that turned against him.

NB:

Also consider the fact that Napoleon 1 contributed to his own downfall. Disastrous continental system, poor judgment etc.

Vienna Settlement 1815

- To maintain peace through a balance of power and a prevention of a further French aggression
- To maintain an effective alliance of the great powers
- To distribute disputed territories in an acceptable way.

Features

- The principle of a balance of power
- Expediency
- The Principle of legitimacy

Principle of a Balance of Power

- At the Vienna Settlement a balance of power was achieved through the following:
 - The prevention of a further French aggression
 - The prevention of a domination of Prussia and Russia of the northern part of Europe

- The distribution of the disputed territories in an acceptable way.
- The concept of a balance of power is whereby other powers form an alliance against a power that attempts to dominate others.
- It was an alliance of great powers in form of the fourth coalition that defeated Napoleon in 1815.
- It was highly possible that France could be aggressive in Europe.
- This is in view of the fact that at one time Napoleon escaped from exile in 1815 and attempted to reassert his authority in Europe by invading Belgium in his 100 days rule.
- It is against such a scenario that the Statesmen at the Vienna Settlement came up with defensive arrangement in order to prevent the re-occurrence of a further aggression in Europe.
- Under the arrangement Austria was placed in Italy by being granted control of the rich provinces of Italy namely Lombardy and Venetia and indirect influence in the Italian States namely the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, the Papal States the duchies of Parma Modena and Tuscany whose rules were connected to those as the Austrian Habsburg Monarchy
- It was hoped that the presence of a powerful Austrian would help strengthen the Southern Italian Frontier with France
- After all Bonapartism was born in the Italian campaign. It would therefore not be surprising to see a further France aggression beginning in Italy
- Austria was also granted the control of Germany confederation under the President of Austria
- It was judged that a unified and independent Germany would be able to withstand a French aggression thus the presence of Austria in Germany would strengthen the French frontier in addition to Prussia that was given control of Rhineland
- In order to strengthen the Frontier of Belgium in France, Belgium was united with Holland. The events of 1815 in which Napoleon escaped from exile and landed in Europe for 100 days was a signal to the statesmen at Vienna that an independent Belgium would not be able to resist a further French aggression.
- From the statesmen point of view it will be a betrayal of Europe to leave an independent Belgium at the mercy of France.

The Prevention of a Domination of Prussia and Russia

- Russia and Prussia secretly arranged that Prussia would get the whole of Saxony while Russia will get the whole of Napoleon's creation of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw.
- This arrangement would result in these two powers dominating the northern part of Europe. Thus an alliance of the rest of the great powers namely Britain and Austria was formed against Russia and Prussia.
- In the end a balance of power was maintained when Russia and Prussia agreed that Russia would get two thirds of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw while Prussia would get two fifth of Saxony.

The Distribution of Disputed Territory

- The Napoleonic Wars had created disputes in territorial distribution. This resulted in France having more territory than the rest thereby causing an upset in the balance of power in terms of territorial distribution.
 - Thus the statesmen at Vienna sought to restore and maintain a balance in terms of territorial possession.
 - At Vienna territory was distributed among the victors as spoils for their war effort. However care was taken to ensure that a balance was achieved.
 - Therefore where others like Austria gained in the south in Italy through direct control of Venetia and Lombardy and an indirect control of Italian states like Naples, the Papal States, Modena, the Duchies of Parma and Tuscany who were all connected to the Austrian Habsburg monarchy.
 - Others like Russia gained in the north through the control of the whole of Bessarabia, Austria gained in Germany by being given the Presidency of the German Confederation of 39 states while Prussia gained the control of the Rhine provinces.
 - While Austria, Prussia and Austria made territorial gains in continental Europe, Britain secured the naval bases in the Mediterranean, Malta and Heligoland. She also

secured colonies like the Cape, Ceylon, India and the West Indies. All these gains enabled Britain to have a decisive influence in international affairs.

The Principle of Legitimacy

- The statesmen at Vienna were well aware of the fact that all the rulers deposed by Napoleon needed to be restored to their thrones since they were the legitimate rulers.
- When Napoleon conquered the European territory he removed the rulers and appointed his friends and relatives on their throne to administer the areas on his behalf.
- At Vienna the rulers were restored. The statesmen realized the importance of restoration as they saw in it the means of maintaining European peace.
- They reasoned that these legitimate rulers would be relied upon to stamp out a revolution in Europe since it was a revolution that had brought war in Europe.
- The restored rulers were Louis XVIII of France, Ferdinand of Spain, Ferdinand of Portugal, Ferdinand of the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily and the King of Piedmont.
- Even though the majority of these rulers were reactionary the Vienna Settlement did not specify how they should rule though they suggested a rule through a constitution.

Expediency

- It was an important feature of the Vienna Settlement. It was whereby something is sacrificed in order to achieve another. Thus at the Vienna Settlement the statesmen decided to sacrifice the forces of change namely nationalism and liberalism in order to achieve European peace.
- The principle of a balance of power was sacrificed during the maintenance of a balance of power. For instance in maintaining a balance of power through the prevention of a French aggression by making a defensive arrangement.
- Italy was denied the opportunity to get unified. Austria was given a direct and indirect control of Italy.

- Germany was also denied unification. Instead more than 200 German states were regrouped to 39 and created a German Confederation whose Presidency was given to Austria.
- Belgium lost its independence by being united to Holland that was powerful enough to dominate her.
- Poland and Finland were given to Russia as part of a compromise that prevented the dominance of Russia alongside Prussia in the northern part of Europe.
- Norway lost its independence as it was given to Sweden as part of compensation for losing Finland to Russia.
- The principle of legitimacy resulted in the sacrifice of liberalism in order to achieve peace.
- During the Napoleonic era all the European territory falling under Napoleonic rule had experienced some liberal policies of the Napoleonic administration.
- But then the Vienna Settlement restored the reactionary rulers and that implied the end of the liberal phase in these areas such as Spain, Portugal, Piedmont, France under Charles X and the Kingdom of Naples.

Realistic

- The Vienna Settlement can be considered as realistic meaning that the statesmen made practical decisions. They considered the situation as it stood in 1815 and made decisions accordingly.
- For instance in 1815 the prevailing situation was that France could not be trusted. A further French aggression was a reality considering the escape of Napoleon from Elba and his landing in France and attempt to reassert his authority in Europe during the 100 days of his rule.
- The members of the Fourth Coalition such as Britain, Prussia, Russia and Austria had fought against Napoleon and needed spoils as the victors.
- Napoleon's conquests and the subsequent imposition of his dynasty system resulted in a number of disputed territory. The statesmen were faced with a reality of the need to distribute the disputed territory in an acceptable way.

- Napoleon's dynasty system resulted in the legitimate rulers being deposed. Thus the statesmen were faced with rulers needing to be restored onto their thrones.
- Thus the restored rulers were expected to stamp out any revolutionary movements.
- Thus the statesmen at Vienna took measures to prevent a further French aggression even if it meant ignoring the principle of nationality.
- The victors were rewarded with spoils even though it meant the ignorance of the principle of nationality.
- A balance of power was maintained through the equal distribution of territory though the principle of nationality was ignored in the process.
- The legitimate rulers were restored to their thrones even though it meant the restoration of Europe's worst reactionary rulers thereby going against the forces of change such as liberalism.

Reactionary

- The Vienna Settlement was reactionary. It was against political progress. This was in view of the fact that it was against the forces of change namely nationalism and liberalism.
- Nationalism was ignored on the maintenance of a balance of power when the rulers introduced some measures to prevent a further French aggression, prevented an attempt by Russia and Prussia to dominate northern Europe and distributed all the disputed territory in an acceptable way.
- Nationalism was ignored when spoils were handed over to the victors.
- Liberalism was ignored when restoring the legitimate rulers, thus Europe witnessed the restoration of the worst reactionary rulers.
- By ignoring the forces of change the rulers faced revolts later. For instance the 1819 – 20 revolts in Spain, Germany, Portugal and Italy; 1830 Belgian revolution that put the union between Holland and Belgium to an end; the French revolution that removed the restored Monarchy of Charles X from power; the revolutions in Germany, Poland and Italy that aimed at unification and independence.

THE CONGRESS SYSTEM

- It was a system in which the Great powers would meet to solve international problems. It was not an international organization such as the United Nations Organization that was formed by general consensus.

- This was because the Great Powers had different or divergent interests and aims such as Britain that was concerned with herself interests while other powers like Prussia, Austria and Russia aimed at preserving their states from revolutions.

Origins

- The Congress System originated from the transformation of the Holy Alliance by Metternich of Austria into a European alliance.

- Alexander I of Russia had suggested a Holy Alliance that would create a brotherhood of European rulers and protest religion, peace, justice and treat their subjects in the light of religious principles.

The Quadruple Alliance

- Most European rulers did not take the suggestion of Alexander I of Russia but then Metternich took up the idea to transform the Holy alliance into an alliance of the Great powers known as the Quadruple Alliance.

- Generally the alliance was aimed at preserving peace and promoting cooperation of the Great Powers but then the self interests of the Great Powers took priority.

- The alliance agreed to meet regularly should there be any international problems.

The Congresses

Aix la Chapelle

- From the onset the Congress System was doomed because of suspicion, jealous and mistrust on the surface of all agreements made.
- The congress re-admitted France into an alliance of the Great Powers which was renamed the Quintuple Alliance.
- This was after the Great powers became convinced that France was no longer a threat to European peace. In any case France had paid all its indemnity.
- But then the original members of the alliance secretly agreed to form an alliance against France should it prove to be an aggressor in future.
- On the issue of revolutions Fredrick William of Prussia proposed that an army under the British Duke of Wellington be stationed in Belgium to crush revolutions in Europe.
- Castlereigh, the British Secretary of State objected to this proposal by pointing out that Britain should not be dragged automatically into European conflict.
- On piracy and the slave trade there were further disagreements. The members of the Quintuple Alliance objected to the proposals by Britain and Russia to use their fleets to stamp out the slave trade and piracy respectively.
- This was because they were against the Russian presence in the Mediterranean and they were jealous of Britain because she would gain too much power considering the fact that it had the largest navy.

Troppau

- This meeting was called following the outbreak of revolutions in Spain, Germany, Naples and the South American colonies of Spain and Portugal.
- At this meeting serious disagreements arose between Britain and the rest of the allies over the course of action to take place regarding revolutions.
- It was proposed that the counter revolutionary police system be established in Europe and that an expedition be sent across the Atlantic to force the colonies there to revert to being the subjects of their mother countries.

- Britain opposed this proposal and advised Austria that if she felt that the events in Italy were of direct domestic concern to her then she should intervene on her own responsibility. In the end the meeting was adjourned.

Troppau Protocol

- It was the continuation of the Congress of Troppau. The purpose of the meeting was to lay down the procedures to follow in the event of a revolution.
- At this meeting it became clear that the difference between Britain and her fellow allies were sharp.
- Britain did not attend but sent an observer. At the meeting the allies agreed to only accept a revolution from above. The one from below was considered guilt and should therefore be suppressed.

Laibach, 1821

- At this congress the provision of the protocol were carried out. Austria crushed the revolution in Naples and restored Ferdinand to the throne with full despotic powers.
- Austria, with Russian army in reserve, suppressed the revolution in Piedmont and restored the king to his throne with full powers.

Verona, 1822

- At this congress it became clear that the collapse of the congress system was certain. An offer by Russia to suppress the revolution in Spain was rejected by other powers who did not wish to see a Russian force marching into the heart of Europe.
- In the end it was France that suppressed the revolution in Spain restored Ferdinand with full powers.
- Now that the revolution in Spain had been suppressed attention now focused on the Spanish colonies in American.

- It was at this point that the British intervened because their interests were involved. She was now able to trade freely with these former colonies.
- The USA government issued a warning to the allies in the form a Monroe Doctrine that warned them against their military presence on the American continent.
- As a result the expedition to America was called off and a revolution from below was allowed to triumph thereby violating the Troppau Protocol.

The Greek War of Independence

- The Greek War of Independence was the final blow to the congress system. Alexander I of Russia had been succeeded by Nicholas I upon his death.
- Nicholas I was determined to assist the Greeks in gaining independence from Turkey. But then Britain and France did not wish to see Russia acting alone thus they assisted Russia.
- Turkey was defeated by a combined force at Navarino Bay in 1827. This was once again a direct violation of the Troppau Protocol that did not accept a revolution from below.
- Thus the congress system collapsed.

THE BOURBON MONARCHY

Restoration in France: 1815 – 1830

Louis XVI: 1825 – 1824

- Louis XVIII did not forget that a revolution had taken place in France. Thus during his reign he did not rewind the clock back to the pre-1789 period.
- Even on his death bed, he advised his brother Comte d'Artois who was to succeed not to rewind the clock back to the pre-1789 period.
- Because of his policies Louis XVI was successful in maintaining himself on the French throne.

Charter

- Louis XVIII ruled by the charter that had been suggested by the European statesmen at the Vienna Settlement.
- It provided for equality before the law, liberty, and land guarantee for the peasants, a franchise, an assembly and cabinet ministers appointed by the king, appointment by merit and a free press.
- Because of these provisions France had perhaps the most liberal government in Europe with the exception of England.

Choice of Chief Ministers

- Louis XVIII had a good choice of ministers. In his reign he had two Ministers, Richelieu and Villele who shared the some aims as him.
- They both aimed at maintaining the liberties guaranteed by the charter. Like their king they both recognized that a revolution had taken place.

Contained the Forces of Reaction

- Restoration in France meant the return of the émigrés under Comte d'Artois. Louis XVIII came under pressure from these former émigrés demanding revenge against the revolutionaries and the Bonapartists.
- They assassinated some Bonapartists like Ney, Carnot, and Marshal Brune. They also demanded the return of a system of privileges, press censorship and Catholic Church influence in state.
- Louis XVIII realized the dangers of giving in to these demands. Most of these demands were being done in the assembly dominated by the ultra-royalists due to the franchise system.
- Louis XVIII reacted by dissolving the assembly and called for fresh elections in 1816 that returned a majority in the assembly that favoured the king's policy.

Re-integration of France into a Great Power Alliance

- Louis XVIII policies enabled France to be re-integrated into the alliance of the great powers at the congress of the Aix la Chapelle.
- This was after Louis XVIII followed a moderate foreign policy that was acceptable to the great powers.
- France had paid off the war indemnity and the occupation force of the great powers had to be withdrawn.
- Thus the great powers were convinced that a threat of a further French aggression no longer existed.

Contained the Forces of Change

- The 1819 elections brought moderate liberals and extreme republicans into the assembly in large numbers.
- Taking advantage of their greater numbers they demanded extreme measures. To make their demands more serious they murdered Duc de Berri the son of Comte d'Artois.
- Such a move was viewed as an attempt to extinguish the Bourbon line. In order to deal with this challenge Louis altered the franchise to give the landowners two votes instead of one.
- In this way a majority of the royalists was brought into the assembly.

CHARLES X: 1824 – 1830

- Charles X succeeded his brother Louis XVIII as the next French King. He was the leader of the former émigrés formerly called Comte d'Artois.
- On his enthronement he took the title Charles X. As the king Charles X learnt nothing about the revolution. This was hardly surprising considering the fact that he was an émigrés leader who had fought against the revolution.

- In any case during the reign of his brother Louis XVIII he became the leader of the Ultra-royalists who among other things demanded revenge, compensation and the restoration of the system of privileges.
- Furthermore he was among those that organized the assassination of the Bonapartists i e Marshals Brune and Carnot.

The Reasons for the failure of Restoration under Charles X

1. Refusal to rule through a Charter

- Charles X did not follow the advice of his brother Louis XVIII of not rewinding the clock back to the pre-1789 period.
- He refused to rule by a charter pointing out “I would rather chop wood than rule in the style of the king of England.”
- In the end Charles X ruled by decree.

2. Reactionary Policies

- Upon his enthronement Charles X adopted a reactionary rule. He started off by compensating the former émigrés for their losses during the revolution using money raised among the middle class.
- He revived the Catholic Church influence in state affairs. Coronation ceremonies were revived and presided over by the church.
- Monastic orders were reintroduced and the Jesuit society was allowed to return the church was granted the control of elementary education.
- The National Guard was disbanded. It had been created during the revolution as a guarantor of revolutionary gains. Its disband by the king was seen by the people as signal that the days of the revolution were coming to an end.
- Villele, who was the chief Minister resigned because he could not stand the rate at which the reactionary policies were being implemented by the king.

- Martignac who succeeded Villele as the Chief Minister was soon dismissed because he was considered not reactionary enough.
- He appointed a reactionary Minister, Polignac who had the same policies as himself.
- Polignac aimed at creating a powerful aristocracy and then surrounds it with privileges hence wanted to rewind the clock back to 1789.
- Charles X adopted a rule by decree. The elections of 1829 brought a majority of the liberals into the assembly.
- Charles X reacted to this by issuing a decree in the form of the Ordinance of St Cloud that set aside the election results. This was a final straw that spurred the people into action.
- A revolution broke out in July 1830 and removed Charles X from power thereby marking the end of restoration and the Bourbon Monarchy in France.

THE ORLEANS MONARCHY (THE JULY MONARCHY): 1830 - 1848

Introduction

- Louis Philippe, the Orleans Monarch, had a middle class background. He was unspectacular and led a simple life. He mixed freely with the people walking down the streets with an umbrella in hand. He indeed was a Citizen King.
- He was France's first elected king by an assembly that was dominated by the middle class. He was a compromise candidate as he was likely to be accepted by the liberals on the one hand and the royalists on the other.
- Being an elected placed Louis Philippe in a difficult position. Having been elected by the middle class he was expected to dance to their tune.
- This proved difficult considering the fact that France was politically divided. The liberals demanded freedom through a more radical reform programme, the socialists wanted a socialist government, the republicans wanted a republican form of government, the legitimists wanted the restoration of the Bourbon Monarchy, the Bonapartists wished for

the return of Bonapartism and the Catholics aimed the full return of the Catholic Church into state affairs and in education.

Domestic Policy

- In his domestic policy Louis Philippe promoted the interests of the middle class of France. This resulted in him being alienated from the rest of the Frenchmen thus leading to his downfall.

The Charter

- Louis Philippe ruled through a charter. It provided for an elected assembly, a franchise, guarantee on land gained during the revolution, the national guard and the equality of all French people.

The Middle Class Domination

- The rule of Louis Philippe was mostly characterized by the middle class domination of his domestic and foreign policies.

- Being an elected king it meant he had to follow a policy prescribed by the middle class. This had an effect of antagonizing the rest of the groups that existed in France.

- The franchise system favoured the middle class hence they were elected a large numbers into the assembly and commanded a majority.

- Using their majority in the assembly the middle class gained the control of the National Guard that became a middle class in composition. Thus it was often used to serve the interests of the middle class.

- For example the National Guard was used on several occasions to suppress revolts against the middle class domination i e 1834 strike by the Lyon workers.

The Law of Association

- Louis Philippe passed the Law of Association that banned political association or any discussion of an alternative form of government.
- Such a law was evidently directed against the legitimists, socialists and the republicans.

Refusal to Extend the Franchise

- The existing franchise mostly suited the middle class and disadvantaged the working class and the peasants.
- On three occasions the disadvantaged group petitioned the assembly for the extension of the franchise. On all occasions the petitions were rejected.
- The Chief Minister Guizot opposed the extension pointing out that those demanding an extension must work hard and earn and save money in order to qualify as voters.

The Foreign Policy

- It was the middle class that dictated the foreign policy of Louis Philippe. The policy was peaceful and cautious especially to Britain.
- Such a policy resulted in France policy playing second fiddle to the British. This antagonized the Bonapartists who wished for a glorious foreign policy and the liberals who expected the king to champion the liberal cause in Europe.

The Revolutions in Belgium, Italy and Poland

- A cautious and peaceful policy by Louis Philippe on the revolutions in Belgium, Italy and Poland antagonized some sections of France.
- Antagonized were the liberals that expected the king to assist a liberal cause in these countries that drew inspiration from a successful revolution in France in 1830 that removed Charles X a reactionary ruler from power.

- The Bonapartists hoped that Louis Philippe would revive the French glory and bring back the glorious days of Bonapartism.
- But then Louis Philippe was well aware that following the wishes of the liberals and the Bonapartists meant a direct challenge on the Vienna settlement and its architects and it was also contrary to the wishes of the middle class that wanted to maintain peaceful relations with the European powers especially Britain.
- Thus in the Louis Philippe opted for peaceful and cautious foreign policy that resulted in France playing a second fiddle to the British.
- The Belgians, hoping for the French support offered the throne to the son of Louis Philippe. Britain was against this offer since it would revive the old union between Belgium and France.
- To maintain peaceful relations with Britain Louis Philippe turned down the offer. In the end it was Britain that had a decisive influence on the terms of the Belgian independence at the London Conference in 1839.
- Furthermore, on the revolution in Italy and Poland the liberals in France, Italy and Poland were looking forward to France giving assistance.
- But granting the liberals their wish would have resulted in France clashing with the Great Powers especially Britain.

The Affair of Mehemet Ali, 1839

- The liberals and Bonapartists expected Louis Philippe to assist Mehemet Ali in his struggle against Turkey. Thiers, the Chief Minister wanted France to intervene and help Ali.
- But Britain did not wish to see the intervention of France that would result in the increase of the French influence in the Mediterranean. AS a result Louis Philippe restrained his Chief Minister from intervening as he wanted to maintain a peaceful policy with the Great Powers especially Britain.
- Thus once again France played second fiddle to the British thereby antagonizing the liberals and Bonapartism.

The Policy on Spanish Marriages

- Until 1846 the position of Louis Philippe as king was secure. What then led to his downfall was his policy on the Spanish marriages that resulted in him losing the support from the middle class.
- The Queen of Spain and her sister were both unmarried. An agreement between France and Britain stipulated that Queen would marry a German Prince while the younger sister marries the son of Louis Philippe.
- It was further agreed that the second marriage of the son of Louis Philippe would only take place after that of the Queen and the German Prince and after they produced an heir.
- In this way Britain hoped to prevent an old union between France and Spain. France, however, violated the marriage by celebrating the marriage on the same day.
- It later emerged that the German Prince was unable to produce children. Thus Louis Philippe achieved the very thing that Britain wanted to prevent, a union between France and Spain.
- The British government reacted by ending its friendship with France. With that Louis Philippe lost the support of the middle class.

The Civil War in Switzerland

- An attempt by Louis Philippe to switch over to the Catholics through a successful intervention in the civil war in Switzerland on the side of the Catholics against the liberals failed.
- Britain scored yet another diplomatic victory over France thereby ensuring the victory of the liberals.
- His intervention antagonized the liberals because his action was an attempt to block the liberal cause.

He also antagonized the Catholics as he failed to ensure a Catholic victory in Switzerland.

Conclusion

- Thus Louis Philippe's domestic policy and foreign policy by 1846 meant that he did not have support in France. Thus France was bored.
- Until now opposition to his policies had been driven underground. This time it emerged in the form of reform banquets organized by the socialists under Louis Blanc.
- Thus the French took a collective effort against the Orleans Monarchy between February 20 and 22 in 1848.
- The National Guard that was sent to suppress the revolt fraternized with the revolutionaries.
- The king abdicated the throne and fled to England. Thus the reign of 18 years of the Orleans Monarchy came to end through a revolution.

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

Introduction

- The unification of Italy was contribution of Mazzini, Cavour, Foreign powers, Garibaldi, Piedmont and the Italian people.
- Mazzini inspired the movement for the unification of Italy. Cavour was the brain behind the unification process, Garibaldi was the body i e the soldier that fought for unification, the state of Piedmont provided the leadership, military and economic resources for unification and the people of Italy supported all efforts to get united.

Background

- The Vienna settlement of 1815 denied Italy the opportunity to get unified. It left the Italians divided into separate states, in the north was the state of Piedmont and Lombardy and Venetia.
- At the centre were the Papal States and the Duchies of Parma, Modena and Tuscany and in the south was the kingdom of Naples and Sicily.

- Of all these states Piedmont was free from Austrian domination while Lombardy and Venetia were under direct control of Austria and the rest of central and southern Italy indirectly controlled.

Early Attempts to Unify Italy

- Attempts to unify Italy through revolutions and revolts in 1819, 1820, 1830 and 1848 failed.

- This was because unification lacked popular support as most people were unaware of the revolutionary ideals. The revolutionary leaders had little idea of how to conduct an effective revolution. Also local rivalry prevented unification. Modena and Bologna could not work together.

- The policy of “Italia fara da se!” meaning Italy will do it alone failed as Italy was not strong enough to unify itself without foreign help.

- Austria was too strong for Italy hence crushed all the revolutions.

- The people of Sicily were more concerned with their local needs than a total unification of Italy.

- Mazzini had an uncompromising attitude that made it difficult for others to work with him.

- The Pope, an influential figure, condemned the 1848 war on Austria that could have resulted in the unification of Italy.

Mazzini

- He was the soul of the movement hence inspired the movement. He achieved this by preaching the idea of unification through written and spoken word.

- He founded numerous societies and newspapers and used them to invoke the spirit of unification among the Italian people.

- He believed in the use of the ordinary people in the process of unification. Thus he founded the Young Italy Society to lead the movement for the unification of Italy.

- Its programme involved a constant rising that would unsettle Austria and stir the people to become nationalist and drive the Austrians out of Italy.
- He argued that the Italian people have spiritual faith in unification and that it was God's will for Italy to be united.
- His slogan was "Italia fara da se!" The foreign powers had no room to play in the unification of Italy.
- He believed that the involvement of the foreigners would bring with it political bargains since they would never assist Italy for nothing.

Activities

- 1830s and 1840s Mazzini and his followers engaged in constant risings that were easily crushed by Austria.
- Some of his followers got concerned that blood was being split unnecessarily. Mazzini insisted that the more the people die the more the movement would be taken seriously. Such an uncompromising attitude resulted in him losing a huge following in the 1840s.
- Mazzini was active in the 1848 revolutions along with Garibaldi when they led a revolution in Central Italy. They deposed the Pope and took over the Papal States and proclaimed the Roman republic.
- The Republic was short lived. Mazzini and Garibaldi did not appreciate the fact that the Pope was an international leader.
- Thus a combined force of Russia and the Catholic powers namely France, Austria and Spain with Russia crushed the Republic and restored the Pope to his throne with full powers.
- Thus Mazzini failed in his objective to unify Italy. His policy of "Italia fara da se!" was a complete failure since Italy was economically and militarily weak and divided. External help was evidently required.

Legacy

- Though a failure in the short term, Mazzini left a legacy that proved significant during the period. Through his inspiration, the Italian people participated with great enthusiasm in the unification of Italy.
- The efforts of Mazzini are seen by the greater participation of the Italian people in the risings in central Italy, in the Austro-Piedmontese War of 1859 and the Austro-Prussian War of 1866.
- The people also voted positively in the plebiscite of 1860 that brought Italy into a union with Piedmont.
- Mazzini's inspiration made a thousand people volunteer to join Garibaldi in a rising that brought the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily into unification.

Cavour

- Played a central role in the unification process. He strengthened Piedmont economically and militarily so as to the lead in unification. He also brought in the foreign powers to give support and assistance.

Reforms in Piedmont

- Piedmont was the only state that was free of Austrian domination be it direct or indirect. This made the state of Piedmont a natural leader of the unification process.
- Cavour was aware that the efforts to unify Italy in 1848 failed because Italy was too weak to unify itself. Thus he embarked on a reform programme to strengthen Piedmont.

Commerce and Industry

- He promoted the interests of the middle class manufacturers and traders. He established state banks that invested in railways, shipping lines and in agriculture.

- Free trade treaties were signed with European states such as England. Infrastructural development was initiated through the construction of roads and railways.

Military Reforms

- A strong and professional army was built. It was reequipped and the promotion of the middle class officers was made easier.

Aims and Activities of Cavour

- Originally Cavour aimed at unifying Italy in the North under Piedmont. His plan was to drive Austria out of Lombardy and Venetia and then unite these two states with Piedmont.

- To achieve this Cavour relied on planning. His methods were war and diplomacy.

War and Diplomacy

- Participated in the Crimean War of 1853-5. This war provided him with an opportunity to make the Italian cause known to the Great powers. He fought on the side of the Great powers against Russia. The Piedmontese army was very impressive. At the Paris Peace Conference, Cavour made the Italian cause known to the Great powers and earned the sympathy of Britain.

- Used diplomacy when he met Napoleon III at Plombieres in 1815. The two leaders agreed to drive Austria out of Italy to create a loose Italian Confederation made up of Piedmont (that would be given Lombardy and Venetia), Tuscany, the Papal States, the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily and the Duchies of Parma and Modena

- The Confederation was to be headed by the Pope. France would get Nice and Savoy for its efforts.

- Cavour and Napoleon III used war to drive Austria out of Italy in 1859. Austria was provoked into declaring war on Piedmont in 1859 there by making it the aggressor in the eyes of the European powers. France joined the war on the side of Piedmont. Austria was

driven out of Lombardy following its defeat at the battle of Magenta and Solferino. But then the French suddenly withdrew from the war before the full implementation of the agreement with Cavour. Cavour felt betrayed and resigned as the Prime Minister of Piedmont.

Nevertheless Piedmont gained Lombardy for unification with the help of France..

- The next to be united under Piedmont was Central Italy comprising of the Duchies of Parma, Modena and Tuscany and part of the Papal States of Umbria and Marches. Central Italy was not part of Cavour's original plan as he only wanted to unite Northern Italy under Piedmont. Central Italy was included into union with Piedmont by Cavour by chance. The defeat and the forced withdrawal of the mighty Austria out of Lombardy inspired the people of Central Italy to rise against their rulers who were all connected to Austria.

- Cavour, who had been recalled to office, took advantage of the risings to include Central Italy in the union under Piedmont. Once again he got the help of the foreign powers. Britain stopped Austria from intervening through her "hands off Italy policy" This was because she was sympathetic to the Italian cause. Napoleon III also got involved and came up with the idea of a plebiscite in which the Central Italian people were given an opportunity to decide on their future. Cavour worded the plebiscite in such a way that a vote for a union with Piedmont was certain. The people were given two choices- to revert to Austrian rule or to unite with Piedmont. The result was that they voted overwhelmingly for a union with Piedmont. Thus the Duchies of Parma, Modena and Tuscany, the Papal States of Umbria and the Marches all joined the union with Piedmont in 1860.

- Cavour also brought the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily into union by chance in 1861. This was after taking advantage of Garibaldi's conquest of Naples and Sicily and his sail into the mainland. Upon his arrival onto the mainland Garibaldi handed over Naples and Sicily out of loyalty to King Victor Emmanuel for them to be included in the union. What remained out of the union was Rome. Until Cavour's death in 1861 the issue of Rome and that of the Pope was still a delicate one. Unlike the nationalists of 1848 Cavour avoided confrontation. He took precautionary measures to prevent Garibaldi from attacking Rome during his sail into the mainland. Garibaldi intended to attack Rome and possibly proclaim

a Republic. In this way Cavour was able to unify Italy in a way that did not attract the intervention of the great powers.

Role of the Foreign Powers

France

- Played a twin role of aiding and obstructing the process of unification. In aiding France under Napoleon III signed an agreement with Piedmont in which they agree to drive Austria out of Italy and then form a Confederation of the Italian states under the presidency of the Pope. The agreement was implemented in 1859 when France and Piedmont fought against Austria. Austria was driven out of Lombardy following its defeat at the battle of Magenta and Solferino. However due to some reason such as the fear of the great powers Napoleon III suddenly withdrew from the war. This move can be viewed as being an obstacle in that Napoleon III failed to honour his part of the bargain I e the complete withdraw of Austria from Italian affairs.

- France assisted in the acquisition of Central Italy to be part of the union. Following the risings in Central Italy in 1860, Napoleon III came up with an idea of the plebiscite for the people of Central Italy to decide on their future. Napoleon III presided over the plebiscites and the people voted for a union with Piedmont.

- However France played the role of being an obstacle to the process of the unification of Italy. In 1848, France along with Russia and other catholic powers such as Spain and Austria crushed the Roman Republic proclaimed by Mazzini and Garibaldi during the 1848 revolutions. They restored the Pope back to his throne with full powers. A French garrison was then permanently stationed in Rome to protect him. The continued presence of the French garrison in Rome to protect the Pope remained an obstacle to the unification of Italy until 1848 when it was eventually withdrawn.

Britain

- Supported the unification process through giving moral support as well as her “hands off Italy” policy. The British policy on Italy began at the 1856 Paris Peace Conference on the Crimean War. It was after Cavour presented the Italian cause to the conference.

- Britain stopped Austria from suppressing the risings in Central Italy through her “hands off Italy” policy. She was also active in 1860 plebiscites for Central Italy in which the people overwhelmingly voted for a union with Piedmont.

- Assisted in the Garibaldi’s sail into the mainland by providing him with a cover in the form of the British fleet. The sail of Garibaldi culminated in him handing over Naples and Sicily to be drafted into the union.

Prussia

- Prussia assisted in the unification of Italy through the acquisition of Venetia in 1866. It had earlier on entered into an agreement with Piedmont in 1865 in which it promised to give Piedmont Venetia if its army fights on the side of Prussia in the impending war between Prussia and Austria. Thus in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, the Piedmontese army under Garibaldi fought on the side of Prussia. Austria was defeated and under the treaty of Prague Venetia was handed over to Piedmont.

- Prussia also had a hand in the acquisition of Rome in 1870. The Franco-Prussian war of 1870 necessitated the withdrawal of the French garrison from Rome. The Italians took advantage of the withdrawal and included Rome in the union. With the acquisition of Venetia in 1866 and of Rome in 1870 the unification of Italy was completed.

Austria

- It was an obstacle to the unification of Italy. In 1815 the Vienna settlement gave Austria the direct control of Lombardy and Venetia and indirect control of Naples, Sicily and Central Italy.

-It suppressed all the movements for the unification of Italy in 1819, 1820, 1830, 1840s and 1848.

Piedmont

-It provided the leadership role. It provided leaders such as Cavour and King Victor Emmanuel. These leaders used diplomacy to bring foreign aid as well as making use of opportunities that came their way i e the Crimean war, risings in Central Italy, Austro-Piedmontese War of 1866 and the Franco-Prussian war of 1870. They also adopted a cautious approach when dealing with the delicate case of the Papacy.

- Piedmont provided an army to enable the Italians to participate in the Crimean War of 1853-5 at whose peace conference Cavour highlighted the Italian cause before the great powers. The army also enabled Piedmont to fight in the Austro-Piedmontese War of 1859 that led to the acquisition of Lombardy and the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 that resulted in the acquisition of Venetia.

- Piedmont provided the financial resources for unification. At the same time its infrastructure in the form of transport and communication enabled the movement of goods, weapons, troops and information during unification.

Garibaldi

- Garibaldi was the body of the movement for the unification of Italy. He was the soldier needed in the unification process. He fought in the wars that led to the acquisition of Italian territory to be included in the union. He led the Piedmontese army in the 1859 war with Austria that led to the acquisition of Lombardy and the Austro-Piedmontese War that led to the acquisition of Venetia.

- Garibaldi was instrumental in the acquisition of the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily that he then handed over to King Victor Emmanuel to be included in the union in 1861. He conquered Naples and Sicily and then sailed into the mainland. Upon his arrival onto the

mainland Garibaldi handed over Naples and Sicily out of loyalty to King Victor Emmanuel for them to be included in the union.

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