

Michael Gerhard Klasa

State and Empire Before and During the Napoleonic Era

The effects of liberal revolutions in France, Spain, and Portugal at the end of
the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century

UNIVERSIDADE FERNANDO PESSOA

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18th and the beginning of the 19th century

I hereby declare that this thesis is my original work and it has been written by me in its entirety. I have acknowledged all the sources of information which have been used in the thesis.

Porto, 31st of July 2014

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Supervisor: Professor Judite A. Goncalves de Freitas

Work presented submitted to Fernando Pessoa University as a requirement for the attainment of the degree of Master of Arts in the course 'Political Science and International Relations'.

Abstract

This master thesis deals in general with the effects of liberal revolutions in France, Spain, and Portugal at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, to explain the changes in political systems in the Iberian Peninsula. For this, the definitions of streams of thought, ideas and concepts according to their historicity are being considered, in order to understand the meaning ascribed to them at the time. For that reason, the first chapter is about the change from absolutism to liberalism. The two concepts and streams of thought are explained and compared and the theoretical part of the thesis is started with this. At the end of this part a small amount of information on constitutional monarchism is given with this special form of monarchy being the following system of government after the absolute monarchism.

In this connection, the following chapter deals with the concept definitions at around 1780 – 1815 as to be named the concept of (nation) “state”, the concept of “empire”, and the concepts of “peace” and “war”. In this stage, the historicity of each idea was analyzed, from the origin to the time of this study.

In a third part of the thesis a case study is made showing the situation in and the political relations between France, Spain, and Portugal in these times. The first subchapter deals with France and the precursors of the French Revolution, the second one with the absolute monarchy of Spain, and the third describes the circumstances in Portugal.

The fourth chapter of the thesis is the most important one as it is describing and analyzing the turning point, meaning the switch, to new governmental forms with the help of liberal revolutions. The reasons why it came to the French Revolution are covered in this part, too, with this event being the starting signal for a number of revolutions all over the continent. The questions of What changed?, How did it affect France?, How did it affect Spain?, and How did it affect Portugal? are answered and similarities and differences are shown at the end.

In the conclusion, the remnants of the ‘new’ ideas that can still be found today are discussed and a parallel is drawn that even nowadays revolutions or even wars are taking place to change existing political systems as seen in the Arabic world, for example. To come to an end of the thesis, this is combined with a profound personal opinion on the topic in which the subjective opinion of the author is evaluating the processes in the three discussed countries.

Key words: Napoleonic Era; State and Empire; Liberal Revolutions; France, Spain and Portugal; Policy changes.

Resumo

Esta dissertação tem por objeto a contextualização e análise dos efeitos das revoluções liberais na França, Espanha e Portugal, nos finais do século XVIII e inícios do século XIX, visando explicar as mudanças nos sistemas políticos da Península Ibérica. Para isso, consideramos muito importante apoiar o nosso estudo na definição preliminar dos conceitos base e das correntes de pensamento político de acordo com sua historicidade, com o fim de compreender o significado que lhes é atribuído no momento. Por essa razão, o primeiro capítulo é dedicado à distinção entre o regime do absolutismo e do liberalismo. Os dois conceitos e correntes de pensamento são explicados e comparados, sendo iniciada a tese com esta abordagem teórica. No final desta parte, são realçadas as principais características da monarquia constitucional enquanto uma forma especial de monarquia que sucedeu ao sistema de governo da monarquia absoluta.

Neste alinhamento, o capítulo seguinte debruça-se sobre definições conceituais relevantes, no período de 1780-1815, como o conceito de (nação) "Estado", de "império", e os conceitos de "paz" e de "guerra". Neste capítulo, foi realçada a historicidade de cada um destes conceitos, desde a origem até ao tempo do nosso estudo.

No terceiro capítulo da tese é executado o estudo de caso mostrando a evolução das relações políticas entre França, Espanha e Portugal no período histórico definido. O primeiro subcapítulo é dedicado à França e aos antecedentes directos da Revolução Francesa, o segundo reporta-se à caracterização da monarquia absoluta em Espanha, e a terceira descreve as vicissitudes políticas de Portugal.

O quarto capítulo da tese é o mais importante, sendo dedicado à descrição e análise do ponto de viragem, ou seja, a mudança e a rutura consumadas, com a emergência de novas formas de governo, por efeito das revoluções liberais. As principais razões pelas quais ocorreu esta mudança das estruturas políticas no período subsequente à Revolução Francesa são abordadas nesta parte, considerando que este evento foi o ponto de partida para uma série de revoluções em todo o continente europeu. Procuramos responder a algumas questões: O que mudou?, Como isso afetou a França?, Como isso afetou a Espanha? e Como isso afetou Portugal? As respostas às questões, bem como as semelhanças e as diferenças são apresentadas no final. Na conclusão, o remanescente das «novas» ideias revolucionárias que podem ainda hoje ser descortinadas são discutidas, considerando que num plano paralelo as revoluções dos nossos dias, ou mesmo guerras, ocorrem igualmente com o intuito de mudar os sistemas políticos existentes, como se tem observado mais recentemente no mundo árabe, por exemplo. No

fecho deste estudo é apresentada uma opinião pessoal sustentada sobre o tema, na qual a opinião subjetiva do autor perspetiva uma avaliação dos processos políticos nos três países abordados.

Palavras-chave: Era de Napoleão; Estado e Império; Revoluções liberais, França, Espanha e Portugal; Mudanças Políticas.

Dedications

At this juncture I would like to thank all the people that helped and supported me in any way throughout this thesis.

First of all I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor Judite A. Goncalves de Freitas, who gave me all the time the feeling to be in the right hands with that master thesis and who was always on hand with help and advice for me.

Furthermore I want to thank my family for guiding me through this intense period of time and especially my friends who were always there for me and who supported and motivated me at any time.

A very particular thank you goes to Mr. Lucien Holmes, who sparked the passion for history in me and without whom I would not have picked this topic for my master thesis.

Last but not least, I also want to thank the student's office at the Universidade Fernando Pessoa as well as Professor Isabel Costa-Leite and Professor Paulo Vila Maior who also helped me out with organizational questions on my thesis.

Table of contents

Introduction 9

I. From absolutism to liberalism 13

 1.1. Absolutism..... 13

 1.2. Liberalism..... 15

 1.3. Absolutism *versus* liberalism – similarities and differences 17

II. Concept definitions between 1780 and 1830 19

 2.1. The concept of (nation) state 19

 2.2. The concept of empire 21

 2.3. The concept of peace 23

 2.4. The concept of war 26

III. France, Spain, and Portugal before the French Revolution: a comparison..... 29

 3.1. France – rowing about initiating an revolution 31

 3.2. Spain – the impact of absolute monarchy..... 35

 3.3. Portugal – fronting policy changes 38

IV. Liberal revolutions and political aftermaths in France, Spain, and Portugal 43

 4.1. The French Revolution 1789 – 1799: revolutionary process under way..... 43

 4.2. France after the Revolution – Napoléon and his Empire..... 45

 4.3. Spain after the French Revolution 53

 4.4. Portugal after the French Revolution..... 57

 4.5. Colonial territories: differences and similarities 61

Conclusion..... 64

 Synopsis 64

 Remnants..... 66

 Personal opinion..... 69

Bibliography:..... 72

 Table of figures: 76

Introduction

The French Revolution is one of the most important historical events of all time. There is nothing comparable which influenced the uprising liberal ideas of the late 18th century and the early 19th century as much as the French Revolution did. It is the offspring of yearlong mismanagement, exploitation of the population, and unfair arbitrariness towards those people that were about to create an example of a shifting in the minds all over Europe in 1789.

This Master thesis' title is "State and Empire Before and During the Napoleonic Era" with the subtitle "The effects of liberal revolutions in France, Spain, and Portugal at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century".

The aim of that thesis is to point out the process of change from absolutism via liberal revolutions through to constitutional monarchism in France, Spain, and Portugal at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century. As a consequence thereof, the changes of the meanings in different concepts (state, empire, peace, and war) play and gain an important role and will be explained in a clear and structured way as well. It is also necessary to explain the historicity of these concepts. This will be adapted to today's recent history with revolutions in the Arabic countries where parallels can and will be drawn.

The strategy or procedure of how this master thesis will be approached is literature based with the documentary method. Certain and specific literature will be discussed and used as evidence for miscellaneous arguments stated in the thesis. The method used will be the documentary method, meaning documents (books, specialized journals, and scientific articles) will be analyzed, criticized, and used to substantiate certain statements.

The outline of the work will look like it is described in the following paragraphs: Starting with an introduction in which the topic is stated, the most important literature is named and commented, and the aim of the thesis is described. The procedure or the strategy of the way of writing this master thesis is also shown. Also in the introduction the outline of the work is presented and some limitations of the topic will be named. The introduction then contents the reasons why this particular topic was chosen by the author.

The first chapter is about the change from absolutism to liberalism. The two concepts will be explained and compared and the theoretical part of the thesis will be started with this. At the end of this part a small amount of information on constitutional monarchism will be given

with this special form of monarchy being the following system of government after the absolute monarchism.

The following chapter will then deal with the concept definitions at around 1780 – 1815 as to be named the concept of (nation) “state”, the concept of “empire”, and the concepts of “peace” and “war”.

In a third part of the thesis a case study will be made showing the situation in and the political relations between France, Spain, and Portugal in these times.

The fourth chapter of the thesis will be the most important one as it is describing the turning point, meaning the switch, to new governmental forms with the help of liberal revolutions. The reasons why it came to the French Revolution are covered in this part, too, with this event being the starting signal for a number of revolutions all over the continent. The questions of ‘What changed?’, ‘How did it affect France?’, ‘How did it affect Spain?’, and ‘How did it affect Portugal?’ will be answered and similarities and differences will be shown at the end.

In the fifth part of the thesis, the conclusion, the remnants of the ‘new’ ideas that can still be found today will be discussed and a parallel will be drawn that even nowadays revolutions or even wars are taking place to change existing political systems as seen in the Arabic world, for example. To come to an end of the thesis, this will be combined with a profound personal opinion on the topic.

There are certain things that can unfortunately not be covered in this work due to the limited frame of that master thesis. The Congress of Vienna in 1815, for example, will not be addressed although it was one of the most important events in these times. Furthermore, Germany, Italy, and, to a certain extent, Great Britain will be left out although these three countries played a major role in the concert of Europe in these times, especially in dealing with the French, or, in England’s case, with the Portuguese. Moreover, only the time of around 1780 till 1815 is covered with some exceptions concerning the causes of the French Revolution and some information on the liberal revolutions and constitutions in Spain and Portugal.

The main literature that will be used in this work will be stated and commented in the following paragraph. Before starting this, it is necessary to clarify that, concerning literature dealing especially with Spanish and Portuguese history in those days, it is not easy to find books or articles being not in Spanish or in Portuguese. As the known languages of the author are German, English, and French, the used sources will be fundamentally in these three

languages. Although this may seem as a restriction, in fact it compares the German, English, and French historiographical view on the ideological impact of the French Revolution in the Iberian Peninsula.

For the necessary information about France around 1800, Steven T. Ross' book named *European Diplomatic History 1789-1815. France against Europe* will be used. With the help of that book some key events that led to the French Revolution will be shown as well as the outbreak and aftermath of it. The data on the Napoleonic wars on the one hand as well as on his hegemony until the collapse of the Napoleonic Empire will be taken mostly from this source.

In *A New History of Portugal* by H.V. Livermore and in *História Diplomática. O período europeu. 1580-1917.* by L. S. Oliveira, the exploratory material concerning the Portuguese history can be found. The age of absolutism as well as the Peninsular War and the implementation of liberalism will be covered with the help of these sources and will describe the situation before and after the French Revolution in Portugal.

Another piece of literature that is used in this master thesis is *Spanische Geschichte. Vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart.* by Walther L. Bernecker which will cover the most important facts about the Spanish history in those times.

The concepts that will be used will be explained with the help of miscellaneous articles published at the Elsevier publishing company and the Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy. The concepts of "liberalism" and "absolutism", "state", "nation", and "empire", as well as the concepts of "peace" and "war" will be described, explained, discussed and analyzed with the help of these articles.

At the end of this theoretical part of the introduction, the reasons why this topic was chosen will be given, both personal and scientifically based motives. To start with the latter, it is necessary to speak about the French Revolution if one is talking about socio-political issues in these times because it influenced many other countries in many different ways. It was one of the most important events in European history which makes it almost impossible not to talk about it in a work like this. Speaking of Spain and Portugal, the influences of France can be seen and will be discussed in the work as well as the fact that both countries, although France was dominating Europe in those days, also went their own way.

The personal reasons why this topic was chosen are certain ones which will be easy to understand for every reader of that work. The first one, and most important reason, is the

passion for History. Although things lay back in time many centuries, it is fascinating to look at particular events and happenings, revolutions, political crises and governmental forms, and to learn from the complex movements which were made back in the days. Especially the French history played a huge role in the concert of Europe in the 18th century and influenced many other countries, rulers, or people even today. Nowadays, their ideals are still an inspiration.

Another personal reason for the decision of taking this topic is the interest of how political relations worked before the liberal ideas and revolutions. The concert of Europe with the balance of power first and later the great empire of Napoleon is a very interesting historical phenomenon and regarded as being of value for a proper analysis by the author. To come to an end with this introduction, few information on the author will be given, to make the reader understand more why certain literature was chosen. Besides the mother tongue German, the author is able to use English in a scientific way as well as, up to a certain extent, the French language. Literature about the French revolution and even about Portugal in these times was easily available in English – the Spanish history in this era is hard to cover with available literature in English or in German (as stated shortly above already), at least with the literature in form of accessible articles in online scientific reviews or books in the libraries. The Spanish historiography of this period is unfortunately only poorly represented in English and French languages. Nonetheless, the Spanish history in times of the 18th and 19th century can and will be covered to that extent until it is needed for this thesis.

With the things mentioned above being clarified, the main part of the master thesis can be addressed and will start with the next chapter.

I. From absolutism to liberalism

The first chapter of this thesis is dealing with the definitions of the concepts of “absolutism” and “liberalism” as well as with their origins and history. At the end of it a short overview on constitutional monarchism will be given.

1.1. Absolutism

Absolutism (or absolute monarchy) as a notion first came up in the 19th century. Vierhaus describes it in his text about absolutism as the following: “What is meant by absolutism is a specific type of monarchy, which played an important role in seventeenth and eighteenth century Europe, the reality of which, however, is only conditionally described by the word itself.” (Vierhaus, 2009: 5). This specific type of monarchy, meaning the form of absolute monarchy, had several features containing for example

“the concentration of state power on a monarch who is not encumbered by other persons or institutions, and who can enforce his or her sovereignty with the instruments of legislation, administration, taxation, and a standing army, and who is also the arbiter of the courts.” (Vierhaus, 2009: 5).

Moreover, there exist certain limitations which the ruler had to face as there were the boundary by divine right, the maintaining of law domestically, the country’s fundamental laws, the representation of the state abroad, and the customs of inheritance (Vierhaus, 2009). Jean Bodin (1530-1596) first used the expression “*potestas absoluta*”, it corresponds to the idea of “sovereignty”, which meant that the highest sovereign is independent of any institutions and subject to no laws. Bodin’s theory of the state reflects the influence of Christian accounts of the ‘good life’. The most important work – “*Six Livres de la République*” (The six books of the Commonwealth), published in 1576, was produced during the civil wars between French Protestant faction and Roman Catholics (Morrow, 2005: 29). In the following years and decades, the theory of divine right was added inextricably to absolutism until Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) came up with the idea that “a sovereign’s power derives from a social philosophy” (Skinner, 1990). The idea of absolute power is linked to the total concentration of power in the hands of the ruler. Royal sovereignty only exists

“when the people are stripped of their sovereign power and completely transfers to the ruler contract, the unlimited and irrevocable transferal of natural human rights to a higher authority for protection from the natural condition, which is a state of perpetual war of all against all.” (Vierhaus, 2009: 5).

In England, with the rising conflicts of the parliament with the king, the first revolutions came up (e.g. the Glorious Revolution, 1688) whereas France needed another 100 years until revolts against the absolute monarchy arose. Sir Robert Filmer (1588-1653) upheld the absolute power of the English crown and defended the absolute monarchy, the only legitimate form of government. He appeals to patriarchal principles for political purposes in his main work, the “Patriarcha”, that impelled John Locke (1632-1704) to produce an extensive refutation of it (Morrow, 2005: 137). Finally, John Locke, one of the most important liberal thinkers in the 17th century, introduced the concept of civil society (free and equal men) and divided the power (legislative, executive and federative power) with the checks and balances and was supported in this by Charles Montesquieu (1689-1755), in “De l'esprit des lois“, published in 1748, in which he defended the concept of “monarchie limitée” the most moderate form of government in comparison to the “monarchie absolue” (Morrow, 2005: 257-261). The splitting in the legislative, executive, and judiciary was implemented in these ideas: “‘When the law making and law enforcement powers are united in the same person,’ wrote Montesquieu, ‘there can be no liberty.’” (Vierhaus, 2009: 6).

The centralizing of the power of the states and the legitimation of the power of the monarch through a stabilizing peace as well as security in the state and with other states were the main reasons that absolutism became a successful model of ruling a state. One of the first examples of a functioning absolute monarchy was Spain under Phillip II (1556-1598), who ruled “convinced of the divine right of his reign and his responsibility toward God” (Vierhaus, 2009: 6), over a spacious territory that had mounted because of heritage, captures, and marriages. In fact, the method how absolute rule was implemented was by expanding the own territory and securing the boarders with the help of alliances, treaties, war, ownership of a standing army, and the monetary potential to maintain it. This money was gained by a certain taxation policy which was of major importance for the absolute rulers. Furthermore, the collection of taxes made it possible to show the immense power of the monarch and to preserve to royal court and its ceremonies. The best example for those ceremonies and a tremendous court life is Louis XIV (1643-1715) of France, who can be seen as a model or ideal of an absolute monarch in these times (Vierhaus, 2009) and who will be discussed later on in this thesis in a more detailed way.

There are two ways, two viewpoints, on absolutism that are of significant importance. The first one was implemented under the aspect of developing the modern state. The absolute rule kept arising attempts for independence by noblemen under control, “establishing and ensuring religious hegemony, expanding the administration, supporting trade and early industry and eliminating the political influence of professional associations and guilds.” (Vierhaus, 2009: 6). At the same time this stance doesn’t pay attention to a certain dependence of the monarchy on “older local and religious institutions; institutions that protected not their corporate rights but also the rights of individuals.” (Vierhaus, 2009: 6). As a reason for that it can be stated that the monarchs used to create an administration around them in that way as they were convinced it is needed to keep up their power and erase their enemies. The different positions in the (also local and regional) administrations were distributed by the monarch who thereby controlled the whole country and did not give a chance to certain groups of noblemen to take over important positions in his apparatus of state.

The limits of absolutism can be seen in the clearest in the matters of taxes, especially in the collection and redistribution of those (Morrow, 2005: 142-148). The giant prerogatives which the aristocracy had in those times were the reason for massive imbalance in income and spending. At the same time, mercantilism emerged which was a corollary of the absolutist policy, going hand in hand with the commencements of planned trade (Vierhaus, 2009). The rural areas and “preaching the virtues of hard work and obedience toward state authority.” (Vierhaus, 2009: 7). Overall, the failure of absolute monarchy could not be stopped. Missing the ability to develop and especially reform the social or economic circumstances, the needed move away from absolutism to a constitutional monarchy was not made and the liberal revolutions had to bring the outdated governmental form to an end as will be shown in the following chapters.

1.2. Liberalism

Liberalism describes a basic position in sociopolitical ideas which arose in the late 18th century and which is both a historical and a current movement in political philosophy. Its objective is to create a civil society while it is adjusting “its concrete demands to the existing situation of society and the state.” (Langewiesche, 2001: 8792) During the history of liberalism, three types of citizenship rights were always claimed like

“(a) equality before the law, guaranteed by the rule of law; (b) equal opportunities for political participation, made possible by the right to vote and to participate in public life, and (c) the provision of the basic prerequisites for opportunities in life.” (Langewiesche, 2001: 8793).

The most important aspect about liberalism is that it focusses on the individual and his or her freedom of decision which has to be defended against the state and social restrictions. Starting properly with John Locke in “Two Treatises of the Civil Government”, edited in 1690, a political liberalism settlement made it through the stages of limiting absolutism and attempted to “enable ‘man’s exit from self-caused lack of self-responsibility’ ([stated] Immanuel Kant)” (Langewiesche, 2001: 8793), ending with the American and French Revolutions in which the demand for human rights, popular sovereignty, and constitutionality were essential. By putting the citizen in the center of the political way of thinking, liberalism created something that is lasting till today and which was egalitarian in principle and which was opposing everything which limited individual freedom. The most important claim of the liberalists was the constitutional state in which it was ensured that individual property was secured, the citizen was able to participate in the political processes of the state and in which the continuity of law was guaranteed (Langewiesche, 2001: 8793). A positive aspect of the liberal movement was its flexibility. It was always arguing for the parliamentary form of government but there was at the same time room for discussions and compromises to keep up a functioning state and to not cause damages on the stability of the state and the social order. This was another big reason why liberalism was that successful over time. The adaption of the different circumstances in each country combined with its flexibility made it more possible to have success in implementing a constitutional monarchy which was the favorite form of state for the liberalists. Nevertheless, they “did not insist upon a particular form of state [...]; they wanted to preserve the monarchy as a reserve constitution for states of emergency” (Langewiesche, 2001: 8793), which separated the liberalists from the democrats with the republic as their favorite form of state. A big problem for liberalism was the contradiction between the egalitarian civil society as their ideal which was based on the principle of contractual freedom for all and the emancipation. Liberalists refused to equate men and women politically which “turned out to have great consequences of their model of society, because they saw the family as the foundation of the state and civil society.” (Langewiesche, 2001: 8794) With these contradictions, opponents of liberalism had marked a crucial weakness of it which led to the end of its golden age after the First World War when the Western democracies (France, Great Britain, and the United States) won versus the monarchies of Central Europe and Russia (Langewiesche, 2001: 8794).

After the revolutions of 1848/1849, in Germany, the early liberalism moved on to the liberalism in the age of industrialization. In the late eighteenth century already, “liberals took a leading role in making the nation the new supreme principle of legitimacy.” (Langewiesche, 2001: 8795) Similar to liberalism, the nationalism created a governmental form which was the opposite of the current one: “Both demands aimed at a society ordered in accordance with egalitarian values, constituted as a state and employing a collective and thus equally egalitarian concept of sovereignty.” (Langewiesche, 2001: 8795). Besides the symbiosis with nationalism, liberalism had also a big impact on economic theory. Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations* (1776) was the first writing about liberal economic theory. He was of the opinion that “social wealth is generated not by direct state action but by the invisible hand of free competition among producers and consumers.” (Gutmann, 2001: 8785). Despite using ‘liberal’ in common meaning of open-mindedness of spirit, “he links open-mindedness to a political program that grants individuals the greatest freedom from interference compatible with a like freedom for all.” (Gutmann, 2001: 8785). Even though there are different forms of critics as conservative, radical, and communitarian, for example, liberalism made its way until today. Liberal parties can still be found in the political landscape of several countries in the world using still the guidelines of the old liberalism even if in a shaped and developed type.

1.3. Absolutism *versus* liberalism – similarities and differences

Comparing these two concepts with each other is on the one hand pretty simple, on the other hand it is right the opposite of that. The reason for this is the same: liberalism occurred in the second half of the 18th century as a reaction to the absolutism (as mentioned above already). Absolutism itself was a certain type of monarchy, the absolute monarchy, in which the monarch was in charge of the three powers, whereas liberalism was calling for a constitutional monarchy with a system of checks and balances and a constitution. While absolutism puts one single monarch on top of the state who is above all (*L'état, c'est moi*; Louis XIV's famous statement is a good example here), liberalism puts the citizen in the foreground and focuses on the rights of the individual and that everybody is treated equally: “With the idea of the citizen, liberalism sketched a program for the future that was egalitarian in principle and that was directed against everything that limited individual freedom.” (Langewiesche, 2001: 8793). The problem of absolutism on the other side again, was that the step away from it wasn't made. The exaggerated lifestyle of the absolute monarch and his or her court, generally, the massive expenses at the cost of the population (tax system) and the

advancing political awareness of the people plus the lacking ability of developing or reforming the social and economic situation by the government made it easy for liberal ideas and revolutions to come up. Liberalism opened the path for the constitutional monarchy, which will be only shortly described in the following part as it can unfortunately not take a big role in this thesis due to the chosen frame.

Constitutional monarchy was the ideal governmental form of state of the liberal movement and the successor of the absolute monarchy. The main difference, as the name already tells, is that this system is based on a constitution which shrinks the power of the monarch to a more or less extent. A more advanced form of the constitutional monarchy is the parliamentary monarchy. In here, the parliament is in charge of appointing and releasing a government and the role of the monarch is a more symbolic and representative one (Schmidt, 2000: 167). As a regulative power the monarch has neutral position between the political parties and is able to work as facilitator in case of a governmental crisis for example. The parliamentary monarch is a sovereign “who doesn’t administer, who doesn’t govern, but who does rule.” (Schmidt, 2000: 114). With this governmental form of constitutional or parliamentary monarchy a certain kind of interaction between absolutism and liberalism is shown and will, due to the limited frame of this work, close this first chapter.

II. Concept definitions between 1780 and 1830

In the following part of that work the concept of (nation) state and empire are explained to give the reader an impression of the different terms. In the second component of that chapter the concepts of war and peace will be in the focus and will end the theoretical part. For the theoretical introduction to the topic of the thesis, it is needed to refer to these authors who developed the concepts and meaning of these words in a historical context.

2.1. The concept of (nation) state

Nowadays, there are about two hundred (200) countries in the world that can be called sovereign nation states. But what is meant by this modern statehood? Max Weber (1864-1920), the German sociologist, established three stages of the legitimation of political domination and authority (state) during the human history: the charismatic authority (familial and religious), the traditional authority (patriarchs, feudal system), and the legal authority (modern law and state, bureaucracy). The last one corresponds to the concept of state like an entity which claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of force (Weber, 2004). According to German professors of law, a state “is constituted by a homogenous population inhabiting a contiguous territory under one single government which is characterized by complete independence from any outside authority (sovereignty) and holding the monopoly of jurisdiction and the legitimate use of violence internally.” (Reinhard, 2001: 14972). In this sense, in the period between 1600 and 1800 the term ‘state’ became a particular type of European political organization, whereas before three different types of communities could be found: tribes without rulers, chiefdoms, city-states, and empires (which will be addressed in the next chapter, 2.2.) (Reinhard, 2001: 14972). The history of the state can be described as the history of the conversion of the chiefdoms of European aristocrats and empires of European kings into modern states between the Middle-Ages at the end of the 13th century and the 19th century (Reinhard, 2001). So how does the state-building process look like? Three different levels can be found, “(a) the micro-level of individuals and groups, (b) the meso-level of the political system, and (c) the macro-level of society.” (Reinhard, 2001: 14973). The micro-level is the first tier where state-building starts and it is driven mostly by the greed for power by the individual (usually a king having his royalty) whereas the dynastic driven micro-level was meant to be the elimination or at least the control of an opposing

holder of autonomous power to “establish a monopoly of power (Reinhard, 2001). The spreading of the dynastic power lifted it up to the meso-level in which utilization of war, patriotism, and religion became useful players to enlarge the own territory by the cost of the adjacent areas. The competition between monarchs grew more and more with the size of their lands and it became necessary to protect oneself versus attacks of the enemies. This ended up in a type of vicious circle because the army had to grow on a constant level and money needed to be generated for that which meant that taxes and administration had to grow mostly to fight a war. That ended up in a “circular process, the coercion-extraction-cycle (Finer, 1997) and finally in the internal and external monopoly of violence. Ultimately, only states wage war.” (Reinhard, 2001: 14973). Religion became an important instrument of emotional identification in these days together with the protection of the people to maintain the high expenses for the military and the willingness of young men to serve in the army. The macro-level is definitely the hardest stage to describe because even though the states had their territories the population didn’t feel united. The reason for that was that the different added parts of the once basic monarchy were not integrated in the prevalent society and monarchs had to deal with a big number of strong local noble rulers that were fighting, or at least opposing, the government.

Another important aspect about the states and states-building process is the issue of nationalism and, concomitant with that, the nation states. A good time to start arguing about that would be the 16th century because “only after 1500 does the national idea start to legitimate states and political movements” (Breuilly, 2001: 10370), which is the time that is of importance for this thesis. England and France were the big players with a certain enmity in these times, one being an island and Protestant, the other one being on the mainland and Catholic. The national idea and the identity construction were consolidated during the Renaissance. In the Modern Age, most of the political and territorial wars are arising from national claims. For many historians, the nationalism is an ideological construction of the late 18th and 19th centuries (nationalism era) (Geary, 2003). National forms grew stronger and “four processes increased the importance of national arguments: confessional conflict, absolutism, new political opposition, and intensification of interstate conflict.” (Breuilly, 2001: 10370). Economy became more and more important financiers, lawyers, merchants, commercial farmers, and manufacturers gained political influence. In the late seventeenth century and eighteenth century Europe went through a lot of conflicts between states which had national consequences, for example the War of Spanish Succession, Austrian Succession, etc., while the central struggle was between England and France that were competing for the

world hegemony (Breuilly, 2001: 10371). All the wars needed an immense amount of money which had to lead to a commercial growth and an increase in matters of taxation. The public opinion was influenced by presenting the political conflicts in national terms which, in France, causing the redefinition of the monarchy as “at best the servant of the nation, at worst its enemy” (Breuilly, 2001: 10371) in 1789, which made the nation the body of citizens within the existing state.

A last aspect that should be shortly addressed is the nation-state formation in Europe which contains three types, namely reform (within already existing territory), unification (bringing smaller states together), and separation (splitting off bigger states). This is a good point to stop the concept of (nation) states for the time being as that will be part of the chapters three and four again accompanied by descriptive examples for each type.

2.2. The concept of empire

The oldest and greatest example of empire is the *Imperium Romanum*, corresponding to an autocratic form of government and large territorial holdings around the Mediterranean Sea in Europe, Africa, and Asia, during six centuries, since I BC to the V AC (Wells, 1992). The first two centuries of the Western Roman Empire were a period of extraordinary territorial expansion, political stability and prosperity known as the *Pax Romana* (Kelly, 2008).

The notion of empire denotes realms or territories that encompassed big parts of the world as well as they had substantial impact on the historical evolution (politically, geographically, technologically, socially, culturally, religiously, or linguistically). Its self-conception often includes the aspiration of controlling the whole world or at least being the biggest sway on earth. A big role in the context of empire is taken by geography which “should be treated as both a discipline and a discourse of empire: as a set of geographical ideas, institutions, and practices that induced and legitimized territorial expansion; and as a dynamic medium through which European attitudes of dominance and core-periphery or metropolitan-colonial relationships were imagined, negotiated, and represented.” (Power, 2009: 453). A more recent definition of empire is made by Lewis who defines “an empire as a group of territories, dominated by one of their number (by force, persuasion, or treaty), the group being prepared to make war jointly on any other state or empire.” (Lewis, 1982: 48). This more recent perceptive of empire can be regarded as true of course, but its relevance for

this work is not as high as the previous definition. With the aspect of the period of time covered in this work, Power's definition will be the more suitable one here. To come back to his theory and the combination of empire and geography, he was of the opinion that "geography served the causes of European imperialism, helping to create and maintain an unequal economic, cultural, and territorial relationship between states in the form of empires based on domination and subordination." (Power, 2009: 453), an opinion, which suits the 'older' (Portuguese, Spanish, Royal French, and Napoleonic, for example) empires as well as the 'newer' ones (Imperial Germany, Third Reich, and British, to name just a few). It is also necessary to distinguish between land based (Royal French or Napoleonic) and seaborne (Spanish, Portuguese) empires which will be intensified in a later part of that thesis.

For the phenomenon of empire in fact many more definitional approaches can be found which will be discussed in the following. The reference for this part is the text "Empire" by M. Power from 2009. The usage and meaning of the term empire always has to be understood in the relevant historical context. A good point in time to start is the age of exploration when the most-advanced maritime powers, Portugal and Spain (which will be addressed in a later part of that work again), began their "race of exploration" (Power, 2009: 455). Moving on time, the next 400 years Europeans established empires all over the world which resulted in the so called "age of empire" or "imperialism era" (defined as 1875-1914) (Power, 2009: 455) when the colonial empires were created because of the immense industrialization and capitalism that emerged. Keeping this in mind, the age of empire was said to be a period of intense rivalry between national state blocs. Newer definitions of empire argue that empire is seen more as a "relationship, formal or informal, in which one state controls the effective political sovereignty of another political society and it becomes a system of interaction between two political entities, one of which, the dominant metropole (sic!), exerts political control over the internal and external policy – the effective sovereignty – of the other, the subordinate periphery." (Power, 2009: 455). In this case the direct political rule has not much in common with the local government of the peripheries. If one regards empire under the aspect of diversity, a definition can be stated which is regarding empire as a "centrifugal violence transfer, from the interior to the frontier" (Power, 2009: 456) because the frontier indicated the barrier between insiders and outsiders and that always marks a spot on which acts of violence occur. Following this, empire can also be seen as a "large, composite, multiethnic, or multinational political unit, usually created by conquest and divided between a dominant center and subordinate (sometimes very distant) peripheries." (Power, 2009: 456) Staying with the core-periphery-concept, empire can also be seen as a

political organization in which the ‘core’ tries to install a network of allied elites in regions abroad that approve subordination in international concerns in exchange for security in their own administrative entity. Here, an explicit differentiation of empires from nation-states is made, “where states can be socially and ethnically homogenous but the empire is differentiated: territorially, religiously, nationally, and occupationally. In this formulation, empires stabilize inequality at home and export social hierarchies.” (Power, 2009: 456).

It can be seen that the modern definitions of empire are aiming at the incidents of colonization with the exploiting core and the exploited periphery. At the same time, it is not easy to talk about imperialism without a certain core-periphery-model. This shows the importance that the definition of empire must be seen in a dynamic way and cannot always focus only on core-periphery-models (counterexample: the Roman Empire). “‘Empire’, therefore, is best understood both as a particular type of political entity ‘and’ as a stage or phase of state formation.” (Power, 2009: 456).

2.3. The concept of peace

Thinking about a definition of peace, immediately the ‘absence of war’ comes to one’s mind. But is the definition easy as this? This question will be answered in the following.

The original idea of ‘peace’ has a relation to the concept of ‘order’. “The classical understanding of centrality of order in politics was originally rejected by Christians, because their aspirations were focused on the world to come” (Morrow, 2005: 25). In the early 4th century the Christians had begun to think about the certain forms of political order of great positive significance. The first position was represented by St. Augustine (354-430). Augustine, more than any other figure of late Antiquity, stands at the intellectual intersection of Christianity, philosophy, and politics. The Christian philosopher of the late Antiquity period adopted a position that separates the Christian version of Greco-Roman perspective on order when he distinguishes between the City of God and the government of the early human communities (Morrow, 2005). The political system and

“the state is a divinely ordained punishment for fallen man, with its armies, its power to command, coerce, punish, and even put to death, as well as its institutions such as slavery and private property. God shapes the ultimate ends of man’s existence through it. The state simultaneously serves the divine purposes of chastening the wicked and refining the righteous. Also simultaneously, the state constitutes a sort of remedy for the effects of the fall, in that it serves to maintain such modicum of peace and order as it is possible for fallen man to enjoy in the present world.” (Mattox, n.d.)

In his political conception “peace is the tranquility of order” (Morrow, 2005). Afterwards, the connection between political freedom and Christian aspirations of peace was rejected by Niccolo Machiavelli. Machiavelli identified liberty with independence and self-government, he denied that peace and tranquility are hallmarks of a good state (Morrow, 2005:77). The idea of virtù is the ability of the ruler to choose the best strategies to strengthen their power to maintain order and internal peace. In this sense, virtù requires active dedication to the good of the state. Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) in his work “The law of war and peace” (1625) and Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) in “Conceptions of peace” refer also to this topic but can’t be discussed here furthermore due to the limited frame of the thesis.

From the foregoing, the idea of peace took different meanings over time. A good example to show this is the *Encyclopedia Britannica* which, in 1911, states a formal definition: “Peace ... the contrary of war or turmoil, the condition that follows their cessation. Its sense in international law is not being at war.” (Pieper, 2008: 1551), compared to an attempt to define it in the *Encyclopedia Americana* of 2005 which has first to distinguish between the attitudes of pacifists on the one hand and peace advocates on the other. Pacifism has set itself a goal which is “the purging of the human psyche of aggressiveness, as rejection of violence by human individuals as means to whatever ends.” (Pieper, 2008: 1551). Pacifism itself can be regarded as an antiwar movement which denounces the immoral character of war by “denying the legitimacy of wars of liberation.” (Pieper, 2008: 1551). Peace advocacy “emphasizes organized action assumed to promote conditions conducive to peace.” which can reach from demonstrations against (prospective) wars to “advocacy of ‘strong defense’” (Pieper, 2008: 1551) that can be seen in theories of deterrence for example.

Definitions of peace being made always have to be regarded in the time and surrounding they were made. Especially when one is talking about peace in the Middle-Ages for example compared to peace nowadays important distinctions have to be made. Moving on until nowadays times, Johan Galtung¹ is a leading figure in conflict research and peace studies. He differentiated between four types of relations between nations: “war (organized group violence); negative peace – absence of violence but also of any other significant relation; positive peace – marked by absence of violence and occasional cooperation; and ‘unqualified peace’ – absence of violence and a pattern of lasting cooperation.” (Pieper, 2008: 1553). This terminology shows as well that the concept(s) of peace developed in course of

¹ Norwegian sociologist, who was the founder of the discipline of peace and conflict studies in the first half of the 20th century.

time and more specialized terms are describing the depicted complexity of peace. The Age of Enlightenment attired a separate case in the history of peace. Of course ideas about peace emerged long before already. The late Middle-Ages “engendered a series of attempts to make the Christian religion, which linked to the peoples of Europe, the core of a peaceful order patterned after the ancient Pax Romana.” (Joas, 2008: 1964). The downside of this was that the people that didn’t believe in the Christian faith were not included in this approach whereas it was partly impossible to gather heretic to accept a Christian concept. To come back to the Enlightenment, there were two relevant models associated with Immanuel Kant and Adam Smith. Kant adjusted motifs of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and “established a link between the capacity of the state for peace and its internal structures and spoke in terms of the peaceful nature of republics.” (Joas, 2008: 1964). Thereby the interests of the citizens were supporting to avoid war and encouraged reciprocal advantageous connections between the states. Smith however “sought to establish the pacifying impacts of free trade.” (Joas, 2008: 1965) In his opinion it was necessary and feasible to create a type of market on which one could trade with each other without harming, threatening, pillaging, or destroying the other side. The mutual interest in these exchanges of goods satisfied both sides and made war redundant (Joas, 2008).

To come to an end of this part, four conceptions of peace will be shown and briefly discussed which comprise ways to obtain it or head toward it: hegemony, balance of power, decentralization of power, and disarmament. Hegemony implies a sort of dominating social group “in which power is acquired and maintained through some degree of consent, rather than coercion or force.” (Pieper, 2008: 1553) The conception of balance of power is basically the opposite of hegemony. The power here is not concentrated but spread likewise among the nations, so that no nation can destroy any other. With the decentralization of power it comes to the phenomenon of the great empires (as described in the previous part of the work). Instead of having the power located on one particular spot, it is distributed among regional or local governments which can react to certain occurring situations faster and thereby obtain peace in an easier way. As a last point, the disarmament is dealing with one of the causes of war which is the most simple to find out, namely weapons. Especially among peace movements, the disarmament has become a major goal.

As observed, the theme of peace is a very complex and widely varied topic to be covered. With the definition being adapted through each step in history the aspect of social stability stayed mostly the same. There are three modes of social control, in particular “threat, trade, and integration. Threat of punishment to insure compliance characterizes authoritarian

rule; trade (exchange of resources, reciprocation of services, etc.) is the main mode of cooperation in market-dominated societies; integration insures cooperation by inducing identification of self with others” (Pieper, 2008: 1555) By making sure that social stability was upheld together with the guarantee that each person’s fundamental needs (safety, well-being, dignity, and freedom) were provided, the peace within a state could be kept and maintained (Pieper, 2008: 1556).

2.4. The concept of war

The concept of war is also not easy to define. Similar to the concept(s) of peace, it also developed over time. With the help of three articles by Alexander Moseley (‘The Philosophy of War’, ‘Just War Theory’, and ‘Pacifism’) the definition of the concept of war will be examined and discussed in the following chapter.

When talking about war nowadays, mostly the wars between nations are meant. But “If war is defined as something that only occurs between states, then wars between nomadic groups should not be mentioned, nor would hostilities on the part of a displaced, non-state group against a state be considered war.” (Moseley, n.d.c) The definition which is needed here needs to be more specific and also include the mentioned groups. Moseley is following more philosophical approaches in dictionaries stating Heraclitus (“war is the father of all things” ([Heraclitus adapted from] Moseley, n.d.c)), Hegel, and even Voltaire (“Famine, plague, and war are the three most famous ingredients of this wretched world...All animals are perpetually at war with each other...Air, earth and water are areas of destruction.” ([Voltaire adapted from] Moseley, n.d.c)) that play an important role in defining war as a whole. Moseley adapts these from the Pocket Philosophical Dictionary and also names the Oxford Dictionary which “expands the definition to include ‘any active hostility or struggle between living beings; a conflict between opposing forces or principles.’” ([Oxford Dictionary adapted from] Moseley, n.d.c) Regarding stories of ancient times, war always had a similar perception to which it still has nowadays; a change in the meaning or even in the definition of it didn’t happen like discussed in the chapter about peace before. The only difference that slightly occurred was the personal perception of war of the authors of these times. Moseley (n.d.c) himself describes war as “a state of organized, open-ended collective conflict or hostility” which is more flexible than the other previous definitions. Concerning the political circumstance, “a definition that captures the clash of arms, the state of mutual tension and threat of violence between groups, the authorized declaration by a sovereign

body, and so on can be drawn upon to distinguish wars from riots and rebellions, collective violence from personal violence, metaphorical clashes of values from actual or threatened clashes of arms.” (Moseley, n.d.c)

Another important question which needs to be answered is the one of what causes war. Metaphysically seen, causes for a war can be split into three different parts: “those who seek war’s causation in man’s biology [e.g. being naturally aggressive], those that seek it in his culture, and those who seek it in his faculty of reason.” (Moseley, n.d.c) Here, the just war tradition sets in as well because it describes certain rules that enemies have to follow if they are culturally, religiously or language-like related and they are going to war with each other. If those relations differ too much it is more probable that war conventions don’t apply anymore, and this is why just war theorists are arguing that the rules of war need to be “universal, binding on all and capable in turn of appraising the actions of all parties over and above any historically formed conventions.” (Moseley, n.d.a) An important author who investigated the relationship between human nature and war was Thomas Hobbes. In his work *Leviathan* he states that “without an external power to impose laws, the state of nature would be one of immanent warfare.” (Moseley, n.d.c) which made it a good point to start discussing about man’s natural inclinations what other philosophers like Locke, Rousseau, and Kant did in their works.

When one is talking about war and its origins or reasons, it is also necessary to speak about its moral justification which plays a big role in the history of war as well as in the just war theory which was slightly addressed before already. With the starting of a war, there are many different philosophical opinions on the role of morality within war. “Many have claimed morality is necessarily discarded by the very nature of war including Christian thinkers as Augustine, whereas others have sought to remind warriors both of the existence of moral relations in war and of various strictures to remain sensitive to moral ends.” (Moseley, n.d.c) Talking about the moral justification, the phenomenon of pacifism has to be named as well. A good point to start analyzing pacifism is the absolutist argument “that all forms of violence, war and/or killing are unconditionally wrong.” (Moseley, n.d.b) Especially for the period of time in which this thesis is being set the absolutist argument plays an important role. The perfect interaction in a society should be without violence and peaceful and emerging conflicts should be handled with arbitration and compromises instead of using violence. Absolutist pacifism states that “peace is intrinsically a good to be upheld either as a duty or on the consequentialist grounds that it is more conducive to human welfare than any use of

violence or force.” (Moseley, n.d.b) There are three general aspects that are important; absolute prohibition of war, absolute prohibition of violence or force, and absolute prohibition of killing, which can of course also overlap each other (Moseley, n.d.b). Pacifists’ ethics can be divided into two positions: the first one is deontological one “which decrees that moral agents have an absolute duty to avoid aggressing or waging war against others.” (Moseley, n.d.b) The second one is the consequentialist position “which asserts that no good ever comes from aggressive actions or war and it is thereby prohibited, not because it is an evil itself, but because it *always* leads to a worse off position for the majority.” (Moseley, n.d.b)

The preceding chapter tried to show the most important definitions of war as well as other very important issues, like the just war theory and pacifism for example. Due to the limited frame of that work is unfortunately not possible to deepen the dispute furthermore, but with some philosophes being named and given, the reader, if further interested, can continue reading about this interesting topic.

The previous two chapters were more theoretical. Dealing with concepts and definitions needs fundamental ideas and it needs to be clarified at the same time which definition is being used. As all the discussed concepts will be brought back into the practical part of the thesis it was of certain importance to constitute different approaches and to give an overview about the bespoken notions.

III. France, Spain, and Portugal before the French Revolution: a comparison

The following chapter describes and analyzes the different political and societal situations in France, Spain, and Portugal before the French Revolution. Certain similarities as well as differences in the particular countries will be able to see after that part. The period of time the sociopolitical situations in each country are examined is the time from the 17th century until the beginning of the French Revolution. The time after the revolution will be covered in the fourth section of this work. Although using some background information from earlier times to help the reader understanding the context, the main focus will be put on the time between 1750 and 1789. To get a better visual understanding of how Europe looked like in these times, a map can be found below (figure one). Especially when one is comparing this map to the one in the proximate part of the thesis, huge differences can be shown more easily. But this will be part of the work in a later moment, right now it should just give an overview of Europe in 1648.

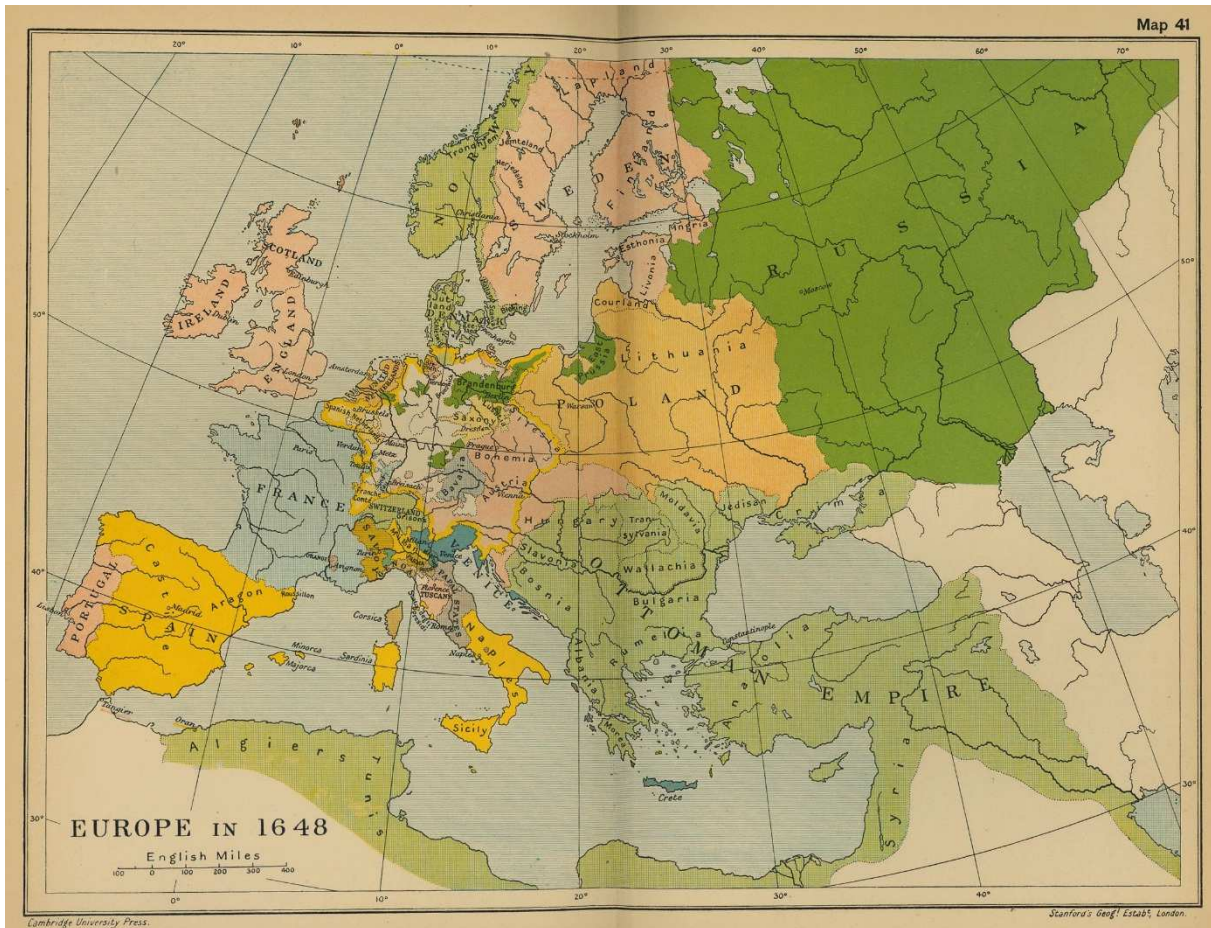


Fig. 1: Europe in 1648.

European monarchs have always tried to shelter and increase the sway of their territories. At around 1650 there was no other issue as important as this, each and every treaty could be broken up easily, same to agreements that had been made, and to moral principles if they were opposing the interest of state. It was the heyday of absolutism in these days which made the rulers try to create a continental if not even a global hegemony (Ross, 1969: 1). This effort, usually conducted by one powerful ruler, united other powers to ally against him and to establish a balance of power with which no state is as powerful as to invade any other. It happened that in the first half of the 17th century that the Hapsburg dynasty lost its dominating position in Europe whereas France, under Cardinal Richelieu, came to significant power again by following a foreign policy of weakening the Hapsburgs in Austria and Spain through supporting their enemies. The Peace of Westphalia in 1648 caused a big damage to the Hapsburg dynasty. Even though Spain and France continued the war between them until the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659, the Peace of Westphalia made Spain recognize the independence of the United Provinces and the Emperor gave complete sovereignty to the hundreds of states in the Holy Roman Empire (Ross, 1969: 2). These two peace were a first step away from the Hapsburg being a center of power toward the French. Besides that another

important progress had been made by the attempt to invigorate the own government on internal affairs. The reason for that was the aspiring nobility that was thought to be the most dangerous threat from inside the country. Other social groups were also suppressed when they gained too much political power and influence. These threats for the monarch were the reason why power became centralized more and more which is also considered a sign of absolute monarchy as described in the previous chapters already.

3.1. France – rowing about initiating an revolution

A good year to start about arguing about France in this context is 1661 in which Louis XIV (1638-1715) became king in fact, after his reign started in 1643 already, as four year old boy; his mother Anne of Austria reigned for the years until Louis was able to govern himself. Louis XIV ruled for more than 50 years and he “was the personification of royal power and prestige” (Ross, 1969: 4) in these times and is known till today as being one of the most famous persons in history. This had different reasons, some will be stated in the following. One of the most important reasons was that he was successful in shrinking the leverage of the nobility by gathering them at Versailles where he was able to monitor their cabals and to control by making them presents, lifting them into certain positions at court, or by simply letting them take part in his enormous court life which became known all over Europe. Louis XIV didn't extinguish the power of the French nobility completely but he found a way to have everything under his control for the purpose that he didn't have to dread coups by making the nobles servants of himself. At the same time the so called ‘Sun King’ strengthened his kingdom by stabilizing and expanding the military and economy of the country. Enhancements were made in the road and canal network, businessmen were encouraged to create their own enterprises with the help of certain loans, tariff protections, monopolies, and tax benefits (Ross, 1969: 5). This helped the businessmen on the one hand but on the other, and which was more important, it helped the gathering of taxes which were used to be spend on military issues and reforms. When Louis came into power the military was mostly in the (private) hands of noblemen and badly organized. The king and his advisors introduced a system of drill and training and invented uniform standards, rigged, and armed the soldiers at the cost of the government and, after those and other reforms, were in charge of the largest, best-equipped, and best-led army in Europe (Ross, 1969).

After several attempts to enlarge his territory and to gain control over other parts of Europe, Louis had to face more and more enemies that united against him and his expansive

ideas. By invading the Spanish Netherlands (Belgium) he started a period of 40 years of war in which he tried to extend France to the East and to the North. The war lasted until 1697 when a compromise peace was constituted, but the more important historical fact behind this is that for “the first time *all* the leading states had united in a common war against the Grand Monarch.” (Ross, 1969: 9) His second big aim was to unite France and Spain as the Spanish monarch, Charles II, was ill and didn’t have children and Louis XIV had a legal claim to the crown because he married a daughter of Philip IV to gain the crown of Spain for his dynasty (Ross, 1969: 6). As the maritime powers failed to deal with questions of the succession, Louis proclaimed his grandson King Philip V of Spain in 1700, causing the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1714). The Grand Alliance, consisting of England, the United Provinces, and Austria, united again with the aim to end the unity of the Spanish and the French crown forever (Ross, 1969: 10). The war turned out to be a disaster for the Sun King and the treaties of Utrecht and Rastatt in 1713 and 1714 clarified that the French and the Spanish crown would never be in the hands of one monarch which created a balance of power in which no state (especially not France) could cause any harm to the sovereignty of any other. Europe was not completely reshaped but some allocations and redistributions were made which can be seen on the map in figure two.



Fig. 2: Europe in 1721.

The following years of the 18th century were characterized by a wide range of wars. What is interesting to see here, are the different forms of coalitions and how they changed from war to war. When Spain wanted to get back its former Italian areas, France, which was still recovering from the tremendous loss of the War of the Spanish Succession, joined England, the Dutch Republic, and Austria and were able to make Spain capitulate in 1720 (Ross, 1969: 14). In 1733, however, Spain and France fought together again versus Russia and Austria this time in the War of the Polish Succession (Ross, 1969). 1740 was the year when Frederick II of Prussia marched into Silesia and was joined by French troops, Spain, and Bavaria, trying to shrink the territory of Maria Teresa who acceded the Hapsburg throne. With England joining the conflict to support the Austrians, it became known as the War of the Austrian succession (began in 1740) and ended in 1748. Only eight years later, the Seven Years' War emerged in which "England battled France and later Spain for maritime and imperial supremacy." (Ross, 1969: 14). Frederick II was successful in defending his kingdom at the continent versus an alliance of Austria, Russia, and France and got help from England that wanted to decimate French power and troops and protect Hanover (Ross, 1969: 15). The list of wars going on in these times can be continued and some more wars and conflicts can be

added. It is hard to name one specific reason for the readiness of the monarchs in these times to go to war regularly but most historians, including Ross, see the insatiable desire to increase their power and territory as the main reason for it. To come back to France one has to bring up that after all the wars a huge amount of money was missing and the debts were remarkably high. The royal government wanted to reform the tax system to make the nobility pay taxes as well but after the death of Louis XIV in 1715, the aristocrats gained power in the administration again and the 'parlements' "recovered their former privilege of demanding changes in edicts before registering them." (Ross, 1969: 18) The nobles were tried to be banned out of politics by Louis XV who prohibited the 'parlements', but his successor, Louis XVI, reversed this verdict and the nobles enlarged their power and "retained their special economic privileges such as freedom from most personal taxation and the enjoyment of feudal dues and rents from their estates." (Ross, 1969: 19) The upcoming middle class was frustrated about the current situation because it was not possible for them to get in charge of politically relevant positions and criticism of the 'status quo' emerged, uttered by the 'philosophes'. Also in the lower social classes the discontent grew as the peasants still had to deal with the feudal agrarian system. An economic recession, the rise in the prices for food, upcoming unemployment, and declining wages created an urgency for a change and reforms, but the nobles refused (Ross, 1969: 19). As a reaction, the king convened an Estates General in summer 1788. Consisting of three chambers "representing the clergy, the nobles, and the commoners, the Estates General was to solve the crown's financial dilemma and reform the laws of the kingdom." (Ross, 1969: 20) With the declaration of the 'parlement' on September, the 23rd, 1788, that the Estates should vote by order "instead of allowing delegates to cast their ballots individually" (Ross, 1969: 20), it was clear that the nobility would profit from this decision because the upper ranks of the clerical order came from the aristocracy which would make them able to control the Estates and thereby control all of France. When the Estates General was convened again in May 1789, "the bourgeois delegates of the Third Estate were prepared to resist the pretensions of both the nobles and the monarch and were determined, with or without royal sanction, to write a new constitution for the nation." (Ross, 1969: 20).

The century before the French Revolution and especially the many different wars that had to be fought, left France with an immense pile of debts from which especially the Third Estate had to suffer. The desperate need of reforms and the blocking of those by the nobility was leading the country to a sharpened situation which resulted in the outbreak of the French

Revolution and the storming of the Bastille on the 14th of July, 1789 and that will be discussed explicitly in the next chapter of the thesis.

3.2. Spain – the impact of absolute monarchy

It is hard to find a specific year as an impact for the way that Spain was taking in the 17th and 18th century en route to the revolutions at the beginning of the 19th century. Even though in the introduction to that chapter the relevant time to start is determined on the 17th century, the Spanish case should be started in 1580 already, with the crisis of succession in Portugal. This crisis will be discussed in the next part of the work (3.3.) but at the end of it, Philip II (1556-1598) took over the Portuguese crown after a successful military enforcement (in 1580). Philip then followed a clever policy towards Portugal by letting the Portuguese govern themselves and without making any incisive changes in their customs and traditions. With the unification of Spain and Portugal, Philip II had the biggest commercial fleet under his command and extended his colonial with possessions in America and along the African and Indian coast (Bernecker, 1999: 33). This alliance lasted until 1640, decades after Philips death (1598), when his successors were trying to implement Castilian taxation in Portugal. In 1627 another war versus France broke out and Conde-Duque de Olivares, who became the so called ‘valido’ under the rule of Philip IV (1621-1665), was trying to get Catalonia to support the royal army in a stronger way, tensions between Barcelona and Madrid, which was the center of government in those times, arose. In 1640 then these tensions, which were also growing in other parts of the country, erupted in massive resistance against the monarchy while the monarchy itself had to fight France, the United Netherland, and Sweden. This ended in the splitting of the Catalans from Castile and the Catalans recognized Louis XIII of France as their sovereign (Bernecker, 1999: 39). The aim of Olivares was always to accelerate the unity of the country and with that splitting he finally failed. The way of Portugal after 1640, when the Duke of Bragança took the Portuguese crown and created alliances with England and France to resist Spanish reconquests, will be described in the next part. This splitting also showed the weak construction of the Spanish Empire in these times, whereby some people even speak of a compound monarchy, a “monarquía compuesta” (Bernecker, 1999) which was also shown in some other historical works when Spain was described as the Spanish Countries, “de las Espanas”(Bernecker, 1999: 40), the plural form. Another huge problem of Spain was the financial background, mostly due to wars and the excessive lifestyle of the

court. In 1627, 1647, and 1652 national bankruptcy had to be declared even though one was collaborating with Genoese and Portuguese financiers.

The Spanish society in those times was characterized – as also in the rest of Europe – by an estates-based character and a hierarchical structure. The aristocracy and the clergy were standing at its head who were enjoying privileges as tax exemption, juridical preferences, and social emphasis. Due to financial distress, the monarchs used to sell patents of nobility whereby they created certain incentives for the economically successful people. The biggest social class was represented by the rural population with about 80% (Bernecker, 1999: 41). Especially for the lower classes the causes of bad harvests, epidemics (pest), and measures of war were devastating and even whole areas of the country got depopulated due to plague epidemic and bad harvests. With the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 a very important relief occurred for the totally depleted country. With the death of childless Charles II in 1700 it was inevitable that new tensions arose because the Spanish throne needed a successor. Different possibilities were at issue: the first option was that the Spanish heritage descended to the Austrian line of the Hapsburgs which was rejected by France and also England, which wanted to keep the balance of power in Europe; the second possibility was a Bourbon on the Spanish throne which was promoted by Louis XIV who had claims to it because of his marriage to the daughter of Philip IV, but which was rejected by the Hapsburgs and England again. Idea number three was the handover of the Spanish crown to a less powerful monarch, Joseph Ferdinand, Prince of Asturias, for example which caused resistance by the Hapsburgs and the Bourbons. In the end there were several partition plans which suggested the allocation of the inheritance between Hapsburgs and Bourbons. Right before his death, Charles II adjudicated the heritage to Philip V, a grandson of Louis XIV. Because of that, the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714) broke out as Charles III got crowned in Vienna in 1703 as anti-king (Bernecker, 1999: 45). After the War of the Spanish Succession, Spain hadn't only lost its hegemony in Italy but the war also led to further territorial changes. Henceforth, the major opponents were Austria, the Hapsburgs, and France, the Bourbons. Spain was ultimately shattered and had lost its supremacy in Europe.

For the whole 18th century a few political basic constants can be shown. The rulers tried to establish a centralistic reign and a monarchical absolutism concomitant to a repression of the political power of the church (Bernecker, 1999: 47). In the second half of the century a new form of work ethics and utilitarianism gained ground. With the peace of Utrecht and Rastatt in 1713 and 1714 Spain lost its central European and Italian possessions but Philip V

and his second wife Elisabeth Farnese wanted to recapture the losses and averted from France because of that to regain Sardinia and Sicily. An English fleet destroyed the rebuilt Spanish Armada in 1718 near Messina and buried the Spanish hopes of the Mediterranean area. Furthermore the 18th century in Spain can be seen as a period of domestic reforms which included almost all fields, namely the economic and social order, state and church, culture and the military which is described as the so called ‘reformismo borbonico’ (Bernecker, 1999: 48). The most important aims of the reformers was the economical and societal refurbishment of Spain, the support of the commercial and the commencing industrial production, and in America the intensification of mining and agriculture (Bernecker, 1999: 50). The colonial economy should be integrated much more into the metropolitan one to make Spain regain its former importance. Spanish Enlightenment was following economical aims, being practical-utitarian, conducting a reform policy from above and, at the same time, didn’t break with the church which was the reason why it was called “Catholic Enlightenment” (Bernecker, 1999) in the literature. Especially in the agrarian sector reforms were urgently needed because the Spanish population grew from eight million to 14 million in the 18th century which caused an increasing demand in land and agricultural products. Of particular importance were the reforms in the economic and social sector in which economic growth was the proclaimed objective. The last decades of the 18th and the first ones of the 19th century are known as the “crisis of the Ancien Régime” (Bernecker, 1999: 52) in Spanish history. This describes chronologically the reigning years of Charles IV (1788-1808), strategically the disorientation during the French revolutionary wars, financially the increasing public indebtedness, dynastically the temporary decline of the Bourbons and the transition of the Spanish crown to Joseph Bonaparte, politically the subsidence in insignificance, and colonial historically the loss of a tremendous realm overseas (Bernecker, 1999).

The case of Spain in times right before the French Revolution is not a simple to talk about. The former great empire that was once even dividing the world with Portugal into two parts (Treaty of Tordesillas, 1494) had become a shadow of its former self. Spain definitely lost importance in the concert of Europe in the 18th century and the reasons stated above explain why. The following years in Spanish history will be discussed in the next chapter of the thesis and will show which important steps have been taken by the movement from absolutism to constitutionalism.

3.3. Portugal – fronting policy changes

The case of Portugal is a special one in history. Being a small country with not many inhabitants (compared to France or Spain for example) it stayed in its shape over centuries and, especially with the ‘giant’ neighbor Spain, Portugal used to be the second world power after the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494). As the way through the mainland was blocked by Spain, Portugal expanded earlier than almost anyone else to become a rich and flourishing country. It is very interesting to deal with the Portuguese history as Portugal took a special path in history. But, due to the limited frame of that work, Portugal’s relevant years for this thesis start similar to the ones of Spain. With the era of schism, in which Spain saw itself as unifier of the Catholic faith, the personal union between Portugal and Spain emerged from 1580 to 1640 (Kinder/Hilgemann/Hergt, 2008) which meant not only Portugal and Spain were unified but also their colonial empires. During the dynastic union under the “Filipes”, the two empires (Portuguese and Spanish) were united. The acclamation of João IV in 1640 led to the separation between the Portuguese overseas possessions and the Spanish ones (Oliveira, 1994: 124). England and France were opposing this hegemonic power, ending in war and in the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 by the British (Kinder/Hilgemann/Hergt, 2008) which meant at the same time the slow fading away of the sway of the personal union. In December 1640 John IV took over the crown in Portugal after revolts against the Spanish occupiers and immediately had to deal with the defense of the Portuguese realm, “where everything was lacking, money, soldiers, weapons, munitions, and ships.” (Beirão, 1960: 87). The Portuguese defense after 1640 developed in two ways: First, the 1640 revolution resulted in the legitimate rights of the House of Braganza to the Portuguese throne; second, the revolution was an expression of the legitimate rights of the Portuguese people to resist in case their privileges were violated. Spain wanted the isolation of Portugal in the international plan, attributing the rebel status to the Portuguese who revolted against the legitimate king. The struggles between Portugal and Spain developed in the military and diplomatic level, both seeking external support (Macedo, 2006: 204-207). A difficult age of restoration began for Portugal after 1640 and at the same time it always had to be aware of possible attempts of recapture by Spain but these attempts were successfully defended (Schwartz, 2004). Portugal was in need of allies to defend themselves against the Spanish for a longer period of time, especially after the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659 after which Spain was able to focus on Portugal again as it made peace with the French, and it found this ally in England. Treaties were made in which Portugal gained support from the English against the Spanish and Hollanders, but had to give them, among others, the right to

trade freely with Portuguese colonies and accept English settlers in their territories (Ligthart/Reitsma, 1988: 357). The treaties were an economic disaster for Portugal but at the same time they needed England's help to resist the Spanish which would not want to cause another war with England by attacking their ally. Finally, in 1668, a peace treaty was signed with Spain and after 27 years of struggling, Portugal was independent again (Macedo, 2006).

It was obvious that Portugal was getting involved in the War of Spanish Succession (1702-1714) by being located right next to Spain and by the mobilization of all European powers. The circumstances of the war are already analyzed above so the role of Portugal will be explained explicitly in the following paragraph. The Portuguese recognized Philip V as king of Spain and contracted with the French that for the next 20 years Portugal would close their harbors to enemies of the Bourbons and as an exchange they got military and naval support by the French (Livermore, 1966: 202). The superiority of the Bourbons (including France, Spain, and Portugal now) caused the formation of a great alliance of England, Holland, and the Austrian Hapsburgs in 1701, called the Grand Alliance. The goal of that alliance was to stem French power in Italy and in the Spanish Netherlands as well as to make the Archduke Charles the king of Spain (Livermore, 1966). The Grand Alliance tried to get Portugal to their side now as France was ignoring calls for help and assistance when the war broke out which made the Portuguese to cast its lot with the Grand Alliance. The Grand Alliance failed in the end with the peace of Utrecht in 1713, in which Portugal and France concluded peace (and the other states that were fighting in the War of the Spanish Succession of course); Portugal and Spain made peace in 1715 (Macedo, 2006; Livermore, 1966; and Beirão, 1960: 94). It was already King John (= João) V of Portugal on the throne who was called the Portuguese 'Sun King' (magnanimous) and who started governing the country after the death of Pedro II (1707) until 1750. John V followed the absolute monarchy of the model of Louis XIV of France, "his personal power, the ceremonial of his court and the magnificence of Versailles, the patronage of learning and culture by the crown, and the centralization of government." (Livermore, 1966: 208). John V also took Louis XIV as example when it came to the construction of impressive buildings and institutions, namely the Convent of Mafra (Marques, 1972). The personality of Joao V is always characterized by a high level of education and intelligence – at the same time and therefore concomitant with that, he was raised mostly by his mother Maria Sophia of Neuburg, who was queen of Portugal as the wife of King Peter II from 1687 until 1699, and who taught him a certain sense of aesthetics which was later seen in the extravagant edifices that were created under his rule (Beirão, 1960: 96). Because of that the prestige of Portugal grew in the times of John V

and he established, by a wise foreign policy accompanied by the rebuilding of the forts, the army and the fleet, a long-lasting period of peace during his reign. Even though the expenses he made were exorbitantly high due to the costs of the impressive buildings, Portugal didn't have to declare national bankruptcy as lots of costs could be covered by the gold which was coming from Brazil to Portugal (Livermore, 1966: 208). Even though John V was an absolute ruler, he always gave himself near to his people and he held public audiences twice a week for example "and the people were able to air their complaints freely. He was a sovereign in direct contact with the community and he tried always to serve the common weal." (Beirão, 1960: 97). John V goes down in history as one of the most remarkable monarchs ever as he died in 1750.

The times after John V until the French Revolution were firstly under the influence of the great earthquake of 1755 which destroyed half of Lisbon and killed about 10,000 people (Marques, 1972). With the death of his father, Joseph I of Portugal came to rule (since 1750 to 1777). As most of the ministers of John V were either dead or very old by that time, he had to appoint new ministers among which Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello could be found, who was about to become known as Marquis of Pombal (= Marquês de Pombal) and as the most significant de facto head of state². In 1750, with the accession to the throne of Joseph, the Marquis of Pombal was appointed Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and War. His great capacity for work and leadership proved in the way he faced the tragic earthquake of 1755, from which time it became a confidant of Joseph I. He heavily endeavored in strengthening the royal power, decreasing the power of some noble houses. As Joseph I was not interested in governing, he made him Secretary of the State of the Kingdom of Portugal and the Algarves in 1756. One of the first tasks of Pombal was the rebuilding of the destroyed parts of Lisbon after the earthquake. After an assault on Joseph, Sebastião Carvalho e Mello was able to restrict the power of the church and especially the nobility which were made responsible for this attack and that were arrested and killed. Under the reign of the Marquês de Pombal important reforms and progresses have been made. An example can be that the gold trade with Brazil was completely reformed and because of that, Portugal got on an economically stable level again after the massive expenses of Joao V (Livermore, 1966: 219). But, at the same time, as Beirão (1960: 99) states in an appropriate way "For Carvalho there only existed the Royal Power, the omnipotent State and the amorphous mass of the Nation.", what

²Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello had a long career as ambassador of King John V in the English and Austrian courts. These missions were important for political and economic formation of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello (Marques, 1972).

corresponds to the enlightened despotism in the absolute monarchy in the 18th century and which pursued legal, social, and educational reforms inspired by the Enlightenment current. Following this policy, Pombal stopped at nothing. His rule was leading the country into reforms and modernization on the one hand, but on the other it was cruel and a dictatorship. In 1762 the so called 'fantastic war' broke out. Louis XV of France and Carlos III of Spain (1759-1788) declared war on England and tried to get Portugal on their side which was refused by Jose I and the Marquês de Pombal. With the help of English troops, Portugal made it out of that conflict without any loss (Beirão, 1960: 100). After the death of Joseph I in 1777 his daughter Maria I (1777-1816) took over the Portuguese crown and with that Pombal was dismissed from office and banished to the village of Pombal (Livermore, 1966: 239). Even though a lot of reforms had been made and for a short time Portugal gained wealth at the end of his reign money was lacking as well as the army and navy had been neglected since 1764. Pensions couldn't be paid on time and all public works were suspended. But this recovered slowly and with "the outbreak of war and interruption of trade between England and France, the market for Portuguese wines improved and the passive balance of trade was rectified." (Livermore, 1966: 243) The reign of Maria I, who passed on the crown to Prince John in 1799, can be summarized as a period of progress with extensive reforms.

The political situations in the three countries discussed above was on the one hand pretty similar but on the other hand also big differences can be found at around 1789. While in France the population was on the way to the French Revolution, Spain faced the aftermath of a downfall and an immense loss of power. The Portuguese citizens were released by Maria's reign in the last years after the dictatorship of the Marquês de Pombal in which everyone had to fear to be imprisoned or killed who was against the rule. What each country had in common in the late 18th century was the ongoing wars that were bothering Europe in these times. Especially France and Spain had big financial problems due to the claims of power of their monarchs which left especially the rural population in deep poverty and hunger. The raise in the prices for food and the high taxes were not adjusted on the economic situation and the special privileges the nobility and the court had were the most obvious signs of the injustice that was given. Among the three mentioned countries, Spain was the one which had to suffer the most. The battles with France, England, and also Portugal were long-lasting and not crowned with success. France however was the first state which was shown that the time of absolute monarchies was over and that the people demanded more rights. Nobility was on the step to lose power and influence which was also a reason why the following revolutions would cost a lot of lives. The French Revolution was considered to

make an example of how a regime was about to be brought down and soon Spain and Portugal should follow that way of liberal revolutions up to a system of constitutional monarchies. What Spain and Portugal had in common in these times was not only the same borderline but also the colonies overseas. America and Brazil were extremely important for the gathering of money which was spent on buildings and educational institutions in Portugal and to some extent also in Spain, but most of the money that was made overseas went into the courts and the military as well as in the fleets. The political relations of the three countries are best seen in the different alliances they had, determined mostly by wars and peace. The ways of France, Spain, and Portugal should differ for a while after the French Revolution but they would not lose their similarities and differences as will be shown in the next chapter of that work.

IV. Liberal revolutions and political aftermaths in France, Spain, and Portugal

"Never was any such event so inevitable yet so completely unforeseen."

Alexis de Tocqueville

The following chapter describes the turning point in the concert of Europe in the late 18th and the early 19th century. Beginning with a short overview of the French Revolution and its timetable, the question is discussed of what changed explicitly in the concepts that were discussed in the first part of this thesis. Then France will be in the center of attention as the rise of Napoleon and the foundation of his empire will be debated. The next part will give an answer to how the liberal revolutions affected Spain, before the same will be down with the situation in Portugal. A last point of this chapter will show again the similarities as well as the differences of the three states after the liberal revolutions had taken place.

4.1. The French Revolution 1789 – 1799: revolutionary process under way

The French Revolution remains one of the crucial events of modern European and world history. With the French Revolution being the predecessor of the liberal revolutions in Spain and in Portugal as well and with being one of the most important incidents in history, a short overview of the French Revolution will be given in the following part of the thesis. The years from 1789 until 1799 will be examined and the most important events will be stated.

In the night from July the 12th to the 13th in 1789 the Third Estate voters of Paris assembled themselves at the Hotel de Ville "to coordinate measures against those who feared to be menacing their lives and property." (Alpaugh, 2014: 696) One day later, on the 14th of July in 1789, the French Revolution commenced with the storming of the Bastille in Paris. This event spread fast over the whole country and caused uprisings in almost every region of France (Kuhn, 1999: 44). In the same year, on the 4th of August, the disposal of feudal rights and tax privileges took place, which was a reaction to the 'Grande Peur' in the rural areas in which the peasants took up arms. 22 days later the human and citizens' rights were declared by the National Assembly. From April to June in 1790, France was divided into 83 'departements', the schools were nationalized, the general religious freedom was introduced and the church property was seized (Kuhn, 1999: 72). One year after that, in June 1791 the

Royal Family tried to flee the country but they were spotted and failed to leave. In September a constitution was adopted which made France a constitutional monarchy later. In October the Assemblée nationale législative (= national legislative assembly) met for the first time ((Kuhn, 1999: 102). On the 20th of April in 1792 Louis XVI, still the head of state, declared war on the King of Bohemia and Hungary which started the first coalition war between France and Austria, and Prussia first, but in 1793, after a massive counter offensive of the French troops, Great Britain, Spain, and the Netherlands joined the ally of Austria and Prussia against France. In 1795, Prussia, Spain, and several German states made peace with France whereas Austria and England continued fighting (Kuhn, 1999: 104 and 132.). On the 10th of August in 1792 a storm on the Tuileries (royal city palace) came to pass and one month later, a new legislative assembly, the so-called ‘convention nationale’, decided on elective franchise which was not valid for enemies of the republic (Kuhn, 1999: 108). On the 21st of September 1792, monarchy was abolished and France became republic starting a new calendar at the same time: the 22nd of September 1792 was the first day of year one of the republic (Kuhn, 1999: 114).

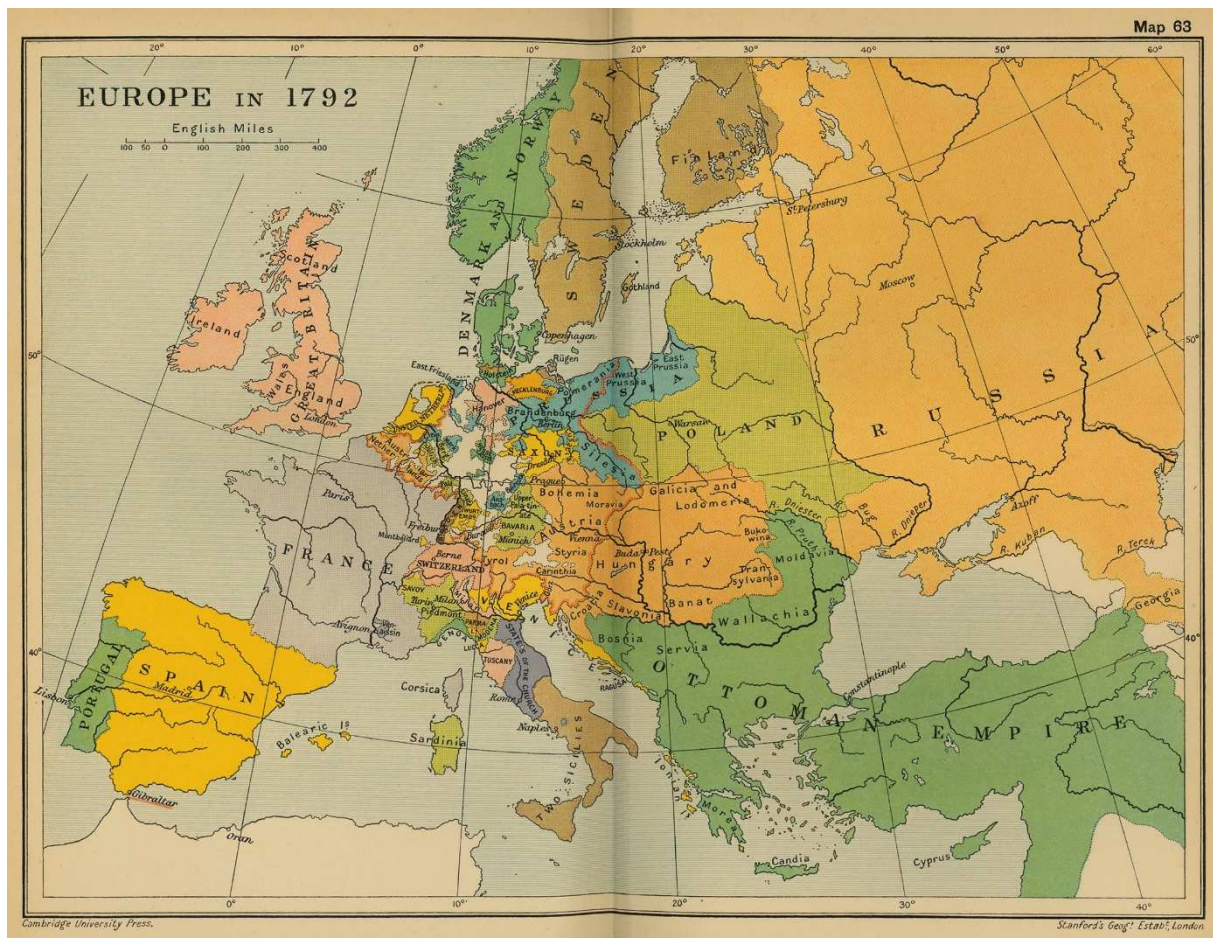


Fig. 3: Europe in 1792

The year 1793 started with the execution of King Louis XVI on the 21st of January. With the beginning of June, the Committee of Public Safety exerted the governmental power with Louis Antoine de Saint-Just and Maximilien de Robespierre at its head (Kuhn, 1999: 142). On the 29th of September maximum prices for goods and maximum wages were introduced by the Jacobins to alleviate social inequality and to fulfill the demand of the sans-culottes. On the 16th of October 1793, Marie-Antoinette was executed, two months before the churches were closed at Robespierre's behest (Kuhn, 1999: 158). The time from the 10th of June until the 27th of July became known as the stage of the 'Grande Terreur' in which the rules of trial were almost completely deactivated and in which culprits couldn't make use of attorneys anymore. Many death sentences were spoken out on arbitrary reasons and, after an uprising against Robespierre, Saint-Just and him were arrested and executed on the 28th of July 1794 (Kuhn, 1999: 167). In August 1795 a new constitution became effective, setting up the French Directorate in the government, electoral franchise for the proprietary classes, census suffrage, and sovereignty of the upper classes, the so called 'upper bourgeoisie' (Kuhn, 1999: 180), which was in charge between 1795 and 1799. The end of the French Revolution is marked on the 9th of November 1799, or the 18. Brumaire VIII, when General Napoléon Bonaparte took over governmental power with the help of the army of the revolution in a *coup d'état* and became consul (Kuhn, 1999: 215).

The French Revolution is the most important historical event in those times and that is why it is considered as being important to mention the most relevant dates and proceedings in this thesis. The liberal revolutions in Spain and in Portugal could only emerge because the French Revolution succeeded in the end, even though it was tried to bring it down several times. When Spain and Portugal and their history after 1789 will be discussed in the posterior part of the work, comparisons can be made easier with the knowledge of the mentioned facts. It is also relevant to point 4.5., when the question of what changed in the concepts will be answered.

4.2. France after the Revolution – Napoléon and his Empire

The following chapter will discuss the times of the French Consulate (1799-1804) and the First French Empire (1804-1814/1815). This epoch is scarred by the Napoleonic Wars, which will be shortly addressed and described afterwards, however the main focus will be put on the social inventions that were made during that time.

A complex form of constitution, which was changed by Napoleon, was underlying the Consulate which traced back to Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès (1748-1836)³, who was a co-conspirator of Napoléon. The formal center of the constitution was formed by the senate (*Sénat conservateur*) which consisted of 80 lifetime members. The tasks of the senate varied. On the one hand it had to elect the legislative assembly, the tribunate, the consuls, and the supreme judges. On the other hand the senate was able to declare each order as unconstitutional, as well as each governmental act and the foreseen direct elections. It also changed the constitution by decrees which were denoted as *senatus consulta* (Willms, 2005: 319). Hence the senate became electoral body, constitutional court, and generic supervisory authority (Willms, 2005). The government was arranged two staged, in the same way as with the directorial constitution. The position of the former executive directorate was given to the council of the three consuls, being the head of government and the head of state at the same time. The ministers, meant to be the executive institution, were subjected to the consuls but were politically without power. The consuls were distinguished as the First, the Second, and the Third and should be elected by the senate for ten years (Willms, 2005: 321). The First Consul (Napoleon) had several prerogatives: he was appointing the ministers, most of the judges, officers, and officials. Even though the First Consul had to be advised by the Second and Third Consul, he could decide on his own. The senate also elected the tribunate, which was allowed to discuss law propositions by the government but did not have any decisional power, and the *Corps législatif* that was able to listen to the draft proposals of the government and which could then, in a secret ballot, decide about them. The *Conseil d'État* was established as an advising institution and still exists even today (Willms, 2005: 333). Generally seen, the Consulate constitution can be regarded only formally as a republican constitution; in fact, Napoleon created a dictatorship.

On the 2nd December in 1804 Napoleon crowned himself Emperor of the French attended by Pope Pius VII (1740-1823) in the cathedral of Notre Dame de Paris. Napoleon saw himself as sovereign of the people and not, like his predecessors, crowned by god and not even half a year later, on the 26th of May 1805, he was crowned in Milan as King of Italy. This caused the foundation of the Third Coalition, consisting of Russia, Great-Britain, Austria, Sweden, and Naples, and with the aim to set France back to the frontiers of 1792 (cf. fig. 3). After the Principal Decree of the Imperial Deputation in Germany, Bavaria,

³ Sieyès played an important role in the *États généraux*, where he was the representative of the church and the aristocracy. He was one of the most active participants in the creation of the *Assemblée nationale* of 1789, but their constitutional ideas were not heard by other parliamentarians. In the Convention of 1792, to judge Louis XVI, Sieyès participated in all sections and voted for the king's death.

Wuerttemberg, and Baden joined France in the war (Willms, 2005: 381). Napoleons tactics, to separate the enemies first and attack each one individually, following the political Roman principle *divide et impera*, led him first to Austria in November 1805, where he captured Vienna uncontested. Subsequently, the Battle of Austerlitz was won by the French troops in which Russia and Austria were beaten on the 2nd of December. In 1806 Napoleon united 16 German states under the record of the Confederation of the Rhine, guaranteeing them security and assistance and in exchange the states dropped out of the Holy Roman Empire, after which Francis II laid down the crown and stayed Emperor of Austria (Dufraisse, 2008). Napoleon also understood it very well to arrange marriages between his family and other important dynasties and to install his family members on the throne of the conquered states. Joseph Bonaparte was first made King of Naples in 1806 and later, in 1808, King of Spain, which will be discussed more detailed in the next chapter of the thesis. Louis Bonaparte became King of Holland in 1806, Elisa, his sister, Grand Duchess of Tuscany in 1809, to name only the most important ones (Willms, 2005: 466).

What was almost equally important as the wars Napoleon was conducting, were the changes he introduced in state and administration. After being named Consul for lifetime, it came to an even stronger centralization and concentration of power. He was able to negotiate international treaties, to amnesty convicts, choose the members of the senate, and change the constitution without the involvement of others. The parliament lost almost all of its importance and the senate was only an instrument to enforce his politics (Willms, 2005: 394). In the new monarchical constitution even the heritage was settled which was staying in the Bonaparte dynasty. New positions were founded, mostly possessed by members of the Bonaparte family, which were dealing with the different administrative bodies. In the years from 1805 to 1810 Napoleon appointed several dignitaries as well as he introduced arch-offices, similar to the Holy Roman Empire (Willms, 2005: 434).

The administrative structure stayed mostly the same as at the times of the revolution. A tendency to centralization can be seen, even though the 'Départements' were raising in numbers from 83 in 1790 to 130 in 1812 (Willms, 2005: 445). It came to a raise in the number of population, from 28 million in 1789 to 30 million in 1815. However, the amount of French people on the European overall population went 5% down, to now 20%. The independence of the judiciary was restricted and the structure was adjusted to the administration units, whereas the election of judges was abolished who were from now on deputized by Napoleon. Statutory basis was the *Code civil* from 1804 which codified achievements of the revolution and also

pertained during the empire (Willms, 2005: 399). This system of law influenced the legal systems of the majority of European countries, including Spain and Portugal. The *Code civil* contained, among others, the equality before the law, the freedom of contract, and the separation of the state and the church, and it especially protected the property itself and the peasants against refeudalization. More codes of law followed and included civil procedure rules, penal code and code of criminal procedure, and a commercial code (Willms, 2005: 328).

After the French Revolution didn't only reduce the power and influence of the church but combatted it, Napoleon tried to control it by readmission, equality of religious orientation, and binding to the state. This corresponds to the process of secularization and laicization of the state. While the constituent national assembly excluded Jews from the declaration of human and citizen rights initially in 1789, they became the citizenship in 1791 if they'd waived their status as a parish. France was thereby the first European country to bring citizen's rights to the Jewish people (Willms, 2005: 333). The code civil didn't only become the true constitution of France, it also grew to the widest spread legal code all over Europe and, beyond that, the first of the continent that did not have special regulations on Jews. Each citizen should be equal before the law. At the same time, the secularization started a slow evolution to religious neutrality in the German states after Francis II abdicated from the throne in 1806. These issues led to ideological reforms and a political program that had large effects in Western Europe.

Starting in 1800, Napoleon begun living in the Tuileries as still a consul and in these times already a court has been created, following the *Ancien Régime* with its instructions and etiquette. The revolutionary calendar was removed again with the coronation of Napoleon and offices at court were established in which Napoleons relatives but also members of the ancient noble families had good positions. As time passed by the rights of co-determination were restricted more and more. The tribunate was removed by Napoleon and state council and senate became only tools for the emperor to enforce his goals. The political opposition was pursued, even new state prisons were built for political detainees that were imprisoned without trial in some cases (Willms, 2005: 452). The censorship of the press aggravated and some newspaper were forbidden, whereas the official newspaper of the government was the *Moniteur* in which the foreign ministry was determining the articles. Books were banned and censored and theatres were only allowed to host plays that were playing way in the past or which didn't have any political reference. The censorship was imposed to strengthen

ideological and political control. The educational system was centralized with the help of an imperial university which was responsible for all schools, from the elementary school to the university (Willms, 2005: 460).

The central element of power of the Napoleonic state was the military which has been named *Grande Armée* since 1805. Structurally regarded it was basically the army that evolved during the revolution and which was based on the general conscription which made all men between 20 and 25 years to serve as soldiers. Besides his own troops, Napoleon demanded troops from the states that were dependent on him, which gave his army the size of 1.1 million soldiers (Willms, 2005: 470).

During the French Revolution, the economic output of France declined massively compared to the Ancien Régime and in 1800 it was about 60% of the one in 1789. Even though a strong economic increase occurred in the following ten years, it didn't come to an industrial revolution like in England. Big investments were made in cotton processing in which partly production was mechanized. The economical emphasis moved far away from the seaports due to the naval blockade of England by Napoleon who wanted to isolate Great Britain from the rest of Europe, toward areas around Paris, Strasbourg, and Lyon (Willms, 2005: 369). Starting in 1806, when Napoleon imposed the Continental System, the economy had to cover tremendous repercussions but there were also some industrial sectors, like the textile production, that were profiting from the embargo. Especially the commercial cities had to suffer from it by facing a strong decrease of trade as well as the export-oriented agriculture. Many imported goods ran short as colonial goods from overseas but also cotton which was used for the textile industry. That was why in 1810 a royalty system was introduced which allowed the French ship owners to export goods if they imported colonial goods with the same value (Willms, 2005: 370). The states which were dependent of France were further on not allowed to make use of the royalty system which was also a reason why in 1810 a severe financial crisis arose which led to the closure of many enterprises. In the following year massive crop failures caused a big rise in the prices of bread whereupon revolts because of rising prices came up in the rural areas of France; in Paris at the same time, prices were kept artificially low. As a consequence thereof, the economical bourgeoisie and parts of the new nobility turned away which profited, until then, the most of the politics of Napoleon (Willms, 2005).

Even though Napoleon wanted the political and economic supremacy in Europe with his continental system, the empire should reach a strong stance of the continent with overseas

products, for which colonial property was necessary. After the peace of Amiens in 1802, the French colonial empire was remarkably bigger than it was in 1789. The country gained back the occupied colonies from the British, and in 1801 it received Louisiana from Spain which was sold two years later to the United States. More properties were lost in the following whereas the relations with the Ottoman Empire were intensified and the trade flourished (Willms, 2005: 505).

In the end of 1810, the Russian tsar Alexander I was no longer willing to accept the economic blockade against Great Britain due to economic reasons. Napoleon though considered the embargo as the only way to make war on Great Britain which had as a consequence that relations between France and Russia quenched and Napoleon prepared himself for a war with Russia. All countries dependent of France were told to increase their number of soldiers which gave Napoleon about 450.000 men when he invaded Russia in June 1812 (Willms, 2005: 539). His plan was, as in the previous battles, to look fast for a battle of decision but the Russian troops were moving back into the interior of the country, using scorched earth policy which made it nearly impossible for Napoleons troops to sustain themselves. Together with bad weather conditions this was leading to a big loss of French troops and in August of the same year, there were only 160.000 soldiers left. In the Battle of Borodino 28.000 French soldiers died and even 45.000 Russian men lost their lives. By invading Moscow, the city was set on fire and the *Grande Armée* were facing hunger, diseases, snow and coldness. On the 18th of October 1812, Napoleon gave the order to move back to Paris where only 18.000 soldiers should arrive (Willms, 2005: 563).

State and Empire Before and During the Napoleonic Era



Fig. 4: Europe in 1812.

Figure four shows the map of Europe in 1812, the biggest expansion the Napoleonic Empire ever had. The massive defeat of Napoleon in Russia led to a revival of national movements in Germany and to a devotion to the opposition of former allies. Frederick Wilhelm III of Prussia arranged a coalition with Russia and invoked the wars of liberation. First, Austria and some German states didn't join Frederick, but after his coming home and another invasion of Germany, Napoleon had to agree on a ceasefire due to the Prussian army which turned into a serious enemy and caused big losses to Napoleons troops (Willms, 2005: 575). The ceasefire was used by the enemies to convert Austria to their column. On a peace congress in Prague Napoleon was issued an ultimatum to dissolve the Confederation of the Rhine, to abandon the grand duchy of Warsaw and reinstall the Prussian borders of 1806. With this meaning the loss of supremacy in Europe, Napoleon rejected and, as a consequence thereof, Austria declared war on France. Prussia, Austria, Russia, and Sweden gained a numerous advantage of troops compared to France and caused delicate losses to the French army again. In the battle of Leipzig in 1813, France was finally defeated and Napoleon retrieved with his troops behind the Rhine. On the Spanish frontline Wellington moved up to the French frontier and inside France public contradiction against the regime arose (Willms, 2005: 584). When the legislative entity demanded civil rights and liberties it was closed down

by Napoleon, which was causing a stronger resistance against him and made it harder to recruit soldiers that were immediately needed for the army. Even though Napoleons army was outnumbered and bad trained, his skills as commander helped him to defeat some enemies that were marching separately by neat and fast-paced movements (Willms, 2005: 591). Those successes were making him reject another offer of peace at the congress of Chatillon but in the following it was clear that Napoleon was not able to withstand the numerical superiority of his opponents. In the battle of Paris on the 31st of March 1814 they were conquering the capital and the Emperor lost all support of army, policy, and even closest abider (Willms, 2005: 595). Napoleon abdicated on the 6th of April in favor of his son but the allies didn't agree on that, demanding his unconditional abdication and offered the treaty of the 11th of April to be signed. Napoleon signed the treaty on the 12th of April in 1814, got Elba assigned as his future domicile, and was left only with the title of Emperor (Willms, 2005: 603). Encouraged by dispatches that the French population was widely dissatisfied with Louis XVIII, Napoleon turned back to France by making the soldiers that were supposed to stop him joining his army. Startled by the events in France, Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Great Britain revived their alliance at the congress of Vienna while Napoleon set up another army of 125.000 men marching against the alliance and planned to beat his enemies as usual, one after another (Willms, 2005: 616). At the beginning, he was successful by driving a wedge between the British army of General Wellington and the Prussian troops of Blücher with the battle of Charleroi and at the 16th of June Napoleon beat the allied troops in the battles of Quatre-Bras and Ligny. On the 18th of June in 1815, Napoleon attacked the allied army of Wellington near Waterloo where Wellington was able to hold the convenient position against all French attacks. The Prussian troops arrived timely and Napoleon was beaten (Willms, 2005: 649). The end of the Battle of Waterloo meant also the end of Napoleons Hundred Days. When he came back to Paris, Napoleon resigned on the 22nd of June after losing support of parliament and former loyalists and he was exiled to Saint Helena in the South Atlantic, in front of Angola. Napoleon left France on the 8th of August and reached the island on the 18th of October 1815, where he died on the 5th of May in 1821 (Willms, 2005: 665). In the Congress of Vienna in 1814/15, Europe was reshaped which can be seen in Figure 5.

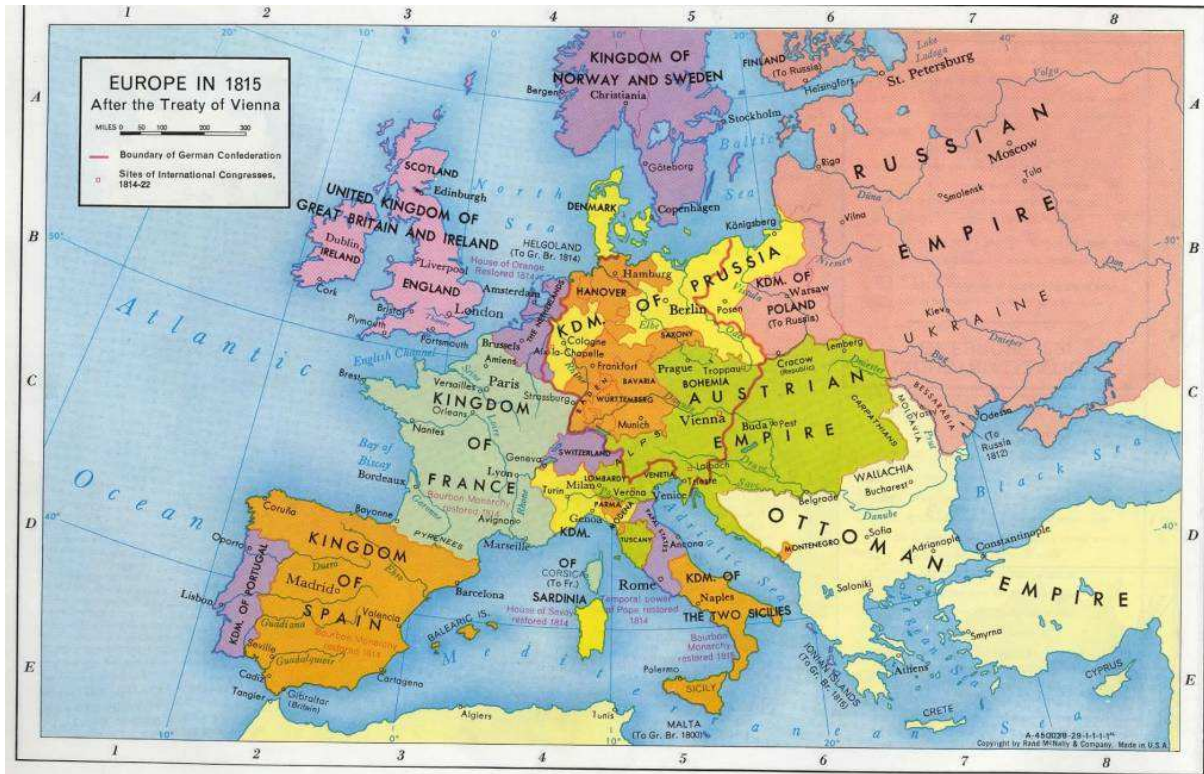


Fig. 5: Europe in 1815.

4.3. Spain after the French Revolution

In Spain, in 1792, Manuel Godoy (1767-1851) became the head of politics after he has been given the highest nobiliary particles by Charles IV, who became Prime Minister of Spain from 1792 to 1797 and from 1801 to 1808. With France declaring war on Spain, Godoy's hope of a neutrality between these two countries was destroyed and Spain had to ally with Great Britain. The war went horrible for Spain due to political problems, economic difficulties, and French victories and forced Spain into peace negotiations in which they lost Santo Domingo to France in 1795 (Bernecker, 1999: 53). One year later, Spain contracted with France in the treaty of San Ildefonso which led Madrid into the next war, this time against England, and which jarred the traffic with the colonies and thereby the Spanish economy. The Spanish stagger between France and England is a good example for a country with a the weak structure in foreign policy in these days and which became a simple object of alternating constellations in the European power struggle (Bernecker, 1999). In 1798, Charles IV (King of Spain since 1788 to 1808) discharged Godoy as minister of state but left him with a certain level of influence in policy making. After Napoleon became consul in France, he made Spain dependent of Paris and forced them into another war with England. Godoy became the leading figure in Spanish politics again until the Battle of Trafalgar (1805) in

which the French-Spanish fleet had to face a massive defeat by Lord Nelson and the Brits which caused the final elimination of Spain as a maritime power (Bernecker, 1999: 54).

Recent historical research has proven that there were certain similarities between the French Revolution and the development of Spain, even though one was used to be sure that the Pyrenees were a nearly hermetic border which could not be overcome by revolutionary ideas. But there were four important aspects which showed that there were strong connections between the French Revolution and Spain. Firstly it has to be mentioned that the revolution depicted caesura for the reform efforts of the Spanish Bourbons. Reform activities came to a fast end with the accession to power of Charles IV because the new king abjured fully the enlightened spirit of his father, King Charles III (Bernecker, 1999: 54). Secondly, the Spanish distinction towards revolutionary France helped the inquisition to raise in importance again. Spain created a downright “cordon sanitaire” (Bernecker, 1999) against the mindset coming from France, measures of censorship were introduced and every non-official newspapers were closed. As a third point, a massive economic crisis proceeded due to the bad harvests of 1788 and 1789 what caused a lack of supply of crop for the cities (Bernecker, 1999: 55). The social situation was tensed on such a high level that the government decided to seize defensive measures to prevent Spain against any revolutionary contagiousness. Finally, to come to the fourth aspect, the French Revolution had an impact on the history of thought which cannot be overestimated in the following history of Spain. The attitude towards the revolution was splitting the intellectual Spanish people into two parts that should fight each other relentlessly during the 19th and the 20th century in the struggle for the ideas of the French Revolution (Bernecker, 1999: 55). The ideal of enlightened despotism was destroyed by the effects of the revolution in France and the different approaches of combatting it in the first decade of rule of Charles IV. Religious and political absolutism emerged as principles in Spanish politics and culture and reached their climax under Ferdinand VII (king of Spain between 1808 and 1833) after 1814.

The ongoing wars since the accession to the throne of Charles IV led to an entire collapse of the national finances and the creditworthiness decrease rapidly. In that situation the government used properties of the church (by secularization) to make money and sold even land that belonged to the church which led to a tremendous downfall of loyalty of the clergy to the crown. As a consequence of the military losses and the financial situation, the discontent against Godoy and the royal family rose up and all the hopes went into crown prince Ferdinand, who gathered a kind of oppositional party around him and did not have any

sympathy for Godoy (Bernecker, 1999: 56). At the royal court everybody was plotting against each other and each party tried to gain Napoleons support for their causes. In 1807 the Treaty of Fontainebleau was made between Napoleon and the Spanish which decided about the splitting of Portugal into three parts for installing a naval blockade versus England and which allowed Napoleon's troops to march through Spanish territory (Geraldo, 2008). General Junot then marched through Spain to try to conquer Portugal (this will be discussed in the next chapter), later General Murat followed with more troops and at the same time the royal court in Madrid faced conspiracies of Ferdinand against Godoy and his father who abdicated in favor of his son in March 1808, after a national uprising in Aranjuez which was staged by Ferdinand. Ferdinand then took over the crown after imprisoning Godoy but Ferdinand VII should have the throne only for a couple of weeks – Napoleon arranged a meeting with Ferdinand and his father in which he declared that his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, will be the next king of Spain (Bernecker, 1999: 56). With this, Bourbon rule in Spain found its (temporary) end but the Spanish population started a people's revolt against the French occupiers and the new king in Madrid in 1808. This was the most obvious sign of the large gap between the court and the government on the one side and the population on the other side. In these times, radical changes happened all over Europe but in the case of Spain it was the inability of a feeble governance to guide the fate of the country on their own. The upheaval from the Ancien Regime to the relative modernity of the 19th century was essentially launched from the exterior (Bernecker, 1999: 57).

The start of the war of independence (1808-1814) has a similar meaning to Spain as the French Revolution had for France and made Spain face a phase political instability, even more than in Western or Central Europe in these times (Bernecker, 1999: 57). At the beginning of the 19th century, Spain was characterized by feudal structures and an absolute monarchy. Socioeconomic relations matched those of a manorial condition and, as other countries in Europe as well, Spain was characterized mostly agriculturally, the agricultural production was four times as big as the urban manufactory production. Out of 10.8 million inhabitants 8.6 million were dependent on agriculture; only 2.2 million people were working in the cities (Bernecker, 1999: 58). At the beginning of the 19th century, discontent and crisis symptoms were widely spread due to agrarian crises, epidemics (cholera, yellow fever), increasing inflation, and especially the disastrous situation of the national finances (Bernecker, 1999: 58). Another sign for the fragile state and social structure of the *Ancien Régime* was shown by the French invasion of 1808, constituting a watershed in the history of the country. Theoretically, the Bourbon state was replaced by the Napoleonic one; practically

immediate resistance arose against the French intruder and his revolutionary ideas. Because of the collapse of the state apparatus, the absence of central state authority, and the missing confrontation of government agencies, the national uprising of Madrid on the 2nd of May in 1808 turned into a war of liberation which was fought as a guerilla war (Bernecker, 1999: 58). Joseph Bonaparte implemented Napoleon's Constitution of Bayonne as basis of his reign which provided a system that made Spain a hereditary monarchy and implied Catholicism as state religion. The historical meaning in this constitution is that it depicted the first try to move from absolutism to constitutionalism. A number of reforms were made under the new rule: a central planning authority and secondary schools were created in the education sector, inquisition was abandoned as well as several orders in the religious domain, and in the agrarian field primogenitures were eradicated, to name only a few (Bernecker, 1999: 59). Those modern elements of the French dominion made many Spaniards collaborate with Joseph Bonaparte and tried to renew the Spanish monarchy – they felt more obliged to the state than to an individual monarch. At the same time the collaborators were fearing a radicalization of the local and regional 'Juntas' and proclaim Spain a republic (Bernecker, 1999).

While the Spaniards were still fighting the French with the help of an English army under the Duke of Wellington, the central junta met in Cadiz under the protection of a British fleet where they decided about the Constitution of 1812, which became the *Magna Carta* of the Spanish liberalism. They created reforms that should enable and initiate the transition of the corporative state of the *Ancien Régime* to the liberal social system of the 19th century. After Ferdinand VII returned to Spain in 1814, after being imprisoned by the French, he voided the constitution and the whole legislation of Cadiz which deepened the ditch between the conservatives and the liberals (Bernecker, 1999: 60). Ferdinand reigned as an absolute monarch until 1820. He dissolved all reforms with his restorative measures; he brought back the old authorities organization, religious orders were approved again, the church got back its prerogatives, Jesuits were called back in the country, inquisition reinstalled, freedom of trade removed, and guild laws reintroduced. Liberals were imprisoned or had to leave the country.

From 1814 to 1820, many different governments were in charge, each one of those mostly lasting for only several months. The main reason for the difficulties of the governments were the finances which no minister was able to solve. The war of independence turned out to be the triggering factor of a trend in which the military could intervene in the politics and become a predominant influence in state life. With the beginning of 1814, more

and more military revolts, so called “pronunciamientos” (Bernecker, 1999: 61), occurred and which henceforth removed the governments. In 1823, the so-called “la decada ominosa” (Bernecker, 1999: 62) began, after Ferdinand VII set up the absolute restoration with the help of the Holy Alliance at the Congress of Verona in 1822. Again, Ferdinand started to hunt down the liberals, cleaned the administration, closed universities, banned leading politicians into exile, and ended each and any political modernization and social change. The wars of Carlism from 1833-1839 contained the fights between groups of the reactionary absolutism and the constitutional monarchy whereas the first mentioned group supported Ferdinand’s brother Karl as a new king and the second mentioned group of the liberalists had Isabella, the daughter of Ferdinand ahead, who was three years old at that time and was represented by Ferdinand’s widow, Maria Cristina. Maria Cristina abdicated in 1840, when urban revolts occurred again (Bernecker, 1999: 66).

To sum up, if one compares the economic, social, and political situation of Spain of 1808 with the one of 1868, a drastic difference can be seen. Absolutism had to yield constitutionalism, parties evolved, the former land of the church became a commodity and a source of accumulation of capital. Where previously various internal tariffs and a cumbersome conveyor system exacerbated the development of a common market, a consistent market was built with a simplified monetary system, coherent judicature and legislation. Politically regarded, in respect of the type of social conflicts, the most important economic implementations, and the mental disposition, the Spanish society turned out to be “civil” in the moment of the “glorious September revolution” (Bernecker, 1999: 68) which led to the downfall of the Bourbon dynasty.

Spain’s way was marked by a big number and instable forms of governments, due to the sustained lack of money, never ending revolts, and the immense loss of power in the world before. With the upcoming form of liberalism, the conflicts between absolutists and constitutionalists broke out and were keeping the country in a constant state of anxiety which made it hard for a political system to be implemented.

4.4. Portugal after the French Revolution

When the proceedings started to get harder in France, the Portuguese government tried to found an alliance with Spain and Britain against France. At the beginning of 1793, France attempted to convince Portugal to stay impartial by sending a messenger but the Portuguese

arrested him on the border and deported again. By the middle of the year, talks with the British and the Spanish were finalized and in September 6.000 Portuguese soldiers joined the Catalan front (Livermore, 1966: 245). First, some progress was made by the allies, but after a little while one chanceless against the French army. In 1795, Spain made peace with France with the French having interest in destroying the ally of Portugal and England and to separate England from the rest of Europe. Godoy was in charge and arranged a meeting between Charles IV of Spain and Prince John (future John VI) near the border in which France wanted “commercial rights in Portugal, concessions in Brazil and the payment of an indemnity of 10m. cruzados.” (Livermore, 1966: 245). That offer got refused by the Portuguese but the proceedings continued. With France and Spain signing the secret treaty of San Ildefonso, Spain declared war on England on the 8th of October 1796, while France wanted Portugal to stay neutral but by sinking the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent, “the French Directory proceeded to expel the Portuguese envoy from France (April), and pressed the Spaniards to invade Portugal.” (Livermore, 1966: 245). In August 1797, France started to negotiate with Portugal and England by trying to separate them but the Portuguese rejected again, because the terms that France was demanding, were against the alliance with England and with the rejection the Portuguese envoy got apprehended and had to stay in France until March 1798. Even though Spain was able to invade Portugal, the Spaniards were afraid of the revolutionary troops of France entering Spain. In 1801 an *ultimatum* was signed by Napoleon and Godoy that was trying to make Portugal leaving the alliance with England and open its ports to Spanish and French ships by simultaneously closing them for the British (Livermore, 1966: 246). Prince John actually sent a negotiator, but war was declared and even though he asked England assistance, no support could be offered. Napoleon and the Spaniards made peace with the British at Amiens in 1802 ending the second coalition war and splitting up the alliance between Portugal and England, but soon Portugal declared neutrality to England in 1803, opening their ports only in case of a strong necessity (Livermore, 1966: 247). In October 1804 the British attacked and took a Spanish treasure fleet and Napoleon, now emperor of the French after May 1804, sent Junot as his ambassador to Lisbon that they convince the English not to attack anyone of the allies anymore. Portugal stayed neutral while the English sent a fleet to the Tejo (=Tagus) river, destroying the combined Spanish and French fleet at the battle of Trafalgar in October 1805. In June 1806 Britain made peace with Napoleon and “was able to obtain a guarantee of Portugal’s independence and integrity.” (Livermore, 1966: 248). This didn’t last too long because Napoleon was controlling big parts of Europe in 1807 when he told Portugal to “declare war on the England, dismiss the British

ambassador, arrest all Englishmen in Portugal, confiscate their wares and close the ports to English shipping.” (Livermore, 1966: 249). On the 18th of October in 1805, Junot’s army marched through Spain to invade Portugal and with the Treaty of Fontainebleau, Spain and France divided Portugal in three parts: The Southern part should go to the Spaniards, the central part to Napoleon, and the North was left for the displaced king of Etruria. There was no way to bypass this invasion, so as a consequence thereof, the Portuguese royal family moved to Brazil exactly on the day when the French army of Junot was about to arrive in Lisbon (Livermore, 1966: 250) and the first of three French invasions in Portugal began. With the installation of Joseph Bonaparte on the Spanish throne, the Spaniards started rebellions against the French and the Portuguese were about to follow them. On June the 6th in 1808 the French governor of Oporto was arrested and alike movements started in Braga, Bragança, Viana do Castelo, and Guimarães. Even though the Portuguese people were firstly not aggressive towards the invaders, the ambience was about to change suddenly because there were “requisitions and acts of extortion of all kinds; billeting of soldiers in private houses, with inevitable material, physical and moral damage being suffered by the host families; robberies and looting; violation of and damage to places of worship; laying waste of land; and disruption to the economy.” (Fonseca, 2011: 25). The French were still present in Lisbon and the junta of Oporto collected 5.000 soldiers together again and called England for active support against the French invaders. This time England helped with 16.700 men and together with 2,000 Portuguese, the allies were able to push back the French and cause substantial losses to them. At the same time, the revolts in the cities against the French didn’t stop in which “the clergy played a major role in shaping the ideology of these uprisings, giving this movement the content of a crusade in defense of the King and religion, with its enemies being identified as impious people.” (Pereira, 2013: 55). In the Convention of Sintra in August 1808, the French were allowed to leave Portugal with all the loot they made and without capitulating, which was immensely criticized in England and in Portugal. The second French invasion in Portugal began in 1809 but was driven off by Wellesley who became known as the Duke of Wellington after beating the French at Talavera (Livermore, 1966: 254). In August 1810, Napoleon came for a third and last invasion of Portugal with 62.000 soldiers which were apportioned into three parts under Reynier, Victor, and Junot, whereas the Portuguese and the English were about 52.000. With the battle of Fuentes de Onoro in May 1811, the French were successfully driven out of the country and the last battles of the Peninsular War were happening in Spanish territory until 1813, when it was ultimately brought into French grounds: “After 1811, although war operations had ceased to take place

on Portuguese territory, the pressure of recruitment was maintained, not only because the conflict remained close at hand and undecided, but because Portuguese soldiers continued to belong to Wellington's army until victory was achieved in 1814." (Costa, 2004: 12). Portugal was facing a hard time now because a huge amount of money was lacking and the economy was on a very low level and, even though it was first blamed on the British that the Portuguese economy was messed up "it was negligence, and not the British, that had impeded the formation of an active merchant navy and had made it possible to set up trading companies in foreign markets." (Cruz, 2012: 47) As a consequence thereof, people were hoping for the royal family to come back from Brazil but at the same time the Brazilian people didn't want them to leave as they had installed a court and a government and as they were building houses and castles which excited the economy. To come to an end of the Peninsular War and the campaigns of independence it needs to be mentioned that the Treaty of Paris of 1814 "annulled the Franco-Spanish treaties against Portugal, the Article 105 restored Olivença to Portugal, Spain refused to deliver it, and it remained incorporated in Spanish territory." (Livermore, 1966: 257).

With King John VI still being in Rio de Janeiro, ruling over the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and the Algarve, the stability of Portugal was in acute danger of disappearing, leaving the country with another revolution. The king didn't return and on the 24th of August in 1820 the revolution started in Oporto, where it was firstly limited to. Liberalism arose due to the fact that "even liberal institutions were better than none at all." (Livermore, 1966: 260) Again, the reason why the council of regency (i.e. the government) was replaced was because of the financial crisis which spread everywhere in Europe due to the immense costs of wars. John VI got informed and tried to react but Beresford, the person in charge who he sent to bring the army to reason again, wasn't even led in to Lisbon and had to continue his way to England in October 1821. In the meantime, the junta summoned cortes that were "the only body legally capable of altering the system of government, and that while the composition of *Cortes* had been fluid, the summons might properly be sent to thirty nobles, twenty-three ecclesiastics and 150 commoners nominated by the municipalities." (Livermore, 1966: 261) After debating about a constitution for Portugal which was started by deputies gathering in Lisbon on the beginning of 1821, John decided to return, arriving in July. A similar movement arose in Brazil, enhanced by the bankruptcy of the Bank of Brazil which ended with Dom Pedro becoming "constitutional emperor of Brazil" (Livermore, 1966: 264) on the 12th of October in 1822 (the celebrated date is 7 of September of 1822). Also in Portugal things towards a constitutional monarchy were about to finish on the 23rd of September when

the constitution became valid by John VI taking the oath. Carlota Joaquina, the wife of John VI and the sister of Ferdinand VII of Spain, refused to take the oath after she returned from Brazil and was sent to exile because of the penalty of loss of citizenship and exile, “but ten doctors declared her unfit to travel, and she merely removed herself from the rococo charms of Queluz to the Palace of Ramalhão on the outskirts of Sintra, a distance of about ten miles.” (Livermore, 1966: 265). From there she continued correspondence with Ferdinand in Spain and became “the protectress of the counter-revolutionaries.” (Livermore, 1966: 265). What stayed, was the financial crisis which couldn’t be solved neither by the return of the royal family nor by the *Cortes*.

4.5. Colonial territories: differences and similarities

The following subchapter will shortly deal with the changes in the colonies that the liberal revolutions caused. The concepts will be addressed again concerning the impacts the liberal revolutions had on them. Differences between the countries will be shown as well as certain similarities.

One of the similarities of Spain and Portugal in these times was the loss of their overseas colonies. After the Congress of Vienna in 1814/15, Spain gained back Venezuela first, which was a trouble spot for the movements and wars of independence before, after the independence of Buenos Aires in 1810 (Bernecker, 1999). After the emerging of Simon Bolivar and José de San Martin and their military relief of the Spanish America, the constitution of Cádiz was introduced in 1820, but even after that equality wasn’t reached causing the last undecided people to join the freedom fighters. This plus “Constitutionalism, nationalism, republicanism; liberty, equality, and fraternity—all were used in the South American experiments that followed the French Revolution.” (Robinson, 1990: 69) were responsible for the fading away of America from the Spanish crown and the Creoles that were supporting Spain. After certain unsuccessful tries of recapturing some territories, Spain started to recognize the independence of the American states, like Mexico in 1836 and Ecuador in 1840 and others that were following (Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay), but stayed with only Cuba and Puerto Rico for the moment (Bernecker, 1999: 68).

A difference in the loss of the colonies is that the independence of Brazil from Portugal was a peaceful movement. With the returning of the royal family back to Lisbon in 1821, only the crown prince Pedro stayed in Brazil. When Rio de Janeiro was “transformed

into the capital of a trans-oceanic empire” (Fernandes/Ribeiro de Mendes/Baioa, 2003: 5) because of the French invasions in Portugal, Portugal became more or less a Brazilian colony and a British protectorate in these times. With the royal family now being back on the mainland, the status of Brazil as a colony should be constructed anew and the political equality between Brazil and Portugal reversed. With this, Brazil declared its independence from Portugal in June 1822 with crown prince Dom Pedro, who identified himself with the ideals of the Brazilian party, being crowned Pedro I., on the 1st of December 1822 (Livermore, 1966: 264 ff.).

Considering the changes in the different concepts, it is interesting to start with the change from absolutism to constitutional monarchism with the help of liberal revolutions. With the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, it became more or less clear to the rulers of the other European countries that sooner or later the revolutionary ideas would swamp their countries as well, even though they tried to prevent these ideas of crossing the borders. The French Constitution of 1792, the Spanish Constitution of 1812, and the Portuguese Constitution of 1822 showed that in the end the monarchs were not able to stop the spreading of the liberal mindset. Concerning this it is interesting to compare the situation before and after the liberal revolutions in each country, which was made in chapter three (which was describing the situation before the outbreak of the French Revolution in France, Spain, and Portugal) and in chapter four (which described the situation after the revolution). This will be also discussed in the next chapter of the thesis when the remnants of the liberal are part of the examination.

By taking a closer look on the (nation) states and the empires, it is visible that the giant empires all broke up, also a similarity of France, Spain, and Portugal. The French, or Napoleonic, Empire in 1812 was a continental one (cf. fig. four) which should not last over a longer period of time because of Napoleons desire to capture Moscow and the different alliances between the other big players in the concert of Europe in these times. The Spanish Empire in America has already been spoken about in the previous chapter; Spain stayed with the Spanish East Indies in Asia and Cuba until 1898 (Bernecker, 1999: 70). The Portuguese Empire lost also its richest and most important colony in Brazil, which made it stay with Mozambique and Angola which still play a big role in the Portuguese world community today. The Spanish and the Portuguese empire were both colonial ones which differs those from the continental empire of France under Napoleon. With the Congress of Vienna in

1814/15, the first (nation) states were established which still have almost the same borderline today (cf. fig. five).

One of the biggest differences to the time before the French Revolution can be seen by regarding Pierre Rosanvallon's table:

Periods	Number of years of war	%
1610-1715	49	47
1715-1789	21	28
1789-1815	20	80
1815-1914	2	2

(Rosanvallon, 1990: 23)

In this table it can be seen that during the time between 1610 and 1715 49 years of war happened, which makes it 47% of that time different people in Europe were fighting each other. From 1715 until 1789, the outbreak of the French Revolution, 21 years of war happened, which led to 28% of war time in this period. The climax so to speak was reached in the period between 1789 and 1815, in which 20 years of war occurred which made it 80%. What is now interesting to see, after all these liberal revolutions and after the Congress of Vienna in 1815, almost 100 years of peace arose with only two years of war, making it 2% of course. On the one hand one could mention that all the players in the concert of Europe were tired of fighting and attacking by this time due to the large amount of time they were on war before. On the other hand, the balance of power, created at the Congress of Vienna, appealed which made it hard to fight a war successfully.

All the changes that appeared after or came with the French Revolution and the liberal revolutions in Spain and Portugal can be seen as necessary and, to a certain extent, logic events in history and some were spoken about in a more detailed way than others in this thesis. The next chapter will talk about the most important changes from these days which are still present nowadays and which are part of the political agenda or which are influencing the global community in another way for example.

Conclusion

“History also provides a way to study the identity of people, both individually and collectively. In some ways, this function of history [...] also endeavor to clarify human behavior in the present by making knowledge of the past both conscious and explicit”. (Mark. T. Gilderhus, 2002, 7)

In the last part of this study a synopsis of main ideas that were exposed in the thesis will be given after which one remnant of the first liberal revolutions will be under examination, meaning what can still be found today and which is of a certain importance. The part of revolutions changing a political system will be addressed which is a more or less recent part of world history again. In a third part of this final chapter, the personal opinion of the author will be given on each individual country being discussed in this thesis (meaning France, Spain, and Portugal).

Synopsis

With the comparison of absolutism and liberalism, finding out that absolutism itself was a certain type of monarchy, the absolute monarchy, in which the monarch was in charge of the three powers, whereas liberalism was calling for a constitutional monarchy with a system of checks and balances and a constitution, the first important concepts of the 18th and 19th century were introduced and critically examined. While absolutism puts one single monarch on top of the state who is above all, liberalism puts the citizen in the foreground and focuses on the rights of the individual and that everybody is treated equally. The problem of absolutism on the other side again, was that the step away from it wasn't made. The exaggerated lifestyle of the absolute monarch and his or her court, generally, the massive expenses at the cost of the population (tax system) and the advancing political awareness of the people plus the lacking ability of developing or reforming the social and economic situation by the government made it easy for liberal ideas and revolutions to come up to open the path for the constitutional monarchy. The different concepts of (nation) state, empire, peace, and war changed in the meaning over time and were important to be defined and clarified before moving on to the practical part of the thesis in which these concepts play an important role.

In the practical part of the thesis, the time before the French Revolution was described in France, Spain, and Portugal. The century before the French Revolution and especially the

many different wars that had to be fought left France with an immense pile of debts from which especially the Third Estate had to suffer (taxes). The desperate need of reforms and the blocking of those by the nobility and privileged strata was leading the country to a sharpened situation which resulted in the outbreak of the French Revolution and the storming of the Bastille on the 14th of July in 1789. Spain in times right before the French Revolution had become a shadow of its former self when it used to divide the world with Portugal into two parts using the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), the 'new' form of the peninsular balance. The great crisis of the Ancient Regime (despite the first signs of crisis receding to the 17th century) meaning chronologically the reigning years 1788 to 1808, strategically the disorientation during the French revolutionary wars, financially the increasing public indebtedness, dynastically the temporary decline of the Bourbons and the transition of the Spanish crown to Joseph Bonaparte, politically the subsidence in insignificance, and colonial historically the loss of a tremendous realm overseas, describes the Spanish situation pretty accurate before the liberal ideas reached the country. Portugal was released into the reign of Maria I after the years of the authoritarian government of Marquês de Pombal in which everyone had to fear to be imprisoned or killed who was against the rule. What each country had in common in the late 18th century was the ongoing wars that were bothering Europe in these times. Especially France and Spain had big financial problems due to the claims of power of their monarchs which left especially the rural population in deep poverty and hunger. The raise in the prices for food and the high taxes were not adjusted on the economic situation and the special privileges of the nobility and the court were the most obvious signs of the injustice that was given. Among the three mentioned countries, Spain was the one which had to suffer the most. The battles with France, England, and also Portugal were long-lasting and not crowned with success. France however was the first state which was shown that the time of absolute monarchies was over and that the people demanded more rights.

The fourth part of the thesis then starts with some key information on the French Revolution which is considered to be the most important historical event in those times. The way that France took after it, was first determined by impacts of the revolution until Napoleon took over and led the French Empire to one of the greatest in history before he was brought down, leading to the Congress of Vienna in 1814/15. Spain's way was influenced by the French one of course, especially because Napoleon was conquering Europe and implementing his family members on thrones in the conquered countries. The upcoming form of liberalism led Spain to inner conflicts between absolutists and constitutionalists that were keeping the country in a constant state of anxiety which made it hard for a political system to be

implemented. Portugal took a completely different way somehow in these times, by sending the royal family to Brazil which firstly refused to come back and which was governing Brazil and Portugal from Rio de Janeiro. Portugal's way is characterized by defending itself again and again, not only against invading Napoleon, also against the Spanish (which were sort of Napoleonic troops as well after Joseph Bonaparte took over) and which ended in finding different alliances mostly with England but to some extent also with Spain. The financial situation of Portugal was then similar again to the one in the other countries – war had taken its price and chests were empty. In a last chapter of the fourth part of the work, the situation in the colonies is described which basically pictures the loss of America for Spain and the loss of Brazil for the Portuguese, with the difference that the American independence was bloody and longer (1808-1829) while the Brazilian independence went peacefully and fast which was favored by the transfer of the Portuguese court to Brazil between 1807-1821. The referring to the concepts again shows that all the empires broke down, didn't matter if it were colonial (Spain, Portugal) or continental (France) empires. Concerning war and peace in the times after 1815 it is important to state that after the long period of wars and revolutions, people in Europe were tired of fighting which condensed in only two years of war within the next 100 years.

All the changes that appeared after or came with the French Revolution and the liberal revolutions in Spain and Portugal can be seen as necessary (due to the analyzed and discussed reasons) and, to a certain extent, logic events in history. The liberal ideas are still available today which can be seen in the following chapter.

Remnants

At a first glance it may seem as an anachronism to speak about the Arab revolutionary movements of nowadays time and make some comparative considerations with the revolutionary period analyzed in the previous pages. However, the ideals of freedom and the right to citizenship proclaimed by the rebellions today are ideologically close to their ancestors.

In the following account, a major event will be spoken about, namely the Arabic Spring in general. By talking about this event in recent world history, comparisons with the themes in the previous parts of the thesis will be made to create a logical and complementary part in the conclusion. The year 2011 changed the political situation in the states of Northern

Africa and in the Middle East. At the beginning of 2011, the press was talking about an event which they named 'Arabic Spring' or 'Arabellion', because big parts of the population revolted against the prevalent bondage, social injustice, and corruption. Protests of the population of Tunisia and Egypt however were bloodier than the upheavals in Eastern Europe in 1989 which were often used as a comparison in the press (Mattes, 2013). The start of the Arabic Spring was at the 17th December in 2010 already, when the 27 year old Tunisian greengrocer named Mohammed Bouazizi burnt himself because of his miserable and hopeless living conditions. What happened then was an enormously fast spreading of this incident with the help of the modern means of communication, like satellite television, mobile phones, and internet, causing a mobilization of millions of people, first in Tunisia, later all over the Arabic world (Mattes, 2013). The overthrow of the Tunisian president Ben Ali on the 14th of January 2011 inspired the population of many states in Northern Africa to similar protest movements which ended in political and social reforms or even in changes of government. Those internal alterations forced the United States of America, European countries, as well as African, Asian, and Latin American states that used to work closely together with the authoritarian regimes, to redefine their position towards the protest movements and the new political actors (Mattes, 2013).

The protests had many diverse political, economic, and social causes which appealed in different compositions in all states. The prevalent societal plight was mainly evoked by the not existent political freedom, the rigid control of the population by the security forces that were also using torture, the self-enrichment by smaller (related) groups of politicians and entrepreneurs, the distinct corruption, the increasingly decaying purchasing power, and the deficits in the educational and health sector (Mattes, 2013). The biggest problem in every society in Northern Africa is indeed the unemployment rate of the young people due to the fast demographic growth. With this being similar to the reasons (lacking of money, suppressed people by the government/ruler) of the liberal revolutions around 1800, a big difference is the quick spreading of the protests in Tunisia as well as in the other Arabic states. Without the usage of modern means of communication, this would not have been possible and four major communication tools were mostly important: The first one was the satellite television, especially the TV station Al Jazeera from Qatar which contributed to emotionalize the population by, for example, being at the Tahrir square in Cairo and sending from there when the demonstrations happened. The second important communication tool was the mobile phone with its abilities to record videos and to send SMS, together with the third tool, the internet which was traditionally used by the opposition. Especially Facebook

and Youtube and certain blogs were from major importance to see videos from all over the country that showed the infringement of the police towards the demonstrators for example. The fourth important medium of communication were the protest songs that were sung by protestants altogether (Mattes, 2013). The use of means of communication was one of the biggest difference to the liberal revolutions in the 18th and 19th century. The revolutionary thoughts back in those times couldn't spread as fast as they did in the Arabic world where at the same time the rulers weren't able to prevent these movements coming also to their countries. Let us remember, the first European liberal ideas still emerged during the 17th century, but only in the late 18th century and early 19th century were disseminated and implemented.

Concerning the actors in the fields of protestants, another difference between first liberal revolutions and the ones from nowadays comes up. Mostly young adults were the main carriers of the revolution because they were the ones most affected by the current political and economic situation. Back in the days, the Third Estate (consisting mostly of elder adults, including peasants and urban populations) was the main power behind the revolutionary movements. To come back to nowadays, another big and influential group was the Facebook group, being the initiator of the protests in Egypt and Morocco. Also the unions played a bearing role in the spreading of the revolution especially in Tunisia. One of the most impressive actor in the process of change were the security forces, meaning policemen and military (Mattes, 2013). They declared themselves solidary with the population, a fact that shows another big difference to the outbreak and spreading of the French Revolution.

In three states it came to an overthrow of the current regime, namely in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya, either caused by protests lasting several weeks (Tunisia, Egypt) with several hundreds of dead people, or by a civil war lasting about nine months (Libya), ending with the homicide of Gaddafi in October 2011 and 30.000 Libyan people being dead (Mattes, 2013). In Yemen, President Ali Abdullah Saleh agreed on a treaty with the opposition, declaring his abdication of power after several months of violent protests. In Syria, protests started in the middle of March in 2011 on which the regime of President Assad reacted with a massive use of military power against his own people causing the Arab League imposing sanctions on Syria whereas the UN Security Council failed on sanctioning Syria due to the veto power of Russia and China. The conflict ended up in a civil war which is still lasting until today and led to more than 100.000 deaths so far already (the UN stopped counting the dead people after 93.000 in July 2013). Morocco, Jordan, Kuwait, and Oman also faced bigger but peaceful

demonstrations which didn't constitute any danger for the current regimes there but which made the governments introducing political reforms (Mattes, 2013).

The protest movements changed the political parameters in the Middle East. In many states constituent processes emerged as a cause of the protests of 2011 with which the authoritarian structures of the overthrown regimes should be overcome like in Tunisia, Egypt or in Libya, or, as in Morocco, political reforms should be constitutionally ensured. The constituent part of that is very similar to the first liberal revolutions again which can be seen by the French, Spanish, or the Portuguese constitutions of around 1800 and their step away from the absolute monarchy.

Already in 2012 it became obvious that the authoritarian character of the political systems in Northern Africa and the Middle East turned more heterogeneously, even though it is still a long way to go to actual democratic conditions (Mattes, 2013). Depending on each country's history as well as its ethnical and religious composition, the right steps will hopefully be made in the near future to start a "new beginning of the Arabic history." (Mattes, 2013)

Personal opinion

In this final reflection of that master thesis, a personal opinion on several topics will be given. The previously discussed topics, themes, concepts, countries, and remnants will play an important role again, as well as ways to change a political system.

The French Revolution was one of the most important events in history that ever occurred. With this occasion, a world-wide upheaval got under way which should end the times of absolute rulers, absolute states, and current inequality among the population. It is hard to say that this was about time, but the ongoing happenings could not be carried by the peoples anymore. With the demands and the principle of the French Revolution (liberty, equality, fraternity) liberalism found its way into world history as well as the time of enlightenment did. One could argue now if the population had to suffer for such a long time under the consequences of their rulers and in my opinion it had to be like this, otherwise nothing would have changed. It's pretty simple, why should something be changed if everyone is actually ok with it? The ongoing wars in these times, the immense lack of money afterwards, the wanting situation of the Third Estate, it was all needed to improve from it, to open the way for new political ideas and to create a change in social status. History is

fascinating because it is a written story about other experiences being made that, in some cases, don't come up with a positive result, political systems and governmental institutions being tested and developed until the democratic structure of today was reached. The most important thing that can be taken out of history is to learn from the consequences of certain policy measures, social or cultural movements being made in course of time. Of course there are still countries nowadays that are still on the move to a better state for the society, especially in Africa and Asia. But also those countries have to learn from their 'mistakes', or from unsuitable measures that have already been made by other countries, that is why the form of development studies has emerged and that is why development aid is a big factor in the national budget of the developed countries. What is taught with the French Revolution is that sometimes revolts are needed to cause a change towards a better future for the whole community, as seen in the Arabic Spring recently again. Here can be argued that this movement from 2011 failed in the end because Libya is about to become a state of civil war in which militias are fighting each other, Egypt came back to a military dictatorship, and Syria descended into total chaos with the civil war being extended to more and more radical groups that claim certain aspirations, to name only a few. It will be interesting to follow how these conflicts will end and how a democratic, peaceful state will be reached and established.

France took definitely the most interesting path in the times between 1650 and 1815. This was mostly due to personages like Louis XIV and Napoleon who coined the history of the world. Without the immense spending of tax money by Louis XIV on buildings and his court, the French Revolution might never had happened and Napoleon couldn't take over and establish the Napoleonic Code and other necessary things. Even though this is pretty speculative, the 'mistakes' being made definitely had to be made to learn from them and adapt certain issues to nowadays situations as well. The French history is very unique and believed to be a pioneer for the rest of Europe in these times, doesn't matter if one is talking about the revolutionary ideas or the rise of Napoleon.

Spain had a different story to face. In my opinion the Spanish history sank into insignificance to a certain extent, because for many years, mismanagement and wars emptied the chests of the country and left Spain financially collapsing. The once so proud and powerful nation had to go through a period of regress during which the population also revolted against Joseph Bonaparte but was more captured by the ongoing fights between constitutionalists and absolutists. After the loss of its colonies in America, it became even harder to recover and to get financially stable again.

Portugal's case is one of the most interesting throughout history in those times. It is simply fascinating that a whole royal (and governing) family just leaves the country when it was invaded by Napoleon's troops and came back years after (1807-1821). Another positive aspect of the history of Portugal is the peaceful way of independence in Brazil (1822), especially compared to the American wars of independence from Spain. Another remarkable aspect is the system of alliances that were created and used by Portugal to ensure its independence. With being neighbor of great Spain it is noteworthy that, except for the personnel union from 1580 to 1640, Portugal was always able to govern and defend itself, even though it was not as big as Spain, France, or England for example.

To come to an end, it should be said that in my opinion the history in the discussed period of time was never as exciting and fascinating again. The construction of tremendous palaces and other buildings, the life in castles and in the cities as well as the life on the countryside for example, the implementation of new (liberal) ideas then, the alliances being made, the wars being fought, the treaties being negotiated, it all comes together and it all makes history as interesting, instructive and lovable as it is.

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