Here are notes on the The Enlightenment & The French Revolution

1) What is really important about the Scientific Revolution is that you understand that with this rethinking of the physical world the next step is for the thinkers of this period to take it into understanding the Universe and the Human Race's role in it!
   i) "If the universe is governed by laws that are knowable, then what of the human race's role in the universe?"
   ii) The Result is that the Entire Physical and Philosophical Worlds are open for analysis.

1) So in essence, what we have now is the total reevaluation of the universe and man's place in it.
   a) These scientist and thinkers destroyed the supernatural view of the universe and laid open to question all the philosophical questions
      i) concerning the universe,
      ii) the nature of man, history,
      iii) the nature of governments
      iv) the role of the individual in the world.

2) The next logical step was the break in Philosophy to accompany this new World View
   i) Why was this so necessary?
   ii) Keep in mind what I said at the end of the last class about God.

3) This sets the stage for what we now call the "Enlightenment."

4) The Enlightenment
   a) What is the Enlightenment?
      i) It is a coming out of darkness.
      ii) It is a rejection of superstition and religion and the "mystical" almost occult view of the universe.
   b) When does it take place?
      i) Roughly 1715-1789. Up to the French Revolution.
      ii) The one article says that the key time was between 1748-1755

5) What were the three basic premises of the Enlightenment? – Know these!
   a) The entire universe is knowable and governed by natural rather than supernatural forces.
   b) Rigorous application of the scientific method would answer all the fundamental questions in all areas. Rational and thorough study of empirical processes could answer all questions. There was no need to rely on supernatural explanations.
   c) The Human Race is perfectible and that human history can be engineered to bring about a Utopia.

6) Keep in mind why are these thoughts so revolutionary?
   a) For one this represents a further break with religion and further secularization of life.
      i) God is moved even further out of the equation.
      (1) Ask what was the view of human nature before this.

7) The “Philosophes"(professional intellectuals) begin to work with these principles?
   a) What happens to their thinking?
   b) What do they come to believe? -
      i) From the Reading:
         (1) The central ideas of the philosophe movement were:
            (a) Progress: Human history is largely a history of the improvement of humanity in three
respects: a) developing a knowledge of the natural world and the ability to manipulate the world through technology; b) overcoming ignorance bred of superstitions and religions; c) overcoming human cruelty and violence through social improvements and government structures.

(b) **Deism**: Deism is a term coined in the *philosophe* movement and applies to two related ideas: a) religion should be reasonable and should result in the highest moral behavior of its adherents; b) the knowledge of the natural world and the human world has nothing to do whatsoever with religion and should be approached completely free from religious ideas or convictions.

(2) **Tolerance** - The greatest human crimes, as far as the *philosophes* were concerned, have been perpetrated in the name of religion and the name of God. A fair, just, and productive society absolutely depends on religious tolerance. This means not merely tolerance of varying Christian sects, but tolerance of non-Christian religions as well (for some *philosophes*).

ii) **Plus, as we’ve already said:**
   a. That the if the universe is governed by "laws" that are knowable then if there is a God, he/she is a "giant clockmaker" who wound up the universe at the beginning of time and let the universe work itself out.
   b. It follows that if natural laws work in nature there had to be natural laws governing the actions of human beings and society. Therefore, all human history could be studied and understood.
   i. Gibbons as an example.

8) **If this is all true then what kind of thinking can this lead to?** It led to one of the early of what we call “Social Contract” Theorists.
   a) **John Locke 1632-1704** - First of the Modern Social Contract theorists.
   b) He wrote his *Two Treatises on Government* along with his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* in 1690.
      i) Interestingly enough at the time of the success of the Glorious Revolution.
         (1) You will see why this is interesting as we go on.
      ii) He developed a new view of Government. It proceeded from his view of human nature.
         (1) He argued that we are all blank slates (TABULA RASA) on which anything can be written.
         (2) There is no innate knowledge. We learn what we learn through experience and contact with the world.
   iii) Locke argued that we are all
      (1) Initially we all lived in a state of nature.
      (2) Explain his view of the "state of nature."
      (3) Apologist for a the “free-for-all” of early capitalism.
   iv) So to escape this state of nature
      (1) the "social contract" is drawn up.
      (2) Each citizen gives up a certain amount of sovereignty, but not all, for security. This can be withdrawn at any time.
   v) For Locke, security and freedom rested in private property.
      (1) As long as each person was secure in their own property the government could not become all-powerful.
         (a) This would ensure against tyranny.
   vi) Locke's ideas are the basis of the US Constitution.

9) **What is the implication of this to the world based on "orders" and birth?** What does it do to this world?
   a) **Undercuts it.**
      i) Now the view is of people that are born essentially equal.
      ii) It is their environment that determines their future.
iii) Since Human nature is perfectible and we have a damaged

b) The belief that we as human beings can create the right institutions leading the human race to perfection.

10) de Montesquieu - in 1748 wrote *The Spirit of the Laws*
   a) He, like Locke, looked to England as an example.
   b) Believed in checks and balances
   c) Power had to be divided among the Executive, judicial and the legislative. Each was to be endowed with power, but not enough to become all-powerful.
   d) Heavily influenced American Revolution.

11) Marquis de Condorcet - wrote *Outline of the Progress of the Human Mind* (1794)
   a) He saw that both the scientific revolution and the enlightenment had put the human race on a path that would end with the human race living in a Utopia on earth. He argued that "The moment will come...when tyrants and slaves...will exist only in history or on the stage."
   i) Ironically, he died in the Terror.

12) Voltaire - one of the most important thinkers.
   a) He attacked all superstition and intolerance.
   b) It was he who said: “I do not agree with a word you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it.”
   i) Think about how revolutionary that is.
   (1) Contrast it to modern world.
   c) He also wrote:
      i) "It is forbidden to kill therefore all murderers are punished unless they kill in large numbers and to the sound of trumpets."
      (1) Key -- What does this type of thinking do?
         (a) Brings into question authority and the rights of governments to do as they please.
      ii) He too believed the human race was perfectible.

13) David Hume - in 1742 wrote *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*
   a) He argued that there were no absolute laws and that we can never really know anything as the truth.
   i) He claimed he wasn’t an atheist because although he couldn’t prove the existence of God, no one could prove he didn’t exist.
   b) Result- relativistic ethics. (For the modern world)
   i) His theories have more in common with the Quantum World than the Newtonian Universe.
   (1) The idea of the Uncertainty Principle

14) Adam Smith
   a) Classical Economist - Classic Liberal - Laissez-faire Enlightenment thinker
   b) A firm believer in the "free-market". He applied the scientific revolution to the economy.
   i) He argued:
   c) “all monopolies and regulations stifle productive labor. Human beings work for their own profit; regulations and monopolies do away with the profit incentive and so discourage human productivity. In place of these regulations, Smith proposed a natural system of economic liberty, in which each individual in a society is free to choose how to expend their productive labor and their capital. This economic liberty was called laissez faire (let them do as they please); if individuals were allowed to pursue their own selfish aims, then the wealth of the nation as a whole would increase. This selfishness, though, would not result in social injustice; behind this natural economic liberty lay an "invisible hand" which guided people into right action.”
   d) He also said: "just as the planets revolve harmoniously in their orbits and are prevented from bumping into each other by the invisible forces of gravity, so humans can act harmoniously even
while pursuing their selfish economic interests if only "the invisible hand" of competitive, free-market forces is allowed to balance equitably the distribution of wealth."

i) What could happen if you follow this system of belief?
ii) What problems can you see?

15) Key Thinker the Enlightenment - Jean Jacques Rousseau - 1762 The Social Contract
   a) Key development in thinking of the Enlightenment and will have severe consequences in the future, especially in the French Revolution.
   b) He argued: - Know these
      i) The human being has an "innate" nature and that without civilization human beings lived in a state of nature, which allowed them to be true to themselves.
         (1) He has very idyllic view of human nature.
            (a) There is an argument that later on he began to see mankind in a harsher light.
   c) He argued that it is human institutions that have corrupted human beings.
      (1) This corruption was largely a moral corruption; everything that civilized people have regarded as progress; urbanization, technology, science, and so on; has resulted in the moral degradation of humanity.
         (a) For Rousseau, the natural moral state of human beings is to be compassionate;
            civilization has made us cruel, selfish, and bloodthirsty.
   ii) What is his solution then?
      (1) The people give up all sovereignty to the state and once given up cannot get it back unless the State does something that breaks the Social Contract.
      (2) The state then expresses "the general will."
         (a) It acts in the name of the people and does what it believes the people want it to do.
   iii) Keep in mind what type of state can this lead to?

16) There were other Great Thinkers.
   a) Cesare Beccaria - On Crimes and Punishments
      i) Argued against capital punishment or any type of punishment unless its goal was deterrence of crime.
         (1) It has been pointed out that his influence is responsible for the ending of, by 1800:
            (a) State Torture
            (b)limiting capital punishment to capital crimes.
            (c) imprisonment rather than maiming as the primary form of punishment.

17) Mary Wollstonecraft, (1759-97),
   a) English author and feminist, born probably in London. Soon after 1780 she left home to earn her living, running a school for two years with her sisters and subsequently serving for a year as a governess in Ireland. The moderate success of her first novel, Mary, a Fiction (1788), convinced her to settle in London, where she was employed as a reader and translator. She became a member of an intellectual group that included the English poet and artist William Blake, the Anglo-American political philosopher Thomas Paine, the English chemist Joseph Priestly, and the Anglo-Swiss painter and author Henry Fuseli.
   b) Her best-known work, A Vindication of the Rights of Woman (1792), asserts that intellectual companionship is the ideal of marriage and pleads for equality of education and opportunity between the sexes. During the French Revolution Wollstonecraft went to Paris where she fell in love with the American author and adventurer Captain Gilbert Imlay and gave birth to their daughter in 1794. They lived for a while in England, where Imlay subsequently deserted her, and she attempted suicide. In 1797 she married the English political philosopher William Godwin. She died later that year, shortly after the birth of their daughter Mary, who later became the wife of Percy Bysshe Shelley and a writer on her own.
   c) Wollstonecraft was also the author of Original Stories from Real Life (1791) and A Vindication of the Rights of Man (1793). Her letters were published in Memoirs of the Author of the Rights of Woman
18) There was also a German Enlightenment: We won’t deal with it now. Just keep in mind that it was much more mystical and spiritual.
   a) Took philosophy out of the realm of pure reason or empiricism.

19) We must ask ourselves:
   a) What has happened here?
   b) **What will its affect be on people?**
      i) Remember this is only coming from the upper classes but eventually it filters down to the masses.
   c) **What is its affect on the world?**
      i) First off no immediate changes, nor are all people affected but nonetheless the Enlightenment brings into question everything. It calls into question everything from:
         (1) the role of government
         (2) the human race's place in the universe
         (3) the role of religion
   d) **This all led to**
      i) Society that becomes even more secularized.
      ii) The concept of “tolerance” begins to take hold and what once would have been heresy by breaking down the absolutes of the church and by introducing relativism.
         (1) Keep in mind - intolerance was once a virtue and in some areas of the world it still is.
      iii) It almost immediately affects the politics and economics of:
         (1) America
         (2) France
         (3) England and Ireland
         (4) The entire world by the 20th century.

1. The scientific revolution and the enlightenment called into question the entire world and aid the process of the democratization of the world. They aided in the breaking down of the "old order" and putting Europe on a completely different path from all traditional societies and beginning the process of Democratization of Europe and the World.

   **THE FRENCH REVOLUTION**

1) First thing we need to understand is that there were three distinct phases of the Revolution
   a) The Moderate, middle-class phase.
      i) **June 20, 1789-Aug. 1792.**
   b) Radical Republican phase, led by Middle-Class and radical Aristocrats.
      i) Very communistic in nature and looks to Rousseau for guidance.
         (1) **Aug. 1792-July 9, 1794.**
   c) The Thermidorean Reaction - Period of restoration, actually exhaustion.
      i) **July 9, 1794 - Nov. 9, 1799** when Napoleon comes to power.

2) Setup causes - As one historian described it, The French Revolution was the result of "a hundred diverse forces converged to produce the French Revolution."

3) What France looked like and the tensions that existed internally and externally.
   a) It was an ordered, "Estate" society.
      i) Three orders out of a population of 27 million.
         (1) **First estate** - Consisted of the clergy and numbered approx. 130,000 and owned 10% of the land. They were exempt for the "taille," the chief tax. (However, split between the parish poor priests and the priests from aristocratic backgrounds.)
(2) **Second Estate** - Nobility - approx. 350,000 people. Owned 25 to 30 percent of the land. Exempt from dues and taxes and benefitted from holding positions in the court. Split also between "nobles of the robe" (merit or bought) and "nobles of the sword" (hereditary).

(3) **Third Estate** - Everyone from bourgeoisie to peasants.
   (a) Artisans, peasants, bourgeoisie.
   (b) Peasants - Made up 70-80 percent and owned only 35-40% of the land.
   (i) Still suffered under some of the strictures of feudalism.
   (c) Interests were varied here also. There was conflict and competing agendas in the Third Estate between:
      (i) Urban v Rural
      (ii) Price control v Free Market.

b) **There was a great deal of conflict here at all levels of society.**
   i) **Battle between the aristocrats and the Absolutist state.**
      (1) Many aristocrats were afraid of losing their privileged position in the system and having their financial interests hurt. They attempted to limit the King's ability to change their status.

   ii) **Battle within the aristocracy.**
      (1) Ancient nobility (Nobles of the Sword) against the purchased nobility (Nobles of the Robe). They each had different agendas.
      (a) The ancients wanted to protect their position and would line up with the king when it suited them, but fought against paying taxes.
      (b) The purchased were more likely to be "Enlightened" and align with the Third Estate, eventually.

   iii) **Tension between nobility and the bourgeoisie and also between bourgeoisie and the Monarchy.**
      (1) Bourgeois were becoming more assertive and they threatened the political and economic position of the aristocrats and the monarchy.

   iv) **Peasants in conflict with everyone.**
      (1) They wanted an end to all remnants of serfdom and allow them to live in peace away from the government and its corruption.
      (2) One historian argued that Peasants only really had anything in common with the petit-bourgeoisie.

v) **The international situation.**
   (1) Had just lost the 7 Years War (French and Indian War in our history books)
      (a) Very costly to the French state.

   (2) **Influence of the American Revolution**
      (a) It essentially bankrupted the French State.
      (b) The army came home after fighting a war for the Americans imbued with Revolutionary Ideals.
      (i) Keep this in mind, the same thing happens to the Russian Army after the Napoleonic Wars – led to the Decembrist Revolt.

vi) **The radical changes that have occurred in society.**
   (1) The movement from an ordered, agrarian based society to a class, urban based one.
   (2) The growth of a self-assured bourgeoisie that was politically disenfranchised.
   (3) A Peasantry crying out for relief from the holdovers of serfdom
      (a) Corvee, tithes, quitrent, etc.
   (4) Economic crisis in price of bread.
   (5) Rise of a self-assured yeoman peasantry willing and able to take on the representatives of the state.
   (6) The intellectual changes that have taken place have brought Absolutism and a "God-
ordained" universe into question. 
(a) This led to a questioning of the whole basis of government, especially a government 
that is so extravagant and removed from its people.

(7) The Character of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette.
(a) Spoiled,
(b) Decadent
(c) Extravagant and out of touch with society.
(d) Very Weak Character of Louis XIV
(e) Arrogant character of Marie Antoinette
   (i) Let them eat cake."

(c) How does this all finally come together?
   i) The Estates-General called is called to deal with the issue of the Finances. 
      (1) This is a dangerous time de Tocqueville's once said “The most dangerous time for a bad 
          government is when it begins to reform itself.”
   ii) It is to deal with a proposed revamping of the entire financial administration and system. 
      (1) Because of a financial crisis brought on by France's support for the US's war of 
          independence.

   iii) What becomes the issue when the Estates-General is called to order? 
      (1) The voting - The first two estates attempted to assert their authority and protect and 
          expand their privilege.
      (2) Third Estate constituted 97% of population but the voting was not 1 man, 1 vote, rather 
          the voting was by Estate thus ensuring that the Third Estate would be frozen out of the 
          power.
          (a) Finally the whole movement begins.
      (3) When the First Two Estates attempted to assert their power, the Third Estate, taking its 
          cue from Rousseau went out and constituted itself as the National Assembly representing 
          the "sovereign will" of the people. Locked out of the building they go to a nearby tennis 
          court and take the "Oath of the Tennis Court" June 20, 1789.
      (4) King threatened to use force but there were uprisings by the common people in 
          Paris who stormed the Bastille. July 12, 1789.
          (a) Only something like four prisoners there.
          (b) Peasants rose up in the "Great Fear" when rumors spread about aristocratic plots and 
              foreign invasions.
      (5) This held the King's hand and forced him to acquiesce in the end of Absolutism.

4) All well and good, huh? King is out of power, life is worth living, right? King is gone. 
   Democracy triumphs, right?
   a) Wrong!!!
      i) This revolution like all revolutions took on a life of its own. The dynamics began a 
         process that spun out of control and led to absolute chaos and to the processes we still 
         see today.

5) Moderate Phase: 
   a) This phase was Dominated by wealthier elements of the Third Estate both from the Landed 
      Gentry and more Enlightened Nobility and the new Bourgeoisie.
      i) Essentially the same people who brought you the same people who brought you the English 
          Civil War.
   b) Based on what we know about the groups who led this Revolution we would expect this to 
      be very Liberal in the traditional sense – AND they will be done to benefit their interests!
   c) Keep this in mind when we study Marx.
d) **It’s Nature:** Keep this in mind when looking at this. Are all these changes good or beneficial to society? Will everyone like them or benefit from them?
   i) **Obviously – This phase if “Very Liberal” in the Classical “18th” Century sense of the word.**

e) **It established a:**
   1. Limited monarchy,
   2. popular sovereignty,
   3. free market
   ii) essentially moderate demands

f) **What occurred in this phase? This is the beginning of the modern world.**
   i) August 4, 1789 eliminated all the remnants of feudalism.
      (1) Eliminated carve and tithes, quitrent and so on.
      (2) Made everyone equal in the eyes of the law.
   ii) **Adopted The Rights of Man Read**
      (1) Modeled on the US Constitution. – Written by Thomas Paine
   iii) Extension of new way of life. Break from the traditional ordering of society.
   iv) Adopted a the “liberal” Constitution of 1791
   v) Allowed the Monarchy to continue but as a “limited” monarchy.

6) **Economic and social changes in the Moderate phase**
   a) Enclosure and the movement towards capitalist agriculture.
   b) Unfettered economic enterprise.
      i) Took off the mercantilist restrictions on trade.
      ii) Ended guilds and organizations of workers as a restraint on trade.
      iii) De-controlled prices.
      (1) Keep these in mind! As these do benefit those who made the Revolution; who do you think is going to be hurt by these changes?
   c) **Church of France was secularized and put under state control.**
      i) Made it into a national Church - partially separated from Rome.
      (1) Why did they do this?
      (2) What would be the upside and downside of this action?

7) **Problems of this period. – We’ve already begun to think of them?**
   a) Revolutionary Dynamics begin to go out of control.
   b) Common people in the cities begin to assert themselves and their agenda is going to conflict with the agenda of the National Assembly.
      i) Think of how they would be affected by the Economic changes.
   c) Peasant Revolt - They want land and in many cases they are very conservative. They begin to distance themselves because of the attack on the church and the king. Peasants are inherently conservative.
   d) Decentralizing tendencies of the regions.
      i) Once there is a vacuum in the central leadership then the centrifugal tendencies are reasserted. Link to collapse of Empires.
      ii) The rest of Europe panics.
         (1) England - because France is now a rogue state
         (2) The rest of Europe because of its attack on hereditary monarchy.

8) **Radical Phase August 1792-July 9, 1794.**
   a) Why does it begin?
   b) Why does the Revolution turn Radical?
i) For reasons we have already stated above.
   (1) Economic breakdown as a result of the chaos.
   (2) Defeat in the wars.
      (a) Disastrous losses by the government against the European powers.
ii) Dissatisfaction among lower classes. They had made and saved the revolution and felt left out.
iii) Old Aristocrats attempted to reassert themselves.
iv) Then on June 20-21, 1791 Louis tries to escape and organize resistance.
v) The European powers on August 27, 1791 issue the Declaration of Pillnitz and an attempt to reestablish Louis on the throne.

9) What happens?
a) There is conflict within the National Assembly. The Radical Jacobins (Montangards or Mountain) -v- the Moderates (Girondins) In relation to the Jacobins the Girondins are moderate, but most would call them “radicals” also.
b) The Girondins were in control and beholden to their liberal principles could not take the Radical Action necessary to save the Revolution from the internal and external enemies.
c) The Sans-Culottes took matters into their own hands. They marched on the Assembly and demanded action. It was at this point the Jacobins seized the opportunity to take power and steer the Revolution onto a very radical track.
d) So, on Aug. 10, 1792 The Radical Jacobins of the Paris Commune took power.

10) Who were these Jacobins:
a) They were a tightly organized party, very radical. They were followers of Rousseau and believed they represented the "General Will" of the nation.
b) Following Rousseau’s arguments about wealth and the good of the nation they were:
   i) Radically egalitarian –
   ii) They represented the "nation," the common people – the sans-culottes.

11) What are they faced with?
a) Internal disintegration and foreign intervention and essentially class conflict.

12) What did they have to do?
a) What would you do?
i) Centralize authority to fight the wars, feed the people and end to internal subversion.
b) How do you do this?
i) Create a dictatorship - The Committee Public Safety - Marat, Robespierre, Danton.
ii) You destroy your enemies: How?
   (1) “The Terror” - destroy enemies and purge the nation of all the bad elements.
      (a) Kill the King
      (b) Vendee Massacre
      (c) Nantes massacre in the River.
      (d) Lyons – Quote on Lyons
   iii) Reorganize the army to fight the wars.
      (1) Levee en masse
      (2) New, popular armies
      (3) New style of fighting
iv) Create New symbols, new beliefs, new loyalties.
   (1) Nationalist beliefs
      (a) Exhortation to fight for the La Patrie
      (b) Creation of modern (nationalism).
      (c) Creation of enemies and modern propaganda. – Demonizing the Enemy
   (2) New symbols
(a) Marianne the symbol of the Revolution
(3) Destroy religion
(4) Creation of a new calendar
(5) New symbols
(6) Cult of Reason
(7) Festivals
c) **However, as always there is a downside.**
   i) As Dickens pointed out the Revolution let the worst come out
   ii) Revenge and political massacres.
      (1) Off the deep end-
         (a) Cult of Reason
         (b) Celebrations to take place of religious holidays.

13) Finally, tired of the Bloodbath on the 9th of Thermidor or July 27, 1794, the Committee is *overthrown and Robespierre is killed.*
   a) This is an upper middle class/noble revolution and it restores much of what was destroyed by the Jacobins.
   b) It is never really able to consolidate and it is in constant turmoil until it is overthrown by Napoleon of 11/9/99.
   c) It has become too Radical, people are tired and fearful. Robespierre is too feared. And as all revolutions do it goes towards degeneration.

14) What were the accomplishments of this period of the revolution if any.
   a) **Political Accomplishments**
      i) It preserves and actually expands France's borders.
      ii) Creates the world's largest and first ever popular army, an army of the people.
      iii) Rationalized government
      iv) Ended centrifugal tendencies
      v) Invented or tapped patriotism and nationalism.
   b) **Social Accomplishments**
      i) Created universal manhood suffrage
      ii) State programs for the poor.
      iii) Eliminated all distinctions in society.
      iv) Repealed primogeniture
      v) "Leveled" society - explain.
      vi) Abolishes slavery
      vii) Prohibited imprisonment for debt
      viii) Established metric system
   c) **Long-range accomplishments**
      i) Infects all of Europe with "liberalism"
      ii) Revolutionary ideals are put into practice and France serves as the shining example of what can be done.
      iii) The ideals spread among the lower classes in Europe and especially in England and Ireland.
         (1) Explain United Irishmen
         (2) Worker groups in support of the French Revolution
      iv) **SWEPT THE OLD REGIME AWAY AND STARTED EUROPE AND THE WORLD ON THE PATH TO LIBERAL DEMOCRACY.**
   v) **Negative Accomplishments**
      i) Incredible loss of life
      (2) Economic retardation. –
         (a) Explain how the leveling of the radical period held back economic development.
      (3) Served as an example for the totalitarian dictatorships of the twentieth century.
      (4) When we look at this period the question that needs answered is, was it worth it?
(a) Deal with Burke's thesis.

15) **Significance of the French Revolution**
   
a) The old Regime is swept away and a new world begins the process of being born.
   
b) The slogans and example of the French Revolution still echoes today in all revolutions.
   
a) The problems created by the French Revolution are still with us today.