History B356
French Revolution and Napoleon
War, Peace and Modern Europe
Discussion this week will focus on your final paper.

Final Paper is due at the beginning of lecture on Monday, Dec. 9th.

Please come to section this week with three copies of 1-2 pages of your paper (and with a pen or pencil).

You could bring:
  - the first two pages
  - a two-page, detailed outline
  - a bit of analysis that you know you are going to use, somewhere
“Grasp All, Loose All: Atlas enraged, or the Punishment of Unqualified Ambition” (British, 1813)

[Napoleon: “France be mine, Holland be mine, Italy be mine, Spain be mine, Poland be mine! Russ, Prussia, Turkey, de whole world vill be mine!!! Monsieur Atlas, hold up, don’t let it fall on me.”

Atlas: “When the Friends of Freedom and Peace have stopped you shaking it on my shoulders and get their own, then I’ll bear it again. Til then, you may carry it yourself, Monsieur Boney!”

War and Peace and War

Features of Napoleonic warfare

Effects on civilian society
- conscription
- militarized culture

An Empire at peace?

Two invasions too far
- Spain
- Russia

What or who defeated Napoleon?
Features of Napoleonic Warfare

enormous armies, divided into semi-autonomous corps [each of which can fight for at least a day without reinforcements]

rejected maneuvering and sieges

forced and fast march made possible by more mobile artillery and high morale of soldiers

goal of a single decisive battle with overwhelming force

all coordinated by Napoleon himself

“First Meeting of the Emperors Napoleon and Alexander, on a barge in the Niemen River at Tilsit, June 1807”
A force appeared that beggared all imagination. Suddenly war became the
business of a people—a people of thirty millions, all of whom considered
themselves to be citizens. The people became a participant in war; instead
of governments and armies as heretofore, the full weight of the nation was
thrown into the balance. The resources and efforts now available for use
surpassed all conventional limits; nothing now impeded the vigor with which
war could be waged.


By his nature, one has little imagination and is easily flattered, he is therefore
much easier to integrate into a uniform mass and he bends to the goals of his
government… whereas the other is impatient with all limits; his originality and
individuality of character, like his taste for philosophy and his insatiable desire
for the sublime, make him reject all goals other than those he sets for himself…. Much as the Romans clearly surpassed the Greeks in their practical organization
of political life, so the French have a marked superiority over the Germans.
At the same time, one cannot deny that the Greeks had an advantage in their
well-developed and clear sense of individuality and one must admit the same of
the Germans as compared to the French.

March 1793 opposition to the draft erupts into war in the Vendée

1793-1794 nearly 300,000 young men added to army; perhaps as many as 200,000 evade draft or desert

1795 debate over new Constitution considers conscription as a “practical lesson in equality” and “an indispensable institution of public instruction… a means to unify the parts of the Republic”

Sept. 1798 Jourdan Law: all Frenchmen capable of bearing arms are soldiers, conscription just determines which ones actually serve

1804-1812 draft as routine part of community existence under Empire; compliance either near 100% or much lower (65-70%) depending on local norms; 6-8% of those drafted pay for a replacement
80,000 new recruits/year [theoretically they serve for five years]

1812-1814 500,000 new recruits/year
Louis Leopold Boilly, *The Conscripts of 1807 leave Paris by the St. Denis Gate* (1808)

war’s effects on civilian society: conscription
Jacques Louis David, *The Army’s Oath after the Distribution of the Eagle Standards in 1804* (1810)
Jacques Louis David, preparatory drawing for “The Distribution of the Eagles” (1808)
Jacques Louis David, The Army’s Oath after the Distribution of the Eagle Standards in 1804 (1810)
David, *Oath of the Horatii* (1784)

David, *The Tennis Court Oath* (1791)

militarized culture
“Honor and the Fatherland”
[motto of the Legion of Honor]

1802-1815  48,000 awarded
            97% to military

Of 3000+ new noble titles created
during the Empire, nearly 60% went to high-ranking military officers

“The proposed Legion of Honor is an institution to reinforce our republican laws and solidify the Revolution. It pays military and civil service with the prize of courage they have all merited; it unites them in the same glory... It erases the distinctions of nobility that placed inherited glory ahead of acquired glory and the descendants of great men ahead of great men themselves.”

Pierre Louis Roederer, speech in the Tribunate in support of creating Legion of Honor, 1802.
Antoine-Jean Gros, *Napoleon visiting the Louvre and giving the Legion of Honor to Artists* (unfinished)
Antoine-Jean Gros, *Napoleon visiting the plague stricken at Jaffa, 1799* (1804); approx 17 x 24 feet
Could Napoleon have ruled without war?

"At Amiens I imagined in all good faith that I had settled France's destiny and my own… I was planning to devote myself exclusively to the administration of France and I believe that I could have worked wonders. I might have achieved the moral conquest of Egypt, just as I had been on the verge of accomplishing it by arms."

Napoleon quoted in Emmanuel de Las Cases, *Mémorial de Sainte Hélène [Journal of the Private Life and Conversations of the Emperor Napoleon at St. Helena]*, 1823-1824.
The Empire in 1812

Napoleon I, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Mediator of the Swiss Confederation, and Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine

King of Naples, Marshal Joachim Murat (married to Caroline Bonaparte)

King of Spain, Joseph Bonaparte

Grand Duchess of Tuscany, Elisa Bonaparte

King of Westphalia, Jerome Bonaparte

dark blue=Empire
blue=satellite states
light blue=allies
Antoine Charles Horace Vernet, *Napoleon’s Entrance into Madrid in 1808* (1810)

...two invasions too far: Spain
Who is the enemy of our happiness?  
The French Emperor.
Where does Napoleon come from?  
From hell and from sin…
Who are the French?  
Ex-Christians and new heretics…
What led them to this state?  
False philosophy and the liberty of their perverse customs
Is it a sin to kill a Frenchman?  
Yes, but not those serving Napoleon.
Why is it not a sin to kill them?  
Because they are thieves, murderers, arsonists, and blasphemers; natural law requires that we kill them in order to free our brothers…

“Civil Catechism and Obligations of all Spaniards” (1808)
Goya, *Disasters of War*

two invasions too far: Spain
The Invasion of Russia

Imperial “Great Army”
- 200,000 French troops
- 100,000 from annexed territories of Empire
- 160,000 from Confederation of Rhine
- 90,000 Poles and Lithuanians

Russian Army approx. 900,000

“First Meeting of the Emperors, 1807”

two invasions too far: Russia
“Never with all the powers of poetry, have tales of the burning of Troy equaled the reality of that of Moscow. The city was of wood, the wind was violent; all the pumps had been carried off. It was literally an ocean of fire. Nothing had been saved from it; our march was so rapid, our entrance so sudden. We found even diamonds on the women’s dressing tables, they had fled so quickly. … And truly, my [lack of!] success depended upon a mere trifle. For I had undertaken the expedition to fight against armed men, not against nature in her violence. I defeated armies, but I could not conquer the flames, the frost, stupefaction, and death! ... I was forced to yield to fate. And, after all, how unfortunate for France—indeed for all Europe!” Napoleon quoted Las Cases, Mémorial de Sainte Hélène.

“Entrance of the French Army, Commanded by Emperor Napoleon, into the City of Moscow”

two invasions too far: Russia
Charles Joseph Minard (retired inspector of bridges),
“Figurative Map of the losses suffered by the French Army in Russia, 1812-1813” (1869)

550,000 imperial troops marched on Russia
less than 25,000 returned

two invasions too far: Russia
If Napoleon had not taken offence at the demand that he should retire beyond the Vistula and had not ordered his troops to advance, there would have been no war. But if all his sergeants had objected to serving… then also there could have been no war. Nor could there have been a war if there had been no English intrigues… and had Alexander [Russian czar] not felt insulted, and had there not been an autocratic government in Russia, a revolution in France… and all the things that produced the French Revolution. Had any one of those causes been absent, nothing could have happened. … It was necessary that millions of men in whose hands the real power lay—the soldiers who fired the guns or transported the provisions and cannons—should consent to carry out the will of [Napoleon and Alexander] and should have been induced to do so by an infinite number of diverse and complex causes.

Leo Tolstoy, *War and Peace* (1869).

Who or what defeated Napoleon?
Sources
1. Waterloo Bridge, London; photo commons.wikimedia.org
2. “Grasp All, Loose All” (published by Thomas Tegg, 1813); print, 24.5 x 34.5 cms; http://dl.lib.brown.edu/catalog/catalog.php?verb=render&id=1132152940885067 (Napoleonic Satires Collection)
3. “First Meeting of the Emperors Napoleon and Alexander”; colored engraving; gallica.bnf.fr
5. Louis Leopold Boilly, The Conscripts of 1807 leave Paris by the St. Denis Gate (1808); oil on canvas, .846 x .165 meters; Carnavelet Museum (Paris); photo www.photo.rmn.fr
6. Jacques Louis David, The Army’s Oath after the Distribution of the Eagle Standards in 1804 (1810); oil on canvas, 6.1 x 9.3 meters Versailles (France); photo www.photo.rmn.fr
7. Jacques Louis David, preparatory drawing for “The Distribution of the Eagles” (1808); pen and ink, .18 x .29 meters; Louvre Museum, Paris; photo www.photo.rmn.fr
8. Antoine-Jean Gros, Napoleon the First Visiting the Louvre and Giving Legion of Honor crosses to Artists in 1808 (unfinished); oil on canvas, 3.5 x 6.4 m; Versailles; photo www.photo.rmn.fr
9. Francisco de Goya, The Charge of the Mamelukes (The Second of May); oil on canvas, 2.68 x 3.47 meters; http://www.museodelprado.es (1812)
10. Francisco de Goya, The Third of May in Madrid; oil on canvas, 2.68 x 3.47 meters; http://www.museodelprado.es (1814)
12. “Meeting of the Two Emperors”; gallica.bnf.fr
13. map adapted from one at commons.wikimedia.org
14. Antoine Charles Horace Vernet, Napoleon the First Entering Madrid in 1808 (1810); oil on canvas, 3.6 x 5; meters; Chateau de Malmaison (France); www.photo.rmn.fr