**OCR AS HISTORY**

**UNIT 2 REVISION BOOKLET**

**FRANCE 1774-1815: THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEON**



**AS History**

**Revision Checklist**

**UNIT 2: France, Revolution and Napoleon 1789-1815**

**WEDNESDAY 25TH MAY (pm)**

**UNIT 1: England 1445–1509: Lancastrians, Yorkists and Henry VII**

**WEDNESDAY 18TH May (pm)**

Use the following checklist to structure your revision and ensure that all aspects of the course are covered. When you have finished revising an individual topic you should test your understanding of this by attempting a selection of timed exam question. These can be found in your lesson materials and the OCR approved textbook for each Unit, both of which can be found on [www.dawsonera.com](http://www.dawsonera.com)

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **UNIT 2: France 1789 - 1815** | |
| **Topic 1: Causes of the revolution** | **Tick when revised** |
| Background to France in 1789 – What was the ancient regime. How much power did the king have? |  |
| What was the Enlightenment and what effect did it have? |  |
| What had caused the economic crisis that faced France in 1789? |  |
| From calling the Estates General to the declaration of the rights of man – what happened and why? |  |
| The ‘Great Fear’; and the October days |  |
| **Topic 2: REVOLUTION AND TERROR** | **Tick when revised** |
| Describe the attempts to reach a constitutional monarchy and why it failed. |  |
| Reforms in church and state, and the different political clubs – what caused the Girondins to fail? |  |
| Why did Louis XVI get executed? |  |
| What caused “the Terror” and what happened? |  |
| Why did Robespierre rise and fall? |  |
| **Topic 3: THE FALL of the Directory and the rise of Napoleon** | **Tick when revised** |
| Why did the Directory fail? |  |
| Explain the rise of Napoleon from impoverished Corsican captain to First consul. |  |
| Napoleon’s reforms as consul: including the constitutional, legal, financial and educational changes. |  |
| Reasons for military successes and failures after 1799 |  |
| The establishment and nature of Napoleon’s empire. |  |
| **Topic 4: - decline and Fall of Napoleon** | **Tick when revised** |
| What successes had Napoleon up to 1807? |  |
| What was the Continental system and what was its impact? |  |
| Why was Napoleon forced into the Peninsular war and why did he end up losing? |  |
| What led Napoleon to begin the Russian campaign and why was it such a disaster? |  |
| Why was Napoleon unsuccessful in his final campaigns? |  |
| What lasting impact did Napoleon have on France? |  |

**THE STRUCTURE OF THE AS LEVEL EXAM**

The exam lasts **1 hour 30 minutes** (1 hour 52 minutes if you have extra time).

**Section A**

**This question requires detailed own knowledge** learners will be required to answer one traditional ‘Period Study’ essay (as in a unit group 1) from a choice of two. Section A carries 30 marks so you should spend **50 minutes** on this essay question.

**Section B**

This is the **interpretation question** and is worth 20 marks and again you will have a choice of one question from two from **Topic 1 and Topic 3.** You should spend roughly **40 minutes** on Section B .

**How to approach essays**

***Follow this basic approach when writing an answer to an essay question:***

1. Start with an **introduction**. The main function of an introduction is to show the examiner that you understand the question and the debate within it. A good introduction should be **concise, balanced** (i.e. indicate both sides of the debate) setting out the issues you need to consider and it can establish the **line/view you are going to argue**.
2. The **main part** of your essay needs to be **balanced** i.e. needs to address both sides of the argument. It can work very well if you go point, counterpoint and then an assessment as to which is the stronger so that your concluding judgement is flagged up and sustained.
3. End with a **conclusion**. A conclusion should always be longer than an introduction. It should be **balanced**, i.e. sum up both sides of the argument you have addressed, but also reach a **decisive judgement** – no sitting on the fence.

The most important thing for your exams is to **read the exam question carefully** and to work out **exactly what it is asking you to do**.

**General Advice**

* **Make sure that you read every word in the question. Every word is there for a reason!** Make sure you understand exactly what the question is asking before you start planning & writing. You need to understand whether the question is asking you to reach a judgement about the extent of change or success, for example, or whether it is asking you to assess factors that brought about change.
* **Make sure you understand the significance of the time period in question.** The dates are there for a reason, and the examiner will want to see a range of examples that fully spans the time period.
* **Explain your points**. The general pattern should be **(‘PEEL’)**:

1. Make the **P**oint.

2. Give an **E**xample.

**3. E**xplain it.

4. **L**ink it back to the question by weighing it and showing how strong this point is.

* **Get your timing right**! Make sure you leave enough time (at least 5 minutes) to write a good conclusion – one that will really convince the examiner you know what you’re talking about! It’s better to bullet point the paragraph BEFORE the conclusion (or even omit it) than to leave out the conclusion entirely. The conclusion is **THE MOST IMPORTANT PARAGRAPH.**
* **Plan your answer.** It is worth spending 5 minutes to do this – to ensure that you have thought through the question properly & have considered what needs to be addressed. It will actually save you time as you will be entirely question focused and you won’t repeat yourself.

**Finally, some dos and don’ts for exam success:**

**Do:**

* Get your **timing right**
* Support your points with **evidence**
* **Obey command words** and focus like a laser on the question. Try to repeat key words in the question in your own answer so that the examiner is aware that you have the question in mind. In the best answers the one thing they all have in common is that they have addressed the question directly and conclude with a specific answer to the question (believe it or not, not all candidates do this!).
* **Practise questions** under exam conditions (your teacher will always be happy to look through your work)
* **Answer the question on the paper** and not the one you hoped for!

**Don’t:**

* Write down all you know about a topic – instead, apply what you know to answer the question you have been asked.
* Just regurgitate answers that you have pre-prepared. Examiners never ask exactly the same question twice: you need to think through carefully exactly what they’re asking for.

**Topic 1 - The causes of the French Revolution and the events of 1789**

**What do I need to know from this topic?**

* The structure of the *Ancien Régime*.
* Financial and economic problems faced by pre-revolutionary France.
* Social discontent in France
* The ideas of the enlightenment and how they developed in the discontent in France.
* The Assembly of Notables and the political developments 1787–May 1789.
* The calling of the Estates General
* The events in Paris in 1789
* The ‘Great Fear’ and the October Days.

**The structure of the Ancien Régime.**

The **Ancien Régime** was a name used to describe **the feudal social system** that existed in France in the period before the French Revolution. France consisted of three ‘estates’ of society; the first estate was the clergy, the second estate the nobility, and the third estate which was 96% of the people and included all commoners.

Above all the Estates, in what was called an “absolute monarchy” was the king. Absolute monarchy as opposed to Constitutional monarchy, meant that the crown was not limited by any representative body (such as a parliament). The King was responsible only to God and no-one on earth, which obviously meant that the personality of the monarch was very important. In 1774 this powerful individual was Louis XVI, who inherited the throne from his grandfather. He was well intentioned but his personality was weak. He did not know how to deal with the problems facing France. Worse still, he was married to an extravagant and unpopular Austrian princess, Marie Antoinette. Her gambling and expenditure on diamonds was very much resented and the people believed she dominated her husband.

**Financial and economic problems faced by pre-revolutionary France.**

Financial problems in 1780s were mainly linked to the incredibly inefficient **taxation** system that the government employed. Taxes in France was chaotic and inefficient. They were collected through tax farming – the Farmers General was a company that collected tax for the government. They paid the State an agreed sum and kept the profit for themselves so the government never got enough to cover their costs and had to borrow. Many of the taxes were collected by officials under a system known as venality whereby they’d bought their positions and could not be dismissed so tax payers knew that much of the tax they paid never reached the treasury. The government never had enough to cover their costs and had to borrow and by 1786 the government was on the verge of bankruptcy. Worst of all 97% of the country resented the fact that the 1st and 2nd estate were exempt most tax although they had most wealth.

Making the financial situation far worse were bad harvests and two wars. The Seven Years’ War (1756-1763) had been a disaster for France and although the American War of Independence (1776-1783) had been a success it had also cost a great deal. Possibly more significant it provided new ideas for instance although the American war of independence had been a military success it had provided new ideas about equality and the possibility of ruling without a king. .

**Social discontent in France**

The third estate were very bitter about the disadvantages they felt they experienced. They bore the burden of taxation: tithes to the Church, feudal dues to the local lord and taxes to the state. A further grievance was that a peasant could be tried in a seigneurial court where the lord acted as judge and jury. They had to pay most of the taxes to the state (taile, capitation and gabelle) which were increased enormously between 1749 and 1783 in order to pay for the two wars. In addition there were disastrous harvests 1778-9, 1781-2, 1785-6, 1787 and 1788. This meant the price of food was rocketing and ordinary people were blaming the rich and the government for the worsening situation.

**The ideas of the enlightenment and how they developed in the discontent in France.**

Famous French writers such as Voltaire Montesquieu and Rousseau attacked prejudice and superstition and were not prepared to accept tradition as a good reason for injustice. Their ideas attacked assumptions on which the ancient regime was based and were adopted by radicals.

**The Assembly of Notables and the political developments 1787–May 1789.**

Ideas for a land tax were rejected by the Assembly of Notables. They had been expected to agree and met in Feb 1787, but they insisted on an Estates General being called to agree such radical reform. The queen pushed her own candidate to replace Calonne who was seen to have failed and the country blamed her for the debts and began to call her “Madame Deficit”. Louis kept dismissing his financial ministers and was not prepared to stand by one and push for the reforms.

**The impact of calling of the Estates General.**

The third estate were determined that their representation of 97% of the country should count for something and that their concerns were not dismissed – but they were initially ignored and their determination to get at least equal representation was not acknowledged so they decided to insist on their importance by stating that they represented the nation. They insisted that the credentials of those who claimed to have been elected should be verified in a common session comprising the deputies of all three estates. This appeared a trivial matter but was seen by everyone as setting a precedent for deciding whether the Estates General should meet as one body and vote by head. The nobles and clergy rejected this so the Third Estate moved on their on and after a debate on the 15th June voted by 490 to 90 to call themselves **the National Assembly** claiming that as they represented most of the nation they should manage its affairs and decide taxation. On 19th June the clergy voted to join the National Assembly also.

Louis decided to hold a royal session called a Séance Royale attended by all the estates in which he would discuss reform, but he declared the decisions already made by the third estate to be null and void. He was however prepared to accept considerable restrictions on his own power, such as allowing freedom of the press and giving up his right to impose taxes. However, he also called on loyal troops so the National Assembly felt threatened and when they could not enter the hall so went to a nearby tennis court where they swore they would not allow the king to send them home until they had established a constitution. The Tennis Court Oath 19th June 1789 could be considered a pivotal moment in establishing the Constiution.

**The events in Paris in 1789**

On July 14th The Bastille was attacked and destroyed. This showed the king had lost control of Paris and news spread to the country and triggered wider protest. It also caused many nobles to leave France – aware that things were descending into chaos and their lives might be at risk. The authority of the king was clearly collapsing in many French towns and he was made aware that he could not rely on many of his own soldiers. The more prosperous Parisians saw that the king was losing control and in the interests of protecting their own property and ensuring stability they created the Paris Commune.

The Third estate insisted that National Assembly met and started to make what was called “The August decrees”, They were very important starting the process of dismantling the ancient regime marking the end of overwhelming noble power. All Frenchmen would in future have the same rights and duties and would be able to enter any profession according to their ability and they would pay the same taxes. It cleared the way for a national, uniform system of administration and the Assembly began the task of replacing institutions.

Finally they created a basis for what they hoped would create a new constitution. This was called the Declaration of the Rights of Man’ and was a declaration of principles on which a new constitution should be passed. It was regarded as an inspiration to Liberals in Europe throughout the nineteenth century and sounded the death knell of the ancient regime.

**The ‘Great Fear’ and the October Days**

The Great fear is the description given to explosions of violence that exploded throughout France during the spring and summer of 1789. Communities gathered to take part in elections and with the elections went the composition of cahiers de doléances, (register of grievances). After 175 years of no meeting and dire economic situations there was a pent-up volume of social resentment that was immense and explosive. As communities unleased their complaints about the injustice they endured – they also felt the immediate burden of a harsh winter and a poor harvest. By the early spring communities had begun to take direct action. Tax offices, monastic granaries, noble game reserves, enclosed commons and document rooms of local chateaux experienced popular anger. The middle and upper classes were appalled and felt that there was a breakdown in law and order.

Another example of spontaneous violence from the people occurred on the 5th October 1789 when rumours in Paris said that the King was calling on an army and that they had been welcomed with a banquet sparked a march from Paris beginning with Jacboins

**Possible exam questions:**

With topic 1 you can get both interpretation questions and essay question. Some possible interpretation questions are considered in these notes: It is always a very useful method of revision to do a plan for an essay title and see if you have enough knowledge to answer it.

**No 1 Why France was on the brink of revolution in 1789?**

**‘In 1789 French society remained fundamentally aristocratic.’ Albert Soboul. Evaluate the strengths and limitations of this interpretation, making reference to other interpretations that you have studied.**

**Background to the quote**

**•** Historians argue differently on the extent to which society had changed in France by 1789.

• The power lay with the nobility and the development of the bourgeoisie (the middle class) was nowhere near the scale of many other countries in Western Europe.

• However there were a rising middle class, who were starting to express their ideas and desire for more power.

**Strengths of the interpretation**

• Power and land still very much resided with the nobility, as it always had previously under the French feudal system.

o The Estates General had not been called since 1614. This body in theory represented the other elements of society. The fact it hadn’t been called for so long showed the lack of change in society by 1789.

o The nobility represented less than 1% of the population, but had very little taxation placed on them and owned a significant minority of the land.

**Weaknesses of the interpretation**

The bourgeoisie had grown in size and wealth. They were starting to try to exert influence and protest about the system in place.

In the cities there had been a noticeable increase in the wealth of some professions, such as doctors. These were middle class (or bourgeoisie) professions, which held a lot more wealth and influence than under a solely aristocratic system.

Souboul also ignores the Enlightenment. Many of the ideas within the Enlightenment were fundamentally anti-the hierarchical system of an aristocratic state.

The ideas within the Enlightenment suggest that actually French society had long since moved beyond being solely aristocratic. Many sections of society clearly no longer felt bound by the aristocratic ideas of the ancient regime.

Even if change at the top of French government had not taken fully taken place, society as a whole had clearly evolved by 1789 beyond being solely aristocratic**.**

**‘The most constant motive of popular insurrection during the Revolution, as in the 18th century as a whole, was the compelling need for cheap and plentiful bread and other essentials.’ Georges Rudé.**

**Evaluate the strengths and limitations of this interpretation, making reference to other interpretations that you have studied.**

**Background to the quote**

• There are a range of reasons given for the French Revolution, from economic to philosophical. Whilst all of them undoubtedly played some role, which was most important is a common area of disagreement between historians.

• Of these reasons the price of bread is one of the most commonly put forward as the most important. Its link with the attitude and temperament of the Third Estate made it vitally important for the prospect of any revolution. When it was cheap and plentiful, the Third Estate very rarely rioted.

**Strengths of the interpretation**

• There is no denying that bread, and other similar essentials, was a clear driving force for the actions of the Third Estate during the French Revolution.

o A number of the key moments of the Revolution were triggered because of fears over the price and availability of bread. The most prominent example of this was the October Days, which resulted in Louis moving from Versailles to Paris.

o Likewise the Great Fear of 1789 was triggered over fears about grain shortages.

o This was combined with the fact that the two years building up to the revolution, 1788-1789, bread prices were very low. This shows how the whole attitude that low bread prices cultivated was important, as it created an anger amongst the Third Estate that was opposed to the King, making revolution more possible.

**Weaknesses of the interpretation**

• Rudé completely overlooks the range of other factors that impacted on the Revolution. There had been bread riots as early on in Louis’ reign as 1775 (one year into his rule), yet no revolution took place then.

• There was a clear ideological drive to the Revolution. Many of the demands, changes and uprisings had different aims to obtaining cheap and plentiful bread.

o The sans-culottes in particular were a group of the Third Estate whose demands and aims extended far beyond bread. Their many uprisings had clear political or ideological aims. Nowhere is this clearer than with the Storming of the Bastille. The aim was not to gain food from this, but rather to prepare for warfare against the King if need be.

o By 1789 and the Revolution, other factors had started to have an influence on the view of the Third Estate. As well as this desire for bread, popular uprisings tended to be demanded. One of the National Assembly’s actions, after the Great Fear, was to the abolishment of the feudal system. They couldn’t guarantee the price or availability of bread – so they did something that they felt would work as well, a political compensation.

**Essay style questions:**

‘The financial problems of the *Ancien Régime* were responsible for the outbreak of the Revolution.’ Explain why you agree or disagree with this view.

How important were the ideas of the *philosophes* in contributing to the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789?

To what extent was the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 primarily due to the poor leadership of Louis XVI?

**For this topic the essay questions are all very similar, essentially what was the reason for the outbreak of the French Revolution.**

* You need to approach this as **a factors question.**
* This means looking at the different factors and assessing which one was most important. The essay question will tend to give you one in the title**.**
* It is best to start with this one, before comparing each of the others ones you want to consider in comparison**. Don’t forget to link back to the stated factor** after considering the others.
* **You need to make clear how each factor compares to the one in the title – was it more or less important.**

**For this essay these are the different factors you could consider:**

**Factor 1 – Financial difficulties**

* Louis had suffered from financial difficulties since the beginning of his reign.
* Louis appointed a number of different finance ministers to try to deal with the financial crisis. Calonne, Brienne and Necker all tried very similar ideas to try to fix the financial problems – all were refused by either Louis of the Assembly of Notables. Opposition came to a head when the Treasury stopped all payments on 16th August 1788 and Brienne resigned and was replaced by Jacques Necker. The calling of the Estates-General was then announced.
* Finance was a key issue due to a few key factors:
  + The various finance ministers failed to bring about any substantial change in the finances of the monarchy, which was compounded by the reaction of Louis XVI to each failed attempt.
  + Here was the fundamental weakness of France. The King was absolute, but was faced with barriers to change that he was unable to tackle.
  + The First and Second Estates and the Parlements had privileges that stood in the way of reform and which only the King could remove. Louis XVI was unwilling to take that course of action.
* Finance in many ways was the trigger point for the Revolution – Louis and his ministers couldn’t resolve the issues themselves. The end result was the calling of the Estates-General itself, which was undoubtedly a critical point in the starting of the Revolution. It also added to the impression that Louis was a poor King.

**Factor 2 – Inequality within France and issues with the *ancien regime***

* France was very unequal in 1789. The three Estates; the clergy, the nobility and everyone else did not equally share power or the taxation burden.
  + In theory France was an absolute monarchy – with all power residing in the King. In reality the first two estates held a lot of the power, making it hard for the King to pass reforms without their support. For the most part these estates were not in favour of change, making it tough for the King to make the changes he needs.
  + The Third Estate had the most problems with the *ancien regime.* They represented 90% of the population, but had pretty much all of the tax burden. The 1st and 2nd Estates largely were exempt from tax. For a long time they had long standing grievances against the system.
* The problems with the *ancien regime* were compounded by Louis himself. Under a strong King the system could use his authority and standing to keep in in place. Louis XVI was not a strong King. The problems that had been building for a long time couldn’t be dealt with by the King himself.

**Factor 3 – the Enlightenment**

* The Enlightenment was a movement that developed in France during the eighteenth century. Its proponents became known as the philosophes. They put forward the idea that human reason should be a guiding force in society and government. They opposed the ‘divine right of kings’ which French monarchs used to justify their absolute power. This inevitably brought them into conflict with the state, which in France was more interested in maintaining the status quo, especially under Louis XVI.
* The leading philosophes were:
  + **Voltaire**, who was particularly critical of the influence of the Catholic Church.
  + **Montesquieu**, who argued in L’ Esprit des Lois that there should be a division of powers in the government between the king, a legislature and the system of justice;
  + **Rousseau** was the most outspoken of the philosophes, opposing the monarchy and supporting democracy.
* The Enlightenment put forward alternative ideas to the system already existing in France. This was important as it meant that the various issues the population had with the existing system could be channelled into something else. They had something to, in theory, fight for, rather than just against.
* However the Enlightenment was something that only the upper elements of the Third Estate, the rich *bourgeoisie,* would have been aware of and considered. The peasants in rural France would not have considered this to be a part of why they were revolting or angry with the King.

**Minor factors – harvest failures and foreign policy**

* Louis’ issues and poor position in 1789 had been compounded by two other minor factors:
* Firstly there had been a number of poor harvests in the preceding years. This was due to bad weather and, to a certain extent, was out of Louis’ hands. But it had a significant impact on the Third Estate, who were angry at the price of bread.
* As well as this two key wars had cost huge amounts of money for France, the 7 Years War and the War of American Independence. France lost the first, losing a great deal of territory with it. It helped America win the second, but still cost a lot of money to fund.

Conclusion – assess which factor you think was most important and explain why you think that.

**Write your conclusion here.**

**Topic 2 - Revolution and Terror**

**What do I need to know?**

* Why did it become impossible to set up a constitutional monarchy?
* Reforms in church and state, Sans Cullottes and the different political clubs – ensure you know the ideas held by Girondins and Jacobins and what happened to make overthrow the Girondins?
* What was the significance of the “flight to Varennes”?
* What caused some people to attempt a counter revolution?
* What were the causes of “the terror”
* The impact of Robespierre his rise and fall.
* The establishment of the Thermidorian Regime?
* Why did France find itself at war and how did this go?
* What was the constitution of the Directory?

**Why did it become impossible to set up a constitutional monarchy?**

A constitution is a set of rules. A constitutional monarchy therefore, is a monarchy that follows the rules that govern everyone in the country. This means that the king cannot behave in an arbitrary fashion throwing people into prison and leaving them to rot. In the cahiers that were discussed before the Three Estates were called everyone wanted the king to follow a system of rules and laws so that everyone felt secure. Above anything else, people wanted to reform the system so that there was a set of rules that made society fairer for everyone.

However, it became impossible to achieve and through the years up till Napoleon’s empire we see attempts to come up with a constitution that would establish the basic principles that had inspired reform and then revolution in the first place. The first aims were to have a system where the king was still ruling but respected laws that made everything equal. For this they needed a king who was prepared to follow the newly established rules. Unfortunately for him, Louis XVI showed that he was not.

**1789 Timeline of constitutional reform**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. 15th June 1789 | The Third Estate said that they were representative of the country and would call themselves **The National Assembly**. |
| 1. 20th June 1789 | **Tennis Court Oath** – the First Estate (the clergy) had joined the Third Estate the day before and together they swore not to leave Versailles until a new Constitution had been established. Only one deputy abstained. |
| 1. 9th July 1789 | **National constituent Assembly** was created from the National Assembly specifically to create a constitution. |
| 1. 5 - 11 August 1789 | **August decrees** – abolished feudal system, ground prepared for creation of constitution. |
| 1. August 1789 | **Declaration of rights of man**. The principles that underlay this seem to have been that they wanted to give France a uniform, decentralised, representative and humanitarian system of government in which people were treated equally and with dignity. |
| 1. November 1789 | Nationalising of church property (closing monasteries and selling Church land) staved off bankruptcy and assignats introduced. |
| 1. Late 1789 and through 1790 | New structures such as departments were created. Main changes were; local government, taxation and finance, economy, legal system, church being nationalised. The changes to the Church ended consensus so those who opposed revolution received considerable support for the first time. |
| 1. December 1889 onwards | Introduced concept of active citizens – the political clubs became very popular. |
| 1. April 1790 | Two events which made a successful constitutional monarchy less likely: death of Mirabeau and Parisians’ refusal to let the royal family go to Saint Cloud for Easter. |
| 1. June 1790 | The Civil constitution of the Clergy split the country and provided support for those who thought the revolution had gone too far. The new structure explicitly denied the authority of the pope and closed churches that were deemed too expensive. |
| 1. January 1791 | To try and resolve dissent over the Civil Constitution an oath of loyalty was imposed. Two thirds of clergy refused to sign and “Non-juring” priests (ones who refused to take the oath) became a new category of revolutionary enemy. |
|  | One of the main tasks of the Constituent Assembly had been to draw up a constitution which would replace an absolute monarchy with a constitutional one. Under their proposals power would be handed over to a **Legislative Assembly** of 745 members. These would be elected every two years and the king would have a suspensive veto. |
| 1. June 1791 | **Flight to Varennes** made it clear that the King did not support a constitutional monarchy. However, the Constituent Assembly persevered and said that they would reinstate the king as a constitutional monarch as part of their intention. |
| 1. 30 September 1791 | Louis signed the new constitution which introduced a **Legislative Assembly** and several limits to his power now. Louis would now be dependent on the Assembly for his foreign policy and needed their consent before he could go to war. It was agreed he was subordinate to the Assembly but Marie Antoinette said it was “so monstrous that it cannot survive for long and indeed Louis was working with the queen and the émigrés to bring about armed intervention from European powers to free him from this. |
| 1. 29th November 1791 | Brissot and his republican supporters in the **new Legislative Assembly** passed two laws directed against those clergy who refused to swear an oath of loyalty to the constitution and against émigrés which led to Louis using his veto. A final confrontation was now inevitable as it became clear that the King was not automatically going to do as he was told. |
| 1. Impact of war April 1792 - on government | Royalists wanted war so that external powers could intervene and restore the King’s powers. Army commanders wanted war so they could take control. Brissotins wanted war to expose the king’s true sympathies and enable him to make a republic. However, with all the upheaval and émigré army officers the war initially went terribly. Through May and June French armies failed to make advances and prospect of enemy invasion loomed. |
| 1. 27 May 1792 | The Legislative Assembly passed one law for deporting refractory priests and second for disbanding the King’s Guard and third for setting up 20,000 National Guards known as Féderés to protect Paris from invasion. Louis refused to approve these laws and dismissed several Girondin ministers on 13th June. |
| 1. 13th June 1792 | 8,000 Parisians entered the King’s Palace at the Tuileries and forced him to wear a revolutionary cap and drink wine with them. Amazingly the king survived this day. |
| 1. 1st August 1792 Brunswick manifesto | The radical Féderés combined with Robespierre who put forward proposals to abandon the constitution of 1791 and overthrow the monarchy. Establish a National convention elected by universal male suffrage and purge the country of royalists. To worsen tension the commander in Chief of the Austrian forces published the Brunswick Manifesto which said it planned to restore Louis’s liberty and if the Tuileries were attacked or the royal family harmed the Prussian army would inflict vengeance. |
| 1. 9 August 1792 | Sans culottes took over the Hotel de Ville, expelled the city council and set up a revolutionary Commune because the National Assembly refused to rule on the Parisian petition to topple the king. On 10th August the National Guard and the Féderés marched on the Tuileries and the King was imprisoned in the Temple. |
| 1. 20th September 1792 | The King was declared suspended and the administration was purged so that the Legislative Assembly was changed into a **National Convention.** This lasted until 26 October 1795. |
| 1. 22 August 1795 | The Directory was established with rigid separation of the legislature and the executive. Annual elections meant that this ran into all sorts of problems. |

**Really quick summary of the different governments**

1. **Absolute Monarchy** who didn’t need to consult anyone but when he was in deep financial trouble decided to call on the Three Estates – representatives from sections of society who had not been called since 1615.
2. **20th June 1789 -** The Third Estate said they represented most people and would therefore be **the National Assembly.**
3. They recognised that they needed to find a new constitution and that they had not worked out a system for including the king and people so agreed they were a work in progress **the National Constituent Assembly. 9th July 1789**
4. **30 September 1791** Louis signed the outcome a newly created **Legislative Assembly.** It did not last long because both Louis and many members of the Government were working (for different reasons) to get rid of it. Louis wanted to restore his powers. The Brissotins wanted a republic.
5. **10th August 1792 –** Louis deposed.
6. **20th September National Convention** a republican government that oversaw “The Terror” and as a consequence was replaced by the Directory 26 October 1795.

**Reforms in church and state, Sans Cullottes and the different political clubs** – ensure you know the ideas held by Girondins and Jacobins and what happened to make overthrow the Girondins?

**The Jacobin club** was one of hundreds that had developed and got its name from the Jacobin convent where they met. It charged high admission (12 livres) and membership fees which meant that its members were drawn from the wealthier sections of society usually also the politically active, many were deputies and in their debates they discussed the issues that arose in the National Assembly. Meeting four times a week it acted as a pressure group for first patriot and then radical ideas. By June 1791 it had roughly 2,400 members.

Its ideology was based on a combination of enlightenment thought and revolutionary practise. They came to espouse republicanism and moved further to the left in 1792 when a key figure Robespierre came to the fore.

After the king’s catastrophic attempt to flee, a petition was drawn up by Danton and Brissot stating that the King had in effect abdicated and the he should not be replaced. This was a republican manifesto advocating the end of the experiment with constitutional monarchy. The immediate effect of this was a split within the Jacobin Club. The majority of its members were constitutional monarchists and were glad to split from the more radical republican members. They left to set up a pro-monarchy club known as the Feuillants.

**The Cordeliers** were officially known as the Society of the Friends of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. They popularised the motto "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity". Cordeliers’ ideology was more radical. It had no membership fee aiming for wider democracy, recall of deputies if they went against the wishes of the people, rights to rebel if government acted against popular wishes. Its leaders: Georges Danton, Camille Desmoulins and Marat. During the winter of 1790-1 the example of the Cordeliers Club led to the formation of many popular or “fraternal” societies drawn mainly from the liberal professions such as teachers, skilled artisans, shopkeepers. Labourers rarely joined as few of them had enough time to devote to discussion.

**What caused some people to attempt a counter revolution?**

Obviously **royalists** were keen to block revolution but at the beginning they did not have much support. What gave the opportunity for a civil war and a great surge of support for counter revolution was the **Civil Constitution of the Clergy**. Only a third of the **clergy** took the oath and when the Pope condemned this many retracted it. This effectively destroyed the consensus that had existed since 1789. Faced with a choice between religion and revolution half the adult population (and the great majority of women) rejected revolution. Finally there were peasants who were very disillusioned with the revolution, finding they had higher land taxes than before and that their sons were being conscripted for a huge national army. The counter revolution therefore received mass support leading to civil war. So royalists, refractory clergy and disillusioned peasants combined to fight against the new government.

**Timeline of the Events of the Terror**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1792  August 10 | Overthrow of the monarchy   * Several thousand men from the National Guard and 2000 federes marched on the Tuileries * The rising was a rejection of the Assembly as well as the King and forced it to recognise the new revolutionary Commune * The King was imprisoned in the temple * Agreed to election by universal male suffrage. * The Commune was now in control of Paris |
| September 2-6 | September massacres   * There were rumours that those in prison at the time planned to escape and hand the country over to the Prussians * Marat called for the conspirators to be killed, this was the first appearance of the Terror * The sans-culottes killed roughly half the prisoners in Paris jails |
| September 22 | Proclamation of the Republic   * The constitutional monarchists who had previously been deputies went into hiding * Danton was appointed the Minister of Justice to please the sans-culottes * Passed several radical measures: refractory priests were to be deported to Guiana, abolition of all feudal dues, divorce was legalised and births deaths and marriages became a State responsibility |
| November 19 | Decree of Fraternity   * Promised to ‘…extend fraternal feelings and aid all peoples who may wish to regain liberty…’ * They knew that if other monarchs around Europe could be defeated, the Republic would be secure |
| 1793  January 21 | Execution of Louis XVI |
| March 10 | Revolutionary Tribunal established   * Set up to try counter-revolutionary suspects to prevent massacres like those in September * Severe measure taken against rebels= summary execution degree (trail and execution within 24 hours) |
| March 11 | Revolt in the Vendée   * The causes for the uprising were the expansion of war and conscription * The religious changes were also strongly resisted * Peasants looked to the nobles and many of these were monarchists * Troops were sent there to deal with the uprising despite the fact that the rebels didn’t pose a threat to Paris as they were unwilling to move away from their local bases |
| April 6 | Committee of Public Safety created   * Its purpose was to supervise and speed up the activities of the ministers, whose authority it superseded |
| June 2 | Girondin deputies purged   * National Guardsmen surrounded the Convention with canons and demanded the expulsion of the Girondins * 29 Girondin deputies and 2 ministers were arrested |
| June 24 | A new constitution approved |
| July 27 | Robespierre joined CPS |
| August 23 | Decree of levée en masse issued   * Marked the appearance of total war |
| September 17 | Law of Suspects   * To deal with counter revolutionary activity * Symbolised the Terror at a local level as local administrations were purged and replaced with sans-culotted |
| September 22 | Year II began |
| September 29 | General Maximum introduced |
| October 5 | New revolutionary calendar   * Set up to emphasise the break with the church * Removed any surviving traces of the ancien regime |
| December 4 | Law of 14 Frimaire established revolutionary government   * Gave 2 committees full executive powers : * CGS responsible for internal security * CPS controlled ministers, generals, foreign policy and the purging of local governments |
| 1794  March 24 | Execution of Hebert and his leading supporters   * He was left wing opposition caused the closing of the Cordeliers club |
| April 5 | Danton and Desmoulins executed   * They wanted to halt the Terror but politicians felt that this may lead to the return of the monarchists |
| June 8 | Festival of the Supreme Being |
| July 27-28 | Coup of Thermidor   * The overthrow of Robespierre * Those in the Convention feared they would be purged so acted quickly and arrested him instead |
| July 28 | Execution of Robespierre   * Marked the end of the Terror * Over 100 members who also followed Robespierre were executed too |

|  |
| --- |
| *The Four Main Causes of the Terror* |
| Threat of War:  France faced much opposition both internally and externally in the years of the revolution. After the Brunswick Manifesto, France and Austria engaged in a bloody war leading to September Massacres before the Battle of Valmy. The Massacres were the first signs of extreme fanaticism to a violent sense in which thousands were murdered without trial for fear of supporting the Austrians. The massacres mostly went unpunished which proved to others how little in control the current government was and inspired people to act against those they saw to be enemies of the State, the fundamental idea of the Terror. Ultimately if it wasn’t for the civil and foreign wars, the foundation of the violence shown in the terror may never have occurred. |
| Rivalries Amongst the Revolutionaries:  The Legislative Assembly was entirely divided on political beliefs. Its creation was a result of the result of the difficulty to negotiate with the King, a problem which they thought would be solved. However the Jacobins and Girondins took up 136 seats whilst the supporters of the constitutional monarchy had 264 seats. The majority of the Feuillants meant that many laws were passed supporting the constitutional monarchy. However after the flight to of the King he nearly lost all support. The 345 independent deputies chose to back the Jacobins and because they were blocked out of decision making for so long, harsher and more extreme measures were introduced. This constant rivalry between Royalists and Republicans led to the dictatorial control of Robespierre and his Jacobin allies which ultimately led to the Terror. However the ideals of the terror were not introduced by either side until the Jacobins took control. |
| Fear of Counter-Revolution:  A number of French counter-revolutionaries (nobles, ecclesiastics, and some bourgeois) abandoned the struggle in their own country and emigrated. As “émigrés,” many formed armed groups and sought help from the rulers of Europe. The rulers began to fear that the ideals of a Republic might spread to their own countries which led to the external wars against France. Similarly inside France, the Jacobin government tried to combat counter-revolution by uniting the people against Austria, a plan which worked in the short term but led to further radicalism as the war progressed. As shown above the fear of war led to the ideals of the Terror emerging from these wars both internal and external, meaning Counter revolution had a hand in the creation of the Terror. |
| Economic Factors:  The hyperinflation and the poor harvests that troubled France pre-revolution never truly left. The country was in masses of debt and were unable to increase their economy. The way they planned to solve this was by selling Church land and land of the emigres. This led to much internal conflict over the treatment of those who opposed the revolution. The ideals became more and more radical as time progressed and resulted with the belief that you are with the State or you are an enemy of the revolution, the core principle of the Terror. This meant that, whilst neither intentionally nor directly, the economic problems that plagued France for many years impacted the Terror. |

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| • **The Fall of Robespierre**  In 1794, Robespierre started to lose support. After returning from a month away from public life, Robespierre made a speech attacking and threatening his colleagues who, he claimed, were plotting against the government. He did not name who he meant, and so moderates and terrorists like Carnot and Collot felt threatened. Fearing arrest and deathly consequences that were very probable, a number of Robespierre’s former colleagues conspired a plot against him before he could order their arrest. Robespierre’s unpopularity increased immensely and he and his leading supporters were arrested twice, the second time leading to their execution in July 1794.  http://historytoday.com/sites/default/files/Robespierre.jpgThe coup of Thermidor overthrew Robespierre and his closest supporters/colleagues and marked an end to the Terror. | Following the overthrow of Robespierre and the end of the Terror, a reaction called the *Thermidorian reaction* took place. This was among those who opposed to revolutionary government. Immediate changes were made by the Convention to dismantle the machinery of the Terror. Between July 1794 and May 1795 the Convention...   * Abolished the Revolutionary Tribunal, following the execution of a further 63 people, including some who had been leading terrorists * Released all suspects from prison * Repealed the Law of Prairial and closed the Jacobin Club   The deputies were determined to gain control of the institution that made the Terror possible, which meant abandoning the centralisation established by the CPS and CGS (committees).  The commune was abolished in Paris and the power in local government was passed to the moderates and property owners.  In September 1794, the Convention decided it would no longer pay clerical salaries, which caused the separation of Church and State. The Republic was legally committed to religious neutrality and so priests had to follow French law instead of Church law. |

• **The establishment of the Thermidorian Regime?**

Those who overthrew Robespierre were known as the **Thermidorians** after the month in which the coup occurred. The Thermidorians were a mixed group – members of the two great committees [the Committee of Public Safety (CPS) and the committee for General Security (GGC), ex-terrorists and deputies of the Plain. The Plain now emerged from obscurity to take control. It was made up of the men who had gained from the Revolution by buying biens nationaux (land) or by obtaining government contracts. As regicides these men were firmly attached to the Republic and did not want to see the return of any form of monarchy. They also disliked the Jacobins, who had given too much power to the sans-culottes and had interfered with a free market through the Maximum laws. For them popular democracy, anarchy and they Terror were synonymous.

• **Why did France find itself at war and how did this go?**

In April 1792 France declared war on Austria and Prussia. Many French wanted this but for totally different reasons.

1. Royalists wanted Austria to attack France and defeat her in order to restore the king’s powers.
2. The army commanders such as Lafayette and Dumouriez wanted war in order to gain more power for the army to secure stability.
3. The followers of Jacques Brissot (Brissotins) wanted war to expose the king’s true sympathies in order to establish a republic. To win the support of the legislative assembly he made the case for war.
4. A successful war could rouse the enthusiasm for the Revolution and show the permanence of the new regime.
5. A war would extend revolutionary ideas abroad.
6. The French army would be supported by the enemy’s oppressed subjects.
7. The international situation was favourable. Russia was pre-occupied with Poland and Britain was isolationist.

Initially the war went terribly and Austria and Prussia allied approached Paris and threatened the capital. This caused panic in the city and resulted in the King being deposed. It also resulted in the creation of the armée revolutionaire. Ultimately this was successful, possibly because with the departure of many noble officers, talented new blood was able to progress and new ideas flourished (e.g. Napoleon).

• **What was the constitution of the Directory?**

1. *All men over 21 who paid direct taxation were allowed to vote in the primary assemblies to choose electors.*
2. *Real power was exercised by electors who actually chose the deputies. Electors had to pay taxes equivalent to 150 days labour. This was so high that the number of voters had fallen. Electors were rich.*
3. *In order to prevent a dictatorship arising the Thermidorians rigidly separated the legislature from the executive.*

**The weaknesses in the new constitution**?

1. *The yearly elections promoted instability as majorities in the councils could be quickly overturned.*
2. *There was no means of resolving conflicts between the legislature and the executive.*
3. *The councils could paralyse the Directory by refusing to pass laws that the government required.*
4. *The directors could neither dissolve the councils nor veto laws passed by them.*
5. *The legislature was not in a strong position either. If it clashed with the executive. It could alter the composition of the Directory only by replacing the one director who retired each year with its own candidate.*

**Possible exam questions:**

**Essay style questions:**

Louis XVI’s flight to Varennes was a pivotal moment in the development of the French Revolution in the years 1789-99’ How far do you agree?

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Pivotal** | **Challenge that it was not so significant or that other events more significant** |
| Before his flight the government had fully intended to establish a constitutional monarchy. After it, there was massive **support for a republic**. He tried to flee on 20th June and on the 24th June 30,000 marched to the National Assembly to call for the King to be dismissed.  Until the flight foreign powers were not interfering, but after the flight the Austrians and the Prussians felt they had to make public their support of Louis in **the Declaration of Pillnitz.** This seemed a threat and provoked the French to being more aggressive.  The number of those fleeing France massively increased. The army in particular was hit as 60% of its officers abandoned the country. | **Republican movement** had been growing anyway and Louis was actively working to undermine the revolution so would never have been a constitutional monarch. Also, the events at the Champ de Mars showed that when republicans gathered to sign a petition for his overthrow they were suppressed and it was another year before their movement recovered.  It could be asserted that the war of 1792 was far more significant in bringing the French revolutionaries together and establishing that they could not work with the king.  Many aristocrats had already fled before Varennes.  Other significant steps towards a republic might be: the October days when Louis and Marie Antoinette were brought to Paris and in effect held prisoner there. Or when the Pope said he rejected the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. |

**Assess the consequences for France of the reforms made to the Catholic Church by the National Assembly**.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Reforms to the Catholic Church** | **Consequences** |
| 1. June 1790 the National Assembly sold Church land. 2. Civil Constitution of the Clergy demanded that the clergy take an oath of loyalty to the constitution and the changes to the Church. 3. The King was unhappy about the reforms to the Church. | It was hoped that this would provide much needed money for the state. Also guarantee the revolution by providing those who bought the Church land with a vested interest for keeping the changes. Many Clergy would support the change as they would need government to pay their wages.  Only a third of the clergy took the oath and when the Pope condemned this many retracted it. This effectively destroyed the consensus that had existed since 1789. Faced with a choice between religion and revolution half the adult population (and the great majority of women) rejected revolution.  The counter revolution received mass support leading to civil war.  Louis was genuinely religious. When the Parisians would not let him and his family go to Saint Cloud for Easter (where he could have an old fashioned service) he began to think he must leave and go abroad for help. |

The *sans-culottes* played a key role in bringing about the collapse of the Legislative Assembly.’ Explain why you agree or disagree with this view.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Sans Culottes of key significance in bringing about the collapse of the Legislative Assembly.** | **Other Factors more important.** |
| Sans culottes literally means without trousers and refers to workers in their overalls. These workers were responsible for banding together in Paris to achieve political aims such as when they took over the Hotel de Ville on 9 August 1792 and setting up a revolutionary commune. | Many historians think that the Sans Culottes were manipulated by clever politicians such as Robespierre or Brissot.  Other historians also think that the failure of the Legislative Assembly was due to the King who revealed himself as not being prepared to work with any constitution they came up with when he fled to Varennes and all his papers were discovered.  Brissot was a republican and dominated the Legislative Assembly, so he introduced laws he knew the King would not be able to pass. When he used his veto confrontation would inevitably follow.  Republicans in general were never going to allow the Legislative Assembly to establish a constitutional monarchy. |

To what extent was France’s participation in the war **entirely** responsible for bringing about the overthrow of the monarchy in August 1792?

To what extent was the government by Terror only about defeating the internal and external enemies of the Republic?

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Internal and external enemies caused the terror. | **Other factors caused the Terror** |
| 1. **Counter revolutionaries.** Vendée rebellion was caused by conscription. The peasants were already unhappy because they were paying more land tax than they had under the monarchy. They also strongly disliked the religious changes. To support that this was negligible you could say they did not succeed. This very much heightened fears that the revolution might slip away and that all opposition should be ferociously suppressed. it contributed towards causing the terror causing the vicious reprisals Vicious reprisals ensued. The Vendee was turned into a depopulated wasteland – women were raped, crops were burned, animals were killed. About 8,700 peasants were executed. At Nantes “noyades” or drownings of 1800 women, priests and children were ordered. In Lyons about 1900 victims were mown down by canon fire in front of large pits. 2. A Noble threat was probably negligible but at **first war seemed in danger of leading to defeat**. It was very much feared that émigrés would support the enemies – Austria and Prussia. The armée revolutionaire was created to confront the counter revolutionaries and organise the defence of the Republic. It ensured food supplies reached the large cities, it rounded up deserters, refractory pries and food hoarders. It mobilised the nation’s resources for war and enabled France to survive. | 1. **Economic factors** Hyperinflation and poor harvests that troubled France pre-revolution never truly left. The country was in serious debt and the transitory governments were unable to solve their economic woes. The way they planned to solve this was by selling Church land and land of the émigrés. This led to much internal conflict over the treatment of those who opposed the revolution. The ideals became more and more radical as time progressed and resulted with the belief that you are with the State or you are an enemy of the revolution, the core principle of the Terror. This meant that, whilst neither intentionally nor directly, the economic problems that plagued France for many years impacted the Terror. 2. **Rivalries between the revolutionaries** The Legislative Assembly was entirely divided on political beliefs. Its creation was a result of the result of the difficulty to negotiate with the King, a problem which they thought would be solved. However the Jacobins and Girondins took up 136 seats whilst the supporters of the constitutional monarchy had 264 seats. The majority of the Feuillants meant that many laws were passed supporting the constitutional monarchy. However after the flight to of the King he nearly lost all support. The 345 independent deputies chose to back the Jacobins and because they were blocked out of decision making for so long, harsher and more extreme measures were introduced. This constant rivalry between Royalists and Republicans led to the dictatorial control of Robespierre and his Jacobin allies which ultimately led to the Terror. However the ideals of the terror were not introduced by either side until the Jacobins took control. |

**Conclusion – Which cause seems most significant to you?**

**Topic 3 – Napoleon seizes power**

**What do I need to know?**

* The career of Bonaparte to 1799: early life and character;
* His military leadership and reasons for success to 1799 including Toulon,
* The Italian Campaign, Egypt, the weaknesses of the Directory and the coup of Brumaire in 1799;
* Napoleon’s reforms as Consul, including the constitutional, legal, financial, educational changes;
* The establishment and nature of the Empire in France;
* Nature of and reasons for military successes and failures after 1799: Marengo and the War of the Third Coalition, including the battles of Ulm and Austerlitz, Trafalgar.

**Bonaparte’s early life and career**

**Napoleon’s importance and fame during revolutionary France**

**EVENTS**

* Napoleon was a Corsican and a minor aristocrat without much money or a particularly prestigious future until the revolution. This provided him with the chance to rise.
* He first came to fame in the siege of Toulon  
  12th December 1793 when the city fell benefitted Napoleon:

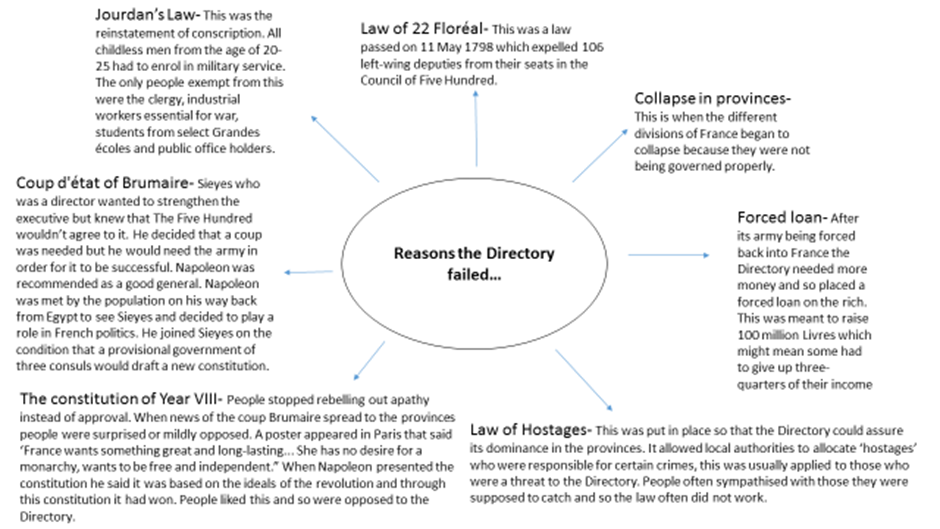
1. He was promoted to Brigadier-General
2. Success brought him the attention of powerful men in Paris
3. He demonstrated his skills as a commander

* Napoleon was appalled and when Robespierre’s younger brother asked Napoleon to become the commander of the Paris garrison. Napoleon refused.
* He returned to command an artillery unit on the Italian border but when this duty ended he was unemployed and set off for Paris in 1795.
* On arrival he had a stormy meeting with the Minister of war who had offered him an infantry brigade to command but Napoleon refused, wanting to remain with the artillery and he was sent on leave without pay.
* A crisis emerged and this was to become Napoleon's golden opportunity. A group of disaffected Republicans supported by some Royalists started to openly plan a coup and took over the general assembly. Riots broke out and General Menou commanding the Paris garrison failed to disperse the mobs.
* Rumours started to spread that the Army was siding with the rebels and the politicians started to panic.
* On 13th October 1795 Barras asked Napoleon to take command. This was a turning point in Napoleon's career -he agreed.
* By morning troops were quickly arriving in Paris and now with his guns Napoleon went to meet the rebel forces that were marching on Tuileries in two columns. He fired on them and the danger to the government was averted though at the cost of 35 civilian lives.
* The next day Napoleon was promoted to General de Division (Major-General). He was a hero and had huge popular support at the age of 26.
* Napoleon was delighted when he was appointed Commander of the Army of Italy in March 1796 as he had already drawn up plans to attack Austria via Italy. The government approved this plan.
* On 11th March he left for the border as Austrian troops were already gathering there, two days before he married Josephine.

**Napoleon’s rise to most famous solider in the republic**

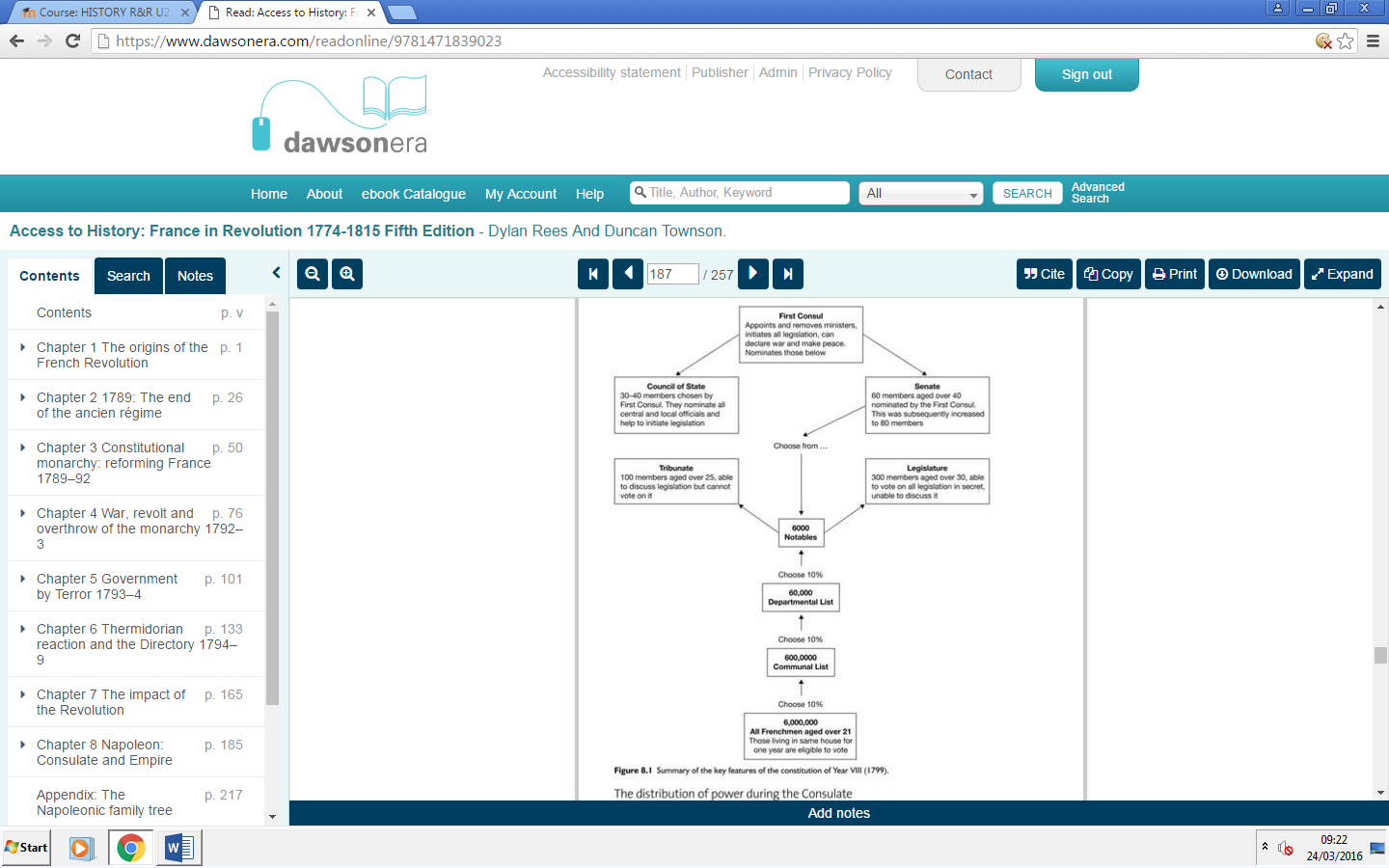
|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Date | Event | Significance |
| 16th September 1793 | Napoleon sent as an artillery officer to Toulon | Gives him the opportunity to progress. |
| 19th December 1793 | City of Toulon fell | Showed napoleon as a skilled commander, brought the attention of powerful men, promoted to rank of brigadier general. |
| 27th-28th July 1793 | Fall of Robespierre | Manages to avoid falling along side Napoleon when Robespierre is arrested. |
| 5th October 1795 | Vendemiaire uprising | Seized power of the convention, promoted to army officer. |
| 9th March 1796 | Napoleon married Josephine | He oppressed the Jacobins and rejected their politics, she was a powerful person. |
| 10th May 1796 | He crossed the river to find Austrian army | Believed it was an important turning point as he was beginning to conquer Italy and Austria. |
| 17th October 1797 | Completed treaty of Campo formio, ending war between France and Austria | Showed Napoleon transformed from a minor general to a solider in the republic believed destiny chose him. |

**The weaknesses of the Directory and the coup of Brumaire in 1799;**

****

**The constitution of 1799**

Summary of the key features of the constitution of year VIII (1799):



* 19th November 1799: Napoleon, Sieyes and Ducos swore an oath of allegiance to the Republic.
* Napoleon was made First consul.
* After six weeks of negotiations, the government of France was transformed from one where political responsibility was spread as widely as possible to one where it was centralised in the hands of a single man.
* All three consuls would serve initially for ten years.
* Sieyes was compensated for the ruin of his plans and the loss of influence by being given the presidency of the senate and a large estate in the country.
* Napoleon explained his reasons for seizing power in a proclamation: “To make the Republic loved by its own citizen, respected abroad and feared by its enemies- such are duties we have assumed in accepting the First Consulship’ and he added reassuringly’ ….. that the new constitution was based on the true principles of representative government and on the sacred rights of property, equality and liberty. The powers it sets up will be strong and lasting”.
* The two legislative bodies were no longer called the council of 500 and the Ancients. The Tribunate of 100 members could discuss legislation but not vote. And the legislature of 300 members could vote but not discuss.
* The First consul chose a council of state to come up with ideas for laws that they could put to the Tribunate and Legislature.

**Criticisms:**

* The new constitution provided for ‘universal suffrage’, unlike the property based vote of the 1795 constitution.
* It was so indirect that the voters actually didn’t have any say. Women were not included, and the men who voted chose 10% of themselves to form a department list. These lists were then reduced to a national list, the senate then chose the members of the two legislative bodies.
* Democratic involvement in the elections was minimal.
* There were no elections, only presentations of candidates suitable for appointment as deputies, and the choice of candidates was restricted to notables.
* **Napoleon’s reforms as Consul, including the constitutional, legal, financial, educational changes;**

Ranking of Napoleon’s different domestic policies he put in place upon becoming First Consul

1. Financial Reforms:

Some of the reforms introduced were: a much clearer division of roles between the ministry of finances and the treasury; the reorganisation of both direct and indirect tax collection; the first steps in establishing a public banking system; the bank of France, and a new currency, the franc. As Napoleon himself lacked the technical skills to overhaul the financial system he appointed a number of very able ministers. Among the key appointments was Gaudin, who was appointed Minister of Finances in 1799.

1. Censorship and Propaganda:

Napoleon restricted the amount of political journals; in 1800 he restricted the number of political journals from 73 to nine, and banned the production of any new ones. The surviving ones were kept short of reliable news and were not allowed to discuss controversial subjects. Publishers were required to send two copies of every book, prior to publication, to police headquarters. In 1810 a regular system of censors was set up. More than half the printing presses in Paris were shut down, and publishers were forced to take an oath of loyalty to the government.

1. Policing:

The police acted as trained spies, imposed censorship, set up surveillance, searched for army deserters and organised raids on areas believed to be sheltering enemy agents. They were assisted in the maintenance of the law and order by a well-organised body of gendarmes. Reports were submitted to Napoleon daily by Fouché on the work of his department. Napoleon also introduced prefects, who nominated local officials such as mayors. They also collected taxes and enforced conscription, as well as spreading propaganda, monitor public opinion in their areas and report on any suspicious political activity.

1. Education:

Education for ordinary people was a simple “moral education” and basic literacy and numeracy. This was provided in primary schools run by the Church, the local community, or individuals. Napoleon introduced lycées, staffed by instructors chosen by Napoleon. The places were almost entirely restricted to the sons of notables. The government-appointed teachers would deliver a common syllabus from identical textbooks. He opened the Imperial University, which was tightly controlled and provided loyal teachers for State secondary schools.

1. Religion:

The Concordat was signed with the Pope on the 15th July 1801. It stated that, firstly, the separation of the Church and State was to end. The Catholic Church recognised the Revolution and agreed that no attempt would be made to recover Church lands. A State-controlled Church was established, and its clergy became paid civil servants, appointed to the government and bound to it by oath. They lastly agreed that Catholic worship should be freely exercised in France, it was also agreed that there would be tolerance for other religions.

1. Patronage and Bribery:

He created the Legion of Honour in 1802. Recipients received a distinctive decoration and a small, annual award. Between 1804 and 1808, new titles were created for the officials of the new imperial court. Some titles brought with them large estates, and were bestowed on court officials and statesmen, as well as outstanding generals, who were created Marshalls of France. In 1808 Napoleon created a new imperial nobility. Grand dignatories became princes, archbishops became counts, mayors of large towns became barons, and members of the Legion of Honour could call themselves Chevaliers.

1. Judicial Reforms:

Napoleon introduced the Civil Code in 1804. The code recognised the legal rights of those who had bought land confiscated from the Church and nobility. It also maintained some of the important gains of the revolution; the abolition of feudalism, the removal of the privileged position of the Catholic Church within the State, freedom of conscience before the law. It was also illiberal and restrictive; Napoleon strengthened the authority of the father and the husband, who could send an adulterous wife or defiant child to prison. Divorce was made very difficult and expensive to obtain. Slavery was reintroduced, as well.

* **The establishment and nature of the Empire in France;**

The creation of an empire is considered to be one of Napoleon’s most notable achievements. In May 1804 Napoleon proclaimed himself hereditary Emperor of the French and was crowned by the Pope in Notre Dame six months later. It consisted of annexed states, satellite states and allied states who owed their allegiance to Napoleon.



Possible exam questions:

* To what extent was Napoleon’s rise due to having friends in high places?
* “Disillusionment with the Directory was the main reason why the coup of Brumaire was successful.” Assess this claim.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Brumaire successful because of disillusionment with the Directory** | **Brumaire successful for other reasons** |
| Directory – too much change too quickly  The directory had inherent weaknesses e.g. Council of Ancients and Council of 500 may not work together. No one person in ultimate charge  Economic crisis still serious – directory found it difficult to deal with it. Measures introduced were unpopular  Royalist support - did well in elections = rise in support of constitutional monarchy. Directory actions at manipulating elections.  Various plots e.g. Babeuf  War = defeats in Europe and with Britain. | * Napoleon’s success in war and consequent popularity. * Lucien Bonaparte’s actions in the coup. * Political apathy and the fact that it took place in Versailles – outside Paris and distant from any public reaction. * Role of the army. |

* Napoleon’s main aim in domestic policy was to win the support of the middle classes” How far do you agree with this view of the Consulate (1799 – 1804)

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Napoleon’s main aim in domestic policy was to win the support of the middle classes** | **Napoleon’s main aim was to exercise control and maintain his own power** |
| Evidence | Evidence |

Conclusion

* To what extent was Napoleon a dictator?
* To what extent was Napoleon’s generalship the main reason for his military success in Europe to 1807?
* ‘Despite the authoritarian nature of his regime, Napoleon did maintain the great gains of the Revolution.’ Discuss.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Revolution maintained –** | **Limitations to this interpretation might suggest that Napoleon was a tyrannical dictator.** |
| Many of Napoleon’s actions do support this interpretation.   1. **Economic stability**- making tax imposed on all by the state usually based on income centralised. 2. **Education** – to ensure there was a steady supply of civilian officials and disciplined army officers. He also set up an imperial university to train teachers and ensure that they could deliver the state organised curriculum. 3. **Justice systems - Code Napoleon** which says that all men are equal and laid out clear reform. It gave legal sanction to the abolition of feudalism and introduced the revolutionary principle of partage (the equal division of estates among male heirs instead of primogeniture – where the oldest son inherits everything). 4. **Abolishing feudalism** particularly the payment of feudal dues 5. **Creating a meritocracy** that gave opportunity to those with talent. | 1. **Liberty** was hardly respected when he imposed conscription and kept the country at almost perpetual war. The population was growing but this was despite the loss of nearly a million French men in the wars their leader pursued and it placed an intolerable strain on progress. 2. Women and children or people in the countries he conquered did not get justice. Censorship and a secret police maintained control. 3. However, Napoleon would not tolerate challenges to his own power and re-established nobility and made himself Emperor. This was hardly creating an equal society. He employed censorship and a secret service to ensure that no one could challenge him. |

**Topic 4 – The downfall of Napoleon Bonaparte**

**What do I need to know?**

* What successes Napoleon had up to 1807.
* Why Napoleon felt the need to war against Britain.
* What was the ‘Continental System’ and how did Napoleon intend to use this to fight Britain?
* Why was Napoleon forced to wage war in Spain and Portugal? Why did he end up losing?
* Why did relations deteriorate between Russia and France and lead to War?
* Why was **the** Russian campaign such a disaster for Napoleon?
* Why was Napoleon unsuccessful in the final campaigns of 1813-1815?
* How important is the battle of Waterloo?
* Why did Napoleon fail in his conquest of Europe?
* What lasting impact did Napoleon have on France?

**Possible exam questions:**

**Essay style questions:**

To what extent was defeat in Russia the main reason for Napoleon’s downfall?

How far do you agree with the view that the Peninsular War played the prime role in Napoleon’s downfall?

To what extent did the French people benefit from Napoleon’s rule?

Assess the reasons for Napoleon’s downfall in 1814.

‘Napoleon was a military genius.’ How far do you agree?

‘The Spanish ulcer was entirely responsible for Napoleon’s downfall.’ How far do you agree?

How successful was Napoleon in preserving the gains of the revolution?

How important a role did Britain play in the defeat of Napoleon?

**Summarised below are the plans to the different types of questions you could be asked for this topic.**

**Question type 1 -** Assess the reasons for Napoleon’s downfall in 1814/ To what extent was defeat in Russia the main reason for Napoleon’s downfall?/ How far do you agree with the view that the Peninsular War played the prime role in Napoleon’s downfall?

**This is a factors question. Consider each reason in turn.**

Factor 1 – Russian campaign

Triggered because of Russia not enforcing the Continental Blockade. Napoleon invaded in the hopes of making them sue for peace and as the terms of the peace continue to block British trade.

* The first issue for Napoleon was the amount of men he lost. The army he assembled was the greatest Europe had seen, 600,000 strong. Estimates on how many Napoleon lost vary, but he certainly wasn’t left with much more than 50,000 remaining. He always struggled from that point on to raise a force large enough to meet the various enemies that he faced.
* This was the other key element of the Russian campaign, the fact that it reignited the resistance against him. Prior to his invasion of Russia he had most of Europe defeated or allied with him, the exceptions being Britain and Russia. Within a year of his retreat from Russia both Austria and Prussia had declared war against him again.

Factor 2 – The Peninsular campaign

Napoleon invaded the Iberian Peninsular (Spain + Portugal) for similar reasons, to try to stop Britain from trading goods through them.

* The campaign became known as Napoleon’s ‘Spanish Ulcer’ the idea being that it was draining Napoleon, without actually defeating him. Spain became a constant drain on Napoleon’s resources. Because of the effectiveness of the British and Spanish guerrilla troops France had to commit far more troops to deal with them, in comparison. Leading in turn to France fighting a war on two fronts.
* It also stopped the Continental Blockade from ever being truly effective. Britain’s trade with the continent did temporarily decrease after Napoleon put in place the blockade, but on in the short term. Trade through Spain and Portugal increased significantly during the period.

Factor 3 – Britain’s role

Britain was the only country to be constantly at war with France and Napoleon for the duration of the Napoleonic wars.

* It constantly funded the other countries to fight Napoleon on the continent. Austria in particular received huge amounts of money to continue to fight France.
* Britain ensured that Napoleon never had domination on sea. Victories at the battle of the Nile and, most importantly, Trafalgar meant that Napoleon never had the control of the sea he needed to completely dominate Europe.
* As long as Britain existed it offered an ally for any countries who were annoyed with their treatment with Napoleon.

Factor 4 – Napoleon’s flaws

Napoleon was a great general, however his overconfidence contributed to his defeat.

* Napoleon was overconfident. This was a strength in the beginning, but overtime contributed to his defeat in a couple of key ways:
  + He overstretched himself. Fighting war on two fronts, Spain and Russia, meant that Napoleon had spread himself too thin.
  + He also didn’t adapt in the later stages of the war. Napoleon had revolutionised warfare in the early stages, but as his enemies adopted his strategies he abandoned a lot of what had made him successful to begin with.

**Question type 2 –** Was Napoleon a great general?/ ‘Napoleon was a military genius.’ How far do you agree?

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Yes | No |
| Tactics on the battlefield – Napoleon, up until the Russian campaign, was a great general on the battlefield. He used a range of different tactical ideas, such as mixing his infantry, cavalry and artillery. This was ahead of the other countries and gave him a clear advantage on the battlefield. This was demonstrated at Ulm and Austerlitz, to name but two. | Tactics on the battlefield – The other countries caught up with Napoleon. Napoleon was advanced, but other countries adopted his tactics and he didn’t adapt in turn. In the later years of the wars he also abandoned many of the key aspects that had done so well for him. At Bordino he showed none of his usual cunning tactical ability, instead opting for a head on assault. |
| Inspiration –His reputation, combined with his clever use of propaganda inspired his men to fight for him. In comparison to other countries troops Napoleon’s had more faith in their commander, making them more likely to defeat an opponent of similar numbers. | Inspiration – This faded over time. His clever use of propaganda initially persuaded his troops he was a military genius – by the end they didn’t believe anything. His abandoning of his troops after the retreat from Moscow shows himself to not be a genius or particularly great general when it comes to the inspiring of his troops. |
| Campaigning – Napoleon was very good at outmanoeuvring his opponents prior to battle. He was normally up against multiple countries that were fighting in alliance against him, but used this to his advantage, splitting his enemy and tackling them individually. In the build up to, arguably, his greatest victory, Austerlitz, he did this to great effect against Austria and Russia. | Stubbornness – A strength, of sorts, for Napoleon at the beginning was the confidence he had in himself. Unfortunately by the end this had transformed into an unwillingness to listen to anybody aside from himself. This was evident once again in Russia, where he was determined he knew best, despite being advised to leave Moscow earlier. |

**Question type 3 -** How successful was Napoleon in preserving the gains of the revolution?/ To what extent did the French people benefit from Napoleon’s rule?

**These are slightly different questions, but are very similar in the content. What changes did Napoleon make, did they aid the people of France or resort to a pre-1789 situation?**

**For the Revolution question you should focus on the ideas of *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité,* which are the ideas of equality and rights of the citizens of France.**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Maintained the Revolution/the French people benefited from Napoleon’s rule** | **Didn’t maintain/French people did not benefit from Napoleon’s rule** |
| Code Napoleon – confirmed that everyone was equal under the law | Reintroduced slavery in the colonies |
| The Concordat upheld the takeover of church land | Removed all the rights women gained during the revolution |
| Improved roads and canals – for military purposes but aided the French people as well. | France suffered hugely from the wars that Napoleon involved them in. Both in terms of damage to their economy and the amount of men they lost in this period. |
| Introduces new schools for all, focused on practical skills. | Set up a Ministry of Police which had a network of spies around France. He also censored newspapers, books and plays so he controlled what people said and read |
| Gave titles to citizens, not just the nobility. Also allowed citizens the vote on certain issues. | Both of these were largely ceremonial and were nowhere near as radical as the changes of the Revolution itself. |

Conclude – overall did he maintain or not?

**Finally – Discussion topic – Was Napoleon’s success due to luck or skill?**