

Voltaire's Conception of National and International Society

Lilly Lo Manto

Faced with the crumbling of their beloved Greek city-states, during the 4th century before our era, the Stoics used reason to explain their uncertain future in the huge global polis of the Macedonian empire. Two thousand years later, the economic, political and social turmoil brewing in France would foster the emergence of the French Enlightenment. Championed by the *philosophes*, this period would also look to reason to guide national and international security. Indeed, eighteenth century France was a society in ferment. After the death of Louis XIV, in 1715, the succeeding kings, Louis XV and XVI, found themselves periodically confronted, primarily by the *parlements*, with an increasing rejection of the absolutist claims and ministerial policies of the throne.¹ Like his Stoic forefathers, François Marie Arouet (1694-1778), otherwise known as "Voltaire", extolled the merits of reason and tolerance,² believing that the world would be a better place if men only behaved rationally.³ His primary focus was peace; how to obtain, preserve and propagate it. In order to comprehend Voltaire's conception of world peace, this essay will analyze what he believed to be its foundations, namely: the rights and roles of individuals based on their social class, and the role of an ideal state which would foster domestic harmony. According to Voltaire, the key to obtaining international peace stemmed from the relationship between the individual and the State. The relationship between the individual and the state, outlined in the Social Contract, could only succeed if man maintained his role and exercised his rights while the state assured him of his fundamental liberties. Fulfillment of the Social Contract meant that national security achieved by the state would contribute to greater international stability through the maintenance of a balance of power, the adoption of a commercial diplomacy, and the replacement of mercantilism with free trade. Consequently, in Voltaire's view the implementation of all these factors would lead to the avoidance of war between nations and to international harmony.

The Roles and Rights of the Individual

Voltaire believed that the creation of peace began at the local level with the individual's fulfillment and exercise of his respective roles and rights. Although he viewed man to be the primary unit of social organization, Voltaire did not regard all people as equal. In fact, the individuals constituting the monarchy, the property-owning class and the masses all had designated roles and rights associated with their social rank. Nonetheless, he maintained that all individuals share a limited number of rights and obligations. Among the most important of these shared rights is that of the individual's freedom to choose his homeland, a liberty he regarded as a natural right. Voltaire agreed with the Greek poet/dramatist Euripides that one's homeland is "wherever one feels happy and at ease," and that the pursuit of happiness may be fulfilled only through a sense of liberty and security. He believed that national affection depended both on the treatment the individual received in his native land and on the strength of his human ties, as

suggested by the following statement: “si vous aviez à vous plaindre de votre patrie, vous feriez très bien d’en accepter une autre.”⁴ Secondly, Voltaire advocated the right of legal equality for all men, regardless of their social position. In his work, *Essay on the Manners and Minds of Nations*, Voltaire distinguished this form of equality from others by stating, “this word does not mean the absurd and impossible equality by which servant and master...are lumped together on the same level; but the equality of the citizen before the laws he can count upon to defend the liberty of the weak against the ambition of the strong.”⁵

Among the roles he believed all citizens should fulfill in order to guarantee the well being of the nation, that of the ‘taxpayer’ was the most important. In fact, on the subject of taxation Voltaire insisted, “every social class owes its part to the state and has an obligation to fulfill its responsibilities.”⁶ He felt that individuals who were unable to pay their taxes due to misfortune, personal greed or religious interests and were subsequently unable to contribute to the welfare of their fellow man, suffered a material break in their bond with their nation. Voltaire also asserted that contribution to the welfare of humanity depended on an obligation to defend until death those laws that guaranteed all members the equal possession of the natural rights.⁷

He believed that uniting the bourgeois and workers would not protect the natural rights of masses, instead he stressed the duties of the monarchy, the governing few, to fulfill their obligations to the citizens. Ultimately, he looked upon the enlightenment of the sovereign as the most direct means of achieving national improvement.⁸ Voltaire defined this ideal leader as the *législateur de goût*, a view that emerged out of the political struggles and constitutional debates of the mid-eighteenth century, according to David A. Wisner. This ideal legislator would make or rebuild society through laws that would echo natural law; he would be expected to correct political and moral vice by restoring human conduct back to its natural moral standard and was to inspire his fellow citizens to obey his laws by convincing them that by so doing they would be happier, better and more free. In his historical works, Voltaire portrays Louis XIV and Peter the Great as great legislator kings.⁹ In *Henriade*, Henri IV is portrayed as the protector of the French people whose passion for his homeland overcame warfare and religious opposition. Voltaire praised Peter I, Czar of Russia for his achievements as an innovator, statesman, organizer and legislator.¹⁰ He placed the *philosophe* on the same level as the monarch, in terms of fulfilling the role of legislator. He believed that, by becoming spokesmen in general cultural matters, the *philosophes* could also legislate. He explains this idea in a letter to fellow *philosophe* Helvétius: “c’est l’intérêt du roy, c’est celui de l’état que les philosophes gouvernant la société... notre morale est meilleure que la leur, notre conduite plus respectable.”¹¹ Voltaire also saw the head of state as a free agent who needed to be enlightened. In 1726, during his banishment to England, Voltaire enlarged his conception of the role of monarch to include the legal guardian of the constitution. In 1740, in a letter to the Maréchal of Schullembourg he wrote that an ideal ruler would “abstain from conquest and political warfare” and that such an individual would make international peace his cardinal virtue. In the same year, Voltaire would find the incarnation of his ideal legislator in Prince Frederick, whose work, *Anti-Machiavelli*, expressed his views on the futility of war and the kingly duty of maintaining world harmony.¹²

Voltaire was well aware of the importance of the property owners, or the bourgeoisie, who were imposing their values on society with increasing force by using commerce and education as tools for societal change.¹³ He shared the opinion of many *philosophes* that those in

the merchant class were the most obvious promoters of national well-being.¹⁴ Voltaire concluded that France's economic growth was "due more to the work of financiers such as Jacques Coeur than to the hallucinations of the Maid of Orléans, Joan of Arc."¹⁵ He vehemently supported the education of the bourgeoisie who he viewed as a pivotal class in the social structure. Voltaire believed that the ownership of property bonded the owner to his country both economically and socially because, in his opinion, the owner had become a direct shareholder in the holdings of his community and of his nation. Voltaire felt that the property owner fulfilled his Social contract through either the cultivation of his land, or by servicing the communal life of the state, thus gaining within the social framework of the nation certain material benefits that would allow for a more effective means of pursuing his happiness. Therefore, the *philosophe's* conception of the property owner was that of an intellectually and ethically mature individual who could and should be granted a voice in the affairs of his community so that he may effectively contribute to its prosperity, security and stability.¹⁶

His conception of the ideal property-owner was modeled after the British merchant, Everard Faulkener, in whose home he had resided. In fact, Faulkener inspired his sarcastic phrase, "I do not know who is more useful to the state: a well-powdered *seigneur* who considers himself a noble in playing the role of a slave in the antechamber of a minister, or the merchant who, giving orders from Sural to Cariso, enriches his country and contributes to the welfare of the world."¹⁷ Voltaire's aristocratic prejudices afforded him the conviction that only an educated minority could maximize the well-being of the government.¹⁸

Contradictions in Voltaire's philosophy are most apparent with regards to the roles and rights of the poor. Firstly, he refers to the artisan, the worker and the destitute as 'the masses' instead of as individuals. Secondly, although Voltaire believed that all men possessed the faculty of reason,¹⁹ he had been known to remark cynically that had God not existed it would have been necessary to invent him for the masses.²⁰ This implies that, for Voltaire, 'the masses' lacked the ability to reason. God thus becomes, as he explained, a necessity for the maintenance of order. Voltaire expresses this thought by saying "Quel autre frein pouvait-on mettre à la cupidité... que l'idée d'un maître éternel que nous voit et que jugera jusqu'à nos plus secretes pensées."²¹ Indeed, he feared the anti-bourgeois sentiment of the unenlightened masses.²²

Amongst scholars there exists differing opinions of what Voltaire felt to be the rights and the role of the poor within society. For example, author Owen Aldridge explains that Voltaire protested against social injustice and crusaded against all forms of oppression and persecution.²³ On the other hand, author Harold J. Laski maintains that the *philosophe* felt that the perpetuation of the uninstructed masses was essential because he feared the social consequences of popular enlightenment. Laski supports his belief by citing a letter Voltaire wrote to Damilaville that explained that anyone who owned property and needed servants would think that leaving the masses uneducated was essential. He wanted the power of reason to extend from important citizens to the poorer masses gradually. Laski stresses that the changes Voltaire demanded, in particular the natural rights encompassing the liberty of person and property, freedom of speech and press, liberty to worship God in one's way and trial by jury, be reserved for the prosperous bourgeoisies.²⁴ Voltaire dismissed equality saying with resignation "on our miserable globe it is impossible for men living in society not to be divided into two classes, one the rich who command, the other the poor who serve."²⁵ In *The Philosophic Dictionary*, Voltaire explained

that social inequality was the outcome of man's painful struggle for survival and that social equality could only exist in a world where all individuals were free of wants and needs. He accepted men's dependence on other men and the resulting subordination that left 'the masses' with little to no rights to enjoy or productive societal roles to fulfill.²⁶

The Role of the State and Ideal Form of Government

The individual achieved his role and practiced his rights within the nation state, which, according to Voltaire was a human invention.²⁷ It was within this artificial entity that the Social Contract, a mutually beneficial relationship, that involved the exchange of rights and duties between the state and the citizen, was realized and domestic peace secured. If the Social Contract failed, the individual would find himself with no nation upon which to depend for the defense of his fundamental liberties. Voltaire went so far as to view the Social Contract as an ethical obligation between the state and the citizen.²⁸ He did not regard liberty as an attribute of human nature but as a gift of culture inseparable from civilized society.²⁹ The individual would only obtain liberty if he and the state fulfilled their mutual obligation towards one another. Ultimately, this political partnership would arrive through the voluntary will of the citizen. Therefore, membership into a nation was not an obligation but a choice each individual made, stemming from the bond of mutual fulfillments of rights and duties.³⁰

Voltaire explained: "On a une patrie sous un bon roi; on n'en a pas sous un méchant"; once the state violated the rights of its citizens, the Social Contract would be broken, security would be threatened, and the individuals would fail to have a homeland.³¹ The function of *la patrie*, according to him, was not to bestow national character but to assure the individual of his fundamental liberties.³² Thus, the state is of utmost importance to the individual because he relies on its political organization for his well-being and for the enjoyment of his rights. Consequently, laws must regulate political society.³³ These laws would preserve and guarantee all individuals, regardless of class, their rights as members of humanity.³⁴ Furthermore, the laws should protect what Voltaire thought to be among the most fundamental of natural rights, that of property. He believed that the nation was organized to shield the individual from any unnecessary physical harm, and to protect his private property.³⁵ These laws would be best implemented by a regime with some degree of popular sovereignty, through the decisive action of a leader.³⁶

The government was the vehicle by which the state fulfilled its part of the Social Contract; its task resided in restoring men to an equal footing with respect to the laws of the state. Its national policies would promote equal opportunity and would place the economic burden through taxation on those who were most capable of paying, thus rewarding ability, and fostering peace. In his work, *Thoughts on Government*, Voltaire maintained that "the best government would seem to be one under which all classes of men are equally protected by law" and, more specifically, entitled to trial by jury.³⁷ He thought he may have found this form of government in the English model, believing that the process that had started in Ancient Greece had been perfected in England.³⁸ In the British constitutional monarchy, Voltaire saw the closest approximation of how he believed a nation should protect the individual.³⁹ In fact, he was so drawn to the British checks and balance parliamentary system, that it gave him a standard by which to compare the functioning of government in his homeland.⁴⁰ However, Voltaire's

pessimism about human nature made him doubt the feasibility of popular self-government in France.⁴¹ Author Harold J. Laski explains that, even if Voltaire “sees no case against republicanism or democracy, he thinks men rarely worthy to govern themselves.”⁴² Owen A. Aldridge adds that although Voltaire “wanted governments to exercise reason and monarchies to foster learning, despite his occasional reference to ‘republican principles’, he had no conception of universal literacy and had not desire to see power in the hands of the people.”⁴³

Voltaire ultimately found a compromise in both enlightened despotism and constitutional monarchy⁴⁴ saying, in the opening pages of *Le Siècle de Louis XIV*: “il faut, pour qu’un Etat soit puissant, ou que le peuple ait une liberté fondée sur les lois, ou que l’autorité souveraine soit affermie sans contradiction.”⁴⁵ He praised China’s despotism as a model of a secular and human civilization, admiring both the efficiency of China’s laws, which ensured the protection of property and the peoples’ well-being, and what he saw as China’s humane and simple religion free of intolerance and superstition.⁴⁶ Particularly, Voltaire admired China’s political stability that preserved the state and stemmed from the regime’s despotic ability to secure blind obedience from its people.⁴⁷ Although he would remove the hereditary privileges of the aristocracy,⁴⁸ and a traditional justice-oriented model of the legislator and/or an enlightened despotism,⁴⁹ he adamantly believed that by providing the individual his rights and his well-being, the state guaranteed a secure, prosperous and harmonious environment.⁵⁰

Conception of International Society – Adoption and Maintenance of World Peace

Domestically stable states would provide an arena where the great discoveries of the laws of nature, which had taken place in the previous century, could be followed by a discovery of laws of social order that would make possible the establishment of a peaceful and prosperous world. This conviction that the era of great change was approaching was primarily due to Voltaire’s belief in progress. He thought that progress would arrive through the growth of sciences, arts, morality, laws, commerce and industry. Voltaire viewed wars as one of the great obstacles to world progress, believing that if wars were abolished, the world would rapidly improve.⁵¹ He believed that the homeland would be best served not by the belligerent addition of new territories to her borders, but by a policy of peaceful cooperation with other members of the European family of nations. Indeed, Voltaire so ardently felt that the French, the English and the Austrians were all children of a common European heritage of laws, customs and ethical standards that the annexation of another nation by force was contrary to the author’s whole philosophy.⁵² However, he did not share the enlightened optimistic view of his day that war could be eliminated from earth.⁵³ Nonetheless, in his work, *L’A.B.C.*, Voltaire rejected Hobbes’ belief that the natural state of man is one of belligerence, saying “If the natural state of man were war, all men would slaughter one another...war is therefore not the essence of the human being.” He sees the problem as an educational one, believing that if man was educated his behaviour would radically change.⁵⁴

In *The Philosophic Dictionary*, Voltaire deemed wars of aggression to be the ‘epitome of all evils and the scourge of civilization’. He explained in the *Essay on the Manners and Minds of Nations* that material conquest could drain the victorious nation of both energy and resources.⁵⁵ Voltaire argues that a nation’s riches were defined by its labour and demography,

not by the simple quantity of precious metals it possessed within its borders; adding that to empower a nation, money should be distributed within the state for works of public utility instead of being wasted away on wars.⁵⁶

Having spent many years of his life with foreign and French diplomats, Voltaire held both a critical and constructive attitude to the study of foreign affairs. He maintained that foreign ministers and their rulers all too often followed their petty passions or megalomania for glory in the conduct of international relations.⁵⁷ He believed that a simple whim of a king or one of his favorite subjects would be enough to provoke the most bloody international conflicts.⁵⁸ In his work, *History of Charles XII*, Voltaire appealed directly to his king, using the historical figure of Charles XII as an example of the futility of military conquest. Later, he returned to this theme in *The Century of Louis XIV*, expressing the view that throughout the warring years France had been drained of its citizens and material resources.⁵⁹ He also professed skepticism towards the concept of war as a valid political instrument.⁶⁰ Subsequently, Voltaire became disgusted with those who supported the theory of preventive war, describing it as "this scourge and crime which includes all other scourges and crimes, this universal mania which desolates the world."⁶¹

According to Voltaire, the only just war was a defensive war, which he interpreted as a struggle for national survival against direct attack. Instead of preventative war, he urges that a state immediately adopt the diplomatic, social and military methods of its stronger neighbour. Since Voltaire viewed war to be inevitable, his answers to the threat of military assault lay in the military preparation of stockpiling arsenals and above all maintaining the balance of power. He was a great champion of the theory of the balance of power, even though he maintained that the conservation of an equal distribution of opposing forces was practically impossible on the continent. Therefore, Voltaire was shocked at the attempted destruction of Holland by Louis XIV; he viewed Holland as a useful member of the family of nations and thus felt the act to have gone completely against the interest of humanity.⁶²

Voltaire also attributed the lack of world peace to the moral autonomy that the nation-state had begun to assume by the eighteenth century, a reality he blamed on the diplomacy conducted during his time, which was mainly driven by mercantilist ambitions. His complaint was that the existing political-military diplomacy's goal of amassing wealth prevented the establishment of peace. Although Voltaire called for a commercial diplomacy that would replace this practice, he did recognize a need for formal diplomats and entertained hopes that an elite corps of international civil servants might guide foreign relations in the future. This would involve the recruitment of progressive ministers who would replace those few already scattered around the world representing princes and rulers.⁶³ Voltaire vehemently maintained that mercantilism was one of the greatest instigators of war and an obstacle to world peace. The reigning mercantilist view held that war and monetary wealth were closely interrelated, because a nation's monetary richness permitted the preparation of its army in an era when the military had become almost exclusively mercenary. Money permitted the creation of alliances with partners that would otherwise have no other reason to enter into conflict.⁶⁴ He was particularly interested in seeing the abolition of mercenary troops and standing armies as a step towards international peace and security.⁶⁵ On the other hand, Voltaire held certain mercantilist views, arguing that exports should exceed imports and that imports should be heavily taxed. He believed that the exportation of money to foreign powers was the economic factor that

impoverished a nation. Also, he approved of colonies when they functioned to supply the mother country with primary resources, thereby helping the citizens of the colonial power by supplying them with needed material that otherwise would have been purchased from abroad.⁶⁶

However, Voltaire recognized that the eighteenth century economic reality had outdistanced the legal and institutional framework of society, saying in *Le Siècle de Louis XIV*: “we exhaust ourselves in money and manpower, so that we can go destroy each other at the extremities of Asia and America.” He insisted that free trade between domestically stable countries was among the best methods of developing world peace.⁶⁷ However, he believed free markets between nations and tariff reductions were an impossible realization in the eighteenth century, because he felt its functioning would require agreements between all powers to pursue similar policies. Open commerce was an important tool for the *rapprochement* between nations and a deterrent to hostility and aggression. A consequence of free trade would be to direct the efforts of various nations not at mutual destruction, but towards helping each other to secure wanted commodities that rendered life more pleasant. In his work, *The Century of Louis XV*, he expressed this belief by stating: “commerce should be the bond between nations. It should console the earth and not lead to the earth’s devastation.”⁶⁸ Forgetting the frequent Anglo-Dutch animosities over commerce, he pointed out Holland, Venice and England as examples of commercial interdependence that fostered a spirit of tolerance and peace. In fact, he insisted that England and Holland, like Venice, were “republics [where] toleration is the fruit of liberty and the origin of happiness and abundance.”⁶⁹

Lastly, despite his skepticism concerning the ineffective proposals for a uniform law of nations, Voltaire called for the development of international law to guide peaceful relations among states.⁷⁰ He believed in natural law as a way to govern all men with its basic principle “do what you would have others do unto you,”⁷¹ and felt that this should be logically extended to relations between nations.⁷² Voltaire understood that reason did not always govern all nations, at all times. He did, however, support reason as the norm to which all nations should aspire, and by which all national achievements can be assessed. Reason would allow for a Voltarian vision of international peace and world progress: the active collaboration of Europe’s nations that would create a partnership in science and subsequently a united effort to apply the knowledge to the welfare of mankind.⁷³

Conclusion

While in the twentieth century, international relations theory would become more preoccupied with the maintenance, adoption and propagation of peace; Voltaire had already recognized its importance in the eighteenth century. He maintained that international peace was impossible without first obtaining a domestic harmony through the realization of the Social Contract, the key to national security. This relationship that the individual shared with the state was a voluntary one, because the Social Contract entailed mutual benefits for both parties. Man fulfilled his obligations by maintaining his role in society and exercising his rights, which differed considerably according to social rank. Voltaire’s state was an artificial entity that existed solely to protect the individual’s natural rights. These liberties included protection of the person, property, trial by jury, freedom of speech, press and worship. He was most enthusiastic

about the English model of parliamentary government because, in his eyes, it aspired towards the common good of all its inhabitants. His proposed remedy for overcoming the chaos of French politics wavered between enlightened despotism and constitutional monarchy. For Voltaire, domestic stability would foster peace among sovereign European states that belonged to a common heritage of laws. He blamed war, the military-political diplomacy of his time, and the ever-increasing moral autonomy of states for the lack of international stability. All these factors were the results of mercantilist ambitions. While the concept of balance of power was championed as the principal method to create peace, the adoption of a new commercial diplomacy and an international system of laws could also help to maintain peace. Unfortunately, as we can see today, the replacement of mercantilism with free trade and the adoption of a liberal commercial diplomacy by international actors have not erased the reality of armed conflict. The question, therefore, remains: why do countries that enjoy internal harmony, practice democratic forms of government, and loudly preach 'governance through reason' still feel it necessary to engage in war?

Notes

- ¹ Wisner, David A. The Cult of the Legislator in France 1750-1830; A Study in the Political Theology of the French Enlightenment. Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 352. Oxford: Voltaire foundation, 1997. 2.
- ²
- ³ Bersterman, Theodore. Voltaire. New York: Brace & World, 1969. 300.
- ⁴ Rowe, Constance. Voltaire and the State. New York: Octagon Books, 1968. vii, 89, 199.
- ⁵ Ibid, 98.
- ⁶ Aldridge, Owen A. Voltaire and the Century of Light. New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1975. 180.
- ⁷ Rowe, Constance. Voltaire and the State. New York: Octagon Books, 1968. 69, 90.
- ⁸ Ibid, 70-71, 79.
- ⁹ Wisner, David A. The Cult of the Legislator in France 1750-1830; A Study in the Political Theology of the French Enlightenment. Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 352. Oxford: Voltaire foundation, 1997. 3, 32, 37, 44, 47.
- ¹⁰ Rowe, Constance. Voltaire and the State. New York: Octagon Books, 1968. 75, 81-82.
- ¹¹ Wisner, David A. The Cult of the Legislator in France 1750-1830; A Study in the Political Theology of the French Enlightenment. Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 352. Oxford: Voltaire foundation, 1997. 42-43.
- ¹² Rowe, Constance. Voltaire and the State. New York: Octagon Books, 1968. 43, 76, 80-82.
- ¹³ Lively, Jack. "The Europe of the Enlightenment." History of European ideas. 1.2 (1981): 91.
- ¹⁴ Schlereth, Thomas. The Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought: Its Form and Function in the Ideas of Franklin, Hume, and Voltaire, 1694-1790. London: Notre Dame UP, 1977. 100.
- ¹⁵ O'Connell, David. Voltaire Revisited. New York: Georgia State UP, 2000. 140.
- ¹⁶ Rowe, Constance. Voltaire and the State. New York: Octagon Books, 1968. 88-89, 96.
- ¹⁷ Schlereth, Thomas. The Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought: Its Form and Function in the Ideas of Franklin, Hume, and Voltaire, 1694-1790. London: Notre Dame UP, 1977. 101.
- ¹⁸ Barber, Elinor. The Bourgeoisie in 18th Century France. New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1967. 70.
- ¹⁹ Rowe, Constance. Voltaire and the State. New York: Octagon Books, 1968. 95.
- ²⁰ Barber, Elinor. The Bourgeoisie in 18th Century France. New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1967. 49.
- ²¹ Laski, Harold J. "The Enlightenment: A Bourgeois Ideaology." Political Theory and Ideology. Ed. Judith N. Shklar, New York: Macmillan, 1966. 82.

- ²² Schlereth, Thomas. The Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought: Its Form and Function in the Ideas of Franklin, Hume, and Voltaire, 1694-1790. London: Notre Dame UP, 1977. 116.
- ²³ Aldridge, Owen A. Voltaire and the Century of Light. New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1975. 4, 217.
- ²⁴ Laski, Harold J. "The Enlightenment: A Bourgeois Ideaology." Political Theory and Ideology. Ed. Judith N. Shklar, New York: Macmillan, 1966. 83-84.
- ²⁵ Lakoff, Sanford. "Socialism from Antiquity to Marx." Dictionary of History of Ideas. 4 vols. New York: Scribner's 1972. 288.
- ²⁶ Rowe, Constance. Voltaire and the State. New York: Octagon Books, 1968. 97.
- ²⁷ Schlereth, Thomas. The Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought: Its Form and Function in the Ideas of Franklin, Hume, and Voltaire, 1694-1790. London: Notre Dame UP, 1977. 104.
- ²⁸ Rowe, Constance. Voltaire and the State. New York: Octagon Books, 1968. x, 6, 70, 91.
- ²⁹ Pappé, Hellmut. "Enlightenment." Dictionary of History of Ideas. 4 vols. New York: Scribner's. 1972. 94.
- ³⁰ Rowe, Constance. Voltaire and the State. New York: Octagon Books, 1968. 12.
- ³¹ Ibid 12, 62, 199.
- ³² Schlereth, Thomas. The Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought: Its Form and Function in the Ideas of Franklin, Hume, and Voltaire, 1694-1790. London: Notre Dame UP, 1977. 219.
- ³³ Wisner, David A. The Cult of the Legislator in France 1750-1830: A Study in the Political Theology of the French Enlightenment. Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 352. Oxford: Voltaire foundation, 1997. 4.
- ³⁴ Rowe, Constance. Voltaire and the State. New York: Octagon Books, 1968. 98.
- ³⁵ Ibid, 87-88, 98.
- ³⁶ Wisner, David A. The Cult of the Legislator in France 1750-1830: A Study in the Political Theology of the French Enlightenment. Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 352. Oxford: Voltaire foundation, 1997. 4.
- ³⁷ Rowe, Constance. Voltaire and the State. New York: Octagon Books, 1968. 6, 98-99.
- ³⁸ Pappé, Hellmut. "Enlightenment." Dictionary of History of Ideas. 4 vols. New York: Scribner's. 1972. 94.
- ³⁹ Rowe, Constance. Voltaire and the State. New York: Octagon Books, 1968. 32-33.
- ⁴⁰ Graubard, Stephan. "Democracy." Dictionary of History of Ideas. 4 vols. New York: Scribner's 1972. 657.
- ⁴¹ Barber, Elinor. The Bourgeoisie in 18th Century France. New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1967. 69-70.
- ⁴² Laski, Harold J. "The Enlightenment: A Bourgeois Ideaology." Political Theory and Ideology. Ed. Judith N. Shklar, New York: Macmillan, 1966. 82.
- ⁴³ Aldridge, Owen A. Voltaire and the Century of Light. New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1975. 289.
- ⁴⁴ Barber, Elinor. The Bourgeoisie in 18th Century France. New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1967. 69-70.
- ⁴⁵ Wisner, David A. The Cult of the Legislator in France 1750-1830: A Study in the Political Theology of the French Enlightenment. Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 352. Oxford: Voltaire foundation, 1997. 46-47.
- ⁴⁶ Bailey, Paul. "Voltaire and Confucius: French Attitudes towards China in the Early Twentieth Century." History of European Ideas 14.6 (1992): 817, 820.
- ⁴⁷ Laski, Harold J. "The Enlightenment: A Bourgeois Ideaology." Political Theory and Ideology. Ed. Judith N. Shklar, New York: Macmillan, 1966. 87.
- ⁴⁸ Richter, Mervin. "Despotism." Dictionary of History of Ideas. 4 vols. New York: Scribner's 1972. 11.
- ⁴⁹ Wisner, David A. The Cult of the Legislator in France 1750-1830: A Study in the Political Theology of the French Enlightenment. Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 352. Oxford: Voltaire foundation, 1997. 47.
- ⁵⁰ Rowe, Constance. Voltaire and the State. New York: Octagon Books, 1968. 89, 94.
- ⁵¹ Ginsberg, Morris. "Progress in the Modern Era." Dictionary of History of Ideas. 4 vols. New York: Scribner's, 1972. 638.
- ⁵² Rowe, Constance. Voltaire and the State. New York: Octagon Books, 1968. 7, 86, 137.
- ⁵³ Schlereth, Thomas. The Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought: Its Form and Function in the Ideas of Franklin, Hume, and Voltaire, 1694-1790. London: Notre Dame UP, 1977. 117.
- ⁵⁴ Mori, Massimo. "L'illuminismo franceses e il problema della guerra." Revista de Filosofia 65 (1974): 149-150.
- ⁵⁵ Rowe, Constance. Voltaire and the State. New York: Octagon Books, 1968. 135.

- ⁵⁶ Mori, Massimo. "L'illuminismo franceses e il problmea della guerra." Revista de Filosofia 65 (1974): 165.
- ⁵⁷ Schlereth, Thomas. The Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought: Its Form and Function in the Ideas of Franklin, Hume, and Voltaire, 1694-1790. London: Notre Dame UP, 1977. 110, 208.
- ⁵⁸ Mori, Massimo. "L'illuminismo franceses e il problmea della guerra." Revista de Filosofia 65 (1974): 157.
- ⁵⁹ Rowe, Constance. Voltaire and the State. New York: Octagon Books, 1968. 79-80, 142.
- ⁶⁰ Mori, Massimo. "L'illuminismo franceses e il problmea della guerra." Revista de Filosofia 65 (1974): 161.
- ⁶¹ Schlereth, Thomas. The Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought: Its Form and Function in the Ideas of Franklin, Hume, and Voltaire, 1694-1790. London: Notre Dame UP, 1977. 117, 120.
- ⁶² Rowe, Constance. Voltaire and the State. New York: Octagon Books, 1968. 141, 149, 153.
- ⁶³ Schlereth, Thomas. The Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought: Its Form and Function in the Ideas of Franklin, Hume, and Voltaire, 1694-1790. London: Notre Dame UP, 1977. 114-116.
- ⁶⁴ Mori, Massimo. "L'illuminismo franceses e il problmea della guerra." Revista de Filosofia 65 (1974): 163.
- ⁶⁵ Schlereth, Thomas. The Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought: Its Form and Function in the Ideas of Franklin, Hume, and Voltaire, 1694-1790. London: Notre Dame UP, 1977. 117.
- ⁶⁶ Rowe, Constance. Voltaire and the State. New York: Octagon Books, 1968. 159, 167.
- ⁶⁷ Schlereth, Thomas. The Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought: Its Form and Function in the Ideas of Franklin, Hume, and Voltaire, 1694-1790. London: Notre Dame UP, 1977. 99-100.
- ⁶⁸ Rowe, Constance. Voltaire and the State. New York: Octagon Books, 1968. 129-130, 158.
- ⁶⁹ Schlereth, Thomas. The Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought: Its Form and Function in the Ideas of Franklin, Hume, and Voltaire, 1694-1790. London: Notre Dame UP, 1977. 102.
- ⁷⁰ Ibid, 120.
- ⁷¹ Aldridge, Owen A. Voltaire and the Century of Light. New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1975. 140.
- ⁷² Rowe, Constance. Voltaire and the State. New York: Octagon Books, 1968. 144.
- ⁷³ Rowe, Constance. Voltaire and the State. New York: Octagon Books, 1968. 163.

Works Cited

- Aldridge, Owen A. Voltaire and the Century of Light. New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1975.
- Bailey, Paul. "Voltaire and Confucius: French Attitudes towards China in the Early Twentieth Century." History of European Ideas 14.6 (1992): 817-838.
- Barber, Elinor. The Bourgeoisie in 18th Century France. New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1967.
- Bersterman, Theodore. Voltaire. New York: Brace & World, 1969.
- Ginsberg, Morris. "Progress in the Modern Era." Dictionary of History of Ideas. 4 vols. New York: Scribner's, 1972.
- Graubard, Stephan. "Democracy." Dictionary of History of Ideas. 4 vols. New York: Scribner's 1972.
- Lakoff, Sanford. "Socialism from Antiquity to Marx." Dictionary of History of Ideas. 4 vols. New York: Scribner's 1972.
- Laski, Harold J. "The Enlightenment: A Bourgeois Ideaology." Political Theory and Ideology. Ed. Judith N. Shklar, New York: Macmillan, 1966.
- Lively, Jack. "The Europe of the Enlightenment." History of European ideas. 1.2 (1981): 91-102
- Mori, Massimo. "L'illuminismo franceses e il problmea della guerra." Revista de

Filosofia 65 (1974) : 145-187.

O'Connell, David. Voltaire Revisited. New York : Georgia State UP, 2000.

Pappe, Hellmut. "Enlightenment." Dictionary of History of Ideas. 4vols. New York: Scribner's. 1972.

Richter, Mervin. "Despotism." Dictionary of History of Ideas. 4vols. New York: Scriber's, 1972.

Rowe, Constance. Voltaire and the State. New York: Octagon Books, 1968.

Schlereth, Thomas. The Cosmopolitan Ideal in enlightenment though: Its Form and Function in the Ideas of Franklin, Hume, and Voltaire, 1694-1790. London Notre Dame UP, 1977.

Wisner, David A. The Cult of the Legislator in France 1750-1830: A Study in the Political Theology of the French Enlightenment. Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 352. Oxford: Voltaire foundation, 1997.