

CONTENTS

<i>LIST OF MAPS</i>	xiii
<i>PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION</i>	xv
1 INTRODUCTION	1
European rather than global scope of the volume, p. 1 – The problem of continuity versus change, p. 1 – Special attention to France required, p. 1 – Placing this period in the history of Europe, p. 2.	
2 THE SOURCES	4
Profusion but also limits of sources for the age of the Revolution, Napoleon and the Restoration, p. 4 – Collections of texts, p. 5 – Legislative records, p. 6 – Administrative documents, p. 7 – Diplomatic papers, p. 8 – Private correspondence, p. 9 – Memoirs and diaries, p. 10 – Newspapers, magazines and pamphlets, p. 11 – Popular jingles and songs, p. 14 – Theoretical treatises, p. 14 – Travel books, p. 15 – Fiction and drama, p. 16 – Poetry, music and other works of art as documents, p. 17 – Architecture, p. 18 – Unpublished documents in national repositories, p. 18.	
3 THE OLD RÉGIME: SOCIETY AND CULTURE	20
The late eighteenth century as a time of change, p. 20 – Population growth, p. 20 – <i>Social stratification</i> , p. 21 – Legally defined orders of men, p. 21 – Status groups defined by gradations of honour, p. 22 – Economic classes, p. 24 – <i>Privileged groups</i> , p. 25 – Landholders, urban magnates, higher officials, professional men, p. 25 – <i>Rural producers, urban consumers</i> , p. 27 – Farmers, p. 27 – Merchants, craftsmen, service personnel, p. 28 – ‘Unproductive’ elements, p. 29 – <i>Britain</i> , p. 29 – Precocious growth of cities,	

p. 30 – Scotland and Ireland, p. 30 – *Iberia and Italy*, p. 31 – Spanish and Portuguese society, p. 31 – Wide diversity of conditions in Italy, p. 32 – *France*, p. 33 – *The Low Countries*, p. 34 – *Scandinavia*, p. 36 – *The German lands*, p. 36 – Eastern Germany and the 'Junkers', p. 37 – Free cities and southern principalities, p. 37 – *Switzerland*, p. 38 – *Austria and Habsburg Central Europe*, p. 39 – The Habsburgs' Slavic and Magyar subjects, p. 39 – *The Balkans under Ottoman rule*, p. 40 – Varying degrees of Turkish control, p. 40 – *Poland*, p. 42 – *Russia*, p. 43 – 'Souls' as property: the bonded peasants, p. 43 – *The cultural scene*, p. 44 – International use of Latin and French, p. 45 – Levels of education, p. 46 – Cosmopolitan 'high' culture: scholarship and *belles lettres*, p. 46 – Architecture and painting more elegant than original, p. 47 – Music, p. 48 – The 'low' culture of folk songs and vernacular tales, p. 49.

4 THE EUROPEAN STATE SYSTEM

51

Many states either more or less than nations, p. 51 – *The major powers*: Great Britain and France, p. 51 – Austria, p. 53 – Prussia and Russia, p. 53 – *Lesser powers*, p. 54 – Decline of formerly powerful states: Poland, Ottoman Turkey, Spain, Portugal, the Dutch United Provinces, p. 54 – And Sweden, p. 56 – Other medium-sized states: Denmark and Switzerland, p. 56 – Italian kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia, p. 57 – Large duchies: Tuscany, Bavaria, Saxony, p. 57 – The Venetian Republic, p. 57 – *The 'swarm of gnats'*, p. 58 – Smaller entities: ecclesiastical and secular principalities, free cities, p. 58 – *Diplomatic theory and practice*, p. 59 – Importance of the French model since Louis XIV, p. 60 – Diplomats an international caste, p. 60 – *Armies and navies*, p. 62 – *Ordre mince* and *ordre profond*, p. 62 – Nature and distribution of sea power, p. 63 – *Traditional rivalries: Britain and France*, p. 64 – Britain dangerously isolated in the War of American Independence, p. 64 – Catherine II's League of Armed Neutrality, p. 65 – Peace negotiations of 1782–3, p. 66 – Dutch crisis of 1785–7, p. 68 – British-French commercial agreement of 1786, p. 69 – *Traditional rivalries: Austria, Prussia and Russia*, p. 70 – Catherine II seeks Austrian support against Turkey, p. 71 – Joseph II aggressive in the Netherlands and Germany, p. 72 – Frederick II's League of Princes, p. 73 – The Russian-Turkish war of 1787–92, p. 74 – Treaties of Sistova and Jassy, p. 75 – *The European states in 1789*, p. 76 – France the heaviest loser of the decade, p. 76.

5 POLITICAL ISSUES IN THE 1780s

78

Divisions and disputes within states, p. 78 – *Unrest and Reform: material and ideological pressures*, p. 79 – Rising population and fear of famine, p. 79 – Enlightenment criticism,

p. 80 – The American Revolution, p. 82 – Frustrations in diplomacy and war, p. 83 – Failures of enlightened despotism, p. 84 – Diffuseness of demands for reform, p. 84 – Conservative resistance to change, p. 85 – *England and Ireland*, p. 87 – The General Association and the Lord Gordon riots, p. 87 – Grattan, Flood and the Irish Volunteers, p. 89 – *The United Provinces*, p. 91 – The stadtholder saved by foreign aid, p. 91 – *The Austrian Netherlands*, p. 92 – Expulsion and return of Austrian forces, p. 93 – *Habsburg central Europe*, p. 94 – Joseph II's reform projects resisted in Hungary and elsewhere, p. 95 – *Poland*, p. 96 – Achievements of the Four Years' Diet, p. 96 – *Reform and reaction in other countries*, p. 98 – Russia and the Germanies, p. 98 – Sweden under Gustavus III, p. 99 – Spain under Charles III and Geneva, p. 100 – *France*, p. 101 – Necker's *Compte rendu* signals the crisis, p. 101 – Calonne rebuffed by the Assembly of Notables, p. 102 – Louis XVI forced to call the Estates General, p. 103 – Peculiarities of the French situation, p. 104 – Difficulty of visualizing a great revolution in advance, p. 105.

6 UPHEAVAL IN FRANCE

107

Initial appearance of victory for privileged groups, p. 107 – *From the Estates General to National Assembly*, p. 107 – Classes, status groups and political parties, as well as orders, in conflict, p. 107 – The Estates General elected and convened at Versailles, p. 108 – The Tennis Court Oath and transition to the National Assembly, p. 110 – *The Declaration of the Rights of Man*, p. 111 – The fall of the Bastille and the 'Great Fear', p. 112 – The National Assembly legislates, p. 113 – *The monarchical experiment*, p. 115 – Dilemma of the king, p. 115 – Debates over the Constitution of 1791, p. 116 – Food shortages and administrative reorganization, p. 117 – *The assignats*, p. 118 – The Civil Constitution of the Clergy, p. 119 – *The fall of the monarchy*, p. 121 – Louis XVI's flight to Varennes, p. 121 – Republican agitation by the Jacobins in Paris, p. 122 – *The birth of the Republic*, p. 123 – The new Convention dissolves the monarchy, p. 123 – The Republican calendar and the metric system, p. 124 – The king and queen beheaded and the Terror mounts, p. 125 – Military difficulties, the *levée en masse* of 1793, p. 126 – *Internal threats to the Republic*, p. 127 – economic problems and regional revolts, p. 127 – Repression under the Committee of Public Safety, p. 129 – *The peak of the Terror and Robespierre's Fall*, p. 129 – Execution of Girondins, Hébertists and Danton, p. 130 – Execution of Robespierre, the Thermidorean reaction, p. 131 – *The government of the Directory*, p. 133 – Military successes under Carnot, but mounting political unrest, p. 134 – Bonaparte made one of three consuls, p. 136

– *Interpreting the Revolution*, p. 136 – Political splintering from 1789 to 1799, p. 137 – The masses and violence, p. 137 – Individual roles, p. 139 – The meaning of the Revolution, p. 140.

7 THE REVOLUTION BEYOND FRENCH BORDERS

144

The European ferment, p. 144 – *First reactions to the Revolution*, p. 144 – Diversity of French émigrés, p. 145 – Contrasting views in Britain, p. 146 – Enthusiasm of Dutch, German and Swiss dissidents, p. 147 – Relative lack of awareness in Italy and the Iberian kingdoms, p. 149 – Responses of Gustavus III and Catherine II, p. 152 – *Revolutionary France at war*, p. 152 – French and German responsibilities in 1792, p. 152 – The ‘miracle of Valmy’, p. 154 – Treaties of Basel end the First Coalition, p. 155 – *The final partition of Poland*, p. 155 – *Europe takes stock*, p. 157 – Arrests for sedition increasing in Great Britain, p. 157 – Repression in other countries, p. 158 – *The emergence of Bonaparte*, p. 160 – His first Italian campaign in 1796, p. 161 – The Austrians humbled by the treaty of Campo-Formio, p. 161 – Bonaparte in Egypt, French defeats by the Second Coalition, p. 162 – But the situation stabilized in 1799, p. 163 – *France and its conquests*, p. 164 – Political and religious policies in occupied areas, p. 165 – The burden of exactions in money and goods, p. 167 – *Reactions elsewhere in Europe*, p. 168 – Political tension in Britain and other lands decreasingly dominated by the ‘French question’, p. 168 – Death of Wolfe Tone, failure of naval mutinies at Nore and Spithead, p. 169 – International warfare now the central issue, p. 170.

8 BONAPARTE FROM CONSUL TO EMPEROR

172

Napoleon the Man, p. 172 – His personality, p. 174 – A Caesar, an enlightened despot, or a *condottiere*?, p. 176 – *The constitution of the Empire*, p. 176 – Ministers and prefects, p. 177 – A threefold legislature: Senate, *Corps Législatif*, Tribunate, p. 178 – Regional and national ‘notables’, p. 179 – Judicial controls, the *Code Napoléon*, p. 180 – *The Internal economy*, p. 181 – Industrial and commercial regulation, p. 182 – Agricultural and labour organization, p. 183 – *Religious policy*, p. 184 – The mounting conflict with Rome, p. 184 – The imperial catechism and the annexation of the Papal States in 1809, p. 185 – *Reshaping education*, p. 186 – The Imperial University, p. 187 – *The control of culture*, p. 188 – Censorship, p. 188 – Disciplining drama and the arts, p. 189 – *The rebirth of social hierarchy*, p. 190 – Returning émigré nobles, p. 190 – The Legion of Honour and the Imperial Nobility, p. 192 – *Innovations – ephemeral and permanent*, p. 193 – Many institutional changes not reversed

- by the Restoration, p. 194 – A reappraisal of Bonaparte, p. 195.
- 9 NAPOLEON AND THE NATIONS OF EUROPE 197
- The dramatic structure of the Napoleonic wars, p. 197 – *To the treaty of Lunéville*, p. 198 – Napoleon's second Italian campaign succeeds at Marengo, p. 199 – Moreau's victory at Hohenlinden, p. 200 – *Britain and the war*, p. 201 – George III rejects Pitt's Irish policy, p. 202 – Addington prime minister, p. 203 – *Europe after Amiens*, p. 204 – British financial retrenchment during a year of peace, p. 204 – assassination of Tsar Paul I, p. 206 – Consolidation of German states by the *Reichsdeputationshauptschluss*, p. 207 – *The war resumed: 1803 to the treaty of Tilsit (1807)*, p. 208 – England declares war and Napoleon prepares to invade, p. 209 – Formation of the Third Coalition, p. 210 – Nelson victorious at Trafalgar, Napoleon at Austerlitz, p. 211 – the Prussian disaster at Jena, p. 212 – Tsar Alexander I and Napoleon make peace for the Continent at Tilsit, p. 213 – the 'Continental System' proclaimed, p. 214 – *Napoleonic Europe: Iberia and Austria*, p. 214 – The Spaniards rebel, p. 215 – Stadion's Austrians defeated at Wagram, p. 216 – The soaring Bonaparte dynasty, p. 217 – *Napoleonic Europe: the nations' internal affairs*, p. 218 – The emergence of Canning in England and the murder of Perceval, p. 218 – Administrative reforms in Russia, p. 219 – Marshal Bernadotte becomes crown prince of Sweden, p. 220 – Sweeping changes in Germany, p. 221 – The Prussian era of reform, p. 222 – *From the invasion of Russia to Waterloo*, p. 224 – Advance and retreat of the Grand Army, p. 224 – The Battle of the Nations at Leipzig, p. 226 – Napoleon defeated in France and exiled to Elba, p. 227 – The Hundred Days end at Waterloo, p. 228 – *The nature of the Napoleonic Empire*, p. 229 – Bonaparte's conception of 'hegemony', p. 229 – His rejection of France's 'natural frontiers', p. 230.
- 10 THE DIMENSIONS OF VIOLENCE 232
- Need to analyse various types of violence, p. 232 – *The size and equipment of armies*, p. 232 – Mass warfare, p. 233 – Evolution of uniforms, p. 235 – Artillery and hand arms, p. 236 – *Supporting services*, p. 237 – Supply trains and engineers, p. 237 – Medical, communication and intelligence services, p. 238 – *Order of battle*, p. 239 – Both disciplined lines and charging phalanxes persist, p. 239 – Command machinery, p. 241 – *Officers and men*, p. 243 – Recruitment of officers, p. 243 – Discipline and morale of troops, p. 244 – *Naval forces*, p. 245 – Conservative dress and formal etiquette, p. 246 – But relative openness of social recruitment of British officers, p. 246 – recruitment and treatment of

seamen, p. 246 – Marines, p. 247 – the design of fighting ships, p. 248 – *Operations at sea*, p. 249 – Trafalgar a victory for practised seamen, p. 250 – *Amphibious warfare*, p. 251 – British landings at Aboukir Bay and at Copenhagen, p. 252 – The ‘army of England’ at Boulogne and the crossing that never came, p. 252 – *The significance of the period*, p. 253 – military theory and practice, p. 253 – The progressive concentration of power in a few states, p. 253 – The place of the era in military history, p. 254 – *Non-military violence: crimes, mobs and punishments*, p. 254 – The importance of non-military violence, p. 254 – Mob violence, p. 255 – The brutality of traditional punishments, p. 255 – Violence in the French Revolution: the significance of the guillotine, p. 256 – The psychology of revolutionary violence, p. 256 – Urban violence and the ‘September Massacres’, p. 257 – The rise in political executions and the Terror, p. 258 – *Assassinations*, p. 259 – The fall in assassinations in the preceding period, p. 259 – The deaths of Marat and Gustavus III, p. 260 – Increasing attacks on monarchs and their ministers, p. 261 – The nature of assassination in the post-Napoleonic period, p. 262 – *Economic warfare*, p. 262 – Blockades and embargoes, p. 263 – Comparison of British and French losses, p. 265 – *The propaganda war*, p. 267 – Discouraging rumours and appeals to disaffected groups, p. 268 – Decline in portrayal of enemy as inhuman, p. 269.

11 THE EUROPEAN STATE SYSTEM AFTER 1815 271

Mixture of old and new elements, p. 271 – *The two treaties of Paris*, p. 272 – Metternich’s leniency towards France, p. 273 – *The Congress of Vienna*, p. 274 – Leading diplomatic figures, p. 275 – Disputes over Poland and Saxony, p. 278 – Agreement on the Final Act, p. 279 – *Congress Europe*, p. 281 – Castlereagh and the Quadruple Alliance, p. 281 – The Holy Alliance as viewed by Alexander I and by Metternich, p. 283 – Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, p. 284 – Congresses of Troppau, Laibach and Verona, p. 285 – Canning succeeds Castlereagh, p. 286 – *Diplomacy after Vienna: Italy, Spain and Portugal*, p. 287 – Intervention against Neapolitan, Piedmontese and Spanish rebels, p. 288 – Britain supports Portuguese constitutionalists, p. 289 – *The Americas and the Monroe Doctrine*, p. 290 – Canning and the initiative of the United States, p. 290 – *Greek Independence*, p. 292 – Archbishop Germanos denounces Turkish rule, p. 292 – The sultan calls upon Ibrahim Pasha’s Egyptians, p. 293 – Popular sympathy for the Greeks, p. 293 – British, French and Russian intervention: the battle of Navarino, p. 295 – The treaty of Adrianople, p. 296 – *The European powers in 1830*, p. 297 – Fewer and larger states, p. 298 – Increased role of public opinion, p. 299.

12 RESTORATION POLITICS 301

Not just 'a world restored', p. 301 – Revolutionary-Napoleonic legacy of passions, p. 301 – Revolutionary secret society and the figure of Buonarotti, p. 302 – *Economic changes*, p. 303 – Public finances, p. 304 – Continued population growth and expanding cities, p. 305 – Early industrialism, p. 307 – British superiority in manufacturing, p. 308 – Customs barriers generally high, p. 309 – Birth of the Prussian *Zollverein*, p. 310 – *Religion*, p. 311 – Conservative and liberal Catholics, p. 311 – Other denominations, p. 311 – *Conservative administrative reforms*, p. 313 – Special importance of the Russian case, p. 314 – *Central and northern Europe*, p. 315 – Nationalism, constitutionalism, democracy, p. 315 – Metternich's influence in Austria and Germany, p. 316 – The Carlsbad Decrees, p. 317 – *Iberia and Italy*, p. 319 – Riego's revolt in Spain, p. 319 – Constitutional movements in Portugal and Italy, p. 319 – *The Balkans and Eastern Europe*, p. 322 – Beginning of the feud between houses of Obrenovich and Karageorgevich in Serbia, p. 323 – Conservative opponents of the sultan and the tsar, p. 323 – Sham constitutionalism in Poland, p. 324 – Liberal secret societies in Russia, p. 325 – *France and Britain: authority versus liberty*, p. 325 – Louis XVIII as constitutional monarch, p. 326 – The accession of Charles X in 1824, p. 327 – Repression in Britain: the Peterloo incident, p. 328 – The Cato Street plotters, p. 330 – *Reform in Britain and the Irish problem*, p. 330 – The era of Peel and Huskisson, p. 331 – Wellington supports moderate reforms, p. 333 – Founding of the Catholic Association in Ireland, p. 334 – Repeal of the Test Act and passage of the Catholic Emancipation Bill, p. 335 – *The Restoration challenged: France and the Low Countries*, p. 336 – Charles X and Polignac, p. 337 – The Dutch king defied, p. 338 – *Autocracy refurbished in other states*, p. 339 – *Turkey and Russia*, p. 340 – Relative torpor of central and southern Europe, p. 340 – Mahmud II destroys the Janissary Corps, p. 341 – The Russian Decembrists, p. 342 – *Restoration and new themes reviewed*, p. 343.

13 PHILOSOPHERS, SCIENTISTS AND HISTORIANS 347

Difficulty of characterizing the period, p. 347 – Relationship of theories to events, p. 348 – *Political speculation: Enlightenment and Revolution*, p. 348 – The enlightenment's legacy, p. 348 – Condorcet's tenth epoch, p. 349 – Enlightened officials, p. 350 – Revolutionary thinkers: Tom Paine, p. 352 – And Robespierre, p. 353 – *The proliferation of political theories*, p. 354 – Burke, de Maistre, Bonald, p. 354 – Eldon and Savigny, p. 356 – Kant, p. 357 – Hegel, p. 359 – *Social*

thought, p. 359 – Robert Owen, p. 360 – Saint-Simon and Fourier, p. 361 – The romantic-medievalist resistance, p. 362 – Malthus, p. 364 – Ricardo, p. 365 – Bentham and the Philosophical Radicals, p. 366 – *Ethics: philanthropy, Utilitarianism and the categorical imperative*, p. 367 – Secular humanism replaces formal theology, p. 367 – Bentham's creed, p. 369 – Kantian morality, p. 370 – *The natural sciences*, p. 371 – Centrality of French, British and German contributions, p. 371 – Mathematics and chemistry, p. 373 – Astronomy and physics, p. 374 – Geology and Creation, p. 376 – Biologists at war over species, p. 377 – The divorce between science and the humanities, p. 378 – Also between science and technology, p. 379 – *Historiography*, p. 380 – The challenge of the Revolution, p. 381 – Archaeology's role, p. 381 – Medievalism and documentary collections, p. 383 – German philosophers of history, p. 384 – Kant and history, p. 385 – Hegel, p. 386 – Ranke, p. 387.

14 SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN 1830 390

The remaining question: how much had changed?, p. 390 – *The growth and distribution of population*, p. 390 – Mushrooming cities, p. 391 – Emigration delayed, p. 392 – *Some aspects of daily life*, p. 393 – Changes and class lines reflected in costume, p. 393 – What Europeans ate, p. 395 – Social groupings and behaviour, p. 398 – *Changing themes in art and letters*, p. 399 – Neoclassicism and romanticism, p. 399 – Biedermeier, p. 400 – Music: Hadyn and Beethoven, p. 401 – Schubert and Berlioz, the opera, p. 403 – Romanticism in poetry, p. 403 – The historical novel: Scott and Manzoni, p. 404 – Psychological novels: Jane Austen and Stendhal, p. 405 – Nationalism and folklore, p. 406

15 CONCLUSION 408

The balance between continuity and change, p. 408 – The strength of continuity, p. 409 – But also major innovations, p. 410 – The altered conception of social structure, p. 411 – The true nature of the Revolutionary-Napoleonic watershed, p. 412.

BIBLIOGRAPHY	414
MAPS	433
INDEX	446