

## CONTENTS

---

List of Maps	xiii
Foreword	xv
David Armitage	
Part 1: The Challenge	
Preface to Part 1	3
I. The Age of the Democratic Revolution	5
The Revolution of Western Civilization	7
A “Democratic” Revolution: “Democrat” and “Aristocrat” in European Languages	13
A Preview of What Follows	18
II. Aristocracy about 1760: The Constituted Bodies	22
The Diets of Eastern Europe	25
Councils and Estates of the Middle Zone	27
The Provincial Estates and Parlements of France	33
Parliaments and Assemblies in the British Isles and America	35
III. Aristocracy about 1760: Theory and Practice	42
Montesquieu, Real de Curban, Blackstone, Warburton	43
Uses and Abuses of Social Rank	52
Problems of Administration, Recruitment, Taxation, and Class Consciousness	58
IV. Clashes with Monarchy	64
The Quasi-Revolution in France, 1763–1774	65
The Monarchist Coup d’Etat of 1772 in Sweden	75
The Hapsburg Empire	78
V. A Clash with Democracy: Geneva and Jean-Jacques Rousseau	83
Rousseau, Voltaire, and Geneva to 1762	84

The Social Contract, 1762	89
The Genevese Revolution of 1768	96
VI. The British Parliament between King and People	106
The British Constitution	107
The First American Crisis: The Stamp Act	114
Tribulations of Parliament, 1766–1774	123
The Second American Crisis: The Coercive Acts and the Continental Congress	130
VII. The American Revolution: The Forces in Conflict	138
The Revolution: Was There Any?	139
Anglo-America before the Revolution	142
The Revolution: Democracy and Aristocracy	148
The Revolution: Britain and Europe	155
VIII. The American Revolution: The People as Constituent Power	159
The Distinctiveness of American Political Ideas	160
Constitution-Making in North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts	163
A Word on the Constitution of the United States	171
Ambivalence of the American Revolution	174
IX. Europe and the American Revolution	177
The Sense of a New Era	178
Channels of Communication	180
The Depths of Feeling	190
The American Constitutions: An International Argument	198
X. Two Parliaments Escape Reform	214
The Arming of Ireland: “Grattan’s Parliament”	216
The “Association” Movement in England	221
The Reform Bills and Their Failure	228
The Conservatism of Edmund Burke	232
The “Appellation of Citizen” vs. the Test Act	238
XI. Democrats and Aristocrats—Dutch, Belgian, and Swiss	242
The Dutch Patriot Movement	243
The Belgian Revolution	256
A View of Switzerland	269
Reflections on the Foregoing	274
XII. The Limitations of Enlightened Despotism	280
Joseph II: The Attempted Revolution from Above	281
Leopold II: The Aristocratic Counterattack	289
Three Charters of the North	299

XIII. The Lessons of Poland	307
The Gentry Republic	308
The Polish Revolution: The Constitution of 1791	316
A Game of Ideological Football	321
XIV. The French Revolution: The Aristocratic Resurgence	326
The Problem of the French Revolution	328
Ministers and Parlements, 1774–1788	333
The Aristocratic Revolt	341
XV. The French Revolution: The Explosion of 1789	347
The Formation of a Revolutionary Psychology	348
The Overturn: May to August 1789	355
The Constitution: Mounier and Sieyès	362
Part 2: The Struggle	
Preface to Part 2	375
XVI. The Issues and the Adversaries	377
Bastille Day, 1792	379
Ideological War	383
The Adversaries	387
Shades of Doctrine	396
XVII. The Revolutionizing of the Revolution	400
The “Second” French Revolution	401
Popular Revolutionism	407
International Revolutionism	412
XVIII. Liberation and Annexation: 1792–1793	424
The Storm in the Low Countries	425
The Submersion of Poland	437
XIX. The Survival of the Revolution in France	447
<i>Gouvernement Révolutionnaire</i>	450
Reaction against Popular and International Revolutionism	458
The Moral Republic	466
The Meaning of Thermidor	471
XX. Victories of the Counter-Revolution in Eastern Europe	473
The Problem of Eastern Europe	474
The Impact of the Western Revolution in Russia	477
The Abortive Polish Revolution of 1794	482
Agitations in the Hapsburg Empire	490
The Jacobin Conspiracies at Vienna and in Hungary, 1794	496
An Addendum on Southeast Europe	502

XXI. The Batavian Republic	505
The Dutch Revolution of 1794–1795	508
The Frustration of the Conciliators	513
Federalists and Democrats	517
The Coup d’Etat of January 22, 1798: Dutch Democracy at Its Height	522
A Word on the Dutch of South Africa	527
XXII. The French Directory: Mirage of the Moderates	530
After Thermidor	531
The Directory	533
The Sources of Moderate Strength	536
XXIII. The French Directory between Extremes	544
Democracy and Communism	544
The Throne and the Altar	554
Fructidor and Floréal	563
XXIV. The Revolution Comes to Italy	568
“World Revolution” as Seen from Paris, 1796	569
The Beginning of French Action in Italy	573
Italy before 1796	578
The Kingdom of Corsica	585
XXV. The Cisalpine Republic	589
The Val Padana and the Bridge at Lodi	590
The Cispadane Republic	597
The Venetian Revolution and the Treaty of Campo Formio	600
The Cisalpine Republic: Sketch of a Modern State	603
Politics and Vicissitudes of the Cisalpine	609
XXVI. 1798: The High Tide of Revolutionary Democracy	614
The Great Nation, the Sister-Republics, and the Wave of Cisalpinization	617
A Comparative View of the New Republican Order	623
The Republican Constitutions	629
Religion and Revolution: Christianity and Democracy	635
XXVII. The Republics at Rome and Naples	642
The Politics of the Semi-Peace	643
The Roman Republic	648
The Neapolitan Republic	655

XXVIII. The Helvetic Republic	663
Switzerland before 1798	663
Geneva: Revolution and Annexation	666
The Swiss Revolutionaries	669
Swiss Unity vs. External Pressures	672
Internal Stresses in the Helvetic Republic	678
XXIX. Germany: The Revolution of the Mind	684
The Ambiguous Revolution	685
Mainz Jacobins and Cisrhenane Republicans	692
The Colossi of the <i>Goethezeit</i>	699
Counter-Revolutionary Cross Currents	705
XXX. Britain: Republicanism and the Establishment	709
British Radicalism and Continental Revolution	711
Clubs and Conventions	720
The “Lévee en Masse” of the People of Quality	728
The Abortive Irish Revolution of 1798	734
XXXI. America: Democracy Native and Imported	745
The “Other” Americas, Latin and British	747
Which Way the New Republic?	753
The Impact of the Outside World	758
The “Corruption of Poland”	765
Democracy in America	772
XXXII. Climax and Dénouement	775
The Still Receding Mirage of the Moderates	776
The Conservative Counter-Offensive of 1799	779
The Revolutionary Re-Arousal and Victory	785
Two Men on Horseback	791
<b>Appendixes</b>	
I. References for the Quotations at Heads of Chapters	796
II. Translations of Metrical Passages	798
III. Excerpts from Certain Basic Legal Documents	801
1. The Russian Charter of Nobility, 1785	801
2. The Prussian General Code, 1791	802
3. The Swedish Act of Union and Security, 1789	805
4. The Polish Constitution of 1791	805
5. The Hungarian Coronation Oath of 1790	806

6. The Brabant Declaration of Independence, 1789	806
7. The Geneva Edict of Pacification, 1782	807
8. The Canada Act, 1791	808
9. The Constitutions of the United States, 1787, and of Pennsylvania, 1790	808
10. The French Constitution of 1789–1791	809
IV. The Virginia Declaration of Rights of 1776, and the French Declaration of Rights of 1789	811
V. “Democratic” and “Bourgeois” Characteristics in the French Constitution of 1791: Property Qualifications in France, Britain, and America	815
Index	821