
Napoleon Bonaparte.

GURPS Age of Napoleon Playtest

Written by **Nicholas Caldwell** · Edited by **Alec Fleschner**

Very rarely, one man defines the time in which he lives. One such man was Napoleon Bonaparte, and his ambition shaped the face of a continent. From humble beginnings in Corsica to ignominious defeat in Russia and at Waterloo, Napoleon was the sun around which Europe revolved.

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INTRODUCTION

Military, political and social conflicts within and between nation-states in Europe and the colonies made the latter half of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century one of the most violent, adventurous and exciting eras in world history.

The American War of Independence, then known as the (First) American War, established a new form of government, and began the liberation of the New World from the control of the Old World. The later Second American War, now misnamed as the War of 1812, signaled the dawn of the United States' own imperial ambitions.

The French Revolution saw the bourgeoisie challenge the power and privileges of the aristocracy and the monarchy and overthrow both. For over a century, rebels and revolutionaries in Europe and beyond would draw inspiration for their own struggles from the French experience. The Revolution also gave a young Napoleon Bonaparte the opportunity to distinguish himself in battle, defend the French Republic, and eventually become its dictator.

Soldier and statesman, Napoleon's dreams of empires in Europe, in India and in the Americas engulfed the entire world in war. In the crucible of conquest and rebellion, the peoples of Europe gained and renewed their national identities. Elsewhere the boundaries of the colonial empires shifted with every battle by land and sea.

About

The Book ***GURPS Age of Napoleon*** is organized into eight chapters. The *History* chapter describes the major events of the era. *Nations* outlines the geography and general politics of the European nations and their overseas colonies. *People* provides biographical sketches of interesting and influential personages who might be encountered in a campaign. *Everyday Life* details how members of the various social classes from nobles to peasants lived, worked, and played in the 18th century. *Military Life* covers how soldiers and sailors lived and fought through the wars. *Arts and Sciences* presents the artistic and philosophical movements, which shaped the intellectual climate of the period, and the technological advances that were beginning to change society. *Characters* contains notes on creating ***GURPS*** characters for the Napoleonic age. Finally *Campaigns* discusses the diverse types of campaigns possible and provides a number of suggested plots for each.

About The Author

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Born in Northern Ireland, Nicholas now lives and works in Cambridge, England. He has been role-playing since he was twelve, and was immersed in science-fiction, fantasy, and historical fiction at an equally early age. He holds a B.A. (in Computer Science) and a Ph.D. (in Engineering) from the

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HISTORY

The State of the World

In 1769, the European states and their overseas empires were still recovering from the convulsions of the Seven Years War (known then in Britain as "The Great War for the Empire"), which had raged from 1756 to 1763. The Treaty of Paris had ended the conflict and redrawn the borders of the colonial empires.

Britain retained most of its conquests. In America, the existing colonies of New England, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland were augmented by the acquisition of Canada from France and Florida from Spain. Holdings in the West Indies, Belize, and British Guyana were preserved. The new territories in India provided increased security for trade from both coasts of the subcontinent.

The French empire was reduced to a handful of trading posts in India and Africa, French Guyana in South America, and a number of islands in the West Indies and the Indian Ocean. Louis XV gave the vast Louisiana Territory to Charles III as compensation for the loss of Florida. Cuba and the Philippines were restored to the Spanish crown. Their mainland empire, consisting of the western seaboard of North America and all of Central and South America (bar Belize, Brazil and the Guyanas), was untouched by the settlement.

Although thwarted in India, the Dutch retained Ceylon, Java, and other profitable island territories in the East Indies. The Cape of Good Hope colony and Dutch Guyana continued to increase the wealth of Amsterdam's merchants. Portugal had remained neutral in the war and its empire in Brazil and trading posts in India, Africa, and China were unaffected by the war and the peace.

Britain had certainly won the Seven Years War. The Royal Navy had become adept at the strategic application of its squadrons and in supporting amphibious offensives. The army had learned valuable lessons in wilderness combat. However the best generals had died in North America and ten thousand soldiers had succumbed to disease in the prolonged Cuban campaign.

The weakness of the British and the incursion of land-hungry American settlers in the wake of the retreating French spurred the Indian revolt of Pontiac in 1763. Fresh troops from England were required to suppress the rebellion, which lasted until 1765. In return for peace, all of the land west of the Appalachian Mountains was reserved for the Indian tribes. This prohibition on westward expansion provoked the hostility of the American colonists and was a cause of the American Revolution (see *The American Quarrel*, p. 00).

But Britain had not won the peace. In their haste to end the war, the British abandoned their Prussian allies, leaving Frederick the Great to resolve his own disputes. This desertion was long remembered by Prussia. Moreover the British government feared that their newly increased empire was too large to govern and would only produce continual envy from the other colonial powers. So the British negotiators offered generous terms to their erstwhile enemies in an attempt to address these fears.

The scheme

backfired. Rather than reducing the threat, the Treaty of Paris allowed the French and Spanish to recover their possessions in the West Indies, Africa, and the East Indies for future attacks on British colonies and shipping. The most valuable and hard-won conquests such as Guadeloupe and Cuba were returned to their former masters. The envy remained and Britain found itself isolated from the politics of continental Europe for thirty years.
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Insert map "Empires of the World" from rude-colonies1763.tif ***

Timeline

1769 -- Birth of Napoleon on
Corsica (August 15). Europe: French conquer Corsica.
1770
-- America: Boston Massacre (March)
1771 --
Europe: Accession of Gustavus III (Sweden)
1772 --
Europe: First Partition of Poland
1773 -- America:
Boston Tea Party.
1774 -- France: Death of Louis XV
and accession of Louis XVI. America: Creation of First Continental Congress in America.
1775 -- America: War of Independence
begins
1776 -- America: Declaration of Independence
(July)
1777 -- America: British surrender at Saratoga
(October)
1778 -- France enters American War. England:
Gordon Riots in London.
1779 -- Spain enters American
War
1780 -- Holland enters American War. Austria: Death
of Maria Theresa and succession of Joseph II
1781 --
America: British surrender at Yorktown (October)
1782
-- England: Resignation of Lord North. America: Battle of the Saintes
(April)
1783 -- Peace of Paris between Britain,
America, and allies
1784 -- Holland: William V deposed.
England: Pitt becomes prime minister
1785 -- England:
Failure of Pitt's parliamentary reforms.
1786 --
Prussia: Death of Frederick the Great.
1787 -- France:
Assembly of Notables meets, rejects reforms, and is
dissolved.
1788 -- France: Paris *parlement*

rejects reforms. Provincial unrest follows. Spain: Charles IV succeeds Charles III.
1789 -- France: Estates-General meets and becomes National Assembly. Bastille is stormed (July). The Great Fear grips France.
1790 -- France: Constituent Assembly ratifies Civil Constitution of the Clergy (July). Austria: Leopold II becomes Emperor.
1791 -- France: Louis XVI's flight to Varennes fails. Legislative Assembly replaces Constituent Assembly.
1792 -- France declares war against Austria and Prussia. France: Abolition of the monarchy (September). Austria: Francis II becomes Emperor. Europe: Second Partition of Poland. Battles of Valmy (September) and Jemappes (November).
1793 -- France: Trial and execution of Louis XVI (January). War with Britain. Arrest of Girondin leadership. Trials and executions of Marie Antoinette, Brissotins, Girondins, and Orléanists during the Terror. Europe: Battles of Neerwinden and Louvain (March).
1794 -- France: Terror continues against Dantonists (April). Fall of Robespierre in Thermidor coup (July). Europe: Battles of Tourcoing (April) and Fleurus (June). Atlantic: British victory of the Glorious First of June.
1795 -- France: Coups of Germinal (April) and Prairial (May) resisted. Convention replaced by the Directory (October). Holland: United Provinces become Batavian Republic (May). Europe: France makes peace with Prussia, Holland and Spain ending First Coalition. Third Partition of Poland.

The Conquest of Corsica

While the major European powers prepared for the Seven Years War, a rebellion in Corsica was ending. In 1755, Pasquale Paoli had driven the Genoese rulers out of central Corsica.

Paoli now governed as chief executive of an independent democratic nation. For fourteen years, Paoli suppressed banditry and the vendetta, built roads, founded schools, and established a navy. His desire for a completely free Corsica was his undoing. Attacks on the coastal towns and Capraia persuaded the Genoese that defeat was inevitable. They sold the *entire* island to Louis XV of France in May 1768.
The Corsicans held mass meetings and voted to resist the French. The first invaders landed in August and ten thousand soldiers attempted to conquer Corsica. Paoli and his guerillas forced the French to retreat. A second army of twenty-two thousand troops arrived in the spring of 1769. The outnumbered Corsicans were defeated and Paoli forced into exile in England. Corsica became a French province.
Among Paoli's supporters had been the Buonaparte family. Carlo Buonaparte, a prominent lawyer with Italian ancestry, had been one of Paoli's trusted lieutenants and had organized resistance from the mountains. Following Paoli's defeat, the Buonapartes were faced between

choosing exile or living under French rule. Practicality overcame idealism, and the family remained in Corsica.
Thus on August 15, 1769, Napoleon Bonaparte was born at Ajaccio as a French subject rather than as a free Corsican in exile.

Timeline

(Continued)
1796 -- Europe: Napoleon's invasion of Italy.
1797 -- Europe: Battle of Cape St Vincent (February). Napoleon's reorganization of Italy and Treaty of Campo-Formio with Austria (October). Holland: Battle of Camperdown (October).

1798 -- Europe: Switzerland becomes Helvetic Republic (March). Napoleon invades Egypt (July). Battles of the Pyramids (July) and the Nile (August). Ireland: Revolt of United Irishmen.
1799 -- Egypt: Napoleon thwarted at siege of Acre (May). Napoleon returns to France (October) and assists in Brumaire coup against Directory (November). Napoleon becomes First Consul.
1800 -- Europe: Battle of Marengo (June) and Hohenlinden (December). Formation of League of Armed Neutrality (December).
1801 -- Russia: Assassination of Paul I and accession of Alexander (March). Denmark: Battle of Copenhagen (April). Europe: League of Armed Neutrality collapses. War of the Oranges between Spain and Portugal. Preliminary Peace of London (October)
1802 -- Europe: Treaty of Amiens ratifies peace between Britain and France (March). France: Concordat with the Papacy confirmed. Napoleon becomes Life Consul. Negotiation of Louisiana Purchase
1803 -- Europe: End of Peace of Amiens (March). Preparations for invasion of England begin.
1804 -- France: Napoleon proclaimed Emperor (May) and crowned (December)
1805 -- Europe: War of the Third Coalition. Battles of Trafalgar (October) and Austerlitz (December).
1806 -- Europe: Kingdom of Italy created. Battles of Jena and Auerstädt (October).
1807 -- Europe: Battles of Eylau and Friedland. Treaty of Tilsit (June).
1808 -- Europe: Invasion of Portugal and Spain. Peninsular War begins.
1809 -- Europe: Second invasion of Portugal. Battles of Wagram and Talavera (July)
1810 -- Europe: Third invasion of Portugal. South America: Rebellions

against Spain begin.
1811 -- Europe: Battle of Fuentes de Oñoro.
1812 -- America declares war on Britain. Europe: Invasion of Russia. Battles of Salamanca (July) and Borodino (September). Retreat from Moscow.
1813 -- Europe: German War of Liberation begins. Wellington invades France. Battle of Leipzig (October).
1814 -- Europe: Abdication of Napoleon and exile to Elba (April). Congress of Vienna begins. End of War of 1812 (December).
1815 -- America: Battle of New Orleans (January). Europe: Napoleon returns. Battle of Waterloo (June). Second abdication of Napoleon and exile to St Helena.
1816 -- Portugal: Accession of John VI.
1817 -- South America: Chile becomes independent.
1818 -- France: Allied army of occupation leaves.
1819 -- Europe: Carlsbad Decrees repress reform in German Confederation. England: Peterloo Massacre
1820 -- Europe: Revolts in Spain and Portugal. England: Death of George III. Cato Street Conspiracy foiled.
1821 -- Death of Napoleon on St Helena (May 5)

The American War of Independence

The

American Quarrel
America had been lightly taxed and governed owing to Britain's preoccupation with European concerns. The Seven Years War showed that increased governance was necessary to preserve the empire, and had doubled the annual British treasury expenditure. Parliament believed that the colonists should share the taxation burden for defending the enlarged empire.
To the colonial elite, "no taxation without representation" was a familiar slogan. The imperial expansion actually lessened foreign threats to New England and hence their desire to pay for protection. Moreover the prohibition on settlement in Native American territories limited their profitable land speculation.
In 1765, the British prime minister, George Grenville, imposed two new taxes: the Sugar Act on imported molasses, and the Stamp Act, requiring legal documents, newspapers, etc., to bear official stamps which had to be purchased. This affected every American. However the hardest hit were the merchants, planters, lawyers, and printers who used their influence to create opposition to the new Act in all classes of colonial society. The activities of the "Sons of Liberty" (see p.

00) forced its repeal in 1766. Alternative customs duties were applied under the Townshend Acts of 1767.
These were also withdrawn following the Boston Massacre in March 1770. The East India Company was excused the remaining tea duty to prevent its bankruptcy and allowed to sell directly to America. Smuggler and colonial tea merchants combined to prevent the imports. In 1773, a group disguised as Mohawks boarded a ship in Boston and cast its tea cargo into the harbor.
This attack on property hardened English attitudes. Boston harbor was closed and its elective legislature replaced by an appointed council. The colonies united at the First Continental Congress in 1774 to apply economic sanctions against Britain in retaliation.

The Sons of

Liberty
Throughout New England from 1765 onward, secret organizations styling themselves "Sons of Liberty" appeared. Their membership included intellectuals, merchants, and artisans, united to foment unrest and violence against the new laws. Stamp distributors were attacked, tarred, and feathered; their homes were looted and burnt. Officials responsible for the collection of duties under the Townshend Acts were equally persecuted. Everywhere the "Sons" and like-minded adherents pursued the political agenda found in the pamphlets and speeches of the radical demagogues.
The Boston Massacre occurred after several days of brawling between gangs of youths and the soldiers. On the night of the massacre, a large crowd taunted a detachment of armed soldiers guarding the Customs House, daring them to fire. An injured soldier did open fire and was immediately supported by his comrades. Four people were killed. At the soldiers' trial, the judge emphasized the presence in the mob of a man dressed in a red cloak, similar to that worn by Samuel Adams, a vehement opponent of British rule. Their American lawyers did not allow the soldiers to suggest that the mob had been manipulated. However the soldiers were acquitted of murder.
Adams used the massacre to ensure the withdrawal of troops from Boston. Paul Revere, a noted silversmith and link between the politicians and the artisans, advanced the cause further by producing engravings of the massacre suitably embellished.
Committees of Correspondence in Boston and elsewhere were established to ensure easy communication between the various dissident groups. The rebels began to prepare for armed resistance. Special militia, known as "minutemen" owing to their willingness to bear arms immediately, messengers to carry news from town to town, and workshops to manufacture gunpowder were organized. Supplies of weapons and ammunition were cached for future use. A host of spies observed the British military and their civilian officials, and hidden sympathizers within loyalist circles gathered intelligence for the rebels. Quietly, steadily, the rebellion was gathering pace.

*** Insert map - "The American Colonies in 1775" - from
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First

Blood
Hastily gathered militiamen at Lexington and Concord thwarted the British troops from seizing a rebel arms cache (April 19, 1775). Exaggerated tales of atrocities roused the people who besieged Boston.
In May, six thousand troops under the generals William Howe, Henry Clinton, and John Burgoyne arrived in Boston. Meanwhile Fort Ticonderoga fell to militia and backwoodsmen led by Benedict Arnold and Ethan Allen. The rebels entrenched around Boston, forestalling British occupation of strategic positions. Alarmed, Gage ordered an assault on the stronghold of Breed's Hill (June 17), routing them in a Pyrrhic victory with forty percent casualties. Shock at their losses dissuaded the generals from further action, frustrating their hungry troops.
Two weeks later,
George Washington, the new American commander-in-chief, assumed leadership of the besiegers. Dismayed by the poor quality of the colonial forces, he spent the rest of the year replacing the temporary militia with newly raised regular soldiers.
American units under Arnold and Montgomery pressed northward into Canada. Montreal fell to Montgomery and Canada's governor, Sir Guy Carleton, escaped to Quebec in a whaling boat. Arnold's men, having survived a march from Maine, joined forces with Montgomery to assail Quebec. The attack failed (December 31) and smallpox ravaged the besieging Americans. A British squadron breached the ice blocking the Gulf of St Lawrence and relieved the siege (April 1776). Another squadron arrived with reinforcements under Burgoyne (May) and the Americans fled to Lake Champlain.
Elsewhere the Americans were victorious. Patriots fought and defeated Loyalists in North Carolina. A sea-borne invasion of Charleston by Clinton foundered. The British were forced to evacuate Boston in March 1776 when cannon brought from Ticonderoga bombarded their positions.

The Declaration of Independence

Political debate was transformed by Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* pamphlet, published in January 1776. The Second Continental Congress now favored a complete break with Britain, commissioning Thomas Jefferson to write a declaration of independence. Congress approved this on July 4.
A fleet under Admiral Howe with thirty thousand British and German soldiers sailed from Britain. Combining with Clinton and Howe's armies, the British captured Long Island (August 27). While Howe gathered his forces, Washington moved his men to Manhattan, retreating further to Harlem when Manhattan fell on September 15. The British were prevented from quartering their troops in New York as a mysterious fire burned five hundred buildings to ashes.
During October and November, the British stormed the remaining American forts. Rhode Island fell without resistance to Clinton. Cornwallis pursued

Washington's army across New Jersey and over the Delaware River. Reduced by desertion, the rebel rump withdrew to their winter base in Valley Forge.

Burgoyne and Carleton reached Lake Champlain and started building flat-bottomed boats to counter the American flotilla being assembled at the south. (Admiralty bureaucrats had thwarted suitable craft being constructed in England and transported to Canada.) The two fleets engaged on October 11 with the rebels retreating to Ticonderoga. Fearing the winter, Carleton returned to Canada.
The British high command sent dispatches to
England outlining plans and requesting reinforcements. Carleton was censured for tardiness while Burgoyne and Clinton jockeyed to replace him.

Washington led a winter sortie against Trenton's garrison of Hessian mercenaries. The town fell in street fighting on Christmas Day. Leaving troops at Princeton, Cornwallis advanced on Trenton, but Washington eluded him by a nocturnal retreat and attacked Princeton, before leaving for Valley Forge with his morale-raising mission accomplished.

What If . . . A British America

A
British America would require a British victory in the war. There were several opportunities in the early years when decisive blows could have ended the rebellion. For example, Howe should have followed up initial victories in New York bringing Washington to battle rather than cautiously capturing each outpost. Had Carleton began his advance on Ticonderoga a month earlier, the fort would have fallen in 1776, enabling him to attack Washington from the rear in concert with Howe. An assault on Washington's army at its winter quarters in 1777 would have wiped out the Continental Army's regular troops, leaving only the militia to continue the struggle. Washington himself came close to being killed by a British sharpshooter in the Philadelphia campaign. Already idolized by the American public, his death would have shaken popular support for the rebellion to its core.
The solidity and permanence of renewed British government in the thirteen colonies would depend on the harshness of any punitive measures pursued after the failure of the rebellion. Domination of the patriot majority by triumphalist loyalists would quickly lead to a sullen America simmering in discontent. A second rebellion would be inevitable, but might not occur until the Napoleonic Wars. A revolt incited and supported by Napoleon's agents would fatally divide Britain's forces at the height of the life and death struggle with France.
The Whig Opposition would
have tempered the restoration of control over New England with actions to assuage the colonists' grievances. Even Lord North, in his final peace overture to the Americans after Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga, was willing to recognize Congress, to repeal laws deemed offensive by the New Englanders, and to give American representatives seats in the House of Commons. By implementing such compromises, the majority of Americans might have been reconciled to King and Parliament. Democratic representation of America would have set a precedent for other British colonies and perhaps advanced the cause of electoral reform in Britain itself. Strengthened by a

united North American empire, Britain might have shortened the Napoleonic Wars, slavery would have been abolished in America without a bloody civil war, and the Dominion of North America would have taken a pre-eminent position in the world when the Empire was transformed into a Commonwealth.

The Surrender at Saratoga

Burgoyne
returned from England in early 1777, replacing Carleton as Canadian commander. He was to advance from Canada, joining with Howe at the Hudson, conquering Albany and then driving south. Unfortunately these instructions were not copied to Howe.
In July, Howe decided to capture the American
capital Philadelphia. Rather than navigate the Delaware or the Hudson, and so support Burgoyne, Howe sailed via Chesapeake Bay. Delayed by bad weather, the vast fleet reached Maryland on August 25. Howe's army disembarked and bested Washington's at Brandywine Creek (September 11), entering Philadelphia two weeks later. Congress escaped to York and Washington retired to winter in Valley Forge.
By June 30, Burgoyne's eight
thousand soldiers landed near Ticonderoga, and ingeniously dragged some cannon up Sugarloaf Hill overlooking the fort. The defenders departed immediately. Vainly hoping for Loyalist reinforcements, Burgoyne chose to travel overland. Terrain and tree barricades slowed his detachments, while rebel marksmen picked off stragglers. Two detachments were destroyed by American infiltrators and Arnold's agents frightened off Burgoyne's Native American allies.
Eventually Burgoyne reached the Hudson. Battle
ensued at Freeman's Farm (September 19) and at Bemis Heights (October 7). Burgoyne retreated to Saratoga, pursued by an American army under Gates and Arnold. Concealed by fog, Burgoyne prepared a cannonade upon the Americans but, warned by British deserters, they remained beyond range. Cut off from Clinton in New York, Burgoyne surrendered on October 17. The soldiers were imprisoned near Boston where many defected.
In England, the Opposition
lambasted Lord North's government, with Charles Fox's oratory stunning the ministers into silence. The government survived only due to the French threat.

Enter the French

America had been receiving covert
assistance from France since 1776. Following Saratoga, the French began assembling military forces for American service. War with Britain was not declared until June 1778.
A final British peace mission foundered
owing to Congress's refusal to withdraw the Declaration of Independence. In February 1778, Clinton replaced Howe as
commander-in-chief.
Washington's troops at Valley Forge endured a
harsh winter, while their generals schemed to replace Washington. Baron von Steuben, a Prussian mercenary, drilled the men intensively and instructed

the officers in tactics. Howe, though encamped twenty miles away, ignored this activity.

Fearing French intervention, Clinton withdrew from Philadelphia to New York. Travelling overland to protect the Loyalist families and supplies, the army was harried by the Americans with the rearguard being severely mangled at Monmouth Court House (June 28).

The Toulon fleet under Comte d'Estaing reached New York too late to prevent Clinton's redeployment. Admiral Howe had anchored a squadron in the shallower harbor waters, safe from the heavier French ships. D'Estaing realized the situation was hopeless and sailed to Rhode Island to cover the landing of an American army under the Marquis de Lafayette. Howe's fleet appeared off Newport (August 8) and the enemies circled for two days before a gale enabled the smaller British vessels to attack. French damage was so severe that d'Estaing left for Boston. The assault on Newport was abandoned.

The northern war became a stalemate of British raids on settlements and American counter-attacks on British-held outposts.

All the World Against Them

The struggle for American independence was not confined to the North American continent. Although the Continental Navy could only muster an ineffectual twenty-seven ships, a tenth the size of Britain's fleet at the war's outset, American privateers threatened merchant shipping around the British Isles, in the Atlantic, and in the Caribbean. From 1777 to 1781, two hundred vessels were captured every year by privateers, leading to loud demands for peace from British merchants.

France's entry into the fray in 1778 was followed by Spain in 1779 and Holland in 1780. All had previously secretly supported the American rebellion; the Dutch, in particular, through gun running. Their new status limited the number of British squadrons available for overseas offensives. Indeed the Earl of Sandwich, then First Lord of the Admiralty, was resolute that home waters must be protected and hampered efforts to reinforce Admiral Howe against d'Estaing's Toulon fleet.

The Channel Fleet under Admiral Keppel clashed with the Brest Fleet under Comte d'Orvilliers in July 1778. This inconclusive battle off Ushant enabled the French to increase their support to the Americans.

By 1779, there was a very real danger of an invasion of Britain. A fleet of sixty-six French and Spanish ships held command of the English Channel. An army of fifty thousand soldiers was encamped on the French coast waiting to embark on transport ships. Only a sudden storm and sickness in the crews prevented Plymouth being taken. Changes in plans by the French lifted the invasion menace. Meanwhile the Spanish besieged Gibraltar, which was not to be relieved until 1781.

Sandwich's harassment of Keppel led to a number of capable naval officers with Whig sympathies refusing to serve while Sandwich remained First Lord. Despite the political troubles and the many threats, the Royal Navy was still able to support the southern campaigns in America and to retaliate against the other

colonial powers, with Admiral Rodney capturing seven Spanish ships off Cape St Vincent and the island of Saint Eustatius in the West Indies from Holland in 1780. Rodney further restored British fortunes in the West Indies by conclusively defeating and capturing de Grasse at the Battle of the Saintes off Dominica on April 12, 1782.

The Southern

Campaigns
The British believed that seapower and loyalist support would conquer the South. Georgia was occupied by the end of January 1779, with Savannah and Augusta becoming British bases. Campaigning ceased during the hot summer. Congress requested D'Estaing to support an American assault on Savannah. His fleet sailed from the Caribbean and bombarded Savannah ineffectively for four days from October 4. A hasty infantry attack was repulsed decisively, and the squabbling allies dispersed.
Clinton struck in South Carolina, leading 7,600 soldiers to Charleston, which surrendered quickly in May 1780. Clinton garrisoned the town with four thousand under Cornwallis, believing that his subordinate could adequately defend Charleston. Clinton and the remainder returned to New York.
However Cornwallis took the offensive, sending three detachments inland. He also failed to suppress atrocities committed by loyalists and patriots, attempting conciliation instead.
The Americans (under Gates) tried to dislodge Cornwallis but his army was broken at Camden (August 16). The slaughter of loyalists on King's Mountain (October 7) and rampant fever demoralized the British through the winter.
Cornwallis defeated Greene's army at Guildford Court House (March 15), sustaining heavy casualties. Cornwallis entered Virginia while Greene marched to South Carolina. The British proceeded to defeat Greene at Hobkirk's Hill in April, at Ninety-Six in June, and at Eutaw Springs in September, but Greene regrouped each time. Partisan activity forced the British to withdraw, becoming besieged in Savannah and Charleston.
Cornwallis established himself in Yorktown. Washington was in desperate straits with a mutinous army and dwindling resources, so resolved on a final sally against Cornwallis.

Yorktown to The Peace Of Paris

A French fleet under Comte de Grasse took possession of Chesapeake Bay (August 31). Admiral Graves' squadrons engaged the French indecisively on September 5. The French retained control and Graves returned to New York. The British commanders now dithered on how to rescue Cornwallis.
Meanwhile a Franco-American army besieged Yorktown in mid-September, Washington himself arriving in early October. Cornwallis was outnumbered four to one, as half his force were invalids. Yorktown was heavily bombarded from October 9 onward. A nocturnal evacuation by boat across the York River was foiled by a storm.

On October 19, 1781, Clinton and Graves sailed from New York. The same day Cornwallis surrendered. On learning this five days later, the fleet returned to New York.

In England, Lord North resigned on March 20, 1782. Lord Shelburne's new government entered negotiations with the Americans to agree a preliminary peace in 1782, with the Peace of Paris being signed in 1783. Britain recognized American independence, returned East and West Florida to Spain, but retained Canada. The British quitted New York on November 25, 1783, and Washington entered in triumph, before retiring to his estate.

The American War was finished.

Divided

Loyalties

The American War of Independence was more than just a rebellion against colonial rule. It divided the entire nation into patriotic Whig rebels and Tory loyalists. The strife assumed the characteristics of a very bloody civil war with each side committing atrocities against the other. Cruelties were perpetrated against men, women, and children. "Outliers" took advantage of the chaos to raid patriots and loyalists alike for personal profit.

The number of Americans with loyalist sympathies was somewhere between a fifth and a quarter of the population. Loyalists, like their patriot brethren, could be found throughout society from laborers to shopkeepers to the professional classes. One-sixteenth of America's manpower (or 400,000 men) served in either the Continental Army or the militias; forty loyalist regiments were raised during the war, some of which were assimilated into the regular British army afterward. Loyalist officers were considered one rank inferior to their regular army counterparts in the first half of the war, owing to their lack of formal training.

In the government and even among the British high command, there was a naive complacency concerning the numbers of loyalists and their willingness to openly fight the rebellion. Intimidation by the Sons of Liberty and other patriot organizations ensured the silence of many loyalists. As the fortunes of war shifted, declared loyalists had to leave with the redcoats or face reprisals.

At the peace negotiations, the British inserted clauses in the Treaty of Paris concerning the payment of debts to British citizens and an appeal to Congress for fair treatment of loyalists remaining in America. These provisions were not honored. Up to a hundred thousand "United Empire Loyalists" and their families, including many who had served in the British forces, left America to resettle in Canada, the West Indies, and England.

The loyalists who remained were frequently harshly treated by the states, being deprived of rights and property, and fined. However those who had been careful about declaring their sympathies blended into the new Republic's society, accepted the new status quo, and were fully reintegrated within a generation.

The French Revolution

Countdown to

Revolution
The *ancien régime* of France was beset with
troubles by 1786. Louis XVI, although absolute in theory, was in practice a weak and vacillating monarch. The wealthy aristocracy, excluded from power for decades, were intent on defending their privileges and eclipsing the monarchy's authority. The prosperous bourgeoisie seethed with discontent at being denied status and a share in national responsibility. The despised peasantry and urban poor were overtaxed and often hungry owing to poor harvests. Finally France was nearly bankrupt as a consequence of financing wars from Louis XIV to the American Revolutionary War.
Finance
Minister Calonne presented an ambitious program of administrative and economic reforms to Louis XVI in August 1786, and an Assembly of Notables was summoned to discuss the proposals in February 1787. The Notables, comprising nobles, prelates, state councilors and magistrates, condemned the plans, as they threatened their privileges. Calonne was replaced by the Archbishop Brienne, and the king made a number of concessions to the privileged classes. The Notables rejected the revised plan and the Assembly dissolved in May.
Brienne now presented the plan to the
parlement of Paris. These magistrates rejected it piecemeal, and the king was forced to exile the *parlement*. However they were recalled in September, and consented to temporary tax measures in return for a summons of the Estates General. In May 1788, the king removed the fiscal powers and limited the judicial powers of the *parlements*.
The magistrates
decried these reforms as an attack on provincial liberties and a maneuver to delay the summons of the Estates General. The local aristocracy were also dissatisfied by the inroads in their legal powers. Political agitators
stirred up a nationwide revolt in the provinces. Though the summer bloodshed was minimal, an actual civil war seemed a real possibility, compelling Brienne in July to announce the summoning of the Estates General for May 1, 1789.

France under Louis XVI

Louis XVI
ascended the throne on May 10, 1774, at the age of nineteen, following the death of his grandfather, Louis XV. Although he was not unpopular with the people, his wife, Marie Antoinette, was disliked because of her Austrian origin.
His grandfather had suppressed the *parlements* as a
threat to royal authority. In an ill-advised act, Louis XVI restored them in 1774, allowing the magistrates to hinder his ministers, while posing as the champions of the people. Had they remained suspended, the ministries of the 1770s and 1780s might have succeeded in reforming French finances and society, saving the monarchy.
Excluded from power since the

previous century, the nobility were intent on breaking the Bourbon dynasty's "absolute" power. Their privileges were many and varied, including exemption from a number of taxes, ancient feudal rights, and virtually exclusive access to diplomatic, army and church positions. Many aristocrats employed lawyers to resurrect new feudal obligations, much to the distress of the peasantry.

The French Roman Catholic Church was effectively a state within a state. Immune from taxation, save such monies as it donated to the government, it controlled education, censorship, hospitals and social welfare. Its aristocratic bishops also helped govern the provinces. Despite the poverty and humility of the lower clergy, the privileges of the prelates helped encourage antipathy toward traditional religion in the towns.

The prosperous urban middle class forming the French bourgeoisie sought to acquire entry into the aristocracy, just as wealthy magnates in the seventeenth had purchased their status as *noblesse de robe*. Richer than many nobles, the bourgeois were scrupulous in maintaining social distinctions among their own ranks. Their upward progress was thwarted by aristocratic privilege and refusal to assimilate the commoners by marriage.

For the urban poor, lack of money was the principal grievance. Wages, while rising, were unable to match the increased cost of living, and industrial unrest was becoming common. In the countryside, only a quarter of the peasantry owned land outright. More than half were *métayers* (sharecroppers) who shared their produce with their landlords. The rest were landless laborers who worked for wages. All paid many direct and indirect taxes plus a tithe to the church, and were subject to onerous feudal duties.

The Bourgeois

Revolution

Politics now became fashionable, with meetings being held in the salons and coffee-houses. The Masonic lodges discussed the writings of the *philosophes*; the bourgeoisie joined the reopened political clubs. The liberal leaders formed the secretive Committee of Thirty in November 1788, which financed political pamphlets, corresponded with the provincial middle class, and coached potential deputies. The pamphlets of the Abbé Sieyès were influential in formulating the political demands of the Third Estate and identifying the people with the nation.

The forthcoming meeting of the Estates General compelled the contending parties to define their aims in *cahiers de doléances*. All three orders agreed to some degree of reform, however the nobility wished to preserve their privileges, the clergy to retain their independence, and the third estate sought the removal of feudal dues.

The Estates General (see box p. 00) opened on May 5, 1789 with Brienne's replacement Necker outlining the reforms to be discussed. The division of the orders into separate meeting chambers induced a month of procedural wrangling. Sieyès broke the deadlock by initiating a verification of the elections on June 10 and instigated the reconstitution of the Commons as the self-styled National Assembly on June 17. Two days

later, the clergy voted to join this body.
The king, who had been in
secluded mourning for his dead son, was persuaded to hold a royal session of the Estates General. In preparation, the main assembly hall was closed. The deputies misunderstood this as a preliminary to dissolution and assembled in a nearby tennis court, where they swore an oath not to separate until a constitution was established.
Louis XVI used the royal session of
June 23 to annul the decrees of June 17. He presented a program of financial control, taxation and judicial reforms, and maintenance of privileges. After he had quit the assembly, the Third Estate deputies refused to leave. Strengthened by liberal nobles and clergy, they defied an attempt at dissolution. On June 27, Louis XVI ordered joint meetings of the estates to forestall incipient revolt in Paris.

The Estates
General were a representative assembly of the three "estates" or "orders" of French society, namely the clergy, the nobility, and the Third Estate of the commoners. Only called in emergencies to provide the Kings of France with political or financial support, the last summons in 1614 had failed to reach any conclusion owing to the inability of the orders to agree.
Two
issues dominated the preparations for the 1789 summons: the demand for "double representation" of the third estate, and whether the method of voting should be by order or by head. Voting by order would enable the privileged orders to nullify any majority of the commons. Voting by head would allow liberal clergy and nobility to support commons majorities. Popular indignation ensured that the third estate could elect as many representatives as the other two orders combined. The voting procedure was not clarified in advance.
There was a system of elections for each
order. The nobility elected their delegates by direct and universal suffrage. Of their 291 deputies, most were conservative provincial landowners. Ninety were however liberals, including the Marquis de Lafayette whose American exploits had given him a "naïve" enthusiasm for republicanism, and the Duc d'Orléans, a cousin to Louis XVI, who was suspected of having designs on the throne. Similarly the clergy elected their three hundred representatives by direct suffrage. Only forty-two of the clerical delegates were prelates; the vast majority were ordinary parish priests.
The delegates for the third estate were determined by a
complex system of indirect elections. To be eligible, voters had to be at least twenty-five years old and registered taxpayers. The consequence of the indirect system was to eliminate most peasant delegates in the final stage. The 610 deputies of the third estate were therefore dominated by middle-class professionals. One quarter were lawyers, one seventh were industrialists and bankers, and less than one tenth were prosperous farmers. Some deputies were actually members of other orders, such as the Abbé Sieyès and the Comte de Mirabeau.

*** Insert map of
"Paris in the French Revolution" - using Either hibbert-paris1790.tif Or schama-paris.tif ***

The Popular Revolution

The dismissal of Necker and troop movements outside Paris in early July convinced the Parisians that invasion was imminent. On July 14, the municipal authorities united with the electoral assembly to form the Paris Commune to rule the city and created a citizen guard of twelve hundred.

The frantic search for weapons led to an attack upon the Bastille, prison, arms depot and citadel (July 14). The garrison commander, De Launay, was frightened into opening fire on the besiegers, killing almost a hundred. The besiegers were soon reinforced by three hundred incensed citizen guards. De Launay threatened to explode the magazine, but unexpectedly surrendered. The mob stormed the citadel and De Launay was killed.

The fall of the Bastille transferred effective authority to the National Assembly, encouraged revolution in the provinces, and freed France from press censorship leading to an upsurge in radical journalism. It also marked the start of the émigré exodus of conservative nobles. Louis XVI visited Paris and sanctioned the tricolor's adoption as national flag.

The provinces followed Paris by replacing the *intendants* with decentralized municipal committees. The Great Fear, a form of mass hysteria, swept across France from July 20 to August 6, as the provinces ascribed army movements to the incursion of armed bandits and the émigré exodus as a prelude to foreign invasion.

To restore order, the Assembly authorized concessions to the peasants, staged a surrender of feudal rights and fiscal immunities by liberal nobles, and drafted a declaration of rights in August. Louis XVI refused to acquiesce to the new decrees and ordered the Flanders regiment to march on Versailles.

Unemployment and a food crisis in Paris enabled agitators to encourage the working class to believe that the king could solve these crises, if he was in Paris. The welcoming banquet for the Flanders regiment provided the necessary provocation. On October 5, six thousand Parisian women (and some disguised male *agents provocateurs* in the pay of the Duc d'Orléans) marched to Versailles, followed by the National Guard led by an unwilling Lafayette. The precincts were invaded but the king was able to calm a deputation of the women. Violence flared the next morning when a mob invaded the palace, slaughtering the royal guard. The queen barely escaped to the safety of her husband's presence. When Lafayette had restored order, the royal family were taken to Paris as effective hostages of the crowd.

Let Them Eat Cake

The callous reply, "Let them eat cake!", on hearing that the people had no bread to eat, was attributed by the political agitators to Marie Antoinette as part of their ongoing campaign to discredit her reputation. For the urban poor and the peasantry, the availability and price of bread was a matter of life and death. Half the income of the poor was usually spent on bread.

While full-scale famines had virtually disappeared during the eighteenth century in France, bad harvests and food shortages still provoked local peasants' revolts or *jacqueries*. The price of the four-pound loaf was a useful indicator of potential unrest. Normally selling at eight or nine sous, it soared to fourteen and a half sous in the week before the storming of the Bastille. A fortnight later, its price had subsided to twelve sous.

The rural unrest of the winter of 1788 was triggered by the poor harvest. Lacking government control, bread was one and a half times more expensive in the country than in the towns. By the spring, the insurrections had developed into revolts against game laws and feudal rights. Ch<\#137>teaux were invaded and the manorial rent rolls were destroyed. Enclosed fields were restored to common land status. There was no indiscriminate disorder with only a handful of nobles being killed in the conflicts. To the court of Louis XVI, it appeared as if the peasantry had made common cause with the urban working classes, suggesting that a nation-wide rebellion was a real possibility.

The Great Fear of July and August 1789 intensified the rural revolts. Rumors spread about "brigands" working as counter-revolutionaries on behalf of the nobles, with troop movements and large numbers of unemployed mendicants providing "evidence." Frightened magistrates and clergy warned their neighbors with minor incidents becoming magnified by distance. Skeptics were assumed to be aristocratic sympathizers. The absence of provincial newspapers prevented more objective reporting of the facts.

A New

Constitution

The Constituent Assembly now embarked on creating a constitution. Guided by Sieyès, this made distinctions between "active" and "passive" citizens, the former having political as well as civil rights. Local government was remodeled with the provinces replaced by departments subdivided into districts, cantons, and communes. The king was given a suspensive veto on laws, but no power to dissolve the Assembly. The new France would be a federation of autonomous departments with a weak executive and strong legislature.

The reforms extended to the Catholic Church with the nationalization of ecclesiastical property, reduction in bishoprics and the popular election of prelates and priests. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy was ratified in July 1790. The church split on the issue. In March 1791, Pope Pius VI condemned the reforms, simultaneously shattering Louis XVI's hopes that the Assembly would now adopt a conciliatory policy to the monarchy.

Finally the king was persuaded to flee for his safety and to allow armed intervention by Spain and Austria. Axel de Fersen, a Swedish count, and Marquis de Bouillé, planned and financed the escape from the heavily guarded Tuileries palace on June 20. The queen's insistence that the family travel together prevented the use of a fast coach. Failure to maintain the pre-arranged schedule stopped the royals from meeting their military escort and a postmaster recognized the king from his portrait on a banknote. The National Guard recaptured the party at Varennes (June 21) and returned them to

Paris.
Louis XVI accepted the new Constitution on September 14. The Constituent Assembly dissolved itself and was replaced in October by the Legislative Assembly, elected by "active" property-owning citizens. While the queen continued to intrigue with Austria and émigrés, envoys were sent to Prussia and England in vain attempts to ensure their neutrality. The Brissotin faction in the Assembly preached an ideological war of peoples versus monarchs and was opposed by Robespierre's Jacobins. The impetuous Francis II ascended the Austrian throne, while the Brissotin administration essayed further secret diplomacy. War with Austria and Prussia was declared on April 20, 1792.
The war began disastrously with immediate French defeats. In France, the court was suspected of supporting the Austrians. To prevent counter-revolution, the Assembly decreed the disbanding of the royal guard and summoned twenty thousand provincial National Guardsmen. Radical discontent was stirred in the Parisian administrative sections by the king's vetoing of the summons and dismissal of the Brissotin ministry. The king eventually conceded. The *fédéré* soldiers arrived in the capital during July, and under Jacobin influence, began demanding the king's dethronement.
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Girondins and

Jacobins
Revolutionary politics was dominated by personalities and factions, mostly organized around political clubs.
The Jacobins were the oldest political club, becoming identified with extreme violence and egalitarianism. Drawing their support from Paris and the urban poor, their deputies became known as Montagnards and "the Mountain," because they occupied the higher benches of the assemblies.
The Feuillants were moderate Jacobins, formed following Louis XVI's failed escape, with the aim of upholding the monarchy and limiting the progress of the Revolution. Although well represented in the Legislative Assembly, they disintegrated with the deposing of the king in August 1792.
The Girondins, initially known as Brissotins (after Jacques-Pierre Brissot) during the Legislative Assembly, drew their support from the provinces. The Girondin name was due to their later leaders coming from the department of the Gironde. Moderate republicans, this Jacobin faction advocated stern measures against émigrés and anti-revolutionary clergy, proposed war on foreign powers to unite the people, and liberal economic policies. Their provincial backing and efforts to limit Parisian political dominance left them open to allegations of supporting "federalism" -- the dismemberment of France into a federation.
The Cordeliers were founded in 1790, ostensibly to prevent the abuse of power and defend the "rights of man." Led by Danton, this club demanded the dethronement of Louis XVI after his attempted flight. It was temporarily disbanded following the

massacre (July 17, 1791) of the Champ-de-Mars presentation of their petition. Danton and his allies left the Club in August 1792. The Cordeliers became more radical under Jacques-René Hébert. The Hébertist faction demanded direct democracy, favored harsh measures against speculators and rebels, and organized the suppression of organized Christianity. The Cordelier Club disappeared after Hébert's execution.

In the assemblies, the middle ground was occupied by the "Plain," independent deputies without links to the factions.

Outside the Clubs were the Enragés, "Wild Men," who supported price and currency controls to assist the poor. Their leaders, the former priest Jacques Roux and postal official Varlet, were arrested by Robespierre, and their radical agenda was adopted by Hébert.

Death of A King

Counter-revolutionary fears led to a mob invasion of the Tuileries and massacre of the Swiss Guards on August 10. While Lafayette made overtures to Louis XVI for a military coup to save the monarchy, the Revolutionary Paris Commune insisted on imprisoning the royals in the Temple. Vigilance committees were organized to interrogate and arrest suspected reactionaries. News of revolts in La Vendée and the worsening war coupled with the fear of a "prison plot" where escaped prisoners would lead a counter-revolution triggered a series of massacres in the Paris prisons during the first week of September.

The National Convention assembled on September 20, abolished the monarchy the next day, and decreed that the first year of the Republic should be dated from September 22. During January 1793, the delegates debated the future of Louis XVI. The Girondins tried to spare him a judicial trial, and later execution, but Robespierre and his allies were adamant that death was the only punishment for treason. On January 21, Louis XVI was guillotined.

Days of Terror

Victory at Valmy and the occupation of Savoy and Nice in the previous year emboldened Danton to advocate that France should expand to its "natural frontiers." On January 31, the occupation of Holland was ordered, and war declared against Britain the next day. Perceived food hoarding and war profiteering precipitated insurrections by the Enragés.

The desertion of General Dumouriez to Austria after failing to induce his troops to restore Louis XVII implicated the Girondins whose attempts to attack their opponents during April and May backfired. The Girondin leaders were arrested June 2 by the Committee of Public Safety.

A federalist revolt continued from May to July despite a proposed new constitution and the sale of émigré lands to impoverished peasants. The rebellions disintegrated owing to poor leadership, tainted association with royalists, and the danger of Austrian and Spanish invasion.

The Committee of Public Safety came under

Robespierre's leadership in late July, facing opposition from Enragés, Dantonists, and Hébertists. The Enragés pressed for price controls, while Danton urged the conversion of the committee into a provisional government with the long-term aim of replacing Robespierre as its head.
On August 27, Toulon surrendered itself and its fleet to the British under Lord Hood. This and other news of the war created pressure to incarcerate suspects and reorganize the Revolutionary Tribunal.
During the autumn and winter of 1793, the Terror was threefold: a political terror against counter-revolutionaries and federalists, an economic terror against food monopolists and currency manipulators, and a religious terror against organized Christianity. October and November occasioned the great state trials of the queen, the Brissotins, the Girondins, and the Orléanists. All were found guilty and guillotined.
Danton, who had been convalescing in the country, returned in late November. Strengthened by the young Napoleon Bonaparte's ousting of the British from Toulon, he proposed a policy of clemency, attacking the atheist Hébertists.
Recognizing Danton's intentions to assume power, Robespierre determined to eliminate all his rivals. The foreign origins of several leading Hébertists made them easy targets for allegations of participation in a "foreign" plot. An abortive Hébertist insurrection in March 1794 was foiled by the preemptive arrests of the faction, who were summarily tried and executed on March 25.
Financial corruption of a Dantonist clique provided an excuse to widen the indictment to encompass Danton and his principal allies (March 30). The brief trials were abruptly ended when Danton's eloquent defense became too troublesome for the judges and the Jacobins. The Dantonists were guillotined on April 5.

Victims of the Guillotine

Invented by the physician Joseph-Ignace Guillotin, the guillotine was introduced as the Revolutionary means of execution so that the privilege of decapitation would no longer be limited to the aristocracy, and that death would be as painless as possible.
During Robespierre's Reign of Terror, three hundred thousand suspects were arrested. Two thousand and six hundred people were executed in Paris, and fourteen thousand were guillotined in the provinces. Most of the victims were commoners; only 9% were nobility and 6% were clergy. Defeated generals, failed politicians, counter-revolutionaries, currency manipulators, food hoarders, and the well-to-do were all dispatched in the "red Mass." Relatives and friends were condemned for showing affection for previous victims.
In the provinces, even greater cruelty was demonstrated by some *répresentants en mission*. Joseph Fouché at Lyons had three hundred prisoners executed by cannon fire. At Toulon, several hundred suspected royalists were shot after the British evacuation. Three thousand died of disease in the prisons of Nantes, with a further two thousand being drowned in the Loire.

Denounced,
perhaps unjustly, the victim would be arrested in the middle of the night and imprisoned to await a meeting of the Revolutionary Tribunal. A brief hearing, later without defense lawyers or defense witnesses, would yield a guilty verdict. In Paris, a batch of prisoners would be taken by cart to the Place de la Révolution, where thousands regularly gathered to witness the executions, drinking wine and laying bets on the order of death. Their hair shorn, the victims would be thrown onto the plank, clamped in place at the neck, and the blade released to sever their heads. The bodies would be thrown into bloody tumbrils.
Not everyone delighted in the
spectacle. Many in Paris wearied of the endless processions of death; others including those on the route to the scaffold were disgusted by
it.
Following Robespierre's downfall, the revolutionaries became
the victims of the White Terror. Members of the Revolutionary Tribunal were guillotined. In the southern provinces, officials were lynched or murdered by associates of their victims. Assassins, known as the *Compagnie du Soleil*, conducted campaigns of retribution.

Revolutionary Days

Robespierre now ruled supreme.
However problems began to emerge with a rift in the Committee of Public Safety over the free distribution of suspects' land to poor peasants.
Friction between the Committees of Public Safety and General Safety increased due to intersection of powers and responsibilities. The public festivals of the Cult of the Supreme Being in June alienated the Convention deputies, some deeming it a repudiation of freedom of religion, and others a rejection of freedom *from* religion. General Jourdan's victory over Austria at Fleurus (June 26) and the subsequent reconquest of Belgium made the ongoing Terror seem unnecessary to the frightened deputies.
On
July 26, Robespierre angered the National Convention with a speech filled with accusations and threats. The next day (9 Thermidor), Robespierre and his henchmen were arrested in the Convention. Robespierre was taken to the H<\#153>tel de Ville; his colleagues were released by the Commune and joined him. Hanriot, commander of the Parisian National Guard, was too drunk to lead an effective resistance and his units dissipated during the night.
Forces loyal to the Convention were thus able to recapture Robespierre in the morning. Condemned by the Revolutionary Tribunal, he was executed that afternoon.
The severity of the winter accentuated the resentment of
the disenfranchised *sans-culottes* who revolted on April 1, 1795 (12 Germinal) and May 20 (1 Prairial). Both insurrections were easily suppressed. In June, a royalist incursion of Brittany was swiftly defeated.
However worsening conditions for the poor encouraged the royalists to intrigue with Breton rebels and the disaffected. In early October, the revolt erupted in Paris. The Convention appointed Paul Barras to defend the Republic. In turn, he persuaded Napoleon Bonaparte to command the Convention's forces. Rather than win by attrition, the rebels attempted to storm the Tuileries in column and were routed by disciplined artillery.

The Convention dissolved and its successor, the Directory, became the new government of France.

What if . . .

Ending the Revolution
It was possible for the Revolution to have been avoided completely. Calonne's reforms would have reduced the feudal characteristics of France, limited the powers of the provincial assemblies, and provided permanent stable finances. The Bourbons would have become an enlightened autocracy, giving France the opportunity to overtake Britain's progress. Had Brienne forced the reforms through the Paris *parlement* en bloc, a similar outcome would have resulted.
Once the Estates-General met, Louis XVI could have transformed France into a limited constitutional monarchy by seizing the initiative on May 5, 1789 with a program of reforms and ensuring voting "by head." The Third Estate plus liberal nobles and clergy would have backed him, and France's political structures would have resembled Britain's.
Mirabeau's activities from October 1789 to April 1791 were also aimed at achieving a constitutional monarchy and a ministerial position for himself. If he had been able to block the decree (November 7, 1789) preventing Assembly deputies becoming ministers, his plans would likely have succeeded. Denied high office, his intrigues would have assisted the royal cause, had Louis and Marie-Antoinette heeded his advice. A limited stable monarchy would have allowed France to rebuild its colonial empire, and forestalled the political chaos which encouraged Napoleon's ambitions.
If the flight to Varennes had succeeded, perhaps by separating the royal party, a ruthless adherence to the schedule, or not being recognized, then a Bourbon restoration would have been effected through Austrian and Prussian armies. Maintaining the monarchy without political concessions would demand a police state and transform France into a subservient ally of its imperial neighbors. French colonies might become rewards for the protectors. At worst, further rebellions might trigger long-term occupation and eventual partition to erstwhile protectors. Perhaps a World War in the nineteenth century might occur?
A Franco-British alliance in 1792 might have occurred had Talleyrand ignored the Opposition and conducted his secret diplomacy only with the government. The offer included giving Tobago to Britain, new commercial treaties, and uniting to acquire South America from Spain. While Austria, Prussia, and Russia might threaten the balance of power, the conflict would uncover brilliant generals such as Napoleon. Backed rather than stymied by British fleets, Napoleon's armies would be invincible. France would dominate continental Europe and Britain would be supreme overseas.
The death of Louis XVI's son, the uncrowned Louis XVII, (June 8, 1795) from tuberculosis in captivity made his uncle, the reactionary Comte de Provence, Louis XVIII. This ended the last hope for a peaceful restoration of a constitutional monarch.

The Revolutionary Wars

Defending the

Republic

The Revolutionary Wars began with the French declaration of war against Austria and Prussia on April 20, 1792. The revolutionary army was initially unable to withstand the Allied forces under the Duke of Brunswick. Heavy summer rain and poor collaboration between the allied units slowed their advance into France. Brunswick's army encountered a French force under General Dumouriez encamped at a hill at Valmy on September 20. The French held their position under heavy artillery fire until Brunswick disengaged and retreated.

Over the next six weeks, the French capitalized on the Valmy victory, pursuing the Prussians into the Rhineland, invading Belgium following Dumouriez's triumph over the Austrians at Jemappes, and seizing Nice and Savoy from the Sardinians. The French offensive slackened after Britain, Holland, and Spain joined the war in spring 1793. Dumouriez's invasion of Holland faltered with his forces retreating into Belgium. Defeated by the Austrians at Neerwinden (March 18) and Louvain (March 21), Dumouriez signed an armistice with the Austrians and tried to persuade his troops to march on Paris to overthrow the government, but his troops deserted instead.

France was gripped by the federalist revolt during the summer of 1793. Royalist envoys invited the British in the shape of Vice-Admiral Hood's squadron to preserve Toulon for the uncrowned Louis XVII. Supported by Spanish and Neapolitan reinforcements, Hood's fleet entered Toulon on August 22, capturing a third of the French fleet. Hood garrisoned Toulon but failed to occupy all the strategic headlands. By August 31,Toulon was besieged by French Republicans led by the ineffective General Carteaux. From mid-September onward, the French artillery was commanded by Captain Napoleon Bonaparte. Several months of skirmishing followed until General Dugommier assumed command. Advised by Bonaparte, Dugommier led night attacks on December 17 capturing the headlands and imperiling the British fleet. Hood immediately evacuated Toulon. The destruction of the French fleet was bungled with eighteen ships-of-the-line recaptured by Dugommier. Fifteen thousand inhabitants fled with the British -- the rest were left to Republican justice.

Fortified by new conscripts drafted in the *levée en masse*, French armies under Pichegru routed British forces at Tourcoing in April 1794 while Jourdan accepted heavy losses to defeat a smaller Austrian-Dutch army at Fleurus in June and annex Belgium.

At sea, Admiral Earl Howe intercepted a French fleet escorting a grain convoy from America. Admiral Villaret detached the convoy and drew Howe north. On June 1, the two fleets engaged with Howe capturing six French ships-of-the-line and destroying a seventh. However the convoy escaped to Brest.

In 1795, the First Coalition against France collapsed. Pichegru entered Amsterdam in January while Jourdan had swept through the German city-states to the Rhine. Peace was signed in April with Prussia and in May with Holland which became the French-dominated Batavian Republic. The British-supported émigré landing at Quiberon Bay in June was annihilated a month later. After Catalonian defeats, Spain made

peace in July.

Interlude: Holland

The
United Provinces (as Holland was named) had been governed since 1759 by Stadtholder William V of the House of Orange. His aristocratic regime had stirred resistance in many classes of society which had taken shape as the Patriot movement. Although friendly to England, Dutch interference in the American struggle for independence nevertheless precipitated the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780-84). Dutch defeats increased support for the Patriots who took over the government and ousted William V who
fled.
Prussian intervention in 1789 returned William V to power.
Repression followed with many Patriots fleeing into foreign exile.
Encouraged by expected French support, the Patriots revenged themselves in 1795, deposing William V again, before the revolutionary armies could cross into Holland.
The Batavian Republic replaced the United Provinces.
The potpourri of provinces with unequal wealth and political rights was transformed into a unitary republic modeled on the French Directory. All citizens were now equal in law with all religions being tolerated. The effective French take-over induced the British to blockade Holland and seize Dutch colonies in the Caribbean, the East Indies and Africa in the name of William V (now in England). Shorn of its maritime trade and fishing and heavily taxed by France, the Republic turned inward, concentrating on farming.
In 1806, William V died, and his son, William VI,
encouraged the Dutch to cooperate with their conquerors. Meanwhile Napoleon reconstructed the Batavian Republic as the Kingdom of Holland with his brother Louis as king. Louis gained his subjects' respect by supporting Dutch interests rather than obeying Napoleon's orders. Consequently Napoleon removed Louis and incorporated Holland into the French Empire in 1810 to increase the efficacy of the Continental System against
Britain.
As the French Empire began to disintegrate, Dutch leaders
resolved to restore the hereditary Stadtholder on their own terms as opposed to any which might be dictated by the Allies. The retreat of the French in 1813 permitted a peaceful coup and William VI was invited to return as a constitutional monarch. At the Congress of Vienna, the Allies added Belgium and Luxembourg to his domains to create a single Kingdom of the Netherlands.

The Italian Campaign

In 1796,
Austria and Britain remained at war with France. Against Britain, the Directors encouraged commerce raiding and supported Irish rebels. Against Austria, the Directors sent two armies under Jourdan and Moreau to attack via Germany, and appointed General Bonaparte to command the Army of Italy. The German offensive was thwarted by the Austrian Archduke Charles. The French retreated home in October.

Meanwhile Bonaparte had achieved a series of spectacular victories. In April, his forces had shattered the Austrian and Piedmontese defense of the Maritime Alps. The threat to the Piedmontese capital of Turin induced Piedmont's surrender. Bonaparte then pursued the Austrians, breaking their rearguard at the bridge of Lodi on May 10, and capturing Milan five days later. The Directors then ordered Bonaparte to subjugate northern Italy, rather than continue against Austria. During October 1796, Lombardy was reorganized into French-dominated satellite republics. A stream of art treasures and taxation revenues from Italy helped to finance the Directory. After a prolonged siege with several victories over numerically superior Austrian forces at Castigione (August), Roverto (September), Arcole (November) and Rivoli (January), Bonaparte captured Mantua in February 1797.

Plans to combine the French, Spanish and Dutch fleets suffered a severe setback when Admiral Sir John Jervis defeated the Spanish fleet in battle off Cape St. Vincent (February 14), which then fled to Cadiz. The Dutch fleet remained penned in the Texel by Admiral Duncan's blockade.

In February, Bonaparte invaded the Papal States, acquiring Bologna, Romagna and other territories from a terrified Pope Pius VI. Then he turned his army against Austria, advancing to within a hundred miles of Vienna, before Emperor Francis II sued for peace on April 7. Between the preliminary truce and the Treaty of Campo-Formio in October, Bonaparte independently occupied the independent state of Venetia and rebuilt northern Italy into the Ligurian Republic (Genoa) and the Cisalpine Republic (Lombardy, Bologna, and Romagna). In return for Venice, Austria recognized the French annexation of Belgium and its expansion to the Rhine, enabling Bonaparte to present the Directors with a *fait accompli*.

Despite the naval mutinies at Spithead and the Nore during 1797 over pay and conditions, the Royal Navy had maintained its watch of the Texel. At French insistence, the Dutch fleet under Admiral De Winter was ordered to break the blockade and neutralize Duncan's squadron. Instead, it was the Dutch fleet which was destroyed by Duncan at the battle of Camperdown (October 11).

Interlude:

Italy

Both Lombardy and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies experienced programs of modest reform from 1769 until the advent of the French Revolution. In Lombardy, the measures were orchestrated from Austria; in the Two Sicilies, the impetus came from Ferdinand IV's ministers. Opposition from the privileged classes eliminated any lasting effects.

Peter Leopold (later Leopold II of Austria) masterminded more extensive legal and land reforms in Tuscany. His accession to the Austrian throne prevented implementation of his final goal: a constitutional monarchy supported by representative assemblies. His policies were forcibly opposed after his departure.

The other Italian states (Venice, Genoa, Savoy, and the Papacy) simply ignored the Enlightenment.

For the ordinary Italian, the French Revolution (as described in pamphlets and newspapers) was a struggle against monarchy. Widespread Freemasonry and secret societies promoted radical politics. Revolutionary plots were uncovered and squashed in Naples and Piedmont. With Napoleon's invasion in 1796, the first republics were created in northern Italy. Aristocrats governed the Ligurian Republic while moderate bureaucrats controlled the Cisalpine Republic despite the opposition of anti-French radicals. The Roman Republic founded in 1798 excluded both the pontiff and Italian Jacobins from power in the erstwhile Papal States. The short-lived Parthenopean Republic was carved in January 1799 from Ferdinand IV's Neapolitan domains following the repulse of his two-year campaign to restore the pope. Ferdinand fled to Sicily.

With the French distracted by the armies of the Second Coalition, Cardinal Ruffo's peasant rebels shattered the Parthenopean militias (and avenged themselves on disliked aristocrats), restoring Naples to Ferdinand in June 1799. Tuscany was similarly freed by clerically-led peasants, angered at French taxes.

The return of Napoleon in 1801 witnessed the recreation of the republics and the annexation of Italian territory to France. By 1806, "President" Napoleon of the Italian Republic was King of Italy with his stepson (Eugène de Beauharnais) as viceroy. Naples was reconquered, being ruled by Joseph Bonaparte until 1808, and then by ex-marshal Joachim Murat. Only Sicily and Sardinia remained outside the Napoleonic dominions.

As the Empire fragmented during 1814, Austrian and Neapolitan forces restored the old order in Italy. Beauharnais' resistance earned him a Bavarian retirement; Murat overestimated Italian nationalism and was executed in 1815 when a last-ditch attempt to recover his throne failed.

The Egyptian Campaign

1798 opened with the occupation of Rome and the establishment of the Roman Republic. Pope Pius VI was imprisoned in France. French agents and arms instigated a revolution in Switzerland and the Helvetic Republic was created in March.

Bonaparte, having decided that an invasion of England was impossible, pressed the Directors to approve a military expedition to Egypt which would open the way to British India. The Directors saw in Bonaparte's dreams of oriental conquest the opportunity to prevent him organizing a coup d'état. The fleet of warships and transports carrying thirty thousand troops and numerous scientists and thinkers sailed from Toulon in May.

The Knights of St. John surrendered Malta without resistance to Bonaparte (June 10) who garrisoned the island and then sailed to Alexandria, arriving and capturing it on July 2. The numerically superior Mameluke army was routed by disciplined French troops at the Battle of the Pyramids (July 21). Bonaparte entered Cairo the next day.

Ordered to intercept the French armada, Rear Admiral Nelson located de Bruey's fleet in Aboukir Bay (August 1) after weeks of fruitless searching. Nelson noticed the French had misjudged their anchorage, and so his squadron was able to attack them on

their landward as well as seaward sides. The result was the capture or destruction of eleven out of the fifteen French ships.
Stranded,
Bonaparte governed Egypt and suppressed occasional revolts. A small detachment under General Desaix chased Mameluke troops up and down the Nile valley for the next year. In February 1799, Bonaparte led a larger force into Greater Syria, easily defeating the Ottoman forces. A small British squadron under Sir Sydney Smith reached Acre on the Red Sea in time to capture a flotilla carrying Bonaparte's artillery before the general's eyes on March 17. While French forces won numerous engagements with the Turks during April, Acre, bolstered by British support, did not fall. The siege was lifted on May 20 and the French returned to Cairo.
In Europe,
forces of the Second Coalition of Britain, Russia, Austria, the Ottoman Empire, Naples and Portugal (created December 1798) were threatening France on many fronts. Archduke Charles defeated Jourdan and Masséna in the Rhineland, Suvorov's Russians drove the French out of northern Italy, Neapolitan rule was reasserted in southern Italy, and a combined British-Russian army invaded Holland.
The French recovery began with
Masséna's triumph over the Russians at Zurich (September 1799) followed by his capture of Constance in Germany preventing Archduke Charles from crossing the Rhine or assisting the British in Holland. The allies withdrew by November and Tsar Paul I left the coalition in disgust.

Interlude: Ireland

The American War required the
British to reduce their forces in Ireland. The Irish volunteer corps became both a defense against French invasion and an outlet for the reforms espoused by the orators Flood and Grattan. The British yielded, returning legislative independence to the Irish Parliament.
The French
Revolution inspired Presbyterians and Catholics to indulge in radical politics. Tone organized them into societies known as the United Irishmen. Their goals were full Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform. Once war with Revolutionary France started, these clubs were suppressed and went underground. In 1793 the British government granted Irish Catholics the right to vote to bolster their loyalty.
The United Irishmen
enlisted the support of Revolutionary France in 1794. A large expeditionary fleet and fourteen thousand troops under General Hoche and Tone set out in December 1796. Storms dispersed the fleet, sinking many ships, and no attempt was made by the survivors to land at Bantry Bay.
Unrest
continued to rise throughout 1797. Despite some of its leaders being arrested in early 1798, the United Irishmen rebellion erupted in May, mainly in Wexford and eastern Ulster. The northern rebels were crushed at Antrim and Ballinahinch. The Wexford rebels lasted longer. Having failed to capture the towns of Arklow and New Ross, they were overwhelmed by General Lake at Vinegar Hill (June 21).
Although Tone had been unable to persuade
Bonaparte to lead an expedition to Ireland, Generals Hardy and Humbert

accepted the commission. A thousand soldiers under Humbert sailed first, arriving in Killala Bay (August 23) rather than Donegal owing to contrary winds. Humbert captured Killala and Ballina with ease, and then advanced on Castlebar supported by several hundred Irish volunteers, routing a four-thousand strong army under Lake (August 27). Spontaneous uprisings among the Irish failed, and Humbert's force was captured by an army of thirty thousand on September 7. Delayed until mid-September by weather and logistics, Hardy's expedition was intercepted by the Royal Navy in October.

In reaction to the rebellion, Pitt implemented the Act of Union in 1801, eliminating the Irish Parliament and giving Ireland direct representation at Westminster. However Pitt's goal of permitting Catholics to become MPs was prevented by George III. Nevertheless Ireland was united with Britain.

The Directory

Since October 1795, France had been ruled by the Directory, a government possessing a weak five-man executive (the Directors) and a bicameral legislature, divided into the two hundred and fifty-strong Council of the Elders who accepted or vetoed legislation and the Council of the Five Hundred who proposed legislation. To ensure political continuity with the Convention, two thirds of the original membership were selected from the Convention. Thereafter partial elections were held annually beginning in April 1797 to replace one-third of the deputies. Similarly one Director was annually chosen by lot and replaced. The Directors were responsible for appointing commissioners to oversee all levels of local government.

Criticism of the regime began almost immediately, with vitriolic attacks from "Gracchus Babeuf," a "professional" revolutionary promoting communist ideals. The Babeuf conspiracy to overthrow the Directory was uncovered by the secret police in May 1796, with Babeuf being imprisoned and executed a year later.

Assisted by British agents such as Wickham in Switzerland and French constitutional monarchists, the 1797 election returned many moderate deputies. A royalist plot came to nothing, but provided an excuse for the Directors' coup of 18 Fructidor (September 4) to wrest their independence from the Councils, and eliminate monarchist deputies.

The royalist suppression encouraged a Jacobin revival. Despite Directorial interference in the 1798 elections including creating competing electoral assemblies, many Jacobin deputies were elected. However the Directors in concert with the existing Council members selectively annulled unpalatable results in the "coup" of 22 Floréal (May 11). Repression of royalists, refractory clergy, and Jacobins continued.

The 1799 elections returned more Jacobin deputies, and Sieyès became a Director. Through repression, repudiation of two-thirds of the national debt (owed to prosperous citizens), enforcement of the Revolutionary calendar, and mass conscription, the regime had alienated every segment of society. By June, Sieyès had replaced the other Directors with his supporters, and began to prepare a coup to replace the unstable Directory with a more secure

government.

Interlude: Austria

Ensuring
Austria's recovery from the Seven Years War became Empress Maria Theresa's principal concern. She introduced laws to limit serf exploitation by the nobility, with the dual aims of minimizing revolts and ensuring their ability to meet her taxes. Skilled workers from the periphery of and beyond the Empire were encouraged to resettle in crown lands.
Potential
conflict with Prussia and Russia over expansion into the Ottoman Empire was averted in 1772 through the expedient of dismembering Poland instead. Although Maria Theresa found the First Partition of Poland distasteful, pragmatism demanded it. An attempt to swap the Austrian Netherlands for Bavaria did lead to war with Prussia in 1778, but Maria Theresa avoided actual conflict by a direct intervention with Frederick II of
Prussia.
Her son, Joseph II, succeeded her in 1780. During the
1780s, he gradually abolished serfdom throughout the empire, dissolved some monasteries, and extended religious toleration to non-Catholics. In 1789, he proposed an egalitarian tax regime for all subjects, but these measures died with him in 1790.
Joseph's brother, Leopold II, returned from
Tuscany to become Emperor. Leopold quickly ended another border war with the Ottoman Empire and then turned his attention to domestic affairs. His proposals included giving commoners representation in government as a counter-balance to the nobility and would have strengthened the fractious empire. He died prematurely in 1792 and was succeeded by his son, Francis II.
Austria now considered Revolutionary France to threaten all
the monarchies of Europe. The inevitable war resulted in unexpected defeats and significant territorial losses. The period of peace between 1801 and 1805 gave Archduke Charles (Francis II's brother) the opportunity to reorganize the army. Nevertheless Austria was defeated again by Napoleon and Francis II was compelled to renounce his title as Holy Roman Emperor, becoming Francis I of Austria
From 1806 to 1809, Austrian
ministers attempted to create new armies by recruiting militia forces and appealing to nationalist sympathies in imperial territories. Renewed war brought further defeat. Count Metternich took charge of foreign policy, aiming to achieve coexistence with France by the marriage of Princess Marie-Louise to Napoleon.
Napoleon's intransigence compelled
Metternich to rejoin the Allies in 1813. Metternich was instrumental in restoring Austria's power at the Congress of Vienna.

First Consul

Meanwhile Bonaparte had left Egypt and his
army on August 23, evading the British blockade, and arriving in Paris on October 16. Sieyès required a successful general to ensure the

conspiracy's success. His original choice, General Joubert, had been recently killed fighting the Austrians. Using Talleyrand as a go-between, Sieyès secured Bonaparte's support.

On 18 Brumaire (November 9), the plotters acted. The Council of Elders was summoned for an emergency 7 a.m. meeting, and informed of a supposed Jacobin plot. Emergency powers were granted, Bonaparte made responsible for security, and both Councils requested to meet the next day. The uncommitted Directors were forced to resign. The Councilors realized the Jacobin danger was imaginary at their meeting, and started protesting against the intrigue. An address to them by Bonaparte inflamed the situation further. His brother, Lucien, first distracted the deputies and then persuaded the Council's guards to support Bonaparte in clearing the hall. Bonaparte, Sieyès, and the former Director Ducos formed a Provisional Consulate to govern France.

The Provisional Consuls set to work with financial and constitutional reforms. Bonaparte disagreed with the elaborate system of checks and balances proposed by Sieyès on consular powers and instigated his own structure which he bullied the remaining deputies into acclaiming with himself as First Consul. Legislation was proposed by the Consuls and the Council of State, debated by the 100-man Tribunate, and either accepted or rejected by the 300-strong Legislative Body. An appointed Senate "guarded" the constitution and appointed the Tribunes and Legislators. The new regime received popular support in a referendum in January 1800 (despite millions of abstentions and vote-rigging.)

Local administrators, from the prefects of the departments to the mayors of the commune, were also appointed. All local matters were referred to the prefects; important prefecture decisions were similarly sanctioned by the interior ministry.

Interlude: Spain

The reign of Charles III was distinguished by his appointment of a succession of reforming ministers influenced by various strands of Enlightenment thought. Although all were impeded by various traditional privileges, their efforts improved colonial administration, increasing revenue and providing a captive market for Spanish exports. The new colonial governors tripled revenues but were notoriously ruthless and self-serving. Revolts against royal decrees were common during the 1780s, though fear of the Native Americans limited the rebellions.

Charles III was succeeded in 1788 by his son, the weak Charles IV who was dominated by his wife. The reforming ministers were discredited by policy failures with regard to Revolutionary France, and replaced in 1792 by Manuel de Godoy, the queen's favorite and lover. War with France in 1793 led to a French invasion and republican stirrings in Catalonia and the north. Fearing revolution and distrusting Britain, Godoy allied Spain to France in 1796. The resulting isolation from the colonies due to British hostility nearly bankrupted Spain.

The War of the Oranges -- the short joint invasion of Portugal with France in 1801 -- gained Spain the province of Olivenza but failed to raise Godoy's

popularity. Spanish naval losses at Trafalgar (1805) increased discontent with pro-French policies. However Napoleon's continued continental successes dissuaded Godoy from leaving the alliance.
Godoy's plan to restore his prestige by dismantling Portugal in concert with France backfired when Napoleon made demands for Spanish territory and Prince Ferdinand's partisans staged a coup against Charles IV in 1808. Napoleon imposed his brother Joseph as King of Spain. Joseph's rule was supported by the *afrancesados* who believed that French rule was irresistible and would modernize Spain, but was opposed in the provinces. The provincial juntas organized military resistance to the French who easily triumphed over the regular soldiery. The liberation of Spain was accomplished from 1809 to 1813 by British forces under the Duke of Wellington and Spanish guerrillas.
Although the juntas issued a constitution in 1812 providing for a limited monarchy and a representative parliament, conservatives and the army ensured that Ferdinand VII returned to Spain as an absolute monarch in 1814.

From Marengo to Treaty of Amiens

With France secure, Bonaparte turned his attention to the war. Masséna was now besieged in Genoa while an army of 100,000 Austrians controlled northern Italy. Bonaparte with an army of 65,000 quickly crossed the Great St. Bernard Pass during May and reoccupied Milan, blocking the Austrian retreat. At the ensuing Battle of Marengo (June 14), Bonaparte's army was almost overwhelmed owing to his poor deployment of forces. Unexpectedly supported by Desaix's division, Bonaparte concentrated his cavalry and artillery on the Austrian center which broke. The Austrians accepted a temporary armistice.
Back in Paris, Bonaparte proclaimed Marengo as a great victory to strengthen his credibility, initiated negotiations with the Pope, and commenced the creation of the Civil Code (later called the Code Napoleon). French armies under Moreau, Brune, Murat, and Macdonald were poised to attack the Austrians following the armistice's end. On December 3, Moreau decisively defeated the Austrians at Hohenlinden, later compelling a second armistice. In mid-December, Tsar Paul, angered by British occupation of Malta, instigated the League of Armed Neutrality with Denmark, Sweden, and Prussia, excluding British trade from the Baltic.
On 24 December, a bomb hidden on a cart exploded as Bonaparte's carriage passed by en route to the opera. Bonaparte was unharmed but sixty Parisians were killed or injured. In response to this and other assassination plots, over a hundred Jacobin sympathizers were exiled to colonies in early January 1801. Fouché, the police minister, investigated further and discovered that the Opera Plot was the work of *chouan* rebels from Brittany. A hundred suspected royalists were imprisoned.
War with Austria was concluded with the Treaty of Lunéville (February 1801) which required Austria to recognize the terms of Campio-Formio under threat of invasion. Only Britain remained at war with France.

Britain resolved to break the League of Armed Neutrality, sending a fleet to Copenhagen under the cautious Admiral Hyde Parker with Nelson as second-in-command. The Danes refused to submit, so Nelson led his squadron through a shallow channel, bypassing the shore batteries, to bombard the Danish fleet and the city, disregarding orders to disengage (April 2). Denmark surrendered. The need to follow this success with attacks on the Swedish and Russian fleets was avoided when the new Tsar Alexander (succeeding his murdered father on March 23) sought agreement with Britain.

In Egypt, a British army initially under Abercromby defeated the French remnant under Menou at Alexandria (March 21). After his death, his successors abetted by the Turks harried the French further until the end of August. In September, the French force agreed to leave Egypt in return for an unmolested journey to France.

The Addington ministry in Britain which had succeeded Pitt in February was eager for peace. On October 1, Britain and France concluded the Preliminary Peace of London, which became the definitive Treaty of Amiens on March 27, 1802.

Interlude: England

British attitudes to the American conflict were mixed. Protestant Dissenters and commercial interests opposed it; King George III thought rebellion "sinful." By the late 1770s, it had encouraged the formation of several groups pressing for varying degrees of parliamentary reform. Some minor concessions were passed as the Catholic Relief Act of 1778. The crazy Lord Gordon founded the Protestant Association to coerce the Act's repeal, and incited the Gordon Riots (1780) in London which lasted eight days and cost over three hundred lives. Reform disappeared from the political agenda for a decade.

The end of the American war was followed by several short-lived ministries until William Pitt was successfully elected as prime minister in 1784. Undaunted by the expanded National Debt, Pitt raised additional revenue through higher taxes. By reducing import duties, he made legal trade more profitable than smuggling. The quickening pace of the Industrial Revolution also assisted Britain's recovery. He sought allies in Europe forming the Triple Alliance with Prussia and Holland in 1788.

British views on the French Revolution were divided. The Romantic poets supported it, Thomas Paine advocated similar changes in Britain, and Edmund Burke denounced it. Corresponding societies with reform and occasional French agendas appeared. Public opinion became hostile with Louis XVI's execution and attacks on Holland. Pitt suppressed the corresponding societies, all of which were eliminated or underground by 1795.

The expansion of the navy, army and home militias plus subsidies to continental allies ("Pitt's Gold") strained the nation, requiring the introduction of income tax in 1798 and large government loans. Home and colonial defense became the mainstay of British strategy while Napoleon remained supreme on land.

Pitt resigned over Catholic emancipation in Ireland and was replaced by Addington who succumbed to commercial pressures for peace with France. After the

failure of Amiens, Pitt returned briefly, dying in office in 1806. He was succeeded in turn by Grenville (1806-7), Bentinck (1807-9), and Perceval (1809-12).

Commercial demands for peace waned and waxed according to the markets made available or denied by the shifting coalitions of allies and foes. Political popularity rose or fell in proportion to military success abroad. After Perceval's assassination, Lord Liverpool became prime minister, strengthening Allied unity against Napoleon and promoting the abolition of the slave trade.

The Peace of

Amiens

The Addington administration in Britain was war-weary and weak, willing to experiment with peaceful coexistence with Consular France. Bonaparte needed peace to re-open routes to overseas colonies, restore trade, and rebuild the French navy. By exploiting the feeble British government, Bonaparte achieved an advantageous settlement with Britain returning most of its territorial gains. The Ottoman Empire recovered Egypt, Holland the Cape of Good Hope, and France Martinique. Britain retained Ceylon and Trinidad, but was to restore Malta to the Knights of St. John. France agreed to depart Naples and the Papal States.

While English visitors flocked to visit France, Bonaparte continued with his diplomacy with the Vatican, supplementing the original Concordat (agreed in July 1801) with a series of "Organic Articles" in April 1802. These additions had the effect of drastically limiting papal authority in France, subordinating the episcopate to the government, and regulating religious life in detail. The revised agreement removed the revolutionary persecutions and encouraged the ordinary clergy to seek guidance from Rome.

In addition to ensuring the ratification of the peace treaties and the Concordat, Bonaparte had many other reforms requiring parliamentary assent. In education, the republican secondary schools proposed in 1795 by the Directory were to be supplanted by the *lycées* which would train candidates for civil and military careers. In law, the Civil Code was now complete. To honor meritorious service, the *Légion d'Honneur* was created. Despite opposition, Bonaparte forced through his program.

Bonaparte's supporters manipulated the Senate into suggesting a ten-year extension of his consulship as a reward. This became a life consulship and was duly affirmed by parliament and a popular referendum in August.

Abroad, Bonaparte's plans for a new French empire in North America were coming to fruition. Charles IV of Spain ceded the Louisiana Territory back to France in return for the wealthy Duchy of Parma and Etruria in Italy in October 1802. The Americans were frightened by the possible loss of access by their western settlers to the Mississippi River and New Orleans. President Jefferson instructed his ministers to either prevent the retrocession or acquire Louisiana from France. Only the American threat that a French Louisiana would produce an American alliance with Britain persuaded Talleyrand to discuss terms. War with Britain was looming, and Bonaparte believed it would be impossible to protect the Territory and France needed money to finance

the expected war. Louisiana was sold to the United States for twenty-seven million dollars.
French interventions in Italy, Switzerland and Holland persuaded the British that Bonaparte intended to adhere (at most) to the letter of the treaty. Britain delayed relinquishing Malta in retaliation. War was declared on May 18, 1803.

Interlude: The West Indies

The West Indies quickly became embroiled in the global conflict of the Revolutionary Wars. In 1793, Britain seized Tobago and achieved a tentative hold on Haiti, which was already gripped by multi-sided racial warfare. Admiral Jervis and General Grey captured the islands of Martinique, St. Lucia, and Guadeloupe in a three-month campaign in early 1794.
The abolition of slavery in Haiti increased resistance to the British presence, with ex-slaves such as Toussaint L'Ouverture becoming military leaders. The Spanish ceded the remainder of Hispaniola to France in 1795 and the British were driven out.
During the summer of 1794, Victor Hugues (and his portable guillotine) arrived in Guadeloupe, retaking it after six months of fighting. Hugues freed the slaves and liberally executed Royalists and other opposition. From 1795 to 1797, he encouraged privateers to prey on merchant shipping, especially neutral American vessels. By instigating slave uprisings, Hugues recaptured the islands of Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent from the British as well as St. Eustatius and St. Martin from the Dutch.
General Abercromby brought reinforcements from England in 1796, recovering St. Lucia, Grenada, and St. Vincent that year. British expansion in the West Indies continued with the conquest of Trinidad, Curaçao, and St. Eustatius among others at the expense of France's allies until the Peace of Amiens. Although the battle casualties were extremely low, annual outbreaks of yellow fever killed forty thousand British troops in this period. The French were equally ravaged by disease.
In 1798, the Directory removed Hugues from Guadeloupe to prevent his activities causing outright war with the United States. Despite this, the Americans conducted an undeclared war against French shipping for four years.
Bonaparte decided to reassert French authority in the islands in 1801 with the aim of restoring slavery. After a bloody and brutal struggle, L'Ouverture (who had been Haiti's governor since 1798) was imprisoned and transported to Europe. News of these events triggered uprisings in Guadeloupe which were vigorously suppressed by the French. The Haiti rebellion proved unstoppable and the French evacuated in 1803. After their departure, racially motivated civil war continued in Haiti.

The Napoleonic Wars

The Emperor and

Trafalgar
British tourists caught in France at the renewal of hostilities were imprisoned *en masse*. The Royal Navy seized French shipping with the Channel Fleet under Vice-Admiral Cornwallis recommencing their blockade of French ports.
Bonaparte initiated preparations to invade England. Harbors were improved, flotillas of flat-bottomed armed transports were constructed, and the Army of England was assembled and trained at Boulogne. Over the next two years, Bonaparte developed multiple plans, requiring fleets to break the blockades, rendezvous at various locations, and shield the invasion force until it landed in England. France and Spain secretly agreed a military alliance in October 1803.
Royalists led by Cadoubal tried to persuade the republican General Moreau to overthrow Bonaparte, but the conspiracy was unmasked by Fouché in February 1804. The plotters were exiled or executed.
Bonaparte became convinced that the Bourbon prince, the Duc d'Enghien, intended to lead an invasion. He was kidnapped from neutral Strasbourg and summarily executed to the horror of royal Europe.
Through political maneuverings in the Senate, Bonaparte's agents were able to propose further changes to the Life Consulate to ensure its permanency. On May 18, 1804, Bonaparte was proclaimed Napoleon I, Emperor of the French. On the same day, William Pitt replaced Addington as British prime minister.
The British continued to strengthen their coastal defenses and raise militias regiments. Cornwallis maintained his successful blockade, detaching a small squadron to intercept the Spanish treasure fleet in September, which provoked open war with Spain in December.
Napoleon's coronation took place in the cathedral of Notre Dame on December 2, 1804. Anointed by Pope Pius VII, Napoleon then crowned himself Emperor.
In March 1805, Napoleon announced his intention to reconstitute the Italian Republic as a monarchy with himself as king, precipitating the hostility of the continental powers. Russia renewed its alliance with England in April, with Austria and Sweden joining the Third Coalition by August. In response, Napoleon ordered the Army of England to march east toward Austria.
Meanwhile Admiral Villeneuve's fleet had escaped from Toulon, joined with Admiral Gravina's squadron at Cadiz, and sailed to Martinique in April. Pursued by Nelson, Villeneuve recrossed the Atlantic to the safety of Cadiz, clashing with Calder off El Ferrol (July 22). In September, Nelson's new Mediterranean Fleet replaced Calder's squadron blockading Cadiz. On October 18, Villeneuve ordered the Combined Fleet to sail for Gibraltar. Three days later, the two fleets fought at Trafalgar in a "pell-mell" battle planned by Nelson. The British triumphed with nineteen French and Spanish ships taken or destroyed. The Royal Navy mourned Nelson who was killed by a sniper's bullet.

What if . . . French

Victory at Trafalgar

Napoleon was largely responsible for defeat at Trafalgar. If he had not provoked the British into ending the Peace of Amiens, then a mere three years of peace would have given him numerical naval superiority. Time for his sailors to gain sea experience after years imprisoned in harbors by the British blockades. Time to scatter the squadrons so that blockading their home ports did not nullify the French Navy.

If Napoleon had made simpler invasion plans accounting for weather, rather changing convoluted plans, then the window of opportunity would have been longer, and his intent to draw off the Channel Fleet remained secret. The French squadrons would have escaped earlier, the Channel would have been unguarded, and Britain would have been conquered before the Austro-Russian alliance threatened the Empire's rear.

Villeneuve had survived the Battle of the Nile; he knew Nelson would defeat him. Perhaps if Napoleon's initial choices, Admirals Latouche-Tréville or de Bruix, had lived, or if Villeneuve had not been shamed into leaving port before being replaced by Rosily, the fleet would have been confident in facing Nelson.

Villeneuve predicted Nelson's plan of attacking from windward, breaking the Franco-Spanish line and concentrating his ships to annihilate whole squadrons. Villeneuve intended to keep a squadron to windward of his battle line, able to reinforce wherever Nelson's attack occurred and be itself reinforced from the other squadrons. If his captains and crews had been skilful enough to achieve this configuration, Trafalgar would not have meant French annihilation. If Rear-Admiral Dumanoir had obeyed Villeneuve's orders to engage the British, his ships might have prevented defeat.

If the French had controlled the English Channel long enough for the army to cross, then victory over the British home forces was certain. Irish uprisings would have prevented the garrisons there from intervening. Britain's overseas armies and fleets would be hard to concentrate for a war of liberation, though easier for piecemeal destruction.

Ireland would have become an independent republic under survivors of the United Irishmen. Napoleon had sufficient English admirers to ensure a puppet regime in England, whilst France acquired its colonies. Without English subsidies and defiance, Austria and Russia would appease Napoleon from fear. The nineteenth century would witness the Pax Napoleon in Europe and across the world.

From Austerlitz to Tilsit

Napoleon's enemies were dispersed with the Archduke Charles in Italy, Archduke Ferdinand heading for Bavaria, and Kutuzov's Russians lagging far behind. Napoleon advanced his army through neutral Prussia and surrounded the Austrians under Ferdinand and Mack at Ulm. Mack was compelled to capitulate on October 20. Kutuzov began a scorched earth retreat. Prussia joined the coalition in retaliation for the violation of its neutrality. Napoleon entered defenseless Vienna in November.

Disturbed by potential national bankruptcy at home and alarmed that his army was potentially over-extended, Napoleon resolved to

entice the Russians and Austrian remnants into a decisive battle near Brno before their numbers became overwhelming. The two armies met at Austerlitz. Using his knowledge of the terrain and exploiting the early morning fog to cloak his maneuvers, Napoleon's tactical genius confounded the ill-led Allies, resulting in a crushing victory (December 2). Emperor Francis and Tsar Alexander fled.

Hasty treaties followed. Austria surrendered Venetia, Dalmatia, and German territories. Prussia ceded west German lands in return for British Hanover.

Napoleon spent the early half of 1806 reorganizing the former republics as kingdoms with his brothers as sovereigns. Next he created the French-sponsored Confederation of the Rhine from city-states and German provinces. This prompted the Prussians to issue an ultimatum demanding a French withdrawal west of the Rhine in September.

Napoleon's answer was invasion. On October 14, Napoleon shattered the Prussians at Jena while General Davout defeated a second army at Auerstädt. Further victories followed with the French holding Berlin, Magdeburg and Warsaw by the end of November. Frederick William III fled into East Prussia.

In a pause in the conflict, Napoleon issued the Decree of Berlin inaugurating the Continental System closing all European ports to British commerce. The British retaliated in January 1807 with the Orders-in-Council restricting neutral nations' trade with France and its allies.

Napoleon prosecuted the war against Prussia and their Russian allies with vigor in 1807. Although stalemated at Eylau in February, the Grand Army regrouped and captured Gdansk in May. Eventually the Russian army under Bennigsen was trapped and broken at Friedland (June 14). Bennigsen persuaded the Tsar to make peace with Napoleon.

The two sovereigns met on a raft in the Niemen River (June 25) with Napoleon captivating the impressionable Tsar. Napoleon promised to support Alexander against the Ottoman Empire, while Alexander agreed to declare war against Britain. Prussia's Polish territories were ceded to Russia and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. Napoleon and Alexander parted as friends.

Interlude: The Baltic

Gustav III became Sweden's king in 1771, increasing his power with a coup against the Swedish parliament a year later. The Ottoman Empire's war with Russia provided an opportunity to recover lost Finnish domains in 1788. Aristocratic officers betrayed the plans and the war foundered. Gustav retaliated by calling a Diet at which he assumed absolute power and the other estates stripped the nobility of their privileges. A disgruntled nobleman murdered him in 1792.

His son, the pious Gustav IV, succeeded him. Hostile to the French Revolution, he censored French literature and pursued financial economies to avoid a Swedish rebellion. Sweden joined the Third Coalition in 1805, and remained hostile to France despite Russia's defection at Tilsit. The next year, Sweden battled both Denmark and Russia, losing Finland to the latter empire.

In 1809, the generals and ministers deposed Gustav, who went to Switzerland, and replaced him with the senile Charles XIII and a new constitution. Initially Christian August, Danish commander of the Norwegian forces, was proposed as heir. After his death, Swedish officers sought a Napoleonic marshal as replacement. Napoleon offered Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte, who renamed himself Charles John and became Sweden's de facto ruler in 1810.

Bernadotte allied himself with Russia in 1812, confirming the loss of Finland in return for permission to seize Norway from Denmark. Swedish forces cautiously assisted the Allies at the Battle of Leipzig and then advanced against Denmark, forcing it to surrender Norway under the Treaty of Kiel.

Denmark-Norway was officially ruled by the crazy Christian VII from 1766 to 1808. Christian's stepmother effectively governed until 1784 when the sixteen-year old crown prince Frederick asserted his authority. Denmark's period of peace and prosperity continued to the century's end. The creation of the League of Armed Neutrality incurred Britain's hostility. A British squadron under Nelson bombarded Copenhagen and devastated the Danish fleet in 1801.

Nevertheless Denmark survived and prospered until the Tilsit treaty. Occupation by either France or Russia looked likely. Instead the British attacked, hijacking the Danish fleet to prevent its use by France. Denmark joined the Napoleonic alliance, suffering war with Sweden and enduring famine in Norway. Frederick VI failed to benefit from Sweden's dynastic troubles and lost Norway through supporting Napoleon too long.

The Peninsular War

Despite Napoleon's threats, Portugal stubbornly resisted joining the Continental System. By the Treaty of Fontainebleau (1807), Napoleon and Godoy agreed to partition Portugal. General Junot's army marched through Spain and invaded Portugal. The British evacuated the Portuguese royal family and navy ahead of Junot's arrival. Napoleon reinforced Junot occupying northern Spain in the process. Charles IV's attempt to flee was foiled by a coup d'état in favor of his son. In the confusion, Napoleon intervened, imprisoned the entire family, and placed his brother Joseph on the Spanish throne (1808). Madrid rebelled and was only retaken in December; the juntas relocated to the provinces and Cadiz.

Britain sent a small expeditionary force under Arthur Wellesley into Portugal (August 1808) which quickly defeated the French at Rolica and Vimeiro. Wellesley's overcautious superiors negotiated the Convention of Cintra whereby Junot's army was repatriated. Wellington quit in disgust; the generals were replaced by Sir John Moore.

Napoleon personally led a second Iberian invasion (October 1808) shattering the unready armies of the juntas by November. The French learned of Moore's position at Salamanca and closed in. Moore began the winter retreat to Corunna, pursued by Soult and Ney, Napoleon having returned to Paris. Though Moore died, the British force mostly escaped.

Wellesley returned with a second army to Lisbon in April 1809, defeating Soult at Oporto by ferrying troops across the Douro. He advanced on Victor's army, defeating them in a defensive battle at Talavera (July). Wellesley, now Viscount Wellington, withdrew to Portugal, and began the secret construction of the Lines of Torres Vedras, north of Lisbon.

Soult and Masséna led new French armies into the peninsula during 1810. Wellington inflicted further defeats on them, but gradually withdrew into Portugal and behind the Lines of Torres Vedras. Masséna halted at the fortifications (October) and suffered greatly during the winter, departing Portugal in March. Barely triumphing over Masséna at Fuentes de Oñoro (May), Wellington had to retreat to Portugal to preserve his troops.

During 1812, Wellington began his offensive, besieging and storming the Spanish border fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo (January) and Badajoz (April). Marmont retreated before Wellington, maneuvering around Salamanca, where the armies engaged (July 22) and the French withdrew. Wellington entered Madrid. A drawn-out siege of Burgos and French consolidation near Madrid necessitated a final withdrawal to Portugal.

Wellington advanced into Spain next year, outflanking the French. As French rule collapsed, Joseph and Marshal Jourdan marched north, but were intercepted at Vitoria (June 21) and routed. The discarded booty distracted the allied soldiery and the French escaped across the Pyrenees. Wellington began the invasion of France.

*** Insert map of "The Iberian Peninsula" from chandler-peninsula.tif ***

Interlude: Portugal

Until King Joseph's death in 1777, his chief minister, the Marquis de Pombal governed Portugal. Although Pombal promulgated various progressive measures and secured new royal revenues, his methods created many enemies including the Jesuits and a number of noble families. He was dismissed after Maria, Joseph's daughter, inherited the throne. Maria's melancholy disposition intensified following the death of her husband (1786) and eldest son (1788) and the events of the French Revolution until she was no longer willing to rule. Prince John ruled for Maria until the end of her reign in 1816.

Portugal joined the First Coalition in 1793 against Revolutionary France, remaining a belligerent even after Spain's defection (1795). During 1801, Spain briefly invaded in the "War of the Oranges." Portugal forfeited the town of Olivenza and paid the Spanish a war indemnity. From 1802 to 1807, Portugal was pressurized to renounce its neutrality but refused.

The advance of the French under Junot through Spain in October 1807 prompted the wholesale evacuation of the Portuguese royal family in November. Escorted by the Royal Navy, the court escaped to Brazil.

Junot's occupation was short-lived. The British landed in August 1808 with Wellington triumphing over the French at Rolica and Vimeiro. His superiors negotiated the Convention of Cintra under which Junot's forces were repatriated. By

January 1809, a second French invasion compelled a British evacuation. Wellington led the second British army back to Portugal in April, forcing the French to retreat into Spain. The third French invasion in 1810 suffered further defeats and its advance was halted by the "Lines of Torres Vedras," extensive fortifications which had been quickly constructed around Lisbon. The French, broken by the winter, evacuated Portugal in early 1811.

During the war, many British officers and non-commissioned officers transferred into the Portuguese army. This coupled with the absence of the royal princes in the country's peril led to jealousy and discontent which manifested after the war in a forcible recall of John VI (see Interlude: Colonies in Revolt, p. 00).

The Ongoing War

at Sea
Trafalgar was the last great sea battle of the Napoleonic Wars but it was not the end of naval warfare. The conflict continued in the West Indies, the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean. French privateers continued to exact a heavy toll on British shipping in all these arenas. Occasionally French national frigates and even whole squadrons escaped from their Atlantic ports to indulge in wide-ranging and successful commerce raiding cruises.
Nevertheless the national fleet was less effective against the Royal Navy. Admiral Duckworth eliminated Admiral de Leissègues' squadron off Santo Domingo (1806), which had just completed reinforcing the garrison. Three ships-of-the-line were captured, two destroyed, and two frigates and a corvette escaped. The capture of Dutch Curaçao and Danish St. Croix by the British and the closure of New Orleans by the Americans to privateers (1807) limited the danger to merchantmen.
Admiral Popham and General Baird, leading a relatively small expedition of seven ships and seven thousand soldiers, captured the weakly defended Dutch colony of the Cape of Good Hope in January 1806. The easy success of the Battle of Blueberg inspired Popham to cross the South Atlantic and attack the Spanish Viceroyalty of La Plata. Finding Montevideo strongly held, Popham and General Beresford captured Buenos Aires in June. A Creole insurgency recovered Buenos Aires by August and imprisoned the British army. General Auchmuty's reinforcements enabled the seizure of Montevideo in February 1807, but an attempt to retake Buenos Aires through street-fighting ended in defeat (July). The British departed.
One of Napoleon's aims after Tilsit was to attain naval supremacy over the British by acquiring the fleets of Portugal, Denmark, and Sweden. Britain ordered a preemptive strike with Admiral Gambier's squadron descending on Copenhagen, bombarding the city and seizing all sixteen Danish ships-of-the-line and numerous smaller vessels (September 1807).
French Guyana became the next colonial target. A joint British and Portuguese expedition began the assault in December 1808 which culminated in January with the fall of Cayenne. Martinique was overwhelmed by Admiral Cochrane and General Beckwith in February. A year later, they repeated their success in Guadeloupe.

From 1803 to 1810, over a hundred British ships were captured by French frigates and privateers based in Mauritius and Réunion. The latter island was taken by a small British squadron from India in July 1810. The British attack on Mauritius ended in disaster with the Battle of Grand Port. Two frigates ran aground and were blown up; two were captured. The French won several single-ship frigate actions before a British fleet ended the Mauritian threat in November.

Interlude: India

When Warren Hastings became governor of Bengal in 1772, Britain's Indian territories were still the private fiefs of the Honourable East India Company. Although hamstrung by opposition in his own councils and bound to a non-aggression policy, Hastings increasingly had to intervene to preserve the peace and Company control. A coalition led by Hyder Ali almost overwhelmed the Carnatic in 1780, but Hastings persuaded Hyder's allies to quit and Company troops defeated him in 1781 and 1782.

Hastings' successor from 1786, Lord Cornwallis, was forced to battle Hyder's son, Tipu Sultan, who sought revenge for his father's defeats. After the end of the bloody and prolonged Third Mysore War (1790-1792), half of Tipu's kingdom was annexed by Cornwallis.

During his governorship (1798-1805), Richard Wellesley (brother to the Duke of Wellington) was ordered to defend India against French depredations. His method was to attack potential French allies first. The first blow fell on Mysore where Tipu was known to be receiving French envoys. The British stormed his capital (Seringapatam) in May 1799 and Tipu died in the assault. The Mysore lands were granted to allied native rulers.

Wellesley peacefully annexed a number of Carnatic territories by buying off the new legal rulers with pensions. Force was used to seize half of Avadh in northern India when the previous ruler objected to this treatment of his heir.

Strife among the Maratha Confederacy compelled the peshwa to appeal for British support. This took the form of troops stationed at Pune making Baji Rao II dependent on his British allies. The Sindhia and Bhonsle clans objected and initiated the Second Maratha War. The British won four major battles over the clans at Assaye (1803) and Argaon under Wellington and at Laswari and Delhi under Lake. The Holkar clan organized a Maratha resurgence, besieging the British forces in Delhi. Although the Holkars were finally defeated, this reverse provoked the recall to England of Wellesley.

The next governor-general, Lord Minto, consolidated British power and sought alliances with the Afghans, Persia, and the Punjab against potential French attacks after Napoleon's Tilsit treaty with Russia.

*** Insert map of "Europe in 1810" using rothenburg-europe1810.tif ***

The Retreat from

Moscow
Napoleon's return to Paris in January 1809 halted the
treacherous plotting of Fouché and Talleyrand, but did not forestall
an Austrian declaration of war. April saw Napoleon engage the Austrians
inconclusively in Bavaria, entering Vienna in mid-May. A pontoon bridge
enabled his troops to cross the Danube only to be checked by Archduke
Charles at Aspern-Essling (May). Rather than pressing the attack, Charles
regrouped at Wagram. Napoleon summoned reinforcements and pounced on Charles
(July 5-6), winning with heavy casualties. The Austrians made peace, paid a
huge indemnity, and surrendered much territory.
Desperate to found a
dynasty and rebuffed by the Tsar's sisters, Napoleon sought out
Marie-Louise, daughter of Francis II, as a new wife. Assisted by the
Austrian Ambassador Metternich, his suit was successful, Empress Josephine
was divorced, and Napoleon married Marie-Louise in March 1810. Distracted by
his new consort and his son Napoleon II (born 1811), the Emperor
concentrated on pleasure and internal affairs, leaving the Peninsular War to
his marshals.
Alexander's war against Britain following Tilsit had
been singularly ineffective and inactive; his flouting of the Continental
System was by 1811 blatant. Against advice, Napoleon began preparing his
Grand Army of over six hundred thousand troops from November. The vast army
crossed the frontier in June 1812, taking Vilna and Vitebsk, while the
Russians retreated to Smolensk. Napoleon refused the opportunity to make
peace with Alexander, pressing on, despite extreme cavalry horse losses
reducing the quality of reconnaissance. The Russians retreated further.
Napoleon's depleted army of over one hundred thousand eventually caught them
at Borodino (September 7). Napoleon's tactics were lackluster, refusing to
commit the Imperial Guard to finish off the Russians. Thus Borodino was
inconclusive and the Russian army withdrew to safety. Napoleon entered
unguarded Moscow on September 14.
While Napoleon waited on Alexander
sending envoys to make peace, Moscow was razed by Russian agents. The Tsar
waited while the Grand Army began to suffer from lack of shelter and
supplies. On October 18, Napoleon decided to evacuate Moscow. Harried by
Cossack cavalry who almost captured Napoleon, the Grand Army was prevented
by Kutuzov's Russians from retreating via the fertile Kaluga region. Instead
Napoleon had to return via the Smolensk route, while the Russians captured
supply depots at Vitebsk and Minsk. Kutuzov's attempt to crush the French at
the still unfrozen Beresina river was foiled by their engineers constructing
pontoon bridges. The remnant hastened westward in the harsh November and
December weather. Napoleon himself fled for Paris incognito on December
5.

Interlude: Russia

Catherine II,
having succeeded her murdered husband in 1762, presided over the expansion
of Russia. New lands by the Black Sea, in the Crimea, and the steppes were
acquired in the Russian-Turkish wars of 1768-1774 and 1787-1792.

As a diversion from involvement in the Ottoman Empire's seething
Balkan provinces, Catherine assented to the First Partition of Poland

(1772-1773) gaining Belorussia from the arrangement. A later political renaissance in Poland alarmed Russia, Austria and Prussia sufficiently to agree to the Second and Third Partitions in 1792 and 1795.

Catherine reorganized the empire into provinces according to strategic military requirements with governors appointed to each district and narrow franchises supplying elected administrators. Attempts to persuade the nobility to modernize agricultural and other production on their estates worsened the conditions of the serfs leading to revolts such as Pugachov's peasant and Cossack rebellion which captured a number of cities during 1773-4 before being finally suppressed.

Catherine died in 1796 and was succeeded by her son Paul I, who replaced the enlightened autocratic rule of his mother with a militaristic regime. The administrative structures created by Catherine were ignored in favor of direct governance by himself and his coterie of supporters. He angered the provincial nobility by regulating the conditions of their serfs. Then he provoked the court through his attempts to protect Russian society from the influences of the French Revolution, which he detested, by restricting foreign travel and outlawing all cultural imports from abroad. A joint conspiracy of the court and the military murdered him in March 1801.

His son, Alexander I, made peace immediately with France, Britain and Austria. The War of the Third Coalition witnessed Russian defeat at Austerlitz and the Napoleonic advance through the Russian-ruled territories of former Poland to the borders of Russia. Persuaded to treat with Napoleon, the impressionable Alexander initially agreed to a number of joint ventures at Tilsit, but reneged once away from Napoleon's charisma.

Between Tilsit and Napoleon's invasion in 1812, Alexander contented himself with acquiring Finland and reforming the empire's internal administration. The repulse of the invasion and Russian involvement in Napoleon's defeat led Alexander to promote ideas of a "Holy Alliance" to defend international peace from 1815 onward.

Downfall of the Emperor

Napoleon's return forced opponents of his regime underground, but it was clear to France that the Emperor was no longer invincible. While Napoleon ordered the raising of a third of million new troops, the Russian army moved west and former foes and neutrals started rearming. Sweden and Prussia declared war on France. Austria proclaimed neutrality.

Napoleon commenced the counter-offensive, winning modest hard-fought victories over the squabbling allies in Germany in April and May 1813. British subsidies encouraged a dozen minor states to declare against the French. Austria itself declared war in August. The Allies agreed to the Trachtenberg Plan where all Allied armies would refuse direct battle with Napoleon, withdrawing instead to allow the others to attack Napoleon's flanks.

Although Napoleon captured Dresden, his marshals suffered reversals elsewhere, and he was unable to advance in force on Berlin (September). Abandoning Dresden on October 7, he tried to withdraw to Leipzig but was cornered by Allied troops

outside the city. The fighting lasted from October 16 to 19 with Allied reinforcements arriving each day. Napoleon retreated, yielding Germany east of the Rhine to the Allies, whose exhaustion prevented an immediate invasion of France. Meanwhile Wellington crossed the Pyrenees, defeating Soult at the river Nivelle and Bayonne. Holland rose against the French, expelling the imperial administration. Napoleon's treaty restoring Ferdinand VII was contemptuously ignored by the Spanish juntas.
Metternich, desiring to
prevent Russian dominance in Europe, offered Napoleon peace based on France's "natural" frontiers (the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the Rhine). Napoleon refused. As the Allies crossed the Rhine in 1813, Napoleon raised a new army of conscripts and won a series of swift victories over the divided Allied units as they converged on Paris. Again he was offered peace, this time based on the 1792 borders; again he refused.
The Allied monarchs
(Alexander, Francis, and Frederick William) with Castlereagh acting for Britain agreed that the war should be prosecuted until Napoleon's overthrow. In a last victory, Napoleon swept the Allies out of Rheims in March.

Learning that Paris was undefended and unfortified, combined
Prussians and Russian forces dashed for the capital. Napoleon's generals demanded that the Emperor defend Paris rather than attack the Allied rear. Marmont surrendered Paris on March 31 after a day of bombardment, while Napoleon returned to Fontainebleau.
A rump Senate manipulated by
Talleyrand called for the restoration of Louis XVIII. On April 4, Napoleon attempted to abdicate in favor of his son; two days later he abdicated unconditionally. Under the Treaty of Fontainebleau, Napoleon accepted exile as Emperor of Elba.

Interlude:

Prussia
The victories of Frederick the Great in the War of the
Austrian Succession and the Seven Years War raised Prussia to a "Great Power" in Europe, while participation in the First Partition of Poland added West Prussia to his dominions. Domestically, Frederick improved education, promoted learning and extended religious toleration to all his subjects. However Frederick's triumphs blinded Prussia to the need for further progress to its detriment in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic
Wars.
Although his nephew, Frederick William II (1786-1797),
expanded Prussia at the expense of Poland in the later partitions, he was forced to accept France's annexation of German lands west of the Rhine during the War of the First Coalition. His son, Frederick William III, succeeded him in 1797 and pursued a policy of neutrality toward France. His anger at Napoleon's violation of that neutrality during 1805 brought Prussia into the Third Coalition, too late to help but in time to be overwhelmed by the French at Jena and Auerstädt.
Prussia was dismembered
at Tilst in 1807, losing most of its Polish acquisitions and the lands west of the Elbe, accepting French occupation, limiting its regular army to forty-two thousand troops, and paying a high war indemnity. Only Napoleon's

desire to seem magnanimous to Alexander prevented the settlement from being much worse.
Temporarily eliminated as a continental power, Karl
Stein, the chief minister, introduced reforms in every sphere of Prussian life to renew the citizenry's allegiance to the kingdom. Serfdom was abolished, local and national administration restructured, and the military reconstructed as professional cadres supported by large reserves of trained "citizen-soldiers."
Napoleon compelled Stein's removal in 1808,
but his successors including the chancellor Karl von Hardenburg proceeded undeterred with the reforms, tapping into the nationalism aroused in the German lands in reaction to Napoleonic control.
Coerced into
supporting Napoleon's Russian campaign, Napoleon's retreat from Moscow emboldened Prussian patriots against France and persuaded the hesitant Frederick William to heed the advice of his generals. Prussia joined the new alliance, sending eighty thousand soldiers to fight in the German War of Liberation. In return, Prussia received new lands in Saxony, the Rhineland, and Pomerania at the Congress of Vienna.

The War of

1812
President Madison threatened both Britain and France with war if
they failed to end their harassment of American ships bound to the other country. Napoleon, lacking sea power, acquiesced. Britain continued to enforce its Orders in Council and impressing of American sailors. Tension mounted further after the battle of Tippecanoe (1811) between Western settlers and Shawnee Native Americans armed by British Canada. Southerners and Westerners added the conquest of Canada to the aims of free trade and sailors' rights. New England opposed the conflict.
On May 11 1812, the
British prime minister Spencer Perceval was murdered by a lunatic. The disruption prevented the revocation of the Orders in Council occurring in time for the news to reach America before Madison's declaration of war on June 18.

The Defense of Canada

Three attempts to invade
Canada during 1812 failed miserably. The British retaliated capturing Fort Dearborn and Detroit. Generals Dearborn and Scott seized York (later Toronto) and Fort George respectively from the British.
At sea,
American frigates won several single-ship actions against British frigates and privateers hunted British merchantmen even in the English Channel. The British blockaded the American coast.
Both sides strove for control of
the Great Lakes. A British naval victory by Commodore Yeo on Lake Ontario in May 1813 was lost when General Prevost signaled an early recall. The American Captain Perry's victory on Lake Erie in September allowed the Americans to recapture Detroit and defeat a joint British-Indian army at the Thames in October. A British invasion via Lake Champlain was defeated by an

American nautical victory and the precipitate retreat of Prevost.
The
end of European conflict in 1814 allowed the British to open new fronts in Maine, the Chesapeake and the Gulf coast. General Ross landed at Benedict, defeated an American army at Bladensburg, and then entered an undefended Washington on August 24. (Madison barely escaped). Washington was then burned in revenge for the firing of Toronto.

The Battle of New

Orleans
America and Britain made peace at Ghent on December 24, 1814.
However the news did not reach America in time to prevent the Battle of New Orleans. A fleet under Admiral Cochrane had landed a British army in Louisiana during early December. The British advance on New Orleans was resisted by American militia while General Jackson fortified the city. On January 8, 1815, General Pakenham ordered a frontal assault on the American defenses. Thirty minutes and three thousand casualties later, the British withdrew. The Americans felt they had won a second war of independence.

Interlude: The Infant

Republic
By 1786, the unity of the States forged in war was
disintegrating. The independent states seemed set to coalesce into several republics with divergent interests which could only lead to an all-American war. The Philadelphia Convention of 1787 proposed a national solution of a confederation of states united as a single nation and governed by an executive president and two legislative assemblies -- the Senate and the House of Representatives. A year later, this "Virginia Plan" and its constitution had been accepted by all the states.
George
Washington was the unanimous choice of the electoral college for the nation's first president. His two terms in office saw regional and political differences emerge over the national and international crises of the period. His Treasury minister, Alexander Hamilton, created a "national debt" to pay off the war loans and bind the nation to the federal authority. The southern states opposed this creation, having cancelled their outstanding debts, and were only mollified by moving the proposed new capital to a more southerly location! The armed suppression of the Whiskey Rebellion against liquor taxes augured a dictatorship to some. Democrat-Republicans supported France after its revolution; Federalists supported Britain for the economy's sake. The Jay Treaty of 1794 acknowledged British naval supremacy in return for land concessions and trading privileges.
John Adams became
President in 1796. Despite French hostility at the Jay Treaty leading to Hugues's encouragement of commerce raiding on American shipping, Adams prevented outright war against France. Although Thomas Jefferson was elected president on an anti-Federalist mandate in 1800, his two terms witnessed the expansion of the United States by the opportunistic Louisiana Purchase in 1803 and the preservation of the nation against separatist movements in New England and the West.

Jefferson's attempts to maintain American neutrality during the Napoleonic Wars were sorely tried by French and British regulations on maritime trade. In retaliation, he imposed an embargo in 1807 on all exports to both belligerents in the hope of restoring free trade. The result was financial disaster in mercantile New England. James Madison, who was elected president in 1808, repealed the law in 1809.

The Hundred Days

Escape from Elba

On April 20, 1814, Napoleon and six hundred members of the Old Guard departed France for the Isle of Elba, arriving on May 4. On the previous day, Louis XVIII entered Paris.

In France, the uncharismatic obese Louis XVIII quickly disenchanted his subjects. The army was reduced in size with thousands of officers immediately discharged. The remaining commands were given to Royalist courtiers. The Legion d'Honneur was lavishly distributed to the undeserving. The peasantry became anxious that the returning émigrés would recover lands and feudal rights lost in the Revolution.

Across Europe, the armies demobilized and the politicians met in Vienna under the chairmanship of Metternich to determine Europe's future. British attention turned to the American war.

On Elba, Napoleon explored the island and drew up various plans for its improvement. He was joined by his mother and sister Pauline, and temporarily by his Polish mistress, Marie Waleska, and their illegitimate son, Alexandre. Empress Josephine died in Paris in May. Marie-Louise was created Duchess of Parma by her father and seduced by Count Neipperg on Metternich's orders. Despite Napoleon's pleas, Marie-Louise and his son refused to visit him.

Rumors reached Napoleon that there were plots to relocate him to St. Helena or the Azores, and to withdraw his pension. Then a message from Maret, his former foreign minister, indicated that an uprising against the Bourbons was likely and that if Napoleon did not return, the Duc d'Orléans would be its leader.

Colonel Campbell, British Commissioner for Elba and Napoleon's jailer, sailed for Italy to visit his mistress on February 16, 1815. Ten days later, Napoleon embarked on the brig *Inconstant*, disguised as a British man-of-war. Napoleon with a thousand Old Guard, Polish lancers, and volunteers sailed for France in a flotilla of seven ships, evading Campbell in *HMS Partridge* and deceiving the French brig *Zéphyr* as to their intentions. On March 1, Napoleon and his force landed near Cannes.

Royal troops rallied to his cause as Napoleon hastened to Paris. Sent to capture him, Marshal Ney changed sides. Louis XVIII and his court decamped and fled for Ghent on March 19. Napoleon entered Paris the next day and the Hundred Days began.

On March 7, the "Great Powers" meeting in Vienna learned that Napoleon was free and decreed a new coalition against him. The Allies placed

Wellington in supreme command. Wellington left to lead a motley host of British, Dutch, Hanoverian and Brunswicker troops in Belgium, reaching Brussels on April 4, being joined by a Prussian army under Blücher.

Interlude: Colonies in

Revolt

Spain's reforms of its American colonies prior to the Revolutionary Wars threatened the Creole elite. The later alliance with France opened the colonies to Anglo-American trade and ideas. However the overthrow of the Bourbons by Napoleon proved to be the final straw. Initially juntas were organized to govern the various Spanish territories in 1808 but tensions between Creoles and Peninsular Spaniards encouraged and transformed the desire for autonomy into independence movements.

In Mexico, the popular revolt of 1810 led by Hidalgo, a radical priest, almost became a race war before being partially suppressed in 1811. The remnants were reorganized by Morelos, another priest, and the insurgency continued until his death in 1815.

In 1810, Creoles in Buenos Aires ousted the governor from the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata, creating an unstable government of triumvirates and directorates which eventually proclaimed independence in 1816. The former viceregal provinces resisted their rule with the Estado Oriental (later Uruguay), Paraguay, and Upper Peru (later Bolivia) all repulsing military expeditions. Chilean independence was restored during 1817 after an invasion across the Andes.

The Viceroyalty of New Grenada (later Venezuela) declared independence in 1811. Treachery and an armistice restored Spanish rule in 1812, an invasion led by Bolivar in 1813 vanquished the counter-revolution, only to be defeated by the irregular cowboy cavalry the year after. Bolivar escaped to exile, regrouped his forces, and defeated the royalist army near Bogota in 1819. Proclaimed dictator of Gran Colombia, Bolivar freed Venezuela in 1821.

In Brazil, the transition to independence was peaceful. The flight of the Portuguese monarchy from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro in 1808 immediately altered the actual status of Brazil. With fifteen thousand officials, courtiers and hangers-on accompanying Prince John, Rio became the center of a new administration. The legalization of trade with all friendly nations increased Brazilian prosperity. The elevation of Brazil to equal status with Portugal in 1815 merely recognized an accomplished fact. Nevertheless the *Cortes* in Portugal became highly antagonistic to the new Brazilian freedoms and restive at the monarchy's absence. John VI was compelled to return to Lisbon to preserve his rule in 1821; his son Pedro was forced to declare Brazil's independence in 1822 to maintain Bragança rule.

Waterloo

The public enthusiasm for Napoleon quickly evaporated as it became clear that he had nothing new to offer France. The

army remained supportive. Of his marshals, only Ney, Soult, Mortier, Suchet, and Davout were willing to follow him. The others had defected, were ill, or dead.
On June 12, Napoleon departed Paris to take command of the five corps comprising the *Armée du Nord*. Soult became Chief of Staff, Grouchy received the Reserve Cavalry, and Ney was given two corps.

Wellington remained unsure whether Napoleon was aiming for Brussels via Charleroi or Mons, merely ordering his troops on June 15 to assemble. Later messengers informed him that the main French thrust was at Charleroi. The British concentrated at Nivelles and Quatre Bras.
On June 16,
Napoleon engaged Blücher's Prussians at Ligny, mauling his army badly, without annihilating it. The British rearguard at Quatre Bras had delayed Ney from reinforcing Napoleon in time. The Prussians retreated to Wavre; the British withdrew to Mont St. Jean, near Waterloo.
The weather now
prevented Napoleon from pursuing the British as a thunderstorm turned the land into a muddy quagmire on June 17.
Wellington deployed his troops
behind the crest of a ridge and garrisoned the farms of La Haye Sainte and Ch<\#137>teau de Hougoumont to reinforce his line. Receiving a promise from Blücher that he would march in support, Wellington awaited the assault on June 18.
At eleven o'clock, the French attacked, trying
persistently and unsuccessfully to capture Hougoumont which was held by Coldstream and Scots Guards. The barrage of artillery on both sides continued all day. At one o'clock, d'Erlon attacked the British center to be stopped by Picton's counter-offensive. The British cavalry shattered d'Erlon's corps but were themselves broken after galloping in range of fresh French cavalry. From four o'clock to six o'clock, Ney led desperate unsupported cavalry charges against the British whose infantry squares and artillery repulsed them. La Haye was then taken by Ney and the British line seemed ready to break. Napoleon refused to reinforce Ney as the Prussians arrived and were slowed by Lobau. Wellington strengthened his line with his reserves. At seven o'clock, Napoleon hurled the Imperial Guard at the British. The sustained infantry fire drove the Guard back. The Prussians now entered the battlefield and Wellington ordered a full advance at half-seven. The French fragments retreated and Napoleon fled to Paris.
On June 22,
Napoleon abdicated again and tried to escape France. On July 8, Louis XVIII was restored ending the Hundred Days. Two days later, Napoleon surrendered at Rochefort to the British, and was exiled to St. Helena.

What if . . . A Close Run Thing

In
Wellington's words, Waterloo was "the nearest run thing you ever saw in your life."
If Ney had broken the British at Quatre Bras quickly, then
he could have reinforced Napoleon at Ligny, defeating the Prussians in detail. If he had sent d'Erlon's corps to Ligny, rather than not using them at Quatre Bras, the Prussians would have been eliminated and Grouchy's corps

would not have been pursuing the Prussians. Napoleon's superior numbers would have shattered Wellington's army at Waterloo.
If Napoleon
had taken control of tactics at the start of Waterloo, rather permitting Ney to attack "in the old way" and be "driven off in the old way," then Napoleon's brilliance at flanking maneuvers would have undone Wellington's defensive tactics.
If the Ch<\#137>teau de Hougoumont had fallen
early or had been "masked," then Napoleon's reserves would have been intact for later in the battle. Similarly if Ney had recognized the British withdrawal over the ridge as Wellington's standard reverse slopes defense against artillery rather than mistaking it as a general retreat, then Ney's cavalry would have been saved annihilation.
If Grouchy had
listened to his subordinate's suggestion that he should follow the "sound of the guns" to Waterloo, then his thirty-three thousand troops could have stopped Blücher reinforcing Wellington, and avoided Napoleon's indecision between reinforcing Lobau against the Prussians or sending the Guard immediately to break the British line.
Wellington said of
Waterloo: "By God! I don't think it would have done if I had not been there." Had Wellington accepted command of British forces in North America (to avoid assassins in Paris and break the stalemate), his ingenuity might have found a solution to achieve a victory in the War of 1812, but lesser commanders would have been faced with Napoleon. A stray cannonball killing Wellington rather than his aides would have demoralized the British and ensured defeat of his merely competent replacements. Had Blücher been killed at Ligny, the Prussians would not have hurried to Waterloo. The Napoleonic legend would have died at Waterloo if Wellington had not forbidden a British gunner from firing at Napoleon directly.
If
Napoleon had won Waterloo, his next task would be to defeat the second British army returning from America, the Austrians and the Russians in three further battles of annihilation before any of them reached Paris. Alexander would have retreated. Metternich would have made peace. Britain would fight until war weariness ended the struggle or Napoleon's unpopularity at home produced a successful coup.

Aftermath

The New

World Order

The Treaties of Paris

After secret negotiations
prior to Napoleon's first abdication, Talleyrand persuaded the delegates of the soon-to-be victorious Austria, Britain, Prussia, and Russia that a Bourbon restoration was essential to the peace of Europe. By the first Treaty of Paris (May 1814), France was granted the borders of 1792, but compelled to cede Saint Lucia, Tobago, Malta, and Mauritius to Britain and recognize the independence of the Low Countries, German, Swiss and Italian

states. The European states were required to send representatives to a peace congress to be held in Vienna.
Following Napoleon's second abdication, an amended Treaty of Paris (November 1815) stripped France of territories in Flanders, Alsace and Savoy and required the payment of a seven hundred million franc war indemnity. An army of occupation was to remain on French soil for up to five years at French expense. (In 1818, Wellington was instrumental in persuading the other powers to disband this army early.)

The Congress of Vienna

The Congress itself met in Vienna from September 1814 to June 1815. Every European state, both major and minor, sent representatives, but it was the big four of Austria, Britain, Prussia and Russia who dominated the proceedings. Talleyrand's manipulations added Bourbon France to the big four. Thus the five Great Powers redrew the map of Europe.
Russian and Prussian demands for Polish and Saxon territory respectively almost ended the congress in acrimony in December as neither Austria nor Britain could stomach them. Talleyrand intervened on January 3, suggesting a "secret" defensive alliance of Austria, Bourbon France and Britain to resist Russo-Prussian policies by force. Prussia and Russia suddenly compromised and continental war was averted.
Poland was dismantled again with Galicia restored to Austria and Thorn granted to Prussia. The remainder of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw became a separate kingdom within the Russian empire. Lombardy, Tirol, Venice and Dalmatia were ceded to Austria. Prussia gained large chunks of Saxony, Westphalia and the Rhineland.
In the German lands of the vanished Holy Roman Empire, Baden, Bavaria, Hanover and Württemberg expanded. A loose confederation under Austrian chairmanship was created to administer the patchwork of German states.
Elsewhere, Norway was ceded to Sweden, the Swiss confederation was restored, and a new United Kingdom of the Netherlands formed, comprising Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg. In Italy, Genoa was added to Piedmont; Modena, Parma and Tuscany became Austrian satellites. The Papal States were restored to the Pontiff. After Murat's attempt at returning to the Napoleonic fold during the Hundred Days, Ferdinand I of Sicily regained Naples.
The British surrendered many of their colonial captures at Vienna to their original possessors, including Guadeloupe, Martinique, Réunion, and parts of French Guyana to France, and Java to Holland. However Britain retained ownership of Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope as well as the territories ceded under the first treaty of Paris. The British Empire had doubled in size since 1792 and was ready for its role as a superpower during the later nineteenth century.
On June 9, 1815, the "Final Act" of the Congress of Vienna was signed in advance of Napoleon's defeat, instituting the new world order.
*** Insert map of "Europe after the Congress of Vienna" from rothenburg-europe1815.tif ***

Interlude: The Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire's incursion into the heart of Europe during the seventeenth century was revenged by Austria, Russia, and Venice during the eighteenth century in a series of intermittent wars. The Empire lost Hungary to Austria, Black Sea territories to Russia, and experienced rebellious stirrings among its non-Muslim European subjects.

Initial attempts to restore imperial power began with Sultan Abdülhamid I who ruled from 1774 to 1789. He ordered the construction of a modern navy to replace the fleet annihilated by the Russians in 1770 during the 1768-74 war. His successor, Selim III, continued Abdülhamid's policy of forming special army units trained by Westerners, taking advantage of the European nations' desires to form alliances with Constantinople. However Janissary opposition limited the total number of soldiers who received modern instruction.

Trouble simmered throughout the Ottoman dominions as the powerful appropriated more of the sultan's authority. Meanwhile traditional forces proved unable to defeat Napoleon's Egyptian invasion in 1798 and Selim was forced to rely on British and Russian assistance to expel the French. Agitators from France, Austria, and Russia incited uprisings in the Balkans, leading to the Serbian rebellion of Karageorge in 1804 against their Janissary overlords. This quickly became a war of independence with Serbia remaining largely autonomous until Russia hastily made peace with the Empire in 1812 and Serbia was overwhelmed.

Selim III was overthrown in a palace revolution in 1807 in reaction to his Francophile policies. Initially imprisoned, he was strangled by the orders of his successor Mustafa IV to forestall a restoration by the reformers (1808). Mustafa's brother deposed him on the same day to become Sultan Mahmud II.

Even as the provinces ignored the Sultan's decrees, Selim's alliance with Napoleon provoked the Russian invasion of Moldavia and Walachia in 1806 and the unsuccessful British assaults on the Dardanelles and Egypt in 1807. Napoleon's repudiation of his Ottoman allies in favor of cooperation with Russia left the Empire dangerously isolated.

The changing coalitions against Napoleon restored peace with Britain in 1809 and Russia in 1812, allowing the Sultan to concentrate on the internal problems of the Empire.

Death of an Emperor

Although Napoleon had appealed to the Prince Regent for refuge in England when he surrendered to the Royal Navy, the Allies were intent on ensuring that the deposed Emperor would be unable to threaten the peace of the world again. Louis XVIII was unwilling and unable to execute Napoleon; the other Powers desired Britain to secure him. The British feared the mischief that Napoleon might achieve through his charisma on the Prince Regent and the compassion he might arouse in the populace at large. It was resolved to exile him to

the remote British-held island of St. Helena, travelling as a prisoner on board *HMS Northumberland*.

From his arrival on St. Helena to his death, Napoleon lived in the colonial villa of Longwood in the company of four friends, three of whom were former generals, who had agreed to accompany him into exile. He spent his captivity looking out to sea, reading, writing his memoirs, learning English, and holding formal evening gatherings with his friends. Occasionally ships would call at St Helena and the curious might gain an audience with the Emperor, if he so willed and Napoleon's jailer consented.

Admiral Cockburn was Napoleon's first jailer. Initially unsympathetic, Napoleon's patience and reluctance to make trouble softened him. Cockburn was replaced by the tactless Colonel Hudson Lowe, who scrupulously enforced his captivity, increased the guard on Longwood, and imposed new petty restrictions on Napoleon and his entourage. He also annoyed Napoleon by never looking him in the eye.

At the end of 1817, Napoleon first became ill with a stomach ulcer or cancer. From the beginning of 1821, the illness worsened swiftly. From March, he was confined to his bed.

On May 5, 1821, Napoleon died. His body was dressed in the uniform of the Chasseurs, placed in a series of coffins, and buried in the Rupert Valley of St. Helena on May 7.

Thus ended the Age of Napoleon.

What if . . . Escape from St. Helena

It would have been better to have avoided St. Helena entirely. When Napoleon fled to Rochefort, two French frigates were ready to take him to safety. If Napoleon had chosen to run the British blockade, he would have found sanctuary in the United States so soon after the War of 1812. No European power would have dared attack America to capture one prisoner. Secure in America, the opportunities to foment rebellion among the French population of Canada or Louisiana might have led eventually to open revolt and a new empire encircling the United States whose survival would require rejoining the British Empire.

If Napoleon had met the Prince Regent, the two would have become friends. While Napoleon might have lived quietly, Irish rebels, unrepentant Scottish Jacobites and admirers such as Byron would have persuaded him to interfere in the social unrest of England to further their own ends. The general public would have been charmed. Supported by Imperial Guard veterans and British allies, the Hanoverian dynasty and the government would have fallen to a "whiff of grapeshot." Even if Napoleon was overthrown later, the distraction of recovering Ireland or Scotland might have cost England its overseas empire to other powers.

At St. Helena, Longwood was guarded by one hundred and twenty-five sentries in the day and seventy-five at night. In total, 2,280 soldiers (including five hundred officers) guarded the island and two brigs patrolled the offshore waters. Nevertheless Admiral Lord Cochrane, now serving with the Chilean navy, was ready to liberate him in 1820 to lead the South American rebellions against Spain. When his

subordinate arrived in 1821, Napoleon was already dying. If Napoleon had taken more exercise rather than refusing to walk accompanied by a British officer, perhaps his health would have been better.

Freed by

Cochrane, Napoleon would have befriended the leaders of the revolution. With marshals such as Bolivar, O'Higgins and San Martin to advise him of local conditions and finally an effective admiral, Spanish South America would fall, Mexico would succumb to Napoleonic veterans from Louisiana, and a new superstate would be created, perhaps a United States of South America, perhaps Napoleon's American Empire.

NATIONS

*** Insert a map of "The Known World" using Either
rude-world.tif OR cassell-worldwest1812.tif plus cassell-worldeast1812.tif
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Europe

*** Insert a map of "Europe in 1789" using
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Great Britain

Though Great
Britain remained a monarchy, Parliamentary power had increased throughout the reigns of George I and II, requiring George III to rule in partnership with a cabinet of ministers chosen from the hereditary House of Lords (which included all titled English nobles and Anglican bishops) and the elected House of Commons. The franchise was restricted to the 400,000 commoners (out of nine million inhabitants) who met the forty-shilling freehold or freeman status qualifications. England returned some 489 Members of Parliament, of whom eighty were "County" members (owing their election to the local nobility) and the rest were Borough members, representing smaller constituencies. Each county and borough elected at least two representatives as did the universities of Cambridge and Oxford. The Borough MPs included lawyers, merchants, ship-owners and serving military officers; some seats were "managed" as pocket boroughs. As voting was public, corruption and coercion were frequent. Prospective candidates were required to own land worth œ300 or œ600 pounds per annum to be eligible to represent borough or county constituencies respectively.
Until 1784, George III's
ministries were drawn from aristocratic families rather than from political parties. Thereafter Tory and Whig factions reemerged: the Tories represented the rural gentry, the mercantile classes, and bureaucracy, while the Whigs represented reformers, dissenters, and industrialists.
The King
appointed lords lieutenant to maintain law and order, and organize wartime defense in the counties. They appointed unsalaried local deputy lieutenants and justices of the peace from the squirearchy and merchants, who gained status and influence from the posts.
England was beginning an
agricultural and industrial revolution. Agricultural experiments with new crops and crop rotations, enclosure and animal breeding on private estates had increased yields tenfold. Other landowners followed suit, promoting Enclosure Acts through Parliament to acquire village common lands. The poorest peasants had to choose between becoming permanent laborers or emigration to the industrial towns.
By 1800, there were over fifty
towns with more than ten thousand residents -- Birmingham had reached 45,000, Liverpool 78,000 and Manchester 84,000. The industries which encouraged this urban explosion varied considerably: textile mills (Lancashire), pottery (Staffordshire), iron and steel foundries (Sheffield), mining (Durham and Newcastle), shoemaking (Northampton), and hosiery

(Leicester and Nottingham). Mechanization entered manufacturing in fits and starts: the water-powered spinning machine was adopted in 1769, but it was thirty years later before the arrival of the powered weaving loom rendered another group of semi-skilled workers redundant.
The factory workers were poorly paid, employed in unhealthy and dangerous conditions, and housed in slums. However for the prosperous, the growing towns became ever more pleasant, with better water supplies and fire prevention measures, elegant architecture, and cultural diversions such as theatres, libraries, and coffeehouses.
A burgeoning canal system and an improving road network provided England with an effective inland transport system. Meanwhile the great ports of London, Bristol, Hull and Liverpool continued to attract more of the world's maritime commerce thanks to British naval supremacy and an expanding colonial and trading empire. By 1790, there were more than 9,000 British merchant ships at sea.
Daily newspapers had existed in London since 1702. By 1780, there were 158 newspapers and periodicals being published throughout England. The newspapers were usually single large sheets, printed on both sides and folded once to make four pages. The content of the provincial publications drew heavily on the popular London newspapers. Popular periodicals such as *The Spectator* sold twenty thousand copies per issue, but circulation remained low for most newspapers until the invention of the stream-press in 1814. As these ephemeral publications were relatively expensive, copies were normally shared or hired in coffeehouses. Press freedom, controversial journalists, and cruel caricaturists ensured that political and military news as well as society scandal and gossip propagated beyond the ruling elite, producing an informed, if frequently biased, reading public.

London

London was the largest city in all of Europe with between 750,000 and one million residents. As seat of government, home of the monarchy, center for commerce and finance, and the principal British port, it was growing rapidly and haphazardly. Cramped houses formed narrow streets darkened by overhanging shop signs. Carriages jostled to make headway through the bustling throngs of noisy pedestrians. Despite regular Paving Acts to improve the state of the streets, filth was still slopped down the central gutters of the cobbled roads. Public drunkenness and whoring were less common but the streets remained dangerous with brawls frequent and footpads prowling at night. The city lacked a police force throughout the period.
Shops were plentiful and opulent with wares publicly displayed in the windows. Customers were advised not to haggle in the better shops as the shopkeepers increasingly adopted fixed prices and refused to sell their goods for less. Hordes of street-sellers hawked fruit, vegetables and other produce.
London boasted thousands of alehouses and coffee-houses. Some of the latter had specialized clienteles such as Almack's habituated by gamblers, Peele's, St James', and the Turk's Head which catered for writers and wits, and White's which attracted sportsmen. The Drury Lane and Covent Garden theatres could

each seat rowdy audiences of several thousand. During cold winters when the Thames froze, frost fairs were held on the river. The last was held during the 1813-14 winter. Afterward the old London Bridge was demolished and the freer flowing Thames failed to freeze.
*

Scotland

The immediate effects of the Act of Union between England and Scotland had been to worsen conditions for Scotland, lending encouragement to the Jacobite Rebellions of 1715 ("the Fifteen") and 1745 ("the Forty-five"). The power of the clan system had been broken after the Forty-five with severe penalties being levied on any Scots who bore arms or wore clan plaid or kilts. These laws were finally repealed in 1782.

As the Highlander nobles became mere proprietors and large-scale sheep farmers, clansmen drifted into crofting, fishing, and the army. Thousands emigrated to America. (Later many took the "high road" to England.) The vain hopes of a Jacobite restoration continued to stir the clans even into the 1770s, though the self-styled James III of England (and VIII of Scotland) had died in 1766. His elder son, Charles Edward Stuart ("Bonnie Prince Charlie" or Charles III), died in 1788.His younger son (the *soi-disant* Henry IX) became Cardinal York, dying in 1807, and ending the legitimate Stuart bloodline.
The later eighteenth century saw "North Britain" (as the English styled Scotland) benefit from better roads and increasing industrialization. Until American independence, the tobacco trade created many fortunes in Glasgow. After a brief slump, the linen and cotton industries became the Clyde Valley's largest employers.
Scotland's 1,600,000 people were represented by a mere forty-five Members of Parliament (thirty county MPs and fifteen representing its sixty-five royal burghs) and sixteen peers in the House of Lords. However as there were only three thousand actual voters (1788), manipulating the Scottish elections was easy and the Scottish bloc vote in the House of Commons was at the ministry's call. The Scots were sympathetic to the American Revolution and advocated a widening of the franchise after the French Revolution.

Wales

Wales remained stolidly rural with a population of 600,000 (1800) and no towns larger than 7,000 inhabitants. Wales elected thirty-two Members of Parliament; local government was dominated by the gentry who served as Justices of the Peace and county sheriffs. The richest aristocrats in Wales were actually English peers whose main estates were in England. The Welsh nobility and gentry were not as rich as their English counterparts, but the social gulf between them and their tenants was much wider. Tenancies lasted for "three lives" or twenty-one years. Owing to absenteeism among the landlords, estate stewards became powerful intermediaries. Successful stewards eventually became lesser gentry themselves.
Enclosure of land in the 1790s led to gradual agricultural

improvements and local unrest. This coincided with extensive canal building by private entrepreneurs who recouped their investments through tolls. Previously the poor Welsh roads had made sea trade important. The new canals boosted the Welsh wool, leather, and mining industries, increasing exports of coal, copper, iron, lead, and tin.

Ireland

"John Bull's other island," as Ireland was sometimes styled, was treated by England as another unruly colony rather than as part of Britain proper. It had been finally conquered by the English following the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 and William III's defeat of James II at the Boyne (1690). As the Catholicized Norman and native nobility emigrated to Europe with their retainers, they were replaced with a Protestant Ascendancy subscribing to the established Church of Ireland, ruling over the 85% Catholic majority and the dissenting Presbyterians in Ulster.

Ireland's population rose from 2,700,000 (1771) to 4,200,000 (1791). Most lived in the countryside, farming potatoes or flax and weaving linen. Despite the efforts of English merchants to exert Parliamentary influence at Westminster to break Irish commerce, trade with America flourished from the western ports of Cork, Galway, Limerick and Londonderry, and smugglers exported Cork silver and Waterford glass to Europe.

Though some Ascendancy nobles were absentee landlords financing a life in England through Irish rents, the rest had become Anglo-Irish and sought a more equal relationship with England. Though hopelessly corrupt (two-thirds of the seats were "rotten boroughs"), Grattan's short-lived Parliament achieved some commercial concessions. Ireland was still governed from Dublin Castle by the Viceroy and his ministers. Irish legislation required the assent of both viceroy and King.

Dublin itself was the second largest city in Britain with Ascendancy wealth rejuvenating its architecture. Parklands such as St Stephen's Green and Phoenix Park remained intact. Dublin was home to Ireland's sole university, Trinity College, established by Queen Elizabeth I for the education of Anglicans, and matched in quality only by Edinburgh. Philosophical, agricultural improvement, and cultural societies flourished. The popularity of the faked *Ossian* poems and authentic translations from the Gaelic led to harps appearing in Ascendancy homes. Nevertheless poets such as Oliver Goldsmith sought fame and fortune in England.

Irish cities and towns were mostly populated by workers and beggars, leavened by a small middle class. In the countryside, most farmers leased their land under the conacre system, growing potatoes for themselves and managing grain and cattle for the landlord. Dwelling in mud cottages with their livestock, these Gaelic-speaking tenants subsisted on potatoes and skimmed milk. The short leases (eleven months outside of Ulster) denied the peasantry any security of land tenure. Secret societies such as the Whiteboys committed acts of sabotage and occasional violence against landlords, their agents, and their property in retaliation for landowner brutality. Taxes and tithes (to the Church of Ireland) were ruthlessly levied. Beneath the conacre farmers was a large itinerant class of beggars, gypsies, tinkers, and *gombeen* men. The last sold clothing and salt to

isolated communities, offering credit at usurious rates of interest.

Ulster and the Penal Laws

Ulster was Ireland's most prosperous province. The great landowners enjoyed a lavish lifestyle. Longer leases had created a yeoman farmer class while the linen industry provided employment for thousands. Whaling, salmon fishing, and illegal whisky distilling supported coastal and isolated communities.

Western Ulster was predominantly Catholic; eastern Ulster was Presbyterian. Both Belfast and Londonderry had religiously mixed communities. Belfast had expanded to 18,000 thanks to the linen, cotton and ship-building industries, though many of the new inhabitants lived in cramped slums. Barred (like Catholics) from attending Trinity College, Presbyterians acquired Enlightenment ideas at Edinburgh and Glasgow universities and from American traders, so that Belfast's Presbyterian middle class became the most radical segment of Irish society. Land hunger kept sectarian hatred alive in the country with rivalry between the Presbyterian "Peep o' Day Boys" and Catholic "Defenders" flaring into frequent violence.

Throughout Ireland, the Penal Laws were enforced to ensure Catholics and Catholicism was unable to threaten the Ascendancy. No Catholic could vote or hold parliamentary office, or seek legal redress. They were excluded from careers in law, the judiciary, and the navy, and forbidden from attending any British university. (Medicine was their only permitted profession). Catholics were educated by priests and at foreign universities. No Catholic was allowed to bear weapons or own a horse worth more than five pounds. They were required to divide all land equally among any sons. (An eldest son who converted to Protestantism inherited everything.) The equal land division was often foiled by sham conversions or transferring the property to a Protestant friend prior to death who then returned it to the intended heir. Bishops were banned from Ireland on pain of death by hanging, drawing, and quartering. Only a thousand priests were legally permitted and they were forbidden to teach the Catholic faith. Nevertheless more were trained in continental seminaries and returned to work in secret. Many educated Protestants found the Penal Laws distasteful and assisted Catholics in evading them.

France

His Most Christian Majesty, Louis XVI, ruled over a nation of some twenty-six million inhabitants, exercising his authority through the same administrative machinery created a century earlier by Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin and the Sun King himself, Louis XIV. The royal palace at Versailles outside Paris was both the seat of the royal court and of the French government. The purchase of noble titles had elevated higher officials into the aristocracy while marriages between the *noblesse d'épee* and *de robe* gradually reduced the effective social distinctions and enabled the ancient families to recover some measure of political power.

The King's government was undertaken by a small number of ministers, responsible for law, finance, home and foreign affairs, the army, and the navy, and some thirty-four *intendants* appointed as regional administrators. Originally created as the monarch's agents to control the aspirations of local nobles and enforce the royal will, the *intendants* had become aristocrats themselves and in the ensuing conflicts of interest, they frequently acted on behalf of their region (or its most vocal and powerful political factions). Subordinate to ministers and *intendants* was a large and unwieldy bureaucracy.

Various institutions in France such as the guilds and the Church enjoyed special privileges which mitigated the supposed absolutism of the regime. Provincial nobles agitated for further powers to be restored to their regional Estates from the central government. The thirteen *parlements*, particularly the *parlement* of Paris, were attempting to acquire veto authority over new laws (rather than simply registration) in addition to their status as appeal courts.

Agriculture was the main-stay of most French families. The larger farms of northern France yielded comfortable incomes for their tenants; the west, south, and south-west were dominated by struggling share-croppers with small plots.

Some 15% of the population lived in cities or towns, where municipal charters shielded the residents from rural feudal obligations and some taxes. With the exception of Paris and Lyons, the urban centers witnessing the greatest growth in prosperity were the coastal ports, such as Bordeaux, Le Havre, Marseilles and Toulon, thriving on overseas and colonial trade. The wealth of Nantes was derived from the linked commerce of sugar and slaves. Bordeaux spent its riches in its new theatres, shops, and fine buildings. Lyons, the second city of France (with 150,000 people) was the center of the silk industry, though workshops and small factories rather than steam-powered "dark satanic mills" predominated.

With 650,000 inhabitants, Paris was the heart of France, and probably the cultural capital of the European world as noble scions of every nationality congregated in its salons, theatres, and restaurants during their Grand Tour. While the great aristocrats enjoyed their palaces, and the wealthy bourgeois lived nobly in their new residences, most of the ordinary commoners were crowded into old *faubourgs* on the banks of the river Seine and the Ile de la Cité. The hundreds of shopkeepers and minor craftsmen of the *faubourg* Saint-Antoine (on the right bank of the Seine) would provide the Revolution with its most radical *sans-culottes*. The Cité was home to the goldsmiths, jewelers, watchmakers and so on who serviced Parisian demands for luxury items.

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Insert a map of "Pre-Revolutionary France" from schama-ancienfrance.tif

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A Police State?

Prior to the Revolution, the French police exercised the will of the monarch as well as maintaining law and order, regulating food supplies and prices, censoring

subversive literature, and inspecting prisons, buildings and streets. The police service in Paris included *commissaires* who served as administrators and judges for the city's twenty districts, *inspecteurs* who investigated crimes and analyzed the information received from spies and informers, and *exempts* who enforced order, supported by several hundred foot soldiers, archers, and mounted police who proactively patrolled the streets. *Mouchards*, or secret police, also reported on the citizenry using a network of informers drawn from the ranks of the prostitutes, servants, and criminals, and through the interception of mail. Daily summary reports from the lieutenant-general of police were sent to the king.

Directorial France's Ministry of Police came under the leadership of Joseph Fouché from 1799. Initially directed to suppress threats to the "Revolution" as manifested in the existing regime, Fouché recruited hundreds of spies to monitor the activities of the citizenry and to combat Jacobin, royalist, and foreign conspiracies aimed at overthrowing the Consular and Imperial regimes. During occasional truces between the rebel *chouans* and the regime, the former frequently came out of hiding and relaxed their guard. Fouché's agents identified them, placed them under observation, and added their details to the comprehensive police records. Such information was ruthlessly exploited whenever the truces ended. The existence of this secret police, (and smaller networks reporting to the military, foreign governments, and even individuals), magnified by popular belief to be omnipresent served to limit the expression of political discontent.

Switzerland

The Swiss Confederation and its allied communities of Geneva, the nominally Prussian fief of Neuch<\#137>tel, and the republic of Valais formed an extremely loose and disunited federation, lacking any central administration, legislature or constitution. Rent by internal religious divisions, the Swiss avoided foreign intervention, relying on their military reputation and difficult Alpine passes for their defense. More than 40,000 Swiss served as mercenaries abroad, though recruitment grew steadily more difficult as agriculture and manufacturing became more lucrative. Cotton, silk and lace-making became key industries in Zurich and St. Gall, while Geneva and Neuch<\#137>tel became renowned for watch-making.

The Forest Cantons of Schwyz, Unterwalden, Uri, and Zug remained dominated by Catholic nobles and clergy. Other rural cantons functioned as corrupt, popular "democracies" where the peasants sold prestigious offices to wealthy families and appropriated foreign pensions.

The urban cantons were ruled by town councils with the authority vested in "Great Councils" but the executive being formed from the "Small Councils." In Zurich, the guilds ruled, regulating every aspect of life from dress to pastimes. Though half of Basel's inhabitants were citizens, the merchants' guild monopolized all high posts. Bern was governed by an exclusive patrician class of sixty-eight families whose occasional six-year tenure of one of sixty bailiff posts enabled them to rebuild or enlarge their fortunes. Rural areas were neglected by the urban cantons. The common bailiwicks (under multiple cantonal jurisdiction) were misruled by

bailiffs who recouped the office's purchase through levying fines.

Geneva's 25,000 people were stratified into four classes: office-holding citizens, voting burghers, *natifs* and newly arrived *habitants* who could neither vote nor hold office. A revolt in 1781 led to the temporary elevation of some *natifs* but was repudiated by the patricians supported by French intervention in 1782. Thereafter Geneva was ruled by its Small Council, and became a major financial center.

Though lightly taxed, the sharp social distinctions, censorship and legalism encouraged an attitude of seeking advantages from the States without doing anything in return. Swiss neutrality was quickly sacrificed by Napoleon. His Helvetic Republic (1798-1803) gave Switzerland a single government. Its treasuries were looted by France, while foreign armies and internal revolts led to anarchy and Napoleon's formation of a Helvetic Confederation under the Act of Mediation (1803). Switzerland languished as a satellite state until Napoleon's downfall, when an enlarged independent and neutral confederation was established.

Spain

Since the accession of Philip V, Duke of Anjou, as His Catholic Majesty, Spain had been ruled by a Bourbon dynasty descended from Louis XIV of France. He had abolished the constitutions of Aragon, placing the entire nation under the laws of Castile and requiring all public business to be conducted in Castilian Spanish. From the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) onward which assigned Gibraltar to Britain, the British were seen as the enemy and the French as natural allies. Though Spain lost control of the western Mediterranean, the Spanish Navy expanded throughout the eighteenth century, defending the far-flung colonies and undertaking voyages of exploration.

Spain's population rose to ten million (1800) with a hundred thousand living in Madrid. Half a million Spaniards claimed noble status; of these, only the seven hundred grandees and *titulos de Castile* enjoyed great wealth and influence. Links between the Spanish aristocracy and other European noble castes grew with many Spaniards proving receptive to the writings of French and English thinkers. Whilst the Inquisition remained active, its unwillingness to prosecute powerful grandees weakened its ability to halt the spread of subversive ideas

Population and prosperity migrated from the center to the Peninsula's periphery. The provincial nobility sponsored the foundation of regional economic societies between 1765 and 1789 to encourage investment and promote technical knowledge. Catalan and Basque merchants benefited from the opening of colonial trade to all ports by 1778. (Previously Cadiz and Seville monopolized all commerce with the Americas.) Shipbuilding, coastal fishing, iron and steel production expanded in the Basque region. The cotton and domestic industries enriched Catalonia. Valencia became a center of medicine and culture as well as the hub of the Spanish silk industry.

Agricultural improvements remained few -- the great landowners were satisfied with the revenues from their estates while the peasants eked out a living on tiny plots and the common land. The land-less laborers of

southern Spain suffered most from increasing prices and rents. The preference of many noblemen for French styles and fashions was equaled by the favor shown to native styles and customs by other sections of society and many noblewomen. Bullfighting, formerly popular only in Andalucia, became a national entertainment. Similarly flamenco singing and dancing spread throughout Spain.

A substantial French presence in Spain's commercial cities and a later flood of French émigrés propagated Revolutionary ideas and news of events north of the Pyrennees to ordinary Spaniards despite the best efforts of government censorship. Initial enthusiasm for the French Revolution collapsed with the execution of Louis XVI and the Terror. Basque and Catalan regional patriotism redirected itself against republicans and the Spanish people united against the perceived Jacobin threat. The later loss of colonial trade and crippling military costs combined with disease epidemics caused severe hardship to many Spaniards, enflaming the discontent which erupted in violence against Godoy's ministry and during the War of Liberation.

Portugal

The discovery of gold and diamonds in Brazil had ushered in a Golden Age for Portugal during the first half of the eighteenth century. Bullion paid for the construction of new palaces, churches, and noble residences. Portugal's economy was linked to Britain's by the enduring Methuen Treaties which ensured preferential treatment for Portuguese wines (in British territories) in return for unhindered sales of English textiles in Portugal. Fish and corn were also imported from British North America. All problems were (temporarily) solved by judicious gold payments; meanwhile English expatriates consolidated their hold on commerce.

The Lisbon earthquake of 1755 shattered the easy complacency of the House of Braganza, and caused many intellectuals at home and abroad to doubt the merciful nature of God. The city center was destroyed and the English Quarter was badly damaged. Directed by the Marquis of Pombal, chief minister of His Faithful Majesty Joseph I, Lisbon was rebuilt to a grid pattern. Though the homes of the nobility and the rich were quickly restored, housing for the poor took the form of huge shanty towns which grew in the areas around Lisbon's seven hills. Under Queen Maria, a royal police force preserved law and order in Lisbon aided by the introduction of street lighting. Little was done to improve the road infrastructure of the nation.

Maria's reign witnessed Portugal's population rise to three million with the bourgeois expanding to include some eighty thousand traders. Over a hundred thousand craftsmen supplied Portuguese needs. The armed forces recovered their professionalism after the long stagnation under previous rulers. The Catholic Church regained its influence in society. Both the monasteries and the rural squires retained their feudal dues and medieval rights (e.g. in blacksmithing and milling). Though Portugal possessed thousands of lesser nobles and impoverished knights, the grandees numbered a mere fifty titled families. Elevation of bourgeois merchants to the peerage forestalled any need to recall parliament while emigration to Brazil provided a safety-valve for the disaffected youth of the smaller

towns.
Portuguese merchants felt increasingly patronized and exploited by the heretical English who lived in fine fashionable homes in the suburbs of Lisbon and Oporto. Strenuous efforts were thus made by Portuguese traders to develop new industries and markets.
As Brazil became more self-reliant, Lisbon's merchants exported low-quality goods to Angola and created a triangular trade in slaves to Brazil. Careful only to sell cargo space to slavers rather than purchasing the slaves outright, the ship-owners profited regardless of whether the slaves lived or died en route. Payment was accepted in gold, cotton, Peruvian silver and sugar -- the colonial estates were always in debt to the home merchants. The silver was re-exported to India while the sugar was sold to Mediterranean customers. The cotton supplied the flourishing textile industry around Lisbon itself. The capital became noted for its numerous goldsmiths and booksellers.

Portugal's other city, Oporto, was the center of the wine trade to Britain with shipments being sent to London, Hull and Bristol. Portuguese wine was sufficiently coarse to induce English merchants to fortify it with French brandy before selling it in England. Low prices induced landowners in many wine-growing regions to return to the cultivation of cabbages, cereals, olives, and the newly introduced potato. Thousands of artisans near Oporto became involved in the flax industry, performing piece-work at home rather than in factories. The center of Oporto remained the city's commercial heart. Colonial returnees flaunted their wealth in miniature palaces in the eastern suburbs whereas the English community gravitated to the western districts.
Portugal's bourgeois magnates briefly hoped that the French invasion would permit them to escape from British competition. The behavior of Napoleon's marshals swiftly disillusioned them. Selling supplies to the British forces provided a new source of income. Nevertheless they were greatly aggrieved by the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1810 which allowed the British direct access to the Brazilian markets.

The Italian

States
Despite a population rising to eighteen million, Italy remained a mosaic of small states ruled by powerless dynasties. Victories and defeats in the diplomatic conflicts of the continental European powers were translated into transfers of Italian states and duchies from one hegemony to another. New rulers invigorated their kingdoms, reintegrating Italy with Europe. New roads connected northern Italy through the Alps to European markets, while sea trade boomed in the free ports of Ancona, Leghorn, Trieste, and Venice. Northern Italy exported silk especially to France; oil, corn, and wine remained the principal exports of the south.
The luxurious Renaissance villas of the nobility and classical monuments contrasted with the hovels of a mostly illiterate peasantry. The warm climate encouraged most to spend their waking lives outdoors. The wealthy had their sons schooled by private tutors or in the Jesuit academies; their daughters prepared for eventual marriage with a convent education. Though attached to Catholicism, popular and aristocratic morality was little influenced by its tenets. Despite the censors, printers published

Enlightenment works in French and in translation; the native thinkers responded by emphasizing Italian (rather than classical) history and urging the use of Italian (rather than Latin) for cultural thought. Prior to 1796, only the Church and law offered intellectuals careers; afterward new options included the universities, academies, schools, journalism, and the military. As Italy suffocated under Napoleon's Continental Systems, Jacobins channeled desires for an independent united Italy through numerous and popular secret societies such as the northern *Adelfi*, central *Guelfia* and Neapolitan *Carboneria*.

The House of Savoy ruled Piedmont and Sardinia as an absolute monarchy, reforming both territories to ensure the preeminence of the ruler and stifling enlightenment thought. Although Sardinia was a rural backwater, Turin and Nice enjoyed significant expansion. Determined to expand territorially, Savoy's Victor Amadeus III exploited the balance of power between France and Austria.

Mantua and Milan (population 131,000) combined to form Austrian-ruled Lombardy. Divisions between town and country had been reduced by a reorganization of the Lombard provinces to ensure urban and rural participation in each administrative unit, while church influence was curbed. Agricultural innovations improved the standard of living and increased the wealth of the great landowners. With the extinction of the Medicis, Florence (population 72,000) and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany were ruled by Austrian Habsburg princes. Peter Leopold's reforms abolished torture and the death penalty and instituted free trade policies. Despite this "Enlightened" despotism, most peasants were sharecroppers or heavily indebted, the bourgeois were politically weak, and the landholders supported only the changes which were in their interests. The Este Duchy of Modena was an Austrian satellite.

The Bourbons governed the joint Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. The Neapolitan barons were ill-versed in trade, preferring the extravagance of the court at Naples (population: 400,000), and allowing commoner parvenus to lease or purchase their estates to pay off debts. Heavy business taxes on commoners limited commercial and industrial growth. Agriculture concentrated on cultivating fruit, vegetables, grapes and cereals. Seizures of monastic lands, the suppression of the Inquisition, and elimination of the right of sanctuary shifted power away from the Church. Sicily was ruled by a viceroy from its capital of Palermo (population: 140,000) -- however the baronial parliament ensured the retention of aristocratic economic and social privileges. Another branch of the Bourbons ruled the duchy of Parma.

Reduced after the loss of Corsica to a city-state, the Republic of Genoa was still under the absolute control of the oligarchy of the Bank of St George. The impoverished nobility and gentry subsisted on the salaries obtained from filling the minor posts of the army, administration and diplomatic service.

The Most Serene Republic of Venice was a shadow of its former glory. Its ruling oligarchy had declined to a mere fifty families. The city population had stabilized at 137,000. New walls were erected to protect Venice from flooding. The mainland territories were completely subordinated to the needs of the city and willfully neglected, lacking even a network of roads. The country towns emulated the city in lording it over their rural neighborhoods. Increasingly isolated from the outside world, Venetian foreign policy was to hide from all attention; its people and its rulers were gripped by a "terror of the

future."
The Papacy was at its nadir of prestige. The Papal States and the Church were run by a ruling class of courtiers, "nephews" of cardinals and previous popes, and feudal nobles, for their own benefit. Divided by the Apennines, the southern papal domains consisted of large fiefs worked by sharecroppers and unhealthy marshes while the northern regions exported hemp and silk, and enjoyed a measure of commercial prosperity. The University of Bologna sufficed as the center for Enlightenment thought. Rome itself (population 162,000) was filled with beggars and priests -- fully a third of the inhabitants of the States were in holy orders. The reforming ambitions of Pius VI (pontiff 1775-99) foundered; his successor Pius VII (1800-1823) had more urgent concerns.
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Insert a map of "Italy in the 18th Century" from discala-italy18thcentury.tif ***

The United Provinces

The United Provinces, also called the Dutch Netherlands, had declined from their peak in the seventeenth century, becoming a second-class power. Holland still dominated the federation. A Calvinist state, the two million inhabitants of the United Provinces included 700,000 Catholics and 200,000 Jews and Protestant Dissenters, who were excluded from all military posts and commercial office.
Political tensions in the United Provinces included the House of Orange's desire to convert their hereditary title of *Stadtholder* into an effective ruling monarchy, the rivalries between the nobility of the landward provinces and the merchant patricians of Holland, and the desires of the burghers (the self-styled Patriot factions) to obtain some share in the States-General which constituted the government. The aristocratic families, known as Regents, monopolized all positions of power and influence, even forming cabals to ensure vacant offices were transferred to appropriate holders. Though society became more stratified, wealth was a passport into the regent families.
The decay in the fortunes of the Netherlands was most visible in the cities and towns. By the 1790s, Amsterdam's inhabitants numbered less than 200,000; elsewhere towns steadily depopulated. Urban areas became filthier, dead animals were common sights in the canals, and outbreaks of typhus, cholera and fever increased in frequency. Gin drinking became a widespread vice as the traditional meat, bread and dairy diet was eschewed in favor of gins, adulterated brandy, and low-quality tobacco. Begging increased in the towns, while robber bands prowled the countryside.
Devastating cattle plagues forced Dutch farmers to diversify more, raising sheep and cultivating asparagus, clover, chicory, flax, madder, potatoes and tobacco. Fishing and whaling declined owing to a lack of qualified native sailors and supporting crafts. Dutch ships remained small and traditionally designed, while other nations constructed larger, faster ships, dredged their harbors effectively, and avoided the need for Dutch middle-men. The Dutch remained the premier smugglers in the New World -- this led to Dutch bankers supporting the rebellious American colonies with substantial loans and the importation of American revolutionary ideas into the Patriot cause. Manufacturing of

textiles and ceramics collapsed from foreign competition, causing skilled workers to emigrate. High taxes (for the maintenance of the Barrier Forts guarding the borders) and guild restrictions (which increased prices) added to Dutch misery. The rise of Amsterdam as a world banking center did little to reassure the elite who continued to fret about whether the United Provinces had exceeded their resources or reached the maximum extent of their wealth.

The Austrian Netherlands

The Austrian Netherlands (sometimes called Belgium and including modern Luxembourg) was secured by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) to the Austrian throne. The Habsburg emperors modernized the previously Spanish governmental institutions, making appointment to public office depend more on merit than influence or status. The three million Flemings and Walloons came to be ruled by a combination of Viennese officials, Belgian administrators, native nobles with a French outlook, and Catholic prelates. The cities of Antwerp, Bruges and Ghent were governed by their leading burghers. The subordination of Flemish to French as the language of officialdom and the upper classes caused some resentment among lower-class Flemings who neither spoke nor understood French.

Under Maria Theresa, the Austrian Netherlands enjoyed an era of increasing prosperity with agricultural progress being matched with growth in manufacturing (such as cotton and woolen goods) and mining activities. Wages remained low and the ongoing blockade of the Schelde estuary by the Dutch prevented Antwerp's recovery as a port. For the well-to-do, it was a time of revelry, dancing and feasting. Enlightenment ideas percolated into employment, education, health and religious affairs.

Emperor Joseph II's attempt to lift the Schelde blockade failed; his administrative and religious reforms threatened the political autonomy of the Austrian Netherlands and the powers of the native aristocracy. The latter triggered an unlikely alliance between conservatives and progressives culminating in a middle-class revolt (the Brabant Revolution) in 1789. The coalition fractured and Austrian control was reasserted by Leopold II in 1790.

The fall of the Austrian Netherlands to French Revolutionary armies brought annexation to France. Revolutionary and Directorial France abolished all traditional privileges, suppressed the Catholic Church, and eliminated all vestiges of autonomy. Extensive military conscription led to rural revolts (1798-99) and savage repression. The Consulate and the Empire introduced the Code Napoleon and restored religious worship under the Concordat. As an integrated part of France, the economy, especially in the coal, metal, and increasingly mechanized textile industries actually grew unlike the other satellite states. Napoleonic control of Holland effected the removal of the Schelde blockade restoring Antwerp as a port and staging ground for a French invasion into the unprotected eastern counties of England.

The German States

Germany was not a single nation; instead there were hundreds of mostly small states forming the Holy Roman

Empire which was neither holy, nor Roman, nor an empire. The German rulers were ostensibly vassals of the Emperor in Vienna. In their own territories, these nobles could behave as absolutist suzerains.

The states had varying characteristics. There were about a thousand imperial barons and knights, mostly in the south-west and in the Rhineland, who held small fiefs as direct vassals of the emperor. Hereditary castes of senators governed the imperial free cities of Frankfurt-on-Main, Hamburg, Nuremberg, and some fifty lesser municipalities. Unusually Hamburg prohibited nobles from owning property within its confines; however this bourgeois bastion had nine levels of citizenship. The larger principalities in the west, numbering some two hundred and fifty states, were endowed with landed nobility and bureaucracies, with small farmers working the land. Feudal obligations were frequently "bought off." Only Baden, Bavaria, Hanover, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Württemberg were of significant size. In eastern Germany, serfs and near-serfs grew cereals on the large estates of the *Junker* nobles of the major kingdoms of Brandenburg-Prussia, Mecklenburg, and Saxony. Serf revolts were frequent.

The policy of *cujus regio, ejus religio* (instituted after the devastating Thirty Years' War) ensured that the state's religion mirrored its ruler's, though the conversion of a ruler did not necessitate mass conversions among his subjects. Each state was represented at the "Perpetual Diet" in Regensburg (which met until the empire's dissolution in 1806) which provided a forum for diplomacy and dispute resolution without recourse to war among the minor powers. Citizens and nobles had recourse to two imperial courts (one in Regensburg which had a huge case backlog, the other in Vienna). To simplify administration, the tiny states were grouped into imperial districts which functioned as regional federations.

The nobility constituted about 1% of the total population. Imperial aristocrats married within their own class in order to preserve their votes in the Diet. Ruling nobles created elaborate courts (in proportion to their wealth) with entourages of secular and religious advisors, entertainers, and servants. The upper classes' demand for luxury goods adversely effected the economic development of the states.

The clergy remained a privileged order. Many Catholic bishops enjoyed opulent lifestyles, delegating their pastoral duties to suffragan bishops who were usually of commoner and burgess stock. The Protestant clergy recognized the local prince as governor of their church.

Everywhere in Germany, from the secular courts of Munich and Dresden, the cathedral cities of Cologne and Mainz, to the university town of Göttingen, beggars formed up to a quarter of the population. Some indigents were burgess bankrupts, former officers, even nobles fallen on hard times. Hygiene was non-existent with filth even to the very walls of palaces; the absence of plagues was miraculous.

*** Possibly insert map of "The German Confederation in 1815" using ford-germanconfederation.tif ***

Prussia

Six million Prussians acknowledged the

rule of Frederick the Great. His scattered domains were reflected in his multiplicity of titles -- Margrave of Brandenburg, Grand Duke of Silesia, King *in* Prussia (as its territories were not part of the Empire), and Duke of Ansbach, Bayreuth, Cleves, East Frisia, Mark, Minden-Ravensburg, and far-off Swiss Neuch<\#137>tel.

Though the Prussian territories embraced multiple faiths, royal decrees granting religious freedom forestalled any sectarian violence. Prussia was the most tolerant of German states in this respect, but for pragmatic rather than liberal reasons.

Likewise, pragmatic requirements for aristocratic support during his wars forced Frederick the Great to concede greater powers over their serfs to the *Junker* nobility. Military and civil appointments were monopolized by the Junkers. Contemptuous of mere trade, the haughty Junkers were frequently in debt -- though Frederick bailed many out increasing their loyalty. They quickly became a disciplined and obedient elite, performing their tasks efficiently in the bureaucracy and the army. On their own estates, they were paternalistic overlords.

To ensure an officer corps, Junkers' sons were required to attend cadet school in Berlin from age twelve. Armed "escorts" were used to prevent parental feelings interfering with a punctual departure for school. The ordinary soldiers were recruited from each canton. The exclusion of urban burgesses and property-owners ensured that this burden fell on the peasants.

Prussia's healthy economy was based on a combination of agriculture, commerce, and manufacturing. Many bourgeoisie became rich, some astute property developers even received leases to royal lands. However wealth could not purchase a noble title in the fixed Prussian social hierarchy.

The Austrian Empire

The Habsburg dynasty had held the title of Holy Roman Emperor since the election of Albert II in 1438, and it remained their preferred title. It was not however a hereditary title -- each new Habsburg monarch had to seek election from the electoral college consisting of the Electors of Bavaria, Bohemia, Brandenburg, Hanover, and Saxony, as well as the Archbishops of Cologne, Mainz, and Trier. The end of each reign and the beginning of the next presented opportunities for the electors to extract concessions from weak monarchs in order to assent to their election. The true power of the Habsburgs lay in their own "crownlands" of Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary, rather than in their tenuous hold over the German States (see p. 00).

Even in the crownlands, Habsburg monarchs were required to rule through consensus with the regional elites. The crownlands had been united by "personal unions" of Habsburg princes with the previous ruling dynasties rather than by conquest; hence the existing governmental structures had been preserved and each local nobility resisted the establishment of a homogenous constitution. The discontinuous territories and the central European location of the crownlands ensured that some part of the empire was threatened by foreign intervention at any time, denying the monarchy any

opportunity for forcing internal reform. As the regional Diets would support defensive wars, Habsburg foreign policy emphasized coalitions maintaining the balance of power.
Unlike their fellow monarchs, Their Apostolic Majesties (as the Habsburgs were styled) were relatively well-informed upon conditions of their ordinary subjects. This was due to Joseph II's predilection for travelling incognito at home and abroad as "Count Falkenstein," both as prince and co-Emperor. Joseph's fact-finding trips inspired many of his reforms.
With a total population of twenty-seven million, the crownlands had the usual high proportion of nobility and Catholic clergy. However the bulk were peasants on noble estates and proprietors of small farms. The gradual reduction of the hated *robot* (compulsory feudal labor services) and an increase in rural manufacturing led to better conditions for the peasantry. Towns remained small.

Vienna was the empire's capital owing to its central location between Prague, Graz, Innsbruck, and Pressburg. Its population had grown to 300,000 with a third living in the suburbs. Vienna supported a substantial bourgeoisie class as well as many urban poor. Court and royal life centered on the Schönbrunn Palace.
German was instituted as the official language of the crownlands in 1784, replacing Latin and displacing national tongues such as Magyar. Public education was widespread. In rural areas, children received moral, religious, and vocational training. In urban areas, children learned reading, writing, and arithmetic. Burghers' children proceeded to a "middle school," focusing on either academic or vocational skills. The brightest and the wealthiest were finally sent to the regional gymnasium in preparation for university.
The elimination of guild privileges, road building and river dredging initiatives, and an internal free trade zone led to a commercial boom. There was even a thriving sea trade with the Ottoman Empire and the East Indies.
The Revolutionary Wars forced a monarchic reaction against Enlightenment. The secret police expanded and censorship was enforced. The wartime inflation enriched many farmers.
*** Insert map of "The Austrian Empire in 1792" from file ingrao-austrianempire.tif ***

The Habsburg

Dominions
In addition to Austria, the Habsburgs ruled the kingdom of Bohemia (including Moravia), the kingdom of Hungary, the former Ottoman territories of Croatia, Slavonia, Banat, and Transylvania (much of which were still classified as the Military Border regions, home to scattered military colonies providing a permanent defense against the Ottoman Empire), Polish Galicia (see Poland p. 00), Lombardy (see The Italian States, p. 00), and the Austrian Netherlands (see p. 00).
The Slavic lands, i.e. Bohemia, Moravia, Slavonia, Croatia and Polish Galicia, had both the wealthiest landowners and the poorest peasants in Europe. In Bohemia, the

robot for bondsmen was several days of labor per week and many nobles exploited their serfs even more. Three-quarters of a million Bohemians and Moravians were employed in manufacture, particularly in the textile industry. Brno became known as the Moravian Manchester in this era -- although its Castle Spilberk became infamous as a prison for revolutionaries and radicals. Czech nobles continued to govern Greater Bohemia from the Hradcany Palace in Prague, which with a population of 80,000 was the second-largest city of the crownlands.

Hungary was controlled by the numerous belligerent Magyar nobility. Only a few (such as the Esterhàzy family) were great magnates; the rest drew their wealth from horse breeding and cereal farming. Hungary exported livestock, grain and wine to the other crownlands. Hungarian peasants had a better standard of living than their Polish or Czech contemporaries owing to a much lower *urbarium* (Hungarian *robot*). Decades of peace had encouraged a rise in population and re-established an artisan class. Colonists and Balkan immigrants had repopulated the southern and eastern regions. Pressburg had reached 30,000 inhabitants; the twin cities of Buda and Pest on opposite banks of the River Danube housed 50,000.

In urban areas of Hungary, the arts were flourishing. The great nobles constructed new palaces, while the wealthier towns founded theatres and orchestras. Newspapers, reading clubs, and Masonic lodges multiplied. In more rural areas, converted mosques reminded the traveler that while Hungary had been detached from the Ottoman Empire for decades, it had yet to be fully absorbed into the European mainstream.

Denmark

During the eighteenth century, Denmark possessed the Germanic duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, the kingdom of Norway (united to Denmark by a personal union), and the ancient Norwegian territories of the Faeroes, Iceland, and Greenland, as well as three Caribbean islands (St. Thomas, St John, and St Croix) and trading posts in India and Ghana.

Denmark proper had a population of one million, of whom a tenth lived in semi-autonomous Copenhagen, where nobles and a large garrison mixed with merchants, craftsmen, sailors and fishermen. With the decline of the Dutch, commerce had flourished, though Denmark was limited in its exports to meat and oxen with its inferior grain being shipped to the captive Norwegian market.

Temporarily governed in 1770-71 by Johann Struensee, physician and Queen Caroline's lover, a conservative coup reversed the Germanization of the court, leading to the restoration of Danish as the official language of the military and the government and the prohibition on foreigners serving the Crown from 1776 onward. These "Danish" policies invigorated the national literature while Denmark's neutrality during the American War boosted maritime trade. A special treaty with England protected the vital Norwegian timber exports.

Nine-tenths of Denmark was divided into some thousand estates owned by several hundred landowners. From the 1780s, the magnates introduced various reforms, commuting seigniorial dues into money rents and increasing the process of

enclosure. The lot of the peasantry, who were also taxed and tithed, improved, through an underclass of day laborers and cottagers appeared owing to the shortage of available land.
Crown Prince Frederick's military and foreign policy of merchant convoys and neutrality in the 1790s served Denmark well until 1801. After the forced dissolution of the Baltic armed neutrality pact, it was only a matter of time before the Danes were compelled to choose sides. Vacillation incurred the second British assault on Copenhagen and Danish incorporation into a Napoleonic alliance and the Continental System. Its overseas holdings were seized while British squadrons prevented communication with Norway and the Atlantic possessions. Though half the Danish merchant fleet was lost, Danish privateers enjoyed some success against British Baltic shipping. Widespread smuggling through British-held Heligoland ameliorated the impact of this unpopular war in the German Duchies.
Though Denmark forfeited Norway at the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars, it recovered its Caribbean possessions and retained control of Iceland, Greenland, and the Faeroes.

Norway and Iceland

United since 1536 with Denmark, Norway remained a distinct realm. During the eighteenth century, its fiefdoms were replaced by a system of shires and bailiwicks, administered by governors and bailiffs appointed by the Danish crown. Norwegians could appeal against the decisions of these officials to the king.
The 800,000 Norwegians were thinly scattered in coastal communities. Three-fifths of Norway's farmers owned their own land; in the north of the realm, the great landowners preferred to offer limited tenancies to preserve their own hunting and fishing rights. Farming, timber, mining, fishing, and shipping formed the sole Norwegian "industries" with merchants and burghers garnering fortunes during the wars of the eighteenth century. Taxation was lighter than in Denmark, owing to successful Norwegian defenses against Swedish incursions. Nationalism began to appear in the upper classes at the close of the century.
Inclusion in the Continental System brought bankruptcy, hardship and isolation from Denmark. Ruled by a commission and threatened by Sweden, Norway was granted a temporary dispensation in 1809 from the System to renew trade with England, but suffered famine in 1812. Despite short-lived resistance, Norway was severed from Denmark and united in a personal union with Sweden in 1815.
With fifty thousand inhabitants, Iceland was the most populous Atlantic crown territory. Reykjavik was the only village in Iceland with a mere three hundred residents by 1800. Trade with Iceland was almost a Danish monopoly. Farming and fishing were the Icelanders' occupations, with the seasonal fishermen being laborers for the local landowners. Poverty increased, however, with famines induced by volcanic eruptions and severely cold weather in the 1780s claiming thousands of lives. In 1809, J<\#191>rgen J<\#191>rgensen, a Danish adventurer, staged a coup and held control of Iceland for two months before he was ousted. Nevertheless Icelanders remained content with the Danish status quo throughout the period.

Sweden

Sweden had been in decline since its seventeenth-century apex of power, though it retained title to much of Finland and the Caribbean island of St Bartholomew. Gustav III's coup had ended the "Age of Freedom" which had degenerated into factional political strife between the "Hats" (supporting the nobility and bureaucracy) and the "Caps" (espousing the "people" and lower Estates). Rule was returned to the monarchy and the powers of the four Estates (nobles, clergy, burgesses, and peasantry) were reduced.

Three-quarters of Sweden's two million people depended on agriculture for their living. In response to the ever-present threat of famine, the Swedish farmers adapted English agronomic theories, introduced potatoes and turnips, and accelerated the process of enclosure. Insufficient work existed for the growing lower-class population; alcohol, especially gin, became the preeminent vice, especially as the government was unable to stop illegal distilleries.

Gustav's III's reign witnessed an upsurge in cultural activity, especially in the theatre, opera and belles-lettres. His policies led to the restoration of a healthy currency, a reorganization of Finland's administration, naval strengthening, and the abolition of torture. Enclosure in Finland led to discontent among the rural population and defenses against potential Russian encroachment were limited. In foreign policy, Sweden gradually became opposed to Denmark and Russia, as Gustav made little secret of his interests in detaching Norway and Russian-ruled Finnish provinces from his Baltic neighbors.

After Gustav III's assassination, Sweden had little direct contact with the rest of Europe between 1792 and 1804. Gustav IV concentrated on balancing Swedish finances and seeking a rapprochement with Denmark. An inability to form any alliances with Directorial France led Sweden to join the League of Armed Neutrality. After the collapse of this pact, friendly relations were restored with England, not least because Sweden exported half of its iron and steel output to Britain in return for commercial goods. Understandably fiscal policies were generous toward the minor industries of manufacturing and mining.

Napoleon's execution of the Duc d'Enghien drove Gustav IV into the Third Coalition and this personal animosity kept Sweden in the alliance despite Russia's defection after Tilsit, Denmark's alliance with Napoleon, and Russia's conquest of Finland. Turned into the scapegoat for all Sweden's ills, Gustav was deposed and a new constitution instituted which reduced the privileges and tax exemptions of the upper classes.

Bernadotte (as Charles John) gave Sweden its first secret police and espionage system as well as encouraging a resurgence of "Scandinavianism," the desire for a union of the Baltic states.

*** Insert map of "The Partitions of Poland" from ford-partitionspoland.tif ***

The Partitions of

Poland
The "Royal Republic" of Poland ended in tragedy. At the beginning of the era, its population of nine million included some 750,000 gentry and nobility, mostly land-less lords with excessive privileges. The peasantry were defenseless, the bourgeoisie had dwindled, and even the clergy were demoralized. Catherine II of Russia had arranged the election of her ex-lover Stanislas Poniatowski as King of Poland in 1764. Though his affection for Catherine influenced his foreign policy, Stanislas nevertheless sought diplomatic alliances with Austria and France. Internally he balanced Polish finances and limited the *liberum veto*, the principle which required decisions of the governing Diet to be unanimous.

Worried by these reforms, Austria, Prussia and Russia acted in concert, forcing Poland to surrender huge territories under threat of invasion. The First Partition gave Galicia as far as the Vistula river to Austria, all lands between the Dvina and Dneiper rivers to Russia, and West Prussia and the northern portions of Great Poland to Prussia (though they temporarily returned Danzig and Torun). Having shorn Poland of defensible borders, they imposed a Permanent Council on Stanislas, hoping to hamstring his rule. Instead he turned it to his advantage, increasing his popularity by being seen to seek consensus.
Russian preoccupation with the Ottoman Empire enabled Stanislas to convene the Great Diet from 1788-1792. By its constitution, the nobility renounced many traditional privileges, Polish citizenship was defined with burghers of chartered towns being entitled to send delegates to the Diet, and the peasantry placed under government protection. The *liberum veto* was abolished and the monarchy henceforth was to be hereditary in the House of Saxony.

Dissatisfied aristocrats "invited" Russian intervention which took the form of armed invasion (1792) while Prussia repudiated its neutrality. Stanislas surrendered and the Second Partition was enacted (1793), whereby Prussia gained Great Poland, Masovia, Danzig, and Torun, and Russia acquired the eastern parts of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Polish Ukraine. The brief revolt in 1794 led to the final Third Partition (1795): Austria gained Polish Galicia between the Pilica and Bug rivers; Prussia secured Warsaw and environs; and Russia the rest of Lithuania and the Duchy of Courland.
The Poles endured systematic Germanization by Austria and Prussia and repression under Catherine. Her successors were more conciliatory -- the Polish Prince Adam Czartoryski became a trusted minister of Alexander. Ineffectual conspiracies proliferated. The valor of Polish exiles who had enlisted in Napoleon's armies led to the temporary Grand Duchy of Warsaw (1807), a bureaucratic state modeled on France. After Vienna, Poland was divided into five portions: the diminutive Republic of Krakow, Austrian-held Poland, Prussian-held Poland, the Kingdom of Poland, and the Lithuanian-Ruthenian territories.

Russia

Under Catherine the Great and her successors, Russia supported a population of twenty-five million

people. Half a million were "nobles," entitled to own land and serfs. Courtiers, magnates, civil service officials, military officers and provincial gentry alike were classified and pigeonholed according to the "Table of Ranks." Dedication to the nation through service was rewarded with elevation in the Table of Ranks, with the highest levels granting the holders hereditary titles. Service demands and the attractions of the court prevented any close ties developing between absentee landowners and their estates. This divorce from rural and commoner concerns was exacerbated by many young nobles spending their formative years at the Land Cadet Corps College where they studied languages, literature, mathematics, geography and history as well as military and genteel skills. (Russian noblewomen were well educated in foreign languages at the expense of their native Russian.)

Free from direct taxation, the nobility could develop or dispose of their estates at their discretion. The richest nobles lived as independent princes on their estates with scores or even hundreds of serf-servants. Armies of serfs could be raised to perform the slightest whim of a noble who had the power of life and death over them. Disobedient serfs could be beaten with a *knout*, exiled to Siberia, or sent to the navy. Three-quarters of the "nobility" owned fewer than one hundred serfs; half less than twenty serfs. Many of these poorest nobles sank back into the peasantry.

Between the nobility and the huge peasantry were the clergy and the merchant classes. Though reduced to salaried officials of the state, the Russian Orthodox clergy, from ignorant village priests to the educated celibate "black" monks who formed the hierarchy, remained influential in the lives of ordinary Russians. The merchants were frequently conservative "Old Believers" harking back to the traditions of old Muscovy. Ennobled merchants were encouraged to engage in industry, using serfs as an involuntary workforce. Separated from home and village life, housed in barracks, brutally punished and ill-paid, the unwilling serfs proved too unproductive and were gradually replaced with free laborers. With the connivance of nobles, even serfs rose to become the *de facto* owners of the factories and merchants.

Rural serfs lived in wooden huts with tiny windows (closed with dried bladders and shutters), and no chimneys.. Inside, a large stove served as cooker and heat source. Furniture was minimal and crudely made. An effigy of Christ or the Virgin Mary was usually the sole decoration. Clothed in skins, linen or wool garments, and a full-length frock fastened by a girdle at the waist, devout serfs wore a crucifix around their necks. They lived on a diet of black bread, cabbage, cucumber, garlic, mead and fruit liquors. Entertainment consisted of visits to the local bathing house, taverns, and occasional fairs. Obligations for the local noble ranged from three to six days' work per week, grudgingly performed, as well as incidental services such as carting or building. The village council regularly redistributed the common land among the serf families, dissuading anyone from making improvement measures. House serfs were trained as artists, craftsmen, and professionals, or formed into ballet troupes and orchestras to entertain their masters. Quotas of conscripted serfs formed the rank and file of the Russian armies.

Imperial

Ambitions
From the reign of Tsar Peter the Great, the ruling classes had been compelled to shift customs and behavior from Asiatic Mongol to Enlightenment Europe. French was the official court language. French cuisine and Western dress were common among the nobility. The imported culture formed a veneer of civilization which did not reach the lower classes.
The capital was St. Petersburg on the River Neva, where a population of 270,000 endured a dreadful climate and sickly marsh mists, and an elite enjoyed the magnificence of the royal court. The annual freeze of the Neva from November to March dissuaded most merchants from residing in St. Petersburg, preferring accessible Moscow. The lower classes ebbed and flowed through the city according to the season. The cost of living was high owing to the necessity of importing all goods.
The Tsars ruled from the luxurious Winter Palace and the Hermitages. Among the thousands of rooms in these vast complexes were the sovereign's private libraries, galleries and theatres. The nobility spent their winters in fine townhouses situated in the broad, straight squares or overlooking the canals and spacious squares of the city. During the summer months, they resided in their huge palaces south of the city. Occasionally they opened their gardens to the public. The mornings saw the wealthy tour the city in carriages or sledges; the afternoons were spent taking naps or playing cards; the evenings concluded with parties, balls or theatre outings. Immigrants, British merchants, sailors, and naval officers, foreign doctors, and language tutors swarmed in St Petersburg with swindlers and adventurers fleecing the more naïve Russians.
The old capital, Moscow, was larger still with 300,000 inhabitants. Overflowing with priests, monasteries, convents, and churches, Moscow remained the heart of the Orthodox Church as the "Third Rome."
The empire was divided into provinces ruled by royal governors, and further subdivided into districts whose administration was elected by the local nobility. The imperial subjects included nomadic Cossacks, the settled farmers of White Russia and the Ukraine, the Finns living in their forests, and the coastal Baltic communities. Conquests from the Ottoman Empire added steppe nomads from the Black Sea and the Crimea, while the successive partitions of Poland brought millions of Poles into the Russian dominions.

The

Ottoman Empire
The Ottoman Empire was contracting with only diplomacy and "Great Power" rivalry forestalling a much swifter collapse. Its population of twenty-five million was spread over three continents: eleven million lived in Europe, eleven million in Asia and three million in North Africa. Constantinople itself was home to over 300,000.
At the apex of Ottoman society was the Sultan and his family. The eldest male now succeeded automatically to the throne; the remaining princes lived in the "gilded cage" of the Topkapi Palace awaiting their turn or death. The Topkapi Palace was a "forbidden city" constructed as a series of diminishing concentric

circles. The public were only permitted into the first courtyard, the second courtyard was reserved for those with official business to present to the Divan (royal council), while officials were allowed into the third courtyard. The remaining sections were the preserve of the Sultan, the royal family and their retainers. The Sultans associated themselves with the *ulemas* (Muslim religious) and spent their wealth on building mosques, fountains and other public works.

The real power had shifted to the viziers and provincial pashas, whose families and households supplied subordinate administrators. Political marriages cemented alliances, and so divorce and polygamy were rare among the upper classes, though the former was common among the ordinary people.

Ottoman society was divided into the *askeri* who included the *ulemas*, the *kadis* (judges), the *muftis* (law interpreters), and the military, and the *reaya* who were the empire's merchants, craftsmen, and peasants. The military were mostly trained in obsolescent weapons and tactics -- the once famed Janissaries had become a Muslim caste and garrison troops who found additional employment as artisans and enforcers offering "protection" for businesses.

Religious *sheriat* law applied to Muslim subjects, while the Sultan devised laws for those of other faiths and circumstances not covered by the *sheriat*. The Orthodox faith was protected by the Sultans as a bastion against Catholicism and pro-Western sympathies. Though Orthodox clergy were exempt from taxation, each new Patriarch paid the Sultan 20,000 *piastres* ($15,000) for the privilege of succeeding to the office.

Foreigners enjoying "capitulations" were subject to their own nation's laws while in the Empire, and exempt from taxes and customs, (Other foreigners had no protection.) Non-Muslims dominated trade. The Empire imported coffee, dyes and coffee, and exported cereals, hides, tobacco, and wool. Its subsistence farmers also grew olives, fruit and vegetables.

In the towns, homes were partitioned by gender into *selamlik* and *haremlik* spaces for men and women respectively, and furnished with raised platforms covered with cushions. Men frequented coffee houses while both sexes enjoyed the markets with their storytellers and puppet theatres. The Sufi brotherhoods and lodges provided a focus to the religious and social lives of many. The larger lodges included living quarters, classrooms, libraries, hospices and even tombs.

The cities were primitive, congested, and filthy. Epidemics even of bubonic plague occurred often. Strangulation of rivals, beheadings and the staking out of felons' bodies reminded westerners that the Ottomans rulers remained capricious and ferocious.

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The Lands of the

Sublime Porte

The Sublime Porte, as the court-government of the Ottoman Empire was styled, had limited control over its provinces. The city

of Dubrovnik sent cash payments to the Sultan, but in all other respects behaved as an Italian city-state. Noble families such as Suleiman's descendants ruled Baghdad, Ali Bey ruled Egypt, and Ali Pasha held Epirus.

In the Balkans, Albania, Bosnia and Montenegro paid nominal tribute to Constantinople. Villages elected their own notables, some of whom abused the tax-raising powers for self-aggrandizement. The *armatoles* (or Christian militia) frequently doubled as bandits. The Balkan peninsula suffered from increasing depopulation during the second half of the eighteenth century; peasants who wearied of Ottoman rule simply left to live in its hills, mountains and vast forests. The Turkish population was concentrated in the towns and cities as administrators, troops, craftsmen and merchants.

Moldavia and Wallachia retained their native boyar nobles, but the Sultan selected their princes from leading Greek families who intrigued and paid huge sums for the positions. The princes could expect to earn much more during even short tenures from tax-farming and serf labor.

Ottoman Greece supported an elite of native scholars and clergymen with the *Phanariot* families becoming wealthy through their *dragoman* services as interpreters, agents and diplomats for the Empire. They secured control over the Orthodox Patriarchy and looked forward to the overthrow of the Turks and the restoration of a Greek Empire as a second Byzantium. Greek mainland villages were governed by their own notables and granted relative autonomy in return for prompt tax payments. The communities of the Peloponnesus archipelago elected delegates to their own senate.

The Arab provinces, especially Egypt, were dominated by the Mamelukes. Initially purchased as slaves, the best of these soldiers were educated in the households of their generals, manumitted, and gradually rose to positions of power. Egypt became effectively autonomous from Constantinople during the period. In Arabia itself, the Wahhabi movement (led by Abdul Wahhab and later Muhammad ibn Saud) denounced the "degenerate" rule of the Sultans and demanded a return to the strict teachings of the Prophet. They menaced Ottoman control of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina.

In North Africa, ostensible vassals such as the Dey of Algiers continued their piracy and slave raids. (The Sultanate of Morocco was never part of the Ottoman Empire.)

The New

World

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The United States of America

Prior to the Revolution, the thirteen American colonies had each been administered by a royal governor, an appointed colony council, and an elected assembly. The franchise to vote and hold office in the assembly was limited to white males who belonged to the Church of England. (Multiple Christian denominations contended for the

souls of Americans, however.) Both council and assembly could propose legislation, which was then subject to the governor's veto. If he approved, the new law required ratification by the English government. After the Revolution and the Philadelphia Convention of 1787, each state admitted to the union was entitled to elect two members of the Senate and one member of the House of Representatives per thirty thousand franchised voters. The frontier lands beyond the borders of the states were administered as territories under appointed governors, being allowed to petition for elevation to statehood on surpassing sixty thousand inhabitants.

By the mid-1760s, the population of the American colonies reached two million, doubling to four million by 1790 and to eight million by 1814. The slave population rose from half to three-quarters of a million.

The New England colonies of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island supported flourishing timber and maritime industries. Boston (16,000) in Massachusetts and Newport (11,000) in Rhode Island thrived as shipping, fishing and whaling ports.

The "Middle Atlantic" colonies of New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania were better suited for agriculture than New England. The Hudson and Delaware rivers were critical trade arteries. The cities of New York (25,000 residents) and Philadelphia (45,000 inhabitants) dominated this region.

The "South Atlantic" colonies of Georgia, Maryland, North and South Carolinas, and Virginia harbored half the American population. The Chesapeake region continued its cultivation of tobacco, while wheat and corn plantations increased in the interior of Maryland and Virginia. North Carolina added timber and naval stores to its tobacco exports. Baltimore was the principal town and port for these three states. Rice and indigo were the mainstays of Georgia and South Carolina with Savannah and Charleston (properly Charles Town) being the only significant urban centers in the south.

Wealth rather than noble lineage determined status and influence in America, before and after the Revolution. In the rural areas, planters with large estates controlled political power; in the cities, financiers and merchants formed the colonial and post-revolutionary elite.

The Western

Frontier

Despite the Royal Proclamation of 1765 forbidding further settlement in Native American territories, American land speculators and pioneers continued to covet the western territories. After the Revolution, expansion into the frontier territories (Ohio, Indiana, Tennessee and Kentucky) gathered momentum, leading to displacement and confrontation with the indigenous Native American tribes.

The territories which later became the states of Ohio and Indiana were home to a number of settled tribes such as the Delaware, Iroquois, and Shawnee. Strife between settlers and tribesmen led to pitched battles. American victory at Fallen Timbers (1794) broke Indian power in Ohio, requiring them to concede substantial lands. Ohio became a state in 1803. Continued immigration produced renewed

hostilities in Indiana. The Shawnee chief Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, attempted to raise a native coalition against the entirety of the American border in conjunction with British military support in 1811. The Prophet was defeated that year by Governor Harrison at Tippecanoe. Tecumseh died at the Battle of the Thames in 1813. The British defeat at New Orleans weakened their negotiating stance, preventing them from realizing their demand of an independent Native American nation in the north-west. Indiana became a state in 1816.

In Tennessee, American pioneers were largely independent of royal authority, prior to the Revolution. Early cordial relations with the Cherokee tribesmen degenerated to intermittent violence as permanent settlers superseded trappers and traders. Volunteers from Tennessee fought in both the Revolution and the War of 1812, and their territory was the first to receive statehood (1796).

Daniel Boone was the first successful American explorer of Kentucky, and he was followed by waves of settlers in the 1770s, despite the belligerence of Shawnee and Cherokee tribes, who were encouraged to attack by the British during the Revolution. Immigration increased after independence and Kentucky was detached from Virginia's jurisdiction and recognized as a separate state in 1792.

Canada

Britain's original intentions were to assimilate Canada by encouraging Anglo-American immigration and reorganizing its administration on American colonial patterns. Territorial changes to New France added coastal Labrador to Newfoundland and mainland Acadia to Nova Scotia. Though several hundred English-speaking families arrived and quickly assumed economic control, British governors preferred the French seigniors, clergy and professionals to the pushy merchants, and sought their loyalty. Under the Quebec Act of 1774, Catholics were allowed to hold office while French law and the seigniorial system were upheld. The newly established Catholic clergy persuaded their congregations against rebellion; the English-speaking Nova Scotians reliance on military-naval subsidies and English trade kept then loyal.

After the American revolution, the United Empire Loyalists buttressed Canadian allegiance to Britain, mostly settling in Cape Breton Island and New Brunswick, and on the frontier in western Quebec.

Though French Quebec rejected the rationalist ideals of France's Revolution, tension continued to rise between the English and French communities. The British response was the 1791 Canada Act, which partitioned Quebec into Upper Canada (west of the Ottawa river) where English law and land tenure held sway and Lower Canada where the French system prevailed. The English-speaking merchants of Montreal were again disappointed in their attempts to obtain an elective assembly and the jurisdiction of English common law which would have aided them in ousting the French citizens from office.

Newfoundland became a crown colony.

Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were provinces administered by elective assemblies. Cape Breton Island had an appointed council, while Rupert's Land was run by the Hudson Bay Company. The unknown

lands beyond were merely claimed.
The Maritime Provinces grew slowly
reaching a population of 100,000 by 1812. Prosperity came from fishing and trading local timber and foodstuffs with Britain and the West Indies. By 1812, land speculation and immigration of Scots, Irish, and Americans into Upper Canada created a loyalist landed oligarchy.
Lower Canada's
population expanded to 300,000 with a tenth in Montreal itself which continued to dominate the fur trade through the Beaver Club. The city was the financial and forwarding center of the Club, from which "emissaries" departed each summer to meet the "winter partners" who actually organized the efforts of western hunters and trappers. These partnerships competed against the Hudson Bay Company until 1821. The "Chateau clique" of French ecclesiastics and seigniors, and English merchants dominated Lower Canada's government, though commoners and professionals successfully manipulated the assembly on key issues.
French Canadians' fear of assimilation into an
American superstate, British Canadian loyalism, the presence of regular British troops, and American failure to attack Montreal decisively all preserved Canada in the War of 1812.

Louisiana

The Louisiana Territory, ranging from
the "Stony" Mountains (later renamed the Rockies) in the west to the Mississippi River in the east, and from Canada in the north to the Gulf of Mexico in the south, was originally part of France's vast North American empire. Ceded to Spain as compensation for the Spanish loss of the Floridas in the Seven Years' War, the fifty thousand French settlers remained sentimentally attached to France despite their abandonment. A brief revolt in 1768 was swiftly suppressed by the Irish-Spanish governor, Alejandro O'Reilly, who instituted and adapted conventional Spanish colonial government to Louisiana.
The new governor and *cabildo*
(council) of New Orleans took over every aspect of civic and regional administration, fixing prices for essential commodities, maintaining the streets which became dustbowls in dry weather and quagmires in wet weather, licensing all medical practitioners and so forth. The French practices of licensing traders and sending gifts to important Native American chiefs were continued and the tribes remained mostly peaceful. From Louisiana, Spanish forces harassed the British during the American Revolution, capturing West Florida.
Despite being almost totally destroyed by fire in 1788
and 1794, New Orleans rebuilt itself twice as a flourishing port of ten thousand residents. A gay city of high living and loose morals, New Orleans was the traditional blend of wealth and poverty. The rich enjoyed masked balls, the theatres and the opera; the poor preferred the abundant taverns. All classes enjoyed the legal dances and the illegal gambling.
The
1780s saw a resurgence of tobacco cultivation in Louisiana in addition to its strong indigo industry. The tobacco expansion was too sudden, the produce was badly packed, spoiling quickly, and the export market simply collapsed. Cotton replaced tobacco during the next

decade.
Louisiana failed to develop into a typical Spanish colony.
Trade concessions made it a popular smuggling route to Spain's other possessions. A failure to attract sufficient Spanish and European Catholic immigrants meant it was unable to halt Anglo-American expansion, requiring Spain to grant American settlers navigation rights on the Mississippi and trading privileges in New Orleans. Hence from 1795, Spanish policy aimed at returning Louisiana to France, so that the latter could shield the Viceroyalty of New Spain from American continentalism. Unfortunately for Spain, Napoleon repudiated his word.

*** Insert map of "South America" using Either fregosi-southamerica.tif OR parry-southamerica.tif (Possibly try to combine these two maps) OR (as a last resort) cassell-southamerica.tif ***

The Spanish Americas

Spain's American empire included most of Central and South America as well as portions of western North America. South America was governed as three viceregal dominions. The Viceroyalty of La Plata was the newest with 350,000 residents and its capital at Buenos Aires. From Lima, the Viceroyalty of Peru ruled one and a half million inhabitants. Two and a half million people lived in the Viceroyalty of New Granada which stretched from the Brazilian to the Mexican border. The seven million people of Mexico and beyond to California belonged to the populous Viceroyalty of New Spain.
Below the ruling viceroys, presidents, and captain-generals, the territories were subdivided into provinces administered by *intendants* responsible for all branches of government. Spanish towns were run by elected councils and appointed *subdelegados*. The officials were generously paid, efficient, and disliked by the colonials. Defeats in the Seven Years' War encouraged increasing militarization with peace-time conscripted militias being reinforced with professional regiments from Spain.
New Spain became the empire's major silver producer. Despite the assistance of foreign experts, mismanagement and conservative techniques limited effective production to a few rich mines.
Salt beef and leather exports from the La Plata plantations and native settlements flowed through the thriving port of Buenos Aires. European goods destined for Upper Peru went overland from Buenos Aires; cargoes for coastal Chile sailed round Cape Horn.

Catalan merchants established permanent bases for their fishing fleets in Chile. The sea bream and conger catches were salted for sale in Upper Peru. The Patagonian whalers exported whale oil directly to Barcelona.
The South American Indians forgot their own agricultural expertise and were slow to adopt European techniques. The Spanish *haciendas* (plantations) employed thousands of natives cultivating native crops such as potatoes and maize as well as introduced crops such as rice and bananas. These inefficient and overextended estates strove to be

self-supporting but largely failed.
Zealous missionaries led Spanish
settlement and Native American conversion northward through California after 1768. The Jesuits were followed by ranchers and prospectors leading to the creation of new towns at San Diego and San Francisco in California as well as San Antonio and Albuquerque. This countered the expansionistic tendencies of Russian traders operating from Alaska and British claims to the Pacific shores of Canada.
Elsewhere an uneasy truce existed between the
Spanish and the British logging settlements in Honduras. The settler population in the Dutch Guyana colonies of Berbice and Demerara-Essequibo became predominantly of British extraction, and surrendered to the British rather than join the French Empire. Disease-ridden French Guyana served as a penal colony for Revolutionary France.

Spanish

American Society
Economically Spain's colonies were bound to
European markets, particularly England with its insatiable demand for raw materials and agricultural products. Mercantilist policies protected Spanish manufacturers, inhibiting industrial organization in the New World, though many independent master craftsmen serviced colonial needs. A preference for land and trade reduced the available capital for industrial investments. The removal of trading restrictions between the provinces from the 1760s onward encouraged legal commerce and colonial road-building, though the mountains still required mule and llama trains. Despite the risk of privateers, smuggling remained endemic, especially in war years. By 1797, Spain permitted its colonies to trade with neutral powers.
Spanish
American (or Creole) society seemed ordered and prosperous, exuding self-confidence in civic splendor and lavish townhouses. Officials, senior clergy, and owners of plantations and mines spent most of their time away from their stoutly-built haciendas, which were used more for storage than as residences.
Creole society was highly stratified into castes. At
the apex were the *gente distinguida* who included senior officials and clergy, professionals, wealthy landowners and mine-owners, and merchants. Some *mestizo* (mixed-race) families who could trace their ancestry back to the original conquest were accepted in high society. Mixed-race shopkeepers and artisans formed the colonial middle-class with impoverished white immigrants determined to avoid manual labor and the natives comprising a discontented proletariat.
Creole social life focused on the
provincial courts and the local cathedral or church. Salon society as practiced in continental Europe was unknown. The theatre and bull-fights were equally popular pastimes. Though censorship was enforced, it was too slow and haphazard to prevent Enlightenment and revolutionary ideas circulating. However the Creole learned societies concentrated on practical matters and periodical publishing.
Hostility grew between Creoles
and Peninsular Spaniards, with the former styling themselves *Americanos* to differentiate themselves from the Peninsular immigrants

and the *mestizos*. Though Creoles did become viceroys, competition for the lesser posts and well-paid sinecures in government and church was much greater. Catalan merchants disrupted cozy monopolies and preferential treatment received by low-born immigrants offended the sensibilities of Creole patricians. Gradually Creole loyalty to Spain eroded.

The Portuguese Americas

Discoveries of gold in the 1690s created Brazil's mining industry. By the mid-eighteenth century, the economy had diversified to include cattle ranching, whaling, sugar, and tobacco cultivation. Interior provinces such as Minas Gerais became self-sufficient, whereas the coastal plantations adhered to mercantilist policies. By 1801, Brazil's population stood at three million with a steady influx of immigrants from Portugal and the Azores ensuring the colony remained Portuguese. Insufficient white women meant that the sons of mixed marriages were educated and allowed to hold minor offices. However the military and religious orders were much stricter on race.

Brazil was organized into fourteen regional "Captaincies". The towns were administered by municipal councils consisting of up to six aldermen, two magistrates, and one attorney. These councilors were selected from patrician families or elected by complex annual ballots. European and Brazilian-born Portuguese had equal opportunities to enter the councils, except in the largest cities. These bodies enjoyed the right to correspond with the monarch, a privilege frequently exercised by those of Rio de Janeiro and Bahia.

Portugal had various rights, privileges and duties with regard to missionary work. In return for bearing the cost of proselytizing, the monarchy had the right to collect tithes and appoint bishops in its colonial territories. Papal desires to rescind these concessions (so that Rome could more effectively organize the missionaries) led to conflict with the monarchy. As in Portugal, leading Brazilians joined lay confraternities (*misericórdia*) which focused on charitable works. Membership in these associations was considered an honor.

Brazil's rural aristocracy came from humble origins. Their practice of endogamy -- cousins marrying cousins and uncles marrying nieces -- kept their estates undivided. Many families owned vast lands in the interior. Commissions in the militia were sought as status symbols but the regular army and navy were avoided. (The rank and file of these services were recruited from ordinary citizens and mulattos.) The Crown sold all offices which even potentially generated revenue, and was unable to prevent its officials from making fortunes during their tenure. Merchants became rich from crown monopolies -- this also encouraged smuggling from the less fortunate traders.

The American struggle for independence encouraged some of the Brazilian elite to consider the desirability of ousting the Portuguese leadership so that they could form the new apex of society, even to the extent of forming conspiracies with American collaborators. The rebellion of 1789 in the mining province of Minas Gerais demanded economic freedoms, subsidies to attract white women to emigrate from Portugal, and the establishment of a militia. It was vigorously suppressed by the authorities.

The deteriorating situation and eventual massacres of settlers in Haiti (former Hispaniola) reminded the Brazilians of their own discontented underclass. Though it was crushed, the 1798 rebellion of *mestizos* and blacks indicated how quickly Jacobin ideas had propagated through Brazilian society.
*** Insert map of "The West Indies" using fregosi-westindies.tif
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West Indies

Spain's major Caribbean possession was Cuba, a center of naval shipbuilding and already a tobacco exporter to North America and Europe. After the Seven Years' War, Cuba's fortresses were reinforced and slaves were introduced to establish sugar plantations. Spain also owned Santo Domingo (the eastern half of Hispaniola), Puerto Rica and Trinidad, though settler numbers remained in the low thousands.
French holdings included Martinique, Guadeloupe, Saint-Domingue (western Hispaniola) as well as St. Lucia, Tobago and islets such as Les Saintes. Martinique was the seat of government for the French Windward Islands. Both Martinique and Guadeloupe were prosperous sugar producers, but easily eclipsed by Saint-Domingue, which was responsible for two-thirds of French overseas trade. Annually fifteen hundred ships carried sugar, coffee, cotton, and indigo from the colony's eight thousand plantations to Europe and to British North America in return for cash, grain, fish, timber, and horses. Merchant houses in Bordeaux, Marseilles, and Nantes reaped vast profits, while racial and class tensions seethed among the forty thousand white settlers, the forty thousand mixed-race "mulattos" and freed slaves, and the half-million slaves. (Slaves who married French subjects were immediately freed.)
The Dutch islands of Curaçao and St Eustatius used their free port status to prosper as clearing houses for manufactured goods and colonial products.
The British West Indies included Antigua, Barbados, Dominica, Granada, Jamaica, Montserrat, Nevis, St Kitts, St. Vincent, and the Virgin Islands. The older colonies were worn out from over-cultivation of sugar. The West Indian group in Parliament lobbied for lower sugar duties, cheaper slaves and restrictions on trade with other sugar producers. The home merchants simply wanted cheap sugar and molasses, plus captive markets for slaves and manufactured goods.
The West Indian interests failed to avert war with the American colonies, but resisted overtures to join the rebellion, recognizing their reliance on the Royal Navy for defense. During the war, all the British islands save Antigua, Barbados and Jamaica were (temporarily) captured by Franco-Spanish attacks, but the status quo was restored by treaty. Afterward price increases in timber and food imports from Canada, devastating hurricanes and rising sugar duties led to attempts to find new crop plants to replace the sugar monoculture.
The ambition of most white planters was to manage (and then own) an estate, retiring to Europe on the proceeds. The unhealthy climate, the absence of cultural pursuits and educational facilities for children, the lack of society, and the ever-present fear of slave revolt encouraged absenteeism. Attorneys and resident planters supervised the

plantations of absentee neighbors, and became the leaders of island society, deputizing for officials, who preferred not to leave the mother country, and serving on elected assemblies and appointed councils.

The Rest of

The World
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India

India had perhaps two hundred million inhabitants by 1800, mostly Hindus and Muslims. The Mughal Empire had contracted to an impotent city-state -- the old emperor Shah Alem was blinded by Afghan invaders in 1788 and eked out his life in Delhi's Red Fort. Agra, Jaipur and Delhi were administered by a protégé of his former Maratha vassals. Sikh power was concentrated at Amritsar in the Punjab, while Muslim emirs and chieftains ruled Sind and frontier territories. Former vassals such as the pro-French Nizam of Hyderabad acquired legitimate titles from the emperor and acted as kings in their own domains. By avoiding dynastic proclamations and never striking coinage in their own name, they became independent without ever challenging the current emperor. By 1800, India had fragmented into 562 states.

The Marathas Confederacy had received permission to tax central India in the early eighteenth century. By mid-century, their interpretation of this as a license to raid, conquer, and *then* tax, had made them the greatest Indian power. The Confederacy was divided into five states ruled by distinct clans -- the Rao rajahs of Satara, the Gaekwar in Baroda, the Holkars in Indore, the Sindhia in Gwalior, and the Bhonsle in Nagpur. Though the Rao clan nominally headed this pentarchy, the Sindhia clan were the most powerful.

Mysore under the usurpers Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan contended for supremacy in southern India. Like the Marathas, imported Arabian horses gave Mysore superior cavalry forces than their lesser rivals. Only Hyder Ali was sufficiently prescient to urge a Hindu-Muslim alliance to expel the British while this was still possible in the 1780s.

Although the French had been reduced to defenseless trading posts at Pondicherry, Mahé, Karikal, Yanaon, and Chandernagore, all of which were quickly captured by the British in the Revolutionary Wars, French mercenaries commanded and trained Indian armies, and manned their artillery units.

The British spread outward from their outposts and presidencies of Surat, Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, preferring to support puppet nawabs than attempt outright conquest initially. The Company gained tax rights over Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. Under Cornwallis' Code of 1793, private ownership of land in return for fixed rents replaced the Indian system of lifetime land grants for local law and order. British provincial courts replaced Indian courts with Company officials serving as both police and magistrates. Internal duties were suppressed while the Company obtained monopolies over salt import and sales as well as opium production and sale. The latter provided it with a non-specie export for the Chinese market.

Methodical and fair rule, annual rather than multiple taxation, and land settlements bound India's peasantry to the British Empire. Subsidiary alliances and systematic force reduced the power of native princes and brought peace to the continent. However no Indian was allowed to hold a Sepoy commission or earn more than five hundred pounds annually in company service. By 1820, Calcutta was a capital of a quarter of a million inhabitants.

The East Indies

Ceylon

Until 1796, the Dutch East India Company controlled most of Ceylon from Colombo and protected the interior kingdom of Kandy. Large profits were made from cinnamon, pearls, and elephant sales (the last to India). The Dutch respected the existing structures of Ceylon society, including the local nobility who helped them administer the island. The British East India Company ousted their Dutch rivals in 1796, and Ceylon became a crown colony in 1802. An attempt to conquer Kandy failed in 1803, but succeeded with the aid of local chiefs in 1815. After the 1818 rebellion, Kandy was integrated fully into the colony. British rule led to agricultural progress, abolition of slavery, and a replacement of land grants with salaries for service.

Malaysia

Malaysia remained dominated by shifting sultanates whose subordinate chiefdoms were prone to waging civil and foreign war with their neighbors. The Dutch held the trading post of Malacca. The British East India Company purchased Penang Island in 1786 to assist in supplying the Chinese markets. In 1819, Sir Stamford Raffles purchased Singapore on behalf of the Company, eventually transforming it into the region's greatest port.

Indonesia

Indonesia was styled the Dutch East Indies. Dutch assistance in a series of succession wars in Java and elsewhere in the archipelago during the early to mid-eighteenth century had established the Dutch East India Company as the preeminent power in the region from its bases in Batavia (now Jakarta). The native nobles remained in place as tribute collectors (of produce) for the company within its directly held territories. Elsewhere company trading posts became (through intimidation) the sole export routes for the semi-independent territories. Smuggling, corruption, and administrative expense led to the dissolution of the company in 1799 with the Dutch government taking direct control. French control of Holland brought eventual French rule in Java by 1806. Despite impressive fortifications, Java was conquered by the British East India Company in 1811, and Stamford Raffles was appointed governor. His attempts at centralizing the Javanese regencies and integrating the island into the British trading bloc were undone by its return to Holland in 1815.

The Philippines

The Philippines
were ruled by a Spanish governor-general from the capital of Manila. As the natives were at least nominally Catholic, the archbishop wielded great political power and Church institutions became wealthy through the accretion of estates. Priests and friars, fluent in the indigenous languages, spread in the provinces, assisting the colonial administrators, educating the Filipinos in European agricultural techniques, and attempting to eliminate animistic religious survivals among their congregations. Lay Spaniards enriched themselves, trading Chinese silk for Mexican silver.

Other

Lands

Africa

European knowledge and direct intercourse with
Africa was confined to its coasts. North Africa was ruled by Ottoman pashas and independent Muslim princes. The Barbary States were infamous for piracy and slave raiding. East Africa was a patchwork of urbanized Somali peoples and Swahili-speaking nations, culturally influenced by the Arabian slave traders.
Scattered European trading posts and coastal colonies were
established on the west coast of Africa. The French outposts were at Gorée and in Senegal. The British, Danish, Dutch and Spanish founded sturdy forts to protect their slaving interests on the Gold Coast, though they could easily have been overrun by neighboring native townships. The British created Sierra Leone, a colony for emancipated slaves, though settlement was limited to Freetown. From here, European influences seeped into West Africa. Meanwhile native nations and tribes such as the Ashanti, Dahomey, Oyo, and the Fulani (of Sudan) were all expanding toward the slaving coasts. Further south, the Portuguese dominated Angola, inciting war among its tribes, undertaking sporadic missionary work, and introducing New World crops such as cassava, maize, and sweet potato.
Owing to the
milder South African climate, the Dutch base at the Cape of Good Hope blossomed from a mere port-of-call for ships en route to India and New South Wales to a colony of twenty thousand settlers.

Australia

Britain decided to settle the New South Wales territory in 1786,
ostensibly as a penal colony. The First Fleet (under Arthur Phillip) arrived with a thousand free and convict marines and settlers in 1788, founding Sydney Cove. Despite disease, hostile Aborigines, and the lack of farming skills among the convicts, the colony survived with its population augmented by new batches of convicts, expanding the settled region around Sydney and in Tasmania. Australian whalers traded with the Maoris of New Zealand, introducing firearms to the tribal struggles.
The colony's governors
were all military officers. This did not prevent clashes with ambitious

members of the New South Wales Corps, who eventually deposed Governor William "Bounty" Bligh in 1808, but were themselves recalled to Britain. His successor, Lachlan Macquerie, spent his term in office balancing the contending "exclusive" (former officers and free immigrants) and "emancipist" (former convicts) factions.

China and Japan

China

China, ancient, arrogant, and vast, was home to three hundred million. The Manchu emperors, like previous dynasties, considered China to be superior to all other nations. The Ch'ien-lung emperor (reigning 1735-96) patronized the arts (but censored any literature criticizing the Manchus) and funded military expeditions to secure and expand the frontiers. During his son's reign as the Chia-ch'ing emperor (1796-1820), piracy, localized revolts, and increasing opium addiction afflicted China.

While Shanghai became the principal port for Chinese traders, European merchants were restricted to Canton from 1759 and required to transact business in tea and silk with the association of firms forming the *cohong* monopoly. The favored Portuguese held a trading outpost at Macao near Canton. The East India Company convinced Admiral Drury in 1808 to seize it for Britain, officially to preserve it from the French. Macao seized, Drury was persuaded to continue to Canton. Civilians hurled projectiles from the banks at his barge while Chinese navy junks barred the river. Drury withdrew, receiving a letter later from Chia-ch'ing ordering him to quit Macao, which was restored to the Portuguese.

Japan

Japan was ruled by the Tokugawa shoguns on behalf of the emperors. Natural disasters combined with peasant revolts throughout the 1780s to unsettle the nation, with unrest reaching the cities in 1787. Attempts at reform to reconcile the monetary economy of the cities with the idealized and desired rice-based economy of the countryside failed. The samurai suffered poverty while the despised merchants enjoyed great wealth and richer farmers exploited their poorer neighbors, reducing them to mere tenants.

As part of the shogunate's isolationist policies, only the Chinese and the Dutch were allowed to trade with Japan, and only at Nagasaki. By the 1800s, Russian merchants were requesting and being denied commercial access to Japan. The Russians retaliated with sporadic attacks on outlying northern islands between 1804 and 1807. During a cruise for Dutch merchant vessels, *HMS Phaeton* entered Nagasaki harbor unopposed in 1808. This dishonor led to the ritual suicide of the port's governor and generals. Thereafter Japan was left alone.

PEOPLE

RULERS

Napoleon Bonaparte

Napoleon was born in Corsica on August 15, 1769, the second surviving son of Carlo Buonaparte. His father's influence and the family's noble lineage gained Napoleon entry to the French Collège d'Autun at age nine. Transferring to the military college of Brienne (for five years) and the Parisian military academy (1784), he was commissioned as an artillery second lieutenant (1785). He was variously in Corsica and France between 1786 and 1792, supporting Pasquale Paoli's return to the island (1789), promoted to artillery first lieutenant (1791), becoming a Jacobin leader in Valence, and briefly a lieutenant colonel of the Corsican national guard (1791). Promoted to captain, Napoleon joined the Jacobin faction in Corsica (1792), and was active in the eventual civil war against Paoli (1793). The Bonaparte family was forced to flee to France.

After returning to his regiment, Napoleon was active in the capture of Marseilles, and via influence, was appointed artillery commander for the Toulon siege and promoted major (September) and adjutant-general (October). Though slightly injured, Napoleon's artillery maneuvering forced the British to evacuate Toulon. Rewarded with promotion to brigadier-general (December) and appointment as artillery commander for the Army of Italy, Napoleon was arrested on suspicion of extreme Jacobin sympathies (August 1794), released a month later, but denied restoration to his former command. Refusing a similar command against the Vendéan counter-revolutionaries, he was in Paris from March 1795, lobbying for a better posting and having an affair with Désirée Clary.

Barras, acting to defend the Convention against a royalist revolt, appointed Napoleon his second-in-command. Napoleon ordered the artillery to fire on rebel formations, saving the republic with "a whiff of grapeshot" (October 15, 1795). Created commander of the Army of the Interior and advisor to the new Directory, Napoleon divided his time between courting the widow Joséphine de Beauharnais and influencing the Directors' plans for an invasion. Marrying Joséphine on March 9, 1796, he left to join the Army of Italy as commander-in-chief on March 11. Napoleon's life from this point to his death on May 5, 1821, is covered in the History chapter.

Short (at five foot six and a half inches), thin and broad-chested, Napoleon gained a pot-belly in middle age. His bluish-gray eyes are set in a pale sallow face with a clear complexion framed by fine, light chestnut-colored hair. Extremely ambitious for himself and his family, Napoleon was a scion of the Enlightenment rather than a revolutionary. Impatient, hot-tempered, and prone to verbally abusing subordinates, Napoleon was charismatic, industrious, and single-minded. His interest in the arts was partially aimed at self-aggrandizement, though he was fascinated by antiquity and science. Napoleon was very physically affectionate to his wives and mistresses.

Louis XVI

and Marie-Antoinette
Louis XVI, grandson of Louis XV, was born on
August 23, 1754. His wife, Marie-Antoinette, youngest daughter of Empress Maria Theresa, was born on November 2, 1755. The two were married in 1770, and Louis became King of France on May 10, 1770. Both were executed during the French Revolution in 1793.
Louis' cold and brusque manner, marked
by fits of pique, concealed a kind and generous nature. Physically extremely strong, the fair-haired and blue-eyed prince suffered from a lymphatic condition which made him lethargic after indulging his voracious appetite, and was impotent (this was cured by a later operation). Though his memory was excellent, he was weak-willed and indecisive, being easily dominated by court factions and after 1791, Marie-Antoinette, retreating into his hobbies of hunting, lock-making and masonry. Louis' unwillingness to shed the blood of his subjects and his later obsession with the example of England's Charles I prevented his allies forcibly suppressing the Revolution.
As
princess and queen, Marie-Antoinette had the advantages of beauty, quick wits and grace. She was also ill-educated, tactless, and unforgiving, making enemies of aristocrats and generals who could have saved the monarchy. In reaction to Louis' frigidity, she surrounded herself with a clique of favorites -- her enemies accused her of immorality and promoting Austrian interests. Her reputation was unjustly destroyed by the Affair of the Diamond Necklace in 1786 (see Campaigns chapter, p. 00). Her friends laid many plans to free Marie-Antoinette, but these foundered on her unwillingness to be separated from her children and the vigilance of Revolutionary zealots.

George III

The grandson of King George
II of England, George III was born on June 4, 1738, becoming Prince of Wales in 1750 and King in 1760. He engineered the early retirement of William Pitt the Elder and the Duke of Newcastle from office, replacing them with his former teacher, the Earl of Bute, who arranged George's marriage to Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz in 1761. George's desire for peace led to the unfortunate Treaty of Paris. Bute resigned and England endured short-lived ministries until 1770 when George was able to create an agreeable government under Lord North. His contention that the American colonies should be obedient to King and Parliament encouraged the slide into war and prolonged the conflict after Saratoga. His popularity declined steadily, recovering only with his adroit replacement of Fox and North with Pitt the Younger (by urging Peers to defeat a government motion) in 1783. Contentment with Pitt allowed George to concentrate on his family and hobbies. In October 1788 to March 1789, he suffered his first major bout of insanity and was terrified thereafter of its return and the medical treatments. In 1801, George vetoed Pitt's proposals for Catholic emancipation, replacing him with Addington. Pitt's brief return in 1804-6 was conditional on his forswearing radical policies. The succeeding coalition ministry was ousted for suggesting that Catholics should be permitted to hold army and naval commissions. Growing blind from 1805

onward, he succumbed to madness in October 1810, remaining insane, blind, and deaf to his death on January 29, 1820.
Tall with auburn hair,
George was trusting, good-natured, conscientious, and obstinate. Immoral conduct revolted him and he believed (initially) in ruling rather than merely reigning A horror of obesity and a careful diet kept him slim. A patron of the arts, George was also interested in botany and agriculture. Devoutly Protestant, he vetoed Catholic Emancipation because he considered failing to defend Protestantism tantamount to conceding the moral right of the House of Stuart to rule England. His insanity was probably caused by hereditary porphyria.

George IV

Nicknamed "Prinny," George IV
was born on August 12, 1762, the eldest son of George III. Rebelling against his father's strict morality, George became a hard-drinking womanizer, keeping the company of dissolute Opposition politicians and earning royal rebukes. In 1785, he secretly and illegally married his mistress, Maria Fitzherbert, and considered eloping to America. He was thwarted by George III's swift recovery in 1789 from becoming Regent and replacing Pitt's ministry with his Whig cronies. The plight of the French émigrés
moved him deeply. His request to fight abroad was vetoed; instead he was appointed Colonel of a cavalry regiment.
Legally married to Caroline
of Brunswick in 1795, his only child (Charlotte) was born in 1796 and the couple separated. George's attempts afterward and later in 1820 to divorce Caroline for lewd and adulterous behavior foundered on limited evidence and parliamentary support. His plans for Catholic Emancipation in Ireland with himself as Governor were ignored by Pitt in 1798. Frustrated politically and refused military promotion, George devoted himself to pleasure and patronage of the arts.
He became Regent on February 5, 1811, retaining the
existing administration a year later to the dismay of his former Whig allies who were intent on making peace with Napoleon, if they came to power. George's decision denied Napoleon the respite he required to reestablish and cement his continental hegemony. On January 29, 1820, he became King. His efforts to become involved in European politics during his reign were channeled into state visits of Ireland and Scotland. He died on June 26, 1820.
Tall with a mass of unruly black hair, George became stout in
middle age. An excellent mimic and competent linguist, the sly and extravagant youth mellowed to urbane civility in later years, but never lost his rakish reputation.

Tipu Sultan

The son of Hyder Ali,
adventurer and usurper of Mysore in India, Tipu was born on November 20, 1750. His education was initially left in the hands of Moslem zealots, turning Tipu into a religious bigot. Later training with French officers in Hyder's employ taught him European tactics but failed to instill open-mindedness. His first military command was against the Marathas in 1767. Thereafter he served Hyder as a loyal commander in battle against the

Marathas (1776-79) and the English (1780-84), inflicting several defeats and a humiliating treaty on the latter. Following Hyder's death in 1782, Tipu styled himself sultan of Mysore. The 1780s saw Tipu gradually replace Hyder's generals (sometimes by execution) with his own favorites and order the forced conversion of his provincial subjects to Islam. His attack on Travancore triggered the Third Mysore War in 1789. Though Tipu withstood the English and their Indian allies until 1792, he lost half his kingdom. After his defeat, he concentrated on attempting to transform Mysore into an Islamic state, building its defenses, and seeking Moslem allies beyond India and in France (offering the Directory half the subcontinent). The English intercepted his diplomacy and preemptively attacked in 1799 with the future Wellington besieging and storming the Mysorean capital, Seringapatam, on May 4. Tipu attempted to flee but was killed in the confusion.

Vicious, cruel, and deceitful, Tipu ruled through fear. Always armed, Tipu was an excellent rider and competent general. His sobriquet, "Tiger of Mysore," stemmed from his love of tigers. He was fond of mechanical innovations, owning a life-size musical clockwork tiger (gorging itself on a British soldier -- the sounds were screams).

Catherine the Great

Born Sophie Friederike Auguste von Anhalt-Zerbst on May 2, 1729, the daughter of a minor Prussian prince, she was betrothed at 14 to Grand Duke Peter, heir to the Russian throne. In 1744, she journeyed to Russia, became Grand Duchess Catherine, and married Peter the following year. Peter was adolescent in behavior, drunken, neurotic, and pro-Prussian in his sympathies, hating Russia. Their marriage was long unconsummated, Catherine eventually having three lovers. She gave birth to Paul in September 1754, probably Peter's son. From 1758, she began planning to eliminate Peter.

Peter ascended the throne following Tsarina Elisabeth's death on January 5, 1762. His withdrawal from the Seven Years' War, alliance with Prussia, and antagonizing of army and clergy emboldened Catherine's supporters to support her coup. Leading loyal regiments, she proclaimed herself empress in St Petersburg on July 8, 1762. Peter surrendered, abdicated and was imprisoned. Catherine's lover, Grigory Orlov, arranged his murder eight days later. Catherine was crowned Empress in September.

By seizing church lands and converting the clergy into salaried officials, Catherine restored Russia's finances (1762). She also connived at the murder of "Infant Ivan," imprisoned for twenty-four years, the great-nephew of Peter the Great and rightful Tsar (1764). That year, she installed her ex-lover Stanislas Poniatowski as Poland's ruler; her love for Orlov prevented Poniatowski from proposing marriage to Catherine. Though a reader of the *philosophes* and acclaimed by Voltaire, Catherine's internal reforms foundered. Inspiring her armies to success in the Russo-Turkish War (1768-1774), Pugachev's rebellion of 1773-75 steeled her to impose serfdom (which she abhorred) more harshly on the peasants.

The ambitious Grigory Potemkin became her lover in 1774 and soon her minister. Catherine interceded in the Bavarian succession preventing war between Prussia and Austria, and befriended Emperor Joseph II

of Austria. Potemkin conquered the Crimea from the Turks during the 1780s. Nevertheless Catherine avoided an offensive and defensive pact with England in 1782, which would have given Russia Minorca -- and Mediterranean sea-power -- because Russia's short-term interests were continental. Threatened by the French Revolution and agitation in Poland, she collaborated in the partitions of Poland (1792, 1795). On November 17, 1796, Catherine died from a stroke.

Of medium height and slender build tending to later plumpness and dark-haired, Catherine's long face was redeemed by blue eyes and a perfect mouth, making her pretty if not beautiful. Sensual and sexually demanding, Catherine was ambitious, energetic, charming, egotistical, and vain. Her reign witnessed the expansion of Russian territory and trade, and the full entrance of Russia into European politics. Had she allied with England, her successors might have triumphed over the Turks recovering Constantinople. Had she married Poniatowski, Poland's future would have been happier. Without Catherine, Russia would have fought pointless wars against its neighbors, drifting outside European concerns. Napoleon might have felt no need to march on Russia's reduced empire.

Statesmen

William Pitt the Younger

The second son of William Pitt the Elder, Pitt was born on May 28, 1759. Educated at home in classics and mathematics, and trained in oratory by his father, he attended Pembroke Hall at Cambridge from age fourteen, graduating without examination in 1776. He became a lawyer in 1780 and was elected to a pocket borough (1781). Appointed chancellor of the exchequer (1782), Pitt refused an opportunity to become prime minister after Shelburne's fall in 1783, preferring temporary opposition to an untenable government. A reform bill gained him support among liberal parliamentarians and George III was able to make him prime minister that December. Crown influence ensured a favorable general election result (1784) stabilizing his government.

New taxes, simplified and reduced customs duties, and a sinking fund served to improve finances, limit smuggling, and reduce the national debt. His East India Bill (1784) gave the government power over the East India Company. Reforms to replace the rotten boroughs with county and city constituencies and smooth commerce between England and Ireland were defeated by vested interests (1785). The Eden Treaty (1786) yielded trade benefits to England, while Pitt's diplomacy created the Triple Alliance of England, Prussia, and Holland (1788) gaining Britain continental allies who assisted in the peaceful resolution of the Nootka Sound dispute with Spain (1790).

He weathered George III's bout of madness (1788-89) by careful adherence to precedent in creating a limited Regency Bill, giving the King time to recover and avoiding his replacement by the Whigs. Preferring strict neutrality toward France and peace from 1789 onward, he reorganized Canadian administration to forestall rebellion by the French

settlers (1791). Provoked into war (1793), Pitt waged a "blue-water" campaign to defend and extend British colonial and commercial interests, rather than supporting a Bourbon restoration. To staunch the influence of radical societies and spies, he invoked repressive legislation; to finance the war, he initiated income taxes (1798). Crown and cabinet opposition prevented an advantageous peace with Bonaparte (1799).

Pitt was convinced that union and Catholic emancipation were essential to safeguarding Ireland. Union was accomplished by buying out the Irish Parliament; emancipation was vetoed by George III. Pitt resigned on February 3, 1801. George accused him later of driving him insane. Frequently ill during 1802, Pitt supported Addington's ministry until 1804, criticizing its weaknesses in finance and national defense. Re-appointed prime minister (May 1804), Pitt engineered the Third Coalition, but naval triumphs were countered by Napoleonic land victories. His health failed rapidly (1805), and he died on January 23, 1806.

Tall and lanky, Pitt had a full face with an aquiline nose, a high forehead, and neat hair. Restrained and aloof in public, he was witty and lively to intimates and relatives. Celibate and dutiful in religion, he was insensitive to music and romanticism, and careless about personal finances. A superb orator, his style included devastating sarcasm. Bedeviled with a weak constitution, gout and addiction to port, disturbances to regular daily routines caused him headaches, sickness, and gradually reduced his working day.

Though Pitt's reliance on colonial campaigns and continental allies lengthened the war, his policies nevertheless weathered the revolutionary storm and set in motion the path to Empire. He reshaped the prime ministerial office into one coordinating the various departments. With greater support from king and parliamentarians, Pitt would have achieved parliamentary reform, the abolition of the slave trade, and ensured Catholic Ireland's loyalty to the Empire. Without Pitt, revolution or invasion would have been England's fate.

Joseph Fouché

Fouché was born on May 21, 1758 near Nantes. His father was a sea captain and the family's wealth derived from West Indian plantations. Educated by the Oratorian order, Fouché was a lay science teacher until 1792. Already a Jacobin, Fouché was married and elected to the Convention, initially as a Girondin that year, serving in the committees. A sudden change of mind made him vote for Louis XVI's death, and he became a Montagnard. During 1793. Fouché was a *representative en mission*, ordering massacres in Lyon, and engendering Robespierre's hostility. In 1794, he organized opposition to Robespierre achieving his downfall. Reduced to detective work from 1795, Fouché was appointed ambassador to Milan and the Hague (1797).

Created minister of police (1799), he judiciously suppressed royalists and Jacobins, and supported the Brumaire coup by sealing Paris. Foiling numerous assassination attempts on Napoleon, Fouché's position was temporarily abolished in 1802. His intelligence network remained intact and he was reinstated (1804). Ennobled as count (1808) and Duc d'Otrante (1809) for swift action in thwarting Britain's Walcheren expedition, his

intrigues with the British to forge a peace were discovered and he was dismissed. He was appointed Illyrian governor (1812) to hinder his plotting. Returning to France during the first restoration, he was ignored until Napoleon made him police minister in the Hundred Days. Fouché forestalled open revolt forcing France's fate to be decided at Waterloo, and demanded Napoleon's second abdication. Proscribed as a regicide by the royalist administration (1816), he died in exile on December 25, 1820.

Tall, thin, and pale-faced with a death's head visage, Fouché was cold, brutal, ill-dressed and ill-washed. Calculating and far-sighted, he lusted for power. Unscrupulous, he never willingly lost a friend, cultivating allies among every faction. His reputation as regicide haunted his later career.

Manuel de Godoy

Godoy was born on May 12, 1767 in Badajoz, Spain, into an impoverished noble family of ancient lineage. In 1784, he joined the royal bodyguard as a cadet and gained the confidence of Princess Maria Luisa, wife of the future Charles IV. Godoy was probably her lover (if briefly). Charles and Maria relied upon him to excess and rewarded him with military promotion (Colonel 1789, Field Marshal 1792), titles (such as Duke of Alcudia 1792), and the post of prime minister.

His diplomacy to save Louis XVI from execution failed; his negotiation of the Peace of Basel (1795) with France gained Spain a respite from war and earned him the title of "Prince of the Peace" as well as the jealousy of Prince Ferdinand. His later Treaty of San Ildefonso (1797) led to Spanish defeat by England in the Battle of St Vincent and his own dismissal (1798) (but without losing royal favor).

Reinstated in 1801, Godoy's ambition (for a Portuguese throne) ensured his cooperation with Napoleon in the War of the Oranges, and he profited (with Lucien Bonaparte) from Portugal's war indemnity. Opposition to Godoy swelled among the courtiers and the populace following renewed war against England and his abolition of bull-fighting (1805). Godoy's incautious communications with Napoleon over the Treaty of Fontainebleau to partition Portugal (and become Prince of the Algarve) planted the seed for the Emperor's intervention. His failure to urge the monarchs to flee immediately gave French forces time to deploy and Ferdinand's supporters the opportunity to attack his house in Aranjuez (March 1808). Almost lynched, Godoy was imprisoned by Ferdinand while Charles abdicated. After his inability to prevent Charles ceding Spain to Napoleon, Godoy joined Charles and Maria in exile until their deaths in 1819, remaining in Italy to 1832 and thereafter dwelling in obscure poverty in Paris to his death on October 4, 1851.

Godoy was tall, muscular and agile in his prime, becoming overweight in middle-age. Red-haired with brown eyes, a wide nose, large mouth, and fine teeth, he maintained a mistress and reputedly enjoyed the sexual favors of many aspiring noblewomen despite marrying a royal cousin. Elegant, indolent, fair-minded, intelligent and ingratiating, Godoy was throughout devoted to Maria and Carlos.

Lord Frederick North

Born on April 13, 1732, North was the eldest son of Baron Guilford, later first Earl of Guilford. Educated at Eton and Oxford, he became Member of Parliament for Banbury in 1754. Preferring ministerial advancement, he turned down an Ambassadorship, becoming a treasury minister (1759), paymaster general (1766), and chancellor (1767) under successive administrations. Becoming prime minister in 1770, North remained in office despite frequent attempts to resign until 1782. George III's pleas and his own modest income (due to paltry allowances from his long-lived father) played a part in preventing him quitting the post. After a short stint in the Portland government (1783) and three years in opposition, he retired from Parliament due to imminent blindness, became Earl Guilford (in 1790), and died himself on August 5, 1792.

Plain-faced and slim in his youth, North grew corpulent and increasingly near-sighted with age. Witty, lethargic and conservative, North's excellent memory was combined with a preoccupation with detail, a dislike of confrontation and a reluctance to make unpleasant decisions. Always lacking in self-confidence, he became attracted and attached to power.

As Chancellor, his vote was decisive in a Cabinet meeting in retaining the tea duty in America in 1769, just as he later gave the East India Company an exemption in return for corporate reforms in 1773. In both cases, a different choice might have forestalled the American Revolution. North prevented war in 1770 with Spain and France over contested sovereignty of the Falklands through astute diplomacy. War might have been disastrous; alternatively it might have revitalized colonial loyalties through shared danger. His Quebec Bill of 1773 preserved Canada for Britain by reorganizing its government. Throughout the American conflict, North's inconsistent approach, lack of vision, and delegation of the war and diplomatic efforts to ill-informed colleagues earned him his infamy as "the prime minister who lost America."

Charles-Maurice de

Talleyrand-Prigord

Talleyrand was born on February 2, 1754. His childhood clubfoot prevented an army career; his family compelled him into the church to disinherit him from his title. After ten years' study, he was ordained in 1779 and made an abbot, spending most of his time in Parisian salons, and as liaison between church and state. He was consecrated bishop of Autun in 1788, and elected clerical deputy with a reform agenda to the Estates General. He persuaded Comte d'Artois that force or emigration were the only options after the Bastille storming. Talleyrand urged church land nationalization, adopted the Civil Constitution, left holy orders, and was excommunicated (1791). Peace missions to England failed due to his notoriety (1792). Emigrating to England and later America (1793-1796), he returned to France, becoming foreign minister in 1797, resigning after U.S. envoys exposed his corruption two years later.

Talleyrand's quiet manipulation of the Brumaire coup secured his reinstatement, enabling him to pursue France's best interests through a European peace and the papal concordat. He married his mistress to forestall Napoleon creating him cardinal. Unable to prevent Napoleon ending the Peace of Amiens, Talleyrand advised Austrian alliance after Austerlitz to check Prussia and the creation of a strong Poland to contain Russia. Talleyrand foresaw disaster in

Napoleon's Spanish intervention and thereafter worked against Napoleon, intriguing with Tsar Alexander and Fouché. He was dismissed in 1810.
He convinced Alexander to restore Louis XVIII rather than support a Napoleonic regency in 1814. At Vienna, Talleyrand ensured Bourbon France's re-entry to great power status. Briefly prime minister, he was swiftly ousted by the ultraroyalists and lived in retirement until 1829. He funded anti-government newspapers and persuaded Louis-Philippe to depose Charles X in 1830. As French ambassador to Britain, he negotiated the creation of Belgium. Finally reconciled to the church, he died on May 17, 1838.
Of middle-height with a haughty face and obvious limp, Talleyrand was worldly, ambitious, cunning, suave and courteous. Naturally lazy and comfort-loving, his self-control was total.

George Washington

Washington was born on February 22, 1732, the son of Virginian planters. He gained an education in practical surveying and farming. From 1748 to 1751, Washington was employed as a land surveyor, surviving smallpox (1752), and inheriting the Mount Vernon plantation in 1753, whereupon he focused on improving his farm and outdoor pursuits.
A desire for military glory led him to seek a colonial commission in 1753. He nearly died while returning from his first mission -- delivering an ultimatum to the French to cease encroachments in the Ohio Valley. Appointed lieutenant colonel and colonel (1754), Washington fought the first engagements of the French and Indian War. Resigning his commission owing to inequities in status between regular and colonial commissions, he was appointed aide-de-camp to General Braddock. His advice contributed to British defeat at Fort Duquesne, though his heroism prevented disaster. Appointed commander-in-chief of Virginia's militias, he survived dysentery and managed to hold the border with his inexperienced troops. Failure to gain a regular commission embittered him and he resigned (1759), married and returned to Mount Vernon and a career in the Virginian Legislature.
By the early 1770s, his political views were hostile to British ministerial policies, and he was a delegate to the first and second Continental Congresses. his military reputation, common sense, and some complex maneuvering resulted in his appointment as American commander-in-chief (1775), immediately organizing the disparate militias into an army and prosecuting the Boston siege. His military blunders led to defeats and precipitated retreat from New York (1776). Washington's bold winter assault on Trenton and Princeton restored morale. He was fortunate to escape from his defeat at Brandywine Creek (1777), but lost Philadelphia. His endurance and leadership were tested to their limits in the Valley Forge redoubt; he also thwarted a cabal to relieve him of command. He was denied a comprehensive victory over the British at Monmouth (1778) due to the mistakes of the American general Lee. Careful collaboration with the French gained Washington his triumph at Yorktown. Thereafter Washington campaigned for the prompt payment of his army and rejected a call to crown himself king. He retired from active service in 1783. His fame ensured his household was plagued with excessive visitors.

Though initially hesitant,
Washington supported federalist solutions to strengthen the union of the independent colonies at the Constitutional Convention and was elected President in 1789. His administration balanced pro- and antifederalist factions, established a national bank, and sought to unite the nation. Re-elected in 1792, he pursued strict neutrality in foreign policy and suppressed the Whisky Rebellion (1794). Failing health and increasing factionalism led him to refuse a third term. He retired, dying on December 14, 1799.
Washington was tall (six foot two inches), strong, and
muscular with graying receding hair. Slightly scarred with smallpox, his false teeth gave the impression of a permanently swollen mouth. Affable, distant, grave, and generous with his hospitality, Washington mistrusted his own abilities and often deferred to others' opinions. However he learned from his inexperience, becoming America's best general and leader. Without him, the war might have been lost; certainly America would have fragmented into disunited states afterward.

Admirals

Thomas Cochrane

Lord Thomas Cochrane was born on
December 14, 1775, heir to the Scottish Earldom of Dundonald. His father's attempts to restore the family wealth through scientific invention backfired, so Cochrane entered the Royal Navy as a midshipman in 1793. Commissioned lieutenant (1796), Cochrane's seamanship preserved a captured French 74, earning him promotion as commander of *HMS Speedy*, a 14-gun sloop (1800). A series of successful single-ship actions against enemy merchantmen, privateers and frigates ended with *Speedy*'s capture by three French ships-of-the-line (1801). Temporarily a prisoner-of-war, Cochrane was exchanged and promoted to captain.
From 1805 to 1810,
Cochrane served as a frigate captain and as Member of Parliament (outwitting the bought voters of one rotten borough) attacking the French and naval corruption with equal vigor. He commanded a fireship attack on a French fleet anchored at the Basque Roads (1809), but Admiral Gambier declined to follow up his success. Nevertheless Cochrane was knighted. Gambier was court-martialed, but acquitted.
Denied naval employment by
Admiralty enemies, Cochrane concentrated on poison gas weapons and close bombardment plans to destroy France, secretly marrying in 1812. He was accused of assisting his uncle's stock exchange fraud in February 1814, found guilty on flimsy evidence, imprisoned, stripped of his knighthood, and dismissed from the Navy.
Released in 1815, Cochrane went to Chile
to lead their navy against Spain in 1818 with plans to free Napoleon to lead the armies of independence. His successes against the strongholds of Valdivia and Callao destroyed Spanish naval power in the region (1820-21). Disagreements over owed pay led to his move to the Brazilian Navy (1823-25). Cochrane was instrumental in preventing the Portuguese reinforcing their

garrisons and capturing several provinces. His attempts to further Greek independence foundered on factional infighting.
Returning home, he became Earl of Dundonald in 1831. A year later, he was reinstated in the Royal Navy as Rear Admiral, being promoted to Vice Admiral in 1841, and Admiral of the Fleet in 1855 (forestalling the use of his secret weapons in the Crimean War). Cochrane died on October 31, 1860.
Tall (six foot two inches) and broad, the red-haired Cochrane was fearless, honest, generous, outspoken and amiable. Easily offended, he made many enemies. The supreme frigate captain, a flying squadron under Cochrane would have shortened the Peninsular War by decisive attacks on French ports and morale; the American navy would have been annihilated in the War of 1812.

Sir Sidney Smith

William Sidney Smith was born in London on June 21, 1764 into a military family. Daring, talkative, vainglorious, and hyperactive, Smith was of middling stature with black eyes and curly black hair. A midshipman at age thirteen, he was commissioned lieutenant in 1780 and promoted to captain in 1784.
Between the wars, he traveled in France, Spain, and North Africa, engaging in amateur espionage. Smith served as a commodore with Sweden's navy in 1790 and was knighted by Gustavus III for defeating the Russian fleet at Viborg.
In 1792, he joined his brother Spencer in a combined diplomatic and spying mission in Constantinople. With the onset of the Revolutionary France, Smith sailed to Toulon, arriving in time to burn part of the French fleet -- the Spanish failed to finish the rest. From 1795 until his capture in 1796 during a boat-action on the Seine, Smith commanded an inshore squadron to harry French coastal trade. Imprisoned in the Temple in Paris, he wrote a prophetic letter concerning the reverses of "Fortune's wheel" to Napoleon. He escaped in 1798 thanks to royalist sympathizers.
Smith was sent to Constantinople in October 1798 to support the Ottoman Empire. Smith reached Acre ahead of Napoleon and fortified the city. British marines and sailors held the city and Smith countered Napoleon's pamphlet warfare. (Napoleon later said of Smith: "That man made me miss my destiny.") His diplomatic status (with Britain and the Sultan) made his naval superiors jealous.
Elected to Parliament in 1802, Smith busied himself with trials of experimental weapons intending to use them against Napoleon's invasion flotilla and combined fleet. Promoted Rear Admiral (1805), he bolstered Sicilian defenses a year later. Appointed third-in-command of Duckworth's expedition against Constantinople (owing to continuing Admiralty disapproval), his advice was ignored and the opportunity to prevent a Franco-Turkish alliance lost (1807). In 1808, Smith was sent to ensure Portugal's exclusion from the Continental System (by destroying their fleet if necessary); instead he escorted the Portuguese fleet to Brazil.
Promoted Vice Admiral (1810) and Admiral (1818), Smith retired to a quiet eccentric life in Paris in 1815, dying in May 26, 1840.

Pierre-André Suffren

Born into an aristocratic
French family on July 13, 1729, Suffren as youngest son was early entered into the Knights of Malta and the French Navy. Experiences of sea battles such as Cape Finisterre (1744) and Lagos Bay (1759) taught him the deficiencies of the line of battle tactics, the need to overwhelm the enemy and anglophobia. Naval Maltese service against Muslim pirates during the 1760s aided his promotion to captain in 1778 under Admiral d'Estaing. In 1781, Suffren was promoted to commodore and sent with a small squadron to attack Britain's Indian possessions, engaging the British en route at anchorage in Porto Praya -- uncomprehending subordinates prevented this prefiguring Nelson's Nile victory. From 1782 to 1783, Suffren engaged the squadron of Vice Admiral Hughes in five savage battles (at Sadras, Provedien, Negapatam, Trincomali and Cuddalore) off India and Ceylon. His resentful captains' failure to understand his tactics of breaking the line and concentrating attacks rendered the fights inconclusive. After the war's end, Suffren retired to become Maltese Ambassador to France. He collapsed on December 7, 1788, and after unnecessary bleeding, died a day later.
Hugely fat, the balding Suffren eschewed elegant dress in favor of motley clothing, straw hats and slippers, and a bishop's mitre in battle A glutton, he preferred spiced and hot foods and smoked cigars. Contemptuous of failure, intolerant of criticism, Suffren's bullying behavior meant he was unable to communicate his methods effectively to his subordinates. Had he the charisma of a Nelson, the French-Mysorean alliance would have swept Britain from India. Had he lived and survived the Terror (perhaps in Maltese exile), the Directory and Napoleon would have given him the opportunity to restore French naval power.

Pierre Charles Jean Baptiste Silvestre

de Villeneuve
Villeneuve was born into the French aristocracy on December 31, 1763, and joined the navy at age fifteen, fighting in the American War of Independence. Promoted to captain in 1793 and to rear admiral in 1796, British blockades prevented him reinforcing Hoche's invasion of Ireland that year with his squadron. Part of Napoleon's Egyptian expedition, he failed to support Brueys' fleet at the Battle of the Nile, but did lead the remaining ships to safety in Malta. Created vice admiral in 1804, he was appointed to the Toulon Fleet which he led to defeat against Nelson at Trafalgar. Captured by the British, he was swiftly exchanged and committed "suicide" on his return to France on April 22, 1806. An inveterate critic of Napoleon's naval strategies, Villeneuve may have been murdered -- his body had six knife wounds in and near the heart with the blade in his heart.

Don Frederico Carlos Gravina

Born on September
12, 1756, Gravina's family were Sicilian nobles and Spanish grandees. Entering the navy at nineteen, Gravina participated in the Gibraltar blockade from 1779 to 1782, becoming a frigate captain a year later and reaching the rank of commodore by 1789. His sea experience included service

in Mediterranean, North and South Atlantic, and Caribbean waters. He also visited Constantinople and Britain to study astronomy and the Royal Navy respectively. As a rear admiral, he distinguished himself in the evacuation of Toulon (1793) and was promoted to vice admiral in 1794. He commanded various squadrons including the Franco-Spanish ships at Brest and in the West Indies until 1802. Appointed ambassador to France in 1804, he was recalled to command the Cadiz fleet in alliance with France. Mortally wounded at Trafalgar, he died on March 2, 1806
Short, stout, and
swarthy, Gravina was an able commander and diplomat, acclimatized to working with the French and with pronounced anglophobia. Had he refused to yield to the dictates of honor in leading the Spanish squadrons out of Cadiz with Villeneuve, the Spanish fleet would have avoided destruction. His inability to maintain his squadron in windward position rendered ineffective Villeneuve's counter to Nelson's tactics.

Horatio

Nelson
Born on December 29, 1758 in Norfolk, Nelson joined the
Royal Navy at age twelve, learning seamanship in the West Indies, on an unsuccessful Arctic expedition, and in the East Indies (where he caught malaria). Promoted to lieutenant in 1777, he fought in the West Indies during the American War of Independence. Promoted to post-captain in 1779, he participated in raids against Spain's Nicaraguan settlements.

From 1784 to 1787, his enforcement of the trade laws and
friendship with Prince William annoyed the Caribbean merchants and Admiralty alike. He married Fanny Nisbet in 1787 and returned to England on half-pay. Recalled to active duty in 1793, Nelson served in the Mediterranean, losing his right eye during a shore action in Corsica. Appointed commodore in 1797, Nelson transformed potential disaster into victory against the Spanish off Cape St Vincent by preventing the Spanish squadrons from combining until the British fleet (under Jervis) was in position. Knighted and promoted rear admiral, he lost his right arm in an assault on Tenerife.
In 1799,
Nelson pursued Napoleon's Egyptian expedition, virtually annihilating a French fleet at the Nile. His love affair with Lady Emma Hamilton, wife of the English ambassador to Naples, led him to disobey Admiralty orders to reinforce Minorca and his subsequent recall to England. Returning overland, he arrived in 1800 and was estranged from Fanny.
In 1801, Nelson
(now vice admiral) forced Denmark to withdraw from the League of Armed Neutrality by destroying their fleet at Copenhagen. He planned (but did not personally lead) an attack on the French base at Boulogne; the operation was a bloody failure. He lived with the dying Sir Gilbert Hamilton, Emma, and Horatia (his daughter by Emma) during the Peace of Amiens.
Nelson
received command of the Mediterranean fleet in 1803 with orders to prevent the conjunction of the French, and later, Spanish squadrons. In 1805, Nelson chased Villeneuve's squadron from Toulon to the West Indies and back to Cadiz. The combined Franco-Spanish fleet attempted to break his blockade, leading to the decisive battle of Trafalgar (October 21, 1805), during which

Nelson was killed by a French sniper.
Short and small-boned with
sandy hair and blue eyes, Nelson was vain, snobbish, obsessed with his health and hostile to the French regimes. Though rash in battle, his successes ended Napoleon's hopes of Eastern conquest, prevented the sea-borne invasion of Britain, and rewrote naval tactics. Without Nelson, the sea war would have been a "close run thing"; after Nelson, the Royal Navy appeared invincible for a century.

Generals

Michel

Ney
Marshal Ney was born on January 10, 1769. His father had
retired from the army to become a barrel cooper and Ney forsook an apprenticeship to join the cavalry in 1788. His bravery and personal leadership of cavalry charges in the battles of the Revolutionary Wars in the Low Countries and Rhineland gained him a series of unwelcome promotions culminating as divisional general by 1800.
Living quietly during
the Consulate, he was appointed to command of the Sixth Corps of the Grand Army after the collapse of Amiens, and like Davout, Masséna, Murat, and Soult, became a Marshal of the Empire in 1804. Despite the bungling of Murat, Ney triumphed over the Austrians at Elchingen in 1805, leading the assault across the Danube personally. Impatient for battle, Ney misjudged his position in the fog at Jena and survived only by charging the Prussian lines. In 1807 a year later, Ney distinguished himself against the Russians at Friedland. He was created Duke of Elchingen in 1808.
Appointed
a subordinate commander in Spain from 1808, Ney quarreled with his fellow Marshals from his Galician outposts until eventually Masséna dismissed him in 1811 for disobeying orders. He was restored to corps command in 1812 for Napoleon's Russian invasion, leading the advance guard until Smolensk. At Borodino, Ney implored the Emperor to send the Imperial Guard against the broken Russians in vain. Created Prince de la Moskowa, Ney commanded the desperate rearguard actions which preserved the Grand Army from complete destruction in the wintry retreat from Moscow, and was the last French soldier to quit Russian soil, earning his accolade as "the bravest of the brave."
Serving with Napoleon at Leipzig, Ney was chosen by the
remaining Marshals to persuade the Emperor to surrender in 1814. Initially loyal to Louis XVIII, Ney hurried to capture Napoleon on his return from exile, but instead rejoined his former leader, eventually receiving command of two corps in the days before Waterloo. Ney failed to win decisively at Quatre Bras, and despite wild courage in multiple attacks upon the British lines, failed to defeat Wellington. Ney was later captured (August 1815) and executed for treason by firing squad on December 7, 1815.
Of
middle stature and physically strong, the red-haired and blue-eyed Ney was a born swordsman and rider. Glory and victory in battle, rather than wealth or

status motivated Ney. A sound tactician, he was no strategist and heroic impulse often overwhelmed cooler military judgement.

Louis-Nicolas Davout

Marshal Davout was born on May 10, 1770, into an aristocratic (though untitled) military family. Declaring for the Revolution, Davout served with distinction in Flanders in 1793, rising to brigadier-general before being forced to resign as a former aristocrat. Reinstated, he joined the Egyptian campaign, initially hostile to Napoleon, but later modeling himself on his commander following a private interview. Promoted divisional-general and commanding the Third Corps, Davout assisted in Napoleonic victories from Austerlitz to Wagram, and won Auerstädt himself. As Military Police Chief, he discomfited spies and fellow Marshals alike. Created Duke (1808) and Prince (1809) d'Eckmühl, Davout acquitted himself well in Russia and held Hamburg until Napoleon's first abdication. Serving as war minister during the Hundred Days, he surrendered Paris after Waterloo. He retired to rural seclusion, dying on June 1, 1823.
A stern incorruptible disciplinarian, he cared for his soldiers and was severe to his officers, being detested by fellow generals. Dogged, brave, and the only marshal to understand Napoleon's methods, Waterloo might have had a different outcome had he been present.

Andre

Masséna
Marshal Masséna was born on May 6, 1758 and soon orphaned. A brief career at sea was followed by enlistment as a soldier in 1775. He quit as a sergeant in 1789 owing to lack of promotion, but rejoined the revolutionary army, achieving divisional general rank (1793). Masséna's victory at Rivoli ensured Napoleon's triumph over Mantua in the Italian campaign. Appointed commander of the Army of Switzerland (March 1799), Masséna defeated the Russians under Korsakov at Zurich (September), preventing the immediate invasion of France. Similarly his stubborn resistance under siege in Genoa (1800) gave Napoleon time to reach and defeat Austria at Marengo. His control of northern Italy earned him riches through the illegal sale of trade licenses (1806) Created Duke of Rivoli (1808) and Prince d'Essling (1810), Masséna was removed from his thirteen-month command in the Iberian Peninsula (May 1811) following defeats by Wellington. In disgrace, Masséna pleaded ill-health during the Hundred Days and avoided service on either side. He died on April 4, 1817.
A dark thin man, the dour and egotistical Masséna's passions were money and women. He lost an eye following a hunting accident with Napoleon in 1808, and his health and resolution deteriorated thereafter. Without Masséna's tenacity in Zurich, Napoleon would have returned from Egypt to a dismembered France; his doggedness at Genoa saved the Consulate.

Joachim Murat

The Gascon Marshal Murat was

born on March 25, 1767, the son of an innkeeper. Eschewing an ecclesiastical career, he joined the cavalry in 1787. Captain by 1795, Murat found the cannon required for Napoleon's Vendémiaire defense of the French Republic. As Napoleon's aide, Murat attained renown as a horse and camel cavalry leader in the Italian and Egyptian campaigns. His forcible ousting of the assembled deputies completed Napoleon's Brumaire coup. As reward, he was permitted to marry Caroline Bonaparte. He commanded cavalry units from Marengo to Eylau, preserving the Grand Army from destruction at the latter by charging unbroken Russian artillery and infantry. Ennobled as a grand duke, Murat desired a kingdom, conspiring firstly for Poland then Spain (1808). Instead he replaced Joseph Bonaparte in Naples, instituting many administrative and economic reforms and supporting Italian secret societies in the hope of becoming king of a united Italy. After Napoleon's retreat from Russia, Murat intrigued with Metternich to save his Neapolitan crown, though he fought at Leipzig for the Emperor owing to delayed receipt of a deciphered message. His treaty with Austria survived Bourbon pressure until he declared for the Emperor during the Hundred Days. His Italian loyalists were swiftly defeated at Tolentino and Murat fled to Corsica. A crazy return to Naples ended in his capture and execution on October 13, 1815.
Vain, obsessed with designing grandiose uniforms, and of merely average intelligence, Murat was nevertheless the most courageous and effective cavalry commander among Napoleon's Marshals.

Nicolas-Jean

de Dieu Soult
Marshal Soult was born on March 29, 1769, the son of a rural French lawyer. Having joined an infantry regiment in 1785, he was promoted to sergeant by 1789. His family dissuaded him from changing career to become a baker. Soult served in Flanders and in the Army of the Rhine, becoming a general after the Battle of Fleurus (1794). During the Consulate, he governed southern Naples. In 1803, Soult was appointed to the Fourth Corps of the Grand Army where he trained many future officers of Napoleon's armies. On campaign, he contributed to the French triumphs at Ulm, Austerlitz, and Jena, and was rewarded in 1808 with the title of Duke of Dalmatia. Sent to Spain that year, Soult fumbled the pursuit of Moore's army on its retreat to Corunna. His belated attempts to reconcile the Portuguese (in a bid to win their support for him as king) gave Wellington the opportunity to eject him from Oporto in 1809. Soult commanded in Andalusia thereafter and acquired much wealth from judicious looting of secular art treasures. Temporarily relocated to the German front in 1813, Soult was appointed to overall command in the Peninsula after Jourdan's defeat at Vittoria, but was compelled by 1814 to retreat into France. After Napoleon's first abdication, Soult served Louis XVIII in Brittany, but was dismissed upon Napoleon's return, so rejoined the Emperor as a corps commander and ineffective chief-of-staff. In exile until 1819, he became French prime minister under Louis-Philippe, serving in 1832-1834, 1839-1840, and 1840-1847, and organizing the conquest of Algeria during his last term. He died on November 26, 1851.

Arthur Wellesley, Duke

of Wellington
Born in Dublin on May 1, 1769, Wellesley (Wesley
until 1798) was the fifth son of the Earl of Mornington. Educated at Eton and in France to avoid a disadvantageous Irish accent, he received a lieutenancy at 18, advancing by purchase to lieutenant-colonel (1793). Rejected by Kitty Pakenham, he focused on his career, learning how not to fight in Flanders (1794-95).
Sent to India (1796), Wellesley
defeated Tipu Sultan, becoming Mysore's governor (1799), and promoted to major-general (1802). Further victories over the Marathas including Assaye (1803) increased and secured British territories in India. Knighted, he returned to England (1805), marrying Kitty out of duty (1806) and serving in Ireland as chief secretary and briefly against Denmark (1807). Promoted lieutenant-general (1808), he was court-martialed (though acquitted) for participating in the Convention of Cintra. From 1809 to 1814, he fought cautiously in the Peninsular War, preserving his army and liberating Portugal and Spain, becoming Viscount (1809), Earl (1812), Marquess (1812), and Duke of Wellington (1814) as reward for his victories. Initially ambassador to France, he was appointed a British representative to the Congress of Vienna to avoid assassination and was ideally positioned to be commander-in-chief against Napoleon's Hundred Days, gaining his final victory at Waterloo (1815).
Wellington opposed punitive measure
against France and ensured an early end to the occupation (1818). Back in England, he served in Cabinet as master-general of the ordnance and unsuccessfully as a diplomat to the Congresses of the 1820s. He resigned (1827) in opposition to unlimited Catholic Emancipation. Next year, George IV requested that Wellington become prime minister. Despite misgivings and hostility from fellow Tories, he removed anti-Nonconformist legislation and reformed the Corn Laws. By persuasion and force (a duel), he persuaded George IV, Peel, Tory allies and others to accept Catholic Emancipation to prevent an Irish civil war (1828). Unwillingness to accept parliamentary reform (fearing future revolution) and increased Whig representation following the 1830 election led to his resignation. He continued to oppose reform until 1832 when he convinced his supporters to abstain allowing the law to pass and preserving the House of Lords.
Thereafter he
served as foreign secretary (1834-35), minister (1841-46) and army commander-in-chief (from 1842). Though he retired from public life after 1846, his opinion was sought by all, with Queen Victoria treating him as a hero. He died on September 14, 1852.
Slim, five foot nine inches
tall, Wellington had wavy brown hair, blue eyes, and an aquiline nose (hence "Nosey"). In war, Wellington was decisive, a master of detail and tactics, a disciplinarian, and only rash in disliking prolonged sieges. Unhappy in his marriage, he enjoyed the company of intellectual females. Restrained and limited in small talk, Wellington was indifferent to public opinion and never apologized (though he would perform favors to redress a wrong). His sardonic humor would occasionally be released in loud laughter. Wellington was utterly dedicated and incorruptible in his country's service.

Revolutionaries

Georges-Jacques Danton

Danton was born on October 26, 1759 in Arcis-sur-Aube, and his love of rural life and pursuits abided to his death. His face was pockmarked by smallpox and his lip was disfigured. Well-read in French, English, and Italian, Danton purchased his degree and practiced law in Paris from 1784. Danton's improvisational and ambiguous oratory gained him fame in the Cordelier and Jacobin clubs. Rumors persisted that he was in the pay of England, royalists, and federalists. Adroit maneuvering allowed him to manipulate and exploit the factions., though his opposition to the Terror made him a target. Refusing to heed warnings, he was arrested, tried, and guillotined on April 5, 1794.

Comte Honoré Gabriel Riqueti de

Mirabeau
The unscrupulous Mirabeau was born on March 9, 1749.
Pugnacious and vain, his charming manners offset by heavyset figure and disfigured face, Mirabeau's amorous adventures and spendthrift nature led to several prison stays and rejection from the aristocracy. From 1784 to 1788, he worked variously as a pamphleteer and secret agent around Europe. His aim in the Estates General was to be an intermediary between King and people, reshaping the government to a constitutional monarchy, and he employed his oratory to these ends. Jealousy and fear that Mirabeau might seek dictatorial power ensured the decree prohibiting deputies serving as ministers was passed. His intrigues with the court were thwarted by royal distrust. His Machiavellian schemes were ignored, while his popularity elsewhere increased. He became ill and died on April 2, 1792 with his aims unfulfilled.

Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès

Born in
Fréjus on May 3, 1748, Sieyès was educated for an ecclesiastical career. Although temperamentally unsuited for the priesthood, he nevertheless was a diocesan chancellor by 1788. Despairing of French society, he nearly emigrated to America, but changed his mind with the explosion of political debate in 1788. His musical voice and austere yet courteous manner limited his oratory. His political theories combining revolution, limited monarchy and limited democracy ensured power remained with the bourgeoisie throughout the Republic. He avoided the Terror by removing himself from politics. Returning in 1795, he became a member of the Five Hundred and by 1799 a Director. Instrumental in encouraging Napoleon's coup d'état, his consulate and elaborate constitution were eclipsed by Napoleon. Loyal to the Empire, he was exiled by the Bourbons from 1815 to 1830, living in Belgium. He died in Paris on June 20, 1836.

Wolfe

Tone
Theobald Wolfe Tone was born on January 20, 1763 in Dublin.
Intelligent and witty, Tone was a vain slender man with sallow and pockmarked features. Already a practicing lawyer in 1789, Tone delivered a

proposal to Pitt the Younger recommending the use of the Sandwich Isles (Hawaii) as a English privateer base. The suggestion was completely ignored. Tone became hostile to British rule, quitted his law practice, and helped found the Society of United Irishmen in 1791. His pamphleteering urged Protestants and Catholics to unite, though he was hostile to both faiths and dissatisfied with Pitt's resulting compromises. Banished in 1794 to America for conspiring with France, he went to Paris, and persuaded the Directory to attack Ireland in 1796. Next year, Tone failed to convince Napoleon to lead a second expedition. In 1798, Tone joined Hardy's invasion force and was captured. Tried and condemned to death, he botched his suicide and died in agony on November 19, 1798.

Robespierre

Maximilien Robespierre was born in
Arras on May 6, 1758. After his mother's death, his lawyer father left the children in their grandparents' care. Educated at the Oratorian college (in Arras) and from 1769 in Enlightenment teachings at Louis-le-Grand (in Paris), Robespierre was a conscientious, if solitary student, receiving a law degree in 1781. His Arras law practice was successful, gaining him a reputation for honesty through his avoidance of unworthy causes. In pursuit of fame, he submitted essays for academic competitions.
In 1789,
he was elected to the Estates General. Popular within the National Assembly, he was denounced by royalist newspapers. During 1790, he became influential in the Jacobin Club, and though excluded from Assembly committees, championed universal suffrage and other measures while opposing royal and ministerial abuses. After the Champ-de-Mars massacre of anti-monarchists, Robespierre's life was threatened, so he moved in with the Duplay family for safety. He preserved the radical rump of the Jacobins, denouncing Brissotin policies, and by condoning the September massacres, was elected to the National Convention in 1792.
Having ensured the execution of Louis
XVI, Robespierre supported the overthrow of the Girondins. Deciding that "a single will" was essential to save the Revolution, he became its dictatorial leader through the Committee of Public Safety in July 1793, increasing the "Reign of Terror" to destroy all factions opposing his Rousseauist vision. His health ruined by overwork, Robespierre isolated himself in June 1794, emboldening his foes who indicted him. His unwillingness to lead an uprising ensured his execution on July 28, 1794.
At five foot three inches
tall, Robespierre was a small, thin man. His broad, flat face was slightly pock-marked. Tinted spectacles rectified his short-sightedness and concealed his gray-green eyes. His chestnut hair was carefully brushed and powdered. To his death, Robespierre was always immaculately dressed as a bourgeois. Highly strung, his nervousness manifested as facial spasms.
Quiet
and grave, his speaking voice and oratory was weak. His listeners found him self-righteous, though few doubted his sincerity. While not cowardly, his tactics were often underhanded, demonstrating a Machiavellian skill in dividing and destroying opposing factions. Suspicious and vindictive, Robespierre was ruthless in implementing his patriotic and democratic beliefs. Unworldly and tactless, he lacked a compromising spirit.

Thinkers

Edmund Burke

Born into a provincial mixed-marriage family in Dublin on January 12, 1729, Burke was educated at Trinity College, Dublin (1744), moving later to London (1750) to train in law. Publishing a satire against attacks on revealed religion (1756) and an essay on aesthetics (1757), Burke gained his first literary renown. He married that year, and contemplated emigration to America. 1758 witnessed his founding of *The Annual Register* as a survey of world affairs, to which he contributed for thirty years, and his immersion in literary London. A brief tenure as adviser to the Chief Secretary of Ireland (1761-64) was followed by attachment to the Marquis of Rockingham's faction and entry into the House of Commons (1765). He was elected for Bristol (1774), but compelled to seek a pocket borough seat (1780) as Bristol wanted a delegate, not a representative. Except for the years 1782-83, he remained in opposition developing the idea of political parties rather than becoming a "placeman" in office (at liberty to become England's finest historian).

In Parliament, Burke opposed the Stamp Act, but believed America should be ruled by the Crown. As agent for the New York colony (1771 onward), he proposed pragmatic solutions, retaining America through trade, internal self-government, and voluntary tax contributions, but the North ministry was unheeding.

The secret sponsor of the Catholic Relief Acts, Burke was almost lynched in the Gordon Riots. To save Ireland, he demanded Catholic emancipation, a freeing of commerce between Ireland and England, the reduction of the Protestant Ascendancy's power, and even effective autonomy. He believed that an empowered Catholic aristocracy would forestall their collaboration with the United Irishmen, preventing rebellion.

Burke's indignation at the abuses of the East India Company, beginning with an parliament select committee inquiry in 1781, led to him impeaching Warren Hastings, former governor-general, in 1787, and prosecuting the case in the House of Lords. Although Hastings was found innocent in 1795 on a plea of "necessities of state," India was governed more carefully thereafter.

On November 1, 1790, Burke published *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, analyzing the upheaval, predicting its violent future, and appealing for a more conservative approach such as found in the English constitution. Though attacked by Paine and others, this pamphlet swayed British society against Jacobinism. Further tracts followed defending his position and urging war against the Revolution.

Retiring from Parliament in 1794, he continued his attacks on Robespierre's successors. Burke died on July 8, 1797, and was buried secretly to prevent his remains being disinterred by future English Jacobins.

Despite debts incurred by collapsing East India stock, Burke remained generous, convivial and sanguine. Passionate in debate, his conversation was witty, his imagination brooding, and his powers of foresight immense. Retaining his accent, his enemies suspected him falsely

of being a secret Catholic or even a Jesuit.

Thomas

Paine
Paine was born in Norfolk, on January 29, 1737. Minimally schooled, he worked variously from age 13 as a corset-maker, privateersman, exciseman, teacher, shopkeeper, and exciseman again. Briefly married in 1759, the widower Paine remarried in 1771, only to separate from Elizabeth Ollives in 1774. Paine was dismissed from the excise for publishing a pamphlet urging increased pay for officers (1774). Receiving letters of introduction from Benjamin Franklin, Paine emigrated to America, where he became a contributor to the *Pennsylvania Magazine*. In 1776, Paine published *Common Sense*, a proposal for American independence, crystallizing colonial desires for separation from England. During the Revolution, Paine served as a military observer (1776), secretary to the Committee for Foreign Affairs (until his resignation after revealing Silas Deane's corruption in 1779), clerk of the Pennsylvanian Assembly, and as procurer of supplies from France. His major contribution was his series of 16 *Crisis* pamphlets (under the pseudonym *Common Sense*, analyzing the war and bolstering American patriotism from 1776 to 1783.
Granted a farm in New Rochelle for his services, Paine turned his attentions to bridge design, returning to Europe (1787) to promote plans for iron bridges in France and England. Galvanized by the French Revolution, he defended it against Burke's *Reflections* with his *Rights of Man* (Part 1, March 1791; Part 2, February 1792) favoring republicanism against monarchy and supplying a manifesto for government. Banned in England, Paine escaped arrest for treason by emigrating to Paris, taking his seat in the National Convention (despite knowing no French) in 1792. Girondin in sympathies, Paine's efforts to ensure exile to America for Louis XVI failed, resulting eventually in his own imprisonment (December 1793). Only illness prevented a trial (and certain death). Released in November 1794, Paine concentrated on pamphlets such as *Age of Reason* (1794, 1796) attacking organized religion and newspaper articles denouncing England. In 1802, he returned to the United States, where his reputation as an atheist, his poverty, and political enemies made life difficult. He died on June 8, 1809.
Tall and slender, Paine was lazy, slovenly, vain, hypersensitive, and overly fond of brandy. Paine's public altruism in decrying profits from pamphlets concealed private stinginess and demands for recompense. The age's supreme propagandist, Paine's efforts contributed as much to the American Revolution as Washington and Franklin.

Jean-Jacques

Rousseau
Rousseau was born in Geneva, on June 28, 1712. His father, a watchmaker, was expelled from the city for pretensions above his station. His mother gave him an idealized image of Geneva as republic. He fled the city at age 16, converted to Roman Catholicism, and became an adventurer. Eventually he came under the tutelage of the Baronne de Warenne in Savoy, receiving a literary and musical education, and becoming her

lover.
In 1742, Rousseau went to Paris where he met Diderot and the other *philosophes*. He became a contributor to the *Encyclopédie* on musical articles. Eight years later, he published his first philosophical work, *A Discourse on the Sciences and the Arts*, which proposed that man was good by nature, but corrupted by society and civilization which had themselves gone wrong after the Middle Ages.
In 1752, he attracted attention through his opera *Devin du village* and his support for the Italian opera and melody over the French opera and harmony espoused by Rameau and most of the *philosophes*. Nevertheless he eschewed opportunities to become a court composer, devoting himself to philosophy and literature.
He returned to Geneva in 1754 to reclaim his citizenship, but was soon back in Paris in the company of the *philosophes*. On one of his stays in Geneva, he converted to Calvinism. In 1755, Rousseau published his *Discourse on the Origins of Inequality*, which continued his thinking on the corruption of mankind laying the blame on a fraudulent social contract.
From 1756, Rousseau lived in seclusion on the estates of various noble patrons. In 1761-2, he published the novel *The New Éloise*, *Emile* and *The Social Contract*. The view on education expressed in "Emile" angered the Jansenists in France. The suggestions in *The Social Contract* that Geneva no longer conformed to the ideals of its founders angered the Genevan leaders. Rousseau was forced to flee France and was chased through the Swiss cantons, eventually finding refuge in England in 1764.
Signs of paranoia appeared during his English stay as he believed that his hosts were mocking him. He returned secretly to France in 1768 and married his mistress Therese Levasseur. Protected by aristocratic admirers, he spent the last decade of his life producing autobiographical writings. He died on July 2, 1778.
Rousseau was the last *philosophe* and his thinking bridged the Enlightenment and the dawn of the Romantic age. He altered taste in music and the arts, encouraged his readers to be actively interested in their children (rather than benignly neglecting them), and espoused the beauties of nature and the desire for liberty. His writings, particularly *The Social Contract*, inspired the radical deputies of the French Revolution.

Artists and Writers

George Gordon

Byron
Lord Byron was born on January 22, 1788. His father squandered the family fortune, dying in France (1791); his mother reared Byron on modest means in Scotland. In 1798, Byron unexpectedly became the sixth Baron Byron inheriting title and wealth from a great-uncle. The family moved to Newstead Abbey with Byron being schooled in London and at Harrow. Byron went to Trinity College, Cambridge (1805), becoming fast friends with John Cam

Hobhouse, and publishing his first two poetry volumes over the next two years. Criticism of his *Hours of Idleness* incurred his retaliation with *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* (1809), gaining him a reputation.
From 1809 to 1811, Byron and Hobhouse toured Portugal, Spain, and most importantly Greece. Back in England (1812), he published the first two cantos of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* establishing his fame overnight. Love affairs with the eccentric Lady Caroline Lamb, Lady Oxford, and reputedly his half-sister Augusta ensued. Inspired, he published *The Giaour* (1813), *The Bride of Abydos* (1813), and *The Corsair* (1814). To escape his romantic entanglements, he contracted a loveless marriage (1815) to Annabella Milbanke, who bore him a daughter Augusta Ada. They separated and Byron left England for Switzerland joining the Shelleys (1816), and travelling to Italy (1817). The sale of Newstead Abbey (1818) cleared his debts. Revived by an affair with Countess Guiccioli, he began composing and publishing *Don Juan* (from 1818). He followed Countess Gamba to Ravenna and Leghorn (1820-21), initiating a radical journal with Shelley and Leigh Hunt. In 1823, Byron became involved with the Greek struggle for independence, reaching Greece next year. He succumbed to fevers and inept doctors, dying on April 19, 1824.
Slender, handsome with a clear complexion, chestnut hair, and blue-gray eyes, Byron is sensitive about his right "clubfoot." Lecherous, manic-depressive, unheeding of consequences, Byron is honest, kind, intelligent, protective and passionate.

Jacques-Louis David

David was born in Paris, on August 30, 1748. Trained by Joseph-Marie Vien, he joined the school of the Academe Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture at eighteen. Success eluded him in the official artistic competitions, moving him to attempt suicide through starvation, until he obtained the Prix de Rome in 1774. His travels in Italy during the mid-to-late 1770s inspired him in neoclassical themes. Returning to Paris in 1780, he married Margeurite Pecoul (1782) and was elected to the Academie Royale (1784). His *Oath of the Horatii* and *The Lictors Bringing to Brutus the Bodies of His Sons* brought him great fame and began his influence on French society.
A Jacobin by 1790, he was elected to the National Convention in 1792. His wife separated from him because David voted for Louis XVI's execution. Under Robespierre's influence, he became totally committed to the Revolution, using his talents to advance its goals, such as *The Death of Marat* (1793) to commemorate its first martyr. Motivated by revenge for its slights, he abolished the Academie Royale, replacing it with the Commune des Arts and the Popular and Republican Society of the Arts. Though he pledged to die with Robespierre, David was absent from the Convention on the day of Thermidor and was imprisoned rather than guillotined. He remarried his wife and was released from prison (1795), becoming a teacher of artists.
David's *The Intervention of the Sabines* (1799) brought him to the attention of Napoleon. David soon idolized the Emperor, producing portraits and contemporary history paintings. David became a Chevalier of the Legion d'Honneur (1804) and First Painter of the Empire (1805). Unhappy under the First Restoration, David welcomed the Hundred Days, resuming his post as

First Painter. After the Second Restoration, David was exiled. He continued to paint, though without greatness, in Brussels, dying on December 29, 1825.
David had disheveled hair, brown eyes and a tumor on his cheek which twisted his face. His character was contradictory; he was by turns touchy, resolute, generous, jealous, contented and bitter. Always excitable and an extreme patriot, David could be easily swayed in his opinions by strong personalities.

Johann Wolfgang von

Goethe
Goethe was born on August 28, 1749 in Frankfurt into a middle-class family. He studied law and was inspired in the arts at the University of Leipzig from 1765 to 1768 until illness required him to return home, where he explored alchemy and the occult. His later stay in Strasbourg influenced him toward *Sturm und Drang*, and his *Sorrows of Young Werther* (published in 1774) secured his literary reputation. He moved to Weimar in 1775, becoming Privy Councilor to Duke Karl Augustus, mixing administrative duties with his creative output of poems, plays and prose. He visited Italy in 1787, drawing renewed inspiration from the Greco-Roman legacies, and decided thereafter to devote himself solely to his art. His Roman mistress returned with him to Weimar, though he did not marry Christiane Vulpius until 1806. In 1792, Goethe was part of Duke Karl's entourage during the Prussian invasion of France and witnessed their defeat at Valmy.
In 1794, he became friends with the writer Friedrich von Schiller and the two collaborated on literary journals until 1800. Despite the failure of these magazines to capture the imagination of a wide audience, their friendship endured until Schiller's death in 1805. His grief was eased by correspondence and discussions with the Romantic writers at Jena, though he was critical of their defiance of form and preoccupation with medievalism and the supernatural.
In 1808, he met Napoleon at Erfurt, but refused a later invitation to join the Emperor in Paris, preferring the artistic liberties of Weimar and his modest position as theatre director to the court. 1808 also saw the completion of Part 1 of *Faust*.
Though he "retired" from theatre management in 1817, Goethe continued to produce extensively. With peace on the Continent after 1815, his fame drew Romantic admirers from all corners of Europe and the Americas to visit Weimar and, if possible, meet the master. In 1832, he completed Part 2 of *Faust*, dying on March 22 of that year.
Of average height, aristocratic features, and long graying hair, Goethe mixed stubbornness with patience and insatiable curiosity about the world. He fell in love easily and frequently with usually unattainable women. While his theories concerning color denied Newtonian physics, his efforts in anatomy and botany were less flawed, leading to his development of the science of morphology. Most importantly, his literary genius fuelled the Romantic movement.

Scientists

Benjamin

Franklin
Franklin was born in Boston on January 17, 1706, the son of a soap- and candlemaker. Apprenticed as a printer at 12 to his brother James, he eventually left for Philadelphia (1723) where he was persuaded to seek employment in London. By 1726, he returned to Philadelphia as a printer, gaining the franchise to print paper currency in 1729, and publishing "Poor Richard's Almanac" annually from 1732 to 1757, becoming prosperous. The 1730s and 1740s saw him instigate a library, police force, and fire brigade for Philadelphia, and the American Philosophical Society, as well as becoming involved in colonial politics. His experiments with lightning and electricity began in 1746 and were reported in Europe from 1751 gaining him fame. By 1753, he was deputy postmaster general for the northern colonies. His plan for a general colonial council was rejected; his negotiations in London (1750s and 1760s) for a new charter for Pennsylvania were unsuccessful. As London agent, he argued for the repeal of the Stamp Act and for American interests in newspaper articles and in Parliament. Dismissed in 1775, he returned to Philadelphia, becoming a delegate to the Second Continental Congress. From late 1776 to 1785, Franklin was in France seeking an alliance against Britain and negotiating post-war treaties. Frequenting the salons, he also observed the first balloon flight and lent his fame to the commission to demolish the pseudoscience of mesmerism. Returning to America (1786), he served on the Constitutional Convention. He died on April 17, 1790.
Tall, well-built with brown receding hair and eyes, the bespectacled Franklin seems a mild-mannered homespun scholar. Forceful and loving life, Franklin was critical in gaining French support for the American Revolution -- without him, the war would have ended in defeat or stalemate.

Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier

Lavoisier was born on
August 26, 1743, in Paris, the son of relatively wealthy barristers. Educated at the Collège Mazarin, he studied the sciences in addition to law, gaining his barrister's license in 1764. Drawn to science, he vigorously pursued admission to the Academy of Sciences, submitting papers on street lighting (1766), the aurora, gypsum and water analysis. The last gained him the junior rank of supernumerary adjunct in the chemistry section (1768). He bought a part-share in the Company of General Farmers (tax farmers) (1768), married Marie-Anne Paulze (1771), receiving a purchased hereditary title from his father and becoming independently wealthy.

In 1770, he refuted the belief that distillation could convert water into earth. He began his research into gases and combustion during the 1770s, discovering that "dephlogisticated" or "common air" (oxygen) was absorbed in combustion, confirming water as a hydrogen ("inflammable air") and oxygen compound, and oxygen's role in acids. He employed chemical experiments to discover adulterated tobacco in his reforms of tax collection in the early 1770s, and became director of the gunpowder administration. His improvements in niter extraction from saltpeter and location of new sources

enabled France to become an exporter of gunpowder, supplying the American Revolution and later Revolutionary and Napoleonic armies. He was instrumental in exposing mesmerism as fraudulent in 1781.
From 1783,
he published his combustion theories and attacked phlogiston beliefs, eventually proposing a new chemical nomenclature based on his own work which became widely accepted.
Elected to the representative assembly of
Orléans (1787), he worked tirelessly in its executive committees. In Paris, he proposed the construction of a new city wall to assist in toll collection. His liberal agenda of a legislative Estates General, regularly elected and presided over by an executive monarchy ensured his election as noble deputy to the Estates General. As the Academy's treasurer (from 1791), he fought a vain rearguard action to preserve its character from attacks by Marat and Brissot (who were partially motivated by personal jealousy). Arrested in November 1793 as a "tax farmer," Lavoisier was imprisoned. Pleas for clemency for his scientific abilities were ignored; he was tried, convicted, and guillotined on May 8, 1794.
Slim with a finely featured
face and receding hair, the father of modern chemistry was ambitious, driven, and intelligent. A practical experimenter, he researched many problems simultaneously, but was always careful to have his preliminary notes in sealed envelopes initialed by the Academy secretary to ensure proof of prior discovery. Had he survived the Revolution, more discoveries would have been his and later French governments would have benefited from his applied scientific genius.

James

Watt
Watt was born in Greenock, Scotland on January 19, 1736.
Watt's father was both magistrate and businessman. Although he received a conventional education, he also gained practical crafts skills in his father's workshops, making models. Between 1753 and 1756, he was formally apprenticed to masters in Glasgow and London, returning to Glasgow owing to ill-health in 1757. Opening a shop at the university, he made diverse mathematical instruments, and befriended numerous scientists. He married in 1764.
From 1764 to 1765, Watt worked on improving the Newcomen
steam engine, eventually inventing the separate condenser to reduce the inefficiency of the original design. He formed a partnership with John Roebuck in 1768 and patented the new engine. Watt himself became a surveyor in 1766 and his work in canal routing delayed further steam experiments. Roebuck went bankrupt in 1772, and his patent share was bought out by Matthew Boulton, a Birmingham manufacturer. Bored, Watt resigned his surveying post and emigrated to Birmingham in 1774. Successfully arranging for an Act of Parliament to grant a 25-year patent extension, he formed a new partnership with Boulton in 1775. A year later, the first two engines were installed and the widowed Watt remarried. He spent the next five years installing steam engines in Cornish mines.
At the behest of
Boulton who spotted potential new applications for steam, Watt invented a rotary motion steam engine (1781), a double-acting engine (1782), a

perpendicular motion engine (1784), a centrifugal governor for engine speed control (1788), and the pressure gauge (1790).
By 1790, Watt was a
Fellow of the Royal Society, an influential member of the Lunar Society, and extremely wealthy from patent royalties. Despite his son's flirtation with Jacobin revolutionary theories, Watt was able to gradually transfer the running of his steam engine factory to him during the late 1790s. In 1800, his patents expired and Watt retired to a life of ease, occasional travel, consultancy and tinkering with gadgets in his private
workshop.
Watt died on August 25, 1819.

EVERYDAY LIFE

Entertainment

F<\#144>tes and fairs
provided diversions for all classes of society. Village f<\#144>tes
interrupted the rural routine. The fairs, held regularly in major cities,
had transformed themselves from specialist commercial affairs into general
markets and an excuse for a holiday. Some participants used them as
opportunities for rioting and debauchery. Market stalls jostled with
entertainment booths. Wild beasts, human and animal freaks astonished the
onlookers, quacks sold elixirs to the credulous, and showmen performed their
acts.
Violent sports were extremely popular. Although hunting and
shooting were the preserve of the elite and the well-to-do, other sports
such as fisticuffs, cock-fighting, and (in Spain) bull-fighting had broader
appeal. Rich and poor alike bred fighting cocks in Britain with important
tournaments (called "mains") being held at race-tracks and reported in
horse-racing journals. Gambling on the outcome of such events added extra
excitement.
Indeed gambling, often for high stakes, was the greatest
vice of the era, indulged in by all classes of society and by both men and
women. In the clubs, vast fortunes were wagered in games of whist, hazard,
and loo. Although the influence of Methodism acted as a brake on gambling in
Britain by 1800, it increased in popularity in the French Empire. Select
clubs catered to the wealthy, while the *menu peuple* frequented
gaming-houses and billiard halls. Only dancing was a serious rival to
gambling as the waltz, the quadrille and the mazurka swept across the
ballrooms of Europe.
On the seedier side, prostitutes were readily
available in the larger cities -- thirty thousand worked in Paris.
Although the Parisian prostitutes maintained a low profile during the
Revolution, their presence was more visible, especially in the fashionable
parts of the city, with the rise of the Directory.
More genteel
pleasures were also available. The English upper classes went to Bath "to
take the waters," bathing in and drinking the spring water during the
morning as a cure for various illnesses, followed by walking, riding, and
shopping in the afternoon, with shows and balls in the evening. The Parisian
bourgeoisie went for strolls in the fashionable gardens and parks, attended
the theatres to appreciate the latest opera or comedy, and visited the
boulevard theatres preferred by the *menu peuple* to watch melodramas
and low farces.
While Europe's upper classes shared a cosmopolitan
culture in the arts, fashion, and everyday pleasures, the lower classes were
fractured along national lines, taking rude joy in popular poetry satirizing
their social superiors and oral traditions of local heroes and rebels
battling against the established order, providing a reservoir of discontent
and patriotism to be tapped in the revolutions and nationalist
revivals.

Nobility

Throughout Europe,
the aristocracy formed an elite social class, second only to royalty. While tens of thousands claimed noble titles and ancient lineage on the Continent, only a few possessed the wealth and lifestyle marking the true aristocrat. In Great Britain, a severely restricted peerage meant that the nobility consisted of perhaps four hundred titled families with incomes of ten thousand pounds plus. The four thousand *grand seigneurs* of France (like the seven hundred Spanish *grandees* and *titulos*) were less wealthy than their British equals but enjoyed more lavish lifestyles at Versailles.
Power and privilege varied across Europe. French
nobles enjoyed tax-exemption and feudal dues, but were excluded from power. Spanish and German nobles received tax-exemptions, feudal dues and significant jurisdiction in local affairs. Parts of Italy remained medieval with government dominated by the aristocracy. In Prussia and Russia, the rulers granted the nobility substantial local jurisdiction and control over their peasants and serfs in return for state service. In Great Britain, nobles and commoners were equal before the law, save for the hundred peers who held seats in the House of Lords.
British nobles enriched
themselves through agriculture, commerce, industry and high office, being unrestricted in their careers. Some received overseas posts or Secret Service pensions to avoid poverty. Outside Britain, aristocrats received lucrative government, military and ecclesiastical positions. While engaging in retail or manual trades could forfeit status and privileges, agriculture, mining, and overseas trade was usually permissible.
With a host of
servants in the great houses -- footmen, maidservants, cooks, gardeners and coachmen -- a life of unlimited leisure was possible for the truly wealthy. Most European nobles went on the Grand Tour of France and Italy, absorbing the culture and/or indulging in vice and dissipation for up to a year, making friends abroad, and acquiring foreign languages. At home, the aristocracy could enjoy witty conversation in the salons and coffee-houses, gamble in the clubs, and patronize the arts.
Entry to the
nobility was difficult. While the great English landowning families allied with commoners who had become wealthy through speculation, trade or the professions, continental aristocrats were less willing to marry "new money." Purchase of titles permitted a trickle of new arrivals into the mostly closed continental castes.

Clothing

The 1770s
witnessed the start of a series of changes in fashion. Silks, satins and velvet waned in popularity against cottons. The bourgeoisie joined the nobility in following every twist in haute couture.
Well-to-do men
throughout Europe dressed elegantly in the French style, wearing a coat, embroidered waistcoat, and knee breeches. The bright decorated satins were

replaced with more subdued and darker fabrics. Hair was worn long and tied in a "queue" at the back, powdered in blue or red during the 1770s in England. Small wigs were common during the 1780s. Cocked hats such as bicorns or tricorns dominated headgear until the nineteenth century.

Regency England, under the influence of dandies such as "Beau" Brummel, became the world center of masculine couture. Top hats replaced cocked hats. The suit now consisted of a dark tailcoat, a waistcoat, and lighter-colored close-fitting pantaloons buckled at the ankle.

For women, panier gowns dominated fashion until 1775. These consisted of a rigid corset and an oval framework petticoat (called "paniers" because of their basket shape) which was tied at the waist using tapes. (Some paniers were collapsible for greater maneuverability!) The gown itself then flowed over corset and petticoat in a profusion of decorative ribbons and ruffles. True devotees of fashion wore powdered high wigs and much make-up, frequently to conceal smallpox marks. The English introduced a more restrained gown with a high waistline and less ornamentation. This eventually became the accepted style, even in France.

After the French Revolution, female fashion across Europe imitated the neoclassical styles of the Directory and the Empire. Thin and loose gowns with low necklines and high waists were *de rigeuer*. Corsets disappeared. During the Empire, opaque fabrics and sheath skirts replaced the translucent materials of the 1790s. Warm colorful overdresses, shawls and pelisses were all worn to battle the cold. Natural coiffures replaced the Directory's plumed and beribboned chignons as the dominant hairstyles.

From the 1770s, children's clothing was no longer miniature adult styles. Girls wore dresses which resembled in shape the most comfortable adult gowns. Boys wore frilled shirts and ankle-length trousers.

For the laboring classes, the traditional male smocks and aprons of the eighteenth century yielded to trousers and breeches during the early nineteenth century. Shorter hair replaced long queues. For women, simpler cotton clothing became more available, supplanting the earlier bulky garments. In winter, cloaks and capes supplemented the lighter skirts and aprons. Plain caps and bonnets were worn as headgear.

Gentry

Below the true aristocracy came the gentry of Britain and the rural, lesser nobility of continental Europe.

The British gentry numbered less than a thousand baronets and knights (with incomes of three thousand pounds) and four thousand squires (with incomes of two thousand pounds). A host of "gentlemen", little better than tenant farmers, provided the bulk of the English rural middle-class. Although lacking legal privileges, the gentry filled the Shire seats of the House of Commons and served as local judges. Most country squires were ill-educated and uncouth, spending their time working on their estates, shooting, hunting, fishing and drinking.

Across the English Channel, the lesser nobility were much more numerous. In 1800, half a million Spaniards, or one in twenty of the population, were rural hidalgos, entitled to be styled "Don." In France prior to the Revolution, the provincial *hobereaux* numbered about four hundred thousand. This inflation was partly a consequence of all children of a noble inheriting their parent's status, rather than only the eldest surviving son as in Britain.

While the British aristocracy rubbed shoulders with the gentry and squirearchy, the *hidalgos* and *hobereaux* were largely ignored by their superiors and had little influence on government. Instead they stayed on their tiny estates, scratching a meager living from the land, and were often no wealthier than their peasant neighbors and tenants. However they enjoyed exemptions from many taxes, collected feudal dues, and retained ancient privileges such as wearing swords openly and (for Spanish *hidalgos*) immunity from arrest for debts.

Lack of disposable income ensured most *hobereaux* were unable to participate in commercial ventures. Lack of social standing and family connections denied them high office in government, the church or the military. In Spain, the hidalgos could forfeit their status if they engaged in commerce or industry. Understandably the rural nobility were highly conservative traditionalists.

Religion

Religion was still a potent force in eighteenth-century Europe, though actual faith was strongest among the lower classes. Many of the upper classes attended religious services out of duty or good manners rather than belief.

The established churches fulfilled many roles in society such as popular education, running hospitals, and almsgiving to the poor as well conducting religious services. The Protestant national churches of Britain, Scandinavia and the northern German states remained subservient to the state. The Catholic monarchs of Spain and the Italian states were intent on limiting the Papacy by acquiring the rights to appoint bishops themselves and to veto the promulgation of Papal Bulls in their dominions. Similar freedoms had previously been won by the French.

Religious minorities were present in every nation. More than a million Calvinists lived in southern and south-western France; in return for freedom of worship and civil rights, they remained loyal to the French crown.

In Britain, the Protestant Dissenters were influential in the new industrial towns, especially as advocates of better conditions for their inhabitants. John Wesley's Methodists, who split from the Church of England after his death in 1791, gained some seventy thousand morally earnest converts through lively preaching. Catholics remained a tiny minority in mainland Britain, but were no longer openly persecuted, though they were denied access to education, military commissions, and holding land.

Jewish communities were scattered throughout Europe. The smaller Sephardic grouping became westernized, lived in major cities, and were (modestly) wealthy through trade and finance. The Ashkenazi Jews who had

emigrated west from Poland maintained their Eastern European identity and stayed poor. In central and eastern Europe, Jews were required to live in segregated ghettos, limited to financial careers or peddling, and required to pay special taxes.
Rulers and governments became increasingly tolerant of religious minorities. The last heretic died by the *auto-da-fé* (public burning) in Spain in 1781. Joseph II of Austria granted most Protestants and Orthodox Christians citizenship and eliminated most of the restrictions on Jews. In 1787, Protestants received full freedom of worship in France. Legal Roman Catholic chapels were opened in London from 1792. Even in the Ottoman Empire, Orthodox Greeks were tolerated as long as they did not conspire with foreign powers to attain independence.

Clergy

The clergy mostly reflected the aristocratic dominance of society. In France from 1783 to the Revolution, every single bishop was noble-born. Moreover aristocratic churchmen were appointed to the wealthiest livings or became abbots of well-endowed monasteries. High social rank also conferred rapid promotion in the church hierarchy. The Catholic Church in France was not required to pay taxes, but could levy its own tithes on the faithful and was corporately the largest landowner in the country. In Austria and Belgium, the Church possessed an even larger share of the land. In Britain, bishoprics in the Church of England earned their holders from five hundred to seven thousand pounds annually, and entitled many to seats in the House of Lords. Spain was different -- its bishops were predominantly commoners and lacked great personal riches.
Spain excepted, most prelates of the European established churches concentrated on their worldly prerogatives and political affairs rather than their spiritual duties. Absenteeism was commonplace in Britain and France with bishops preferring the capitals to their sees and confirmation tours. (Louis XVI ordered his bishops back to their dioceses.) Atheism presented no barrier to some ambitious churchmen. However sufficient zealous clergy existed to preserve the churches from complete discredit.
The bulk of the clergy, whether French *curés*, Spanish parish priests, or English vicars, survived on much smaller incomes. Most rural *curés* lived on tithes or an annual stipend of 750 livres, barely more than their parishioners earned. The Spanish clergy were often as poor and as ignorant as their peasant congregations. Many English parsons supplemented their annual benefices of sixty pounds by working as local schoolmasters or through "plurality" (holding multiple livings). Unlike their continental counterparts, they were welcome in the society of the gentry and squirearchy, enjoyed similar status, and often partook of country pursuits.

The clergy represented a significant portion of the populace -- twenty thousand in Spain, sixty-five thousand in Austria, and 130,000 in France. Although religious houses still proliferated across Europe, (Austria, France, and Spain each had two to three thousand such

communities), monasticism was in retreat as envious monarchs seized the lands of the contemplative orders. The Catholic sovereigns, having first expelled the Jesuits from their domains, forced Pope Clement XIV to disband the order in 1773.

Money and Trade

Although the Industrial Revolution was beginning in Britain, the measure of a nation's wealth was still its overseas trade with the other foreign powers and its own colonies. Merchants and bankers, rather than manufacturers, were the preeminent forces in the business world.

Until the start of the Revolutionary Wars, the struggle for international commerce was between Britain and France. Each imported cotton from North America, sugar from the West Indies, and precious metals and coffee from South America. In return, they exported manufactured goods to the colonies. Much of the new wealth came from the "triangular trade" of cottons and manufactured goods to West Africa, slaves from West Africa to the West Indies, and raw cotton, sugar and tobacco from the West Indies to Europe.

Britain, Sweden, and Holland competed for the Baltic trade in wheat (from Poland), naval stores (such as timber and hemp), iron, and copper (from Russia and Sweden) to the seafaring powers. France held the upper hand in the Mediterranean. Cargoes of manufactured goods, textiles, and fish were exported to the Levant in return for wine, silk, spices, tea and coffee. In the Indian Ocean, Britain's victories in the Seven Years' War had yielded it sole control of trade in silk and calico with India itself, while Holland remained paramount in the Spice Islands.

Chartered companies such as the Honourable East India Company and the Dutch East India Company continued to exert significant influence in commerce. A greater role was played by international financiers specializing in particular goods, wholesale trade, insurance or banking.

By 1800, there were seventy commercial and three hundred country banks in Britain able to take deposits, pay interest, lend money and discount bills. In 1773 dealing in stocks and shares moved from Jonathan's Coffehouse in Change Alley to the Stock Exchange in London's Threadneedle Street. Share speculation, its reputation long tarnished as a consequence of the "South Sea Bubble" disaster of 1720, became respectable again. Elsewhere in Europe, there were banks concentrating on commercial financing. Paper bills and currency had supplanted shipments of bullion as the accepted medium of exchange.

The capital of the world's money markets remained Amsterdam until it was displaced by London as a consequence of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.

Townsfolk

The commoners who formed the urban populations divided into several social classes primarily based on wealth,

namely the burgesses, the "lower orders," and the criminal classes. Defoe described them as "the rich, the poor, and the miserable."

Bourgeoisie

In Napoleon's lifetime, the title of "bourgeois" was not a pejorative one; rather it indicated a property-owner and full citizen of the town or city. Burgesses included professionals (particularly lawyers), manufacturers, merchants, important officials, and in France the *rentier* class living off pensions and other fixed incomes.
Expanding trade with the overseas colonies, particularly in sugar and slaves, was responsible for the new affluence of the merchant classes. Industrial growth in terms of increased coal, cast-iron and textile production enriched the manufacturers. Factories still remained an exception with work being "farmed" out to master craftsmen and their journeymen.

Across Europe, but particularly in France, their new wealth encouraged the burgesses to seek a share in the privileges of the aristocracy and influence in politics. Even if they were unable to purchase a title of nobility, the wealthy could still "live nobly" in fine mansions and new estates, sometimes with greater extravagance than many "blue-blooded" families.
The hyperinflation of Revolutionary France drove the *rentier* class into poverty; the later English blockades and colonial losses ruined merchants who had invested in overseas trade. However bankers and speculators discovered new opportunities to become rich at the expense of successive regimes. Both the Consulate and the Empire offered the bourgeois careers in Napoleon's armies and bureaucracy.

The "Lower Orders"

Next in social status were the "lower orders" of England, known as the *menu peuple* in France and *popolino* in Italy. These were the largest segment of the urban population and included shopkeepers, master craftsmen, journeymen, apprentices, skilled laborers, and servants. Shopkeepers received greater respect in England than elsewhere.
The social status of the master craftsmen was in decline, as changing circumstances and regulations eroded the traditional prerogatives of the surviving guilds. Despite their struggles, the craftsmen lost ground to their former bourgeois equals as they steadily became simply skilled workers for the manufacturers who supplied their raw materials and marketed their finished products. Independent craftsmen involved in making luxury goods for the aristocracy and the rich were better able to sustain their social standing.

Apprenticeship in the crafts remained a lengthy and rigorous process of training. In France, journeymen were supposed to undertake the "Tour de France" to gain experience under multiple masters. Associations such as the *compagnonnages* assisted fellow journeymen in these travels as well as protecting their interests. The old regulations were frequently flouted as masters often employed up to a hundred apprentices and

journeymen, and the coveted elevation to master was increasingly granted only to their relatives.
Tradesmen, craft workers, and others lived in the same city districts, dressed similarly, and spent their modest incomes on bread, beer or wine, firewood, and occasionally some meat. Internal squabbles among the lower orders were forgotten whenever threats to trade in general or the food supply occurred. Violent protests and food riots were their common solution.

Riffraff

For those lacking useful skills, life was "nasty, brutish, and short." Respectable members of society, including the shopkeepers and laborers, despised the riffraff of society, dismissing them as the criminal classes.
Casual workers, the utterly destitute, vagrants, and beggars mingled with thieves, thugs, and common prostitutes in the crowded *faubourgs* of Paris and other cities. Their sheer number gave the rudimentary city police forces and administrations grave cause for concern.
A sixth to a quarter of the population of large cities such as London, Paris, Strasbourg and Toulouse received some form of charitable relief in the 1780s and 1790s.
In England, parishes were expected to provide for the needs of their own poor from the rates collected upon the middle classes. Indeed unfortunates who became destitute elsewhere were shipped back to their home parishes. Up to 1782, the able-bodied were, like the old, sick, orphans, and unmarried mothers, sent to parish work-houses and contracted out to road-builders as cheap labor. From 1782, the able-bodied were classified as vagrants, imprisoned in houses of correction rather than the work-house, and driven into crime.

Crime and Punishment

Crime was rampant throughout Europe.
England suffered the depredations of pickpockets, highwaymen, and footpads. Seeming respectability allowed pickpockets to ply their trade everywhere. The highwaymen terrorized the occupants of stage-coaches, but rarely murdered their victims unlike the footpads who robbed and killed for trifling sums.
Chronic brigandage afflicted rural France until the late Empire. The Revolution and the Empire added rebels and army deserters to the ragged bands of land-less peasants, mixing counter-revolution and acts of terrorism to traditional pillaging. Empire criminals such as "Coco" (Barthélemy Lacour), the master of disguise Desnoyers, and Desfossieux (the era's Houdini) became infamous. "Coco" and others were eventually recruited by François-Eugène Vidocq, a former criminal and jail-breaker, to staff the Paris criminal police.
Smuggling, or "the Trade," became more prolific during the war years following rising excise duties and the naval blockades. In spite of informers and military support, the English Revenue Service were unable to stop the cross-Channel traffic.

Many European officials simply ignored the prohibitions of Napoleon's Continental System, conniving at the illicit trade with England.

Punishments were usually harsh. Branding was common for minor offences, though bribery might ensure a cold iron was used. Whippings (of prostitutes), floggings and the pillory were all common English sentences for "misdemeanors." Felonies, i.e. crimes of theft or violence, were punishable by hanging with the condemned marching in public procession to Tyburn Tree until 1783. (Thereafter, felons were publicly executed outside Newgate prison.) A death sentence might be commuted to transportation to the American colonies (until they declared independence) or to Australia (from 1787).

Criminals in Bourbon France were variously sentenced to branding, the galleys, being broken on the wheel, or public hangings. Where there was insufficient evidence, a royal *lettre de cachet* could condemn a suspect to indefinite imprisonment. Revolutionary France introduced the "humane" guillotine for capital offences, while Napoleon exported many miscreants to Devil's Island and French Guyana.

Debtors could easily spend their lives in prison as their living expenses were added to their debt but they were unable to earn money. English criminals might endure a year's imprisonment before their trials. Prisons were cramped with sleeping quarters resembling dungeons, and small day-rooms and exercise yards. Living conditions were filthy, food was minimal, jail fevers were frequently fatal, and behavior in mixed prisons was debauched. Revolutionary France's prisons were makeshift and easy to escape from -- careful bribery gained inmates better accommodation or luxuries. Add freedom of movement and the fears of "prison plots" to overthrow the Revolution seem all too plausible.

Peasants

Village society could be extremely self-contained, even inbred. Villagers fed and clothed themselves, living in primitive hovels and thatched stone cottages with at most two rooms, low ceilings, earthen floors, and small unglazed windows.

Rural life was unremitting labor from dawn to dusk on the farm or in the workshop for artisans such as smiths or potters. Payment was usually in kind with trade between other villages being rare; nearby towns provided markets for surplus produce and a break from drudgery.

Parts of northern and western Europe underwent an agricultural revolution involving improved crop rotations, which avoided fallow fields, and new crops such as the potato. In Britain, experimentation led to increased soil yields and fatter livestock. Common lands were enclosed by Acts of Parliament, resulting in enlarged estates and the eventual elimination of yeoman small-holders in favor of great landlords, well-to-do farmers, and farm laborers. Many yeoman families ended up in the work-house or London slums.

In France, agricultural progress was limited after 1771 due to aristocratic apathy and fear of peasant revolts. Instead the peasantry remained in poverty, overtaxed by their government,

and subjected to traditional feudal obligations. Many peasants supplemented their incomes through domestic industry such as growing raw silk or finishing off textiles.
Elsewhere in western Europe, peasants
either worked as laborers on the great estates, such as in southern Spain and parts of Italy, or owned small farms as in northern Spain, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia. Feudal dues such as quit-rents, church tithes, and "fines" on inheritances etc., plus noble monopolies on hunting and fishing, were variously enforced to the benefit of the nobility and detriment of the villagers.
Excepting Denmark and some French
ecclesiastical estates, serfdom was extinct west of the Elbe. In Prussia, Poland, the Austrian Empire, Russia and the Ottoman Empire, serfdom flourished and the rural populations endured the imposition of feudal duties and labor services. In Russia, the serfs were bound to the land and its owner creating a caste of virtual slaves.

Food and

Drink
The average European had three daily meals: breakfast, dinner
and supper. Breakfast, whether of bread and butter or tea and rolls, was eaten late at 10 a.m. (in Britain), allowing the poor to perform morning tasks and the rich to call on friends. Dinner was the chief meal eaten at 2 p.m. or as late as 5 p.m. by the rich. The poor ate their suppers around 9 p.m., while the rich might wait until after midnight, dining in a fashionable club.
To a great extent, diet was determined by wealth.
The poor subsisted on bread. The English enjoyed more pudding and meat. The French benefited from fresh vegetables. In Italy, pasta was supreme and supplemented with occasional veal, sausages, or poultry. Porridges and gruel, infrequently mixed with cabbage, leeks or onions, were staple foods in eastern Europe. The potato was growing in importance. Gin, ale, beer, and wine were popular in their localities, but trade outside the producing region was minimal. Tea and sugar slowly percolated downward through society.
The wealthy enjoyed more variety. A typical English squire
might have a meal of salt beef or cold mutton and cabbage or carrots followed by a heavy pudding, and washed down with ale, port, or an infrequent brandy. For less rustic palates, fish, oysters, game, cheeses, jellies and fruit puddings provided a more diverse cuisine.
The truly
refined and well-to-do followed France in matters of gastronomy. Cooks proliferated in aristocratic households, specializing in particular areas of cuisine. Preservation of seasonal foodstuffs became common. Every aspect of food preparation and presentation became an art. While individual dishes were masterworks, less consideration was (as yet) given to their mutual compatibility. Cookbooks differentiated between recipes suitable for commoners (*cuisine bourgeoise*) and those appropriate for nobles (*cuisine des grands*).
As servants of the nobility, some cooks
chose to flee France in the émigrés' train rather than risk the guillotine. Those, who remained and survived the Terror, relocated to the

restaurants to pursue their vocations, and provided haut cuisine to the French middle classes.
Order and logic in flavors, textures and colors were brought to French dishes by Marie-Antoine Car<\#144>me, who was variously employed by Talleyrand, Tsar Alexander, and England's Prince Regent. His feasts were also noteworthy for elaborate confectionery creations which modeled classical architecture of every kind. The opulence was matched only by the accuracy of his displays. Car<\#144>me's influence on gastronomy during the late Empire and the Bourbon Restoration were ensured via his published cookbooks.

Slaves and

Slavery
Slavery and slave raids were practiced throughout Africa.
Women and children were preferred by African slave owners for labor and marriage. Captured males (usually from the interior) were either killed or sold to the coastal tribes of West Africa. European slave traders landed at the ports to buy slaves in bulk and load them onto waiting ships to make "the Middle Passage" (of the triangular trade) to the Americas.
The slaves were chained to wooden bunks in the hold, either on their backs ("loose packing") or on their sides ("tight packing"), fed once per day, and infrequently permitted exercise on deck. Bodily wastes were washed out with buckets of seawater once a fortnight at most. The voyage lasted up to two months with a tenth to a quarter of the slaves dying en route. Half the slavers usually died, often from diseases contracted in Africa or on board.
On arrival, the surviving slaves were sold at auction and then delivered to their new owners. Many imported slaves perished to New World diseases in their first two years of service. On the Caribbean islands, slaves were employed on sugar plantations, where their lives were governed by fellow slaves appointed as foremen and European overseers running the estates on behalf of absentee landlords. Slave labor worked the silver mines in Central America and the coffee farms of Brazil. In the American colonies, slaves were employed in rice and indigo farming in the swamps of the south, rafts in the north, and tobacco cultivation in Virginia. Whitney's cotton gin and the Louisiana Purchase increased the demand for slaves in the new American territories.
On large plantations, the slaves had their own quarters and maintained their culture. Elsewhere they lived in their owners' homes or shops in slightly better conditions but at the expense of their cultural identity. Farm foremen had separate cabins, privileges, and possessions, but their role as disciplinarians ensured their isolation from other slaves.
Major opposition to slavery began in Britain in the 1780s, resulting in the abolition of the slave trade to British colonies in 1807. The rebel colonies of Spanish America followed suit between 1810 and 1812. Existing slaves were not however freed until much later. In the United States, slavery continued in the southern states.

Life in the American

Colonies

Everyday Essentials

The American colonials were taller, healthier, and longer-lived than their European counterparts, due mostly to their better and more varied diet. The mainstays were pork and beef, boiled, broiled and in stews and pies, supplemented with vegetables, corn, bread, and fruit. The absence of game laws allowed colonists to enjoy venison and wildfowl. Dietary snobbery had vanished so foods (such as oysters) elsewhere considered fit only for the poor were welcome dishes for the rich. Coffee, chocolate and small beer were the most popular drinks -- tea became unpatriotic and wine was an expensive import.
Clothing was expensive with many settlers owning only one or two complete sets of clothes. Heavy and hard-wearing materials were preferred with aprons worn on top to protect the clothes while working. Women wore a full-length shift, a long skirt and a bodice. Capes, cloaks, and hats were worn as protection against the weather. (A quarter of all female deaths occurred in the kitchen, usually because a dress caught fire whilst the cooking pot was being handled.) Men wore leather vests and aprons over shirts and breeches while working. On the frontier, buckskin breeches and jackets were common. Formal dress followed French fashions.

Houses ranged from one-room halls to elaborate manor houses with separate kitchen and bedroom wings. Most had wattle and daub or wooden walls constructed around a supporting frame; a few were made of bricks. Roofs were thatched or shingled, floors were covered with pine heartwood boards. In the northern colonies, chimneys were central to the structure and ceilings were low to preserve heat, while southern residences had high ceilings and peripheral chimneys to lose heat. Glazed sash windows and candles provided illumination with interiors being whitewashed or painted in bright colors to aid light sources.

Marriage and Children

Couples met and courted at church, horse races or dances. Marriage, however, was a business arrangement requiring the consent of both families. Spouses were usually in their mid-to-late twenties when they first married. Widow and widowers remarried quickly as single life was rarely practical.
A quarter to half of all women died in childbirth or in related complications. Infant mortality was equally severe with age eleven being considered a landmark beyond which a child could expect long life. Children were taught to read, write, and simple arithmetic in addition to a trade. (The Protestant belief that the faithful needed to be able to read the Bible themselves was a key spur to ensuring literacy.) Upper-class children received a broader education from private tutors and young men might be sent to the American colleges for a university degree.

Occupations

Most settlers were planters with farms of up to 250 acres. Agriculture lagged English techniques relying on the "mound" system, wherein earth was piled up into mounds and planted simultaneously with corn, beans and squash, rather than full field plantings and crop rotation. Livestock roamed wild; fowl were raised in hen houses and enclosed yards. Fishing and furs provided incomes for many.

Skilled labor was scarce. Freed from the strictures of the guilds, craftsmen could achieve master status, acquire wealth, and become planters themselves, training apprentices, indentured servants or slaves in their skills for hire to their neighbors. Blacksmiths, shoemakers, and coopers were paramount, though leatherworkers, metalworkers, and weavers all made respectable livings. Nearly all men were required to be available for militia service.

Prior to the American Revolution, these artisans mostly repaired goods which were manufactured in and imported from England. Likewise many raw materials were exported to England. Planters and colonial merchants corresponded regularly with the officials ("factors") of British mercantile houses on business and other matters.

English coinage was scarce owing to a prohibition on local mints. Hence barter was common in frontier territories whereas letters of credit and bills of exchange were preferred in the cities. Foreign currency could be substituted at official rates, and some colonies printed paper money to ease cash flow.

Entertainment

The colonial era did not witness much first-class home-grown art, music or literature. Nevertheless Americans enjoyed all three, commissioning paintings and importing engravings from England. Musical accomplishments, such as singing or proficiency with wind instruments (for men) or stringed instruments (for women), were admired. Dancing was taken seriously at balls which might last several days. Southerners preferred the French minuet; Northerners favored Scottish reels. Puritan hostility forestalled local theatrics, but travelling English troupes performed popular plays and operas. Subscription libraries with hundreds of volumes appeared in the cities and many wealthy planters owned large book collections.

Crime and Punishment

Criminals were tried according to English common law and received the benefits of being presumed innocent until proven guilty, the right to counsel (if they could afford a lawyer) and trial by jury. Unlike England, few felons received death sentences owing to the shortage of labor. Instead fines, the pillory and floggings were the prevailing punishments. Malefactors were normally branded on their right thumb as a permanent record of their offences.

Nabobs of the Indies

The

Nabobs were those who had amassed great fortunes while working for (and frequently at the expense of) the Honourable East India Company, and on their return to Britain bought their way into Parliament via a "rotten borough." Even the officers of the East Indiamen ships could become wealthy as the company permitted them space on board for their private cargoes according to their rank. A successful captain could easily retire on the profits of three or four voyages, if he chose his goods carefully.

In India itself, the potential gains both from honest commerce and bribes were much greater. So were the opportunities to squander one's earnings in luxurious living, in entertaining native-born and often mercenary mistresses, or in evenings spent at the gaming tables. Naturally gentlemen affected complete disinterest in money matters, leaving the management of their finances and daily expenses to *sircars* (brokers) who made recourse to moneylenders when outgoings exceeded incomes.
Living well in Company-ruled cities such as Bombay or Madras meant renting expensive bungalows, purchasing costly imported furniture, and employing an army of servants (sometimes over a hundred) for every menial task. The magistrates were frequently required to sentence insubordinate servants to corporal punishment (by rattan cane).

Company factors were manicured and shaved by their servants before a breakfast of tea and toast. Unsuitably dressed (for the climate) and wearing the customary wig, the factor would travel in a palanquin borne by native bearers or in a carriage to the office. After working in the morning for three hours, he would return home for dinner at 2 p.m. Ladies would ride or drive in the morning or await house calls from friends. (Their aim in travelling to India was to acquire a rich husband.) Europeans slept through the heat of the afternoon, rising again in the evening to dress formally for a reception, a ball, or a boating party. Supper would be served after midnight. Excessive consumption of food and drink was the norm. Scant regard was paid to the quality of wines and clarets. Smoking mixtures of tobacco, spices and herbs using hookahs was a pastime for both sexes.
Once a fortune and/or a suitable marriage was made, the Nabobs would leave India to enjoy their retirement in Britain.

Life in Revolutionary France

For many nobles, the Revolution was a financial and social disaster. The loss of the feudal dues reduced their incomes by 10-60%. *Egalité* (equality) abolished their status and privileges. Everyone was now addressed as *citoyen* (citizen) rather than *monsieur*. Louis XVI's younger brothers (the Comtes de Provence and Artois) led an aristocratic emigration from 1789 onward. Those who stayed survived the Terror by renouncing their titles and living in obscurity.
Well-to-do peasants purchased émigré and church lands. Poorer peasants could not compete in these auctions and remained impoverished. The controlled economy of the Terror worsened rural conditions and increased conflict between urban and rural France. The attacks on organized religion exacerbated the situation (see box, p.

00).
The Revolution proper was the apogee of the *sans-culottes*. Belonging to the poorer urban social classes, the *sans-culottes* included skilled workers, shopkeepers and craftsmen, and objected to the display of wealth. Their dress was the *pantalon* (long trousers) rather than *culottes* (knee breeches, the *carmagnole* (short-skirted coat), the red cap of *libertél* (liberty), and *sabots* (wooden shoes). The accoutrements of the *ancien regime* such as wigs and perfumed rosewater were spurned. In the spirit of *egalité* and *fraternité* (brotherhood), they used the familiar form of the French language.
The militancy of the sans-culottes found new vigor in the conscripted Revolutionary armies. Soldiers received revolutionary newspapers, sang revolutionary songs, and elected their officers. The spirit of the Revolution endured in these citizen-soldiers after Robespierre's fall.
Sensuality succeeded the repressive and puritanical daily life of the Terror. Fashions became garish, morals loosened, attire became uninhibited. Women wore dresses in the Roman and Sabine styles, leaving their breasts exposed. Guests attending the increasingly popular balls and dances shaved their necks and wore thin red silk bands around the throat to mock the guillotine. The *jeunesse dorée*, young middle-class men, wearing square-skirted coats, tight trousers, and high cravats, thrashed the *sans-culottes* with their weighted sticks. The *Incroyables* affected lisps, dressed outlandishly with pointed shoes and voluminous coats, and cut their hair short at the front and raised it with a comb at the back. The *merveilleuses* wore revealing Grecian tunics and changed their wigs and their conversations every four hours.
The influence of classical styles and Roman motifs in art, fashion, and public life continued throughout the Directory and beyond into the Consulate and Empire.

Dechristianization and the Supreme

Being
Although France was Catholic prior to the Revolution, anticlericalism had been encouraged by the *philosophes*, leading to widespread criticism of the church hierarchy and contemplative monastic orders. Nevertheless the enforcement of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy from 1790 angered the peasantry.
Persecution really began in 1792 with refractory priests being slaughtered in the September Massacres. Thousands emigrated. The "dechristianization" program gathered pace in the autumn and winter of 1793-94 with demands for priests to renounce their vocations, church closures and desecration, and the seizure of clerical property.
The introduction of the Revolutionary calendar from October 1793 (but backdated to September 22, 1792 which became Year One of the Republic), disrupted the pattern of life even further. Consisting of twelve months, each of thirty days or three *décadi* (ten-day "weeks"), followed by five festival days known as *sans-culottides*, the new calendar abolished religious holidays and enraged many workers.

The Revolutionary Year was as follows:
Vendémiaire = September 22 -- October 21
Brumaire = October 22 -- November 20
Frimaire = November 21 -- December 20
Niv<\#153>se = December 21 -- January 19
Pluvi<\#153>se = January 20 -- February 18
Vent<\#153>se = February 19 -- March 20
Germinal = March 21 -- April 19
Floréal = April 20 -- May 19
Prairial = May 20 -- June 18
Messidor = June 19 -- July 18
Thermidor = July 19 -- August 17
Fructidor = August 18 -- September 16
The *sans-culottides* were from September 17 to 21.
The calendar was suspended following the Thermidor coup but was reinstated in 1798.
Idolatry of Revolutionary heroes such as the murdered Marat filled the religious vacuum of the popular classes. *Maratism* was insufficient for Robespierre who believed in the deism of Rousseau. The Committee of Public Safety initiated the Cult of the Supreme Being in June 1794. Robespierre's behavior at its public inauguration led many to fear he intended to become its high priest and persecute unbelievers through a religious Terror. This cult of Reason collapsed with Robespierre's downfall. The austere cult of Theophilanthropy, emphasizing nature and morality, was equally short-lived in 1799.
Catholicism recovered following Thermidor but remained disestablished. The persecution of refractory priests continued until Napoleon's Concordat with the Papacy.

Life in Imperial France

Hundreds of émigrés returned to France as the Directory transformed itself into the Consulate. Napoleon desired an aristocracy to add glamour to his new authoritarian empire. Most *ancien régime* nobles remained aloof from the pomp and brilliance of the imperial court with its lavish balls, parties and soirees preferring their own exclusive salons, so from 1808, Napoleon created a new imperial aristocracy.
The Concordat between Napoleon and the Papacy temporarily eased the religious divisions in France. The Organic Articles gave Napoleon significant influence over the Church, leading to the inclusion of his Bulletins and the virtues of patriotism and

submission to conscription into sermons. Despite the rapprochement, Fouché's police spies infiltrated congregations to uncover royalist conspiracies. The Church recovered its dominance over primary education, while private schools and the new *lycées* catered to middle-class children. The latter emphasized logic, rhetoric, and classical languages rather than modern languages and history and were intended to produce the next generation of Imperial administrators and military officers.

The exigencies of the British blockades encouraged experimentation in agriculture with peasants participating under pressure in trials of maize, potatoes, and sugar beet. The prefects averted mass starvation in the winter of 1811-12 only through soup kitchens -- revolt was prevented by requiring the poor to work hard for this sustenance. Itinerant beggars threatened more successful farmers with arson if they refused to yield food or work. Fishermen and peasants added smuggling and poaching to their trades.

Art, architecture and sculpture in the Empire continued to reflect the neoclassical themes in the realistic styles espoused by painters such as Jacques-Louis David. The tastes of the populace differed greatly from the classical emphasis of the imperial court. The masses patronized fairs and boulevard theatres, enjoying burlesques and melodramas. Plays told a story and had a moral -- actors were often forced by the audience to diverge from the script, lest the performance be abruptly ended. The literate read historical fiction, escapist romances and translated English novels. Poets imitated and translated the classics.

Revolutionary France had witnessed an explosion in newspapers and radical pamphlets. In 1804, Paris possessed seventy newspapers. Napoleon and his censors reduced this to thirteen by 1805 and to a mere four (plus one provincial periodical) by the Empire's end. The principal newspaper, *Le Moniteur*, became a mouthpiece for Imperial propaganda, supplemented (until 1812) by Napoleon's military Bulletins.

The Conservative Reaction

Napoleon's first abdication heralded the return of the remaining émigré aristocrats to France. Their influence in politics was checked until the Hundred Days excused greater repression against Napoleonic supporters and instituted a conservative Catholic Royalist regime. Regicides and ardent imperialists were proscribed and fled abroad to avoid imprisonment or execution.

The constitutional charter which had restored Louis XVIII prevented society being restored to its pre-Revolutionary character. The bourgeoisie who had benefited from purchasing noble and church lands were allowed to keep them. Some émigrés displaced commoners in military and administrative positions; others were forced into trade to recover their fortunes. Censorship was relaxed, the electoral regulations were reformed, and food supplies became assured to town and country.

Catholicism was reinstated as France's state religion and recovered its preeminence in education. Throughout Europe, church attendance rose as the upper classes rediscovered their faith. Pope Pius VII re-instituted the Jesuit order to undertake its mission of conversion and education. Religion

became a source of conflict between rulers and ruled in Russia, Poland, the Balkan territories of the Ottoman Empire, and the Netherlands.
The protracted wars had engendered a desire in governments and monarchs to maintain the status quo -- Francis I of Austria's motto was "Rule, and change nothing" -- and preserve intact the institutions and attitudes which they had spent so long defending. However the economic slump which followed the coming of peace required corrective action and gave impetus to calls for reform.
In Britain, radicals and Dissenters attacked the inequalities of the electoral system, governmental corruption, and new laws through the newspapers. Although official pressure reduced the agitation in 1816, the Peterloo massacre (1819) caused by a panicked crowd fleeing a cavalry squadron allowed the passage of the "Six Acts." These laws banned political meetings and parades, permitted the police to perform house searches and seize subversive literature, taxed newspapers and periodicals (to prevent the poor from buying them!), and weighted justice against defendants in criminal cases.
Secret societies flourished across Europe, plotting to overthrow the established order. They included Freemasons, *Carbonari* in Italy and France, and nationalist groups in Germany, Greece, and Russia.

Travel by Land

Only the wealthy traveled for leisure; everyone else on the roads journeyed for business reasons or out of necessity to avoid arrest or seek their fortune.

Wealth and status were reflected in the traveler's means of transportation. Those compelled by circumstances to use humbler modes than usual for their station were often unwilling to admit their rank to protect their reputations. The poor walked or hitched on a farmer's lumbering cart. Public stagecoaches provided faster travel for the well-to-do. Post-chaises could be hired by the rich for their exclusive use -- some aristocrats and magnates owned their own. For shorter journeys, riding on horseback was practical.
Types of chaises and coaches varied. The post-chaise was a four-wheeled closed carriage with one front-facing seat large enough for three passengers. Luggage rested on a platform at the front. Post-chaises were drawn by two horses, one of which would be ridden by the driver. The four-wheeled landau seated four passengers inside on two facing benches. The driver had his own raised front seat outside to supervise the four horses. Lucky stagecoach passengers rode inside the coach itself; the unlucky clung to handrails while seated on the coach roof or suffered the buffeting of unsecured baggage in the luggage basket at the back of the stagecoach.
The treatment of travelers depended on their mode of transport -- those owning their own horses or arriving by post-chaise received preferential service. Stagecoach passengers paid for their cheaper fares in terms of the indignities offered by disrespectful coachmen, turnpike wardens, and rude innkeepers, and lack of choice in fellow passengers and schedules. All road travelers faced risk to life and property from highwaymen. Surrendering one's purse without attempting self-defense

avoided violent revenge. Increasing road traffic was matched by the rising numbers of highwaymen and better quality inns.
Road conditions, time of year, amount of traffic, and type of carriage all affected the cost and speed of travel. Turnpike tolls in Britain and internal customs in France raised the price of fares. The former, while popularly condemned for increasing food prices in rural areas, did enable faster travel in areas where the turnpike trustees used the toll revenues wisely. Roads were more passable in summer than winter, and so travel was both faster and cheaper. Travel to popular destinations was unsurprisingly cheaper than to more obscure places -- on some main routes, the stagecoaches achieved swifter journeys by not stopping overnight at inns. Under poor conditions, an average day's travel by coach might be some fifty miles. By 1800, a stagecoach in Britain could expect to traverse over a hundred miles per day. Post-chaise passengers paid four times as much per mile as stagecoach travelers.

Travel by Sea

Sea travel was the preserve of the professional seamen. Warships, privateers and pirates cruised the sea lanes of the world. Whalers roved the Arctic Ocean while the fishing fleets sailed more temperate and inshore waters. Small merchant vessels shipped diverse cargoes around the coasts, obsolescent men of war with reduced armament served as troopships, and slavers profited in the Triangular Trade.
During times of peace, the owners of the swiftest ships reaped the greatest profits. In wartime, solitary vessels were easy prey for commerce-raiders. Hence merchants petitioned their governments to provide naval escorts for convoys. Lubberly captains and crews would sail only during the day, delaying the others, and ignore signals from the guarding warships to maintain position and speed, exasperating the Navy officers. Woe betide the frigate captain however if privateers "cut out" any ships from the convoy.
While military necessity might require high-ranking officers, ambassadors, or spies take passage on a naval ship, privately owned ships carried all other passengers in addition to their normal cargo. Very few could afford the high cost of sea travel. A typical berth on an East Indiaman from England to India cost four hundred pounds; passage (but not food) on a Post Office mail packet to the West Indies cost fifty guineas. The packets were however fast, crossing the Atlantic in forty-five days.
The majestic East Indiamen vessels of the Honourable East India Company might take three to five months on the journey from England to India. Their schedules used the prevailing monsoon winds and avoided cyclones and typhoons in the Indian Ocean and South China Sea. Outward passage was best attempted between May and October, while homeward ships sailed between November and April. East Indiamen passengers enjoyed fine food and wines, but had to suffice with "cabins" created with canvas partitions and endure the rude sounds and odors of a sailing ship. Stranded East Indiamen might be attacked off the African coast by natives, or threatened by French privateers in the Indian Ocean. Between both perils was Cape Town where the passengers visited Table Mountain and the zoological gardens while the captain awaited favorable winds.

Military Life

Sailors

The Age of Fighting Sail was made possible by the tens of thousands of ordinary sailors who lived, fought, and died at sea. Abandoned to fend for themselves in peacetime, sailors could only leave the service by death, injury, or desertion during a war.

Pressed Men and Volunteers

Manpower shortages were experienced by all navies, as their hardships, harsh discipline, and poor pay discouraged trained seamen from serving. Between the wars, short-handed captains toured fairs and markets at their own expense to attract suitable volunteers.

Imminent conflict demanded the commissioning and crewing of laid-up ships achieved by judicious use of the press-gang and its continental equivalents. In Britain, parties of sailors and marines would target inbound merchantmen, effectively kidnapping their best sailors, and raiding taverns and brothels for unwilling recruits. The sight of a King's ship heading for port was just cause for able-bodied men to take to the hills. Foreigners, Americans with legal "Protections," certain key merchant sailors, and gentlemen (if dressed according to their status) were exempt. The Impress Service, run by "beached" officers, organized permanent press-gangs during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. Criminals "volunteered" rather than suffer transportation or hanging. European navies drafted conscript soldiers to complete ships' crews. Nevertheless all officers agreed that one volunteer was worth three pressed men.

Seamen

Sailors were rated (and paid) according to their maritime experience as landsmen, ordinary seamen or able seamen. The ship's company was also divided by function: the older "focslemen" worked the anchors, forward sails and cannon, the nimble "topmen" trimmed the highest sails and handled cable and capstan, the inexperienced or stupid "waisters" looked after the livestock, pumped the bilges, formed gun-crews and handled the lower sails of the main and mizzenmasts, and the "afterguard" manned the braces which controlled the sails. These four groups were divided into larboard (port) and starboard watches, working and resting alternately. A final group -- the "idlers" -- comprising cook, carpenter and mates, and officers' servants worked all day instead of standing watches.

The "quarters, watch, and station bill" prescribed the duties of each sailor in sail handling and battle, even indicating the weapons (cutlass, tomahawk, pistol or boarding pike) to be issued for each man.

Additionally the sailors were organized into "messes" of up to eight for sleeping and eating. Changes could be made at the start of each month -- too many transfers indicated an unhappy crew; seamen who switched regularly were probably troublemakers.

Warrant Officers

Between the commission
officers and the sailors were the warrant officers, professionals appointed to the ship itself rather than to a single tour of duty. The most senior of these -- master, purser, surgeon and chaplain -- had equal status to the lieutenants (and resided with them), but less authority. Transfer to larger ships constituted promotion for warrant officers.
The master
was responsible for navigation and the updating of sea charts, the stowing of cargo and the ship's sailing qualities. The purser combined the roles of storekeeper and shopkeeper, buying in supplies and distributing them to the crew. In the Royal Navy, pursers were allowed a commission of one-eighth, ostensibly to counter wastage by vermin and malfeasance by contractors. For a purser, there were thus fourteen ounces to the pound, and dishonesty and corruption were rife. The surgeon looked after the health of the crew, but contemporary medical knowledge limited many to treating venereal diseases and amputating limbs. Chaplains were rare, finding congenial employment only on the largest ships. Some doubled as schoolmasters.
The gunner's
charges were the cannon, shot, and powder, and the keys to the ship's magazine. He also supervised the midshipmen. The boatswain's (bosun's) responsibilities included the sails, rigging, anchors, and ship's boats. He and his subordinate mates passed orders to the crew. The carpenter ensured the integrity of the masts and hull, and repaired battle damage. The master-at-arms exercised the men in weapons and monitored the vigilance of sentries.

Marines

Contingents of Marines served in all the
major navies, enforcing discipline and suppressing mutinies. Neither sailor nor soldier, the marines provided musket sharpshooters, additional cannon crew, and boarding parties. True amphibious operations involving marines were rare, partly due to their small numbers -- forty on a frigate, a hundred and ten on a third-rate.

Aft the Most

Honor
British naval officers were mostly drawn from the
middle-classes and seafaring families, with some younger sons of the gentry and aristocracy. Catholics were officially prohibited from holding commissions. In the French and Spanish navies, the aristocracy dominated the higher echelons while commoner officers languished as lieutenants and junior captains despite usually greater seamanship and sea experience. The execution or emigration of aristocratic officers during the Revolution led to their replacement by surviving lieutenants and senior warrant officers.
The traditional route to high rank was to serve as a
volunteer aboard ship (usually from age eleven) as a midshipman (Royal Navy), *aspirant* (French Navy), or *guardia marina* (Spanish Navy). Some midshipmen received up to two years' basic instruction at naval

academies. Royal Navy candidates taking the examination for lieutenant needed to be (or appear) at least twenty-one years old (later reduced to nineteen) and have a minimum of six years' sea service. If they failed the exam, they were required to wait six months before their next attempt. Passed candidates continued to serve as midshipmen or master's mates (in their twenties and thirties) until a lieutenancy became vacant. Exceptionably able seamen or warrant officers were sometimes promoted to commission rank

Lieutenants (or Spanish *tenientes*) kept watches, led a division of the crew, and a section of the guns in actions. First lieutenants organized the watches and duties and acted as the captain's second-in-command. In the Royal Navy, smaller unrated vessels (such as cutters, schooners, brigs, and transports) were commanded by lieutenants.

Promotion to "master and commander" required recognized merit, notable success in action, luck or influence, and allowed the fortunate officer to command sloops, fireships, and bomb vessels. Promotion to post-captain necessitated further brilliance or exertion of influence, and granted permission to command rated ships, namely frigates and ships of the line. The French equivalents of post-captain were *capitaine de frégate* and *capitaine de vaisseau*; the Spanish captains were ranked according to the ship commanded -- *capitan de corbeta* (sloops etc.), *capitan de frigata* (frigates), and *capitan de navio* (ships of the line).

Royal Navy captains could be temporarily appointed as flag-captains or commodores (commanding a small squadron and flying a broad pennant on the flagship). Seniority decided when a captain could be promoted to Rear Admiral -- a few were forcibly retired by Admiralty intervention; others became "yellow admirals" -- rear admirals unfit for further service. Advancement through the flag ranks was strictly by seniority with long-lived officers rising through Rear Admiral (of the Blue, White, and Red), Vice Admiral (of the Blue, White, and Red), and finally Admiral (of the Blue, White, and Red). French equivalents were *Chef de division*, *Contre-admiral*, *Vice-admiral* and *Admiral*; Spanish flag officers were *Jefe de escuadra* (Rear Admiral), *Teniente-generale*, *Amiralante*, and *Capitan General de Armada* (Admiral of the Fleet).

Life at Sea

Daily Routine at Sea

The Royal Navy day began at 4 a.m. for the idlers. The off-watch was roused before dawn, lookouts sent aloft, and (in war-time) the ship sent to battle quarters. Assuming no enemy sail was sighted at dawn, the lower decks were cleaned prior to breakfast at 7.15 a.m. The crew were paraded in divisions at 9.30 a.m. for gunnery or sail exercises, ship maintenance or to witness punishment. Dinner was at noon with decks cleared by 4.15 p.m. for supper at 5 p.m. Before sunset, the ship went to quarters for captain's inspection. The masthead lookouts were replaced by deck lookouts and the crew retired to their hammocks. All lights (save officers') were extinguished by 8 p.m.; gunroom lights were out by 10 p.m.

Daily Routine in Port

In port, the petty officers would wake both the off-watch and any female companions aboard, leading to more confusion and noise than normal. If anchored with a fleet, a drumbeat would mark time to dawn until a signal gun was fired from the flagship to indicate sufficient visibility. Sailors would be employed in cleaning the hull and other major maintenance during the day. As many seamen would desert if allowed ashore, captains allowed bumboat men to ferry traders and prostitutes to the ship. The latter would be deemed "wives." (Officially women were prohibited on board navy ships unless they were the wives of male passengers. However some officers disregarded these regulations.)

Rations

Shipboard food varied from unappetizing to inedible. In the Royal Navy, sailors subsisted on a pound of "bread" (weevil-infested hard biscuit) and a gallon of weak beer per day. Additionally two two-pound measures of salt beef, two pounds of salt pork, four half-pints of pease, three pints of oatmeal, three four-ounce chunks of cheese, and six ounces of butter would be served according to a regular routine over a week. Watered wine and rum replaced the beer in the Mediterranean and Caribbean respectively. Lime juice was introduced in 1795 to prevent scurvy. Commission officers brought their own provisions to supplement the official rations.

Duty and Discipline

Severe punishments were the normal reaction to indiscipline. Flogging and hanging were meted out by the Royal Navy. The Dutch Navy retained keel-hauling until 1813; the Spanish Navy could sentence sailors to the galleys. After the Revolution, the French Navy replaced corporal punishment with various levels of arrest. Most seamen did not object to just punishments, but inconsistent or excessive sentences could provoke mutinies.
The thirty-six Articles of War governed all aspects of Royal Navy life for officers and men, dealing with crimes as diverse as treason, cowardice, fraud, disobedience, dueling, and sodomy. Officers could only be punished by court martial with at least five post-captains as judges and jury, and were often tried for the slightest breach of the Articles. Seamen found guilty by court martial (rather than the captain's summary justice) could expect a "flogging round the fleet" (several hundred lashes) or death rather than a dozen lashes. Officers could be cashiered, demoted, or (rarely) shot.

The Real Enemy

Few sailors died in the great sea battles -- only two thousand British sailors perished in all of the fleet actions combined from 1793-1815. Instead shipwrecks, accidents and disease killed tens of thousands. Although inoculation and fruit juices eliminated smallpox and scurvy, pressed criminals carried typhus from the prisons and yellow fever

decimated crews stationed in the West Indies. Alcoholism was common in all navies.

All the World's Fleets

Ships
were classified into rates by their number of cannon (not carronades). First-rates (of 100 guns plus) and second-rates (of 90 guns plus) possessed three armed decks and served as admirals' flagships, but they were difficult to sail. Third-rates (of 64, 74 or 80 guns) with their two armed decks comprised the majority of active ships-of-the-line. A "74" with an experienced crew could match a frigate for speed. Fourth-rates (of 50-60 guns) were too small to survive in the line-of-battle but their shallow draught allowed their effective use in the Baltic and North Sea. Fifth-rates and sixth-rates were frigates (of 32-44 and 20-30 guns respectively on a single gundeck) serving as "eyes of the fleet," commerce raiders, convoy escorts, and blockade enforcers. The unrated ships included three-masted sloops, two-masted brigs (up to 18 guns), and two-masted schooners and single-masted cutters (with up to 10 guns). Sloops protected convoys and conducted patrols, brigs attacked enemy merchantmen and undertook close coastal blockades, cutters and schooners served as fleet tenders, messengers, and reconnaissance vessels.
In peacetime, the Royal
Navy mustered perhaps thirty active ships-of-the-line and twice as many frigates. In war, the inactive ships were swiftly recommissioned -- by 1794, the Royal Navy had 91 ships-of-the-line, 9 fourth-rates, 116 frigates and 87 unrated vessels in home, Mediterranean, Caribbean, and the East Indies waters. Captured prizes and new constructions offset weather and battle losses, so that by 1799, the active list included 146
ships-of-the-line, 21 fourth-rates, 176 frigates and 303 unrated vessels. (Between 1793-1815, 108 French frigates and 41 ships-of-the-line were taken into the Royal Navy).
The ships of the French Navy were fast and
weatherly, organized into nine divisions, centered on the ports of Brest, Rochefort, and Toulon. Lorient, Le Havre, Boulogne and Cherbourg gained importance during the Empire. In 1790, the French Navy had 80
ships-of-the-line and 70 frigates, falling to 40 and 35 by 1805. Throughout the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, extensive shipbuilding programs and acquisition of allied ships maintained the navy's strength at this level despite additional losses.
The Spanish Navy in 1790 mustered 72
ships-of-the-line, 46 frigates, and several dozen corvettes and xebecs. Home ports were Cadiz, Ferrol, and Cartagena, with overseas bases in Havana and Manila. Major defeats at St. Vincent and Trafalgar plus ships surrendered to Napoleon halved the Spanish navy by 1806 and the decline continued to 1815.

In 1790, the Dutch Navy possessed 48 small ships-of-the-line (the largest were ten "74"'s), thirty-six frigates and some forty unrated vessels, organized into the home fleet and colonial squadrons in the East Indies and Cape Colony. By 1800, the Batavian Republic was reduced to 16 ships-of-the-line and 12 frigates and remained at this level until
1815.
The Russian Navy was concentrated in the Baltic and the

Black Sea at Kronstadt and Sebastopol. In 1790, the Baltic fleet had 51 ships-of-the-line, 32 frigates and a hundred sloops and oared vessels; the Black Sea fleet had seven ships-of-the-line, 23 frigates and a score of lesser craft. Seventy-five new ships-of-the-line were constructed from 1791 to 1815, replacing older vessels and those shipwrecked.
Denmark's
fleet in 1790 had 38 ships-of-the-line, twenty heavy frigates, and some sixty xebecs. Reduced to 20 ships-of-the-line and 17 frigates after 1801, the remaining ships were captured intact in 1807. Thereafter the Danes defended themselves and attacked British convoys with a flotilla of 168 gunboats (oared and sailed). The Swedish Navy consisted of a High Seas Fleet (17 ships-of-the-line, 8 frigates and 8 sloops in 1788) and the "Army Fleet" (some sixty hybrid large galleys, rising to 150 by 1808). Both forces stayed within the Baltic.
The small Portuguese Navy consisted of 10
ships-of-the-line, 14 frigates and 30 minor vessels in 1790, with only a few ships being lost to the French during the period. The Ottoman Empire maintained 30 ships-of-the-line (50-74 guns), 50 "frigates" (10 to 50 guns) and 100 galliots. The Neapolitan fleet in 1792 comprised 5
ships-of-the-line, 8 frigates, and 11 corvettes and brigs.
During
the War of 1812, the United States Navy challenged Britain with seven heavy frigates (larger and better armed than British equivalents), two sloops, one corvette, three brigs, and four schooners. However they were supported by swarms of independent privateers.

Fighting at

Sea
Once a strange sail was sighted, the crew would "beat to
quarters," clearing the ship for action, loading the guns, and hoisting challenge flags according to the signal book. If the opposing ship failed to make the correct response or fled, a gunnery duel would commence with both captains trying to gain the weather gauge to deliver "raking" broadsides into the stern or bows of the opposing ship. The British fired on the "downroll" (into the enemy's hull) to destroy cannon and their crews; their opponents fired on the "uproll" (into the enemy's sails, rigging and masts) to disable the enemy. Wind, currents, skill, and the best trained crews decided the fight. If the ships were grappled together, boarding parties would risk swivel guns and boarding nets to defeat the enemy crew in hand-to-hand combat. The vanquished would strike their flag.
Captains
facing hopeless odds might order a withdrawal. Experienced crews could set all sails in six minutes, and tricks such as wetting the sails or having sailors bearing roundshot move around the ship as mobile ballast could ensure that a stern chase became a long chase. The truly desperate would jettison water casks or even their cannon to increase their speed.

Fleet actions were limited to indecisive "line of battle" engagements dictated by the Fighting Instructions and limited signals. Improvements in signal codes such as Admiral Howe's private signals (1790) or Popham's "telegraphic" code (1800) gave British admirals the ability to order complex maneuvers and implement tactics to overwhelm enemy fleets arranged in battle lines.

Prize money spurred officers and men alike to victory. Captured ships were often "bought in" by the Admiralty and the money divided as follows: an eighth to the commanding admiral, a quarter to the captain, an eighth share among the lieutenants, master, surgeon, and Marine officer, another eighth to the principal warrant officers, an eighth shared among midshipmen, Marine sergeants, and other warrant officers, and the final quarter to the crew.

Abstract Naval

Battles
The rules for naval battles in the Age of Sail as presented in GURPS Compendium 2 should be used. However the following table should be used for ship data:

Ship Data

Ship Type Avg. Speed Max Speed Typical Firepower Maneuverability
Small
Sloop 15 20 0-50 -1 to -3
Large Sloop 12 17 80-100 -2 to -4
Small Merchant 10 12 35-75 -2 to -5
Merchant Ship 7 11 45-135 -4 to -6
Naval Sloop/Brig 12 17 30-102 -2 to -4
Sixth-rate (20) 7 11 138 -4
Sixth-rate (24) 7 11 183 -4
Sixth-rate (28) 7 11 192 / 210 -4
Fifth-rate (32) 7 11 246 / 246 -5
Fifth-rate (36) 7 11 410 / 258 -5
Fifth-rate (Fr, 38) 8 12 354 -4
Fifth-rate (Fr, 44) 8 12 372 -4
Fifth-rate (44) 7 11 402 -5
Fourth-rate (50) 7 11 522 -6
Fourth-rate (60) 7 11 474 -6
Third-rate (64) 6 9 678 -7
Third-rate (70) 6 9 849 -7
Third-rate (74) 6 9 867 / 1000 -7
Third-rate (80) 6 9 894 / 1140 -8
Second-rate (98) 6 9 1044 -9
First-rate (100) 6 9 1136 -10

First-rate (Fr,
110) 6 9 1252 -10
First-rate (Fr, 120) 6 9 1358 -10

The
table above includes carronades (usually mounted in the bows and stern) in the broadside firepower. British cannons could be 6, 9, 12, 18, 24, or 32-pounders; carronades came in four sizes, namely 12, 18, 24 and 32-pounders. (French guns came in 6, 8, 12, 18, 24, and 36-pound sizes; French carronades were always 36-pounders) It is the mix of the various sizes which is responsible for the non-monotonic increase in firepower with higher-rated ships. Where two firepower ratings are given, the second value is for an equivalent French ship of that rate. Average and maximum speeds should be reduced to 75%, if the ship has not been careened in the last year (but its hull is sheathed in copper below the waterline), and 50% if the ship lacks copper sheathing and has not been careened in the last twelve months. GMs should vary speeds by +/- 1 mph and Maneuverability Numbers by +/- 1 to reflect the sailing qualities of better (or poorly) designed ships. French and Spanish ships were usually better sailors than native British designs.

Soldiers

Europe itself had enjoyed
peace between the end of the Seven Years' War and the onset of the Revolutionary Wars. Austria and Russia warred intermittently with the Ottoman Empire on the continental fringes. Conflicts among Britain, France and Spain were fought mostly in the colonies and India. The value of light infantry, simply equipped and highly trained with rifles, had been shown in the American War of Independence, but the lessons were quickly forgotten. Military doctrine and tactics remained locked in mid-century ideas with commanders and troops paying most attention to perfection of elaborate uniforms on parade and ability to perform complex maneuvers ("evolutions") en masse. "Live" firing of weapons was rare in continental armies. Soldiers were seen as a necessary evil, living apart from mainstream society, and controlled only by harsh discipline.
The French Revolution brought
sweeping changes to the French army. Corporal punishment was replaced with degrees of arrest and imprisonment. The purchase of commissions was abolished; meritorious soldiers were promoted to officers; unsuccessful generals were guillotined. Political representatives of the revolutionary regimes accompanied the soldiery in the early campaigns. Mass conscription and patriotic fervor to defend the Revolution and France reintegrated the army with the nation. New tactics were developed to employ the inexperienced recruits effectively.

Types of Soldiers

The

Infantry
The core of every army was the infantry organized into
regiments of one or more battalions. The second battalion of most British

regiments remained at home on recruiting and reserve duties. The multiple battalions of continental regiments usually served together. French battalions consisted of one grenadier company (of the best soldiers), four fusilier companies, and a *voltigeur* (skirmisher) company. British battalions had eight ordinary companies, a grenadier company, and a light infantry company of skirmishers. A full-strength company had one hundred soldiers and was led by a captain and two lieutenants.
The average infantryman carried some seventy pounds of equipment, including a knapsack of spare clothing, a haversack of food, blanket, greatcoat, musket, bayonet, gunpowder pouch and up to sixty rounds of ammunition in addition to their share of common gear. Sergeants were responsible for bearing the company accounts. Uniforms were uncomfortable and colorful rather than camouflaged for most units: French soldiers wearing blue, British in red. By 1808, British soldiers were officially relieved of wearing their hair in powdered queues.
Skirmishers required greater resourcefulness than ordinary infantry, being expected to engage the enemy without detailed orders. They usually fought in pairs, firing alternately. British skirmishers such as the fifth battalion of the Royal Americans and the Rifle Brigade (95th Foot) were armed with rifles and wore green. Napoleon preferred the musket's faster rate of fire to the rifle's accuracy and so his armies made minimal use of rifles.

The Cavalry

Cavalry were divided into two classes: heavy cavalry used as battlefield shock troops, and light cavalry intended for skirmish and outpost duties. However British units served in both capacities according to need. Cavalry regiments consisted of three to six squadrons, subdivided into two "troops" per squadron, and with up to sixty cavalrymen per troop.
Rough-riders and riding masters instructed new recruits in equestrian skills. Officers usually purchased their own horses. The standard of animal care varied from army to army; however in battle horse casualties were significantly higher than human.
The cavalry were armed with sabers and encouraged to use the cut rather than the thrust in battle (though the latter was known to be more deadly). Most cavalry units also used carbines (short muskets) and pistols, but their range and accuracy was limited.

The Artillery

The great guns including cannons, howitzers and mortars were the responsibility of the artillery units. Ammunition ranged from ordinary shot through anti-personnel canister and case shot to flares, smoke bombs and the highly erratic "Congreve" rockets. Guns required a minimum six-man crew; rapid firing required up to ten men for light field pieces, and up to sixteen for the heaviest ordnance.
Prior to the Revolutionary Wars, it was customary to attach several light guns to infantry battalions. Insufficiently powerful to provide effective fire support, they hindered

rapid infantry deployment. Later the artillery was regrouped into "batteries" of between four and twelve guns to deliver concentrated fire. British "batteries" (confusingly called "brigades") consisted of five cannon and one howitzer (for indirect fire) from 1802. After 1809, Napoleon reintroduced battalion guns to the French army to strengthen his infantry, reserving the heavier cannon for batteries.

Officers and Gentlemen

Patriotism, a love of glory, hopes of a fortune, or simple inability for any other vocation spurred gentlemen to become officers. The younger sons of the European aristocracies and scions of military families became infantry ensigns, cavalry cornets, or military cadets at sixteen with their first commission purchased by their families. Those unable to afford an ensigncy could serve as a volunteer in the ranks (but messing with the officers) until death created a subaltern vacancy. Officially Catholics were forbidden to serve as officers in English or Scottish regiments; however the need to swear the pro-Protestant oaths demanded by the Test Act was forestalled by the regular passage of the Indemnifying Act through Parliament and a willingness to overlook religion in most cases.

Necessity ensured that at least five per cent of the serving officers were promoted from the ranks as rewards for conspicuous bravery. (Literacy was required of all officers, however). Often they were sidelined as quartermasters and adjutants. Absence of a private income required them to survive on their pay which was only possible by sacrificing the luxuries of the mess, endearing them even less to their social "superiors."

In technical corps, such as the artillery, promotion was by strict seniority. In the infantry and cavalry, officers could purchase higher rank either with hard cash or by recruiting sufficient soldiers. (Valor could also win promotion.) To prevent the inexperienced buying their way to high rank, the British imposed time requirements. To be promoted to Captain, an officer had to serve at least two years as a Lieutenant, to reach Major, seven years experience (two as a Captain) was demanded, and a total of nine years service was required for Lieutenant Colonels (equivalent to continental Colonels and battalion commanders). The higher ranks of Colonel, Major General, Lieutenant General, and General were attained through seniority. Merit, influence, and seniority decided who was sent on active service.

Staff

Officers

Army staffs were few in number and included the senior artillery, engineer and medical officers, the commissary, the paymaster, the deputy judge advocate (responsible for court-martials) and a handful of junior officers serving as aides-de-camp and messengers. Chaplains rarely saw active service with their regiments.

The engineers were notoriously overworked and sustained high casualty rates. The British corps were all officers with manpower supplied by semi-skilled infantry and

civilians. Similarly British supply wagons were operated by hired drivers and unfit soldiers. Most nations relied on complex provisioning systems to keep their troops in the field with British commissariat clerks being unusual in paying cash for goods and fortunate in receiving supplies by sea. Following the Revolution, the French simply requisitioned material from the local populace, paying seldom and in arrears. The system simplified French logistics and increased their mobility, but only worked in rich farmlands. Where the country was hostile or lightly populated, soldiers would go hungry. Undisciplined vanguard units were likely to consume food and drink to excess to the disadvantage of the rest.
Intelligence was provided
by the light cavalry and "observing officers," who wore full dress uniform and rode fast horses when on reconnaissance -- the former prevented execution as spies if captured, the latter prevented capture! Maps were scarce and usually of poor quality -- wise commanders inspected the terrain in person.

Daily Life

Conscripted (usually for life),
tempted by the bounty, or suborned by a gang of "crimpers," army conditions were nevertheless better than civilian life for many rank and file recruits. Able troopers could hope for promotion to corporal, even sergeant, for good service. Old soldiers could expect sinecure postings to quiet garrisons and eventual discharge.
Soldiers received free housing (whether quartered
in proper barracks, inns, or local houses), free clothing (in terms of replacement uniforms) and food. For a British soldier, the daily ration consisted of a pound and a half of bread, a pound of beef or a half-pound of pork, a quarter-pint of pease, an ounce of butter or cheese, an ounce of rice, and five pints of small beer or cider. (At sea, they shared the naval diet.) Those who wished could buy additional food; services such as laundry came out of their pay.

Discipline

Excessive drinking, absence
of diverting pastimes, and the need for absolute obedience led to frequent floggings, usually of incorrigible troublemakers. Imprisonment, *Krummschliessen* (chaining right hand to left foot for hours), and execution were also employed. On campaign, non-commissioned officers acted as provost-marshals to enforce discipline against looters, deserters, and cowards.

On Campaign

At sea, soldiers traveled in navy
vessels, East India Company transports, or (unsuitable) hired merchantmen. On land, infantry marched fifteen miles per day (though seventy miles in twenty-four hours was achieved on some forced marches). Cavalry usually made seventeen miles in six hours' travel, though up to twenty-eight miles could be covered. Using relays of horses, couriers attained much higher speeds. While the artillery could cover three miles in a single hour, the requirement to rest the horses meant that only six miles could be managed in

four hours and twelve miles in ten hours.
When traveling, advance
parties left early each morning to mark out the next night's camp. Meanwhile the watch would be changed and the camp swiftly struck. The force would then march out in column, halting briefly at intervals of a couple of miles to permit the rearguard to close on the main body. On arrival, the new camp would be set quickly, sentries posted, and the soldiers would sleep in their greatcoats or occasionally tents.

Camp Followers

Well-to-do
officers employed servants and some brought wives and children on campaign. Although wives of private soldiers were allowed in British barracks, no more than six wives per company were allowed to join their men on foreign service. These women cooked, laundered, foraged and tended the wounded. If their husbands were killed, they were rarely widowed for long. True camp-followers had no status and were abandoned by the army at the war's end. In addition to the womenfolk, traders and rogues accompanied the army to sell goods to the soldiers and join in looting the dead (and the wounded) on the battlefield.

Battlefield Medicine

For the soldier,
disease was a graver danger than battle, and a posting to the "Fever Islands" (the West Indies) a death sentence. Accidents and fatigue added to the casualty list as did malingerers. Surgeons and assistants were attached to regiments; military hospitals also had physicians. Some were extremely able; others barely trained. In battle, "dressing stations" were established in the rear. The French instituted "ambulance" services to ferry the wounded for treatment. In other armies, the injured had to make their own way there or remain where they fell for hours or days until medical parties located them. Sometimes regimental bandsmen served as stretcher-bearers; more frequently the battle-shy helped the wounded to safety (out of compassion) and occasionally forgot to return to the combat. The survival of casualties depended on the ability and willingness of the surgeon to persevere with "hopeless" cases.

In Battle

Sieges and Breaches

When
besieging a town or fortress, the attackers first deployed a covering force to prevent defender sorties and the arrival of relief forces. Next, circuits of trenches were dug moving ever inward and breaching batteries established. The defenders fortified their redoubt with a surrounding "glacis" (a raised ramp of soil to soak up cannonball impacts) and bombarded the besiegers who in turn concentrated their fire on weak points, eventually creating a breach in the wall. Once this was adjudged "practicable" (i.e. large enough for sufficient attackers to penetrate the defenses), the garrison was asked to surrender and could do so without loss of honor. If the defenders refused, a "Forlorn Hope" of volunteers (officers and men desiring promotion and glory)

led the assault. A well-defended breach doomed the Forlorn Hope and sometimes the main attack. If the defense failed, no mercy was shown to the garrison and the town was subjected to looting, rapine, and mayhem until the provost-marshals could restore discipline.

Artillery

Tactics
Artillery was most effective when given time to prepare their position. If defending a village, the cannon were placed to the side of the village or in the local churchyard to prevent accidental conflagrations. On a battlefield, the guns were lowered into shallow pits with only their muzzles poking through shields of soil. Gunners measured the distances to landmarks in advance placing the smallest guns (which had the shortest range) furthest forward. All batteries were positioned within nine hundred yards of each other with infantry and cavalry units between for protection. Sentries or cannon loaded with canister guarded the flanks. To prevent explosions, only one ammunition wagon was allowed forward at any time.
The guns would open fire once the enemy was one to two thousand yards distant, targeting opposing artillery first, then cavalry formations, and finally infantry in squares or columns. If oblique fire could be achieved at infantry in line, then high casualties would be inflicted. Once the battle reached a decision, the artillery would pursue a withdrawal or protect a retreat by a staggered sequence of firing and moving maneuvers. If the latter was impossible, the guns were spiked and the wagons blown up.

Cavalry Tactics

Cavalry attacked in one of three formations: squadrons in line with up to twenty-four yards separating each unit and skirmishers in the gaps; in two lines (*en echiquier*) with the second line squadrons a hundred yards behind the first line matching up with its squadron-sized holes; and in echelon with each squadron separated by a hundred yards. When advancing, the cavalry would gradually increase their pace from a walk (120 yards/minute) through trot (240 yards/minute) to a gallop (480 yards/minute) once they were within two hundred paces of the enemy target. (Charge pace was 600 yards/minute but ruined horses.) The second rank of riders remained at least three yards behind the foremost horsemen, only moving forward in the final fifty yards to fill gaps. Where possible, a second cavalry formation trotted after the first at three hundred yards distance with wide gaps through which front-line squadrons could withdraw. These reinforcements allowed an assault to be quickly supported or renewed.
Echelon attack was most useful against opposing cavalry. Infantry was most vulnerable in line, or from the rear and flanks. Infantry squares were weakest at the corners, but a dying horse falling into a square could breach it anywhere. Attacking artillery was suicide.
Cavalry's perennial weakness was their inability to reform for a pursuit or regroup following successful and unsuccessful charges -- instead they usually rode heedlessly forward after glory, formations fragmented, and they were overwhelmed by resolute foes.

Infantry Tactics

Infantry
marched and maneuvered in columns (usually three men abreast), but deployed in line (two or three long rows of men, front rank kneeling, next rank standing behind, final row as reserve). The normal pace for "evolutions" (formation maneuvers) was 75 yards/minute, but seasoned troops could perform at the "double" rate of 120 yards/minute. Against cavalry, infantry formed a square, holding their musket fire until close range and then presenting an array of bayonets (normally sufficient to frighten surviving horses into pulling up). A steady line could also break a cavalry charge with a volley at forty yards. Squares were extremely vulnerable to artillery. In line, however, soldiers followed the path of incoming shot, sidestepping left and right to allow cannonballs to pass through safely. Volley fire, by rank or by entire unit, was the principal infantry attack with trained troops being able to load, aim and fire between four and six times per minute depending on musket design and cleanliness (repeated firing fouled the barrel). Infantry fired and moved alternately in both advance and withdrawal.

Napoleonic Tactics and Counters

The conscripts of
the French Revolutionary armies were too inexperienced to fight in line; instead their training emphasized the attack in column. Napoleon's innovation was to combine artillery, cavalry and infantry in such assaults. The artillery bombarded selected areas of the enemy line while the infantry slowly advanced in squad and company-wide columns, drummers within the formation timing the march and the regular shouts of "Vive l'Empéreur." The *voltigeur* skirmish companies would move rapidly forward to weaken the enemy lines further, eventually withdrawing to allow the columns to reach and overwhelm them. The fusilier companies would then proceed to "roll up" the broken line, and the cavalry would be unleashed to smash remaining resistance and rout the enemy.
The British developed
counters to each aspect of these assaults. To minimize casualties from artillery, the troops were ordered to lie down or to remain behind the crests of hills and ridges (the "reverse slopes" tactic). Light infantry armed with rifles thwarted the *voltigeurs*, shot enemy officers, and harassed the columns' flanks. As the columns approached, the British lines then got to their feet or advanced over the crest, awaiting their opponents in complete silence until they moved within close musket range whereupon volley after volley was fired into the columns. As soon as the grenadier companies were destroyed, the columns were halted by their own dead. This was the moment for a rousing cheer and a controlled bayonet charge to rout the enemy.

All the World's Armies

The
table below gives a snapshot of the army strengths of the major powers in terms of infantry battalions, cavalry squadrons, and artillery batteries around 1800. Full-strength English-style battalions mustered 1000 men;

French-style battalions had 600 soldiers. Cavalry squadrons varied between 120 and 150 riders. Batteries usually had between six and twelve cannons and howitzers.

Army Strengths

Table
Country Infantry Cavalry Artillery
Austrian
Empire 255 322 1000
guns
Denmark 30 36 20
France 265 322 202
Great
Britain 115 140 40
Portugal 48 48 24
Prussia 175 156 50
Russia 359 341 229
Spain 153 93 60
Sweden 75 66 70
USA 12 4 4

Austria
did not organize its artillery into batteries. The Ottoman Empire had some 24,000 soldiers trained in firearms and modern tactics plus 196 regiments of Janissaries, each with between two and three thousand scimitar-wielding fanatics.
The Mass Combat Rules presented in GURPS Compendium 2
should be used for resolving battles in the period. The European armies are quite similar in organization and troop types.

Troop

Types
Rangers: Unarmored irregulars (often raised from
colonial settlers) or specialist soldiers used for scouting duties. Usually armed with rifles and swords. Quality is Average to Elite. TS value 5 (irregular) 8 (regular).
Native Americans: Unarmored or
lightly armored irregulars. Armed with axes, bows, and knowledge of the terrain. Quality: Green to Veteran. TS value 3 (5 if armed with muskets).
Native Indian: Unarmored or lightly armored
regulars, armed with swords and pikes. Quality: Green to Veteran. TS value 2.
Light Infantry (Skirmishers) : Regular soldiers wearing
no armor. French and French-influenced units used muskets, bayonets, and sabers; British skirmishers bore rifles and bayonets; Austrian *jägers* wielded rifles and sabers. Minimum quality: Average. TS value 9.
Infantry: Regular soldiers wearing no armor and
usually armed with musket and bayonet. Members of Grenadier companies also had sabers. Minimum quality for Grenadiers: Seasoned. TS value 10.

Light cavalry: Regular unarmored soldiers, and usually armed with saber, pistol, and carbine. Mounted on unarmored light horses. TS value 10.
Heavy cavalry: Regular soldiers wearing at most a cuirass for armor, and usually armed with saber, pistol, and carbine. Polish cavalry units often used lances. Mounted on unarmored heavy horses. TS value 12.
Artillery: Gun crew armed as per regular infantry.
Quality: Average or better. TS value 28-55 (according to size).
Officers always carried swords and usually had pistols and/or rifles according to the custom of their service and personal inclination. Quality of troops should be limited to Seasoned, except for the British and French armies. From the Peninsular War onward, GMs should be generous in ascribing Veteran and Elite status to British units which have seen significant service in Spain and Portugal. Revolutionary France's armies should be a mixture of Raw to Average quality units. Most units in the later Directory should be Average or Seasoned. Forces serving with Napoleon should reach Veteran or possibly Elite status by 1805. The proportion of Veteran and Elite troops should continue to increase in Napoleon's armies until the Russian campaign. Afterward only a few units such as the Imperial Guard should retain Elite status; the majority of Napoleon's army thereafter should decline to Inexperienced and Average status.

Arts and Sciences

Philosophy

The eighteenth century up until the outbreak of the French Revolution was the Age of Enlightenment. Intellectual thought in philosophy, the social sciences and the natural sciences flourished across civilized Europe. It was an era dominated by the *philosophes*, a band of disparate philosophers and writers centered in but not confined to France. By 1769, the most influential social and political treatises of Montesquieu, Voltaire and Rousseau had already been published. The seventeen-volume Encyclopédie, published by Diderot and d'Alembert with contributions from many of the other *philosophes*, was completed in 1772.

With the exception of the Encyclopédie, the *philosophes* pursued no concerted agenda. Despite differences in emphasis and in beliefs, such as the existence or non-existence of God or in continued human progress, they shared a number of traits including questioning traditional assumptions and explaining the world in rational terms. Most attacked religion, especially the established churches and any faith which relied on "revelation" for its teachings. Their ideas were disseminated by the *philosophes* themselves in the salons and Masonic lodges as well as through their writings. Their intended audience was the literate bourgeoisie rather than the ordinary townsman or peasant.

The works of the Enlightenment thinkers were also read by the European rulers. Both Frederick the Great of Prussia and Catherine the Great of Russia patronized the writers and claimed to be influenced by them, consequently gaining significant prestige among the intellectual communities. In practice, these "enlightened" monarchs remained autocrats tending toward despotism. Practical attempts at implementing "enlightenment" principles in terms of political reforms occurred in Austria under Joseph II, Spain under Charles III's ministers, and in lesser German and Italian principalities such as Leopold II's Tuscany. Britain, perhaps because of its more advanced constitutional government, was largely unaffected by Enlightenment thought until William Pitt the Younger applied Adam Smith's theories to trade policies.

Montesquieu advocated that the most suitable forms of government were the republic (for small city-states) and monarchy (for large nations). To curb the tendency of monarchies to degenerate into despotism, he indicated the need for checks and balances to be achieved by strengthening the powers of the nobility and parliament. Conversely Voltaire placed his hopes in enlightened monarchs.

Rousseau argued that the creation of societies had corrupted the innocence of primitive man. Progress in terms of building communities and the institution of property led to human vices, jealousy, and the perpetuation of inequality through iniquitous social conventions. His solution, published as *Du Contrat social* in 1762, was a new social contract where people surrendered their natural rights defensible only through individual force in return for civil rights recognized and adhered to by all members of society. To maintain the new society, Rousseau invoked a "general will" representing the common good, and determined either by majority decision or by a incorruptible law-giver.

Those who refused to follow the "general will" were to be coerced by society into acceptance. To replace Christianity, he promoted a civil cult to instill morality into the people. Rejection of this cult could be a capital offence.

Mercantilism versus Free

Trade

The colonial expansion and trade monopolies of the European powers until the end of the eighteenth century reflected mercantilist economic doctrines. According to mercantilism, bullion was the prime measure of a nation's wealth. Mineral resources and trade were essential to guarantee the supply of money. In commerce, exports should exceed imports, with colonies providing raw materials and serving as closed markets for the nation's manufactured goods. Colonies were prohibited from developing their own industries to prevent competition with the home suppliers, and all colonial trade must go via the home country. This was the *theoretical* state of affairs existing throughout the New World until the American Revolution.

In contrast to the regulatory regime of the mercantilists, the "Physiocrats" of France espoused a "laissez-faire" policy and considered land rather than coin to be the foundation of wealth. All restrictions on trade and labor were to be removed, so that supply and demand coupled with natural laws would achieve fair prices. In essence, Physiocracy tried to rationalize medieval and agricultural economies. Turgot's attempts to implement physiocratic principles led to his dismissal as France's comptroller general and the end of the school's influence.

Adam Smith in his treatise, *The Wealth of Nations* (published in 1776), argued more forcefully for free trade. Smith showed that labor was the true foundation of a nation's wealth in terms of goods and services, division of labor was necessary to increase production, and that competition was essential to individual and national improvement. Wages, costs, and profits were all invisibly regulated to their natural level through competition. The natural desire to better oneself would lead to economic growth. Domestic and foreign trade were equally valid; however the protectionist structures of the mercantilist system merely gave special interests such as manufacturers and merchants monopolies which enriched them but did not benefit the nation as a whole. His theories of capitalism would influence British economic policies in the early nineteenth century.

The attacks of the French *philosophes* on religion ensured that their works were banned by the Catholic Church in France, Spain, and Italy. This did not prevent leading clergymen and even parish priests from acquiring copies of the proscribed volumes. Criticism and suspicion became more widespread with the French Revolution as their writings were deemed to have contributed to the revolt. The non-French philosophers, such as Bentham, Kant, and Goethe, did not suffer such opprobrium.

The reactions of the later thinkers to the French Revolution were initially supportive, even enthusiastic. The Anglo-American Thomas Paine, whose *Common Sense* pamphlet had enflamed the American Revolution, became a

member of the National Convention during the Terror and attacked authority and privilege in his *Rights of Man* tracts (published in 1791 and 1792).
Edmund Burke was the first to criticize the French Revolution in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* published in 1790. Although his knowledge of French history and current affairs was limited, he wrote eloquently in the defense of existing institutions and the dangers of rapid change. His predictions of revolutionary violence were soon fulfilled. Combined with popular disgust at the brutality in France and fears of rebellions in Ireland, Burke's essay eventually crystallized the British government's attitudes to the French Revolution and its successor regimes.

The optimism of the Enlightenment concerning human progress and economic growth was challenged by Thomas Malthus in his 1798 *Essay on Population*, wherein he argued that population growth would always attempt to outstrip food production and was only prevented by wars and disasters. Thus any "improvement" in the human condition was illusory and fleeting. Nevertheless the Utilitarian school of Jeremy Bentham considered that the greatest good act was one which brought the greatest happiness to the greatest number.

Freemasonry

The rationalist ideals of the Enlightenment philosophers found acceptance and easy dissemination within the secret brotherhood of the "Free and Accepted Masons," no doubt assisted by *philosophes* such as Voltaire being themselves Freemasons. Attacks on the traditional religions and support for solidarity between the classes increased their following among the anticlerical and liberal segments of society, but aroused the hostility of the churches, particularly the Catholic Church.
Freemasonry grew from a number of medieval stonemason guilds which had accepted honorary members to maintain their numbers, and accreted the rites of chivalric and religious orders. The first Grand Lodge was founded in 1717 in England, followed by lodges in France, Italy, Prussia, and the American colonies during the next twenty years. In eastern Europe, Freemasonry acquired greater religious overtones and merged with other secret societies and cults including the Rosicrucians and the Bavarian Illuminati. Beyond the Napoleonic age, Freemasonry would establish itself across the world, but most strongly in the dominions and colonies of the British Empire.
Potential Masonic candidates were and are required to be adult males who profess a belief in a "Supreme Being" and the immortality of the soul, and be sponsored by an existing Freemason. The candidates are then tested and bound by secret oaths to the society. As they gain knowledge in the "Craft" -- the lore of Freemasonry -- and secure the approval of their superiors, they may be elevated through the ranks of the brotherhood from "entered apprentice" through "fellow of the craft" to "master mason."
In the British Isles, the early Freemasons had links with the Jacobite factions desiring a restoration of the Stuart pretenders, the self-styled James VIII and his son "Bonnie Prince Charlie,"

to the British throne. In France, liberal nobles discussed Enlightenment solutions to their nation's developing crises in the Masonic lodges. The leaders of the American Revolution were all Freemasons of various degrees.

Literature

In the mid-eighteenth century, Europe possessed two international languages -- Latin and French. Latin remained the language of the Catholic Church, of education, of scholarship, and a common official tongue in Central and Eastern Europe. French was the language of the literate and the cultured. Hence continental Europe was heavily influenced by the prevailing French literature of the period, namely the writings of the *philosophes*.

In Britain, the novel had become established as a major literary form. The works of Defoe, Fielding, Richardson, Smollett, and Sterne reflected middle-class attitudes and a realistic outlook on the world. Widely read in Britain, translations of English novels such as Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* and Richardson's *Pamela* enjoyed popular success among the continental literate classes. Gothic novels such as Ann Radcliff's *Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) and Matthew Lewis' *The Monk* (1796) followed in the wake of Walpole's *Castle of Otranto*.

Elegance, rather than passion or originality, was the hallmark of the high culture, but already the first stirrings of Romanticism were appearing in the form of the German *Sturm und Drang* movement which gave primacy to emotions. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Sorrows of Young Werther* (published in 1774) ushered in a wave of literature focusing on feelings. It was also accused of encouraging suicides. By the 1780s, folk-ballads and the lyric were paramount in German, English and Scottish poetry, led by Goethe, Friedrich Schiller, William Blake, William Cowper and Robert Burns. In France, the psychological novel appeared with Pierre Laclos' *Les Liaisons dangereuses* (1782) and proto-Romanticism emerged in the form of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *Paul et Virginie* (published in 1787), but the Greco-Roman emphasis of the Revolutionary regimes and the guillotine forced French poetry back into the classical forms. With the exception of Chateaubriand and Madame de Stael's novel *Delphine* (1802), French literature under the Empire was at best of middling quality.

Romanticism proper erupted onto the English literary scene in 1798 with the anonymous first publication of *Lyrical Ballads* by William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge. The classical conventions were rejected; truth was to be found in nature and in the heart, and to be expressed in the words of the common man. The Romantics praised the liberating ideals of the French Revolution and rebelled against the encroaching Industrial Revolution. The later Romantics retained a zeal for liberty, manifesting in Percy Bysshe Shelley's *Queen Mab* (1813) and *Prometheus Unbound* (1820). John Keats focused on mixing images and sensation with symbolic imagery in his series of odes. Lord Byron created alternate heroic personae in his long poems *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1812-1818) and *Don Juan* (1819-1824).

In prose, Jane Austen's psychological novels (from *Pride and Prejudice* to *Persuasion*)

explored the manners and sensibilities of the English gentry with wit and irony in the 1810s. Sir Walter Scott switched from narrative historical poems such as *The Lady of The Lake* to historical novels beginning with *Waverley* (1814) appealing to the values prized by previous ages.

Drama

Drama remained popular throughout the era becoming accessible to ever wider sections of the population. Unlicensed playhouses and provincial theatres proliferated in England and France to supplement the "official" institutions of the capitals. In Paris, the Comédie-Française and the Théâtre des Italiens held monopolies on certain types of plays and operas, leading to ingenious legerdemain by rival managers to stage prohibited plays.

Existing theatrical classics, albeit adapted to suit the more refined tastes of contemporary audiences, supplied actors and managers with the best opportunities for fame and fortune. The natural style of acting (as opposed to recital declamations) introduced by David Garrick, the finest actor of the eighteenth century, became widespread. Garrick was still giving farewell performances in the early 1770s at the Drury Lane Theatre in London.

Few new plays were produced of lasting value. In Britain, there was some success in comedy with Oliver Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer* (1773) and Richard Sheridan's *The Rivals* (1775) and *The School for Scandal* (1777). In France, the plays of Pierre Beaumarchais, namely *The Barber of Seville* (1775) and *The Marriage of Figaro* (1784) which openly criticized the privileged, were lauded by the bourgeoisie and the nobility.

The French Revolution stripped the official theatres of their monopolies and divided the acting companies into Jacobins and royalist sympathizers. The quantity of dramatic productions of every kind increased greatly. The quality declined with greater rapidity as managers rewrote existing scripts in accord with republican sympathies. Many new plays were nothing more than political tracts promoting the new civic virtues, and were rewritten quickly as new factions came to power. Actors and actresses became more important than the playwrights and attracted even greater followings under Napoleon. During the Empire, the theatrical monopolies were restored to the Opéra and Théâtre-Française in 1806 and the independent playhouses began to close.

Despite Napoleon's preference for the works of Racine and Corneille, the melodrama flourished in the populist theatres. Guibert de Pixérécourt modernized this art form from 1797 onward, reducing the musical element and substituting prose dialogue and ambitious stage effects, while retaining exotic locales and stereotypes.

Music

Napoleon's lifetime was also the era of the "Classical" mode of music. Instrumental music had reached new heights of popularity with the stabilization of the instrument ensembles for orchestral

and chamber music. The orchestras featured violins, violas, flutes, oboes and French horns among others. String trios and quartets, piano trios and solo keyboards all attracted specially written sonata music. The bourgeoisie joined the aristocracy in attending grand professional performances and paying tutors to teach their children musical accomplishments.

By 1769, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart was still a child prodigy touring Italy and composing sonatas, operas and other music on a commission basis for the nobility. Settled in Salzburg during the 1770s and in Vienna during the 1780s, his output for the German princes and upper Austrian society was prolific. His compositional range was unrivalled, including fifty-six symphonies, fifteen operas, fourteen masses, four Masonic cantatas, twenty-one serenades, and forty piano concertos and sonatas.

Joseph Haydn, with the patronage of the Esterházy princes in Vienna, composed secular and sacred music in the form of symphonies, string quartets and sonata. From the 1760s onward, his reputation spread throughout Europe and his works were collected by aristocratic music-lovers. A specially commissioned set of symphonies (including *Surprise* and *Clock*) delighted London audiences during Haydn's visits in 1791 and 1794, while oratorios such as *The Seasons* (1801) and a national anthem for Austria (1797) ensured his status as Europe's preeminent composer at the turn of the century.

Ludwig van Beethoven's music remained steeped in the Classical forms. Nevertheless in themes and subject matter, he was influenced by the literary *Sturm und Drang* movement and inspired by the revolutionary tumult of the age. He removed the dedication of his *Third Symphony* (1804) to Napoleon on hearing of the latter's ascension to Emperor. Between 1800 and 1814, he completed his eight major symphonies plus *Wellington's Victory* in 1813 to celebrate the battle of Vitoria. The 1810s saw his music recognized throughout Europe, and he was personally courted by the assembled dignitaries at the Congress of Vienna.

A Night at the Opera

The established operatic form in 1769 was the Neapolitan or Italian style where the dramatic elements were artificially divided up (and hence mostly irrelevant) so that the musical pieces followed a set pattern allowing the singers to demonstrate their vocal talents. Its appeal was limited to court circles and private theatres outside Italy.

As early as 1728, Gay's *Beggar's Opera* (really a play with songs) had indicated the greater potential appeal of alternative styles and was still frequently produced in Britain and the American colonies. However the real challenge came from the "natural" operas (such as *Orfeo* (1774), *Iphigénie en Aulide* (1774), *Iphigénie en Tauride* (1779)) written by Christoph Gluck. His reforms altered the balance between drama and music such that the latter now supported the former. The new model returned to the patterns of ancient drama with the principal characters and the chorus having equal shares in the action.

This new style, along with variations such as the light-hearted *opéra-comique*, gradually

supplanted the traditional Italian forms. The operatic center shifted from Naples to Vienna. Opera itself became a normal part of city life, captivating the affluent middle-classes across Europe, and becoming probably the continent's most popular musical type by the creation of the Empire.
Other composers added new masterpieces to the repertoire.
In 1786, Mozart set *The Marriage of Figaro* to music, but removed the explicit revolutionary sympathies for his Viennese audience. He further developed the comic opera in *Don Giovanni* (whose "demonic" aspects fascinated spectators) and *Cosi fan tutte*, which were premiered in 1787 and 1790 respectively. His final work, *The Magic Flute* (1791), blending fairy tale and Masonic elements, was coolly received at first but gained in popularity after his death.
Fidelio, Beethoven's
sole opera, was initially unsuccessful in 1805 due to the French occupation of Vienna discouraging opera attendees, but was acclaimed after a second revision in 1814. *Tancred* (1813) and *The Barber of Seville* (1816) ensured Gioacchino Rossini's reputation as the leading operatic composer of the nineteenth century.

Fine

Arts
The archaeological discoveries of Herculaneum and Pompeii in the first half of the eighteenth century spurred the adoption of neoclassical themes in painting and sculpture from the 1760s onward. Adherence to formal styles and the limited subject matter (of idealized ancients and beautiful aristocrats) led to tame and bland art on the continent. Portraits, especially by the English painters Gainsborough and Reynolds, remained in demand.
Jacques-Louis David's *Oath of the Horatii* (1785) introduced a new school of art, depicting classical history and myth in stark and dramatic profiles. Both before and during the French Revolution, David's paintings linked the moral conflicts and virtues of the Roman Republic with the overthrow of the *ancien regime* and the new order. Foremost among the French artists, David recorded the momentous events of the Revolution, and became the premier painter of the Empire, immortalizing Napoleon on canvas. A slew of younger painters, such as Gérard, Gros, Guérin, and Prud'hon, followed David's neoclassical styles and subject matter.
In Britain, poet and painter William Blake rejected rationalism and neoclassicism. His watercolors and engravings sprung from the imagination, evoking images of the supernatural, Biblical stories, and the works of Dante and Milton. After 1800, John Constable brought accurate observation to his paintings of the Suffolk countryside, while J.M.W. Turner created dramatic and mysterious seascapes and landscapes.
In Germany,
artists reacting against neoclassicism sought inspiration in Christian and mystical subjects. Philipp Runge and Caspar Friedrich used landscapes as allegories for the relationship between man, nature, and God. The self-styled "Guild of St Luke," nicknamed the Nazarenes, was formed by Johann Overbeck in Vienna in 1809, producing somewhat naïve watercolors and drawings on Biblical themes and less successful historical

paintings.
Francisco Goya's focus shifted from conventional portraits of Spanish courtiers and religious art to satirical etchings on the failings of contemporary society and freer characterization of sitters in the 1790s. Though court painter to Charles IV, his depictions of the royal family were extremely unflattering. During the French invasion of Spain, he maintained his position, painting a succession of generals, but also recorded the horrors of the war in a series of etchings, unpublished until 1863.
Neoclassicism dominated sculpture with the Italian Antonio Canova, being the leading exponent of neoclassicism and the most famous European artist by 1800. For the next two decades, Canova's friezes, tombs, busts, and statues were in demand throughout the imperial, royal, and religious courts of Europe. He persuaded Pauline Bonaparte to pose nude for *Venus Victrix* (1807), but his idealized statues of Napoleon were not drawn from life.

Miscellaneous

In architecture, neoclassicism or "the true style" (as it was then called) reigned supreme. The inspiration was again the ruins of antiquity, but Greek rather than Roman ideas were adopted. In England, the Adams brothers remodeled aristocratic homes in the country and in fashionable London squares along classical lines. In France, a more elaborate form known as the "Louis XVI" style shaped the interiors and exteriors of the new Parisian townhouses (*h<\#153>tels*) of the aristocracy and wealthiest burgesses. Variations on these styles remained in vogue for public and private buildings until beyond the Napoleonic era.
Classical motifs appeared in furniture with British cabinet-makers such as George Hepplewhite and Thomas Sheraton publishing influential catalogues containing draft designs for articles ranging from chairs and desks to beds and cabinets. Other craftsmen executed these designs in mahogany with satinwood inlays or marquetry for ornamentation. Experienced "cabinet-makers" served as complete interior decorators, advising on and supplying wallpaper, fixtures and fittings. The Hepplewhite and Sheraton furniture was extensively copied in Europe and in the new United States.
The British pottery designer and manufacturer, Josiah Wedgwood, had already established a national and worldwide market for his cream-colored "Queen's ware" by 1769, and had begun producing items in neoclassical styles. From 1775 to his death in 1790, he experimented with coloring oxides to create wholly new stoneware which were widely popular among the European middle classes.

Advances in Science

Advances in algebra and geometry transformed mechanics from a field of physics to a branch of mathematics. Differential equations were applied by Joseph-Louis Lagrange to problems in physics and astronomy in his *Analytical Mechanics* (1788). Pierre-Simon

Laplace demonstrated in his multi-volume *Celestial Mechanics* (1799-1825) that Newtonian gravitation could explain the perturbations in planetary orbits, eliminating the necessity of divine intervention to maintain long-term solar stability. Laplace also proposed the nebular theory of the solar system's origin wherein the sun and the planets resulted from the cooling of fiery balls of gas.

In astronomy, William Herschel discovered the planet Uranus during an observation of the night sky in 1781. Herschel wanted to name it the Georgian Planet after his patron King George III; the French preferred to call it Herschel. Fortunately the tradition of using names from Greco-Roman mythology was maintained. A royal pension enabled Herschel to construct telescopes far more powerful than his scientific rivals and embark on ambitious celestial catalogues of nebulae and stars.

In optics, Newton's corpuscular theory of light survived occasional critiques throughout the eighteenth century. More significant challenges arose from Thomas Young's discovery of interference which he explained via a wave theory of light which was further developed from 1815 by Augustin-Jean Fresnel, leading to further controversy between adherents of the two theories.

In the mid-eighteenth century, the "phlogiston" theory held sway in chemistry, maintaining that substances released this "element" during combustion. Experiments began to challenge this traditional view with Joseph Priestley isolating "dephlogisticated gas" (oxygen) and identifying other gaseous compounds in the 1770s. Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier's careful laboratory methods revealed the action of oxygen in combustion shattering the phlogiston theory. Later work by John Dalton in 1808, led to an atomic theory of chemistry, while Joseph-Louis Gay-Lussac reported on the ratios of gases necessary to form particular compounds. By 1818, Jons Jacob Berzelius was able to issue the first table of elements identified by the symbols (Au, Ag, etc.) still current.

Franklin's invention of the lightning conductor was followed by further experiments with electricity in Europe. During the 1780s, Charles-Augustin de Coulomb measured electrical and magnetic forces (using a torsion balance) and Luigi Galvani investigated electrical effects in animal physiology. Alessandro Volta politely disagreed with Galvani's conclusions of an electrical fluid in animals, believing that electricity could be generated using metals alone. He subsequently invented the first wet-cell battery ("electric pile") in 1800.

In geology, scientists debated the validity of the Neptunist and the Vulcanist/Plutonist theories of the Earth's formation. Abraham Werner's Neptunists believed that the Earth's surface was initially covered by an ocean. Rocks were sediments deposited on this ocean floor as the water subsided. Volcanism was ignored -- lava was the result of subterranean coal deposits catching fire! The Vulcanists explained the formation of rocks by the cooling of gases into igneous matter, pointing to volcanic eruptions as evidence for new material being expelled from the Earth's core. James Hutton's Plutonist theories, first published as an essay (*Theory of the Earth*) in 1788, posited that the action of rivers eroded the land, carrying silt and sediments to the seas. Heat from the core caused portions of the Earth's crust to expand, raising the compressed marine sediments to form new land.

The Chevalier de Lamarck, working outside the international network of scientists and ignoring the cautious approach of

his contemporaries in critically collecting evidence before presuming to advance theories, pronounced a theory of biological evolution in 1809 (*Zoological Philosophy*) by which animals adapted to their environments and their young inherited these changes. Opposition to this theory came from believers and scientists alike.

Scientific

Academies and the Pursuit of Knowledge
Many European institutions
of higher learning simply ignored the Enlightenment. France's twenty-two universities stagnated until their closure by the Revolutionary government. Oxford and Cambridge functioned as "finishing schools" for gentlemen -- real degree examinations were only introduced at Oxford in 1800, thirty-seven years after Cambridge.
The Scottish universities of
Edinburgh, Glasgow, and St Andrew, like their continental counterparts at Leyden, Geneva, and Göttingen, embraced the new philosophy and sciences in faculty and teaching. The ecclesiastical and royal patrons of Bonn, Pisa, and Siena encouraged their adoption of the Enlightenment.

Supporting or replacing the universities in disseminating new ideas were scientific and literary societies in northern England, Scotland, France, Germany, and Poland. Perhaps the most influential was the Lunar Society of Birmingham which was dedicated to the advance of the arts and sciences. Its mixed membership of scientists, writers and industrialists assisted the progress of the Industrial Revolution in Britain.

Voyages of Exploration

The
Napoleonic era witnessed a number of epic sea voyages to explore previously uncharted waters and discover these new lands. These occurred both between and during the wars. The British and French governments were willing to offer explorers passports of safe conduct even at the height of hostilities.

Earlier seafarers had indicated the existence of large islands in the South Pacific and a large southern landmass was posited as a counterbalance to the northern continents. The British Admiralty and the Royal Society commissioned Captain Cook to undertake a series of surveys of the Pacific. His first voyage (1768-1771) included astronomical observations of a transit of Venus, studies of Maori life during a circumnavigation of New Zealand, and landings in New South Wales. His later voyages (1772-1775 and 1776-1779) probed the Antarctic and Arctic Oceans but failed to discover either Antarctica or a North West Passage.
The French explorers
du Fresne and Comte de La Pérouse were less successful, both losing their lives, the former in a skirmish with Maoris, the latter in a shipwreck. La Pérouse also arrived too late to prevent the British settlement at Botany Bay. Both Britain and France sponsored competing

expeditions in 1800 to explore the Australian coast. Superior British seamanship led to a complete circumnavigation of the continent by 1804 and the name was finally changed from New Holland to Australia in 1817.

Advances in Medicine

In medicine, the medieval theory of humors (yellow bile, blood, phlegm, and black bile), with its attendant doctrines of sickness being an imbalance and cures restoring the balance, was slowly yielding ground to more scientific approaches. Some of the newer theories were equally wild such as John Brown's division of diseases into strong and weak, which were to be treated by alcoholic stimulants and opiate sedatives. In mesmerism (named after its developer Franz Mesmer), an invisible magnetic fluid was considered to course through the human body. Manipulating this fluid was supposed to remove "obstacles" (and hence cure diseases). The hypnotic elements were largely responsible for the limited successes of mesmerism, and Mesmer was successively debunked in Austria and France in the 1770s and 1780s. Quacks and mountebanks proliferated. They had few pretensions to scientific theory but a great grasp of pseudo-medical terminology with which to "diagnose" credulous patients, "specifics" -- sometimes toxic concoctions -- to cure ailments, and unusual treatments such as "bathing in earth."

Three vocations covered the spectrum of medicine per se, namely the barber-surgeon, the apothecary, and the physician. The barber-surgeons combined the skills of hair and nail trimming with amputation of limbs. Apothecaries dispensed drugs and (for an extra fee) advice. The physician diagnosed illnesses, prescribed treatments, and attended operations.

Padua, Leyden, and Edinburgh were the medical centers of excellence offering practical training in surgery and medicine, joined by Paris at the close of Napoleon's Empire. (Medical degrees from Oxford and Cambridge were often merely purchased.) As a consequence of this education, Scottish doctors (such as John and William Hunter) became preeminent in Britain, teaching anatomy by dissection, and raising surgery from a trade to a profession. Obstetrics became respectable for male doctors with the forceps becoming an indispensable instrument for healthy births. Donations from the rich assisted in the opening of many county hospitals. Admission was free, if the patient had a letter of recommendation from a patron or a governor, otherwise a hefty deposit for possible burial fees was required.

Despite the improvements in technique, surgery remained a last resort. Bacteria were not yet associated with disease, so surgical instruments were merely cleaned, not sterilized. Patients were held down by attendants on the table, and given alcohol to drink to relieve the pain. (Sometimes they would be given a lead ball or a leather strop to bite during the operation.) The surgeon then operated quickly to minimize the pain and blood loss, usually completing the entire process in a few minutes. Infections following the operation represented the major danger to the patient.

Convulsions, consumption (tuberculosis), fevers, smallpox, dropsy, and infections from rotting teeth were all major killers. Inoculation for smallpox had been practiced in England since the 1720s, but was still a risky procedure viewed with alarm by many continental

physicians. Edward Jenner developed a smallpox vaccine from cowpox in 1796 which slowly gained widespread adoption over the next two decades. The rediscovery of citrus fruits as a preventative for scurvy in 1757 was finally implemented by the Royal Navy in 1795, eliminating it immediately from shipboard life. Gout was popularly believed to result from overindulgence in drink and debauchery, and attacks were treated by swathing the feet in heavy bandages.

Blood-letting continued to be a principal remedy ordered by physicians for numerous ailments. Quinine (called Jesuit's bark) was used to counter fevers, foxglove for heart conditions, and chalk for upset stomachs. Many other common herbs formed the basis of a variety of tinctures, extracts, poultices, and pills to cure diseases, relieve conditions, and speed healing.

Insanity was incurable and the only solution was detention in lunatic asylums such as Bedlam in England. Inmates were often chained, beaten and abused by their keepers. Bedlam was a popular London tourist attraction with visitors paying to wander around the hospital, usually in the company of an attendant. In Paris, reforms in the treatment of the insane appeared in the 1790s with kindness replacing brutality.

Advances in Technology

Technological development was largely divorced from the discoveries in the natural sciences. Moreover the nascent Industrial Revolution was confined to Britain and proceeded in fits and starts.

Steam power was already used to pump water from coal mines when James Watt added a condenser to existing steam engines in 1769. >From 1775 to 1800, engines of increasing efficiency built by Watt found application throughout the mining industries. By the 1780s, steam engines could supply rotary motion and these newer devices were adopted to power cotton and grain mill machinery. Once Watt's patents lapsed in 1800, other inventors developed high-pressure steam engines. Richard Trevithick's engines were used successfully as mine pumps in Cornwall and Latin America, but his attempt to create a steam-powered locomotive in 1804 to haul ores via the mine plateways (prototype railroads used by mine wagons) failed as the tracks broke under the weight. In America, Oliver Evans built a high-pressure steam dredge for Philadelphia in 1805.

Early experiments with steam-powered paddleboats in France and Britain between 1775 and 1802 provided the inspiration for American Robert Fulton's development of the paddle steamer in 1807. His *North River Steamboat* was the first of his fleet of twenty-one steamships to ply the Hudson river. In Britain, similar steamships appeared from 1812. By 1820, there were regular steam-powered ferries and packets operating in the English Channel and the Irish Sea. Over a hundred steamers navigated the major inland waterways of the United States. Misapprehensions concerning fuel requirements and inadequacies of the paddle-boat design for the open sea limited these early steamers to coastal and river transport of passengers and mail.

The Age of Steam had its critics. The new steam-powered machinery of the textile industry required workers to submit to a regimented working day in purpose-built factories, replacing the "putting-out" system where they had worked in their

own homes without supervision. From 1811 to 1812, bands of unemployed artisans (known as Luddites after their supposed leader Ned Ludd) rioted in central England, destroying the machines in nocturnal attacks. Lord Liverpool's government suppressed the Luddites with mass transportation and execution of offenders in 1813.

Some inventions of the period were ahead of their time and did not enjoy widespread adoption. Although a German architect *claimed* a successful flight in an ornithopter (a human-powered glider where the "pilot" controlled flapping wings) in 1781, the Montgolfier brothers, Joseph and Etienne, constructed hot-air balloons made from paper which were capable of lifting animal and human passengers into the air for short distances. Later French balloons used hydrogen for greater lift and range, but could not be steered. A military unit, the Aérostiers, was formed in 1794 to provide military reconnaissance from tethered balloons to the French Revolutionary army in the field. Napoleon disbanded the company in 1799.

The first trial of underwater warfare occurred during the American War of Independence. The *Turtle*, a wooden one-man submarine powered by manual propellers, attempted to attach a gunpowder charge to the hull of *HMS Eagle* via a screw device operated from inside. The attack failed as the screw was unable to penetrate the British ship's copper sheathing. A similar attack during the War of 1812 failed because the screw broke before the mine was attached.

Later Robert Fulton proposed submarine attacks against the British blockading fleet to the French government, building the *Nautilus* in 1801. This craft had a collapsible mast and sail for surface travel as well as a manual propeller for underwater motion, and contained enough air to last four men and two burning candles three hours. However the *Nautilus* was too slow to catch British ships in order to affix the explosive charges. French admirals considered this means of warfare to be barbaric and feared that the British would adopt it quickly and with greater success were it to be introduced. The failures in action and naval disapproval led Napoleon to end the experiments.

Fulton next approached the British Admiralty in 1805. Although the *Nautilus* was able to destroy an old anchored brig in trials, two real attacks on French vessels were unsuccessful. Following Trafalgar, the Admiralty realized that developing this mode of warfare could at best only undermine British naval supremacy and they withdrew their support. Fulton returned to America and concentrated on steamships.

CHARACTERS

Character Types

Clergy
In the
Age of the Enlightenment, religious beliefs are mocked as superstition by philosophers and rulers encroach on clerical privileges. Dissolute and atheist clergy bring themselves and their churches into disrepute. Later, the Revolutionaries will persecute all revealed religions. Clerics must choose whether they prefer secular or ecclesiastical Enemies by their political choices; some will join counter-revolutionary movements or serve as spies working against Napoleon's
Empire.
Advantages/Disadvantages: The Clerical Investment and
Literacy advantages are required. The religion must be clearly stated at the time of character creation. Characters usually must take Vows; failure to adhere to them will produce a negative Reputation. A Sense of Duty to the church and congregation is only required for clergymen who believe in their faith. Status is not necessary, but will help secure high ecclesiastical
rank.
Skills: Clergy should know the appropriate Theology and
Religious Ritual at 12+. Roman Catholic Clergy will have at least some Latin.
Colonists
The great European powers have founded
colonies and settlements in the Americas, Africa, and Asia. Some colonials already desire independence from the mother country. Disease, weather, hostile natives, and the attentions of foreign powers make life dangerous. Colonists include gentleman plantation owners (and their deputies), bureaucrats, hardy pioneers, artisans, transported convicts, and slaves. In long-settled territories such as the American colonies, almost any occupation is possible.
Advantages/Disadvantages and Skills:
Most colonists are everyday folk, excelling only in the skills necessary for them to earn their living.
Craftsmen
Despite the
burgeoning Industrial Revolution in England, most goods are still manufactured by skilled craftsmen. Stifling guild regulations will stall the advancement of many ambitious apprentices and journeymen; the French Revolution will temporarily eliminate the markets for luxury goods. Masters may join journeymen in peregrinations around Europe or even depart for the colonies. Others (such as weavers) may find employment in the
factories.
Advantages/Disadvantages and Skills: No advantages or
disadvantages are required, although Patrons (either wealthy customers or guilds) can be useful. Craftsmen should develop the appropriate Crafts skills to high levels. Factory workers should have above-average
DX.
Criminals
The underworld is home to many types of
criminals. Burglars prefer breaking and entering into shops and townhouses,

using force only in self-defense. Footpads are city muggers employing usually lethal violence to rob people walking in the streets after dark. Pickpockets circulate in the crowds attending fairs, markets, plays, and public execution, combining teamwork and a veneer of respectability to relieve the unwary of their purses. Highwaymen remain the glamorous mounted bandits waylaying stagecoaches on the road with a shout of "Stand and Deliver! Your Money or Your Life!"

Advantages/Disadvantages:
Criminals require the usual nefarious advantages and disadvantages that have been common to thieves for centuries. Highwaymen might have some subset of Absolute Direction, Alertness, Combat Reflexes, Danger Sense, Night Vision, Rapid Healing, and Toughness. Disadvantages might include some of Alcoholism, Greed, a Social Stigma (Outlaw), and perhaps a Code of Honor.

Skills: All criminals should develop Fast-Talk, Stealth, and Streetwise. Burglars will find Lockpicking and Climbing essential. Footpads will focus on combat skills such as Blackjack and Knife. Pickpockets will need Pickpocket, Sleight of Hand, and Holdout; some Savoir-faire or Disguise may be useful. Highwaymen will require Riding and Black Powder Weapons with Area Knowledge being important for emergency getaways.

Diplomats

Diplomats represent their countries' interests abroad in times of peace and war. Slower rates of travel than today gives them greater discretion and decision-making power. They face greater risks, being potential hostages for the actions of their government. Diplomatic appointments to smaller states can last for many years. Espionage (in terms of reporting all news and court gossip) is an expected duty of the diplomat.

Advantages/Disadvantages: High IQ, Voice and Charisma are all useful. Cultural Adaptivity (p.CI23) is an asset. Diplomatic Immunity (p. CI24) does not exist.

Skills: Diplomacy, naturally, and indeed nearly any social, artistic or cultural skill will prove helpful.

Entertainers

Entertainers include acrobats, actors, buffoons, dancers, freaks, musicians, and prize fighters. Entertainers make excellent spies; many had criminal leanings. Prize fighters were usually skilled wrestlers or bare-knuckle boxers.

Advantages/Disadvantages: Voice and Charisma are useful. Many entertainers, especially actresses, acquired aristocratic or wealthy Patrons. Entertainers, again especially actresses, suffered from a poor Reputation.

Skills: Carousing, Fast-Talk, Savoir-Faire, and Sex Appeal are generally useful for most entertainers. In addition, skills appropriate to the specialty should be heavily developed.

Explorers

Parts of the globe remain undiscovered by Europeans. Expeditions may be sent by any of the colonial powers to discover new territories for settlement and exploitation. As long as their passports are in order, explorers will be tolerated by the military forces of opposing nations even during wars. Expeditionary leaders are

usually aristocratic and/or military in background, although scientists may have prominent roles.
Advantages/Disadvantages and Skills:
Outdoor skills and (for seafaring explorers) naval skills are essential for survival. Surveying (p.CI158) will be handy.

Laborers
Small farmers and farm workers can sometimes eke out a living in the countryside. Enclosure, rising rents and taxes, or a bad harvest may ruin them, forcing them to beggary and banditry on the roads or to emigrate to the cities.
Advantages/Disadvantages and Skills: Above-average ST will be a useful asset for arduous manual labor. Wealth levels are usually Struggling or Poor. Ruined laborers will be Dead Broke. Good farmers are likely to have some skill in Agronomy.

Men of Letters and the Arts
Many artists, composers, philosophers, scholars, and writers journey around Europe, seeking inspiration, employment, and sometimes safety (especially if they have offended the current regime in their home nation). For those without personal wealth, cultivating a temporary employer may produce a long-term patron.
Advantages/Disadvantages: Independent Income or Wealth will provide financial freedom; otherwise a Patron will be necessary. Reputations (both positive and negative) must be earned.
Skills:
Expertise in the chosen area of artistic endeavor is necessary for those without personal resources. Savoir-Faire and Languages (especially French) will open many doors.

Mercenaries
Whether fighting in the American war, participating in the confrontations in the Baltic, training native troops to withstand the British in India or assisting in the independence struggles of South America and Greece, there is always employment for mercenaries. Even serving officers may, subject to the approval of their superiors, fight in the forces of other nations while their own country is at peace.
Advantages/Disadvantages: Strong Will, High Pain Threshold and Toughness will keep mercenaries alive. Laziness, Gluttony and Compulsive Carousing are typical disadvantages.
Skills: Infantry should have Black Powder Weapons, Spear, Hiking, and Savoir-Faire (Military). Cavalry should learn Black Powder Weapons, Broadsword, Riding, and Savoir-Faire (Military). Artillery specialists should develop a high Gunner skill. Languages are helpful.

Merchants
Shrewd merchants can make their fortune in speculation, in careful investments in manufacturing industries or in overseas trade with the colonies, India and the Spice Islands. Protecting business interests often requires travel. When businesses fail, they sometimes do so spectacularly. Bankrupts should flee before the bailiffs land them in debtors' prison.
Advantages/Disadvantages:

Appearance, Charisma, Empathy, Strong Will, and Voice are helpful. Greed is an occupational hazard.
Skills: Acting, Administration, Area Knowledge, Detect Lies, Diplomacy, Economics, Fast-Talk, Languages, Law, Merchant, and Savoir-Faire will aid entrepreneurs.

Pirates and Privateers

The Golden Age of piracy is long past. Those who wish to plunder merchant shipping on the high seas usually now do so as privateers. Their Letters of Marque and Reprisal limit their depredations to the ships of hostile nations, but should prevent them being hanged if captured for common piracy. However there are still pirates in the world: the Barbary Coast is home to Saracen raiders and slavers who terrorize the Mediterranean coastlines, and in the East Indies, native corsairs prove vexatious to European commerce.
Advantages/Disadvantages:
Combat-related advantages such as Alertness, Combat Reflexes, High Pain Threshold, Immunity to Disease, Rapid Healing, and Toughness are all helpful to pirates and privateers. Charisma, Literacy, Status, and Wealth are possible for the more genteel privateer captains. Alcoholism, Code of Honor, Compulsive Gambling, Greed, Impulsiveness, and Overconfidence are all plausible character flaws.
Skills: Seamanship is essential. Axe, Black Powder Weapons, Boating, Brawling, Climbing, and Shortsword (Cutlass) are likely additional skills. Carousing and Gambling will help pass the time. Many will not have any Swimming.

Professionals

Officials, doctors, and lawyers provide essential and expensive services. Often wealthy, their upward progress in society is hindered by the privileges of the aristocracy. Political upheavals present opportunities for these classes to seize power for themselves.
Advantages/Disadvantages and Skills: Professionals usually enjoy above-average Status and Wealth. Reputation will depend on their competence and attitudes. Professionals should develop their occupational skills. Politics may be helpful for those seeking government office.

Rebels and Revolutionaries

Injustices, perceived and actual, sow the seeds of revolt in the hearts and minds of many. For some, the opportunity or necessity arises to take action through open rebellion or hidden conspiracy.
Advantages/Disadvantages: Open rebels will acquire Social Stigmas, Reputations (both favorable and not), and Enemies. Conspirators will have at least one Secret to protect. Some will take Vows or possess a Sense of Duty.
Skills: Diplomacy, Leadership, Combat skills, and some combination of Social and Thief/Spy skills. Anyone intending to construct an "infernal device" to blow up an Emperor should invest in some Demolitions skill.

Sailors

Merchant vessels carry cargo and occasional passengers across the oceans. Imperial expansion is secured and protected by the navies. Both mercantile and naval fleets have an insatiable

demand for skilled seamen.
Advantages/Disadvantages: Navy sailors will find combat-related advantages such as Alertness, Combat Reflexes, High Pain Threshold, Immunity to Disease, Rapid Healing, and Toughness useful. Alcoholism and Compulsive Gambling are common to merchant and navy seamen alike. The latter can take an Involuntary Duty. Navy officers require Literacy and some Military Rank, and will find Charisma, Patrons, Status, an Independent Income or Wealth helpful. Duty is required and a Code of Honor expected for officers. Greed, occasional Odious Personal Habits, Dependents, Impulsiveness, and Overconfidence are possible; Cowardice and Sadism will lead to future problems.
Skills:
Seamanship is essential, with Boating and Climbing too useful to ignore. Few will learn any Swimming. Naval service will require training in Axe, Black Powder Weapons, Gunner (Cannon) and Shortsword (Cutlass). Warrant officers will learn additional skills according to their specialty such as Carpentry, Merchant (for pursers), Navigation, Shipbuilding, Shiphandling, First Aid, and Surgery. Commission officers will add Navigation, Shiphandling, Savoir-Faire (Military), Tactics (Naval) and Leadership among others.

Scientists and Engineers
Though rare, scientists are making new discoveries in their private laboratories and publishing their theories in the journals and correspondence of clubs and societies dedicated for the advancement of progress. Engineers meanwhile are designing and building steam-powered machines with varying degrees of success.
Advantages/Disadvantages: Literacy is essential. Independent Income, Wealth, or a Patron will be necessary to fund experiments until a potentially profitable breakthrough is achieved. Results will eventually generate a Reputation. Curious and Workaholic are common disadvantages. Innumerate should be avoided.
Skills: Language (Latin) and Research are usually essential. Available sciences include Archaeology, Astronomy, Botany, Chemistry, Geology, Mathematics, Naturalist, Physics and Zoology. Engineers will require some understanding of Mathematics, Physics, Mechanic (Steam) and Engineer.

Slavers
Slavers, sometimes called Guineamen, make their fortunes in the Triangular Trade between Europe, West Africa, and the Americas. Native treachery and tropical diseases make this an extremely dangerous career. Though most captains take care of their human cargoes, this is only to maximize profits; compassion has no place in a slaver's heart.
Advantages/Disadvantages and Skills: Health-related advantages such as Immunity to Disease will be extremely useful. In terms of skills, a combination of sailor and merchant training will be desirable. Additionally personal combat and medical skills will prove valuable.

Soldiers
In battlefields across Europe and beyond, soldiers decide the futures of nations and empires. Infantry fight in disciplined lines, columns, and squares; dashing cavalrymen charge to glory, artillerists destroy enemy formations and fortifications with

concentrated cannon fire. Many will die in foreign fields; a very few will achieve lasting fame.
Advantages/Disadvantages: Any subset of Alertness, Combat Reflexes, Strong Will, High Pain Threshold and Toughness will keep soldiers alive. Officers require some Military Rank and Literacy; a Code of Honor is expected. Status, Wealth, or an Independent Income will smooth relations with fellow officers. Duty is mandatory. Alcoholism and Compulsive Carousing are frequently encountered.
Skills:
Infantry should have Black Powder Weapons, Spear, Hiking, and Savoir-Faire (Military). Cavalry should learn Black Powder Weapons, Broadsword, Riding, and Savoir-Faire (Military). Artillery specialists should develop a high Gunner skill. Officers need some Leadership and Tactics (Land).

Smugglers

Smugglers are a natural response to the high customs and excise duties imposed by mercantilist trade policies and the shortages resulting from blockades. Smugglers sail in sloops to another country's port, purchase goods honestly, and then return to their home country, landing their goods secretly for careful sale to the gentry and merchants. Their avoidance of duties allows them to reap handsome profits at lower prices than legal goods. Revenue services wage an unending war against the "Trade." As smuggling is "a hanging matter," strife between excisemen and smugglers is frequently violent. In wartime, smugglers often land and retrieve spies.
Advantages/Disadvantages and Skills: A mixture of merchant, sailor and criminal skills will be most useful to the aspiring smuggler.

Spies

Spies are everywhere. At home, they uncover plots to overthrow the regime and unmask foreign infiltrators. Abroad, they collect information on troop movements, naval activity, encourage conspiracies, and undertake occasional assassinations. Every nation employs hundreds of spies. The French spy network controlled by Fouché during the Consulate and Empire is the most extensive and efficient in Europe. Spies may be male or female, hired civilians or professional military officers, and come from any social class. Many Parisian beggars were paid informers of Fouché.
Advantages/Disadvantages: Military Rank is appropriate for military spies. Other useful advantages include Absolute Timing, Alertness, Charisma, Double-Jointed, Eidetic Memory, Empathy, Intuition, Language Talent, Literacy, Status, Strong Will, Voice and Wealth. Duty and Secret are reasonable disadvantages. Other flaws may include Enemies, Fanaticism, Greed. Jealousy, Lecherousness, Overconfidence and occasional Sense of Duty.
Skills: Any and all of Acting, Area Knowledge, Black Powder Weapons, Climbing, Dancing, Disguise, Fast-Talk, Fencing, Forgery, Knife, Languages, Lockpicking, Poison, Riding, Savoir-Faire, Sex Appeal, Shadowing, Streetwise, etc., are likely to be useful sooner or later.

Advantages

Alcohol Tolerance see p. CI19

Drink is an important component of carousing throughout the era. As the water is frequently not potable, alcohol becomes an essential part of most civilian and nearly all military diets. Characters with this advantage gain a +1 bonus to Carousing (p. B63). Characters who display behavior that reveals this advantage or the Light Hangover or No Hangover advantages will gain a +1 Reputation among military men and roués.

Claim to Hospitality see p. CI21

Europeans of at least Status 1 or Military Rank 3 (i.e. commissioned officers) may take this advantage. (Characters who do not take this advantage haven't moved around sufficiently in society to be well-known.) On meeting an NPC who is also a European and is at least of this Rank or Status and no more than one level higher, characters can expect a civil greeting and at least a single night of lodging and board for themselves and companions. They are likewise expected to extend similar hospitality to others if they are able to do so. This costs 5 points if usable only in one's home country and colonies and 10 points if usable everywhere. Other social groups such as the American colonists may purchase variations on this usable on their relatives and friends. Members of the Freemasons may claim such hospitality from members of any Lodge -- this is a 10-point advantage. In wartime, a captured officer can automatically expect such hospitality (i.e. more comfortable imprisonment and better food) from the enemy, if he gives his parole, i.e. promises not to escape or work against his captors.

Clerical Investment see p. B19

Anyone who is a priest, minister or cleric must take this advantage. Clerics will be addressed by an appropriate title -- Master for Protestant ministers, Father for Roman Catholic priests, Brother for monks, and Friar for Franciscans.

Some Roman Catholic clergy (e.g. the Jesuits and the Dominicans in charge of the Inquisition in Spain) receive a -6 reaction from Protestants. Even from Roman Catholics, the Inquisition clergy receive a -2! They are usually obeyed by the laity of the same Status or lower. In France, the Constitutional Clergy and the non-juring clergy (those obedient to Rome) have -4 reaction penalties to each other and zealous followers of the other branch of the church.

Christian nuns do not have the Clerical Investment advantage; they are not ordained and have neither the legal nor spiritual authority of a priest. Monks may or may not be ordained as priests; most are not. Monks and nuns are required to take vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, and get a +1 reaction from those of their own faith. Priests are required to take a vow of chastity and a promise of obedience.

Light Hangover see p.CI27

See Alcohol Tolerance, above

Disease-Resistant see p. CI24

See Immunity to Disease, below.

Immunity to Disease see p. B20

Health-related advantages, including

Disease-Resistant and Rapid Healing, become very important when playing in this era. There is no magical healing or modern medicine; contemporary medicine is extremely dangerous and experimental. A chest wound requires at least a month of recuperation in this period, and Europeans are extremely prone to tropical diseases such as prevail in the West Indies, India and Africa. (GMs should consult pp. CII167-174 for more information on these diseases.) Inoculations against smallpox are available but these cost cash not character points!

Literacy see p. B21

The level of literacy varies according to social class and country. In Europe, Literacy is the norm for all characters with Status 1 or higher, Illiteracy is the norm for all characters with lower Status. In the American colonies, Semi-Literacy (p. CI29) is the norm for all Americans of European extraction but born in the colony. Elsewhere, Illiteracy is the norm.

Military

Rank see B22

Military Rank is normally gained through regular or militia service in the national armies, the national navies, or in the Honourable East India Company's private military forces. Military Rank in the last services does **not** provide additional Status outside of India.

For other military forces, characters may gain a free rank of Status for every three levels of Military Rank. Brevet ranks are strictly temporary, but may last in the army until the end of a campaign or even an entire war. Naval brevet rank should not be purchased -- shortages of ships and officer berths means that someone will be appointed directly or receive a permanent promotion. See *Aft the Most Honor* and *Officers and Gentlemen* for further details on gaining military rank.

Military Rank, unlike Social Status, costs no money to maintain, but officers will be expected to live like gentlemen, especially as they gain higher rank. Incompetence and cowardice will usually result in them being cashiered or shot. All military service should be accompanied with a Duty disadvantage.

Military Rank in the army is as follows (names will differ according to nation):

Army Military Rank Table

Rank 8: Marshals of the Empire, Field Marshals

Rank 7: Generals (7.8, 39), Lieutenant Generals (7.4, 37), Major Generals (7.0, 35)

Rank 6: Colonels (6.4, 32) and Lieutenant Colonels (6.0, 30)

Rank 5: Majors

Rank 4: Captains

Rank 3: Lieutenants

Rank 2: Ensigns (2.4, 12), Cornets (2.4, 12), and Sergeants

Rank 1: Corporals

Rank 0: Enlisted men

Military Rank in the navy is
as follows (names will differ according to nation):

Naval Military

Rank Table
Rank 8: Sea Lords (British Admiralty), Admirals of the
Fleet
Rank 7: Admirals (7.8, 39), Vice Admirals (7.4, 37), Rear
Admirals (7.0, 35)
Rank 6: Commodores (6.8, 29), Post-Captains
[British only, 3 years plus seniority] (6.4, 27), Captains [French or
Spanish, commanding ships-of-the-line] (6.6, 28), Post-Captains [British
only, less than 3 years seniority] (6, 25) Captains [French or Spanish,
commanding frigates] (6, 25)
Rank 5: Commanders (commanding sloops or
smaller vessels)
Rank 4: Lieutenants
Rank 3: Masters, Surgeons,
Pursers, Chaplains
Rank 2: Senior Warrant Officers (gunners,
boatswains, carpenters, masters-at-arms)
Rank 1: Midshipmen, Junior
Warrant Officers (master's mates, bosun's mates, etc.)
Rank
0: Sailors

Armies and navies in the era are extremely stratified in
this era with senior officers such as generals and admirals being divided
into various subranks. To represent this, certain ranks are followed with a
pair of numbers indicating a more exact rank status and points
cost.
Merchant-service titles are not military ranks.

No
Hangover see p.CI28
See Alcohol Tolerance, above
Patron
see pp. B24, CI28
Patronage, or more properly "influence," is the
lubricant which ensures the smooth running of society. Patrons who are
merely wealthy may be willing to bail you out of financial trouble (or
debtor's prison) or fund your scholarly research or creativity. Patrons with
"influence" may be able to arrange a preferential posting in the army or
navy or East India Company, smooth your path to promotion, arrange a
governmental sinecure or minimize the consequences of your failures.
Possible Patrons include rich aristocrats, senior military officers,
government ministers and high officials, diplomats, even royalty.

Rapid Healing see p. B23
See Immunity to Disease,
above.
New Advantage
Independent Income (5 points)

You have a private income. Unless you are a spendthrift, you should never have to work for a living. You may still choose to work -- if so, you will still benefit from your private income. The source is up to you: investments in for example the East India Company, rent on land or houses, a military pension or half pay, monies from the Secret Service fund, an allowance from a relative, or a sinecure. Some "sinecures" actually involve real work, but no one will complain if you hire a clerk to serve as your deputy and undertake your duties in say the West Indies for a fraction of your salary. This advantage does not give you any specified level of income; the income per month is equal to 5% of the starting wealth for your wealth level. A Dead Broke character gains nothing from this advantage and should not take it; a Very Wealthy or better character effectively already has it. Characters should spend up to ten hours per month "working" for this income, by corresponding with brokers and merchant houses, collecting rents, writing to the wealthy relative, collecting the pension, or signing documents.

Disadvantages

Addiction see p. B30
Addictive substances such as alcohol, tobacco and opium are legal in this period. Many patent medicines contain high doses of such substances, and are marketed as cures for debilitating and chronic diseases, leading to the potential for addiction to the medicine. All Addictions are legal and hence worth 5 points less than normal.

Alcoholism see p. B30
The easy availability of alcohol, and indeed its necessity in most diets, means that alcoholism is common in all classes of society. Alcoholism is a 15-point addiction. Drinkers will receive a -1 reaction penalty from followers of "dry" religions and sects; alcoholics will receive a -2 reaction penalty from such people.

Code of Honor see p. B31
Honor is still taken seriously by most gentlemen in this period. Though illegal, duels are still fought over insults, political disagreements, and adulterous liaisons. The Gentleman's Code of Honor (-10 points) is the standard for the upper classes. The Pirate's Code (-5 points) is sometimes followed by ordinary soldiers and sailors, rebels and revolutionaries.

Compulsive Gambling see p. CI88
Gambling is a pastime of rich and poor alike. Fortunes can be lost and won (and lost again) in a single evening. Most characters who gamble regularly should take this Disadvantage at -5 point level.

Cowardice see p. B32
The very accusation of cowardice is an insult which cannot be ignored; it must be disproved by an act of extraordinary and conspicuous bravery and/or by "demanding satisfaction" from the accuser by a duel. In this age of honor, known cowards will suffer a -3 reaction, and this Disadvantage is worth -15 points.

Dependents see p. B38

In
the 18th century, Dependents can also include people who are seeking your character's "influence" to further their careers by arranging promotions or sinecures on their behalf. The more powerful a character becomes, the more people will seek to ingratiate themselves. In addition, a character's relatives, friends and their relations will expect preferential treatment. The value of this Disadvantage will depend on how much influence the character is prepared to exercise for his proteges, and should be discussed with the GM.

Duty see p. B39

Duty, especially to one's
sovereign and/or country, is important in 18th-century society. All members of the regular military forces -- officers, volunteers, conscripts and pressed men -- can take a 15-point Duty, owing to the frequency of hazardous duty, the harsh discipline, and the near-permanency of membership. Members of militia forces can take a 5-point Duty to reflect the less frequent requirements for service.

Fat and Overweight see pp. B28, B29

Having enough to eat is a sign of wealth. Most people do not
have enough food to keep hunger at bay. Being overweight or fat does not provoke the same reaction penalties in the 18th century as it would in more health-conscious eras. Being Overweight or merely Fat at the 10-point level has no reaction penalty. Only being Fat at the 20-point level will incur a -1 reaction. All the practical problems and limits on HT still apply. Stout characters may wish to consider the Gluttony disadvantage or suffering from gout as well.

Gout is a hereditary disorder which was believed to be
caused by over-indulgence in food and drink. It is a recurring ailment which can be triggered by infection, emotional disturbances or trauma. The symptoms are extreme pain and tenderness in the joints of the foot. Attacks can last up to a fortnight and will prevent the character from walking without suffering agony. The victim should take the Lame disadvantage at -15 points or higher. This disadvantage can be set off by the triggers mentioned above instead of the usual failed HT or Will rolls. This is a special effect, and has no effect on point cost.

Gluttony see p. B33

A common vice, blatant gluttony in full view of the wrong
people, for example the righteous members of a Revolutionary Tribunal, will incur a reaction penalty ranging from -1 to -3, depending on how bad conditions are currently for the onlookers (or the people they purport to represent).

Greed see p. B33

There are fortunes to be made
in Europe, in the colonies, and beyond. For the avaricious, this is a golden time of opportunities. Greed will keep a merchant in the disease-ridden West and East Indies even to the ruin of his health. Corruption is rife in officialdom. Greed will ensure that office-holders squeeze every last penny from bribery simply to undertake their ordinary responsibilities.

Innumerate see p.CI91

This is a 5-point disadvantage.

Knowing how to count is important, especially if a character wants to collect the right pay or avoid being fleeced. This is a common disadvantage

among the lower classes of European society.

Intolerance see p. B34

Intolerance of other religions is the norm. There is no point value for Intolerance (Religious) (p. CI91). Blatant religious *tolerance* is an Odious Personal Habit. Intolerance toward other nationalities is a disadvantage. If it is toward all foreigners, it is worth -10 points. If it is only toward one commonly-encountered nationality, it is worth -5 points. If it is toward an uncommonly-encountered nationality, it is merely a -1-point quirk.

Lecherousness see p. B34

Lechery is a common vice in this age with many men taking mistresses or enjoying more temporary dalliances in brothels and bawdy houses. Women often take lovers. Age is no barrier to desire and its consummation.

Odious Personal Habit see p.B26

Boasting (at either -5 or -10-point levels) is a common disadvantage. Refusing to drink, gamble or indulge in similar common pursuits is worth -5 points if the character spends much of his time in circles where such activities are the norm. Openly advocating religious tolerance of minority Christian sects is an Odious Personal Habit worth -5 points. Openly advocating religious tolerance of non-Christian faiths in Europe or in settler communities in the colonies is worth -10 points. The wars of religion are over, but their aftereffects linger.

Primitive see p. B26

Technological progress from 1769 to 1821 is extremely uneven. England leads the way in the practical development of steam power, while Europe in general is a center of scientific advances in many fields. Europeans and overseas colonists may not take the Primitive disadvantage. Indigenous characters from China, India, the Muslim nations and the Americas may take Primitive at the 5-point level; they are familiar with TL4 technology. Characters from elsewhere in Asia or Africa are at the 10-point level as their technology is TL3. Pacific islanders, Australia and New Zealand natives, and members of any truly isolated culture can have technology ranging down to TL0.

Secret see p. CI78

Many people have secrets. Suitable secrets include clandestine love affairs, concealed (usually ruinous) debts, shady pasts in terms of political beliefs, religious backgrounds, or even hiding one's gender.

Social Stigma see p. B27

Being of a minority religion will qualify as a Social Stigma disadvantage if it is obvious from appearances such as a priest in his cassock or a Quaker using his distinctive thee and thou. Being a woman will qualify for a -5 point Social Stigma Disadvantage owing to the limits on their behavior. Foreigners (Irish in England, Austrians in France, American colonials in England, etc.) may take a -5 or -10 Social Stigma, even in the most enlightened regions. This does not apply if the PC expects to spend a significant proportion of his time in his home country.

New Quirk

The Blue Devils
Command is a lonely business. The ability to out-think one's opponent can lead to bouts of introspection over one's own deeds, inducing chains of often gloomy "What If?" thoughts. For officers who care about their subordinates, this can lead to fits of depression (see Chronic Depression p. CI87) and indecision (see Indecisive p. CI91 and Weak Will p. B37). Alcoholism may provide an escape for some; others may break completely (use a combination of Confused (p. CI88), Insomniac (p. CI82), Nightmares (p. CI92), and Post-Combat Shakes (p. CI93) in addition to the original depressive and indecisive disadvantages).

Skills

This section describes some skills which are of particular relevance to ***GURPS Age of Napoleon*** campaigns. Readers are referred to ***GURPS Basic Set*** and ***Compendium I*** as other skills are encountered elsewhere. Of particular note to characters in this era are: Diplomacy, Fencing, Gambling, Leadership, Riding, Seamanship, Shiphandling, Streetwise, and Survival.

Black Powder Weapons see p. B49
Nearly all fighters will only receive training with flintlock pistols, muskets and rifles. Matchlock and wheellocks are rare antiques and will therefore count as unfamiliar weapons to flintlock users.

Gunner see p. B50
There are three major types of heavy weapon in the period, namely cannons (including carronades), howitzers and mortars. Naval gunners will normally only learn how to fire cannon, unless they see service on a bomb ketch (which carries mortars). Army gunners should expect to learn all three weapon types eventually.

Savoir-Faire see pp. B64 and CII60
While a *faux pas* may not be sufficient cause for an offended party to "demand satisfaction," rude or boorish behavior will have repercussions to Reputation, may bar a character's entry to the fashionable salons where aristocratic ladies hold court among a circle of witty conversationalists, or create unexpected Enemies who will exercise their influence to arrange the preferment of a character's Rivals.

Strategy and Tactics see p. B64
Characters may specialize in Tactics (Naval) which defaults to IQ-6, Tactics (Land)-2, or Strategy (Naval)-6. Both land and naval tactics specializations mutually default at -2. Land tactics and land strategy are assumed unless the character sheet states Tactics (Naval) and Strategy (Naval). The borderline between Tactics and Strategy is often blurred for naval officers. Only the most senior admirals will ever have any say over worldwide grand strategy. The gravest responsibilities for most flag officers will be fleet maneuvers

and fleet-level battles. Captains and their juniors will be concerned with the tactics of ship-level engagements and boat-level skirmishes.

Notes on Weapons

Boarding Axe: Treat as an axe (p. B206). Not made for throwing (-2 to skill). Common on ships.
Boarding Pike: Treat as an spear (p. B206). Not made for throwing (-2 to skill). Common on ships.
Cavalry Saber: Treat as a broadsword (p. B206).
Cutlass: Treat as a shortsword (p. B206).
Muskets and Rifles: Muskets and rifles (really muskets with spiral grooves inside their barrels) can be used in three ways in hand-to-hand combat. First, if a bayonet is fitted, it can be used as a spear. Treat this as a spear held in two hands (p. B206), but reach is 1 and skill is Spear-1. The musket or rifle can be fired at -1 to skill when fixed in place.
Secondly a musket can be "clubbed": held by the barrel and swung two-handed. Treat it as a maul (p. B206), but damage and Min ST both drop by 2, and skill is Two-Handed Axe/Mace-1. Muskets and rifles are sturdy enough to be used in this manner without sustaining damage.
Finally a musket butt can be used as an improvised weapon: treat as a punch made using DX or Brawling, at -2 to skill but +2 to normal punching damage.
Pistols: Most pistols are sufficiently sturdy to be used as improvised blackjacks. Use Blackjack-1 and reduce damage by 1.
For a more detailed treatment on weapons of the period and fighting styles, see ***GURPS Swashbucklers*** and ***GURPS High-Tech***.

Languages

It is expected that most ***GURPS Age of Napoleon*** characters will be European or of European extraction, and so most of the languages they are likely to learn will be Mental/Average (see p. B54-55). Exceptions will include non-Indo-European languages from Africa, America, Asia, and so on.
Many European languages have some default to each other, especially the written forms. The Romance languages include Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian. French defaults to either Italian or Spanish at -5, Latin at -6. Spanish and Italian default to each other at -2, Latin at -3.
German and Dutch default to each other at -3, and the Scandinavian languages to them at -6. Danish and Norwegian default to each other at -1, and Swedish to each of them at -3. English and Dutch default to each other at -5. English and German default to each other at -7. (While much of the vocabulary of English is Romance-based, more of it

is Germanic, as is its underlying grammar.)
Languages defaulting to
each other should not be taken to mean that there is a word-to-word correspondence.
French is the "lingua franca" of Europe and is the
language of many royal courts including Russia and Prussia for part of the period. Anyone who wishes to move in high social circles should learn French. Latin remains the language of the Catholic Church and is extremely common to physicians, scholars, scientists, and anyone who has benefited from a university education.
For time travelers, the languages of the
18th century default to their 20th century descendants at -1 owing to differences in vocabulary and grammatical usage. Masquerading as a foreigner would not be difficult, but to pass as a native will require special effort and training.

Wealth, Social Status and Reputation

Average
starting wealth in ***GURPS Age of Napoleon*** is $750. GMs may permit PCs up to Wealthy to spend all their money on personal "adventuring" gear -- there may be good reason for the PC to have converted all his wealth into portable goods and cash. Adventurers who are Very Wealthy, Filthy Rich, or Multimillionaires may only spend 20% of their starting wealth on items to be used directly in the campaign: 80% must be tied up in a home, land, furniture, clothing, investments, etc. PCs who acquire debts through unlucky gambling, unwise speculations, or repudiated loans may have to liquidate more of their starting wealth.
For anyone on the lowest rungs of the
social ladder, life will be defined by the social class of birth. The middle classes can hope to rise by success in their chosen profession, marriage into a higher social rank, or even ennoblement by purchase or royal patronage. Scions of the upper classes may receive grander titles following unexpected deaths in the family or be elevated in the peerage for military or political services.
The bold and the lucky may find themselves
rising into high society -- one of Napoleon's Marshals became King of Sweden! Players should create beginning characters of no higher Social Status than 3. Use the Status and Cost of Living table below as an idea of Status in this era. Cost of living is also determined by the PC's Status.

Status and Cost Of Living

Level Examples Monthly Cost of
Living
8 Divine ruler, emperor: $20,000+
7 King,
pope: $5,000+
6 Prince, duke, marquis, archbishop: $2000
5 Earl,
count, bishop: $1000
4 Viscount, baron, landed lord, monsignor,
abbé: $500
3 Lesser lord (e.g. untitled noble), English baronet,

knight, canon: $100
2 Squire, *hidalgo*, *hobereau*, burgess,
lawyer, great merchant, parish priest: $40
1 Rural gentleman,
merchant, master craftsman, curate: $20
0 Shopkeeper, journeyman,
laborer: $10
-1 Casual worker, servant: $5
-2 Outsider,
criminal, prostitute: $2
-3 Street beggar, vagrant: $2
-4 Serf
or slave: $2

Note that living below your Status level may reduce your Status! Roll vs. IQ each month; a failure means Status drops by 1. The point value of a character also drops if his Status drops. A noble's Status can never go below 1 by this means.

A Reputation is a common advantage/disadvantage in this era. Even junior army and naval officers will acquire reputations in their respective regiments and ships. Increasing rank will lead to greater recognition throughout the services. Academic societies and court patronage will spread the fame of men of letters, sciences, and the arts. Political sympathies such as Whig or Tory in peaceful times can divide society; in more turbulent times, "Jacobin," "regicide," or "royalist" can be death sentences. Coward and cheat are possibly the worst reputations among the privileged orders. Rakes and other dissolutes can expect differing reactions according to their company. Atheist is a hard Reputation to lose -- characters should expect little help or sympathy from even mildly religious people. Once a character features in national or world events, the newspapers will magnify every virtue -- while the satirists and lampoonists will exploit every flaw.

Jobs

Table

In civilized areas, PCs may find jobs to provide income while they are not in play. Not every job is available in every part of the world. Jobs can help cover the PC's cost of living. The Job Table lists a number of possible occupations. Some have skill or experience prerequisites (default values do not count; at least a half-point must be invested in the skill).

Job Table

Job (Required Skills), Monthly Income Success Roll Critical Failure

Poor Jobs
Beggar*
(none), $2 10 -1i/3d
Farm Laborer (ST 9+), $2 12 LJ
Street Thief* (DX 11+, Stealth 11+, Lockpicking or Pickpocket 10+), $3 Best PR 2d/3

months in jail/sent to penal colony
Street Vendor (none),
$3 IQ-1 -2i/1d
Tenant Farmer (Agronomy 12+, ST 10+), $3 12 -1i/-2i,
evicted

Struggling Jobs
Clerk (Literacy, Accounting 12+),
$10 PR LJ
Cavalryman (Black Powder Weapons 10+, Riding 12+, Sword 10),
$8 + rank plus room and board Best PR 2d/4d
Infantryman (Black Powder
Weapons 12+), $7 + rank plus room and board PR 2d/4d
Inventor*
(Engineer-12+), $1 xEngineer PR -1i/-2i , 1d, workshop damaged in
explosion
Laborer (ST 10+), $15 ST LJ
Performer* (any Music
Skill-12+), $1 xSkill Best PR -1i /-2i , lose
job
Petty Thief* (four Thief/Spy skills 12+ or two at 14+), $8 Best
PR 2d/3 months in jail/sent to penal colony
Porter (ST 12+),
$8 ST LJ
Sailor [Navy or Merchant] (Seamanship 10+), $6 plus room and
board PR 2d/3d
Servant/Lackey (Savoir-Faire (Servant) 13+, Status -1
or higher), $6 plus room and board PR LJ
Teacher (Literacy, Knowledge
skill at 10+) $15 PR LJ
Thug* (Brawling 11+ or any Weapon skill 11+),
$8 PR-2 3d/ 3 months in jail / penal colony
Writer* (Writing-14+), $1
xSkill PR -1i/-3i, derisive reviews or censored

Average Jobs
Actor* (Performance-12+ and Acting), $2
xSkill Best PR -1i /-2i , lose job
Army Officer
(Status 1+, Leadership 12+ or Wealthy+, Tactics 10+), @TEXT:Ensigns $38,
Cornets $60, Infantry ($30 xRank) -45, Cavalry ($38
xRank) -45, plus room and board Best PR 2d/-1
Rank
Bureaucrat (Administration 12+, Literacy, Status 1+),
$20 PR LJ
Continental Gentry (Status 2+),
$100 Status+8 -1i/-3I
Factory Worker (ST 10), $20 10 -2i/ 2d or
LJ
Gambler* (Gambling 11+), Skill
x$3 PR -1i/2d
Merchant* (Merchant 13+), Skill
x$3 PR -1i/-2i, bankruptcy
Navy Commissioned

Officer (Status +1, Leadership 12+, Seamanship 10+,
Navigation 10+,
Shiphandling 10+), $38 (Rank 4), $45 (Rank 5), $75 (Rank 6 -frigate captain)
$120 (captain ship-of-the-line) plus room and board Best PR 2d/-1
Rank
Navy Warrant Officer (Seamanship 12+ plus professional skill at
12+), $5 + ($5 xRank) plus room and board Best PR 2d/-1
Rank
Parish Clergyman (Theology 12+, Clerical Investment, Literacy,
Status 1+), $20 (poor curate) to $100 (rich living) Worst of PR,
IQ -1i/LJ
Scientist (any Science skill 14+), $2
xSkill PR Ridicule/LJ
Shop Owner* (Professional
skill 12+, Status 0+, a shop), Skill
x$2 PR -1i/-2i
Skilled Craftsman* (Craft skill
13+, Status 0+), Skill x$2 PR -1i/-2i
Surgeon*
(Surgeon 12+, Physician 12+), $90 Best PR -1i
Thief* (four Thief/Spy
skills at 14+), $25 Best PR 2d/6 months in jail/ transportation to penal
colony

Comfortable Jobs
Army General/Navy Flag Officer
(Strategy 10+ or Politics 10+), $225 (Rank 7), $300 (Rank 8) plus room and
board Worst PR 1d, -1i/3d or cashiered
Diplomat (IQ 12+, Diplomacy
12+), $400 IQ Transferred to hardship post/LJ
English Gentry* (Status
2+), $1000 Status+8 -2i/forced to sell off part of estate
Lawyer* (Law
13+, Status 1+, Literacy), $200 PR -3i/-10i, disbarred
Master
Craftsman* (Craft skill 15+, own shop), Craft skill
x$6 PR -2i/-4i
Merchant Ship Captain* (Navigation
10+, Shiphandling 11+, Leadership 11+), $150 plus room and board Worst
PR -1i/-6i
Office-holder (IQ 10+, Status 2+),
$400 IQ LJ
Physician* (Physician-14+, Literacy, Status 1+),
$250 PR-2 -1i/-2i
Slaver* (Merchant 10+, Diplomacy 10+),
$200 PR -2i/3d and -4i
Smuggler* (Merchant 10+, Streetwise 12+,
Shiphandling 11+), $200 PR-2 3d/3 years in jail/transportation to penal
colony

Wealthy Jobs
High Church Official (Status 5+, Theology
12+, Administration 12+, Clerical Investment), $2,500 Best PR Income drops
10%
Professional Investor/Manufacturer* (Status 2+, Filthy Rich,

Merchant 14+), $5,000 PR -3i/-10I
Titled Nobility* (Status 4+),
$4000 Status+8 -2i/forced to sell off part of estate

Equipment

Table

Money

Every nation had its own currency -- even
some of the colonies resorted to producing their own paper bills when coinage from the home country was in short supply. Gold, silver, and copper coins were the principal form of currency. The usage of the same metals allowed merchants to assess the value of the foreign currency by weight and metal type. Paper bills and letters of exchange steadily became more prominent in national and international commerce.
The following table
summarizes the relationship between the ***GURPS*** dollar and a selection
of the national currencies:

Currency Conversion

Table
Austria:
1 Thaler (silver) $1.00
1 Florin
(silver) $0.50
1 Kreuzer (copper) $0.008

England:
1
Guinea (gold) $5.25
1 Pound (unit of account) $5.00
1 Shilling
(silver) $0.25
1 Penny (copper) $0.02

France:
1 Livre
or 1 Franc (silver) $0.40
1 Sou
(copper) $0.02

Holland:
1 Ducat (gold) $2
1 Guilder
(silver) $0.40
1 Stuiver (copper) $0.02

Spain:
1 Peso
(a.k.a. 1 Piece of Eight) (silver) $0.50
1 Real (silver) $0.06

1
Maraverdi (copper) $0.002

United States:
1 Dollar
(silver) $1.00
1 Cent (copper) $0.01

The currencies are
subdivided as follows:
1 thaler equals 2 florins; 1 florin equals 60
kreuzer
1 pound equals 20 shillings; 1 shilling equals 12 pence
1 livre or 1
france equals 20 sou
1 ducat equals 5 guilders; 1 guilder equals 20
stuivers
1 peso equals 8 reals; 1 real equals 34 maraverdis
1 dollar equals
100 cents.
The fantasy/medieval equipment tables from ***GURPS Basic Set*** may be used. All prices should be divided by 20 to approximate the prices of this era. During inflationary periods such as the Revolutionary Wars or other times of hardship, GMs should feel free to double or even triple the scaled prices for food and other essentials from the ***Basic Set***. A selection of further goods and services is given in the table below.

Equipment Table

Entertainment

Book (not
novel) $5-$10
Evening's entertainment and drinking at a
club $0.25
Newspaper $0.05
Novel $0.75
Services of a
street prostitute $0.25
Theatre ticket $0.25
Visit to
Bedlam $0.04
Visit to a Pleasure Garden $0.25

Food and
Drink

Beer (one quart) $0.12
Bread (one lb.) $0.04
Butter
(one lb.) $0.l4
Cheese (one lb.) $0.07
Cherries (one
lb.) $0.12

Chocolate (one lb.) $8.50
Meat (one lb.)
$0.08
Coffee in a coffee-house (per cup) $0.02
Sugar (one
lb.) $0.12
Tea (one lb.) $1.50

Miscellany

Decorate and
furnish a London townhouse $5,000
Fire Insurance (for every $500
insured) $3
House (four bedrooms) $750
Inoculation against
smallpox $1.25
Lodgings (squalid, per week) $0.62
Patent
medicine $0.50 - $5
Portrait (by an "unknown"
artist) $75
Portrait (by a world-class artist) $1,000
Reward for
catching a deserter $5
Reward for catching a
highwayman $200
School education (per year, in private
school) $75
Set of human teeth (for use as dentures) $150
Shave
and wig combed $0.06
Soap (bar) $0.12
Suit of fashionable
society clothes $150
University education (Oxford or Cambridge, per
year) $360
Wooden stool $0.32
Writing desk (high
quality) $18

Tools and Instruments

Logarithmic
Tables $50
Marine chronometer $500
Navigating
instruments $100-$500
Surgical Kit $100
Surveying
Instruments $300
Telescope $100

Transport, Travel and
Communications

Carriage travel (in city, per mile) $0.25
Coach
travel (in summer, per mile) $0.05
Coach travel (in winter, per
mile) $0.06
Passage to India (from England) $2,000
Passage to
the West Indies (from England via Post Office packet) $260
Posting a
letter (inland destination < 80 miles) $0.06
Posting a letter (inland
destination < 150 miles) $0.10
Posting a letter (inland destination >
150 miles) $0.12
Posting a letter (London to
Edinburgh) $0.14
Posting a letter (London to
Dublin) $0.12
Posting a letter (London to America) $0.25
Posting
a letter (London to France) $0.20
Posting a letter (London to
Spain) $0.37

CAMPAIGNS

Types of Campaign

History versus

Fiction

The Napoleonic epoch, particularly the French Revolution and the subsequent wars, has inspired many greater and lesser works of fiction -- including *War and Peace*. Some of the early literature such as Charles Dickens' *A Tale of Two Cities* and Baroness Orczy's *The Scarlet Pimpernel* exaggerated some aspects of the era for dramatic effect. Later series such as CS Forester's Hornblower novels and its many excellent imitators to Bernard Cornwell's Sharpe sequence have been written by historians and authors willing to pay attention to authentic historical detail. Many of their plots are based on actual events or purport to be the hidden histories of the times. As such, they provide a treasure trove of ideas and models for roleplaying campaigns. (See the Bibliography for listings.)

Should history be changed in a roleplaying game?

Yes and no.

Yes. A lot of history buffs are well-versed in the minutiae of this era. Occasionally changing dates and names will keep such players guessing and allow the GM to obtain endless plots by dipping into history. However, do *not* move the famous battles such as Austerlitz, Trafalgar, and Waterloo. Players will want their characters to be present at such pivotal moments. Plot-lines which allow them to be responsible behind the scenes for making such events happen will be especially appreciated. Allow real historical figures to feature in the campaign -- meeting the famous will both ground players in the historical framework and inspire their characters. (Remember that Richard Sharpe won his commission by saving Wellington in India.)

No. Do *not* substantially alter the lives of major personalities or the outcomes of major events, unless the desired intention is to trigger an alternate time line. Napoleon's life was threatened from many quarters. Player-characters could be plotting to kill him or working desperately to save him. If Napoleon is assassinated, the game becomes an alternate history and everything which happens after the key juncture is subject to change. Read the "What if ... " sidebars in the History chapter and the People chapter for some suggestions as to what might have been and how to maintain the broad sweep of history.

The late Patrick O'Brian lamented his error in not starting his Aubrey-Maturin saga sufficiently early in the wars and had to warp strict chronology to fit in his later novels. So while it is probably not necessary to send characters to sea as youthful midshipmen in 1768 (like Alexander Kent's Richard Bolitho), GMs expecting prolonged campaigns should still choose an early starting year.

Realistic versus Cinematic

For GMs desiring

completely accurate historical gaming, a fully realistic approach is best. In such campaigns, the streets are filthy, the battles are bloody, and disease kills more characters than musket fire. Personal combat should use the Advanced Combat Rules (pp. B102-105). ***GURPS Vehicles*** should be used for shipbuilding and naval engagements, while the Mass Combat rules (pp. CII113-124) will cover land battles. GMs and players should be warned -- this level of realism leads to frequent fatalities.

For GMs seeking dramatic action rather than accuracy, a cinematic approach is best. In such campaigns, the harsh realities are blurred into soft focus, the peasants are healthy, the streets are clean, and the battles are glorious. Such high adventure requires the Optional Cinematic Reflexes (pp. CII71-79).

Many GMs will seek a middle ground, including the gritty details, but letting the NPCs suffer the brunt of the cannonballs and musketry. It was a cliché of the era that nobody ever died in a battle from an aimed musket shot, and there were cases of soldiers being knocked out by the passing wind of a cannonball. For such campaigns, GMs should only use those rules options with which they are comfortable.

Female Characters in the Era

Eighteenth-century women were second-class citizens. Aristocratic women played second fiddle to noblemen, but remained socially superior to untitled male commoners. Campaigns with even a modicum of realism should require the Social Stigma disadvantage be taken by female player-characters.

Women adhering to society's conventions wielded the power in their husband's households and organized the balls and parties where their husbands and brothers could network, gain patronage and dispense influence. In France especially, educated and attractive women held court in the salons where intellectuals and young bucks vied in wit and gallantry for their attention. Austria and Russia were graced by their ruling empresses, Maria Theresa and Catherine the Great.

Female PCs do not have to spend their lives like Jane Austen in quiet retirement observing the manners of genteel society and penning ironic novels. Adventurous members of the upper classes may travel with their husbands (or if unmarried with just a maidservant) to foreign parts. Love affairs should be discouraged or at least be discreet lest the erring wife be declared mad and shut away in an asylum under heavy medication laced with arsenic traces. Middle-class women may relocate to the colonies to seek or join a husband, though they too should maintain public respectability. Lower-class women may behave as they wish, though they will receive scant protection in law should their actions embroil them in peril.

Women were found in every army as camp-followers. Frequently armed, they were not averse to killing and looting enemy wounded. Some disguised themselves as men and fought in the ranks -- female officers are not impossible. Pasquale Paoli organized women-only detachments to defend Corsica from the French Revolutionary armies.

Though women were officially prohibited from serving aboard ship, some captains and

officers took their wives to sea. Female stowaways were secreted below decks on many ships-of-the-line, and stayed out of sight of less liberal commanders. At Trafalgar, women served with the gun crews on *HMS Victory* -- one even gave birth during the battle.

Less structured careers such as privateering, the merchant marine, (counter-)revolution, espionage, and entertainment posed fewer barriers to women of the period. Even in science, Madame Lavoisier assisted in her husband's research and the University of Bologna had one female professor.

Thus with a little effort, there are first-class role-playing opportunities for female PCs in any ***GURPS Age of Napoleon*** campaign.

In the Shadow of the Eagles

Two out of every three years in the eighteenth century witnessed war in Europe. Even when Europe was at peace, India and the overseas colonies could be relied on as alternative conflict zones. Thus campaigns involving active duty soldiers will be action-packed. Consult the Timeline in the History chapter to determine which countries are (or will be) at war around the campaign's starting date.

Sea power and the desire for imperial aggrandizement transforms European conflicts into global wars. GMs can and should move regiments around so that the soldiers can be available for the next slice of action. This does not mean the PCs should be fighting on a different continent every week -- do retain the realism of travel time -- but it does mean that the characters should not spend the rest of the war garrisoning the first town they captured, *just because that's what happened to the real historical battalion*. Likewise officers who are captured after losing a battle or siege should receive opportunities to escape or be selected for a prisoner exchange. However prisoners who escape *after* giving their parole will not be considered honorable enemies and may be denied further active service by their own government.

All armies operate under military discipline of varying severity. PCs, regardless of Military Rank, should obey the orders of their lawful superiors, or have good reasons ready for their court-martial. NPCs of lower Military Rank will obey orders, but stupid and near-suicidal orders will have a detrimental effect on respect and loyalty, provoking desertion and mutiny. Desertion is usually punished by death, so don't get caught! While good officers could expect devotion from their men, bad officers frequently had fatal accidents in the confusion of battle.

Commission officers do not have to accept postings. Many will prefer to eke out half-pay rather than accept a garrison command in the Caribbean. (Posting an officer to the "Fever Islands" is an easy way to get rid of someone permanently -- it may be years before Horse Guards recalls the character home.) Refusing a posting in the French Revolutionary armies could earn the character a one-way date with the guillotine.

Players may want more freedom of action than realistically available to rank-and-file line infantry. Scouts

(in the American War), French *Voltigeurs* and British riflemen are trained to fight as individuals. Cavalry have sufficient maneuverability to make detaching small units for special missions practical. Alternatively allow at least one PC to be an officer. The purchase system for commissions ensures that GMs can easily prevent players from gaining too much freedom of action prematurely in a campaign.

In most armies, there was a social as well as military chasm between officers and the lower ranks. (In Napoleon's forces, every soldier fancied he had a marshal's baton in his knapsack which he could win through bravery and victory.) Realistically, large parties cannot all be officers, and players should expect their non-officer characters to obey officer PCs. However, because ***GURPS Age of Napoleon*** is a game and because the fictional conventions support such behavior, PC non-officers may enjoy a soldierly camaraderie with their official superiors (but not in front of other superior officers!)

To prevent all soldier characters from looking the same when generated, GMs should encourage players to come up with varied backgrounds and occupations followed by their characters before they enlisted or were conscripted.

Adventure Ideas

For military and naval campaigns, the following selection of adventure ideas can be expanded into full scenarios to sandwich between the marches, voyages, gunnery and sail practice, skirmishes, and spectacular battles. Only a few are specific to particular times and places.

Transform an assorted group of convicts into an elite military unit. (The PCs may be the trainers and/or ex-prisoners.)

Ride beyond the army's front lines as an Exploratory Officer in full dress uniform to discover the whereabouts of enemy forces. Lead a crack unit to intercept enemy baggage trains or dispatch riders; alternatively "salvage" priceless art treasures and relics before someone else loots them.

Rivalry between sailors and soldiers on a transport ship encourages gambling on fist-fights. Accusations of cheating and sore losers leads to wider mayhem. Someone must prevent a general bloodbath.

Chafing at military discipline, a group of soldiers/sailors take unauthorized leave to sample the pleasures of a nearby port. They must elude the guard, enjoy themselves in town without causing a hue and cry and attracting the attention of the provost-marshals or local authorities, then return before their absence is noticed.

Discover evidence of important supplies being stolen from the army's baggage train. Find out who is responsible and stop them.

An entire detachment of native, mercenary or disaffected troops deserts, setting up a local tyranny and committing atrocities. Locate their base and eradicate them, killing or capturing all of them.

Protect an important person from assassination and kidnapping attempts. Identify the enemy agents who are trying to sabotage this mission and deal with them.

Organize a fighting withdrawal through hostile territory (e.g. to Corunna or from Moscow).

Participate in a "Forlorn Hope" assault on a fortress. Then hold the stronghold against recapture.

Capture a Napoleonic Eagle or the equivalent British battalion standards (the King's Color and the Regimental Color) in battle. As soldiers rally to these ensigns, the fighting will be most severe around them.

Rescue prisoners from the enemy. Alternatively escape after being captured.

Conquer a Caribbean island from its colonial masters. Suppress a slave rebellion or prevent disgruntled privateer crews from overthrowing the existing or new regime.

An upsurge in successful privateering or piracy threatens the safety of homeward convoys. Find and destroy them before any further ships are lost. Twist one: Catch the pirates in the very act of taking a merchantmen. They threaten to kill their prisoners unless they are allowed to escape. Twist two: the privateers know too much about the convoy schedules -- who is helping them? Twist three: the merchantmen are being lost in home waters -- a gang of smugglers have become "wreckers" luring the ships to destruction on the rocky coasts with false lights.

Organize and protect a convoy either to or from home waters, surviving bad weather, stubborn and incompetent merchant captains, and the inevitable attempts of privateers to pick off stragglers. For added spice, GMs may make the convoy unusual -- the Atlantic whaling fleet (for encounters with icebergs and Eskimos) or convict transports heading for Botany Bay or French Guyana (for the perils of disease, prisoner mutinies, and attacks by savages in landfalls in the Pacific.)

Ferrying spies into and refugees out of enemy territory. Betrayed by a double agent, the landing party must avoid capture at all costs. Their ship will be identified and driven off with overwhelming force. Denied an easy escape, the group must find another route home, stealing a ship or finding passage with smugglers. As a deadly twist, the smugglers break their side of the bargain and attempt to kill their passengers.

The crew (or a significant proportion) are planning mutiny. The officers must realize what's amiss, identify the ringleaders, and take decisive action. If not, they'll lose the ship and perhaps their lives.

Shipwrecked in unexplored territory, marooned on a desert island, or set adrift in an open boat by successful mutineers, the survivors will need courage and skill to find their way back to civilization (and possibly revenge on those mutineers!).

Bizarre and contradictory orders, paranoid fantasies, and excessive punishments for imaginary offenses become commonplace as the ship's captain succumbs to insanity. Prevent him committing legal murder and forestall a mutiny by removing him from command without breaching the Articles of War (and hence court-martial and a death penalty for

insubordination against a superior officer).
Undertake a "cutting
out" expedition to recover a captured frigate from under the guns of harbor fortresses, or lead fireships and bomb vessels to destroy a French invasion flotilla.
Intercept and ravage an enemy convoy. For added spice,
increase the naval escort so that the encounter becomes a battle-royal between the squadrons, while the treasure fleet attempts to flee in the confusion.
Discover a plot to rescue Napoleon from his island
prison (of Elba or St Helena) and prevent the conspiracy from succeeding at any cost in lives and honor.

Hearts of Oak

Naval
campaigns possess the same advantages and disadvantages as their land-based military cousins. GMs and players who like to explore the whole setting should exploit the flexibility granted by a fast sailing ship. For example, in the American War, a British frigate could be blockading the New England coast one autumn, defending the West Indies from French attack the next spring, back in England that summer, and then escorting military transports to Gibraltar to relieve the siege, before sailing onward to India to combat Admiral Suffren's forces.
Every member of the Royal Navy from the
youngest powder monkey to the most senior admiral is under the discipline of the Articles of War. This will limit the freedom of action of players, even those whose characters are officers. PCs who reach the exalted ranks of master-and-commander and captain have ultimate responsibility for their ship. In the absence of a superior officer, there are no restrictions on their behavior save Admiralty displeasure and the risk of mutiny. If the PCs succeed, no questions will be asked, if they fail, no answer will be sufficient. Every officer in the navy will remember that Admiral Byng was court-martialed and shot on his own quarterdeck for "failing to do his utmost." In the run-up to Trafalgar, the unfortunate Admiral Calder was court-martialed because his engagement with the Combined Fleet in the Bay of Biscay was indecisive. Captains can measure the happiness of the crew (and hence spot the signs of mutiny) by the enthusiasm shown in Sunday services and the amount of skylarking indulged in. Similarly muttering and fidgeting during and after a flogging will indicate that the crew believes the punishment to be unjust or excessive.
Players who like playing the
real underdogs might prefer their characters to join the French or Spanish navies for an extreme challenge. In addition to facing superior British seamanship, gunnery and numbers, mariners will have to cope with inexperienced crews, incompetent fellow officers, and the rapid promotion of undeserving compatriots simply on the basis of their purer noble lineage. Once the Revolution begins, French naval officers with royalist sympathies will have to take great care to avoid denunciation.
Royal Navy
officers are extremely unlikely to refuse an appointment -- even in war, there are always fewer ships than officers. Captains who are sitting MPs may request service in home waters to be available for important

Parliamentary business. A naval posting to the Caribbean is not too unhealthy -- ships will usually be on patrol during the fever season.

Seniority is all-important in navies of the period. Characters of the same military rank will be ordered into seniority by date of commission, so making every PC an officer will not remove the obligation of subordinate PCs to obey their superiors. However the fictional conventions allow for protagonists of varying ranks to share the limelight -- simultaneously this permits GMs to create parties with varied strengths. For example in addition to the traditional captain and loyal first lieutenant pairing, Marine officers, surgeons, sailing masters, and other warrant officers are all suitable candidates for PCs. Access to the lower deck can be achieved through the crucial position of captain's coxswain, while other seamen can attach themselves to particular officers. The press-gang is no respecter of nationality or occupation -- players should feel free to create diverse backgrounds for their pressed characters.

GMs should seriously consider starting characters at the lower naval ranks such as lieutenants, midshipmen, and warrant officers' mates, both to allow the players to grow into positions of responsibility and to provide the GM with the widest range of possible scenarios. Officers should advance slowly -- Richard Woodman kept his hero Nathaniel Drinkwater in the junior ranks for years (and hence commanding unrated ships), making his secret service career feasible. Alexander Kent gave his Richard Bolitho a more conventional career as an exceptional ship and fleet commander -- Bolitho was a captain by 1783, but reached flag rank only in 1800 (through the normal process of promotion by seniority). Seafarers will experience the greatest breadth of action whilst commanding frigates or smaller ships. Ships-of-the-line necessitate a change in campaign focus.

Privateers

and Pirates

Players seeking seaborne action with greater freedom of action, less discipline, and increased diversity of character types may wish to consider privateering and/or piracy campaigns. Naval officers involved in financial scandals or duels (such as Cochrane and the fictional heroes Jack Aubrey and Harry Ludlow) may find a new career as privateers.

Pirates still proliferate in the South China Sea and among the Barbary States of North Africa. The increased naval presence in colonial waters and hence the likelihood of being captured and hung for piracy dissuades nearly all Europeans from becoming freebooters. Instead civilians await a war and then approach their home or colonial government to solicit "Letters of Marque and Reprisal," licensing them to attack enemy ships until the end of the war as "privateers." If captured, a privateer produces his letters of marque as a legal defense against prosecution as a pirate.

Privateer ships come in two flavors. Armed merchantmen employ their privateer status mostly as an exemption from sailing in convoy, enabling them to deliver their cargoes faster, and occasionally diverting to seize smaller enemy ships. Real privateers use custom-built schooners and converted slaving vessels, heavily armed and manned (for gun crews, boarding parties, and prize crews). Privateers are most successful when their own nation is losing because the

fleet is busy defending home waters and naval frigates are too busy guarding convoys.

Privateering campaigns should start with the budding privateers finding someone with enough cash to purchase and fit out a suitable vessel. Obtaining the Letters of Marque, agreeing a suitable division of prize money between owners, government, and crew, recruiting and training crews, etc., will be initial tasks for the PCs. Getting to sea might involve running a British blockade. Thereafter privateers will spend their time afloat hunting the sea lanes for prizes, and their time ashore networking with colonial governors, merchants, and criminals to glean information as to the likely movements of enemy vessels. For maximum profit, commerce raiders should locate and harry convoys, cutting out stragglers and pouncing on ships dispersed by storms, before escaping from vengeful frigates. Attacking naval ships is heroic, stupid, and unprofitable. British privateers should avoid the Royal Navy -- they don't like any privateers and they will attempt to press crewmembers regardless of their exemptions!

Traders, Slavers, and Smugglers

The opportunities for merchant adventurers to become outrageously wealthy are many, especially in maritime commerce. The truly successful may become financiers and bankers, offering loans to governments and other entrepreneurs. However repeated failures will lead to spiraling debts and bankruptcy. Fleeing the country is often the only way of escaping the creditors and prolonged incarceration in a debtors' prison.

Seagoing merchant PCs who prefer their independence will ply the West Indian and Baltic trade routes. Contrary winds prolonging voyages by several months, storms, spoiled stores and cargoes, and petulant passengers will enliven peacetime commerce. War will bring the threat of privateers and hostile navies, the necessity of traveling in convoys, and frequent attempts by the Royal Navy to press crews at sea and as soon as the ship reaches port.

The trade with India is the preserve of the Honourable East India Company. Merchant adventurers should be careful which rumors they believe when selecting their private cargoes in England to ship outward to India -- it is easy to glut the market and lose rather than gain a fortune! In India itself, everyone from the lowliest clerk to the governor's council is trying to amass personal wealth. Adventurers must keep their wits about them to prosper despite the corruption, the intrigue, and shrewd local traders. As they rise in the Company hierarchy, officials may be sent to collect taxes, administer justice, and negotiate with native princes. Martially-inclined characters will gravitate to the Bombay Marine (the Company's private navy) or officer positions in its Sepoy land forces during the Company's wars with Indian rulers and their French allies. At $2,500 per share, few PCs will be able to afford significant stockholdings in the Company itself.

More ruthless players might consider a stint in the slave trade. Slaving is not a career for the compassionate or sickly. Slaving expeditions will involve purchasing supplies of trade goods such as muskets, gunpowder, brandy, wines, textiles, etc., in the home nation, sailing to West Africa, and then braving disease and native betrayals to buy a consignment of slaves. Assuming the slavers

can avoid the depredations of privateers en route and being defrauded by colonial planters, each healthy slave can be sold for some $400.
The
"Trade," as smuggling was known in England, prevailed wherever duties were excessive on foreign goods. Smugglers operated in the English Channel, the Mediterranean, and the Caribbean. When war, blockades and the Continental System prohibited outright the import of certain goods, smugglers worked harder and became richer. During the wars, English smugglers met French counterparts mid-Channel to transfer cargoes and passengers (such as spies, royalists, and rebels). Smugglers use swift under-armed schooners as discretion is the only part of valor. Illicit cargoes can be towed under the keel. If pursued by a Revenue cutter, smugglers will frequently sink the cargo in shallow waters and retrieve it later when the excise officials are safely elsewhere. Being caught in the possession of contraband goods can spell the end for these traders. On land, the struggle between smugglers and the Revenue service will involve organizing gangs, preparing safe houses, cultivating friends in high places, ferreting out informers, corrupting excise officials, and so on. The penalty for informing on a smuggler gang is death using gruesome methods such as burying a bound and gagged victim alive on a beach when the tide is out.
For prolonged mercantile campaigns,
GMs should encourage players to move among the vocations of law-abiding merchant, smuggler, and perhaps slaver or privateer to prevent the game stagnating.

Other Campaigns and Crossovers

GURPS Swashbucklers

In a sense, ***GURPS Age of Napoleon*** is a continuation of ***GURPS Swashbucklers***, describing the later swashbuckling era in greater detail. GMs and players needing rules and information on fencing techniques in the eighteenth century or on the mechanics of sailing and ship-to-ship combat should consult ***GURPS Swashbucklers***.

Pioneer Campaigns and *GURPS Old West*

Players with a taste for the Western genre could play
pioneers on the American frontier. Settlers will have to build and maintain their plantations against the depredations of hostile Native Americans, dishonest traders, and the agents of other colonial powers. The relative proximity of the "West" to the long established colonies will prevent frontiersmen from ignoring the simmering discontent which will lead to the American Revolution -- pioneers will have to choose between the Patriot and Loyalist causes and suffer the consequences. GMs should consult ***GURPS Old West*** for more information on western-genre games and Native Americans.

The Undiscovered Country

PCs can take
advantage of government imperialism to get involved with land and sea expeditions to distant lands. Naval expeditions seek Terra Australis but find Australia, New Zealand and uncounted Pacific atolls. Explorers might stray further south than Captain Cook and discover the frozen wastes of Antarctica. Alternatively the Admiralty might send them to discover the North West Passage (the sea route from the Pacific to the Atlantic over North America).
The Association for the Discovery of the Interior
Parts of Africa, a club of wealthy Englishmen motivated by scientific and humanitarian interests, will fund expeditions into unknown Africa. Europeans disguised as Arabs were able to travel through Muslim North Africa to reach the cities of Gondar (in Ethiopia) and Sennar (in Funj on the Blue Nile). Mungo Park took a more direct route during his 1795-7 explorations of the Niger river. (See the upcoming ***GURPS African Kingdoms*** for more information on the native nations.)
Expeditions involve getting
there, seeing the sights, and getting back home, preferably alive! Long sea voyages are prone to outbreaks of scurvy and mutiny; land-based treks may require caution and diplomacy for the travelers to pass through hostile nations to reach the limits of the known world. New lands will have to be charted or mapped, definitely named, and if the natives seem sufficiently primitive, claimed for the home country. Flora, fauna, and natural resources must be investigated. Encounters with natives may be peaceful or violent -- one day the explorers may be treated as gods, the next as devils.
Rival expeditions may encourage healthy competition, unlikely alliances, or ruthless sabotage. Ammunition and guns must be conserved against real need. Depleted stores, stiff native opposition, or even successful discoveries will signal time to leave. Time, however, marches on -- the explorers may escape the frying pan of the cannibals only to find themselves in the fire -- this time of a war.
GMs may introduce elements of the
fantastic -- unnatural beings, lost civilizations, monsters on land and at sea are all possible. How much effect three broadsides every two minutes will have on eldritch horrors and sunken cities rising from the sea when the stars are right is a different matter.

Science, *GURPS High-Tech*, and *GURPS Steampunk*

Science is respectable
in civilized Europe. Scientists consider themselves to be members of the international "Republic of Science." PCs should join learned societies and seek entry to the prestigious academies. Discoveries and theories will gain them recognition and influence. The government may appoint them to commissions to solve questions of national importance or disprove the wild claims of pseudosciences such as mesmerism. Innovators will have to contend with bureaucracy, corruption, superstition and traditionalism. The Luddites will provide violent opposition. Inventors determined to establish the military value of submarines, hot-air balloons, or Sir William Congreve's rockets may find themselves required to put up or shut up in a real battle! ***GURPS High-Tech*** will prove useful for realistic games in this
vein.
Greater divergence is possible leading to alternate
histories. Perhaps the pseudosciences such as mesmerism and phrenology

(studying the skull contours reveals the traits and abilities of the individual) actually work. Perhaps the military trials of Fulton's innovations are successful or the Admiralty decides to utilize Lord Cochrane's chemical weapons. Hot-air balloons evolve into early dirigibles, fleets of submarines cruise the sea lanes, steam-powered engines tunnel underneath the English Channel, and clouds of poison gas add an extra horror to Napoleonic battlefields. ***GURPS Steampunk*** provides suggestions for unusual scientific revolutions -- GMs should be careful not to go overboard with the weird technology as this is still only the dawn of the Age of Steam.

GURPS Horror, *GURPS Undead*, and *GURPS Voodoo*

Belief in magic and omens is common in rural areas. The touch of a hanged man or a noose traditionally cures illnesses. A suspected witch was drowned in 1780; two years later the last witch was burned. Vampires and werewolves are considered real terrors. African rituals follow the slave trade to Haiti, merge with Christianity, and become voodoo practices.

Tim Burton's movie "Sleepy Hollow" (adapted from *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow*) is an idiosyncratic vision of a post-Revolutionary New England where magic and witches are real, if rare. Tom Holland's *The Vampyre* tells the tale of how Byron became an immortal vampire during his sojourn in Greece. Period Gothic horror novels such as *The Monk* and *Mysteries of Udolpho* will also supply useful inspiration.

Fending off Arab raiders and enduring killing heat and deadly plagues, a mixed group of soldiers and scientists might try some early excavations in Egypt. Instead of finding the expected historical artifacts and treasures, they free an ancient evil. See the movie *The Mummy* for a twentieth-century romp on these lines.

GURPS Castle Falkenstein

For a really wild game, GMs might wish to consider combining ***GURPS Age of Napoleon*** with ***GURPS Castle Falkenstein*** in order to retell the history of New Europa in the eighteenth century long before the Second Compact. The events of the real Europe and New Europa are broadly the same -- both have an American Revolution, a French Revolution, and the Revolutionary-Napoleonic Wars. GMs using the material in this book should remember that the colonial powers were less successful in New Europa and adapt historical events accordingly. For instance, Native American shamans may attack both sides in the American Revolution. The Inner Sea will stretch the resources of the Royal Navy even more thinly in the continental blockades. Magic will be used in battles on land and at sea by all sides -- sharpshooters will target wizards first, then officers. GMs must also decide which sides Auberon and the Adversary are supporting in this era's conflicts. Was the French Revolution intended by Auberon to peacefully reform and modernize France? How did the Adversary warp its ideals to create the Terror? Is Napoleon the tool of the Seelie or the Unseelie Court? Or is he simply a Corsican adventurer who has seized his opportunity to achieve his own destiny by playing one Faerie Lord off against the other?

Spies and Spymasters

Players and GMs who prefer espionage games will be spoilt for choice in this period. Every nation has its spies; some also have secret police. Each network gathers information on the political, diplomatic and military intentions of foreign states while hampering the efforts of rival agencies. Secret police agents also monitor and sometimes suppress internal dissidents.

Spies may be involved in all aspects of espionage: intelligence-gathering, counter-intelligence, recruitment, and special operations.

Intelligence-gathering is the foundation of all espionage. Missions may range from simple observation of troop deployment and naval readiness through interception of couriers and dispatches to infiltrating foreign governments. It has been suggested that Casanova's travels and amatory adventures around Europe concealed a more furtive real career. British agents in the household of Tsar Alexander discovered and reported the secret articles of the Treaty of Tilsit almost immediately, enabling the British to forestall Napoleon's hopes of attaining naval superiority using the Danish fleet.

Counter-intelligence is the process of capturing and/or misinforming enemy agents. The British secret service searched for Jacobin and pro-French sympathizers in the corresponding societies of the 1790s. Fouché ordered the surveillance of hundreds of suspected and known Jacobins, royalists, and other enemies of the regime.

Recruitment concerns the selection of new agents, by blackmail, bribery, and occasionally appeals to (misplaced) ideals. New recruits may be double agents, of course. Informers reporting to the British in Dublin Castle virtually paralyzed the Society of United Irishmen. From Basel, the spymaster William Wickham orchestrated royalist resistance and espionage missions against Napoleon.

Special operations is a catch-all for everything else. For instance, American agents planned to kidnap Prince William Henry (later King William IV) during a planned visit to New York and hold him to political ransom -- British counterintelligence discovered the plot and increased security, deterring the conspirators. The duelist and rake Baron Camelford (a cousin of William Pitt the Younger) was suspected of being involved in attempts to assassinate Napoleon -- Camelford himself died mysteriously in a duel. In Spain, the adventurer Domingo Badia Leblicht proposed a convoluted and audacious plan to Manuel de Godoy. This involved Leblicht disguising himself as the Prophet's descendant and befriending the Sultan at Mecca, whereupon he would persuade the rebel factions to oust the Sultan, ceding Moroccan territories to Spain in return for Spanish assistance. Had it worked, the scheme would have weakened the threat of the Barbary States and made Gibraltar potentially untenable. Carlos IV vetoed the project.

PCs should be warned that the penalty for espionage is death by firing squad.

The Affair of The Diamond

Necklace
The Diamond Necklace Affair is proof that truth is
stranger than fiction. It reads like a Dumas plot, yet it happened and
brought Marie-Antoinette and the French monarchy into disrepute. GMs may
wish to use it as a model for courtly intrigue.
The adventuress
Jeanne de La Motte, a self-styled countess and descendant of the Valois
kings, had conned her way into Versailles. She met the wealthy Cardinal de
Rohan, who was desirous of regaining Marie Antoinette's favor (she had
rejected an amorous advance from him years previously), and persuaded de
Rohan that she could achieve this. He gave her money periodically,
ostensibly for charitable works.
La Motte staged a nocturnal
meeting in August 1784 between de Rohan and Nicole Le Guay, a
milliner-prostitute disguised as the queen, who handed the Cardinal a single
rose. He gave La Motte more money, and was persuaded that Marie Antoinette
wanted to purchase a diamond necklace (valued at $640,000) from the jewelers
Boehmer and Bassenge. (Marie Antoinette on her mother's advice had
previously refused to buy the jewelry.) Convinced by a forged letter
apparently from Marie Antoinette and the influence of the charlatan
Cagliostro, whose claims of communion with the gods of the Nile and the
Euphrates had made him the Cardinal's personal prophet, the Cardinal used
his credit to buy the necklace, yielding it to "the Queen's courier" in
January 1785. This courier was actually La Motte's lover and proceeded to
break the stones up for fencing around Paris and later London.
La
Motte bought a sizeable estate, the Cardinal waited on the Queen's favor and
first installment, and the jewelers fretted about their own creditors. In
July, Boehmer gave Marie Antoinette a note referring to the diamonds, but
she assumed this was another ploy to persuade her to buy them and burned the
note. De Rohan stalled Boehmer and Bassenge. Bizarrely La Motte went
directly to them and revealed that they had been cheated. The jewelers
sought the Queen on August 5th, and an enraged Louis XVI summoned de Rohan
ten days later.
De Rohan admitted he had been fooled, but
beseeched Louis XVI to conceal the scandal. Instead Louis XVI arrested him
and imprisoned him in an extremely comfortable apartment in the Bastille.
The conspirators were found, arrested, and more harshly jailed. Tried before
the *parlement* of Paris, the Cardinal and most of the plotters were
acquitted. De Rohan was nevertheless stripped of his ecclesiastical rank and
sent into monastic exile. La Motte was publicly flogged, branded and
imprisoned for life in 1786. Escaping from the Salp<\#144>trière
prison two years later, she published libelous memoirs concerning
Marie-Antoinette from safety in England. Though innocent in the affair,
Marie-Antoinette's reputation was ruined.
Louis XVI was
periodically blackmailed by adventurers threatening to libel the monarchy.
Sometimes he employed agents to track down and acquire the manuscripts.
Truly audacious rogues invented scandalmongers and received royal funding to
gallivant around Europe in hot pursuit of the imaginary writers!

Politicians, Rebels and Reactionaries

GMs and players
with a taste for Machiavellian maneuvering and pure roleplaying should consider a political campaign where PCs jockey for social status in the salons, coffee houses, and gaming clubs of Europe and seek influence in government or at court. Male Russian characters might even try to become Catherine the Great's next lover!

In England, politicians may seek
careers in Parliament, bribing the voters of rotten boroughs to secure their election, acquiring sinecures, promoting and defeating legislation. Social engagements, romantic interludes, diplomatic missions (probably combined with some espionage), and postings overseas to govern colonies will provide a change of pace. A particularly successful group might even be invited by the King to form the next ministry.

In France, politicos may seek
election to the Estates General and attempt to direct the course of the Revolution. Early commitments to the wrong faction, royalist connections, or ill-chosen enemies may prove their later undoing. As the Terror gathers pace, politicians must choose either to support Robespierre, to flee into exile, or to plot his downfall. If they survive the Terror and the Thermidorian reaction, skilled manipulators will seize the opportunity to become ministers for the Directory, perhaps becoming Directors themselves. Ministers must counter the machinations of Talleyrand and Sieyès and protect themselves against Jacobin and royalist conspiracies; alternatively opposition politicians may work to overthrow the Directory in favor of a stronger government headed by an obscure general. Characters during the Consulate and Empire may follow administrative and diplomatic careers imposing Napoleon's will on conquered Europe and cowed neighboring states. The farsighted may choose to play a double game betraying the Empire to the Allies.

In some situations and to some people, political solutions
appear impossible. PCs, disillusioned with British intransigence, might therefore find themselves responsible for organizing the American Revolution. Initial tasks might involve forming local cells of the "Sons of Liberty" to oppose the Stamp and Townshend Acts, producing and distributing subversive literature, and provoking and instigating events such as the Boston Massacre. Other activities are likely to include securing support from influential individuals across the colonies and overseas, gun-running, training the nascent militias, and spying on Loyalists and the British. After Lexington and Concord, the campaign moves to a more military emphasis.

Similar styles of campaign can be run in France (after the
Revolution), occupied Spain (during the Peninsular War), and Ireland. French Royalists can alternately conspire against the Republic and Napoleon or resort to open revolt in the Vendée. In Spain, insurgents can conduct guerrilla warfare against the French and their Spanish allies. The best-laid plans of conspirators often go astray, however: the United Irishmen intended to signal the start of an all-Ireland rebellion in 1798 by stopping all four mail coaches leaving Dublin -- only one was stopped and the revolt was piecemeal. Georges Cadoudal's "Opera Plot" failed to kill Napoleon by a matter of seconds in 1804.

Throughout Europe in the early nineteenth
century, secret societies such as the *Philadelphes* (France),

Tugenbund (Germany), and *Adelfi* (Italy) proliferated with the first "professional" revolutionaries such as Filippo Buonarroti appearing. Buonarroti was a noble Tuscan lawyer who became a Freemason, an enthusiast for the French Revolution and a Jacobin. He plotted against the Directory and Napoleon, and was an inveterate pamphleteer. By the 1820s, members of his organization were established across the continent.

Scarlet Pimpernels

"We seek him here,
We seek
him there,
Those Frenchies seek him everywhere.
Is he in Heaven?
Is he in
Hell?
That dammed elusive Pimpernel."
-- *The Scarlet*
Pimpernel, Baroness Orczy.

Sir Percy Blakeney, alias the Scarlet Pimpernel, is Baroness Orczy's most famous creation. Reputedly the Pimpernel was partially modeled on Baron Jean de Batz, a wealthy Royalist adventurer who tried and failed to save both Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette. In the case of Louis, de Batz and four followers tried to force their way through the crowds to rescue the king while en route to his execution -- his companions were cut down, but de Batz escaped. Finding greater success by corrupting influential revolutionaries, de Batz bribed the entire staff of the Conciergerie prison in preparation for ensuring Marie Antoinette's escape. She refused to leave her children behind, the suspicions of outsiders were aroused, and the rescue aborted.

The fictional Scarlet Pimpernel is a rich English baronet, the height of fashion but seemingly lacking in real intelligence. In fact, Blakeney is a master of disguise and dissimulation. His secretive League of the Scarlet Pimpernel has twenty members dedicated to rescuing French aristocrats from the guillotine. Abetted by French sympathizers, the League breaks royalists out of prisons, disguises them (as soldiers, plague victims, etc.), and spirits them from Paris to a coastal rendezvous with a fast ship bound for England. As a final mocking insult, the League leaves a calling card inscribed with the drawing of a scarlet pimpernel. Naturally the Revolutionary government is determined to unmask and eliminate the Pimpernel . . .

Pawns of the Secret Masters

It was an age of secret societies and conspiracies. Rulers feared a conspiracy of the powerful above all other dangers. Revolts by the ordinary people could always be suppressed; the great nobles and magnates could topple thrones. In the early days of the French Revolution, the shadowy Committee of Thirty met in the Palais Royal, the Parisian residence of the Duc d'Orléans, who later styled himself Philippe-Egalité. Its membership included Mirabeau,

Talleyrand, Lafayette, and Sieyes. The writers Laclos and Beaumarchais served as propagandists for the Orleanist faction. The extent of the Committee of Thirty's influence on the Revolution is unknown; in an Illuminated campaign, it could be substantial. An Illuminated Comte de Saint-Germain might be directing resistance to the Revolution after faking his own death in 1784.

Freemasonry had spread even as far east as Poland and Russia as well as west to the American colonies. Its claims to embrace all orders of society and all religions were frequently exaggerated by its supporters. Its unity was spurious with factionalism and power struggles rampant among the different forms and lodges. No overarching ruling body had yet appeared to prevent schism. As Freemasonry migrated into Germany and Russia, it acquired mystical overtones in "The Strict Observance" (as opposed to the "Lax Observance"). Strict Observance Freemasons claimed to have adopted surviving traditions from the Knights Templar. By the 1780s, Freemasons were under police surveillance in the Habsburg territories.

The Rosicrucians were (apparently) founded in 1755. Their leadership (centered in Berlin) claimed to have gained supernatural and/or magical powers, and practiced astrology, cabalism, and sorcery. Frederick William II of Prussia became a member of the society. Attempts were made to recruit Grand Duke Paul (later Tsar Paul I), but all such societies were restricted in Russia by Catherine the Great in the 1790s.

The Bavarian Illuminati were (supposedly) founded by Adam Weishaupt in 1776, and quickly gained a reputation for mysticism, sorcery, and exotic rituals. By 1785, they had been banned in Bavaria.

Illuminated campaigns could focus on how these seemingly new societies gained their arcane traditions. Are their founders actually Secret Masters from existing orders creating alternate power bases? Are the new orders simply covers for existing conspiracies? Have the new societies merely inherited their powers from seemingly unaided discoveries, and if so, is this Knowledge That Was Not Meant For Them To Know? What is the price for this knowledge, when will it be paid, and to whom or to what? Conceivably initiated PCs might reach such positions of power in these "new" secret societies to be able to create their agendas and set in motion the global conspiracies of the future ...

Time

Travelers

Napoleon saved the French Revolution with his "whiff" of grapeshot and France from factionalism with his coup d'état. The Napoleonic myth inspired the Latin American rebellions against colonial rule and secured a Second Empire for his nephew, Napoleon III. The Napoleonic Wars crystallized national identity in Europe, sowing the seeds for lasting German and Italian unification, with disastrous consequences in the twentieth century. Napoleon is a natural target for meddling time travelers intent on altering the course of history. Here are some critical junctures with suggestions as to their consequences:

The Buonaparte family declined the opportunity to follow Pasquale Paoli into exile. Had they

relocated to England, Napoleon's sympathies would not have lain with France. Likely he would have lived and died in impoverished obscurity.

Napoleon applied in 1783 to the British Admiralty for a cadetship, but his application was ignored. As an officer of the Royal Navy, he might have brought Corsica permanently into the British Empire. If his loyalty proved weak, he might return to France but with an understanding of sea warfare sufficient to alter the outcome of the naval conflict.

On St Helena, Napoleon regretted not leading an expedition against Ireland. Even a small force would have been sufficient to demolish British resistance. The United Irishmen would have persuaded thousands of volunteers to join the French, creating an "Irish ulcer" for Britain. Blockade and attempts at reconquest would bleed Britain dry and divert its government from colonial adventures (thus reducing the future empire in size). Ireland would also provide the French with a staging ground to invade the vulnerable western coasts of Britain.

Napoleon was nearly captured twice during his Egyptian expedition to Egypt. En route to Egypt, the English and French fleets passed each other unawares. He eluded the blockading squadrons on his return journey. Interception would have (temporarily) ended his career and perhaps his life. Another more biddable general would have assisted Sieyès in his overthrow of the Directory.

A more subtle change might be effected by reinforcing the balconies of Malmaison. One such balcony collapsed under Josephine rendering her infertile from internal injuries. Preventing this accident and encouraging the birth of a heir without recourse to divorce and remarriage would establish the dynasty without encumbering Napoleon with unreliable allies.

A qualified victory at Austerlitz (perhaps by an early Russian arrival at Ulm, Prussia attacking the empire's flanks, or Kutuzov refusing battle in order to draw the French deeper into hostile territory) might have curbed Napoleon's ambition and made him willing to accede to Talleyrand's Austrian alliance and concomitant balance of power in Europe.

Likewise adherence to the Tilsit treaty would have preserved his throne and left Napoleon master of Europe. After a couple of purely defensive wars to reinforce the empire's stability, Napoleon would find Tsar Alexander amenable to resurrecting their plan to attack India jointly via Persia, fulfilling Napoleon's dreams of emulating Alexander the Great.

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