

History 635 - 003
FIRST TOTAL WAR?
THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY AND NAPOLEONIC WARS

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Robinson B 348

Office hours: Thursday 1-3 pm (or by appointment)

Fall 2011

Thursday 7:20 – 10:00 pm

Robinson A 246

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Course description and goals:

Were the French revolutionary and Napoleonic wars a first example of “total war”? And what impact did this protracted conflict have on such a pivotal moment in the history of France, Europe, indeed “the modern era” itself? This course offers a detailed examination of the quarter-century of semi-continuous warfare that tore the European continent apart from 1792 to 1815. In order to address these two central questions, it considers these wars from a variety of angles, paying attention both to the battlefield and the home front. Topics covered include: changes in battlefield tactics; repercussions on international relations; new cultures of conflict; terror, civil war, and colonial conquest; the soldiers’ experience; practices of mass mobilization; the militarization of society, bureaucratization, technology and the war economy. Using both historians’ works and contemporary impressions, we will seek to both grasp the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars as an object of study, and in turn assess how crucial this conflict is to our broader understanding of the birth of modernity.

The courses goals are:

- To introduce you to the history and historiography of the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, paying special attention to various recent attempts at conceptualizing these as a first example of total war.
- To raise your awareness of the “varieties of history,” of the many different ways of conducting historical research and of reconstructing the past.
- To familiarize you with the skills and tasks of the historian.

Course requirements:

There are four course requirements for the course, each counting towards your final grade (according to the indicated percentages):

- Participation (20 % grade)
- 1 oral presentation and research packet on weekly readings (20 %)
- 2 book reviews (20 %)
- 1 historiographical or research essay (40%)

This is a discussion seminar, so *participation* is obviously crucial to its success as well as your own. Please come to class prepared to ask questions, listen, and engage actively with other people’s ideas.

Each week one or two students will introduce the required readings with an *oral presentation* and a *research packet* that will be circulated after class. Your presentation should be short (10-15mins) and to the point. You should briefly summarize the gist of the book(s) (content, sources, thesis statement); situate it with regard to the historiography it addresses (or doesn’t!); tell us something about its author and his or her other research; introduce reactions to the book, for example from reviewers. You should also raise 3 key points or questions that you think should frame our discussion, and be prepared to act as a discussion leader and moderator to make sure these are addressed during the class. These questions, as

well as a critical bibliography (including other relevant books, articles, and reviews and a sentence or two on what they say), must be emailed to me and the rest of the class the day before we meet (by Wednesday evening).

The 2 *book reviews* can be on any book on the syllabus (required and suggested further readings), except for those ones listed for the week in which you give your oral presentation. They should be roughly 1000 words in length and you should follow standard formats for book reviews in major historical journals (for example [The American Historical Review](#) or [The Journal of Modern History](#)). A book review should cover the following points: What kind of a book is this (monograph, survey, essay, edited collection etc)? What question(s) does it address? What is (are) its main argument(s)? How does it formulate its point(s) (sources, theory, narrative strategies etc)? What is compelling about the book, what is not, and what might it have neglected (other sources, questions etc)? Book reviews must be handed in at the beginning of class on the day in which that book is listed on the syllabus.

Your final, 4000-word *essay* should be either a historiographical review essay on a sub-topic from the course syllabus, or a short research piece based on some primary evidence that you can access. The historiographical essay must surmise the state of research in a particular field by analysing 4-6 pertinent books or substantive articles and drawing some general themes from these. You should provide more or less detailed analyses of each work looked at following the guidelines for individual book reviews above. You should also identify the key issues and questions in the field (and how these may have evolved over time), seeking to distil from the sources some general ideas about the state of research in that particular area (think about questions of method, changing trends and questions asked etc). You must only opt for the research essay if you find and are willing to spend considerable time working through a corpus of primary sources. These may be found in both edited volumes and in online resources listed in the syllabus.

In either case, you must consult with me before deciding your topic and type of essay. You should do so in advance of a short prospectus (1 page) and annotated bibliography that I expect to have emailed to me by **Monday 31st October, 5 pm**. The final deadline for submitting your essay (hardcopy in my mailbox in the history dept) will be **Tuesday 13th December, 5pm**.

Readings and other resources:

The following required books are available for purchase in the bookstore and online:

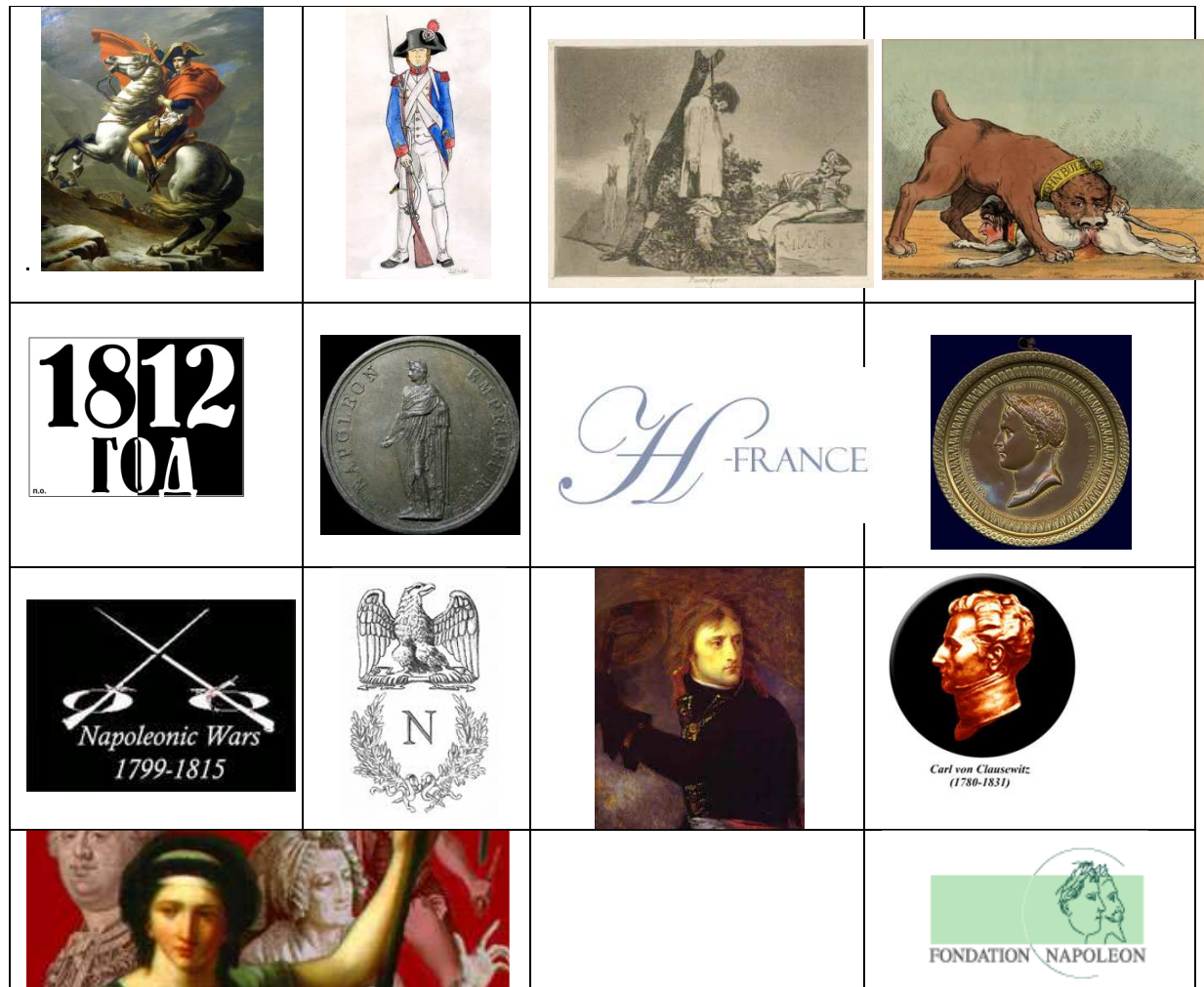
- K. Alder, *Engineering the Revolution: Arms and Enlightenment in France, 1763-1815* (2010)
- D. A. Bell, *The First Total War: Napoleon's Europe and the Birth of Warfare as We Know It* (2007)
- R. Chickering and S. Förster, eds., *War in an Age of Revolution, 1775-1815* (2010)
- C. von Clausewitz, *On War*, Oxford World's Classics (2008)
- J. R. Cole, *Napoleon's Egypt : invading the Middle East* (2007)
- J. A. Lynn, *The Bayonets of the Republic: Motivation and Tactics in the Army of Revolutionary France, 1791-94* (1996)
- G. E. Rothenberg, *The Art of Warfare in the Age of Napoleon* (1981)

The following required books are available free of charge as online e-books (some copies are also available for purchase at the bookstore):

- A. Forrest, *Napoleon's Men: The Soldiers of the Revolution and Empire* (2006)
- W. Hanley, *The Genesis of Napoleonic Propaganda, 1796 to 1799* (2008)
- A. Mayer, *The Furies: Violence and Terror in the French and Russian Revolutions* (2000)
- P. W. Schroeder, *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763-1848* (1994)

Other weekly readings are available online (eg. articles) or in a DC library.

You will find a wealth of information and primary sources on various online sites, including the following:



Some edited collections of primary sources:

R. Blaufarb, *Napoleon: Symbol of an Age. A Brief History with Documents* (2007)
P. Dwyer and P. McPhee, eds., *The French Revolution and Napoleon: A Sourcebook* (2002)
L. Mason and T. Rizzo, *The French Revolution: A Document Collection* (1998)

Class schedule and readings (note: some readings may change)

Wk 1 (09/01)	Introduction
Suggested further reading	<p>Some useful general works on war and society at the time:</p> <p>A. Corvisier, <i>Armies and Societies in Europe, 1494-1789</i> (1979)</p> <p>G. Best, <i>War and Society in Revolutionary Europe, 1770-1870</i> (1982)</p> <p>J. Black, <i>European Warfare, 1660-1815</i> (1994)</p> <p>M. Howard, <i>War in European History</i> (1976)</p> <p>C. Rogers, ed., <i>The Military Revolution Debate: Readings on the Military Transformation of Early Modern Europe</i> (1995)</p>

C. Townshend, ed., <i>The Oxford History of Modern War</i> (2000)
On the French Revolution and Napoleon in general (+ many, many more...): Liberty, Equality, Fraternity : <i>Exploring the French Revolution</i> R. Blaufarb, <i>Napoleon: Symbol of an Age. A Brief History with Documents</i> (2007) W. Doyle <i>The Oxford History of the French Revolution</i> (2002) C. Jones, <i>The Great Nation: France from Louis XV to Napoleon</i> (2003) P. McPhee, <i>The French Revolution, 1789-1799</i> (2002) J. Popkin, <i>A Short History of the French Revolution</i> (2009) G. Rudé, <i>Revolutionary Europe, 1783-1815</i> (1964)

PART I	TOTAL WAR
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Wk 2 (09/08)	The total war thesis
Required reading	D. Bell, <i>The First Total War: Napoleon's Europe and the Birth of Warfare as We Know It</i> (2007)
Suggested further reading	Some more classical narratives and syntheses of the wars of 1792-1815: T. Blanning, <i>The French Revolutionary Wars, 1787-1802</i> (1996) D. Chandler, <i>The Campaigns of Napoleon</i> (1966) O. Connelly, <i>The Wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon</i> (2005) C. Esdailles <i>The French Wars, 1792-1815</i> (2001) ———, <i>Napoleon's Wars: An International History, 1803-1815</i> (2009) D. Gates, <i>The Napoleonic Wars, 1803-1815</i> (1996) G. Rothenberg, "The Origins, Causes, and Extension of the Wars of the French Revolution & Napoleon." <i>Journal of Interdisciplinary History</i> 18:4 (1988) ———, <i>The Napoleonic Wars</i> (1999)

Wk 3 (09/15)	Assessing the total war thesis
Required reading	Introduction and U. Planert, "Innovation or Revolution?" in R. Chickering and S. Förster, eds., <i>War in an Age of Revolution, 1775-1815</i> (2010) M. Broers, "The Concept of 'Total War' in the Revolutionary-Napoleonic Period," War in History 15:3 (2008) Review essays in H-France Forum 2:3 (2008)
Suggested further reading	See readings for week 2, and for critical evaluation of the concept of "total war": R. Chickering, "Total War: Use and Abuse of a Concept," in M. Boemeke et al, eds. <i>Anticipating Total War: The German and American Experiences, 1871-1914</i> (1999), 13-28 ggbooks and e-res J.-Y. Guioimar, <i>L'invention de la guerre totale, XVIIIe-XXe siècle</i> (2004)

Wk 4 (09/22)	Contemporary views
Required reading	C. von Clausewitz, <i>On War</i> , Oxford World's Classics (2008) Extracts from the Count de Guibert, in B. Heuser, <i>The Strategy Makers: Thoughts on War and Society from Machiavelli to Clausewitz</i> (2010) ggbooks and e-res
Suggested further reading	Clausewitz website (including on Clausewitz-Jomini interaction) F.-A. Guibert, <i>Essai général de tactique</i> (1773) (in French) B. Heuser, "Guibert: Prophet of Total War?" in Chickering, <i>War in an Age of Revolution</i> A.-H. Jomini, The Art of War (1862) P. Paret, ed., <i>Makers of Modern Strategy from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age</i> (1986)

PART II THE FACE OF BATTLE	
Wk 5 (09/29)	Revolutionary armies
Required reading	<p>J. Lynn, <i>The Bayonets of the Republic: Motivation and Tactics in the Army of Revolutionary France, 1791-94</i> (1996)</p> <p>J.-P. Bertaud, "Napoleon's Officers," Past and Present 112 (1986)</p>
Suggested further reading	<p>J.-P. Bertaud, <i>The Army of the French Revolution: From Citizen-Soldiers to Instrument of Power</i> (1988)</p> <p>D. Bien, "The Army in the French Enlightenment: Reform, Reaction and Revolution," Past and Present 85 (1979)</p> <p>R. Blaufarb, <i>The French Army, 1750-1820: Careers, Talent, Merit</i> (2002)</p> <p>H. Brown, "Politics, Professionalism, and the Fate of Army Generals after Thermidor," French Historical Studies 19:1 (1995)</p> <p>P. Dwyer, <i>Napoleon: Path to Power 1769 - 1799 v. 1</i> (2008)</p> <p>I. Germani, "Military justice under the Directory: the Armies of Italy and of the Sambre and Meuse," French History 23:1 (2009)</p> <p>D. Hopkin, "Review: The French Army, 1624-1914: From the King's to the People's," The Historical Journal 48: 4 (2005)</p> <p>W. Kruse, "Revolutionary France and the Meaning of <i>Levée en Masse</i>," in Chickering, ed., <i>War in an Age of Revolution</i></p> <p>J. Lynn, "Toward an Army of Honor: The Moral Evolution of the French Army, 1789-1815," French Historical Studies 16:1 (1989)</p> <p>D. Moran and A. Waldron, eds. <i>The People in Arms: Military Myth and National Mobilization since the French Revolution</i> (2003)</p> <p>G. Rothenberg, "Review: Soldiers and the Revolution: The French Army, Society, and the State, 1788-99," The Historical Journal 32:4 (1989)</p> <p>S. Scott, "The Regeneration of the Line Army during the French Revolution," Journal of Modern History 42:3 (1970)</p> <p>———, <i>The Response of the Royal Army to the French Revolution</i> (1978)</p> <p>D. Walter, "Reluctant Reformers, Observant Disciples: The Prussian Military Reforms, 1807-1814," in Chickering, ed., <i>War in an Age of Revolution</i></p>
Wk 6 (10/06)	Arts of warfare
Required reading	<p>G. Rothenberg, <i>The Art of Warfare in the Age of Napoleon</i> (1981)</p> <p>R. Epstein, "Patterns of Change and Continuity in Nineteenth-Century Warfare," The Journal of Military History 56:3 (1992)</p>
Suggested further reading	<p>J. Arnold, "A Reappraisal of Column versus Line in the Peninsular War" The Journal of Military History 68:2 (2004)</p> <p>J. Black, "Eighteenth-Century Warfare Reconsidered," War in History 1:2 (1994)</p> <p>R. Epstein, <i>Napoleon's Last Victory and the Emergence of Modern War</i> (1995)</p> <p>P. Griffith, <i>The Art of War of Revolutionary France, 1789-1802</i> (1998)</p> <p>R. Muir, <i>Tactics and the Experience of Battle in the Age of Napoleon</i> (1998)</p> <p>B. Nosworthy, <i>With Musket, Cannon And Sword: Battle Tactics Of Napoleon And His Enemies</i> (1996)</p> <p>P. Paret, "Napoleon and the Revolution in War," in Paret, ed., <i>Makers of Modern Strategy</i> (1986)</p> <p>S. Ross, "The Development of the Combat Division in Eighteenth-Century French Armies," French Historical Studies 4:1 (1965)</p> <p>R. Weigley, <i>The Age of Battles: The Quest for Decisive Warfare from Breitenfeld to Waterloo</i> (2004)</p>

	French Drill Manual of 1791 (in French) Loading and firing a Napoleonic-era musket
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Wk 7 (10/13)	The view from below
Required reading	A. Forrest, Napoleon's Men: The Soldiers of the Revolution and Empire (2006)
Suggested further reading	P. Dwyer, "Public Remembering, Private Reminiscing: French military Memoirs & the Revolutionary & Napoleonic Wars," <i>French Historical Studies</i> 33:2 (2010) A. Forrest, <i>The Soldiers of the French Revolution</i> (1990) D. Hopkin, "Storytelling, fairytales and autobiography: some observations on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French soldiers' and sailors' memoirs," Social History 29:2 (2004) K. Hagermann, A. Forrest, and J. Rendall, eds., <i>Soldiers, Citizens and Civilians: Experiences and Perceptions of the French Wars, 1790-1820</i> (2008) S. Hynes, <i>The Soldier's Tale: Bearing Witness to Modern War</i> (1997) J. Walter, <i>The Diary of a Napoleonic Foot Soldier</i> (1991)

PART III	CIVIL WAR
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WK 8 (10/20)	War and terror
Required reading	A. Mayer, The Furies: Violence and Terror in the French and Russian Revolutions (2000) (esp. sections on France)
Suggested further reading	D. Andress, <i>The Terror: Merciless War for Freedom in Revolutionary France</i> (2006) R. Cobb, <i>The People's Armies: The Armées Révolutionnaires, Instrument of the Terror in the Departments, April 1793 to Floréal Year II</i> (1987) P. Dwyer, "'It Still Makes Me Shudder': Memories of Massacres and Atrocities during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars," War in History 16:4 (2009) D. Edelstein, "War and Terror: The Law of Nations from Grotius to the French Revolution," French Historical Studies 3:12 (2008) M. Ozouf, "War and Terror in French Revolutionary Discourse (1792-1794)," The Journal of Modern History 56:4 (1984) J. North, "General Hoche and Counterinsurgency," Journal of Military History 67:2 (2003) C. Petitfrère, "The Origins of the Civil War in the Vendée," French History 2:2 (1988) R. Secher, <i>A French genocide: The Vendée</i> (2003) (+ reviews, including by McPhee) T. Tackett, "Interpreting the Terror," French Historical Studies 24:4 (2001) C. Tilly, <i>The Vendée</i> (1964)

WK 9 (10/27)	War, state, and society
Required reading	H. Brown, "From Organic Society to Security State: The War on Brigandage in France, 1797-1802," Journal of Modern History 69:4 (1997) W. Hanley, The Genesis of Napoleonic Propaganda, 1796 to 1799 (2008) I. Woloch, "Napoleonic conscription: State Power and Civil Society," Past & Present 111:1 (1986)
Suggested further reading	H. Brown, <i>War, Revolution, and the Bureaucratic State: Politics and Army Administration in France, 1791-1799</i> (1995) ———, <i>Ending the Revolution: Violence, Justice and Repression from the Terror to Napoleon</i> (2008)

	<p>A. Grab, "Army, State, and Society: Conscription and Desertion in Napoleonic Italy (1802-1814)," <i>The Journal of Modern History</i> 67:1 (1995)</p> <p>A. Forrest, <i>Conscripts and Deserters: The Army and French Society During the Revolution and Empire</i> (1989)</p> <p>I. Woloch, <i>The New Regime: The Transformation of the French Civic Order, 1789-1820</i></p>
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WK 10 (11/03)	Technology and economy
Required reading	<p>K. Alder, <i>Engineering the Revolution: Arms and Enlightenment in France, 1763-1815</i> (2010)</p> <p>A. Forrest, "The Logistics of Revolutionary War in France," in Chickering, ed., <i>War in an Age of Revolution</i></p>
Suggested further reading	<p>K. Aaslestad, "Lost Neutrality & Economic Warfare: Napoleonic Warfare in Northern Europe, 1795-1815," in Chickering, ed., <i>War in an Age of Revolution</i></p> <p>F. Crouzet, "Wars, Blockades and Economic Change in Europe, 1792-1815," <i>Journal of Economic History</i> 24:4 (1964)</p> <p>J. Morgan, "War Feeding War? The Impact of Logistics on the Napoleonic Occupation of Catalonia," <i>The Journal of Military History</i> 73:1 (2009)</p>

WK 11 (11/10)	Home fronts: mothers and partisans
Required reading	<p>M. Broers, "Revolt and Repression in Napoleonic Italy, 1796-1814,"</p> <p>M. Favret, "War and Everyday Life in Britain,"</p> <p>K. Hagemann, "The Military and Masculinity: Gendering the History of the Revolution and Napoleonic War, 1792-1815,"</p> <p>J. L. Tone, "Partisan Warfare in Spain and Total War,"</p> <p>all in Chickering, ed., <i>War in an Age of Revolution</i></p>
Suggested further reading	<p>L. Bergeron, <i>France under Napoleon</i> (1981)</p> <p>D. Düsterhaus, "Religion in a Time of War: The Case of Lower Alsace, 1789-1794," in Chickering, ed. <i>War in an Age of Revolution</i></p> <p>C. Esdaile, <i>Fighting Napoleon: Guerrillas, Bandits, and Adventurers in Spain, 1808-1814</i> (2004)</p> <p>K. Hagemann, A. Forrest, and J. Rendall, eds., <i>Soldiers, Citizens and Civilians: Experiences and Perceptions of the French Wars, 1790-1820</i> (2008)</p> <p>K. Hagemann, G. Mettele, and J. Rendall, eds., <i>Gender, War, and Politics: Transatlantic Perspectives, 1775-1830</i> (2010)</p> <p>S. Semmel, <i>Napoleon and the British</i> (2004)</p> <p>U. Planert, "From Collaboration to Resistance: Politics, Experience, and Memory of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in Southern Germany," <i>Central European History</i> 39 (2006)</p> <p>M. Rowe, ed. <i>Collaboration and Resistance in Napoleonic Europe: State Formation in an Age of Upheaval, c. 1800-1815</i> (2003)</p> <p>———, "France, Prussia, or Germany? The Napoleonic Wars and Shifting Allegiances in the Rhineland," <i>Central European History</i> 39:4 (2006)</p>

PART IV	WORLD WAR
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WK 12 (11/17)	First World War?
Required reading	<p>J. Black, "Naval Power in the Revolutionary Era,"</p> <p>S. Förster, "The First World War: Global Dimensions of Warfare,"</p> <p>in Chickering, ed., <i>War in an Age of Revolution</i></p>

	K. O'Rourke, "The Worldwide economic impact of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1793-1815," <i>Journal of Global History</i> 1 (2006)
Suggested further reading	P. Cheney, <i>Revolutionary Commerce: Globalization and the French Monarchy</i> (2010) K. O'Rourke and Jeffrey G. Williamson, <i>Globalization and History: The Evolution of a Nineteenth-Century Atlantic Economy</i> (1999) R. Palmer, "The World Revolution in the West, 1763-1801," <i>Political Science Quarterly</i> 69 (1954) (See also readings for weeks 10 and 13)

WK 13 (11/24)	No class (Thanksgiving)
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WK 14 (***)	Imperialism
Required reading	J. Cole, <i>Napoleon's Egypt: Invading the Middle East</i> (2007) L. Dubois, "'The Price of Liberty': Victor Hugues and the Administration of Freedom in Guadeloupe, 1794-1798," <i>The William and Mary Quarterly</i> 56:2 (1999)
Suggested further reading	M. Broers, <i>Europe under Napoleon, 1799-1815</i> (1996) ———, "Cultural Imperialism in a European Context? Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Napoleonic Italy," <i>Past & Present</i> 170 (2001) L. Dubois, <i>A Colony of Citizens: Revolution and Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787-1804</i> (2006) P. Fregosi, <i>Dreams of Empire: Napoleon and the First World War, 1792-1814</i> (2000) D. Geggus, <i>Slavery, War and Revolution: The British Occupation of Saint Domingue, 1793-1798</i> (1982) P. Girard, "Rêves d'Empire: French Revolutionary Doctrine and Military Interventions in the Southern United States and the Caribbean, 1789-1809," <i>Louisiana History</i> 48:4 (2007) E. Said, <i>Orientalism</i> (1979) T. Shannon, "The Native American Way of War in the Age of Revolutions, 1754-1814," in Chickering, ed., <i>War in an Age of Revolution</i> S. Woolf, "The Construction of a European World-View in the Revolutionary-Napoleonic Years," <i>Past & Present</i> 137 (1992) ———, <i>Napoleon's Integration of Europe</i> (1993)

WK 15 (12/08)	International relations
Required reading	P. Schroeder, <i>The Transformation of European Politics, 1763-1848</i> (1994), pt I ———, "Napoleon's Foreign Policy: A Criminal Enterprise," <i>The Journal of Military History</i> 54:2 (1990) E. Kolla, "Not So Criminal: New Understandings of Napoleon's Foreign Policy in the East," <i>French Historical Studies</i> 30:2 (2007)
Suggested further reading	T. Blanning, <i>The Origins of the French Revolutionary Wars</i> (1986) L. Frey, and M. Frey, "'The Reign of the Charlatans Is Over': The French Revolutionary Attack on Diplomatic Practice," <i>The Journal of Modern History</i> 65:4 (1993) P. Howe, "Charles-François Dumouriez and the Revolutionizing of French Foreign Affairs in 1792," <i>French Historical Studies</i> 14:3 (1986) G. Kronenbitter, "The Most Terrible World War: Freidrich Gentz and the Lessons of Revolutionary War," in Chickering, ed. <i>War in an Age of Revolution</i> M. Leggiere, "From Berlin to Leipzig: Napoleon's Gamble in North Germany, 1813," <i>The Journal of Military History</i> 67:1 (2003)