

AP European History - Chapter 19 A Revolution in Politics: *The French Revolution and Napoleon*

Class Notes & Critical Thinking

Focus Question: What were the causes and results of the American Revolution, and what impact did it have on Europe? What were the long-range and immediate causes of the French Revolution?

Long-Term Causes

- ▶ Enlightenment ideas led to rising expectations among French citizens
 - ▶ classical liberalism
 - ▶ French physiocrats: advocated reform of the agrarian order; opposed to mercantilism
 - ▶ American Revolution intrigued many with ideal of liberty and equality social stratification

The Estates

- ▶ *First Estate:* clergy, Gallican Church (less than 1% of population)
- ▶ *Second Estate:* nobility (2-4% of population)
- ▶ *Third Estate:* rest of population (paid both *tithes* to church and *taille* to gov't)
 - ▶ peasantry: owned 40% of land in France; forced labor several days per year for nobles
 - ▶ gov't could imprison anyone without trial or jury
 - ▶ **bourgeoisie:** upper middle class; well-to-do but resented 1st and 2nd Estates had all the power and privilege

Historical interpretations of the French Revolution

- ▶ Traditional view: clash between the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy
- ▶ Recent scholarship: bourgeoisie and aristocracy on parallel ladders leading to clash with monarchy

Immediate Causes

- ▶ Bankruptcy of the gov't and enormous debt
 - ▶ **King Louis XVI** (1774-1792), financial mismanagement; ½ of budget went to pay interest
 - ▶ Jacques Necker: finance minister who tried to raise taxes; privileged classes refused Parlement of Paris blocked tax increases

Estates General

- ▶ ***cahiers de doléance:*** Each estate expected to compile list of suggestions and grievances and present them to the king during upcoming Estates General elections held during worst depression of 18th century
- ▶ **Estates General**, May 1789: 1st time meeting since 1614; Parlement of Paris ruled voting would be done by estate (3 total votes)
- ▶ 3rd Estate furious that vote would not be proportional to population

Critical Thinking:



Analyze the French 1789 political cartoon by examining the symbolism and its underlying message.

What kind of role did Louis XVI play in the start of the French Revolution? Can he be solely blamed for France's problems?

Focus Question Answer:

AP European History - Chapter 19 A Revolution in Politics: *The French Revolution and Napoleon* Class Notes & Critical Thinking

Focus Question: What were the main events of the French Revolution between 1789 and 1799? What role did each of the following play in the French Revolution: lawyers, peasants, women, the clergy, the Jacobins, the sans-culottes, the French revolutionary army, and the Committee of Public Safety?

Third Estate?

- ▶ Abbè Emmanuel-Joseph Sièyès (clergyman): *What is the Third Estate?* Answer: everything!
- ▶ Rousseau's *Social Contract*: the "general will" should prevail (3rd Estate) 3rd Estate prevailed in voting method argument after 6 weeks

1. National Assembly 1789-1791

- ▶ **Also called the Constituent Assembly) – “Age of Montesquieu”**
- ▶ **Tennis Court Oath:**
 - ▶ June 17, 3rd Estate declared itself the true National Assembly of France
 - ▶ King locked them out of meeting place
 - ▶ Oath: swore not to disband until they had given France a constitution
 - ▶ Bourgeoisie dominated the National Assembly

Storming of the Bastille – July 14, 1789

- ▶ “Parisian” revolution due to food shortages, soaring bread prices, unemployment, and fear of military repression
- ▶ Stormed Bastille in search of gunpowder and weapons – feared Louis XVI would send in troops
- ▶ Significance: inadvertently saved the National Assembly from king's repression

Great Fear of 1789

- ▶ Wave of violence and hysteria in countryside against propertied class
- ▶ Peasants (with help of middle class) destroyed records of feudal obligations
- ▶ August 4, National Assembly abolished feudalism(manorialism); peaceful revolution

Women & Bread Riot

- ▶ October 5, 1789: due to rising bread prices, women march to Versailles; accelerate the revolution
- ▶ Incited by **Jean Paul Marat**
- ▶ Demanded the king move to Paris – to truly understand the plight of the people
- ▶ Forced king and family to move to Tulleries in Paris: “The Baker, the Baker's wife, and the baker's little boy”
- ▶ Their exit from Versailles signaled the change of power & radical reforms about to consume France

Critical Thinking:

Rank the key events that launched the French Revolution in order of significance. Explain your reasoning behind the event you ranked as #1.

AP European History - Chapter 19 A Revolution in Politics: *The French Revolution and Napoleon*
Class Notes & Critical Thinking

Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen

- ▶ Became constitutional blueprint for France
- ▶ Provisions: due process of law, sovereignty of the people, equality, freedom of expression & religion, tax only by common consent, separate gov't branches
- ▶ "citizen": included everyone, regardless of class. Women did not share equally in rights = Old Regime was dead

Women & the Revolution

- ▶ **Olympe de Gouges**: *The Rights of Woman*, 1791: demanded equal rights and economic and educational opportunities
- ▶ **Mary Wollstonecraft**: *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, 1792: supported Gouges
- ▶ **Madame de Stael**: ran a salon and wrote books deploring subordination of women

Critical Thinking:

Why was the *Declaration* so important for the revolution?

The Natural Rights of the French People: Two Views pg 574-575

1. What "natural rights" does the first document proclaim? To what extent was this document influenced by the writings of the philosophes?
2. COMPARISON: Why did Olympe de Gouges feel the need to write her declaration? How does it compare to the one by the National Assembly?
3. Given the nature and scope of the arguments in favor of natural rights and women's rights in these two documents, what key effects on European society would you attribute to the French Revolution?

OPPOSING VIEWPOINTS

The Natural Rights of the French People: Two Views

ONE OF THE IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS OF THE French Revolution, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen was adopted in August 1789 by the National Assembly. The declaration affirmed that “men are born and remain free and equal in rights,” that government must protect these natural rights, and that political power is derived from the people.

Olympe de Gouges (the pen name used by Marie Gouze) was a butcher’s daughter who wrote plays and pamphlets. She argued that the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen did not apply to women and composed her own Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen in 1791.

Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen

The representatives of the French people, organized as a national assembly, considering that ignorance, neglect, and scorn of the rights of man are the sole causes of public misfortunes and of corruption of governments, have resolved to display in a solemn declaration the natural, inalienable, and sacred rights of man, so that this declaration, constantly in the presence of all members of society, will continually remind them of their rights and their duties. . . . Consequently, the National Assembly recognizes and declares, in the presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following rights of man and citizen:

1. Men are born and remain free and equal in rights; social distinctions can be established only for the common benefit.
2. The aim of every political association is the conservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man; these rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.
3. The source of all sovereignty is located in essence in the nation; no body, no individual can exercise authority which does not emanate from it expressly.
4. Liberty consists in being able to do anything that does not harm another person. . . .
6. The law is the expression of the general will; all citizens have the right to concur personally or through their representatives in its formation; it must be the same for all, whether it protects or punishes. All citizens being equal in its eyes are equally admissible to all honors, positions, and public employments, according to their capabilities and without other distinctions than those of their virtues and talents.
7. No man can be accused, arrested, or detained except in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms which it has prescribed. . . .
10. No one may be disturbed because of his opinions, even religious, provided that their public demonstration does not disturb the public order established by law.

11. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the most precious rights of man: every citizen can therefore freely speak, write, and print. . . .
12. The guaranteeing of the rights of man and citizen necessitates a public force; this force is therefore instituted for the advantage of all, and not for the private use of those to whom it is entrusted. . . .
14. Citizens have the right to determine for themselves or through their representatives the need for taxation of the public, to consent to it freely, to investigate its use, and to determine its rate, basis, collection, and duration.
15. Society has the right to demand an accounting of his administration from every public agent.
16. Any society in which guarantees of rights are not assured nor the separation of powers determined has no constitution.
17. Property being an inviolable and sacred right, no one may be deprived of it unless public necessity, legally determined, clearly requires such action, and then only on condition of a just and prior indemnity.

Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen

Mothers, daughters, sisters and representatives of the nation demand to be constituted into a national assembly. Believing that ignorance, omission, or scorn for the rights of woman are the only causes of public misfortunes and of the corruption of governments, the women have resolved to set forth in a solemn declaration the natural, inalienable, and sacred rights of woman in order that this declaration, constantly exposed before all the members of the society, will ceaselessly remind them of their rights and duties. . . .

Consequently, the sex that is as superior in beauty as it is in courage during the sufferings of maternity recognizes and declares in the presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following Rights of Woman and of Female Citizens.

1. Woman is born free and lives equal to man in her rights. Social distinctions can be based only on the common utility.
2. The purpose of any political association is the conservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of woman and man; these rights are liberty, property, security, and especially resistance to oppression.
3. The principle of all sovereignty rests essentially with the nation, which is nothing but the union of woman and man; no body and no individual can exercise any authority which does not come expressly from it [the nation],
4. Liberty and justice consist of restoring all that belongs to others; thus, the only limits on the exercise of the

(continued)

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Class Notes & Critical Thinking

(Opposing Viewpoints continued)

natural rights of woman are perpetual male tyranny; these limits are to be reformed by the laws of nature and reason. . . .

6. The law must be the expression of the general will; all female and male citizens must contribute either personally or through their representatives to its formation; it must be the same for all: male and female citizens, being equal in the eyes of the law, must be equally admitted to all honors, positions, and public employment according to their capacity and without other distinctions besides those of their virtues and talents.
7. No woman is an exception; she is accused, arrested, and detained in cases determined by law. Women, like men, obey this rigorous law. . . .
10. No one is to be disquieted for his very basic opinions; woman has the right to mount the scaffold; she must equally have the right to mount the rostrum, provided that her demonstrations do not disturb the legally established public order.
11. The free communication of thought and opinions is one of the most precious rights of woman, since that liberty assured the recognition of children by their fathers. . . .
12. The guarantee of the rights of woman and the female citizen implies a major benefit; this guarantee must be instituted for the advantage of all, and not for the particular benefit of those to whom it is entrusted. . . .
14. Female and male citizens have the right to verify, either by themselves or through their representatives, the

necessity of the public contribution. This can only apply to women if they are granted an equal share, not only of wealth, but also of public administration, and in the determination of the proportion, the base, the collection, and the duration of the tax.

15. The collectivity of women, joined for tax purposes to the aggregate of men, has the right to demand an accounting of his administration from any public agent.
16. No society has a constitution without the guarantee of rights and the separation of powers; the constitution is null if the majority of individuals comprising the nation have not cooperated in drafting it.
17. Property belongs to both sexes whether united or separate; for each it is an inviolable and sacred right; no one can be deprived of it, since it is the true patrimony of nature, unless the legally determined public need obviously dictates it, and then only with a just and prior indemnity.



What "natural rights" does the first document proclaim? To what extent was this document influenced by the writings of the philosophes? What rights for women does the second document enunciate? Given the nature and scope of the arguments in favor of natural rights and women's rights in these two documents, what key effects on European society would you attribute to the French Revolution?

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Class Notes & Critical Thinking

State-Controlled Church

- ▶ **The Civil Constitution of the Clergy:** created national church with 83 bishops and diocese;
 - ▶ Church lost its lands & independence = \$ used to pay off national debt
 - ▶ biggest blunder of the National Assembly
 - ▶ Offended devout Catholics
 - ▶ 83 Departments: country politically divided into districts
- ▶ constitutional monarchy established
- ▶ new paper currency; former church lands guaranteed value of currency

Louis' Escape Attempt

- Old regime of France threatened
- Many monarchy supporters left France – felt unsafe
- Flight to Varennes: king fled from Tuleries hoping to escape to Austrian Netherlands and rally support; failed
- Reinforced anti-monarchy sentiment, people distrusted Louis

2. Legislative Assembly 1791-1792

- ▶ Sept 1791:
 - ▶ National Assembly completed new constitution
 - ▶ Limited constitutional monarchy formed
 - ▶ Stripped king of much of his authority
 - ▶ Louis XVI reluctantly agreed
- ▶ Legislative Assembly law making body
- ▶ King still held executive power to enforce laws
- ▶ Old problems still remained: food shortages & gov't debt

Factions Split France

- ▶ Radicals (left): opposed the idea of monarchy & wanted sweeping gov't reforms
 - ▶ Girondins: radical Jacobins who were advanced party of the revolution and brought the country to war
 - ▶ Sans-culottes: workers who wanted radical changes
- ▶ Moderates (center): wanted some changes but not as many as radicals
 - ▶ Jacobins: political club that dominated Legislative Assembly
- ▶ Conservatives (right): limited monarchy & few changes to gov't

International Opposition

- ▶ August, 1791: Prussia and Austria declared support for French monarchy
- ▶ French nobles fled France, sought support of foreign countries to restore Old Regime.
- ▶ Emperor Leopold: declared he would restore gov't of France if other powers joined him; really a bluff; French revolutionaries took Leopold at his word and prepared for war.
- ▶ Result: Revolutionaries create army to protect the revolution

Critical Thinking:

How did the revolutionaries interpret the king's attempt to flee?

Why was the formation of a revolutionary constitution so important to the Revolution? For France?

Why did the revolutionaries split?

AP European History - Chapter 19 A Revolution in Politics: *The French Revolution and Napoleon*

Class Notes & Critical Thinking

War of the First Coalition

- ▶ Legislative Assembly declared war in April, 1792
- ▶ Austrian armies defeated French armies but divisions over eastern Europe saved France
- ▶ Prussia & Austria vowed to destroy Paris if royal family harmed
 - ▶ Revolutionary sentiment led by Robespierre, Danton, and Marat
 - ▶ King stormed at Tulleries; king taken prisoner
- ▶ Marked beginning of “2nd French Revolution”
 - ▶ Monarchy destroyed = republic

Paris Commune

- ▶ Revolutionary municipal gov’t set up in Paris, which usurped powers of the Legislative Assembly
- ▶ Led by **Georges-Jacques Danton**
- ▶ Legislative Assembly suspended 1791 constitution
- ▶ **September Massacres** (led by Paris Commune)
- ▶ Rumors of aristocratic and clerical conspiracy with foreign invaders led to:
 - ▶ Attempts to wipe out counterrevolutionaries
 - ▶ Massacre of over 1,000 priests, bourgeoisie, and aristocrats

3. National Convention 1792-1795

- ▶ “Age of Rousseau” France proclaimed a republic, September 17, 1792
- ▶ **Equality, Liberty, Fraternity:**
- ▶ Two factions emerged:
 - ▶ **The Mountain:** radical republicans; urban class (Danton, Robespierre, Marat)
 - ▶ **Girondins:** more moderate faction; represented countryside

Robespierre

- ▶ Member of Estates-General, Constituent Assembly & Jacobin club
- ▶ Led the revolution initially supported Enlightened reforms & constitutional monarchy
- ▶ Later shifted more radical & led Committee of Public Safety & Reign of Terror

Marat

- ▶ 1 of most radical voices of the French Revolution
- ▶ published views in pamphlets, placards and newspapers, notably his *L'Ami du peuple* (*Friend of the People*)
- ▶ Linked sans couettes with republican Jacobin group that came to power after June 1793
- ▶ His fierce tone incited the people to revolutionary fervor

Critical Thinking:

How did the revolutionaries respond to the outside threats? Why did they?

Do you think the September Massacres were an extreme response to the fear of counter revolution?

Why is the National Convention oftentimes referred to as the 2nd French Revolution?

AP European History - Chapter 19 A Revolution in Politics: *The French Revolution and Napoleon*
Class Notes & Critical Thinking

National Convention Events

- ▶ Prussian invasion stopped; moral victory for Convention
- ▶ French rev army major victory & took Austrian Netherlands but war turned against France by Spring 1793
- ▶ **Louis XVI beheaded** January, 1793
- ▶ Mountain ousts Girondins, May 1793: urged to do so by sans-culottes
- ▶ **Charlotte Corday**, member of Girondins, stabbed Marat in his bathtub

Committee of Public Safety

- ▶ Formed in Summer 1793 as emergency gov't by Robespierre
- ▶ Led to Reign of Terror

Reign of Terror (1793-94)

- ▶ Most notorious event of French Revolution
- ▶ Law of Suspects: Created Revolutionary Tribunals at the local level to hear cases of accused enemies brought to "justice"
- ▶ Guillotine: created as an instrument of mercy.
- ▶ Queen Marie Antoinette beheaded
- ▶ Girondins executed in September
- ▶ Vendée: region in western France that opposed revolution; many executed
- ▶ Danton and followers executed in 1794
- ▶ **Cult of the Supreme Being**: deistic naturalist religion; Catholics now opposed
- ▶ **Revolutionary Calendar**: new non-Christian calendar, 10 day weeks & months based on seasons

Thermidorian Reaction (1794)

- ▶ Ended "Reign of Terror"
- ▶ Robespierre executed, July 1794
- ▶ Constituted significant political swing to the right (conservative)
- ▶ Girondins readmitted
- ▶ Economic controls lifted: ended control of sans-culottes

Critical Thinking:

Why was the execution of Louis XVI such a huge event not only for France but Europe with a tradition of divine right monarchies?

What role did Robespierre play in the Reign of Terror?

What sparked the Thermidorian Reaction?

AP European History - Chapter 19 A Revolution in Politics: *The French Revolution and Napoleon*
Class Notes & Critical Thinking

4. The Directory 1795-1799

- ▶ Constitution of 1795 restored some order but gov't very ineffective
- ▶ Upper bourgeoisie in control but constituted very narrow social base of country
- ▶ Conspiracy of Equals led by "Gracchus" Babeuf
 - ▶ sans-culottes faction that sought to overthrow gov't and abolish property
 - ▶ precursor to communism
 - ▶ Easily suppressed by Directory and Babeuf executed
 - ▶ Elections in 1797 a victory for royalists but annulled by gov't
- ▶ Dictatorship favorable to revolution establish: "Post-Fructidorian Terror"
- ▶ Victory over First Coalition
 - ▶ Napoleon Bonaparte victorious over Austrian army
 - ▶ Battle of the Pyramids: Napoleon victorious over British army in Egypt
 - ▶ Battle of the Nile: devastating defeat of Napoleon by British; Napoleon returns to lead France

Napoleon?

- ▶ November 1799: Napoleon invited by Abbey Sieyes to lead France
- ▶ Directory overthrown and Napoleon becomes First Consul

INTERPRETATION: International Reaction

- ▶ **Edmund Burke (1729-1797): *Reflections on the Revolution in France***
 - ▶ Conservative: opposed revolution as mob rule
- ▶ **Thomas Paine: *Rights of Man***: responded to Burke's indictment by defending the Enlightenment principles of the revolution

Critical Thinking:

Why was Napoleon the "answer" to France's problems after the Revolution?

Focus Question Answer:

AP European History - Chapter 19 A Revolution in Politics: *The French Revolution and Napoleon*
Class Notes & Critical Thinking

Focus Question: Which aspects of the French Revolution did Napoleon preserve, and which did he destroy?

5. Consulate Period: “Age of Voltaire” 1799-1804 (Enlightened Reform)

- First Consul: be viewed as the last of the “Enlightened Despots”
- Code Napoleon:** legal unity provided first clear and complete codification of French law:
 - code of civil procedure, criminal procedure, commercial code, and penal code.
 - Equality before the law
- “Careers Open to talent”:** promotions in gov’t service based on merit
 - Drawbacks: denied women equal status, denied true political liberty (due to absolutism), nepotism by placing family members as heads of conquered regions
 - Creation of new imperial nobility to reward most talented generals & officials

Reforms/Changes

- Concordat of 1801:** Napoleon ended the rift between the church and the state
 - Extended legal toleration to Catholics, Protestants, Jews, and atheists who all received same civil rights
- Bank of France (BOF): served interests of the state and financial oligarchy
- Educational reform:** public education under state control

Un-Enlightened Reforms

- Created secret police
- Censorship
- Limited women’s rights
- Often curtailed rights and manipulated popular impulses behind a façade of representative institutions

Used propaganda & Enlightened reforms to make it *seem* as though he was ruling for the people

6. Empire Period (1804-1814)

- Napoleon crowned himself Emperor! (took the crown from the pope in Notre Dame & placed it on his own head)
- Grand Empire: consisted of an enlarged France and satellite kingdoms
- Let go of North American colonies – Louisiana Purchase 1803

Germany in 1806

- Consolidation of 300 states into 39
- Confederation of the Rhine: 15 German states minus Prussia, Austria, and Saxony
 - Napoleon became “Protector” of the Confederation
 - Holy Roman Empire abolished

Critical Thinking:

What other leaders had similar philosophies regarding positioning like Napoleon’s Careers Open to Talent?

AP European History - Chapter 19 A Revolution in Politics: *The French Revolution and Napoleon*
Class Notes & Critical Thinking

Continental System

- Continental System:** aimed to isolate Britain and promote Napoleon's mastery over Europe
- 1806: British ships not allowed in European ports
- 1806: Britain proclaimed any ship going to Europe had to stop there first
- 1807: Napoleon proclaimed any ship stopping in Britain would be seized when it entered the Continent.
- These edicts eventually led to U.S. declaring war on Great Britain:
War of 1812
- Continental System a major failure: failed to hurt Britain; European countries grew tired of it

Napoleon's Empire by 1810

- Confederation of the Rhine
- Joseph Bonaparte: King of Spain
- Jerome Bonaparte: King of Westphalia
- Caroline Bonaparte: Queen of Naples
- Duchy of Warsaw
- Kingdom of Italy
- (Independent but allied states of Austria, Prussia and Russia)

Wars

- The Peninsular War (1808-1814)
 - In Spain: first great revolt against Napoleon's power
 - guerrilla war against France aided by Britain led by Duke of Wellington
- War of Liberation (1809): Austria declared war against France but lost more territory
- Russian Campaign (1812):
 - ended in draw but Napoleon overextended himself
 - French troops invaded all the way to Moscow but eventually driven back and destroyed

"First" Treaty of Paris (1814)

- France surrendered all lands gained since 1792

Allies imposed no indemnity or reparations (after Louis refused to do so)

Critical Thinking:

Why was Napoleon forced to resort to the Continental System in order to attack Britain?

Was Napoleon's philosophy of nepotism "enlightened" like many of his other philosophies/reforms?

AP European History - Chapter 19 A Revolution in Politics: *The French Revolution and Napoleon*
Class Notes & Critical Thinking

Congress of Vienna (1814-1815)

- Klemens Von Metternich:** dominant figure at the Congress; conservative
- Principles of Settlement: Legitimacy, Compensation, Balance of Power

“Hundred Days” (March 20-June 22, 1815)

- Napoleon returns from exile in Elba and organizes new army
- Capitalized on stalled talks at Congress of Vienna
- Battle of Waterloo**, June 1815: Napoleon defeated by Duke of Wellington
- Napoleon exiled to St. Helena
- “2nd” Treaty of Paris: dealt more harshly w/ France; large indemnity, some minor territories

Critical Thinking:

Why do you think Napoleon was unable to rally support for his return?

Focus Question Answer: