

Marching Towards the Bastille: Veterans, Skills and Leadership in the French Revolution

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France, July 14, 1789



The Siege of the Bastille, by Claude Cholat, an eyewitness

One of the most influential theories of development



Skills of the poor/ disenfranchised to organize, credibly threaten violence, often credited as fundamental drivers of institutional change

(eg revolution, communism, democratization, redistribution, political control), (Marx, Boix 2003, Acemoglu & Robinson 2000, 2006)



Delacroix, 1830

- ▶ **BUT:** providing skills at organizing violence to large groups of non-elites does not lend itself to randomized evaluation.
- ▶ **WE ARGUE:** Non-elites likely to learn such skills from assignment to combat in war, particularly when external threats leave elites little choice but to allow such skills to develop.

Argument 1: Combat Experience \Rightarrow Human Capital

- ▶ **Combat experience reduces the costs of violence** (psychological, skills etc)(Maguen et al 2009)
- ▶ **Combat experience also imparts skills at rapid improvised organization and mobilization of people** (Muir 2000, Powell 2010).

In South Asia, we find that WWII combat experience not only raises ethnic cleansing in Partition, but also fosters pure public good provision (co-ethnic immigration) and reduces the ratio of violent acts involved in ethnic cleansing (Jha & Wilkinson *APSR* 2012).

It is the ability to **organize and credibly threaten violence** that facilitates political collective action and can lead to radical institutional change.

Example: First Punjab Regiment in World War 2

Battalion	Regiment	First Campaign	Second Campaign	Third Campaign	Fourth Campaign	Months at the frontline
1	1 Punjab	Burma March 1944- July 1945				8
2	1 Punjab	The Arakan Operations 1942-1945	Burma March 1944- July 1945			8
3	1 Punjab	September 1940 - May 1941 East African Campaign	North Africa 1941	Italy 1943	Italy 1944	21
4	1 Punjab					0
5	1 Punjab	The Retreat from Burma 1941-1942	The Arakan Operations 1942-1945	Burma May 1945	Japan July 1945- November 1947	8
6	1 Punjab	South-east Asia				1

Wars and Freedoms: Book Project (more later)

Cases include:

- ▶ World War 2 vets (1939-45) and the Partition of South Asia (1947) (*APSR 2012*).
- ▶ **French veterans of the American Revolution (1771-83) in the initial phases of their own (1789-92)**
- ▶ Napoleonic War vets and the Great Reform Act in the UK (1832)
- ▶ Scottish veterans in the UK Civil War (1640-48)
- ▶ US Civil War vets (1860-65) in Reconstruction (1865-77)
- ▶ World War 1 vets and Revolution (Russia 1917), Violence (Germany), Suffrage Extensions (Austria 1918, Germany 1919, UK 1918)

Relatedly:

- ▶ Rotation through Verdun 1916 and support for Resistance / Collaboration in WWII (with Dagorret, Cage and Grosjean)
- ▶ Spanish Republicans and leadership of Resistance cells in WWII (w/ D,C and G).

Vainqueurs of Revolution: Skills + Ideas

- ▶ No evidence that regiments were selected for military service in America based upon soldier heights, regiment prestige, age or other factors (+ qualitative accounts of arbitrary deployment).
- ▶ However, among (ex-)army officers, American vets more likely to support the Revolution. In Estates-General, also more likely to support constitutionalism and be politically moderate.
- ▶ Bailliages with greater share American vets (of all ranks) among recruits were:
 - ▶ 6-7pp ↑ peasant rebellions in 1789-90.
 - ▶ more likely to submit (Third Estate) Cahiers that are “strongly democratic”, support equality of rights and taxation, freedom of the press, loyalty to both nation and economic group.
 - ▶ form political clubs from 1790 onwards, (and Jacobin clubs 1790-92)
- ▶ Military recruitment *per se* does not have these effects.

Were American War Veterans different?

Not initially . . .

- ▶ Of 6,500+ troops in Rochambeau's force, 2.5% of French army officers, 3.5% of army's enlisted men (Scott, 1998)
- ▶ Officers and soldiers did not select themselves for service in America (Scott, 1998)
- ▶ Comparison of soldiers in force with sample of general army lists shows that Rochambeau's force representative of army as a whole in terms of region, urban vs. rural, literacy, noble vs. non-noble officers, etc. (Scott, 1998)
- ▶ Fought 1780-1783, campaigned from Newport, RI, to VA, major engagement at Yorktown.
- ▶ Comparison with D'Estaing's force.

American vs Other Units: Soldiers' Heights

<i>Mean Height = 1694 mm, SD (45.90)</i>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Years	All	All	All	<1778
In Regiment Assigned to American Service	-0.117 (1.813)	-0.530 (1.756)	-2.377 (1.625)	-2.252 (1.628)
Regiment Deployed in Combat Role, 1776-83	2.543 (1.753)	1.949 (1.700)	1.710 (1.589)	1.708 (1.592)
Regiment Not Dismissed before 1789	-1.167 (1.279)	0.281 (1.256)	0.627 (1.193)	0.633 (1.193)
Grenadier Company			50.692*** (0.834)	47.382*** (0.887)
Year of Ledger FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Quartic in Age	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	38,705	38,705	38,705	36,637
R-squared	0.080	0.139	0.219	0.207

Units Assigned to American Service in this dataset include Bourbonnais, Armagnac, Champagne and Beaujolais. Robust standard errors in parentheses, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

American vs Other Units in 1789: Comparisons

	Other Regiments 1789	Combat Other 1776-83	Combat in US 1776-83	Difference Means (US - Other)	Difference Means (US - Combat Other)	Wilcoxon Rank-Sum (US - Other)	Wilcoxon Rank-Sum (US-Combat Other)
	Mean [SD]	Mean [SD]	Mean [SD]	Prob(> t)	Prob(> t)	Prob(> z)	Prob(> z)
Year of Formation of Orig. Regiment	1656.06 [45.62]	1647.00 [47.60]	1647.42 [55.14]	0.478	0.980		
N	88	17	24				
Regiment Order of Precedence 1757	46.06 [33.81]	38.94 [35.86]	39.00 [35.87]	0.409	0.996	0.301	0.814
N	88	17	21				
Regiment Order of Precedence 1791	52.05 [30.49]	59.24 [35.92]	58.25 [38.65]	0.469	0.930	0.517	0.767
N	79	21	24				

Did American Veterans mobilize differently? The Men

- ▶ e.g. America- returned *Bourbonnais* regiment was the only one of 8 garrisoned at Metz in 1790 that remained loyal to the revolution and ‘has sworn to live and die with it’.
- ▶ “Unlike most of the forces, however, the “American” units maintained perfect order not only during the immediate crisis but also in the following weeks and months. . . . Rochambeau’s old regiments generally remained among the best disciplined in the French Army until 1792.” (Scott, From Yorktown to Valmy, 1998)

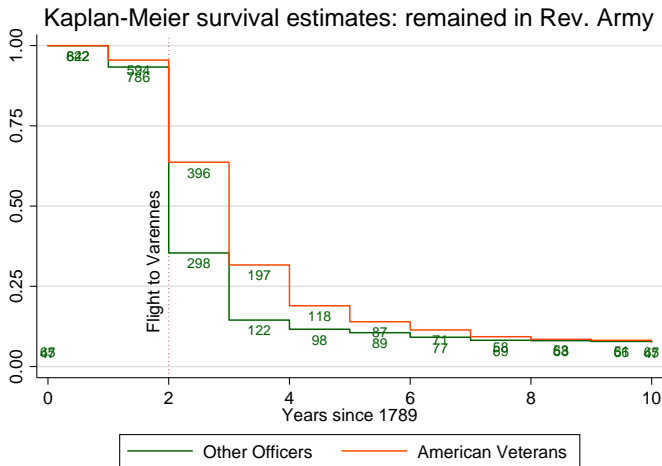
Did American Veterans mobilize differently? Officers



Washington & Lafayette at V. Forge

“The most distinguished . . . young officers, who might under other circumstances have warmly welcomed the reforms of the Comte de Saint-Germain, soon had their loyalty affected by their service in America After service side by side with the American colonists, who were fighting to overthrow the authority of a king, they lost respect for their own monarch, and brought home to France very advanced ideas as to the obedience they owed him. This feeling may be seen, not only in the behavior . . . of Lafayette, but in that of Rochambeau, the Vicomte de Noailles, the Lameths, the Prince de Broglie, Custines, and all the officers who had served in America, except the Vicomte de Mirabeau” (Stephens, 1886).

Loyalty to the Revolution: Officers



Data include all officers in Royal Army, with surnames A-O (Bodinier *Dictionnaire des Officiers Generaux de la Armee Royale 1763-1792*), cross-checked with biographies on all military emigres (Pinasseau *L'Emigration militaire* 1974) and lists of all American veterans (US Congress).

Loyalty to the Revolution: Officers

OLS: Support for Revolution among French Officers:
Active Con (-1), Neutral (0), Active Pro (+1)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Period	1789 Outset	Outset to Flight to Varennes (June 1791)	Flight- Varennes to 1792 Decl.	After 1792 Decl. War
American Veteran	0.932*** (0.040)	0.832*** (0.041)	0.558*** (0.042)	0.475*** (0.043)
Age in 1789	-0.023*** (0.006)	-0.007 (0.006)	0.015** (0.006)	0.016*** (0.006)
Age ²	0.000*** (0.000)	0.000* (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Noble	0.046 (0.034)	0.004 (0.040)	-0.187*** (0.043)	-0.232*** (0.042)
Observations	2,090	2,040	2,023	2,011
R-squared	0.386	0.249	0.080	0.071

Robust standard errors in parentheses

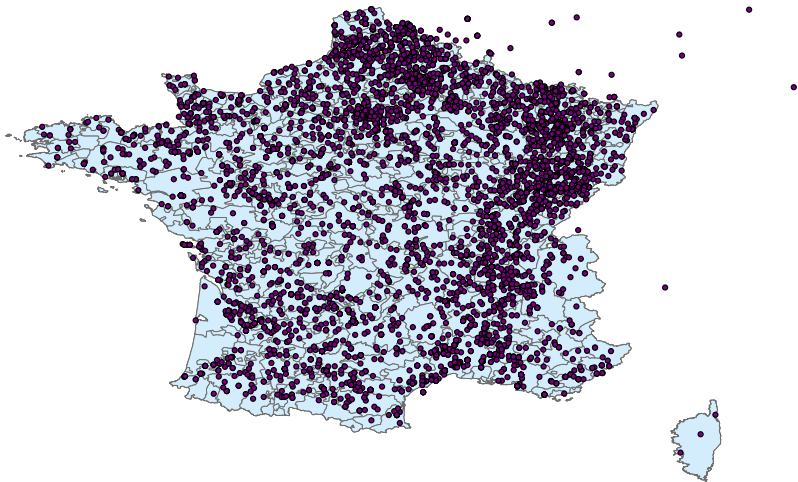
*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

What about outside the army? Early GIS

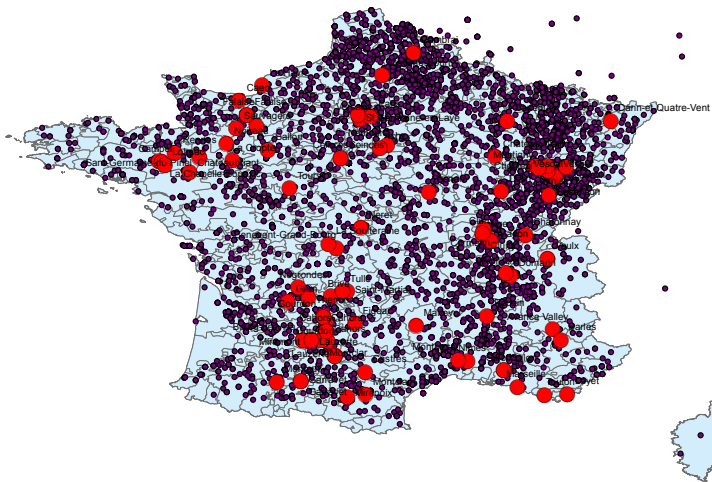


Forrest McDonald's 1951 analysis of Agrarian Radicalism and American Revolutionary War Veterans in France

American War Veterans



Sparks of Change: Peasant Rebellions, 1789-90

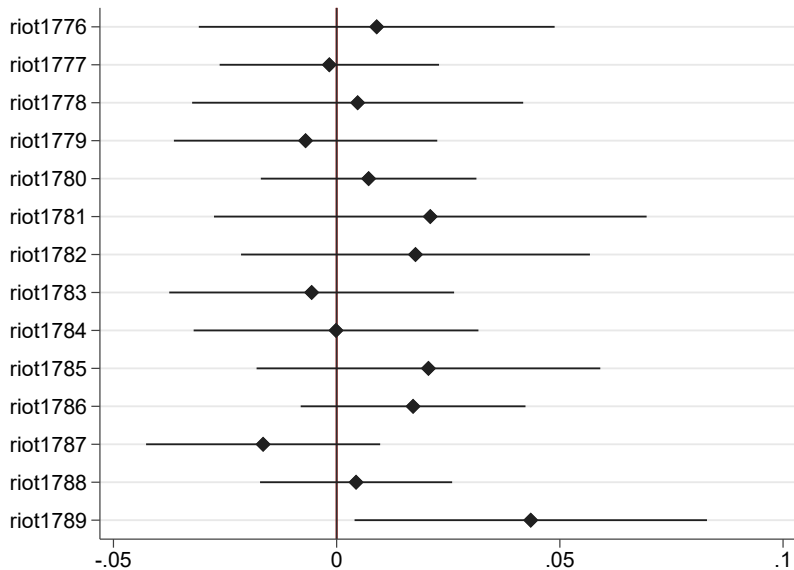


Prob. Peasant Rebellion, 1789-90

Agrarian Revolt in Bailliage 1789-90 (Mean =0.114)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
American Veterans in Bailliage / Soldiers in Dept	0.080*** (0.015)	0.058*** (0.016)	0.055*** (0.017)	0.054*** (0.018)	0.053** (0.021)
# Soldiers in Department 1789 (1000s)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	
Population in Department	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	
Urban population in Bailliage	0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Pays d'Etat	-0.015 (0.044)	-0.007 (0.042)	-0.018 (0.043)	-0.019 (0.044)	-0.004 (0.074)
Log. Distance to Paris (m)	0.005 (0.029)	0.009 (0.027)	0.009 (0.027)	0.015 (0.031)	0.045 (0.108)
Log. Distance to Provincial Capital (m)	0.006 (0.008)	0.011 (0.009)	0.010 (0.010)	0.010 (0.010)	0.006 (0.014)
# High School Professors		0.006 (0.007)	0.003 (0.007)	0.003 (0.007)	0.006 (0.008)
# Secular High Schools		0.042 (0.034)	0.047 (0.035)	0.047 (0.035)	0.010 (0.045)
# STN Books sold in Bailliage		0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
Prop. Banned STN Books		-0.047 (0.118)	-0.025 (0.125)	-0.022 (0.125)	-0.017 (0.168)
Log Encyclopedie subscriptions		0.033* (0.019)	0.037* (0.020)	0.037* (0.020)	0.039* (0.023)
Wheat suitability			-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Average Winter Temperature 1750-85			-0.067** (0.032)	-0.068** (0.032)	-0.053 (0.078)
Average Summer Temperature 1750-85			0.067** (0.031)	0.068** (0.032)	0.073 (0.081)
Winter 1788 Temperature Shock			-0.219** (0.106)	-0.227** (0.112)	-0.026 (0.459)
Summer 1788 Temperature Shock			-0.254 (0.212)	-0.261 (0.212)	-0.201 (0.588)
Wheat Price 1788 in Generalite			0.013 (0.008)	0.013 (0.008)	0.009 (0.022)
Drop Seine Departement (including Paris)	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Departement FE	No	No	No	No	Yes
Observations	423	423	394	392	392
R-squared	0.187	0.221	0.235	0.235	0.455

Robust standard errors in parentheses clustered at departement level; *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Pre-trends? Revolts before the Revolution



Ln Peasant Rebellions, 1789-90

Ln. Agrarian Revolts in Bailliage 1789-90 (Mean =0.108)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
American Veterans in Bailliage / Soldiers in Dept	0.092*** (0.015)	0.071*** (0.017)	0.069*** (0.018)	0.070*** (0.019)	0.072*** (0.025)
# Soldiers in Department 1789 (1000s)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	
# High School Professors		0.002 (0.007)	-0.001 (0.007)	-0.001 (0.007)	0.005 (0.008)
# Secular High Schools		0.067 (0.041)	0.073* (0.044)	0.073* (0.044)	0.026 (0.044)
# STN Books sold in Bailliage		0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
Prop. Banned STN Books		-0.017 (0.109)	-0.007 (0.115)	-0.011 (0.116)	0.027 (0.142)
Log Encyclopedie subscriptions		0.025 (0.017)	0.029* (0.017)	0.029* (0.017)	0.025 (0.020)
Wheat suitability			-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Average Winter Temperature 1750-85			-0.075** (0.032)	-0.073** (0.033)	-0.039 (0.077)
Average Summer Temperature 1750-85			0.070* (0.035)	0.069* (0.036)	0.066 (0.079)
Winter 1788 Temperature Shock			-0.169 (0.109)	-0.156 (0.114)	0.002 (0.454)
Summer 1788 Temperature Shock			-0.391* (0.204)	-0.380* (0.203)	-0.509 (0.561)
Wheat Price 1788 in Generalite			0.019** (0.010)	0.021** (0.010)	0.022 (0.020)
Drop Seine Department (including Paris)	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Departement FE	No	No	No	No	Yes
Observations	423	423	394	392	392
R-squared	0.194	0.226	0.251	0.251	0.492

Robust standard errors in parentheses clustered at departement level; *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Expressed Grievances: Cahiers des Doleances

C A H I E R
D E S
D O L É A N C E S , D E M A N D E S
E T R E P R É S E N T A T I O N S
D E L ' O R D R E D U T I E R S - É T A T
D E L ' I S L E D E C O R S E ,
A R R Ê T É
P A R L ' A S S E M B L É E G É N É R A L E
D E C E T O R D R E
C o n v o q u é e à B a s t i a l e 1 8 . M a i 1 7 8 9 .



A B A S T I A .

De l'Imprimerie d'ETIENNE BATINI Imprimeur du Roi
Et de l'Assemblée Générale des trois Ordres .

Cahiers “that were the most Strongly Democratic”

Cahiers that "Were the Most Strongly Democratic" [0/1]	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Third Estate					
American Veterans in Bailliage / Soldiers in Dept	0.069*** (0.017)	0.077*** (0.020)	0.071*** (0.019)	0.066*** (0.019)	0.067** (0.026)
# Soldiers in Department 1789 (1000s)	-0.002* (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)	
Log Encyclopedie subscriptions		0.020 (0.020)	0.021 (0.022)	0.026 (0.022)	0.021 (0.037)
R-squared	0.199	0.244	0.231	0.233	0.566
Clergy					
American Veterans in Bailliage / Soldiers in Dept	0.005 (0.004)	0.001 (0.005)	0.002 (0.007)	0.002 (0.007)	0.007 (0.007)
# Soldiers in Department 1789 (1000s)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	
Log Encyclopedie subscriptions		0.010 (0.009)	0.009 (0.009)	0.009 (0.009)	-0.002 (0.012)
R-squared	0.048	0.068	0.111	0.111	0.705
Nobility					
American Veterans in Bailliage / Soldiers in Dept	0.007 (0.006)	0.005 (0.004)	0.007 (0.006)	0.007 (0.006)	0.013 (0.011)
# Soldiers in Department 1789 (1000s)	0.000 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	
Log Encyclopedie subscriptions		0.008 (0.006)	0.005 (0.006)	0.005 (0.006)	-0.007 (0.016)
R-squared	0.058	0.064	0.117	0.117	0.585
Population, Education and Literacy Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wheat Suitability and Temperature Shock Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Drop Seine Departement (including Paris)	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Departement FE	No	No	No	No	Yes
Observations	231	231	214	213	213

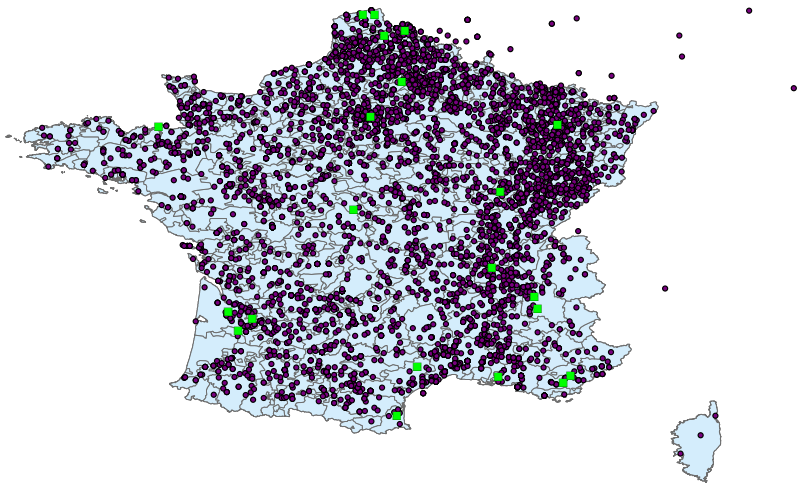
Basic Patterns in the Cahiers

N=213, Full Controls, Dept FE, dropping :	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Equality: Cahiers Demanding Uniformity / Equality in...	<i>and Tolerance in Religion</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Administration and Legal Systems</i>	<i>Economics (eg Weights & Measures)</i>	<i>in Status among Provinces</i>	<i>Equal Taxes</i>	<i>Same Law for all Classes</i>
American Veterans in B./ Soldier in Dept	0.057*** (0.021)	0.074*** (0.028)	0.063* (0.034)	0.060** (0.030)	0.028 (0.022)	0.074** (0.030)	0.054** (0.026)
R-squared	0.708	0.497	0.490	0.529	0.552	0.469	0.497
Social Issues and Freedom of Press: Cahiers Showing Marked	<i>Individualism</i>	<i>Concern for Social Mores</i>	<i>Secularism</i>	<i>Support for State Church</i>	<i>Support for State Education</i>	<i>Support for Free Press</i>	<i>Restrict Free Press</i>
American Veterans in B./ Soldier in Dept	0.057* (0.034)	-0.017 (0.023)	0.055 (0.033)	0.046 (0.030)	0.034 (0.023)	0.071** (0.029)	0.016 (0.014)
R-squared	0.535	0.422	0.586	0.474	0.558	0.591	0.581
Military and Justice: Cahiers that Support:	<i>National Army</i>	<i>Conscription</i>	<i>Stronger Naval Defense</i>	<i>Abolish Feudal Justice Systems</i>	<i>Abolish Feudal Dues</i>	<i>Abolish Serfdom</i>	<i>Abolish Slavery</i>
American Veterans in B./ Soldier in Dept	0.045** (0.021)	-0.019 (0.018)	0.076*** (0.016)	0.090*** (0.022)	0.068* (0.037)	-0.013 (0.022)	0.052** (0.025)
R-squared	0.502	0.465	0.663	0.691	0.508	0.504	0.614
Economic Issues: Cahiers that Support	<i>Maintain Guilds</i>	<i>Suppress Guilds</i>	<i>Let E-G decide on Guilds</i>	<i>Mercantilist Demands</i>	<i>Liberal Econ. Demands</i>	<i>Both Merc+Lib Economic</i>	<i>State Socialism</i>
American Veterans in B./ Soldier in Dept	-0.007 (0.028)	0.027 (0.032)	0.045** (0.021)	0.014 (0.013)	0.013 (0.022)	0.032 (0.028)	0.047** (0.018)
R-squared	0.577	0.489	0.502	0.541	0.572	0.553	0.344
Patriotism: Contains Strong Elements of	<i>Militarism</i>	<i>Cosmopolitanism</i>	<i>Traditional Patriotism (King)</i>	<i>Patriotism To Nation (! King)</i>	<i>National Loyalty Strongest (to King or Nation)</i>	<i>Mixed Loyalty (to Nation but also Class,</i>	<i>Class / Regional Loyalty</i>
American Veterans in B./ Soldier in Dept	-0.008 (0.027)	0.057*** (0.020)	0.007 (0.013)	0.069** (0.027)	0.019 (0.025)	0.071** (0.032)	-0.001 (0.011)
	0.483	0.496	0.425	0.581	0.492	0.437	0.610

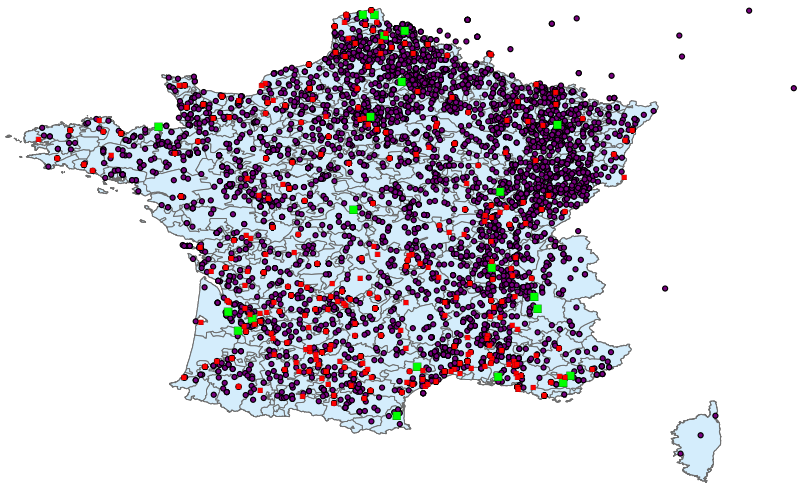
Political Attitudes among Veterans in the Estates-General

	(1) Right Wing	(2) Left Wing	(3) Against Abolition of Nobility	(4) Against New Constitution	(5) Member of Club 1789	(6) Jacobin	(7) Feuillant	(8) Emigrant
American War Veteran	-0.203* (0.111)	0.232** (0.115)	-0.153 (0.108)	-0.192* (0.102)	0.078 (0.074)	0.281*** (0.104)	0.274*** (0.103)	-0.085 (0.116)
Combat Veteran	0.061 (0.064)	-0.067 (0.048)	0.070 (0.063)	0.115* (0.064)	-0.011 (0.030)	-0.026 (0.030)	-0.108*** (0.034)	0.117* (0.064)
Army Career	-0.041 (0.058)	-0.001 (0.056)	0.004 (0.051)	0.032 (0.053)	0.015 (0.026)	-0.022 (0.043)	0.054 (0.051)	0.102 (0.063)
Landed Seignourial Estate	0.079** (0.032)	-0.083*** (0.032)	0.006 (0.020)	0.065** (0.030)	-0.029** (0.012)	0.007 (0.026)	-0.011 (0.029)	0.054* (0.032)
Held Royal Office	-0.008 (0.033)	-0.030 (0.040)	-0.029 (0.020)	-0.021 (0.027)	0.007 (0.017)	-0.025 (0.033)	0.022 (0.038)	-0.015 (0.032)
Noble before 1400	-0.000 (0.088)	0.135* (0.079)	0.065 (0.087)	0.045 (0.085)	0.016 (0.047)	0.070 (0.063)	0.023 (0.060)	0.091 (0.084)
estate==noble	-0.022 (0.060)	0.012 (0.056)	0.419*** (0.048)	-0.151*** (0.055)	0.058** (0.024)	0.023 (0.044)	-0.011 (0.049)	-0.103 (0.063)
estate==third	-0.436*** (0.031)	0.398*** (0.031)	-0.000 (0.006)	-0.340*** (0.029)	0.025*** (0.008)	0.200*** (0.022)	0.295*** (0.026)	-0.381*** (0.031)
Observations	1,293	1,293	1,293	1,293	1,293	1,293	1,293	1,293
R-squared	0.222	0.187	0.374	0.163	0.021	0.076	0.122	0.195

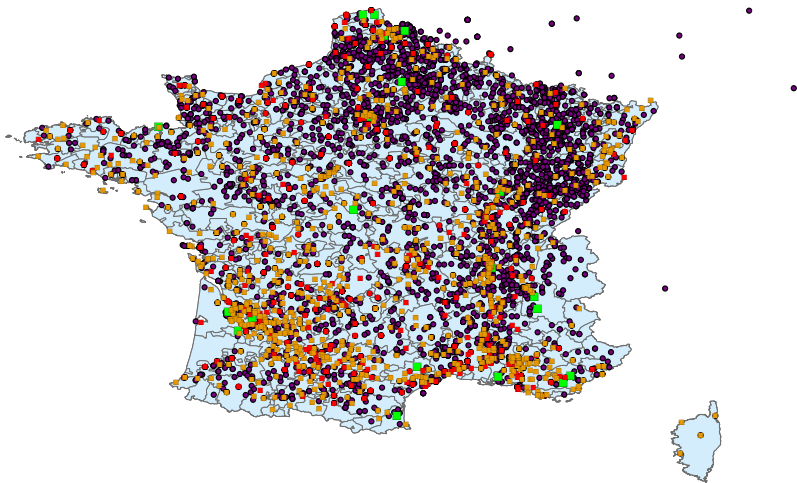
The countryside? Political Clubs, 1789



Political Clubs, 1790



Political Clubs, 1791



Political Clubs

Political Club in Bailliage	1789	1790	1791	1792	1793	1794
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
American Veterans in Bailliage / Soldiers in Dept	0.006 (0.023)	0.061* (0.032)	0.035* (0.018)	0.052 (0.037)	0.023 (0.030)	0.013 (0.010)
Observations	392	392	392	392	392	392
R-squared	0.456	0.484	0.362	0.449	0.467	0.321
Jacobin Club in Bailliage	1789	1790	1791	1792	1793	1794
American Veterans in Bailliage / Soldiers in Dept	0.009 (0.022)	0.068** (0.034)	0.044* (0.022)	0.004 (0.017)	-0.004 (0.014)	0.002 (0.019)
	392	392	392	392	392	392
	0.424	0.492	0.374	0.346	0.395	0.332
Full Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Omit Seine Departement (including Paris)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Departement Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Vainqueurs of Revolution: Skills + Ideas

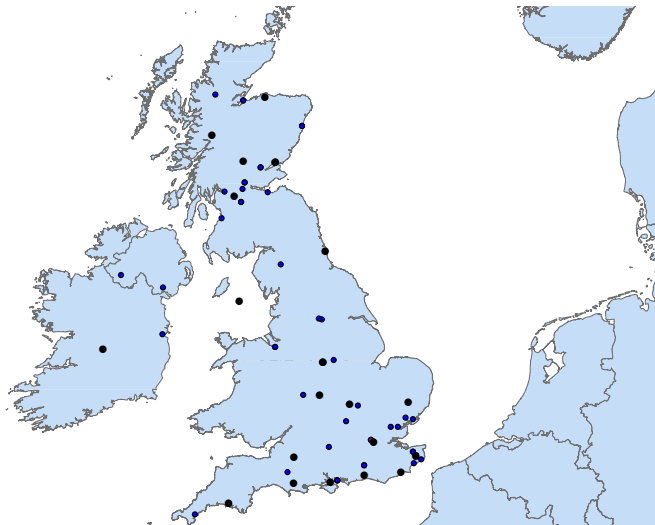
- ▶ No evidence that regiments were selected for military service in America based upon soldier heights, regiment prestige, age or other factors (+ qualitative accounts of arbitrary deployment).
- ▶ However, among (ex-)army officers, American vets more likely to support the Revolution. In Estates-General, also more likely to support constitutionalism and be politically moderate.
- ▶ Bailliages with greater share American vets (of all ranks) among recruits were:
 - ▶ 6-7pp ↑ peasant rebellions in 1789-90.
 - ▶ more likely to submit (Third Estate) Cahiers that are “strongly democratic”, support equality of rights and taxation, freedom of the press, loyalty to both nation and economic group.
 - ▶ form political clubs from 1790 onwards, (and Jacobin clubs 1790-92)
- ▶ Military recruitment *per se* does not have these effects.

A Different Response: UK, 1815

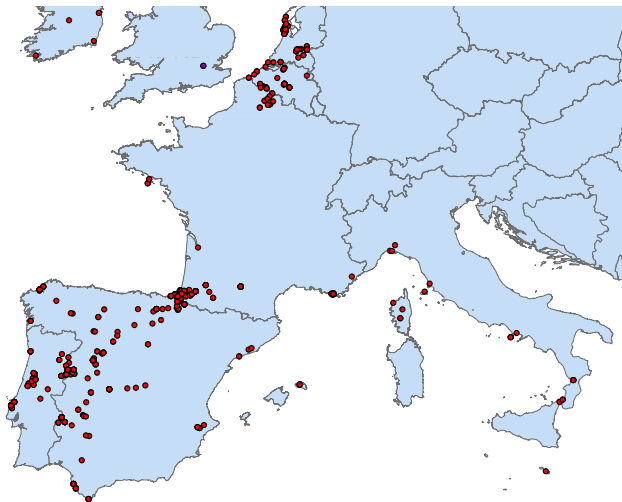


- ▶ 300,000 Napoleonic war veterans demobilized 1816, 32,000 in 1817.
- ▶ Ex-soldiers active in Luddite insurrections, East Anglian riots of 1816, Pentridge rising 1817. Govt. banned military training in 1819. (Gash, 1977)
- ▶ Temporary threat of revolution leads to democratisation (Great Reform Act 1832)?
- ▶ Data on votes, riots, regimental combat experience, depots barracks etc.

Regimental recruitment



Regimental combat experience



Towards a taxonomy (& theory) of Wars and Freedoms

Receptivity to ideas shaped by state budget constraints. More likely after losses in war (Germany)/ pyrrhic victories vs huge successes (Russia in 1812/ Decembrists)			
<... ELITE/STATE BUDGET CONSTRAINT...>			
		Non-Existential Threat/ Limited Mobilization	Existential Threat/ Broad Mobilization
TIMING AND PERSISTENCE OF THREAT	temporary external threat (decisive war)	<p><i>commitment failure leads to:</i></p> <p>ethnic cleansing and co-ethnic immigration</p> <p>local, group-specific political mobilization</p> <p>examples:</p> <p>WWII -> Partition</p> <p>American Rev -> French Rev</p> <p>UK colonial armies after WWII: Ghana/ Gold Coast, Mau Mau.</p>	<p><i>commitment failure leads to:</i></p> <p>revolution (AR)</p> <p>democratization as a commitment device</p> <p>examples:</p> <p>Napoleonic War -> Great Reform Act</p> <p>WWI-> Russian Rev.</p> <p>US Civil War-> Reconstruction</p>
	long-term/ on-going external threat	<p><i>elites can commit to redistribute:</i></p> <p>Prussian military 'caste'</p> <p>France pre-revolutionary nobility</p> <p>colonial armies/ martial races—UK before WWII</p> <p>Former French colonial soldiers after WWII- 'bulwarks of empire'</p>	<p><i>redistribution too costly at large scale:</i></p> <p>4 Types of Organizational ideas (if available) may be adopted: Fiscal (eg Colbert), Financial (eg Shareholding/ Venice/ Japan), Political (eg Democracy), Military (eg German Mobile Units). All Build State Capacity, but only one leads to political freedom.</p>

Discussion



- ▶ Skills acquired in combat played an important role in engendering collective action, ethnic cleansing observed in South Asia.
- ▶ French US veterans, in and out of the Estates-General, appear to also have mobilized politically, this time for constitutionalism. Skills + exposure to new ideas?
- ▶ More generally, the ability of the poor to mobilize (and to threaten violence) has long been seen as a driver of fundamental institutional change.
- ▶ The skills developed in war by the poor may have played a critical role in institutional development around the world.