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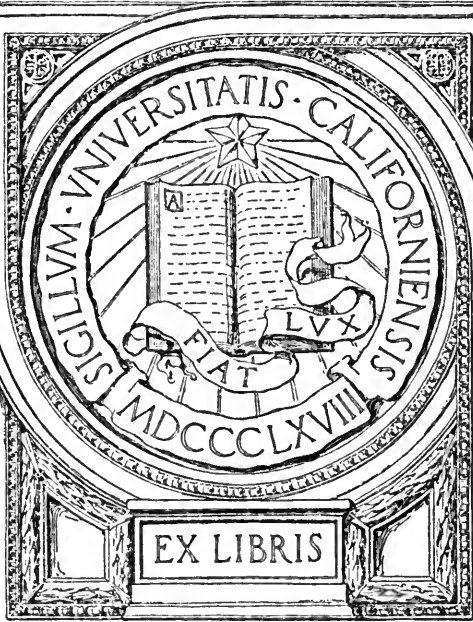
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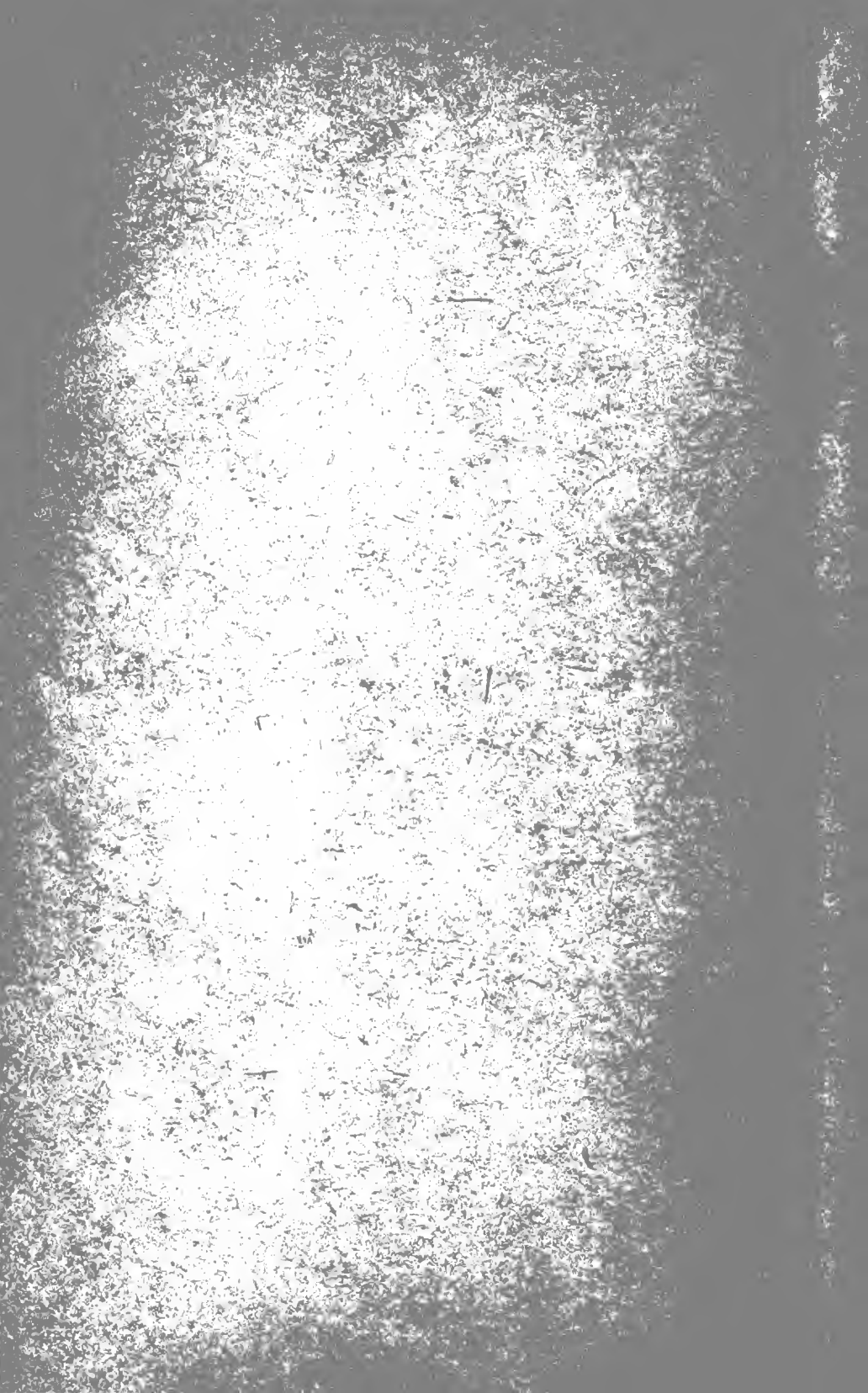
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS
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SYLLABUS

**THE ENLIGHTENED DESPOTISM OF THE EIGHTEENTH
CENTURY IN EUROPE**

H. MORSE STEPHENS

BERKELEY: THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
OCTOBER, 1905



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OF A

Course of Twelve Lectures

ON

THE ENLIGHTENED DESPOTISM OF THE EIGHTEENTH
CENTURY IN EUROPE

BY

H. MORSE STEPHENS

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HIST. 1

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THE ENLIGHTENED DESPOTISM OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY IN EUROPE.

LECTURE ONE.

The Period and Characteristics of the Enlightened Despotism in Europe during the Eighteenth Century; Administrative Reform; the Despots and their Ministers.

The change of attitude of modern historians with regard to the history of the eighteenth century in Europe; abandonment of the idea that the French Revolution inaugurated modern civilization; recognition of the fact that the French Revolution marked the culmination of a period and not the beginning of a new era.

The reforms of the eighteenth century, which mark the transition from medieval to modern civilization, were the work of enlightened but despotic rulers, or of enlightened ministers, sustained by despotic rulers; Napoleon Bonaparte the last of the enlightened despots.

The term "enlightened despotism" first used by German writers in the middle of the nineteenth century; the German words *Aufgeklärte Despotismus* translated into French as *despotisme éclairé* and later into English as enlightened despotism.

Application of the word despotism; the belief of the eighteenth century that rulers knew what was good for the people better than the people themselves; the thorough belief in the arbitrary government of a wise and good man as more conducive to the prosperity and happiness of a people than self-government; the belief of the despots in

their mission; the ideals of paternal government; tender or contemptuous attitude of rulers towards their subjects.

The declaration of Louis XIV of France "I am the State" typical of the latter part of the seventeenth century; the declaration of Frederick the Great of Prussia "I am the First Servant of the State" typical of the eighteenth century.

The characteristics of the despotism of the eighteenth century which entitled it to be called enlightened; the belief in expert and sympathetic administration, the efforts made to promote material prosperity, the abolition of medieval shackles on freedom of labor and trade, the assertion of individual liberty, the simplification of law and legal procedure, the advancement of the theory of religious toleration, and the recognition of the duty of the State to aid the afflicted and the unfortunate and to develop popular education.

The enlightened despots could only carry out their reforms through a well organized system of administration; the rise of the expert administrator; disappearance of the power of the European aristocracy; administrative reforms; growth of administrative efficiency; in this respect Napoleon was the last and greatest of the enlightened administrators.

The period of the enlightened despotism was contemporary with the American Revolution, but the two sets of ideas had no relation to each other; the form of the English government prevented the establishment of despotism in Great Britain; in France, where the ideas of enlightenment were most successfully formulated, the weakness of the despot prevented their being carried into effect; the most thorough-going reforms were effected in the more backward states of Europe, in Germany, Italy, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Spain and Portugal.

The dates of the principal enlightened despots show the European character of the movement for reform; Fred-

erick the Great, King of Prussia (king 1740–1786, but engaged in war to 1763); Catherine, Empress of Russia (1762–1796); the Emperor Joseph (Emperor, 1765–1790, but ruler of the Austrian dominions, 1780–1790); Charles III, King of Spain (1759–1788); Gustavus III, King of Sweden (1771–1792); the Grand Duke Leopold of Tuscany (1765–1790); the Margrave Charles Frederick of Baden (1771–1811).

In some countries the work of reform was carried on by enlightened ministers; the most important of these were: the Marquis of Pombal in Portugal (1750–1777); Bernardo Tanucci in Naples (1734–1776); Du Tillot in Parma (1749–1771); Struensee (1770–1772) and Andrew Bernstorff (1772–1780, 1784–1795) in Denmark; Turgot in France (1774–1776).

The result of a study of the period of the enlightened despotism brings out the fact that the social, economic and humanitarian reforms of the eighteenth century were the work of enlightened rulers, who had no sympathy with the idea of popular government; these things were accomplished in France in conjunction with the new idea of the sovereignty of the people, but, though the reforms lasted, the idea of popular sovereignty went down under the stress of defending the national existence and made way for the enlightened despotism of the Emperor Napoleon.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED.

There are no books in English devoted to the enlightened despotism in Europe.

LECTURE TWO.

Frederick the Great of Prussia; Efforts for Material Prosperity.

Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, was the most important of the enlightened despots of the eighteenth cen-

tury; the fame he acquired as a soldier during the first half of his reign caused him to be taken as a model by other rulers during the second half of his reign.

Frederick the Great (born January 24, 1712) succeeded his father as King of Prussia (May 31, 1740); his unhappy life as Crown Prince; his training and character; his studies; his literary and philosophic tastes; his genius as a general and a military organizer; the first half of his reign taken up with war and diplomacy; War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48); Seven Years' War (1756-1763); the period of reform (1763-86).

The internal administration of Frederick: his measures for restoring prosperity; paternal government; Frederick's attitude towards agriculture, manufactures and commerce; his attempt to improve farming; distribution of seeds and introduction of the potato; his encouragement of colonists; establishment of "land-banks"; Frederick regarded the material prosperity of the people as the chief aim of his administration.

Frederick's conception of monarchy: his understanding of the "Aufgeklärte Despotismus"; he held that his absolutism could be justified only by earnest work for the good of the people.

The administrative machinery created by Frederick the Great: following his father's example, he confided the administration to a bureaucracy composed of men of the middle class and dependent entirely upon himself; comparison between the French and the Prussian bureaucracies: the former hindered, while the latter promoted, general prosperity at the close of the eighteenth century, because Prussia was more backward in civilization than France.

Frederick the Great's attitude towards his nobility: he employed nobles in the army rather than in the civil service, and formed them into a military caste.

Frederick the Great and serfdom: he maintained the authority of the nobles upon their estates as part of the compensation for excluding them from political power and as an inducement to them to continue their services in the army; but he endeavored to abolish or reduce the harshness of serfdom on the royal domains.

Frederick the Great considered as a typical enlightened despot of the eighteenth century: (1) his great public works, as the making of canals and roads, the draining of marshes and the improvement of Berlin; (2) his endeavors to simplify and codify the system of laws in the Codex Fredericiana, the work of the Chancellor Cocceji; (3) he discouraged all idea of local or municipal self-government; (4) he insisted upon absolute toleration of religious worship while ready to pose as the protector of Protestantism; (5) he established a system of compulsory primary education.

Frederick the Great differed from the other enlightened despots in his neglect of national higher education and in his refusal to adopt the new economic ideas in collecting his revenue.

The efforts of Frederick the Great for the promotion of the material prosperity of his subjects were imitated by the other enlightened rulers; in the undertaking of great public works Catherine, Joseph and Charles III of Spain were particularly zealous; they were great road makers and bridge builders; they all encouraged agriculture; influence of the Physiocrats in this development.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED.

The books in English on Frederick the Great, such as Carlyle "History of Frederick the Great," are almost entirely devoted to his military career, but most of them give a little space to his peace reforms. The great literature in German upon this subject has not yet been transmuted into English.

LECTURE THREE.

Catherine of Russia; Codification and Legal Reform.

The Empress Catherine of Russia as an enlightened despot; the particular difficulty of her position; the backwardness of the Russian people; the absence of educated men for the work of administration; the absence of a middle class; her situation as a foreigner and as responsible for the murder of her husband; the advantages of her position; the acceptance of the autocratic idea by the Russian people.

The personality of Catherine the Great; born a princess of Anhalt-Zerbst (1729); her marriage to the Grand Duke Peter (1745); her life at the court of her husband's aunt, the Empress Elizabeth; accession of her husband as the Tsar Peter III (January 5, 1762); overthrow of Peter III (July 9, 1762) and his murder (July 17).

The character of Catherine the Great; her court; her habits; her despotism; her enlightenment; vigor of her intellect; immorality of her life.

Catherine the Great's administration of the Russian Empire: she followed the ideas of Peter the Great in ruling through a bureaucratic system entirely dependent upon the will of the ruler and consisting chiefly of foreigners, but she preserved the attachment of the Russian people by meeting the national wishes for territorial expansion.

Catherine summoned an assembly from all parts and all classes of the Empire to draw up a code of laws (1766-68), but Russia was not sufficiently advanced in civilization for such a benefit.

Catherine the Great's administration of the Russian Empire; division into forty-four governments, in the place of the eight of Peter the Great; subdivision into districts; the assemblies of the nobility; liberal treatment of the cities, which were given municipal independence; formation of courts of justice for the nobles, the bourgeois and

the free peasants in each district and government, with final appeal to the Senate; resumption of the lands and serfs of the Church, the profits from which, after payment of the monks, were used for educational and charitable purposes; general religious tolerance shown even to Muhamadans and Jesuits.

Catherine's great public works: she made canals and improved agriculture and means of communication; she encouraged commerce and manufactures; her commercial treaties with England and France; establishment of German colonies; foundation of new cities.

Catherine and the intellectual development of Russia: she founded the Russian Academy (1783) and encouraged foreigners to visit and describe her country; like Frederick the Great, she kept in touch with the intellectual movement of Western Europe; her friendship with Diderot and correspondence with Grimm.

Attitude of Catherine towards serfdom: she endeavored to regulate but not abolish it; she forbade the public sale of serfs or the separation of families; the case of Daria Soltikov.

Catherine's method of government: she kept the direction of affairs in her own hands; her diligence and insight; her attitude towards her ministers and her lovers.

Catherine and her court: she made use of her discarded lovers in the management of affairs; the importance of the Orlovs (1762-72), and of Potemkin (1774-76); her wisdom in selecting her lovers from among the Russians and not from foreigners.

Catherine's zeal in carrying out the plans of Peter the Great and in fulfilling the ambitions of the Russian people in foreign politics kept the Russians, and even the members of the Old Russian party, faithful to her in spite of her being a German and of her maintenance of Western ideas; her adherence to Russian ideals necessary for the maintenance of her power.

The attempt of Catherine the Great to make a code of laws for Russia and to improve judicial procedure typical of the eighteenth century.

Many projects of legal and judicial reform: promulgation of codes of law, in which work Frederick the Great of Prussia, the Grand Duke Leopold of Tuscany, Maximilian Joseph of Bavaria, and Frederick Augustus, Elector of Saxony, were especially distinguished; reforms in judicial administration by the abolition of torture and the introduction of more humane methods of punishment; improvement in this respect was shown in the work of all the enlightened despots, owing chiefly to the influence of Voltaire and Beccaria; effect of the publication of Beccaria's *Dei delitti e della pene* (1764), Montesquieu's *Esprit des lois* (1748), and Filangieri's *Scienza della legislazione* (1780).

BOOKS RECOMMENDED.

The various books on Catherine in English are more occupied with her strange personality and her wars for the expansion of Russia than with her reforms, but something can be gleaned from such works as Rambaud, "History of Russia," and Morfill, "Story of Russia," and from the lively works of Waliszewski, "The Romance of an Empress" and "Around a Throne."

LECTURE FOUR.

Joseph of Austria; Toleration in Religion.

The enlightened despotism in the Austrian dominions; the reign of the Empress Maria Theresa (1740-1780); her character; her conservatism in administration; her piety; her genuine sympathy with her people; her court; her husband, the Emperor Francis I; her sons and daughters; her widowhood (1765); the restraint she exercised over her son Joseph during the last fifteen years of her life.

On the death of the Emperor Francis I (August 18, 1765) his eldest son, Joseph II, was elected Emperor, while

his second son, the Archduke Leopold, succeeded him as Grand Duke of Tuscany.

Character and training of Joseph II: for fifteen years he held the position of Emperor without being ruler of the Austrian dominions; difficulties of this position; his endeavors to make the power of the Emperor more of a reality; his interference in foreign affairs; his admiration for Frederick the Great followed by a still greater admiration for the Tsaritsa Catherine.

Death of Maria Theresa (November 29, 1780) and accession of Joseph II to the Austrian dominions.

The Emperor Joseph II in many ways the most typical of the enlightened despots; his personality; his ardent desire to improve the condition of his people; the three vices which led to the failure of his schemes for reform: (1) his desire to do everything *for* the people and not *by* the people; (2) his wish to weld the Austrian dominions into a homogeneous realm like France, or an administrative entity like Prussia and Russia; (3) the rapidity with which he forced his reforms on the people without any preparation.

Joseph II's national reforms: his attempts to unify and centralize the administration; he made German the official language in the home dominions of the House of Hapsburg; he endeavored to destroy all local franchises and to establish the same system throughout his dominions; his efforts for administrative and judicial unity and regularity; he divided his dominions into thirteen governments, subdivided into circles; in each government he established a court of justice with two chambers, one for the nobility and one for the bourgeoisie; in each circle there was appointed an official to execute justice and protect the peasants.

Joseph II's religious reforms; he issued an edict of toleration, permitting freedom of thought and worship (1781); the visit of Pope Pius VI to Vienna (1782); Jo-

seph II suppressed numerous convents and religious orders, and endeavored to reform the administration of the Church; he freed the Jews from their disabilities and permitted them to enter the army; he endeavored to make education secular and to take it out of the hands of the Church.

Joseph II's attack upon infringements of personal liberty: he abolished serfdom in Bohemia (1781), in Carinthia, Carniola and the Breisgau (1782), and in Hungary (August 22, 1785), and inaugurated a system for removing feudal burdens and forced labor; he abolished all guilds and corporations interfering with freedom of labor.

Joseph II's efforts to improve the intellectual condition of his people: he established a system of primary education and freed the press from the censorship (1781).

Joseph II's encouragement of public works and improvement of means of communication.

Joseph II's encouragement of trade and commerce: his endeavors to obtain from the Dutch the freedom of the River Scheldt.

Joseph II's fiscal reforms: his endeavors to introduce the physiocratic principles of taxation.

The result of Joseph II's reforms was to rouse discontent and even rebellion throughout his dominions; the Hungarian magnates were disgusted at his freeing the serfs and all the Magyars at his attempts at Germanization; the Czechs in Bohemia were apprehensive that his reforms would crush them further; the Tyrolese were in a ferment at his measures against the Church, and the Belgians were forced into open rebellion, both by his interference with their local government and by his measures against the Catholic Church.

The failure of Joseph and its significance; death of the Emperor Joseph (February 20, 1790).

The decrees of religious toleration and abolishing serfdom were the most conspicuous acts of the reign of Joseph;

in both these steps he followed the trend of public opinion, which was most strongly expressed by Voltaire.

Extension of ideas of religious toleration in Europe, embracing not only the different forms of Christianity, but also Judaism: the Emperor Joseph II, and Bernstorff in Denmark, specifically abolished the disabilities of the Jews; Frederick the Great showed himself tolerant to all varieties of Christians; but the most famous declarations of toleration, permitting both liberty of thought and liberty of worship, were issued by Catherine II in her instruction for the making of a new code (1766), which even permitted the Muhammadans to build mosques, and by Joseph II in his Edict of Toleration (October 13, 1781).

Deliberate steps taken to diminish the wealth and power of the Church in Roman Catholic states: illustrated by the combined attack upon the Jesuits, and by the suppression of the Inquisition in Parma (1768), in Lombardy (1775), in Tuscany (1782), in Sicily (1782), and its modification in Portugal (1769), and by the measures taken for reducing the number of bishops and monks, by the Emperor Joseph II, the Grand Duke Leopold of Tuscany, Tanucci, and the Elector Charles Theodore of Bavaria.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED.

There is very little in English upon the Emperor Joseph, but reference may be made to J. F. Bright, "Joseph II," to Coxe, "History of the House of Austria," and to the essay by E. A. Freeman in his "Historical Essays."

LECTURE FIVE.

**The Despots and their Ministers in Southern Europe
the Grand Duke Leopold of Tuscany, Tanucci
in Naples, Charles III of Spain,
Pombal in Portugal.**

Italy in the eighteenth century; the opportunities for enlightened despotism; the various states of Italy; absence of national spirit; the curious paradox of the enlightened government of two of Maria Theresa's sons in Italy, of the Archduke Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany, and of the Archduke Ferdinand, Governor-General of Lombardy, and of the dismissal of enlightened ministers through the influence of two of Maria Theresa's daughters, Maria Carolina, Queen of Naples and Sicily, and Maria Amelia, Duchess of Parma; the absence of enlightenment in the two great Italian Republics, Venice and Genoa; efforts of Pope Pius VI to improve conditions in the States of the Church; the government of Victor Amadeus III, King of Sardinia (1773-1796).

The administration of the Grand Duke Leopold of Tuscany, second son of Maria Theresa (1765-90); his reforms; his code of laws; he reduced the number of bishoprics and monasteries; he improved the material condition of Tuscany; his administrative reforms; his judicial reforms; he adopted the economic ideas of the Physiocrats and abolished all restrictions on industry and commerce; his patronage of higher education; he founded the prosperity of Leghorn; he disbanded his army; the Grand Duke Leopold the most enlightened of the benevolent despots.

The reign of Don Philip, Duke of Parma (1749-65); the administration of Du Tillot, Marquis of Felino (b. 1711, d. 1774); his reforms; his patronage of higher education; his action against the monasteries; his encouragement of manufactures; the reign of Don Ferdinand (1765-1802);

Du Tillot's scheme of marrying him to the heiress of Modena foiled; Du Tillot's struggle with the Papacy and suppression of the Jesuits; he abolished the Inquisition and reorganized the University of Parma (1768); Don Ferdinand married Maria Amelia, daughter of Maria Theresa (1769); dismissal of Du Tillot by the influence of the Duchess (1771); greatness of Du Tillot; "a great minister of a little state."

The Two Sicilies: the government of Don Carlos, afterwards Charles III of Spain (1735-59); the administration of Tanucci (b. 1698, d. 1783), one of the most enlightened ministers of his time; he abolished feudalism in Naples; his attempt to reform the laws; his encouragement of art and education; his action against the power of the Church; Charles on his accession to the throne of Spain gave Naples and Sicily to his third son, Ferdinand IV (1751-1825); during the minority of the young king, Tanucci remained in power; he continued his reforms; he coöperated in the suppression of the Jesuits and occupied Benevento and Ponte Corvo (1769); his struggle with the Papacy and suppression of useless bishoprics; as a result of his marriage (1768) with Maria Carolina, daughter of Maria Theresa, the king dismissed Tanucci (1776); supremacy of the Queen; backwardness of the island of Sicily; its "Parliament"; failure of the attempted reforms of Domenico Cacciolo (1781).

Spain in the eighteenth century: poverty and exhaustion, material and intellectual, of the country; character of the government of the Bourbon kings of Spain; the royal revenue derived from the Spanish colonies in America; their misgovernment; attempts made to maintain a strong navy; abandonment of commerce.

The reign of Charles III, formerly King of Naples and Sicily (1759-88): Charles III one of the enlightened despots; his efforts to improve the condition of Spain; his difficulties; excellence of his ministers; administrative re-

forms of Squillacci (1759-66); their unpopularity; forced from office by a riot at Madrid; Aranda (b. 1718, d. 1799) and the expulsion of the Jesuits; his internal administration (1766-73); its spirit of progress carried on by Florida Blanca (1773-92); their belief in autocracy and centralization; O'Reilly reformed the army and rebuilt the navy; Campomanes established a national system of education, and with Jovellanos reformed the judicial system and introduced the ideas of the political economists; Cabarrus founded the Bank of St. Charles (1782), and established a national system of credit; revival of commerce after throwing open trade with America to all Spanish ports; reform of the currency; encouragement of public works and improvement of agriculture; endeavor of Olavide to restore prosperity in Andalusia; his overthrow by the Inquisition (1776); death of Charles III (December 14, 1788).

The reign of Joseph, King of Portugal (1750-77); the earthquake at Lisbon (November 1, 1755); the administration of Pombal (b. 1699, d. 1782), one of the enlightened ministers of the eighteenth century; his internal policy and reforms; his belief in autocracy; Pombal took the lead in the suppression of the Society of Jesus; he abolished slavery in Portugal (May 25, 1773), but maintained negro slavery in Brazil; he reformed the administration and the judicial system; he encouraged trade and manufactures; he promoted higher education, founded more than 800 schools, and reorganized the University of Coimbra; dismissal of Pombal (1777).

BOOKS RECOMMENDED.

Some account of the reforms of the Grand Duke Leopold can be found in H. E. Napier, "Florentine History," of the reforms of Tanucci in Colletta, "History of Naples," translated into English by Horner, of the reforms of Charles III in Coxe, "Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon," and in M. A. S. Hume, "Spain, Its Greatness and Decay," and of the reforms in Portugal in Morse Stephens, "Story of Portugal" and in J. Smith, "Memoirs of the Marquis of Pombal."

LECTURE SIX.

**The Despots and their Ministers in Northern Europe;
Gustavus III of Sweden, Struensee and
Bernstorff in Denmark, the Margrave
Charles Frederick of Baden.**

The enlightened despotism in northern Europe and in Germany, outside of the Prussian and Austrian dominions.

The reign of Gustavus III of Sweden (1771–92); his character and education; his travels; his attachment to France; his adoption of the theory of enlightened despotism; supported by Vergennes, the French ambassador to Sweden, by a *coup d'état* (August 19, 1772) he destroyed the power of the Senate and assumed all executive authority, leaving the control of taxation to the Estates; his internal policy; sweeping reforms; he abolished torture, encouraged commerce, improved the administration and suppressed the censorship of the press; his difficulties with the Estates; his autocratic actions.

The foreign policy of Gustavus III; he joined the Armed Neutrality (1780); to win national support he attacked Russia (1788); misbehavior of the Swedish army in Finland; the malcontents led by the king's brother, Charles, Duke of Sudermania; Sweden attacked by Denmark (1788); *coup d'état* of 1789 (February 20); Gustavus declared a new fundamental law of Sweden, that "the King shall administer the affairs of State as he thinks best"; assassination of Gustavus III (1792).

Claims of Gustavus III to be considered a typical enlightened despot of the 18th century.

Reign of Christian VII, King of Denmark (1766–1808); Struensee (b. 1737) made chief minister (1770); his character; his philosophical ideas and use of his power; he represented the German, philosophical and sweeping reform party; he suppressed the censorship of the press,

abolished the Council of State, reorganized the army, established religious toleration, simplified the collection of the revenue, encouraged education and reformed the law and the judicial administration; Struensee accused of being too intimate with the Queen, Caroline Matilda, sister of George III of England; a conspiracy formed against him; he was arrested (January 17, 1772) and executed (April 28, 1772).

Andrew Bernstorff (b. 1735, d. 1797), chief minister; in foreign affairs he maintained the English alliance; in internal affairs he carried out gradual reforms; insanity of the King; the Queen Dowager forced Bernstorff to resign (1780), and called Guldberg to office; Denmark joined the Armed Neutrality (1780); the Crown Prince Frederick seized the government (1784) and recalled Bernstorff to office; the reforms of Bernstorff; he prohibited the negro slave trade and (June 20, 1788) finally abolished serfdom in Denmark; the Jews allowed the rights of citizens; by an arrangement with Russia, Denmark attacked Sweden in 1788, but peace was made the same year by the intervention of the Triple Alliance.

Imitation of the splendor and despotism of Louis XIV almost universal among German princes during the first half of the 18th century; followed during the second half by a general adherence to the ideas of enlightened despotism; influence of Frederick the Great in bringing about this change.

The most remarkable enlightened despot in Germany was Charles Frederick (b. 1728, d. 1811), Margrave of Baden-Baden and Baden-Durlach; his writings on political economy and attempt to put physiocratic ideas into practice; he abolished serfdom (July 23, 1783) and established a scheme of primary education; among other princes similarly enlightened may be noted Maximilian Joseph, Elector of Bavaria, a great law reformer and codifier, and Charles Theodore, Elector Palatine and Elector of Bavaria, who suppressed many convents, and, with the help of Count

Rumford (b. 1753, d. 1814), promoted reforms, but who showed intolerance to Protestants; Frederick Augustus, Elector of Saxony; Clement Wenceslas of Saxony, Elector-Archbishop of Trèves, and the Archduke Maximilian, Elector-Archbishop of Cologne, who were both tolerant rulers; Franz Ludwig von Erthal, Bishop of Bamberg and Wurtzburg; and Fürstenberg, who administered the bishopric of Münster for many years.

Although government in the larger states of Germany was administered on enlightened principles towards the close of the 18th century, the government of the smaller principalities was generally oppressive.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED.

For the reforms in Sweden see R. N. Bain, "Gustavus III and his Contemporaries;" there is no book in English devoted to the Danish reforms of the eighteenth century, but the Struensee episode is discussed in Wraxall, "Life and Times of Caroline Matilda, Queen of Denmark;" though somewhat old fashioned, reference may be made for the reforms in Germany to the translation of Schlosser, "History of the Eighteenth Century," and something may be gathered from the opening pages of J. R. Seeley, "Life and Times of Stein."

LECTURE SEVEN.

Voltaire, the Champion of Humanitarianism.

The development of the spirit of humanitarianism in the eighteenth century; contrast between the duty of serving humanity from the impulse of religion and from the instincts of brotherhood.

The humanitarian trend of the literature and the philosophy of the eighteenth century; the growth of educated public opinion; the European character of public opinion; the influence of the great French writers.

Voltaire, the champion of humanitarianism; his opposition to revealed religion; the character of his scepticism;

the reality of his love for humanity; his courage in fighting for the rights of the individual and for religious tolerance.

François Marie Arouet de Voltaire (born February 20, 1694, died May 30, 1778); his family, education and early life; his imprisonment in the Bastille (1717–1718); his first dramas and his “Henriade”; his visit to England (1726–1729).

The fame of Voltaire; his correspondence with the great figures of the eighteenth century, notably with Frederick the Great and Pope Benedict XIV; his residence at the Court of Prussia (1749–1753); his latter years at Ferney; his final visit to Paris (1778) and death (May 30, 1778).

The fame of Voltaire as a man of letters has obscured his glory as a champion of humanity; his attacks on serfdom, aroused by the existence of the only serfs in France, on the lands of the Abbey of St. Claude in the Jura; his zeal for religious toleration shown in the part he took with regard to the cases of Calas and Labarre; his ardent support of Beccaria’s denunciation of cruel punishments; his attacks upon legal absurdities; his constant appeal to common sense.

Voltaire’s attitude upon politics; he did not so much care about forms of government as he did about the duties of governors; his friendship with kings and ministers; attitude of Frederick, Catherine and Joseph with regard to Voltaire.

Voltaire’s opposition to the more extreme ideas of the Physiocrats; his “The Man with the Forty Crowns.”

Although Voltaire was the most brilliant and effective champion of humanitarianism, there were other writers, both in France and Italy, who advocated the same views; the Encyclopaedists; Diderot; Beccaria; Verri; the Marquis de Mirabeau.

Contrast between Voltaire and Rousseau; the practical sense of Voltaire contrasted with the hysterical sentimentality of Rousseau; contrast between their views on

government; the services of Rousseau to the cause of education.

The curious fact that the great French writers for whose applause and criticism the enlightened despots and their ministers looked were unable to influence their own government.

Public opinion in the eighteenth century; its effectiveness; its international character; rapid spread of enlightened and humanitarian ideas; the freemasons and the influence of freemasonry.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED.

The best known book in English on Voltaire is John Morley, "Life of Voltaire," which however deals more with Voltaire as a philosopher than as the champion of humanity. There are other lives by James Parton and E. B. Hamley. But the best way to understand Voltaire is to read his own works and for the illustration of this lecture especially his correspondence with the sovereigns of Europe. There is a brilliant study in French of Voltaire as a European force by Arsène Houssaye, entitled "Le Roi Voltaire."

LECTURE EIGHT.

The Campaign against Serfdom and Infringements of Personal Liberty.

The character of serfdom in Europe in the eighteenth century; it was a relic of the economic conditions of medieval civilization; and its conditions differed greatly not only in different countries but in different parts of the same country; even where serfdom itself had ceased to exist feudal conditions remained which made the lot of the farmer or agricultural laborer very little better than that of a serf.

Distinction to be drawn between chattel slavery and serfdom.

Serfdom was an incident of medieval agriculture and left traces even where agricultural conditions had ceased to exist.

By the eighteenth century serfdom had entirely disappeared from England, the Protestant Netherlands and Sweden, while in Latin countries, like France, Italy, Spain and Portugal, the personal disabilities of serfdom had ceased to exist but traces of it remained in the form of restrictions upon agriculture.

Serfdom was at its worst in Germany, Hungary, Poland, Russia and Denmark, but even in these countries there were varying degrees.

Where serfdom flourished most the serf could not marry without the leave of his lord, could not leave his village or his farm, could not change his occupation, and had to work himself and to force his children to work without pay in the lord's service as laborers or domestic servants.

This was the normal condition in the countries in which serfdom flourished; in the Latin countries these restrictions on personal liberty did not exist, but the free peasant had to cultivate his land according to the traditions of feudalism, had to grind his grain at the lord's mill, had to leave his land at the mercy of the lord's game and had to perform certain tasks at the lord's command.

Two steps can be observed in the reforms in this direction, the one to free the serf from the degrading conditions of his life and the other to make him owner of his farm.

Voltaire the great opponent of serfdom.

The Emperor Joseph and serfdom; his decrees of abolition in Bohemia (1781), in Carinthia, Carniola and the Breisgau (1782) and in Hungary (1785); his attempt to accompany the abolition of serfdom with the grant of the lands on which they worked to the former serfs.

Frederick the Great and serfdom; the abolition of serfdom in the royal demesne; refusal to permit serfdom in

the new colonies; attempt to modify serfdom on the estates of the nobles; abolition of serfdom in Silesia and Pomerania (1763).

The Empress Catherine and serfdom; her reforms affected rather the individual cases which came under her observation than the general body of the serfs.

The abolition of serfdom in Denmark by Andrew Bernstorff (1788).

Serfdom in Germany; the abolition of serfdom in Baden by the Margrave Charles Frederick (1783); its modification in other small states, notably in Brunswick by the Duke Charles William Ferdinand.

In the Latin countries where there was no serfdom many medieval restrictions on agriculture were removed, notably by Tanucci in Naples and Charles III in Spain.

Closely connected with the abolition of serfdom was the movement against negro slavery; Pombal abolished negro chattel slavery in Portugal (1773), but maintained it in Brazil; as the century advanced there developed an anti-slavery spirit, which was essentially Christian and Quaker in England and the American Colonies, and humanitarian in France; foundation of the Anti-Slavery Association in England (1783) and of the Société des Amis des Noirs in France (1788).

The movement against the negro slave trade and the horrors of "the middle passage"; the slave trade prohibited by the Danish government (1784), but not abolished by the English government until 1806.

The whole movement against slavery and serfdom indicated the growth of greater respect for the liberty of the individual.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED.

The most accessible books on this topic are Ingram, "History of Slavery" and Clarkson, "History of the Rise, Progress and Abolition of the Slave Trade." In French Voltaire's writings on the serfs on the Abbey of St. Claude and Condorcet's "Reflections on Negro Slavery" are the most characteristic essays.

LECTURE NINE.

The Physiocrats; Attempts to Abolish Restrictions on the Freedom of Industry and Trade; Turgot.

The school of political economists known as the Physiocrats; their fundamental ideas; the first single-taxers; their attitude with regard to agriculture; the outcome of their single-tax views was opposition to all restraint on freedom of trade.

Although the ideas of the Physiocrats rallied a large group of thinkers for freedom of trade, the movement for freedom of labor developed independently of economic theory and was associated with the general assertion of the liberty of the individual.

The shackles on freedom of labor in the eighteenth century came directly from the medieval organization of labor; continued existence of the guilds, which had done good service in the Middle Ages; disappearance of the guilds in the countries in which industry had greatly developed, as in England and the Protestant Netherlands; continuance of the guilds elsewhere.

The shackles on trade due to the monopolistic organization of trading companies.

Services rendered by the Physiocrats in concentrating attention upon the evils of restrictions on labor, manufactures and commerce.

The chief Physiocrats; Quesnay (1694–1774); Vincent de Gournay (1721–1759); the Marquis de Mirabeau (1715–1789); Mercier de la Rivière (1720–1793); Dupont de Nemours (1739–1817); Adam Smith (1723–1790) was not a Physiocrat, but had intended to dedicate his famous book "The Wealth of Nations," which was published in 1776, to Quesnay.

The attitude of the Physiocrats with regard to government; most of them believed in despotism and considered

that their ideas could best be put into effect by enlightened rulers.

The attitude of the Physiocrats with regard to taxation was generally approved, but only Charles Frederick of Baden tried to put them into effect; Joseph and Leopold adopted their ideas with regard to the abolition of restrictions on labor and trade but could not go further; Frederick the Great was absolutely opposed to the new ideas of political economy and Voltaire poured contempt on the extreme single-tax ideas of Quesnay.

The attempt of Turgot in the first eighteen months of the reign of Louis XVI to put the Physiocratic ideas into force in France; his failure.

The reforms of Turgot (b. 1727, d. 1781): his previous career and economic ideas; his attempts to reform the financial administration; opposition to his schemes; he established internal free trade in grain (September 13, 1774), and attacked all restrictions on freedom of labor and freedom of trade; his decrees replacing the *corvée*, or forced labor on the roads, by a tax and abolishing guilds passed in spite of the opposition of the Parlement of Paris (March 12, 1776); his desire to overthrow the relics of feudalism and to improve agriculture; the work of Malesherbes (1775-76); his plan of national education; dismissal of Turgot (May 13, 1776).

Some of the enlightened despots were themselves distinguished members of the Physiocratic school like Charles Frederick, Margrave of Baden, and the Grand Duke Leopold of Tuscany, while the Emperor Joseph II in Austria, Gustavus III in Sweden, Pombal in Portugal, Campomanes and Jovellanos in Spain, and the Bernstorffs in Denmark, were partisans of the new school of political economy.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED.

There is an excellent little book by H. Higgs, "The Physiocrats," which can be recommended for the study of this school of political economists, and mention should be made of W. R. Stephens, "Life

and Times of Turgot." Turgot's little book "Reflections on the Formation and Distribution of Riches" has been translated into English, 1898.

LECTURE TEN.

Efforts to Aid the Afflicted; Improvement in the Treatment of the Insane, the Deaf-Mutes and the Blind; Hospital Reform.

The humanitarian movement of the eighteenth century; tendency for the State to undertake what had hitherto been regarded as the duty of the Church in caring for the afflicted; connection between scepticism in religion and the recognition of the fraternal duties of humanity; the humanitarian writings of the eighteenth century; their effect upon the enlightened rulers and their ministers.

Reform in the treatment of the insane; the medieval attitude towards the insane and the idiotic; insanity and idiocy regarded as punishment inflicted by heaven; the treatment of those afflicted based upon the idea of driving out the devil by force or upon treatment by prayer.

The more rational treatment of the insane as diseased subjects arose in the eighteenth century after the destruction of the idea of demoniacal possession; the work of Voltaire in combating the medieval theory; decree of the Parliament of Paris declaring that insane persons were to be considered as diseased (1768).

The first steps taken by physicians in this direction; publication by Dr. Beattie of a treatise on madness in 1758; his lectures on mental diseases; improved conditions at St. Luke's hospital in London over the old practices at Bedlam.

Absence of lunatic asylums or special hospitals for the insane; the insane and idiots were confined either in prisons, or in the general hospitals, or in monasteries; the abuses prevalent in private mad houses.

Direct interest of the enlightened despots; foundation by the Emperor Joseph of the "Narrenthurm" or "Fool's Tower" in Vienna, the first building exclusively devoted to the insane in Central Europe, in 1784; interest taken by the Empress Catherine; foundation of a hospital, with a special section for lunatics, in 1777; establishment of a special building for lunatics in Moscow.

Parallel development of improved treatment for the insane in England and France; interest excited by the insanity of George III; protests against the barbarity with which lunatics were treated in England; the establishment of the York Retreat by Dr. William Tuke in 1792; separation of lunatics from the sick in Paris; the regulations of Dr. Colombier (1785); the work of Dr. Pinel (1745-1826); publication of his treatise on mental alienation (1791); his introduction of kind treatment of the insane at the Bicêtre (1793) and the Salpêtrière (1795); the reforms of Tuke and Pinel independent of each other.

Influence of Pinel in Germany; the work of Dr. Heinroth, a Saxon physician; leadership of Saxony in the reformed treatment of the insane in Germany; Heinroth's lectures at the University of Leipzig; establishment of curative asylums at Neu Ruppen (1801) and Sonnenstein (1806).

The distinction between lunatics and idiots first clearly made by Dr. Esquirol (1772-1840); the treatment of idiots in the village of Gheel, near Antwerp.

Recognition of the duty of the State to care for those partially afflicted and deprived of the rights of humanity, such as the deaf-mutes and the blind.

Early attempts to relieve the helplessness of deaf-mutes; interest taken in deaf-mutism; the establishment of private schools for wealthy patients by Amman in Amsterdam, by Pereira in Paris and by Heinicke at Leipzig; the work of the Abbé de l'Epée who established a school for deaf-mutes as a charitable institution; his system and

method of instruction; his school subsidized by Louis XVI (1778); the visit of Joseph II and establishment of a school for deaf-mutes along the lines of l'Epée's school in Vienna; spread of scientific instruction for deaf-mutes over Europe; the Abbé Sicard (1742-1822).

Organized work for the relief of the blind; Diderot's work in this direction; the career of Valentin Haüy (1745-1822); his invention of raised letters and figures; establishment of his school for the blind (1784); influence of his "Essay on the Education of the Blind," published in 1786; establishment of schools for the indigent blind at Liverpool (1791), and Edinburgh (1793), at Vienna (1804), Copenhagen (1807) and at Dresden and Amsterdam (1808); improvements made in the raised type by James Gall, Charles Barbier and Louis Braille.

Care of the sick was, during the Middle Ages, left to religious foundations; many of these were very rich, but the treatment of the patients was not efficient; patients from all sorts of disease and in all stages of disease were mingled together and there was no efficient medical treatment or nursing; in the eighteenth century the first efforts were made to develop State construction and inspection of hospitals and the first attempts to set apart wards for different diseases.

The most famous foundation of the eighteenth century was the General Hospital at Vienna, founded by the Emperor Joseph in 1784 with five departments; among other State hospitals should be noted those founded by Charles III at Naples (1750), at Munich (1742), at Wurtzburg and Bamberg (1787), at Moscow (1785), at Stockholm (1752) and at Brussels (1713).

The general discussion of hospital reform; the controversy as to large and small hospitals; the controversy as to State and religious hospitals; the discussion of hospital architecture roused by the burning of the Hôtel-Dieu at Paris (1772); Antoine Petit's book on the construction of

hospitals (1774); the development of country hospitals, especially in Sweden (1756) and Russia (1775.)

General recognition in the eighteenth century of the duty of the State to the afflicted.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED.

It is difficult to recommend books covering these topics, but reference may be made to H. C. Burdett, "Hospitals and Asylums of the World," 4 vols., London, 1891-93, which contains extensive bibliographies.

LECTURE ELEVEN.

Efforts to Aid the Unfortunate; Prison Reform; the Problem of Mendicancy; Count Rumford in Bavaria.

Humanitarian efforts to relieve the criminal and pauper classes in the eighteenth century; recognition of the fact that society was responsible for crime and poverty; attention paid by enlightened despots and ministers to the criminal and pauper classes.

Examination of the theory of punishment for crime; great and instant effect of Beccaria's work on "Crimes and Punishments," published in 1764; Voltaire's advocacy of Beccaria's ideas; reform in criminal procedure undertaken by the Empress Catherine in particular; and by the other enlightened despots; the punishment of death abolished in Tuscany by the Grand Duke Leopold.

Reform in criminal procedure; abolition of torture as a means of extracting evidence; prominence of Frederick the Great, Gustavus III of Sweden, and Frederick Augustus of Saxony in this line of reform; Beccaria and Voltaire on torture.

Prison reform; the work of John Howard (1726-1790); his travels in Europe; his interviews with the Empress Catherine and the Emperor Joseph; his books on "The

State of Prisons" (1777), (1780), (1784), and on "The Principal Lazarettos in Europe" (1789); horrible condition of the prisons of Europe as described by Howard; the confusion between debtors and criminals; the spread of gaol fever; the evil of turnkeys' fees; effect of Howard's life and work.

Reforms in prison administration; the building of model prisons in England.

The development of prison architecture and of the penitentiary system; the work of Vilain XIII (1712-1777); the building of the Penitentiary at Ghent (1772).

The problem of the treatment of the poor in the eighteenth century; during the Middle Ages poverty was not regarded as a curse and begging was encouraged rather than discouraged; the begging friars and the begging students.

In the eighteenth century distinction was made between the able-bodied poor, who were to be forced to work, and the afflicted poor, for whom the State had to provide; the campaign against mendicity or begging was supplemented by the establishment of work-houses and poor-houses.

In France decrees against mendicity in 1685, 1720 and 1724 were followed up by the establishment of houses of correction for the able-bodied paupers in 1764 and 1767; in Spain special decrees against mendicity were passed in 1745, 1751, 1759 and 1775 and public relief was centralized by Campomanes in 1778; a work-house was established in Berlin by Frederick the Great in 1742; the most complete legislation was that of Joseph II, who forbade begging in 1783 and in the same year established homes for the destitute poor in Vienna, which were followed by similar homes in Bohemia, Galicia and other provinces.

The most famous campaign against mendicity undertaken in Bavaria by Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford (1753-1814); the career of Count Rumford; the policy of

the Elector Charles Theodore of Bavaria; Count Rumford's writings on mendicity; his celebrated arrest of all the beggars in Bavaria on January 1, 1790; establishment of the House of Industry at Munich.

Earnest efforts of all the enlightened despots and their ministers to relieve poverty.

LECTURE TWELVE.

Development of Education; Organization of Charity; the Transition from Medieval to Modern Society.

Recognition by the enlightened despots and their ministers of the importance of education and particularly of primary education.

Education in the Middle Ages regarded as one of the functions of the Church in Catholic countries; and after the Reformation left to religious organizations in Protestant countries; change of point of view in the eighteenth century; education regarded as part of the duty of the State.

Reform in educational theory; the writings of Rousseau, Basedow, and Pestalozzi.

Systems of primary education attempted by the Emperor Joseph in the Austrian dominions out of the funds procured by the suppression of monasteries; by Frederick the Great in Prussia; by the Margrave Charles Frederick in Baden; by Campomanes in Spain; the plan of Malesherbes, the colleague of Turgot, for a system of national education in France.

Secondary education in Europe in the eighteenth century; establishment of special schools by the Empress Catherine and the Emperor Joseph.

Interest taken in higher education; establishment of or reorganization of universities; foundation of the Universities of Göttingen (1737); of Bonn (1777); and of Brussels (1781); reorganization of the Universities of Coimbra in Portugal by Pombal, of Siena in Tuscany by Leopold, of Parma by Du Tillot and of Salamanca by Charles III.

Establishment of special schools; the civil engineering school at Paris (1747); the school of mines at Freiberg in Saxony (1765).

The encouragement of literature, science and art through the maintenance of Academies by the enlightened despots; the eighteenth century, the age of Academies; special interest of Frederick and Catherine in this direction.

Freedom of the press established by Struensee in Denmark (1770), by Gustavus III in Sweden (1784) and by the Emperor Joseph (1783); diminution of the power of the censorship of the press in other countries.

State organization of charity in the eighteenth century; establishment of Boards of Charity in Russia (1775) to take charge of the sick poor; the general trend towards state supervision of charitable funds which had been bequeathed by pious founders in the Middle Ages.

The establishment of orphan asylums, foundling hospitals and Magdalen hospitals in various countries in Europe in the eighteenth century.

The transition of medieval to modern society was effected in Europe by the reforms of the enlightened despots and their joint recognition of new standards of administration and of the claims of humanity; therefore the civilization of continental Europe is dominated by the continental bureaucracies; therefore the keynote of modern European civilization is bureaucratic; contrast between the continental European, and the English and American systems.

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