Daily Lecture and Discussion Notes

Chapter 18, Section 1

Did You Know? After Marie Antoinette convinced Louis XVI to resist the attempts of the National Assembly to abolish feudalism and institute the Declaration of Rights, she became the main target of protesters.

I. Background to the Revolution (pages 547–549)

A. The French Revolution and the beginning of a new United States of America both happened in 1789, and both had far-reaching consequences.

B. Both long-range problems and immediate forces caused the French Revolution. The long-range problems concerned the condition of French society. It was based on inequality, as feudalism always had been.

C. France was divided into three orders, or estates—the first, second, and third. About 130,000 people made up the First Estate, the clergy. The clergy were exempt from the taille, France’s chief tax. The Second Estate, the nobility, had about 350,000 people. They held many of the leading positions in the state and had their own privileges.

D. Nobles wanted to increase their power at the expense of the monarchy.

E. The Third Estate, the commoners, was 98 percent of the population. The Third Estate was divided by differences in occupation, education, and wealth. Peasants were 75 to 80 percent of the total population. Serfdom had been abolished, but peasants had obligations to landlords or relics of feudalism that they resented.

F. Artisans, shopkeepers, and other wage earners were another part of the Third Estate. They were hurting economically from a rise in prices higher than any increase in wages. They were ready for revolution.

G. The bourgeoisie, or middle class, was another part of the Third Estate. It was about 8 percent of the population. They owned about 20 to 25 percent of the land. They were merchants, teachers, and other professional people. They were unhappy about the privileges given to the nobles.

H. Both aristocrats and members of the middle class were drawn to the political ideas of the Enlightenment. The opposition of these elites to the existing order led them to drastic action against the monarchy.

I. The immediate cause of the French Revolution was the near collapse of the government's finances. The French economy suffered a series of crises for 50 years, and the number of poor reached as high as one-third of the population. The poor lived in absolute squalor.
J. The French government continued to spend lavishly on wars and court luxuries. The queen, Marie Antoinette, was especially known for her extravagance. The government of Louis XVI was finally forced to call a meeting of the Estates-General, the French parliament, which had not met since 1614.

**Discussion Question**

Compare the causes of the French and American Revolutions. (The French Revolution was caused much more by poverty and social inequality than the American Revolution. Life in the American colonies for the middle and lower classes was better than in France.)

II. From Estates-General to National Assembly (pages 549–550)

A. Each order of French society had representatives in the Estates-General. In order to fix France’s economic situation, most members of the Third Estate wanted to set up a constitutional government that would abolish the tax exemptions of the clergy and nobility.

B. The Third Estate was much larger than the other two. It favored a system of each member voting, but the king upheld the traditional voting method of one vote per estate. The Third Estate reacted by calling itself a National Assembly and deciding to draft a constitution. They were locked out of their meeting place and moved to a tennis court next door. There they swore they would continue to meet until they had finished drafting a constitution. This oath is known as the Tennis Court Oath.

C. The commoners saved the Third Estate from the king’s forces. The commoners stormed and dismantled the Bastille, the royal armory and prison in Paris. The king’s authority collapsed. Local revolutions broke out over France against the entire land-holding system.

D. Peasant rebellions took place and became part of the Great Fear, a vast panic that hit France in 1789. Fearing invasion by foreign troops in support of the monarchy, people in the countryside formed militias.

**Discussion Question**

Why did the Third Estate favor a system in which each member of the Estates-General could vote? (The Third Estate had many more members than the other two estates. Under the old system the single vote of the First Estate and the single vote of the Second Estate together could outvote the Third Estate. The change to each member having a vote would give the Third Estate much more say in matters.)
III. The Destruction of the Old Regime (pages 550–553)

A. One of the National Assembly’s first acts was to destroy the relics of feudalism, or aristocratic privileges. In August the assembly adopted the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. The declaration proclaimed freedom and equal rights for all men, access to public office based on talent, and an end to exemptions from taxation. All citizens were to have the right to take part in the making of laws. Freedom of speech and press were recognized.

B. The question arose of whether “all citizens” included women. Many deputies said it did, as long as women stayed out of politics. Olympe de Gouges would not accept this exclusion of women from political rights, such as the vote. She wrote a Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen. The National Assembly ignored her plea.

C. Louis XVI stayed at Versailles and refused to accept the laws of the National Assembly. Thousands of Parisian women armed with pitchforks, swords, muskets, and the like marched to Versailles. A delegation of these women met with Louis XVI and told him how their children were starving. They forced the king to accept new decrees.

D. At the crowd’s insistence, the royal family returned to Paris, escorted by thousands of women with pikes. As a goodwill gesture, the king brought along flour from the Crown’s storerooms. The royal family was virtually held prisoner in Paris.

E. Since the Church was a pillar of the old order, it too had to be reformed. The National Assembly seized and held the lands of the Church. Bishops and priests were to be elected by the people and paid by the state. Because the French government now controlled the Church, many Catholics became enemies of the revolution.

F. The Assembly adopted its Constitution of 1791, which set up a limited monarchy with a king and a Legislative Assembly with the power to make laws. Only the most affluent members would be elected. Only men over 25 who paid a specified amount in taxes could vote.

G. By 1791 the old order was destroyed. Many people—Catholic priests, nobles, and lower classes hurt by economic hard times—opposed the new order, however. The king tried to flee France, but he was recognized and returned to France. The Legislative Assembly met for the first time in 1791.

H. Other European monarchs, including the rulers of Austria and Prussia, threatened to help Louis XVI. In response, the Legislative Assembly declared war on Austria. France lost the battles with Austria, and distrust began to grip France.

I. Defeats in war and economic shortages led to new political demonstrations. Radicals formed the Paris Commune and organized a mob attack on the royal palace and Legislative Assembly. They captured the king and demanded the end of the monarchy.
J. The French Revolution was about to enter a more radical phase. Power went to the Paris Commune. Many members proudly called themselves the *sans-culottes*, or ordinary people without fancy clothes. The *sans-culottes* were made up of working people and the poor, as well as merchants and artisans who were the elite of their neighborhoods.

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**Discussion Question**

If you were a hungry peasant with starving children, how would you react to Louis XVI’s bringing flour from the royal storeroom on his forced return to Paris? (*Answers will vary. Accept relevant, thoughtful answers. One imagines the gesture had the opposite of its intended effect. The peasants likely felt the gesture was a patronizing ploy that was way too little way too late.*)
I. The Move to Radicalism (pages 555–557)

A. Led by the minister of justice, Georges Danton, the sans-culottes sought revenge on those who had aided the king and resisted the popular will. Thousands of people were arrested and massacred.

B. One of the more important radical leaders was Jean-Paul Marat, who published the radical journal Friend of the People. He argued that the poor had a right to take from the rich whatever they needed, even by violence.

C. The National Convention met in 1792, acting not only as a constitutional convention but also as a sovereign ruling body. Its first act was to end the monarchy and establish the French Republic. The members disagreed over the king’s fate. Two factions, or dissenting groups—the urban Mountain and the rural Girondins—of the Jacobin political club divided over the issue. The Girondins wanted to keep the king alive. The Mountain won and the king was beheaded, using the guillotine because they thought it was humane. The split got Marat, a Mountain, killed; Charlotte Corday, a Girondin, stabbed him to death in his bathtub.

D. France had other domestic problems besides a split in the National Convention. The Paris Commune pressured the convention to enact more and more radical measures, and parts of France refused to accept the rule of the convention.

E. A foreign crisis also loomed because the execution of the king outraged European monarchies. Spain, Portugal, Britain, and other monarchies formed a loose coalition to invade France. The revolution would be destroyed. To respond, the National Convention formed the 12-member Committee of Public Safety, led first by Danton and then by Maximilien Robespierre.

F. Robespierre was a lawyer and activist, so known for his honesty that he was called “The Incorruptible.” He followed Rousseau’s ideas in The Social Contract, and he believed that anyone who would not submit to the general will as he interpreted it should be executed.
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Discussion Question
Why was there an urban vs. rural split within the Jacobins? (The urban Mountain were considerably more radical than the rural Girondins. The Girondins feared the urban radicals were going too far in their proposed changes.)

II. The Reign of Terror (pages 557–560)

A. From 1793 to 1794 the Committee of Public Safety and the National Convention tried to defend France from foreign and domestic threats. At home they began what came to known as the Reign of Terror. Revolutionary courts prosecuted enemies of the revolution. Close to 40,000 people were killed during this time. Anyone who had opposed the sans-culottes could be a victim.

B. Revolutionary armies were sent to subdue rebellious cities. Lyon was made an example of as some 1,880 citizens were executed and much of the city destroyed. In the city of Nantes, the revolutionary commander executed his victims by sinking them in barges in the Loire River.

C. Clergy and nobles made up about 15 percent of the Terror’s victims. The rest were bourgeoisie and peasants.

D. The National Convention established a military school to train young men to be patriots. Its thousands of recruits were to have high moral standards and be enthusiastic patriots, but most just wanted to go home. The plan to train patriots failed. Many of these young men turned against the revolutionaries responsible for the Reign of Terror.

E. The Committee took other steps to control France and bring order. It called the new order the Republic of Virtue, a democratic republic of good citizens. The titles “citizen” and “citizenship” replaced “mister” and “madame.” Agents were sent all over France to implement laws dealing with the wartime emergency. The Committee also established schools to produce good citizens and tried to establish price controls on necessities, though the controls failed.

F. The women who convinced Louis XVI to return to Paris stayed involved in the revolution. In 1793 two women founded the working-class Society for Revolutionary Republican Women and were ready to defend France. Most of the men continued to believe that women should not participate in politics or fight, however.
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G. To establish an order built on reason, the National Convention had a dechristianization policy. The word saint was removed from street names and churches were closed. The cathedral of Notre Dame was rededicated as a “temple of reason.” A new calendar was adopted. Years were numbered from September 22, 1792, the first day of the French Republic, and not from Christ’s birth. The calendar contained 12 months with each month having three weeks of 10 days, with the tenth day a day of rest. This practice eliminated Sundays.

H. Robespierre realized, however, that France was too Catholic to be dechristianized.

Discussion Question

Was it rational for the revolutionaries to try and dechristianize France to make it more rational? (Answers will vary. Accept relevant, thoughtful answers. The answer seems to be “No.” The Enlightenment conception of rationality stresses that people should be allowed to make up their own minds about religion. On this view government policy should not be used against religion.)

III. A Nation in Arms (page 560)

A. To save the republic from foreign nations, the Committee of Public Safety called a universal mobilization in 1793. By September of 1794 France had an army of 1,169,000. It pushed the countries invading France back across the Rhine and conquered the Austrian Netherlands.

B. The French revolutionary army changed the nature of modern warfare and was an important step in creating modern nationalism. Previously, smallish armies fought wars between governments and ruling dynasties. The new French army was a people’s army fighting a people’s war on behalf of a people’s government. Warfare also became more destructive.

C. France had defeated its foreign foes by the summer of 1794. Robespierre was obsessed with ridding France of its domestic enemies, however. Only then could the Republic of Virtue exist. Many deputies of the National Convention feared Robespierre, and they executed him.

D. After Robespierre’s death, the Terror ended, and the more radical Jacobins lost power.
Discussion Question
Robespierre was called “The Incorruptible.” Did he remain incorruptible? (It appears not. Given his rabid persecution of his “enemies,” it appears that absolute power did finally corrupt him.)

IV. The Directory (pages 560–561)
A. The National Convention created a new constitution reflecting the desire for stability. The Constitution of 1795 established a legislative assembly of two chambers, the Council of 500 and the Council of Elders. Electors (individuals qualified to vote in an election) chose the 750 legislators. There were only 30,000 electors, due to a qualification requirement of owning a certain amount of property.

B. From a list presented by the Council of 500, the Council of Elders elected five directors to act as the executive committee, or Directory. The period of the Directory (1795 to 1799) was one of government corruption. People reacted against the Reign of Terror’s time of deprivation, some making great fortunes from graft.

C. The Directory also faced political enemies from both royalists and radicals. It could not solve the country’s economic problems, and it was fighting the wars begun by the Committee of Public Safety.

D. The Directory relied more and more on military might to stay in power. In 1799 a coup d’etat—a sudden overthrow of the government—led by the popular general Napoleon Bonaparte toppled the Directory. Napoleon took power.

Discussion Question
How did the Constitution of 1795 try to achieve stability? (It aimed at preventing one government group from gaining too much control through a separation of powers. The constitution called for a two-chamber legislature and gave one chamber the power to propose laws and the other the power to accept or reject them.)
Did You Know? Napoleon's defeat in the Battle of Waterloo in June 1815 is the basis for the phrase "to have one's waterloo," which means to suffer the decisive defeat of one's life.

I. The Rise of Napoleon (pages 563–564)

A. Napoleon Bonaparte dominated European history from 1799 to 1815. He never stopped reminding the French that he preserved what was beneficial in the revolutionary program.

B. Napoleon was born in 1769 on the Mediterranean island of Corsica. He went to a military school in France on a royal scholarship. In 1785 he was commissioned as a lieutenant in the French army.

C. For the next seven years Napoleon educated himself in philosophy and the world's great military campaigns. The French Revolution and the European wars that followed it gave him the chance to use his knowledge.

D. By the age of only 25, Napoleon was made a brigadier general by the Committee of Public Safety. He won a series of victories as the French commander against armies in Italy.

E. Napoleon's combination of intelligence, charm, wit, and decisiveness allowed him to win the support of his troops and other people. He returned to France in 1797 as a conquering hero. Napoleon's attempt to strike at Britain by taking Egypt and threatening India failed. In 1799 he returned to Paris.

F. Napoleon took part in the coup d'état that overthrew the Directory. Even though in theory France was a republic, Napoleon held absolute power as the first consul of a new government called the consulate. He appointed members of the bureaucracy, controlled the army, conducted foreign affairs, and influenced the legislature.

G. In 1802 Napoleon made himself consul for life, and in 1804 he had himself crowned Emperor Napoleon I.

Discussion Question

Besides harming Britain at the behest of the French government, what might have attracted Napoleon to invade Egypt? (He wanted to make it a part of the empire he planned to build. Napoleon saw himself as a new Roman caesar.)
II. Napoleon’s Domestic Policies (pages 565–566)

A. Did Napoleon preserve the ideals of the revolution and republic with his domestic policies? We will see in this section.

B. Napoleon made peace with the Church to restore stability to France. He himself was an Enlightenment believer in reason. In 1801 Napoleon made an agreement with the pope that recognized Catholicism as the religion of most of France. The pope gave up asking for the return of Church lands seized during the revolution. With this agreement Napoleon pleased both the Church and those who had seized its lands.

C. Napoleon’s most famous domestic achievement was codifying French laws. Before the revolution France had up to 300 separate legal systems.

D. The most important part of the new unified codes was the Civil Code, or Napoleonic Code. It recognized equality before the law, the right to choose a profession, religious toleration, and the end of serfdom and feudalism. The Code also outlawed unions and strikes.

E. Napoleon’s Civil Code also undid revolutionary changes, such as making divorce easy for both men and women, and allowing children, including daughters, to inherit property. The new code made it harder for women to divorce. Their husbands controlled their property when they married. Women were considered minors in lawsuits, and their testimony was considered less reliable than that of men.

F. Napoleon developed a powerful, centralized administrative machine with promotion based on ability. Opening government careers to individuals based on their ability was one change the middle class wanted.

G. Napoleon created a new aristocracy based on merit in the state service. He created 3,263 nobles between 1808 and 1814. More than half were military officers and from the middle class.

H. Did Napoleon preserve the ideals of the French Revolution, as he claimed, in his domestic policies? The Civil Code recognized equality of all citizens before the law, and he did open government careers to more people. So to that extent he did preserve the revolutionary ideals. He also destroyed some revolutionary ideals. He ruled despotically, for example, shutting down 60 of France’s 73 newspapers, insisting that the government view all manuscripts before they are published, and having government police read people’s mail.

I. Anne-Louise-Germaine de Staël was a prominent writer of this period who had a salon for the powerful that lasted from 1790 to 1804. She first supported Napoleon but then clashed with him and denounced him as a tyrant. He banned her books and exiled her. Once when de Staël asked Napoleon who the greatest woman of history was, he answered, “The one who had the most children.”
Daily Lecture and Discussion Notes

Chapter 18, Section 3

Discussion Question
Who are the greatest women in history? Why? (Answers will vary. Make sure students have good reasons for their choices.)

III. Napoleon’s Empire (pages 566–567)

A. Napoleon’s conquests began soon after he reached power. First, however, he achieved a peace treaty (1802) with the many nations warring with France after the execution of Louis XVI. However, in 1803, the war was renewed. From 1805 to 1807, Napoleon’s Grand Army defeated the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian armies.

B. Napoleon now could create a new world order. His Grand Empire had three parts: the French Empire, dependent states, and allied states. The dependent states were kingdoms that Napoleon’s relatives ruled, including Spain, Holland, Italy, and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw.

C. The allied states were those Napoleon defeated and forced to join him in war against Britain. These included Prussia, Austria, Russia, and Sweden.

D. Napoleon sought to spread some of the principles of the French Revolution, including equality before the law, religious toleration, and economic freedom, through his empire. He urged his rulers to be constitutional kings.

E. He tried to destroy the feudal, hierarchical order in the French Empire and his dependent states. Nobility and clergy lost privileges, and equality of opportunity was declared, along with religious toleration and equality before the law. Napoleon’s spread of French revolutionary principles to these countries was an important factor in the development of liberal traditions in them.

Discussion Question
On balance, did Napoleon’s rule live up to the ideals of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution or not? (Answers will vary. Accept relevant, thoughtful answers. Make sure students give examples.)

IV. The European Response (pages 567–568)

A. The survival of Great Britain and the force of nationalism are the two main causes of the quick collapse of Napoleon’s empire.
B. Britain survived principally because of its sea power, which made Britain virtually invulnerable. Even so, Napoleon mounted a fleet for an invasion. Britain’s defeat of a combined French-Spanish fleet at Trafalgar (1805) ended Napoleon’s dream of invading.

C. Napoleon tried to use the Continental System to defeat Britain. The Continental System was intended to stop British goods from reaching continental markets. Allied states resented being told they could not buy British goods, and this strategy failed as well. Also due to new markets in Latin America and the Middle East, Britain’s exports reached a near-record high in 1810.

D. Nationalism is the cultural identity of people based on common language, religion, and national symbols. The French spread and aroused nationalism in two ways: they were hated as oppressors; French nationalism showed other countries what a nation in arms could do.

Discussion Question
What are some symbols of American nationalism? (The most recognizable symbols are the American flag, the bald eagle, and the Statue of Liberty. Patriotic songs are also national symbols. Characteristic activities like baseball can also serve as national symbols.)

V. The Fall of Napoleon (pages 568–569)

A. Napoleon’s fall began with his invasion of Russia, which had refused to remain in the Continental System.

B. In 1812 a Grand Army of over six hundred thousand men entered Russia. Napoleon needed to score a quick, decisive victory. The Russians would not fight but kept retreating. They burned their villages, and even Moscow, as they wanted to deny the French food and supplies. Lacking food, Napoleon left Moscow after two months to retreat. He left in October, so his “Great Retreat” happened under terrible winter conditions. Only forty thousand men arrived back in Poland.

C. Other European nations rose up to attack the crippled French army. Paris was captured in 1814 and Napoleon was exiled to the island of Elba. Louis XVIII, Louis XVI’s brother, restored the Bourbon monarchy.

D. The king had little support. Napoleon escaped. Troops were sent to capture him, but on their meeting, Napoleon opened his coat and invited anyone who would to kill the emperor. No one did and instead the troops shouted, “Vive l’Empereur” (“Long Live the Emperor”). Napoleon entered Paris in triumph on March 20, 1815.
E. The European powers and Napoleon, whom they called the “Enemy and Disturber of the Tranquility of the World,” fought again. At Waterloo in Belgium in 1815, Napoleon was defeated by a combined British and Prussian army under the Duke of Wellington. The allies exiled him to St. Helena, a small island in the south Atlantic. Napoleon’s power was ended.

**Discussion Question**

Like Hitler, Napoleon wanted his empire to last a thousand years. History teaches that empires do not last that long. Why not? (Answers will vary. Accept relevant, thoughtful answers. Some good points would mention cultural change, rulers inevitably exerting more power to control the population, natural disasters, economic hard times, and the difficulties of protecting an empire.)