In 1810, Napoleon ruled a vast empire. His control extended throughout most of Europe. The map on page 571 shows the Russian Empire as Napoleon’s ally, but in less than two years, he would decide to strengthen his power there by invading—a strategic mistake that contributed to his downfall. Use the map to help you answer the following questions.

1. What parts of Europe were free of Napoleon’s control in 1810?

2. What route would enable Napoleon’s army to travel through French-controlled territory nearly all the way to Russia?

3. What challenges and hazards of invading Russia might be inferred from the map?

For more information about the French Revolution, Napoleon, and related topics . . .

CLASSZONE.COM
1796 Napoleon defeats France’s enemy, Austria.

1799 Napoleon overthrows the Directory through a coup d’état.

1804 Napoleon crowns himself emperor.

1815 Napoleon is defeated at the Battle of Waterloo; the Congress of Vienna creates five great powers in Europe.
You are returning home from a bakery that is out of bread—again. You have no food to take to your starving children. You are desperate.

Suddenly you turn a corner and come upon the king’s palace. King Louis and his wife are living there in luxury while your children and most of your fellow citizens are starving. You see a mob surrounding the palace, demanding food and relief from heavy taxes. They have turned violent.

Would you join the mob?

EXAMINING the ISSUES

- How could such a situation develop in one of the most advanced countries in the world?
- What could make people angry enough to behead others and then carry their heads on poles?
- How successful could a revolution of peasants be?

Discuss these questions with your classmates. In your discussion, remember what you’ve learned about other revolutionary conflicts, such as the American Revolution and the English Civil War.

As you read about the French Revolution in this chapter, see how events turn out for the peasants.
Revolution Threatens the French King

**SETTING THE STAGE**  In the 1700s, France was considered the most advanced country of Europe. It was the center of the Enlightenment. It had a large population and a prosperous foreign trade. France's culture was widely praised and emulated by the rest of the world. However, the appearance of success was deceiving. There was great unrest in France, caused by high prices, high taxes, and disturbing questions raised by the Enlightenment ideas of Rousseau and Voltaire.

**The Old Regime**  In the 1770s, the system of feudalism left over from the Middle Ages—called the *Old Regime*—remained in place. The people of France were still divided into three large social classes, or *estates*.

**The Privileged Estates**  Two of the estates had privileges, including access to high offices and exemptions from paying taxes, that were not granted to the members of the third.

The Roman Catholic Church, whose clergy formed the First Estate, owned 10 percent of the land in France. It provided education and relief services to the poor and contributed about 2 percent of its income to the government.

The Second Estate was made up of rich nobles, much of whose wealth was in land. Although they made up only 2 percent of the population, the nobles owned 20 percent of the land and paid almost no taxes. The majority of the clergy and the nobility scorned Enlightenment ideas as radical notions that threatened their status and power as privileged persons.

**The Third Estate**  About 98 percent of the people belonged to the Third Estate. The three groups that made up this estate differed greatly in their economic conditions.

The first group—the bourgeoisie (bürzhwah-ZEE)—were merchants and artisans. They were well-educated and believed strongly in the Enlightenment ideals of liberty and equality. Although some of the bourgeoisie were as rich as nobles, they paid high taxes and lacked privileges like the other members of the Third Estate. Many felt that their wealth entitled them to a greater degree of social status and political power.

The workers of France's cities—cooks, servants, and others—formed the second group within the Third Estate, a group poorer than the bourgeoisie. Paid low wages and frequently out of work, they often went hungry. If the cost of bread rose, mobs of these workers might attack carts of grain and bread to steal what they needed.

Peasants formed the largest group within the Third Estate—more than 50 percent of France's 26 million people. Peasants paid about half their income in dues to nobles, tithes to the church, and taxes to the king's agents. They even paid taxes on such basic staples as salt. Peasants joined the urban poor in resenting the clergy and the nobles for their privileges and special treatment. The heavily taxed and discontented Third Estate was eager for change.
The Forces of Change

In addition to the growing resentment of the lower classes, other factors were contributing to the revolutionary mood in France.

**Enlightenment Ideas**  New views about power and authority in government were spreading among the Third Estate. The people began questioning long-standing notions about the structure of society and using words like *equality, liberty,* and *democracy.* The success of the American Revolution inspired them, and they discussed the radical ideas of Rousseau and Voltaire. Many shared the beliefs of the Comte d’Antraigues, a friend of Rousseau’s:

*A VOICE FROM THE PAST*

The Third Estate is the People and the People is the foundation of the State; it is in fact the State itself; the other orders are merely political categories while by the immutable laws of nature the People is everything. Everything should be subordinated to it. . . . It is in the People that all national power resides and for the People that all states exist.

**COMTE D’ANTRAIGUES,** quoted in *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution*

**Economic Woes**  France’s once prosperous economy was failing. The population was expanding rapidly, as were trade and production. However, the heavy burden of taxes made it impossible to conduct business profitably within France. The cost of living rose for everyone. In addition, bad weather in the 1780s caused widespread crop failures, resulting in a severe shortage of grain. The price of bread doubled in 1789, and many people faced starvation.

During this period, France’s government sank deeply into debt. Extravagant spending by the king and queen was part of the problem. **Louis XVI,** who became king in 1774, inherited part of the debt from his predecessors. He also borrowed heavily in order to help the American revolutionaries in their war against Great Britain—France’s chief rival—thereby nearly doubling the government’s debt. When bankers, in 1786, refused to lend the government any more money, Louis faced serious problems.

**A Weak Leader**  Strong leadership might have prevented the coming crisis, but Louis XVI was indecisive and allowed matters to drift. He paid little attention to his government advisers, preferring to spend his time hunting or tinkering with locks rather than attending to the details of governing.

**The Three Estates**

- **First Estate**  
  - made up of clergy of Roman Catholic Church 
  - scorned Enlightenment ideas

- **Second Estate**  
  - made up of rich nobles 
  - held highest offices in government 
  - disagreed about Enlightenment ideas

- **Third Estate**  
  - included bourgeoisie, urban lower class, and peasant farmers 
  - had no power to influence government 
  - embraced Enlightenment ideas

**A VOICE FROM THE PAST**

The Three Estate intensely resented the wealthy First and Second Estates.

1. How do the chart and the graphs help explain the political cartoon?
2. Why might the First and Second Estates be opposed to change?
Louis had married his wife, Marie Antoinette, when he was 15 and she was 14. Because Marie was a member of the royal family of Austria, France’s long-time enemy, she became unpopular as soon as she set foot in France. As queen, Marie spent so much money on gowns, jewels, and gifts that she became known as Madame Deficit.

Rather than cutting expenses and increasing taxes, Louis put off dealing with the emergency until France faced bankruptcy. Then, when he tried to tax aristocrats, the Second Estate forced him to call a meeting of the Estates-General—an assembly of representatives from all three estates—to get approval for the tax reform. He had the meeting—the first in 175 years—on May 5, 1789, at Versailles.

**Revolution Dawns**

The clergy and the nobles had dominated the Estates-General throughout the Middle Ages and expected to do so in the 1789 meeting. Under the assembly’s medieval rules, each estate’s delegates met in a separate hall to vote, and each estate had one vote. The two privileged estates could always outvote the Third Estate.

**The National Assembly**

The Third Estate delegates, mostly members of the bourgeoisie whose views had been shaped by the Enlightenment, were eager to make changes in the government. They insisted that all three estates meet together and that each delegate have a vote. This would give the advantage to the Third Estate, which had as many delegates as the other two estates combined.

Siding with the nobles, the king ordered the Estates-General to follow the medieval rules. The delegates of the Third Estate, however, became more and more determined to wield power. A leading spokesperson for their viewpoint was a clergyman sympathetic to their cause, the Abbé Sieyès (AB•AY syay•YEHS), who argued, “What is the Third Estate? Everything. What has it been up to now in the political order? Nothing. What does it demand? To become something herein.” In a dramatic speech, he suggested that the Third Estate delegates name themselves the National Assembly and pass laws and reforms in the name of the French people.

**HISTORY THROUGH ART: Fine Art**

The gap between rich and poor in 18th-century France is clear in these portraits. David, painter of the Revolution, depicted a common woman (left) whose appearance displays none of the luxury of the French court (right).

**Connect to History**

Comparing What details of the women’s expressions and clothing most clearly show the contrasts in lives?

**Connect to Today**

Contrasting How would you visually convey the gap between rich and poor in your country?
After a long night of excited debate, the delegates of the Third Estate agreed to Sieyès’s idea by an overwhelming majority. On June 17, 1789, they voted to establish the National Assembly, in effect proclaiming the end of absolute monarchy and the beginning of representative government. This vote was the first deliberate act of revolution.

Three days later, the Third Estate delegates found themselves locked out of their meeting room. They broke down a door to an indoor tennis court, pledging to stay until they had drawn up a new constitution. Their pledge was called the Tennis Court Oath.

Storming the Bastille  In response, Louis tried to make peace with the Third Estate by yielding to the National Assembly’s demands. He ordered the nobles and the clergy to join the Third Estate in the National Assembly. At the same time, sensing trouble, the king stationed his mercenary army of Swiss guards in Paris, since he no longer trusted the loyalty of the French soldiers.

In Paris, rumors flew that foreign troops were coming to massacre French citizens. People gathered weapons in order to defend Paris against the king’s foreign troops. On July 14, a mob tried to get gunpowder from the Bastille, a Paris prison. The angry crowd overwhelmed the king’s soldiers, and the Bastille fell into the control of the citizens. The fall of the Bastille became a great symbolic act of revolution to the French people. Ever since, July 14 has been a French national holiday, similar to the U.S. Fourth of July.

A Great Fear Sweeps France

Before long, rebellion spread from Paris into the countryside. From one village to the next, wild rumors circulated that the nobles were hiring outlaws to terrorize the peasants.

A wave of senseless panic called the Great Fear rolled through France. When the peasants met no enemy bandits, they became outlaws themselves. Waving pitchforks and torches, they broke into nobles’ manor houses, tore up the old legal papers that bound them to pay feudal dues, and in some cases burned the manor houses as well.

In October 1789, approximately 6,000 Parisian women rioted over the rising price of bread. Their anger quickly turned against the king and queen. Seizing knives and axes, the women and a great many men marched on Versailles. They broke into the palace and killed two guards. The women demanded that Louis and Marie Antoinette come to Paris. Finally, the king agreed to take his wife and children to Paris.

Three hours later the king, his family, and servants left Versailles, never again to see their magnificent palace. Their exit signaled the change of power and radical reforms about to overtake France.
The French Revolution and Napoleon

2 Revolution Brings Reform and Terror

Setting the Stage Peasants were not the only members of French society to feel the Great Fear; nobles and clergymen were equally afraid. Throughout France, bands of angry peasants struck out against members of the upper classes. In the summer of 1789, a few months before the women's march to Versailles, some nobles and clergymen in the National Assembly responded to the uprisings in an emotional late-night meeting.

The Assembly Reforms France

Throughout the night of August 4, 1789, noblemen made grand speeches, declaring their love of liberty and equality. Although motivated more by fear than by idealism, they joined other members of the National Assembly in sweeping away the feudal privileges of the First Estate and the Second Estate, thus making commoners and peasants equal to the nobles and the clergy. By morning, the Old Regime was dead.

The Rights of Man Three weeks later, on August 27, the National Assembly adopted a statement of revolutionary ideals called “A Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen,” commonly known as the Declaration of the Rights of Man. Reflecting the influence of Enlightenment ideas and of the Declaration of Independence, the document stated that “men are born and remain free and equal in rights” and that “the aim of all political association is the preservation of the natural . . . rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.” Other articles of the famous document guaranteed citizens equal justice, freedom of speech, and freedom of religion. As the French people embraced the principles of the declaration, the expression “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity” became the slogan of the Revolution.

However, the Declaration of the Rights of Man did not apply to women. When Olympe de Gouges (aw•LAMP duh GOOZH) wrote a declaration of the rights of women, not only were her ideas rejected, but she eventually lost her head as an enemy of the Revolution.

A State-Controlled Church During 1790, many of the National Assembly’s reforms focused on the relationship between church and state. The assembly took over church lands and declared that church officials and priests were to be elected by property owners and paid as state officials. Thus, the Catholic Church lost both its lands and its political independence. The reasons for the assembly’s actions were economic. The delegates hesitated to further tax the bourgeoisie, who were strong supporters of the Revolution. However, the delegates were willing to sell church lands to help pay off France’s large debt.
The assembly’s actions alarmed millions of devout French peasants, who rallied to the support of their parish priests. Many French peasants, like their priests, were conservative Catholics. Although the assembly’s move to make the church a part of the state was in accord with Enlightenment philosophy, it offended such Catholics, who believed that the pope should rule over a church independent of the state.

These changes in the church drove a wedge between the peasants and the bourgeoisie. From this time on, the peasants often opposed further revolutionary changes.

**Louis Tries to Escape** As the National Assembly restructured the relationship between church and state, Louis XVI pondered his fate as a monarch. Some of the king’s advisers warned Louis that he and his family were in danger. Many supporters of the monarchy thought France unsafe and left the country. Then, in June 1791, Louis and his family tried to escape from France to the Austrian Netherlands. As they neared the French border, however, a postmaster recognized the king from his portrait on some paper money. The royal family was returned to Paris under guard. By his attempted escape, Louis XVI had increased the influence of his radical enemies and sealed his own doom.

**Conflicting Goals Cause Divisions** For two years, the National Assembly argued over a new constitution for France. By 1791, the delegates had made significant changes in France’s government and society.

**A Limited Monarchy** The National Assembly created a limited constitutional monarchy. The new constitution stripped the king of much of his authority and gave the Legislative Assembly the power to create French law. Although the king and his ministers would still hold the executive power to enforce laws, France’s assemblymen would be the lawmakers in the country.

In September 1791, the National Assembly completed its new constitution, which Louis reluctantly approved, and then handed over its power to a new assembly—the Legislative Assembly. This assembly had the power to create laws and to approve or prevent any war the king declared on other nations.

**Factions Split France** Despite the new government, old problems, such as food shortages and government debt, remained. Angry cries for more liberty, more equality, and more bread soon caused the Revolution’s leaders to turn against one another. The Legislative Assembly split into three general groups, each of which sat in a different part of the meeting hall. (The three divisions are summarized below.)

### The Legislative Assembly

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radicals</th>
<th>Moderates</th>
<th>Conservatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• sat on the left side of the hall; were called left-wing and said to be on the left</td>
<td>• sat in the center of the hall and were called centrists</td>
<td>• sat on the right side of the hall; were called right-wing and said to be on the right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• opposed the king and the idea of a monarchy</td>
<td>• wanted some changes in government, but not as many as the radicals</td>
<td>• upheld the idea of a limited monarchy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• wanted sweeping changes in government and proposed that common people have full power in a republic</td>
<td></td>
<td>• wanted few changes in government</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Charts**

1. What do the divisions in the Legislative Assembly say about the differences in French society?
2. What similarities and differences do you see between the political factions in the Legislative Assembly and those in the U.S. government today?
Although these groups disagreed, there were groups in France that were far more extreme. Émigrés (EHM-ih-GRAYZ)—nobles and others who had fled France during the peasant uprisings—were on the extreme right. They hoped to undo the Revolution and restore the Old Regime.

On the extreme left, the most radical group was the sans-culottes (SANZ kyoo-LAHTS), “those without knee breeches.” Unlike the upper classes, who wore fancy knee-length pants, sans-culottes wore regular trousers. They were Parisian wage-earners and small shopkeepers who wanted a greater voice in government, lower food prices, and an end to food shortages. Although they did not have a role in the assembly, they soon discovered other ways to exert their power as a group, especially by influencing one of the political clubs that developed later.

**War and Extreme Measures**

In 1792, the French were faced not only with reforms at home but also with a disastrous foreign war. Monarchs and nobles in many European countries feared the changes that were taking place in France. They worried that peasant revolts similar to the ones in France could break out in their own countries.

**War with Austria**  French radicals hoped to spread their revolution to all the peoples of Europe. When Austria and Prussia proposed that France put Louis back on the throne, the Legislative Assembly responded by declaring war on Austria in April 1792. Prussia later joined Austria in the war against the French. By going to war with France, the European leaders believed, they would be helping Louis XVI to regain his position as an absolute monarch, as well as preserving their own positions as monarchs.

The war began badly for the poorly equipped French forces. By the summer of 1792, enemy armies were advancing toward Paris. On July 25, the Prussian commander threatened to destroy Paris if the revolutionaries harmed any member of the royal family. This rash statement infuriated the Parisians. On August 10, about 20,000 men and women invaded the Tuileries, the royal palace where Louis and his family were staying. The king’s Swiss guard of 900 men fought desperately to defend Louis. The mob brutally massacred them and imprisoned Louis, Marie Antoinette, and their children in a stone tower. A witness in the palace recalled the scene:

**A VOICE FROM THE PAST**

I ran from place to place, and finding the apartments and staircases already strewed with dead bodies, I . . . ran away to the Dauphin’s garden gate where some Marseillais [citizen soldiers from Marseille], who had just butchered several of the Swiss, were stripping them. One of them came up to me with a bloody sword in his hand, saying, “Hello, citizen! Without arms! Here, take this and help us to kill.” But luckily . . . I managed to make my escape. Some of the Swiss who were pursued took refuge in an adjoining stable. I concealed myself in the same place. They were soon cut to pieces close to me. . . .

UNNAMED ROYAL SERVANT, quoted in *The Days of the French Revolution*

France’s war with Austria and Prussia also affected daily life in Paris. During the summer of 1792, Parisians learned that French troops were failing to hold back the approaching Prussian forces. Just as bands of volunteer soldiers were preparing to leave Paris and reinforce the French soldiers in the field, they heard rumors that the royalists imprisoned in Paris would seize control of the city in their absence. Angry
citizens responded by taking the law into their own hands. For several days in early September, Parisians raided the prisons and murdered over 1,000 prisoners. Many royalists, nobles, and clergymen fell victim to the angry mobs in these so-called September massacres.

Faced with the threat of the Parisian radicals, the members of the Legislative Assembly gave up the idea of a limited monarchy. They set aside the Constitution of 1791, declared the king deposed, and dissolved their assembly, calling for the election of a new legislature.

The new governing body, elected in September, called itself the National Convention. Just as the new government took office, France had a stroke of luck. A French army won a battle against the Austrians and Prussians. For the moment, France was out of danger from abroad.

**Radicals Execute the King** During the frenzied summer of 1792, the leaders of the mobs on the streets had more real power than any government assembly. Although the mobs were made up of the poor, their leaders came from the bourgeoisie.

Both men and women of the middle class joined political clubs. The most radical club in 1792 was the Jacobin (JAK•uh•bihn) Club, where violent speech-making was the order of the day. The Jacobins wanted to remove the king and establish a republic.

One of the prominent radical leaders was Jean Paul Marat (mah•RAH). During the Revolution, he edited a radical newspaper. His fiery editorials called for “five or six hundred heads cut off” to rid France of the enemies of the Revolution. Georges Danton (zhawrz dahn•TAWN), a revolutionary leader who was devoted to the rights of Paris’s poor people, joined the club as a talented speaker.

The National Convention, meeting in Paris on September 21, quickly abolished the monarchy and declared France a republic. Adult male citizens were granted the right to vote and hold office. Despite the important part they had already played in the Revolution, women were not given the right to vote. The delegates reduced Louis XVI’s role from that of a king to that of a common citizen and prisoner. Then, guided by radical Jacobins, they tried Louis for treason and found him guilty. By a very close vote, they sentenced him to death.

On January 21, 1793, the ex-king walked with calm dignity up the steps of the scaffold to be beheaded by a machine called the guillotine (GIHL•uh•TEEN). Thousands died by the guillotine during the French Revolution.

**France’s Citizen Army** The new republic’s first problem was the continuing war with Austria and Prussia. Early in 1793, Great Britain, Holland, and Spain joined Prussia and Austria in an alliance known as the First Coalition. Forced to contend with so many enemies, France suffered a string of defeats.

The Jacobin leaders took extreme steps to meet the new danger. In February 1793, the National Convention decreed a draft into the army of 300,000 French citizens between the ages of 18 and 40. By 1794, the army had grown to 800,000 and included women.
The Guillotine

If you think the guillotine was a cruel form of capital punishment, think again. Dr. Joseph Ignace Guillotin proposed a machine that satisfied many needs—it was efficient, humane, and democratic. A physician and member of the National Assembly, Guillotin claimed that those executed with the device "wouldn’t even feel the slightest pain.”

Prior to the guillotine’s introduction in 1792, many French criminals had suffered through horrible punishments in public places. Although public punishments continued to attract large crowds, not all spectators were pleased with the new machine. Some witnesses felt that death by the guillotine occurred much too quickly to be enjoyed by an audience.

Once the executioner cranked the blade to the top, a mechanism released it. The sharp weighted blade fell, severing the victim’s head from his or her body.

Before each execution, bound victims traveled from the prison to the scaffold in horse-drawn carts during a 1½ hour procession through city streets.

Some doctors believed that a victim’s head retained its hearing and eyesight for up to 15 minutes after the blade’s deadly blow. All remains were eventually gathered and buried in simple graves.
The Terror Grips France

Foreign armies were not the only enemies of the French republic. The Jacobins had thousands of enemies within France itself—peasants who were horrified by the beheading of the king, priests who would not accept government control, and rival leaders who were stirring up rebellion in the provinces. How to contain and control these enemies became a central issue.

Robespierre Assumes Control

As dozens of leaders struggled for power, Maximilien Robespierre (ROHBZ-pehr) slowly gathered control into his own hands. Robespierre and his supporters set out to build a “republic of virtue.” They tried to wipe out every trace of France’s past monarchy and nobility. Many families named Leroy (“king”), for instance, changed their names to something less political. No household item was too small to escape the influence of Robespierre—even the kings, queens, and jacks in decks of cards were changed to figures that represented revolutionary ideals.

Firm believers in reason, the radicals changed the calendar to be more scientific. They divided the year into 12 months of 30 days and renamed each month. The new calendar had no Sundays because the radicals considered religion old-fashioned and dangerous. They even closed all churches in Paris, and towns all over France soon did the same.

In the summer of 1793, Robespierre became the leader of the Committee of Public Safety. As head of the committee, he decided who should be considered enemies of the republic. The committee often had people tried in the morning and guillotined the same afternoon. From July 1793 to July 1794, Robespierre governed France nearly as a dictator, and the period of his rule became known as the Reign of Terror. In his speeches, Robespierre justified the Reign of Terror, explaining that it enabled French citizens to remain true to the ideals of the Revolution. In this speech excerpt, Robespierre makes a connection between virtue and terror:

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

The first maxim of our politics ought to be to lead the people by means of reason and the enemies of the people by terror. If the basis of popular government in time of peace is virtue, the basis of popular government in time of revolution is both virtue and terror: virtue without which terror is murderous, terror without which virtue is powerless. Terror is nothing else than swift, severe, indomitable justice; it flows, then, from virtue.

MAXIMILIEN ROBESPIERRE, quoted in Problems of Western Civilization: The Challenge of History

The most famous victim of the Terror was the widowed queen, Marie Antoinette. Calm and dignified, she rode in the death cart past jeering crowds. On the scaffold, she accidently stepped on her executioner’s foot. “Monsieur,” she apologized, “I beg your pardon. I did not do it on purpose.” Those were her last words.

The “enemies of the republic” who troubled Robespierre the most were fellow revolutionaries who challenged his leadership. In October 1793, revolutionary courts pronounced death sentences on many of the leaders who had first helped set up the republic. Their only crime was that they were less radical than Robespierre.

By the beginning of 1794, even Georges Danton found himself in danger. (Marat had already been stabbed to death by a young woman.) Danton’s friends in the
National Convention, afraid to defend him, joined in condemning him to death. On the scaffold, he told the executioner, “Don’t forget to show my head to the people. It’s well worth seeing.”

Besides leading political figures, thousands of unknown people were sent to death on the flimsiest of charges. A revolutionary court sentenced an 18-year-old youth to die by the guillotine for sawing down a tree that had been planted as a symbol of liberty. A tavern keeper was executed because he sold sour wine “to the defenders of the country.”

During the Terror, approximately 3,000 people were executed in Paris. Some historians believe that as many as 40,000 were killed all together. About 85 percent were peasants or members of the urban poor or middle class—common people for whose benefit the Revolution had supposedly been carried out.

**End of the Terror**

By July 1794, the members of the National Convention knew that none of them were safe from Robespierre. To save themselves, they turned on him. A group of conspirators demanded his arrest, shouting, “Down with the tyrant!” The next day the Revolution’s last powerful leader went to the guillotine. The Reign of Terror, the radical phase of the French Revolution, ended when Maximilien Robespierre lost his head on July 28, 1794.

French public opinion shifted dramatically to the right after Robespierre’s death. People of all classes had grown weary of the Terror. They were also tired of the skyrocketing prices of bread, salt, and other necessities of life after the Terror.

In 1795, moderate leaders in the National Convention drafted a new plan of government. The third since 1789, the new constitution placed power firmly in the hands of the upper middle class and called for a two-house legislature and an executive body of five men, known as the Directory. The five directors were moderates, not revolutionary idealists. Some of them freely enriched themselves at the public’s expense. Despite their corruption, however, they gave their troubled country a period of order.

The Directory also found the right general to command France’s armies. This supremely talented young man was named Napoleon Bonaparte.

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**Vocabulary**

**conspirators**: people involved in a secret plot.

**Jean Paul Marat** (1743–1793)

Marat was a thin, high-strung, sickly man whose revolutionary writings stirred up the violent mood in Paris. Because he suffered from a painful skin disease, he often found comfort by relaxing in a cold bath—even arranging things so that he could work in his bathtub!

During the summer of 1793, Charlotte Corday, a supporter of a rival faction whose members had been jailed, gained an audience with Marat by pretending to have information about traitors. Once inside Marat’s private chambers, she fatally stabbed him as he bathed. For her crime, a revolutionary court sent Corday to the guillotine.

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**1. TERMS & NAMES**

- Declaration of the Rights of Man
- Legislative Assembly
- émigrés
- sans-culottes
- guillotine
- Maximilien Robespierre
- Committee of Public Safety
- Reign of Terror

**2. TAKING NOTES**

Recreate the cause-and-effect graphic below on your paper. Fill in the main events that occurred after the creation of the Constitution of 1791.

[Graphic: Assembly creates a constitution.]

**3. RECOGNIZING CAUSES**

After the French rejected the king’s absolute control, they struggled to create a more democratic government. However, in 1793, Robespierre became a dictator. What caused this to happen?

**THINK ABOUT**

- the political climate prior to Robespierre’s rule
- the need for a leader
- Robespierre’s personality

---

**4. THEME ACTIVITY**

**Revolution** Create a revolutionaries’ “Wall of Fame.” Working in small teams, write short biographies of revolutionary figures mentioned in this section (including pictures if possible). Then add biographies of other revolutionary figures—from England and the Americas—mentioned in the unit.
Napoleon Forges an Empire

**MAIN IDEA**
A military genius, Napoleon Bonaparte, seized power in France and made himself emperor.

**WHY IT MATTERS NOW**
In times of political turmoil, military dictators often seize control of nations, as in Haiti in 1991.

**SETTING THE STAGE**
Napoleon was a short man (five feet three inches tall) who cast a long shadow over the history of modern times. He would come to be recognized as one of the world’s greatest military geniuses, along with Alexander the Great of Macedonia, Hannibal of Carthage, and Julius Caesar of Rome. In only four years (1795–1799), Napoleon rose from relative obscurity to become master of France.

**Napoleon Grasps the Power**

**Napoleon Bonaparte** was born in 1769 on the Mediterranean island of Corsica. When he was nine years old, his parents sent him to a military school in northern France. In 1785, at the age of 16, he finished school and became a lieutenant in the artillery. When the Revolution broke out, Napoleon joined the army of the new government.

**Hero of the Hour**
In October 1795, fate handed the young officer a chance for glory. When royalist rebels marched on the National Convention, a government official told Napoleon to defend the delegates. Napoleon and his gunners greeted the thousands of royalists with a cannonade. Within minutes, the attackers fled in panic and confusion. Napoleon Bonaparte became the hero of the hour and was hailed throughout Paris as the savior of the French republic.

In 1796, the Directory appointed Napoleon to lead a French army against the forces of Austria and the Kingdom of Sardinia. Crossing the Alps, the young general swept into Italy and won a series of remarkable victories, which crushed the Austrian troops’ threat to France. Next, in an attempt to protect French trade interests and to disrupt British trade with India, Napoleon led an expedition to Egypt. Unfortunately, his luck did not hold. His army was pinned down in Egypt, and his naval forces were defeated by the British admiral Horatio Nelson. However, he managed to keep the reports of his defeat out of the press, so that by 1799 the words “the general” could mean only one man to the French—Napoleon.

**Coup d’État**
By 1799, the Directory had lost control of the political situation and the confidence of the French people. Only the directors’ control of the army kept them in power. Upon Napoleon’s return from Egypt, the Abbé Sieyès urged him to seize political power. Napoleon and Josephine, his lovely socialite wife, set a plan in motion. Napoleon met with influential persons to discuss his role in the Directory, while Josephine used her connections with the wealthy directors to influence their decisions. The action began on November 9, 1799, when Napoleon was put in charge of the military. It ended the next day when his troops drove out the members of one chamber of the
The legislature voted to dissolve the Directory. In its place, the legislature established a group of three consuls, one of whom was Napoleon. Napoleon quickly assumed dictatorial powers as the first consul of the French republic. A sudden seizure of power like Napoleon’s is known as a coup—from the French phrase coup d’état (koo day TAH), or “blow of state.”

At the time of Napoleon’s coup, France was still at war. In 1799, British diplomats assembled the Second Coalition of anti-French powers—Britain, Austria, and Russia—with the goal of driving Napoleon from power. Once again, Napoleon rode from Paris at the head of his troops. Eventually, as a result of war and diplomacy, all three nations signed peace agreements with France. By 1802, Europe was at peace for the first time in ten years. Napoleon was free to focus his energies on restoring order in France.

**Napoleon Rules France**

At first, Napoleon pretended to be the constitutionally chosen leader of a free republic. In 1800, a plebiscite (PLEHB ih SYT), or vote of the people, was held to approve a new constitution, the fourth in eight years. Desperate for strong leadership, the people voted overwhelmingly in favor of the constitution, which gave all real power to Napoleon as first consul.

**Restoring Order at Home** Under Napoleon, France would have order and stability. He did not try to return the nation to the days of Louis XVI; instead, he kept many of the changes that had come with the Revolution. He supported laws that would both strengthen the central government and achieve some of the goals of the Revolution, such as a stable economy and more equality in taxation.

The first order of business was to get the economy on a solid footing. Napoleon set up an efficient tax-collection system and established a national bank. In addition to assuring the government a steady supply of tax money, these actions promoted sound financial management and better control of the economy.

Napoleon also needed to reduce government corruption and improve the delivery of government services. He dismissed corrupt officials and, in order to provide his government with trained officials, set up lycées, or government-run public schools. The students at the lycées included children of ordinary citizens as well as children of national legislature. The legislature voted to dissolve the Directory. In its place, the legislature established a group of three consuls, one of whom was Napoleon. Napoleon quickly assumed dictatorial powers as the first consul of the French republic. A sudden seizure of power like Napoleon’s is known as a coup—from the French phrase coup d’état (koo day TAH), or “blow of state.”

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**Napoleon Brings Order After the Revolution**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Economy</th>
<th>Government &amp; Society</th>
<th>Religion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Goals of the Revolution</strong></td>
<td>• Equal taxation</td>
<td>• Less government corruption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Lower inflation</td>
<td>• Equal opportunity in government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Napoleon’s Actions</strong></td>
<td>• Set up fairer tax code</td>
<td>• Appointed officials by merit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Set up national bank</td>
<td>• Fired corrupt officials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Stabilized currency</td>
<td>• Created lycées</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Gave state loans to businesses</td>
<td>• Created code of laws</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Results</strong></td>
<td>• Equal taxation</td>
<td>• Honest, competent officials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Stable economy</td>
<td>• Equal opportunity in government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Public education</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Charts**

Napoleon’s changes brought France closer to achieving the Revolution’s goals.

1. Which goals of the Revolution did Napoleon achieve?
2. If you had been a member of the bourgeoisie in Napoleon’s France, would you have been satisfied with the results of Napoleon’s actions? Why or why not?
the wealthy. The trained candidates could then be appointed to public office on the basis of merit rather than family connections.

Both the clergy and the peasants wanted to restore the position of the church in France. Napoleon signed a concordat (agreement) with Pope Pius VII, spelling out a new relationship between church and state. The government recognized the influence of the church but rejected church control in national affairs. Specifically the French government would appoint bishops, but the bishops would appoint parish priests. The concordat gained Napoleon the support of the organized church as well as the majority of the French people.

Napoleon thought that his greatest work was his comprehensive system of laws, known as the Napoleonic Code. Although the code gave the country a uniform set of laws and eliminated many injustices, it actually limited liberty and promoted order and authority over individual rights. The code took away some rights that women had won during the Revolution, such as the right to sell their property. Freedom of speech and of the press, also established during the Revolution, were restricted rather than expanded. The new laws also restored slavery in the French colonies of the Caribbean, which the revolutionary government had abolished.

Napoleon Crowned as Emperor  In 1804, Napoleon decided to make himself emperor, and the French voters supported him. On December 2, 1804, dressed in a splendid robe of purple velvet, Napoleon walked down the long aisle of Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris. The pope waited for him with a glittering crown. As thousands watched, the new emperor took the crown from the pope and placed it on his own head. With this arrogant gesture, Napoleon signaled that he was more powerful than the church, which had traditionally crowned the rulers of France.

Napoleon Creates an Empire

Napoleon was not content simply to be master of France. He wanted to control the rest of Europe and to reassert French power in the New World. He envisioned his western empire to include Louisiana, Florida, French Guiana, and the French West Indies. He knew that the key to this area was the sugar-producing French colony of Saint Domingue on the island of Hispaniola.

New World Territories  In 1789, when the ideas of the Revolution had reached the planters in Saint Domingue, they had demanded that the National Assembly give them the same privileges as the people of France. Eventually, the slaves in the colony had demanded their freedom. A civil war had erupted, and slaves under the leadership of Toussaint L’Ouverture had seized control of the productive colony. In 1801, Napoleon decided to regain French control of the war-torn island and restore its productive sugar industry. Although he sent 23,000 soldiers to accomplish the task, the former slaves proved to be difficult to defeat, and thousands of soldiers died of yellow fever.

When the expedition to Saint Domingue was unsuccessful and the U.S. government showed interest in buying the port of New Orleans, Napoleon recognized an opportunity to make some money and cut his losses in the Americas. He offered to sell all of the Louisiana Territory to the United States, and in 1803 President...
Jefferson’s administration agreed to purchase the land for $15 million. Napoleon was delighted. He saw a twofold benefit to the sale: he would gain money to finance operations in Europe, and he would further punish his British enemies. He exulted, “The sale assures forever the power of the United States, and I have given England a rival who, sooner or later, will humble her pride.”

**Conquering Europe** Napoleon abandoned his imperial ambitions in the New World and turned his attention to Europe. He had already annexed the Austrian Netherlands and parts of Italy to France and set up a puppet government in Switzerland. Now he looked to expand his influence further. Fearful of his ambitions, Britain persuaded Russia, Austria, and Sweden to join in a third coalition against France.

Napoleon met this challenge with his usual boldness. He rallied the troops and rode out to defeat the Third Coalition, exclaiming, “My army is formidable. . . . Once we had an Army of the Rhine, an Army of Italy, an Army of Holland; there has never been a French Army—but now it exists, and we shall soon see it in action.” In a series of brilliant battles, Napoleon crushed the opposition. (See the map on page 588.) The commanders of the enemy armies could never predict his next move and took heavy losses. After the Battle of Austerlitz, Napoleon issued a proclamation expressing his pride in his troops:

**A VOICE FROM THE PAST**

Soldiers! I am pleased with you. On the day of Austerlitz, you justified everything that I was expecting of your intrepidity. . . . In less than four hours, an army of 100,000 men, commanded by the emperors of Russia and Austria, was cut up and dispersed. . . . 120 pieces of artillery, 20 generals, and more than 30,000 men taken prisoner—such are the results of this day which will forever be famous. . . . My nation will be overjoyed to see you again. And it will be enough for you to say, “I was at Austerlitz,” to hear the reply: “There is a brave man!”

**NAPOLEON,** quoted in Napoleon by André Castelot

Eventually, the rulers of Austria, Prussia, and Russia all signed peace treaties with Napoleon, whose proud and patriotic army had enabled him to build the largest European empire since the Romans. The only major enemy left undefeated was Britain, whose power lay in its navy. In 1805, Napoleon tried to remove the threat of that navy.

**The Battle of Trafalgar** In his war against the Third Coalition, Napoleon lost only one major battle, the Battle of Trafalgar (truh•FAH•guhr)—but that naval defeat was more important than all of Napoleon’s victories on land. The battle took place in 1805 off the southern coast of Spain. The commander of the British fleet, Horatio Nelson—the admiral who had defeated Napoleon’s fleet near Egypt in 1798—outmaneuvered the larger French-Spanish fleet, showing as much brilliance in warfare at sea as Napoleon had in warfare on land. (See map inset on page 588.) During the fierce battle, Nelson was mortally wounded by a French sharpshooter. As he lay dying aboard his flagship, Nelson heard the welcome news of British victory. “Now I am satisfied,” murmured the admiral. “Thank God, I have done my duty.”

The destruction of the French fleet had two major results. First, it assured the supremacy of the British navy for the next hundred years. Second, it forced Napoleon to give up his plans of invading Britain. He had to look for another way to control his powerful enemy across the English Channel. Eventually, Napoleon’s extravagant efforts to crush Britain would lead to his own undoing.

**The French Empire** During the first decade of the 1800s, Napoleon’s victories had given him mastery over most of Europe. By 1812, the only major European countries free from Napoleon’s control were Britain, the Ottoman Empire, Portugal, and Sweden.

As the map on page 588 shows, Napoleon controlled numerous supposedly independent lands in addition to those that were formally part of the French Empire. These included...
Spain, the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and a number of German kingdoms in central Europe. The rulers of these countries were Napoleon’s puppets; some, in fact, were his brothers and in-laws. Furthermore, the powerful countries of Russia, Prussia, and Austria were loosely attached to Napoleon’s empire through alliances. Not totally under Napoleon’s control, they were easily manipulated by threats of military action.

Ironically, Napoleon’s power and military threats actually made the conquered peoples more conscious of their loyalty to their own nations. The French empire was huge but unstable. Napoleon was able to maintain it at its greatest extent for only five years (1807–1812). Then it quickly fell to pieces. Its sudden collapse was caused in part by Napoleon himself.
Napoleon’s Empire Collapses

**MAIN IDEA**

Napoleon’s conquests aroused nationalistic feelings across Europe and contributed to his downfall.

**WHY IT MATTERS NOW**

In the 1990s, nationalistic feelings contributed to the breakup of nations such as Yugoslavia.

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**SETTING THE STAGE** Napoleon worried that his vast empire would fall apart unless he had an heir whose right to succeed him was undisputed, so he decided that he needed a son. Consequently, he divorced Josephine, who had failed to bear him a child, and formed an alliance with the Austrian royal family by marrying Marie Louise, the grand-niece of Marie Antoinette. In 1811, Marie Louise gave birth to a son, Napoleon II, whom his father named king of Rome.

**Napoleon’s Three Costly Mistakes**

Napoleon’s own personality proved to be the greatest danger to the future of his empire. “I love power,” he once said, “as a musician loves his violin.” It was the drive for power that had raised Napoleon to great heights, and the same love of power led to his doom. In his efforts to extend the French Empire and crush Britain, Napoleon made three disastrous misjudgments.

**The Continental System** In November 1806, Napoleon signed a decree ordering a blockade—a forcible closing of ports—to prevent all trade and communication between Great Britain and other European nations. Napoleon called this policy the Continental System because it was supposed to make continental Europe more self-sufficient. It was also intended to destroy Britain’s commercial and industrial economy.

Unfortunately for Napoleon, his blockade was not nearly tight enough. Aided by the British, smugglers managed to bring cargo from Britain into Europe. At times, Napoleon’s allies disregarded his order—in fact, Napoleon’s own brother Louis, whom Napoleon had made king of Holland, defied the policy. For these reasons, the blockade weakened British trade but did not destroy it.

In addition, Britain responded with its own blockade. The British navy stopped neutral ships bound for the continent and forced them to sail to a British port to be searched and taxed. Because the British had a stronger navy, they were better able than the French to make their blockade work.

American ships were among those stopped by the British navy. Angered, the U.S. Congress declared war on Britain in 1812. The War of 1812 ended in a draw, however, and was only a minor inconvenience to Britain in its struggle with Napoleon.

In effect, the Continental System hurt Napoleon more than it hurt his enemies. It weakened the economies of France and the other lands under Napoleon’s control more than it damaged Britain.

**The Peninsular War** In 1808, Napoleon made a second costly mistake. Because Portugal was ignoring the Continental System, he sent an army through Spain to invade Portugal. When Spanish towns rioted in protest, Napoleon deposed the Spanish king and put his brother Joseph on the throne. This move outraged the Spanish people and enflamed their nationalistic feelings, since they remained fiercely loyal to their former monarch.

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**Background**

England’s navy had been the strongest in Europe ever since its defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588.

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**TERMS & NAMES**

- blockade
- Continental System
- guerrilla
- Peninsular War
- scorched-earth policy
- Waterloo
- Hundred Days

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The French Revolution and Napoleon 589
In addition, Spain was a devoutly Catholic nation with a long history of persecuting those who deviated from the faith. Because the French Revolution had weakened the Catholic Church in France, many Spanish Catholics feared that their French conquerors would undermine the church in Spain. In fact, the French did attack church power by outlawing the Spanish Inquisition, which was still prosecuting people accused of heresy.

For five years (1808–1813), bands of Spanish peasant fighters, known as guerrillas, struck at French armies in Spain. The guerrillas were not an army that Napoleon could defeat in open battle; they were ordinary people who ambushed French troops and then fled into hiding. The British added to the French troubles in Spain by sending troops to aid the rebels. Napoleon lost about 300,000 men during this Peninsular War (so called because Spain lies on the Iberian Peninsula). These losses weakened the French Empire.

In Spain and elsewhere, nationalism, or loyalty to one’s own country, was becoming a powerful weapon against Napoleon. People who had at first welcomed the French as their liberators now felt abused by a foreign conqueror. Like the Spanish guerrillas, Germans and Italians and other conquered peoples turned against the French.

The Invasion of Russia
In 1812, Napoleon’s thirst for power led to his most disastrous mistake of all. Even though Alexander I had become Napoleon’s ally, the Russian czar refused to stop selling grain to Britain. In addition, the French and Russian rulers suspected each other of having competing designs on Poland. Because of this breakdown in their alliance, Napoleon decided to invade Russia.

In June 1812, Napoleon and his Grand Army marched into Russia. Many of his troops were not French. They had been drafted from all over Europe, and they felt little loyalty to Napoleon.

As Napoleon’s army entered Russia, Alexander pulled back his troops, refusing to be lured into an unequal battle. As the Russians retreated toward Moscow, they practiced a scorched-earth policy, burning grain fields and slaughtering livestock so as to leave nothing that the enemy could eat. Desperate soldiers deserted the French army to search for scraps of food.

On September 7, 1812, the two armies finally clashed in the Battle of Borodino. During the morning, the advantage swung back and forth between the Russians and the French. After several more hours of indecisive fighting, the Russians retreated—giving Napoleon a narrow victory that allowed him to take Moscow.

When Napoleon finally entered Moscow on September 14, he soon found it in flames. Rather than surrender Russia’s “holy city” to the French, Alexander had set fire to it. Napoleon stayed in the ruined city for five weeks, expecting the czar to make a peace offer, but no offer ever came. By then, it was the middle of October, too late to advance farther and perhaps too late even to retreat.

Grimly, Napoleon ordered his starving army to turn back. As the snows began to fall in early November, Russian raiders mercilessly attacked Napoleon’s ragged, retreating army. One French sergeant recorded, “Many of the survivors were walking barefoot, using pieces of wood as canes, but their feet were frozen so hard that the sound they made on the road was like that of wooden clogs.”

As the soldiers staggered through the snow, many dropped in their tracks from wounds, exhaustion, hunger, and cold. The temperature fell to about 30 degrees below zero, so cold that birds fell dead from the sky. Finally, in the middle of December, the last survivors straggled out of Russia. Of his Grand Army, Napoleon had only 10,000 soldiers who were left fit to fight.
Napoleon’s Downfall

Napoleon’s enemies were quick to take advantage of his weakness. Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Sweden joined forces against him in the Fourth Coalition. Napoleon had hoped that his marriage to Marie Louise would keep at least Austria on his side, but Austria also joined the coalition. All of the main powers of Europe were now at war with France.

The Coalition Defeats Napoleon

In only a few months, Napoleon managed to raise another army. He faced his enemies outside the German city of Leipzig (LYP•sihg) in October 1813. At this crucial point, Napoleon’s army no longer consisted of trained veterans. In the Battle of Leipzig, the allies cut his inexperienced army to pieces.

Napoleon’s empire crumbled quickly. By January 1814, armies of Austrians, Russians, and Prussians were pushing steadily toward Paris. In March, the Russian czar and the Prussian king led their troops in a triumphant parade through the French capital. Napoleon wanted to fight on, but his generals refused.

In April 1814, the defeated emperor gave up his throne and accepted the terms of surrender drawn up by Alexander I. The victors gave Napoleon a small pension and exiled, or banished, him to Elba, a tiny island off the Italian coast. Although the allies expected no further trouble from Napoleon, they were wrong. Napoleon was a man of action, and at age 45, would find it difficult to retire.

A Comeback Fails

As Napoleon arrived on Elba, a Bourbon king arrived in Paris to rule France—Louis XVIII, brother of the guillotined king. (Louis XVI’s son and heir had died in prison in 1795.) However, the new king quickly became unpopular among
This portrait by Paul Delaroche, entitled Napoleon I After His Abdication, shows Napoleon’s depression after he abdicated his throne.

Background
Napoleon was emperor for 10 years; he was exiled to Elba for 1 year; he ruled again for 100 days; then he was exiled to St. Helena for 6 years.

The news that the French king was in trouble was all the incentive Napoleon needed to try to regain power. He escaped from Elba and, on March 1, 1815, landed in France. In a proclamation, he urged the French to rally to his cause. “Victory will march at full speed,” he said. “You will be the liberators of your country.” Thousands of French people welcomed Napoleon back. The ranks of his army swelled with volunteers as it approached Paris. Within days, Napoleon was again emperor of France. Louis XVIII fled to the border.

In response, the European allies quickly marshaled their armies. The British army, led by the Duke of Wellington, prepared for battle near the village of Waterloo in Belgium. On June 18, 1815, Napoleon attacked. The British army defended its ground all day. Late in the afternoon, the Prussian army arrived. Together, the British and the Prussian forces attacked the French. Two days later, Napoleon’s exhausted troops gave way, and the British and Prussian forces chased them from the field.

This defeat ended Napoleon’s last bid for power, called the Hundred Days. Taking no chances this time, the British shipped Napoleon to St. Helena, a remote island in the South Atlantic. There, he lived in lonely exile for six years, writing his memoirs. He died in 1821 of a stomach ailment, perhaps cancer. Shortly before his death, he attempted to justify all he had done during his life:

A VOICE FROM THE PAST
Such work as mine is not done twice in a century. . . . I have saved the Revolution as it lay dying. I have cleansed it of its crimes, and have held it up to the people shining with fame. I have inspired France and Europe with new ideas that will never be forgotten.

NAPOLEON, quoted in Napoleon at St. Helena

Without doubt, Napoleon was a military genius and a brilliant administrator. Yet all his victories must be measured against the millions of lives that were lost in his wars. Of his many achievements, only his law code and some of his reforms in France’s government proved lasting—and they were not won on the battlefield. A later French statesman and writer, Alexis de Tocqueville, summed up Napoleon’s character by saying, “He was as great as a man can be without virtue.” Napoleon’s defeat opened the door for the freed European countries to establish a new order.

1. TERMS & NAMES
   - blockade
   - Continental System
   - guerrilla
   - Peninsular War
   - scorched-earth policy
   - Waterloo
   - Hundred Days

2. TAKING NOTES
   Create a two-column chart like the one below, listing Napoleon’s three disastrous mistakes and the effects that each one had on his empire.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Napoleon’s Mistakes</th>
<th>Effect on Empire</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>his subjects—especially the peasants, who suspected him of wanting to undo the Revolution’s land reforms.</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

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3. ANALYZING MOTIVES
   What were the main reasons people in other European countries resisted Napoleon?

THINK ABOUT
- why some of his own allies refused to abide by the Continental System
- why the Spanish fought a guerrilla war for several years
- why the Russians destroyed their own crops and cities
The French Revolution and Napoleon

5

The Congress of Vienna Convenes

**MAIN IDEA**

After exiling Napoleon, European leaders at the Congress of Vienna tried to restore order and reestablish peace.

**WHY IT MATTERS NOW**

International bodies such as the United Nations play an active role in trying to maintain world peace and stability today.

**SETTING THE STAGE**

European heads of government were looking to establish long-lasting peace and stability on the continent after the defeat of Napoleon. They had a goal of a new European order—one of collective security and stability for the entire continent. A series of meetings in Vienna, known as the **Congress of Vienna**, were called to set up policies to achieve this goal. Originally, the Congress of Vienna was scheduled to last for four weeks. Instead, it went on for eight months.

**Metternich Restores Stability**

Most of the decisions made in Vienna during the winter of 1814–1815 were made in secret among representatives of the five “great powers.” The rulers of three of these countries—King Frederick William III of Prussia, Czar Alexander I of Russia, and Emperor Francis I of Austria—were themselves in Vienna. Britain and France were represented by their foreign ministers. However, none of these men were as influential as the foreign minister of Austria, Prince **Klemens von Metternich** (MEHT•uhr•nihk).

Metternich distrusted the democratic ideals of the French Revolution. Like most other European aristocrats, he maintained that Napoleon’s expansionist dictatorship had been a natural outcome of experiments with democracy. Metternich wanted to keep things as they were and remarked, “The first and greatest concern for the immense majority of every nation is the stability of laws—never their change.”

Metternich had three goals at the Congress of Vienna. First, he wanted to prevent future French aggression by surrounding France with strong countries. Second, he wanted to restore a balance of power, so that no country would be a threat to others. Third, he wanted to restore Europe’s royal families to the thrones they had held before Napoleon’s conquests.

**The Containment of France**

The congress made the weaker countries around France stronger:

- The former Austrian Netherlands and Dutch Republic were united to form the Kingdom of the Netherlands.
- A group of 39 German states were loosely joined as the newly created German Confederation, dominated by Austria.
- Switzerland was recognized as an independent nation.
- The Kingdom of Sardinia in Italy was strengthened by the addition of Genoa.

These changes allowed the countries of Europe to contain France and prevent it from overpowering weaker nations. (See the map on page 596.)

**HISTORYMAKERS**

**Klemens von Metternich**

**1773–1859**

Klemens von Metternich was a tall, handsome man whose charm worked equally well on his fellow diplomats and on the elegant ladies of Vienna. He spoke five languages fluently and thought of himself as a European, not as a citizen of any single country. “Europe has for a long time held for me the significance of a fatherland,” he once said.

Early in his career, Metternich linked himself to the Hapsburgs, the rulers of Austria. In 1809, he became Austria’s foreign minister, and he held that office for the next 39 years. Because of his immense influence on European politics, these years are often called the Age of Metternich.
Balance of Power  Although the leaders of Europe wanted to weaken France, they did not want to go too far. If they severely punished France, they might encourage the French to take revenge. If they broke up France, then another country might become so strong that it would threaten them all. Thus, the victorious powers were surprisingly easy on the defeated nation. Although the French were required to give up all the territories Napoleon had taken, France remained intact, with roughly the same boundaries it had had in 1790. France also kept some of its overseas possessions, its army, and an independent government. As a result, France remained a major but diminished European power, and no country in Europe could easily overpower another.

Legitimacy  The great powers affirmed the principle of legitimacy—agreeing that as many as possible of the rulers whom Napoleon had driven from their thrones should be restored to power. In France, the brother of Louis XVI returned to power as King Louis XVIII. He wisely adopted a constitution and ruled as a constitutional monarch. The congress also restored the Bourbon rulers of Spain and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Hapsburg princes came back to rule several states in northern Italy. Many (though not all) of the former rulers of the German states of central Europe also regained their thrones. The participants in the Congress of Vienna believed that the return of the former monarchs would stabilize political relations among the nations.

The Congress of Vienna was a political triumph in many ways. Because its settlements were fair enough for no country to be left bearing a grudge, it did not sow the seeds of future wars. In that sense, it was more successful than many other peace meetings in history. For the first time, the nations of an entire continent were cooperating to control political affairs. On June 13, 1815, four days after the signing of the document that ended the congress, an observer wrote down his impressions:

A VOICE FROM THE PAST
It is contended that, on the whole, the Congress in its eight months of meetings has performed a tremendous task and never has a congress achieved more meaningful or grander results. . . . The majority of people now are saying: “The minister of foreign affairs [Metternich] has reaped honor from his work, from the conception and execution of the idea of the Congress of Vienna, and from the meeting of the sovereigns in consequence thereof.”

CONFIDENTIAL AGENT, quoted in The Congress of Vienna: An Eyewitness Account

How lasting was the peace? None of the five great powers waged war on one another until 1853, in the Crimean War. By agreeing to come to one another’s aid in case of threats to peace, the European nations had temporarily assured that there would be a balance of power on the continent and that no nation would be able to expand at the expense of others. The Congress of Vienna had created a time of peace in Europe.

Background
Most rulers in Europe at this time gained legitimacy by inheriting a throne.
Political Changes Beyond Vienna

The Congress of Vienna was a victory for conservatives. Kings and princes were restored in country after country, in keeping with Metternich’s goals. Nevertheless, there were important differences from one country to another. Louis XVIII’s decision to rule France as a constitutional monarch meant that both Britain and France now had constitutional monarchies. Generally speaking, however, the governments in eastern Europe were more conservative than these. The rulers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria were absolute monarchs.

Conservative Europe  The rulers of Europe were very jittery about the legacy of the French Revolution, especially the threatening revolutionary ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity. Late in 1815, Czar Alexander, Emperor Francis I of Austria, and King Frederick William III of Prussia entered a league called the Holy Alliance. That agreement loosely bound them together. Finally, a series of alliances devised by Metternich, called the Concert of Europe, assured that nations would help one another if any revolutions broke out.

Across Europe, conservatives held firm control of the governments, but they could not contain the ideas that had emerged during the French Revolution. France after 1815 was deeply divided politically. Conservatives were happy with the monarchy of Louis XVIII and were determined to make it last. Liberals wanted the king to share more power with the Chamber of Deputies and to grant the middle class the right to vote. Many people in the lower class remained committed to the ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity even though women and many poor men could not vote. In other countries as well, like Austria, Prussia, and the small German states, there was an explosive mixture of ideas and factions that would contribute directly to revolutions in 1830 and again in 1848.

Despite their efforts to undo the French Revolution, the leaders at the Congress of Vienna could not turn back the clock. The Revolution had given Europe its first experiment in democratic government. Although the experiment had failed, it had set new political ideas in motion. The major political divisions of the early 1800s had their roots in the French Revolution.

Revolution in Latin America  The actions of the Congress of Vienna had consequences beyond Europe. When the congress restored Ferdinand VII to the Spanish throne, the reasons for the Spanish colonial revolts against Napoleon’s puppet king, Joseph Bonaparte, should have disappeared. However, clashes among conservatives, liberals, and radicals erupted quickly. In the colonies, the royalist peninsulares wanted to restore their power and control over the land, and the liberal Creoles saw their chance to retain and expand the powers they had seized. Revolts against the king broke out in many parts of Spanish America, with only Mexico remaining loyal to Ferdinand. In 1820, a liberalist revolt in Spain prompted the Spanish king to tighten control over both Spain and its American colonies. This action angered the Mexicans, who rose in revolt and successfully threw off Spain’s control. A liberalist revolt in Portugal at about the same time created an opportunity for Brazilians to declare independence as well.

Long-Term Legacy  The Congress of Vienna left a legacy that would influence world politics for the next 100 years. The continent-wide efforts to establish and maintain a balance of power diminished the size and the power of France, while the power of Britain and Prussia increased. Nationalism began to grow in Italy, Germany, Greece, and other areas that the congress had put under foreign control. Eventually, the nationalistic feelings would explode into revolutions, and new nations would be...
formed. European colonies also responded to the power shift. Spanish colonies took advantage of the events in Europe to declare their independence and break away from their European rulers.

On the other hand, ideas about the basis of power and authority had changed permanently as a result of the French Revolution. Old ideas about who should control governments were discarded. More and more, the principles of democracy were seen as the best way for equity and justice to prevail for all people. Europeans challenged old economic patterns of taxation and property ownership and began to adopt more equal treatment for all. The French Revolution changed the “business as usual” attitude that had dominated Europe for centuries. A new era had begun.
The French Revolution

Even today, historians have a wide variety of opinions about what caused the French Revolution and whether it was a good thing. The following excerpts, dating from the 1790s to 1859, show a variety of opinions about the Revolution.

**SPEECH**
Maximilien Robespierre

On February 5, 1794, the revolutionary leader Robespierre delivered a speech justifying the Revolution.

What is the goal for which we strive? A peaceful enjoyment of liberty and equality, the rule of that eternal justice whose laws are engraved, not upon marble or stone, but in the hearts of all men.

We wish an order of things where all low and cruel passions are enchained by the laws, all beneficent and generous feelings aroused; . . . where the citizen is subject to the magistrate, the magistrate to the people, the people to justice; where the nation safeguards the welfare of each individual, and each individual proudly enjoys the prosperity and glory of his fatherland.

**LITERATURE**
Charles Dickens

In 1859, the English writer Dickens wrote *A Tale of Two Cities*, a novel about the French Revolution for which he did much research. In the following scene, Charles Darnay—an aristocrat who gave up his title because he hated the injustices done to the people—has returned to France and been put on trial.

His judges sat upon the bench in feathered hats; but the rough red cap and tricolored cockade was the headdress otherwise prevailing. Looking at the jury and the turbulent audience, he might have thought that the usual order of things was reversed, and that the felons were trying the honest men. The lowest, cruellest, and worst populace of a city, never without its quantity of low, cruel, and bad, were the directing spirits of the scene. . . .

Charles Evrémonde, called Darnay, was accused by the public prosecutor as an emigrant, whose life was forfeit to the Republic, under the decree which banished all emigrants on pain of Death. It was nothing that the decree bore date since his return to France. There he was, and there was the decree; he had been taken in France, and his head was demanded.

“Take off his head!” cried the audience. “An enemy to the Republic!”

**ESSAY**
Edmund Burke

A British statesman, Burke was one of the earliest and most severe critics of the French Revolution. In October 1793, he expressed this opinion.

“The Jacobin Revolution is carried on by men of no rank, of no consideration, of wild, savage minds, full of levity, arrogance, and presumption, without morals.”

**LETTER**
Thomas Paine

In 1790, Paine—a strong supporter of the American Revolution—defended the French Revolution against its critics.

It is no longer the paltry cause of kings or of this or of that individual, that calls France and her armies into action. It is no longer the paltry cause of the French Revolution that shall blot the lasting principles of peace and citizenship, the great Republic of Man.

The scene that now opens itself to France extends far beyond the boundaries of her own dominions. Every nation is becoming her ally, and every court has become her enemy. It is now the cause of all nations, against the cause of all courts.
Chapter 23

The French Revolution and Napoleon

Long-Term Causes
• Enlightenment ideas—liberty and equality
• Example furnished by the American Revolution
• Social and economic injustices of the Old Regime

Immediate Causes
• Economic crisis—famine and government debt
• Weak leadership
• Discontent of the Third Estate

Immediate Effects
• End of the Old Regime
• Execution of monarchs
• War with the First Coalition
• Reign of Terror
• Rise of Napoleon

Long-Term Effects
• Conservative reaction
• Decline in French power
• Spread of Enlightenment ideas
• Growth of nationalism
• Rise of international organizations (Congress of Vienna)
• Revolutions in Latin America

TERMS & NAMES
Briefly explain the importance of each of the following during the French Revolution or the rise and fall of Napoleon’s rule.

1. estate
2. Great Fear
3. Declaration of the Rights of Man
4. guillotine
5. Maximilien Robespierre
6. coup d’état
7. Napoleonic Code
8. Continental System
9. Waterloo
10. Congress of Vienna

REVIEW QUESTIONS

SECTION 1 (pages 573–576)
Revolution Threatens the French King
11. Why were the members of the Third Estate dissatisfied with their way of life under the Old Regime?
12. Why was the fall of the Bastille important to the French people?

SECTION 2 (pages 577–583)
Revolution Brings Reform and Terror
13. Name three political reforms that resulted from the French Revolution.
14. What was the Reign of Terror, and how did it end?

SECTION 3 (pages 584–588)
Napoleon Forges an Empire
15. Summarize Napoleon’s reforms in France.
16. What steps did Napoleon take to create an empire in Europe?

SECTION 4 (pages 589–592)
Napoleon’s Empire Collapses
17. What factors led to Napoleon’s defeat in Russia?
18. Summarize the reasons that the European allies were able to defeat Napoleon in 1814 and again in 1815.

SECTION 5 (pages 593–597)
The Congress of Vienna Convenes
19. What were Metternich’s three goals at the Congress of Vienna?
20. How did the Congress of Vienna assure peace in Europe for the next 38 years?

Interact with History
On page 572, you looked at a French mob’s actions before completely knowing why they occurred. Now that you’ve read the chapter, reevaluate your decision about joining the mob. Were the mob’s actions justified? effective? Would you have advised different actions? Discuss your opinions with a small group.
CHAPTER ACTIVITIES

1. LIVING HISTORY: Unit Portfolio Project

**THEME REVOLUTION** Your unit portfolio project focuses on showing the similarities and differences among revolutions (see page 509). For Chapter 23, you might use one of the following ideas.

- Ask classmates to role-play French people from different estates as you interview them about their feelings toward the revolution. Tape-record your interviews and add a commentary to create an “objective” newscast.
- Write a dialogue between King George III of England and King Louis XVI of France, in which they discuss their problems with rebelling subjects.

2. CONNECT TO TODAY: Cooperative Learning

**THEME ECONOMICS** One major cause of the French Revolution was the extreme contrast between the few rich and the many poor. Some people feel that the gap between the rich and poor in the United States today is similar. Work with a team to create a graph showing the distribution of wealth in the United States today.

- Use the Internet or magazines to research the topic. Look for statistics that answer such questions as, What percentages of the population own various proportions of the country’s wealth? What percentage of individuals live at or below the poverty line? How much is the wealthiest person in the United States worth?
- Look for parallel statistics. Figure out how to present them visually. You may use any type of graphic as long as it is labeled clearly.
- Make comparisons between the distribution of wealth in France before the Revolution and the distribution of wealth in the United States today.

3. INTERPRETING A TIME LINE

Revisit the unit time line on pages 508–509. Which three events entered for the period 1780–1815 do you think were most significant? Why?

FOCUS ON GEOGRAPHY

Notice the locations of Britain and France in this map.

- How far away from France is Britain?
- What geographical barrier protected Britain from becoming part of Napoleon’s empire?

Connect to History What would Napoleon have needed to do to overcome that geographical barrier? Did he? What happened?

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

If South America is struck by the thunderbolt of Bonaparte’s arrival, misfortune will ever be ours if our country accords him a friendly reception. His thirst for conquest is insatiable [cannot be satisfied]; he has mowed down the flower of European youth . . . in order to carry out his ambitious projects. The same designs will bring him to the New World.

- What was Bolivar’s judgment of Napoleon? What words convey it to you?
- Do you agree with Bolivar, or do you think Napoleon had less selfish motives for his actions? Support your opinion with details from the text.