FRENCH REVOLUTION PART 3

From the Directory 1794-1799

to
Napoleon Bonaparte
The Terror
July 1793-July 1794

Robespierre and the Committee of Public Safety

Engraving from 1795, after Thermidor
Robespierre guillotines the executioner, after all France has been guillotined

Constitutions of 1791 and 1793 are beneath his feet

Inscription on pyramid: “Here lies all France.”
COUP D’ÉTAT OF THERMIDOR JULY 1794

Execution of Robespierre, Saint Just, Couthon

July 1794

End of the Jacobin Terror, start of White Terror -- execution of 72 leading Jacobins in one day

The Directory takes power 1794-1799
The Directory: July 1794-1799

Paul Barras

one of the five Directors making up the executive council
Legislature under Directory is bicameral:

Council of Elders = upper house

Council of 500 = lower house
Constitution of the Year V
1795

Third constitution – one every two years 1791, 1793

Ends universal male suffrage
Indirect elections (electoral college like USA)
Bicameral legislature
upper house as more elite restraint on lower house
LOUIS XVII -- never reigned
son & heir of Louis XVI & Marie Antoinette

b. 1785
d. 1795 June in prison of illness at age 10

(age 8 at time of Marie Antoinette’s trial)

Set back for royalist hopes for restoration of monarchy – but the eventual Louis XVIII restored in 1814 was the brother (in exile since 1792) of King Louis XVI executed in Jan 1793.
REVOLT OF GERMINAL (Spring 1795):

Parisian *sans culottes* riot,
call for "bread & Constitution of 1793,"
but no more political support;
rising suppressed by the National Guard
1795 Popular rising in Paris (Vendémaire) against the Directory suppressed by young General Bonaparte in his first appearance on national scene
RISE OF NAPOLEON:
1795 Parisian rising suppressed by young General Bonaparte rewarded with command of army in Italy

NAPOLEON’S INVASION OF ITALY 1796-1814

1797 Napoleon's conquest of Italy: end of Venetian Republic Rome: Pope Pius VI taken as prisoner to France start of Napoleonic looting of Italian art Italian kingdoms set up as part of French Empire Northern Italy: Cisalpine Republic Naples: Parthenopean Republic suppresses the Roman Inquisition in areas conquered

1798 INVASION OF EGYPT – aimed against England’s naval power Admiral Nelson of England destroys the French fleet beginning of Europe’s involvement in Middle East : ( 
NAPOLEONIC LOOTING OF ITALIAN ART – Venetian examples

1) Horses of San Marco, Venice
   ancient Roman bronze statues

2) Lion of S. Mark medieval symbol of city

13th C. horses taken by Venice from Constantinople in 4th Crusade

1797 Napoleon takes horses and lion to Paris
THE DIRECTORY 1794-1799:  live by the coup, die by the coup

Coup against the right: **Thermidor 1794** -- the opening coup

Risings: Germinal 1795, Vendémaire 1795, Fructidor 1797 (royalists)

**Brumaire 1799** -- -- the final coup ending the Directory

**1797 Elections** held by the Directory – considered first free elections of French Revolution

COUP AGAINST THE RIGHT

Royalists gain majority in Legislative body (Council of 500) wrong result ....

**1797: COUP D'ÉTAT OF FRUCTIDOR**  Spring

suppression of royalists by Directory

Army occupies Paris to prevent royalist takeover

first free elections of French Revolution annulled

Royalists exiled to Guyana in French West Indies

no real chance of survival, called “dry guillotine” (no blood spilled)
LEFT: CONSPIRACY OF EQUALS 1797
the first French communists

FRANCOIS BABEUF:
editor of radical newspaper *Le tribun du peuple* ("tribune of the people")
- advocacy for the poor and for a popular revolt against Directory

communist theory of "property as theft"
leading advocate for democracy
  abolition of private property and social equality

Arrested & executed May 1797
COUP D'ÉTAT of 18th Brumaire (Nov 9, 1799)

End of the Directory
Napoleon takes over Council of 500

New Republican regime called THE CONSULATE with Napoleon as First Consul

19th C. painting by Bouchot
Ingres

Napoleon as First Consul in 1799

1802 New Constitution (#4)  
First Consul for Life
David, Madame de Verninac, 1799

Empire waistline
David, Madame Recamier, 1800
1799-1804 CONSULATE:
Napoleon is one of three consuls; end of revolutionary democracy
1802 Napoleon declares himself "consul for life“

1804 -1815 NAPOLEONIC EMPIRE
1804 "the government of the Republic is entrusted to an Emperor”
echoes of Augustus as princeps in ancient Rome

Major domestic achievements:

CONCORDAT WITH ROME 1802:
Catholicism recognized as "religion of the majority of Frenchmen,"
but not an established church; toleration retained

NAPOLEONIC CODES: 1804 Civil Code; 1807 Code Napoleon
model of Roman legal code of Justinian
civil rights extended to entire population
including women, Protestants, Jews
political rights (voting & electoral office) for property holders
David

Napoleon
Crossing the Alps
(as First Consul)
1800

Note carving of the name of Charlemagne in rock in the left corner
David painting

Pope Pius VII  1805

the second Pope brought to France under duress by Napoleon

this time to preside over Napoleon’s coronation as Emperors
David, Consecration of the Emperor Napoleon I and Coronation of Empress Josephine in the Cathedral of Notre Dame de Paris on 2 Dec 1804

key point: Napoleon crowns himself, not crowned by Pope, but Pope is witness
800 Coronation of Charlemagne as Emperor of the Romans in St. Peters Rome by Pope Leo III -- image of Papal supremacy

Napoleon’s coronation self-consciously reverses this image:

Napoleon crowns himself in presence of the Pope instead of being crowned by Pope
Josephine Bonaparte in coronation dress

Empress of the French

Divorced in 1810 for lack of heir but retains her title as Empress

Portrait by Gerard
Ingres
Napoleon as Emperor in coronation robes from 1804

painting done in 1806 after victory at Jena
1806
Napoleon enters Berlin through Brandenburg Gate after victory at Jena

End of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation
(800 Charlemagne to 1806)

Later called The First Reich
(1,000 years)
Second Reich = Bismarck’s Prussia;
Third Reich = Hitler

Painting by Meynier
Arc de triomphe du carrousel modelled on Arch of Constantine 1806-1808 in the Tuileries Garden with quadriga (4 horses taken from Venice, returned after fall of Napoleon)
Arc de triomphe, modelled on Arch of Titus in Rome, begun 1806 after the victory at Jena
NAPOLEONIC EUROPE: export of ideals of French Revolution
Napoleon as “the Enlightenment on horseback”
or was he essentially an “Enlightened Despot”?

Themes:
abolition of feudalism & servile (peasant) taxation in all conquered areas
commutation of feudal dues (but with compensation)
legal equality of all citizens: universal civil rights
religious toleration for all (Protestants, Catholics, Jews)
confiscation of Church lands (anti-clericalism)

CONTINENTAL SYSTEM
1806 by Berlin Decree: no English goods may enter Europe
aim is to destroy English commerce by closing European markets

Results:
no real effects on Britain: compensates with trade with Americas
annual British income from trade doubles between 1792-1814
severe effects in Europe: shipping industry destroyed
David,
Napoleon in his study
1812

maybe he should have stayed home...
1812

September: Moscow
Napoleon finds city
abandoned and set on fire
by the inhabitants;

October: Beginning of the
Great Retreat in frigid
winter

December: the Grande
Armée expelled from Russia

Major losses during retreat
Graph by Minard (1869) of Napoleon’s invasion of Russia showing multiple variables: distance, number of troops, temperatures on the return (black)
Tufte on Minard:

Minard’s graph of Napoleon’s 1812 march on Russia as first modern (1869) graphical image
• Coalition powers against Napoleon after 1812:

• British Empire
• Hanover
• French Royalists
• Austrian Empire
• Russian Empire
• Prussia
• Sweden
• Spanish Empire
• Portuguese Empire

• Ottoman Empire
• Persian Empire

• Two Sicilies
• Hungary
• Bavaria
• Württemberg
• Saxony
• Sardinia
• United Netherlands
• Brunswick
• Tuscany
• Nassau
• Montenegro
NAPOLEON AT WAR WITH EUROPE SAFTER RUSSIA – it looks exhausting…

1813
• April 2: Battle of Luneburg
• May 2: Battle of Lützen.
• May 20–21: Battle of Bautzen.
• May 26: Battle of Haynau
• June 4–26: Armistice of Poischwitz.
• June 21: Battle of Vitoria.
• August 15: Siege of Danzig.
• August 23: Battle of Großbeeren.
• August 26–27: Battle of Dresden.
• August 26: Battle of Katzbach.
• August 27: Battle of Hagelberg
• August 29–30: Battle of Kulm.
• August 31: Battle of San Marcial
• September 6: Battle of Dennewitz.
• September 16: Battle of the Gährde.
• September 28: Battle of Altenburg.
• October 3: Battle of Wartenburg.
• October 7: Battle of Bidassoa.
• October 14: Battle of Liebertwolkwitz.
• October 16–19: Battle of Leipzig.
• October 30–31: Battle of Hanau.
• November 10: Battle of Nivelle.
• October 31: End of the Siege of Pamplona
• December 7: Battle of Bornhöved.
• December 9–13: Battles of the Nive.
• December 10: Battle of Sehestedt.

1814
• February 10–14: Six Days Campaign.
• February 15: Battle of Garris
• February 27: Battle of Orthez
• April 10: Battle of Toulouse
• April 4: Napoleon abdicates
TREATY OF FONTAINEBLEUE  France, 11 April 1814,
   between Napoleon and representatives from the
   Austria, Russia and Prussia -- Napoleon agrees to exile
   on island of Elba (between Italy and Corsica)

“The allied powers having declared that the Emperor Napoleon is
the sole obstacle to the re-establishment of a general peace in
Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that
he renounces, for himself and his heirs the throne of France and
Italy; and that there is no personal sacrifice, not even that of life
itself, which he is not willing to make for the interests of France."  
— Napoleon: Fontainebleaque, 6 April 1814[7]
Louis XVIII (1755 - 1824),

Brother of Louis XVI

in exile 1791 to 1814, during French Revolution and Napoleonic eras

Restored to French throne by Treaty of Fontainebleue 1814
The Hundred Days
March to July 1815

Napoleon escapes from Elba, raises Army, finally defeated at Waterloo

See silent movie by Abel Gance <Napoleon> for scenes of return from Elba
1815: BATTLE OF WATERLOO

250,000 Frenchmen faced a coalition of about 850,000 soldiers on four fronts.

20,000 soldiers left in Western France to defeat a royalist insurrection.
BATTLE OF WATERLOO

French casualties 25,000 men killed or wounded, 9,000 captured

Allied casualties 17,000.
Napoleon exiled to Saint Helena, volcanic, barren island in South Atlantic between Africa & Brazil

1815 to his death in 1821

Napoleon on Saint Helena
NAPOLEON ON ELBA – COMPLAINTS:

“We were all assembled around the emperor, and he was recapitulating these facts (about the poor food, wine and other supplies): 'For what infamous treatment are we reserved!' he exclaimed. This is the anguish of death. To injustice and violence they now add insult and protracted torment. If I were so hateful to them, why did they not get rid of me? ..... How can the monarchs of Europe permit the sacred character of sovereignty to be violated in my person? ....They styled me their brother, and I had become so by the choice of the people, the sanction of victory, the character of religion, and the alliances of their policy and their blood. Do they imagine that the good sense of nations is blind to their conduct? And what do they expect from it? At all events, make your complaints, gentlemen; let indignant Europe hear them. Complaints from me would be beneath my dignity and character; I must either command or be silent.'"

The account of the Comte de Las Cases, with Napoleon on St. Heleva
CONGRESS OF VIENNA 1814-1815

1. Wellington England
6. Metternich Austria
10. Castlereagh England
22. Talleyrand France

Representatives from all European countries
Henry Kissinger, Harvard doctoral thesis of 1954 on Metternich <A World Restored> theme of conservative return to traditional rule after revolutionary upheaval

Personal comment:

I was assigned this book as an undergraduate at the University of Chicago during the Vietnam War of which Kissinger was a major architect.

It is a famous historical account of the Congress of Vienna by a conservative German-American academic, later a political advisor to Nixon. I found the book ponderous and didn’t like it much, but then again, I had to read it over a weekend before an exam at the end of the course…. So my thoughts are with you.
Europe after the Congress of Vienna 1815

VICTORS AT CONGRESS OF VIENNA

Austria, Prussia and Russia
IMPACT OF FRENCH REVOLUTION & NAPOLEON:

1. SOCIAL REVOLUTION OF THE BOURGEOISIE:
   elimination of aristocratic privileges and exemptions
   individuals as equal before the law; religious toleration

2. NATIONALISM: nation in arms against the King.
   1789 Abbé Sieyès: *What is the Third Estate?* the French nation.
   French conquests & Empire create national movements
   as opposition, especially in Germany & Spain
   Romantic nationalism as major 19th C. intellectual movement

3. CONSERVATIVE, COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY POSITIONS articulated
   Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France 1790*
   theory: chivalric defense of royalty, inherited rights not natural rights
   Metternich at Congress of Vienna
   practice: political restoration of the old order

4. REVOLUTIONARY NATIONAL MOVEMENTS OF THE 19TH C.
   especially in Germany and Italy, leading to their national unification movements