The ordinary clergymen were supposed to live in the monasteries and conduct the spiritual services. They came from the lower classes. Their income was so meagre that they faced great difficulty in leading a normal life. These priests were against the Archbishops

b) Second Estate or Nobility

This section consisted of the nobility and aristocrats. This class was also exempted from paying taxes and it acquired wealth from the land owned.

The second estate comprised about 2% of the French population and controlled 30% of its land.

c) Third Estate or Commoners.

This section of the society constituted about 97% of the total population. This class suffered from inequality and great social and economic disparity. This was not a homogenous group. It included i)Big businessmen, merchants, court officials, lawyers etc. ii) Peasants and artisans, iii) Small peasants, landless labour, servants. Most of the taxes were paid by the third estate



A picture of Higher Clergy



A picture of Third Estate



A picture of labour of Third Estate

Economic Conditions

The economy of France was primarily based on agriculture. Peasants of France bore the burden of taxation.

Taxes were of two types: Direct (land tax, income tax, property tax) and Indirect (salt, home and tobacco).

There were two main types of indirect taxes that a peasant had to pay:

- i) **Tithe**—paid to church
- ii) **Taille** paid to the state.

Do you know?

THIRD ESTATE- Members of only this estate were taxed. They had to pay various kinds of taxes like Tithe and Taille and innumerable direct and indirect taxes. There was an old French saying, "The clergy pray for all, the nobles fight for all, the common people pay for all."

Tithe- Paid to Church: the peasants had to pay one-tenth of their annual income to the church. It originated as a voluntary form of tax on land. However, over the time it became a compulsory burden.

Taille- Paid to the State: it was widespread and varied according to local custom and was generally levied by the king or lord on his subjects or on the lands or other property they held. It was also applicable on the articles used in everyday consumption like salt and tobacco. The percentage of tillage changed from year to year and was decided upon by the king







Activity

Observe the pictures and try to analyse them with the help of your class teaher.



Rising Middle Class: Intellectual Movement

At the same time, a belief had begun to take hold that a solution to the worsening situation in France could be found in acquiring knowledge. To educate people, broadsheets with information were published regularly. These were then brought together in the form of encyclopedias.

The educated people were aware of the American Revolution and the Enlightenment Movement in Europe. Some leaders of the American Revolution like Benjamin Franklin were in contact with the French Intellectuals and stayed in Paris.

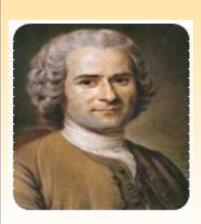
Enlightenment: Age of Reason

The 18th century has been called the "Age of Reason". The French philosophers asserted that man was not born to suffer as Christianity preached, but he was born to be happy. The man can attain happiness if reason is allowed to destroy prejudice. They either denied the existence of God or ignored Him and asserted the doctrine of 'Nature' and understood its laws and faith in 'Reason'.



Voltaire (1694-1778)

Through his writings, he exposed the high-handedness of the clergy and the nobles. He believed that all religions are absurd and contrary to reason. This fed the fires of the Revolution. The ideas envisaging a society based on the freedom and equal laws and opportunities were put forward by philosophers like Locke.



Rousseau (1712-1778)

He raised voice against arbitrary and tyrannical rule and propounded the concept of democracy. He asserted the doctrine of popular sovereignty. He said 'Man is born free, yet everywhere he is in chains'. He talked of the 'State of Nature, when man was free and said that freedom was lost following the emergence of wealth. He recognized it as a necessary evil. In his 'Social Contract', he guaranteed the freedom, equality and happiness, which man had enjoyed in the State of Nature. On purely administrative grounds also, he considered democracy as the best form of government. He asserted that the king should hold office only so long as he enjoyed the confidence of the people.



Montesquieu(1689-1755)

The philosopher and the writer Montesquieu challenged the theory of Divine Right of the King and insisted the kind of government that is best suited to the people and outlined the principles of constitutional monarchy. He proposed a division of power within the government between legislative, executive and judiciary. This model of government was put into force in the USA after the American War of Independence.

The French took the ideas of freedom and equality and got together to fight for them. The intellectuals of France like Voltaire, Rousseau and Montesquieu highlighted the excesses of the government and other privileged classes and aroused people's feelings against the prevailing inequalities.

Beginning of the Revolution: Meeting of the Estates-General: May 5, 1789



Meeting of the Estate General: May 5, 1789 that as a whole, where each member would have one vote.

To deal with the Financial Crisis Louis XVI called the Estates General to pass the proposals for new taxes. All the three Estates represented during voting in the Estates General. In the past it had been conducted according to the principle that each Estate had one vote. This meeting was earlier called in 1614 A.D.This time too Louis XVI was determined to continue the same practice. But the members of the Third Estate demanded that the voting be conducted by the assembly

This was one of the democratic principles and paved the way for further development of the French Revolution. At this juncture, there were three courses Louis XVI decided to follow the last course. The members of the Third Estate walked out of the assembly in protest. The assembly was organized with the intention of addressing the Third Estate issues, instead became the spark to the fuel.

The Tennis Court Oath 20th June 1789

On 17 June,1789, the Third Estate claiming to represent the nation's population and declared itself as constituting National Assembly. the National Assembly also issued 'Declaration of the Rights of Man' and Citizens

The Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizens

- 1. It specified the equality of all men before law.
- 2. Eligibility of all citizens for public offices.
- 3. Freedom from arrest or punishment without proven cause.
- 4. Freedom of speech and Freedom of Press.
- 5. The most important of all was that of an equal distribution of the burden of taxation and rights of private property

Activity

Read the Declaration Rights of Man and Citizens.

Discuss the views in the class. Which of these have been incorporated in the Indian Constitution?

On 20 June, 1789, the Third Estate met at an indoor Tennis Court. They passed a resolution which is popularly known as the Tennis Court Oath.

The members resolved, "Never to separate and to reassemble whenever circumstances shall require until the constitution shall be determined" An oath was taken and signed by all the representatives of the Third Estate. On 5 July 1789, the National Assembly renamed itself as 'National Constitutional Assembly'. This was people's first triumph over the king.

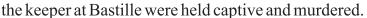


The Tennis Court Oath sought to assert the sovereignty of the people. This was the first revolutionary step taken by the Third Estate and it resulted in strong unity among the representatives. A demand for a constitution was also made.



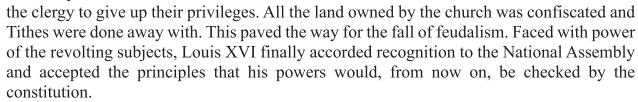
A picture of Oath ceremony at Tennis Court

Louis XVI could not reconcile to these changes and was keen to regain his lost position. He made preparations to break the Assembly. Troops were called and the rumours spread that the leading members of the Assembly would be soon arrested.On July 14,1789, a mob attacked the grim fortressprison which was called the Bastille. With the storming of the Bastille, the Revolution reached its frenzy. Arms and ammunition were looted, the rioters set free the 14 prisoners that were imprisoned there. The prisoners, the guards and



The Fall of Bastille symbolized the fall of autocracy and the fall of the old regime. It marked the end of royal despotism in France and completed the transfer of political authority to the National legislature.

On 4 August 1789, the National Constitutional Assembly abolished taxes and forced the members of



National Assembly (1789-1791) A.D.

The Third Estate viewed themselves as the spokespersons for the French nation. They declared themselves a National Assembly and swore not to disperse till they drafted the constitution for France. National Assembly not only succeeded in abolishing feudalism, and class privileges but also made a declaration regarding rights which outlined the aims of the revolution

France Becomes a Constitutional Monarchy(1791-1792)

- The drafting of a written constitution was completed in 1791.
- It distributed power among the Legislative, Executive and Judiciary while the previous one concentrated all powers in the king's hand.
- The new constitution converted France into a constitutional monarchy



The Fall of Bastille 14 July, 1789

Do you Know

July 14 is celebrated in Franceas Bastille Day. The Bastille was an ancient fortress in Paris that had long been used to house political prisoners. It was a symbol of old regime.

The Convention (1792-1795):-

France continued to be in turmoil under the National Assembly. The socio-political developments became a cause of concern in the neighbouring nations Prussia and Austria. Sensing the common fear towards the rise of the Third Estate, Louis XVI entered into a secret pact with the rulers of these two nations and planned to send troops to crush the Revolution. But before this plan could be implemented by the rulers of France, Prussia, and Austria, the National Assembly declared war on these two nations. The war inspired the revolutionary forces and their victories increased the self-confidence, which resulted in the declaration of France as a Republic by the convention. Thousands of volunteers from different provinces joined the army of the National Assembly. To most of them this was not just a war to save them in France, but a war of all poor people in Europe against the monarchies.

Do You Know:

The song 'Marseillaise' composed by Roger de L'Isle while marching into Paris became the National Anthem of France. Louis XVI and his wife were condemned to immediate execution. They were put to Guillotine in 1793 on 21st january and 16th october respectively.



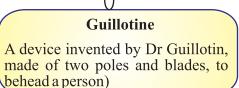
A Scene of a man being guillontined

Jacobins

A radical group, the Jacobins came to power who believed in direct democracy. They took strong measures to crush the forces inimical to the Revolution. The political clubs



became an important rallying point for the people interested in discussing the government policies and plan their actions.



The members of the Jacobins club were mainly from the less prosperous sections of the society. They included small shopkeepers, artisans, shoemaker, watchmakers and daily wage workers. This Radical group believed in direct democracy. Their leader was, Maximilian Robespierre. They wore striped trousers to set apart from other.

Reign of Great Terror-End of Jacobins

The Jacobins planned an insurrection in 1792 using the anger of the people of Paris over short supplies and high prices of food. On 10 August, they stormed the Palace of the Tuileries and massacred the king's guards. Robespierre followed a policy of severe control and punishment. The period of 1793-1794A.D. in France saw harsh times, whereby at least 16,000 to 40,000 people were killed by the Jacobin government. This period is also known as the 'Reign of Terror'. Robespierre followed a policy to severely control and punish. All those whom he saw as being the 'enemies' of republic, even the members of his own party, who did not agree with him, were arrested and imprisoned and tried by a revolutionary tribunal and if found guilty, they were guillotined.

Robespierre's government issued laws placing maximum ceiling of wages and prices. Meat and bread were rationed and peasants were forced to sell their grain at the prices fixed by the government. Use of expensive white flour was forbidden. Equality was sought to be practiced through forms of speech and address. Churches were shut down and their buildings were converted into barracks and offices.

Robespierre carried his policies so relentlessly that even his supporters began to demand moderation. Finally, he was convicted and guillotined by the court in July 1794.



The rule of the 'Directory ' in France

Directory 1795-1799

With the execution of Robespierre, the Jacobin government came to an end. This once again gave the wealthy people of the French society a chance to seize power and form the government. Non-propertied classes were not given the right to vote.

From 1795-1799 A.D., the Directory ruled France. People were cautious not to hand over the power to one hand as the Jacobins did and appointed a five-member Directory Council and two

elected legislative councils. Though this ensured division of power, there were often clashes between the Directors and members of the legislature. This political instability between the legislature and the Directors paved the way for the rise of the military dictatorship of Napoleon Bonaparte in France.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

Napoleon Bonaparte was a French general who was famous for his victories over Italy. He got political power in 1799 Napoleon Bonaparte crowned himself the Emperor of France in 1804. He was not only an excellent military commander but also a political leader. He conquered neighboring nations in Europe and began to place members of his family to rule them. During his initial years people viewed Napoleon as a liberator who was progressive in his approach. However, soon the invasions by his army were seen as intruding forces.



Napoleon Bonaparte

His liberating laws were continued in France and other parts of Europe and left an impact on the people even after his defeat. Napoleon was defeated in the Battle of Waterloo in 1815. The British imprisoned him on the remote island of St Helena where he died on 5 May, 1821A.D.

ROLE OF WOMEN IN FRENCH REVOLUTION

Modern Rules by Napoleon Bonaparte

- Laws to protect Private Property
- A uniform system of weights and measurements
- > Centralization of Government
- > Creation of Bank of France
- Reinstatement of Roman Catholicism as state religion
- Education reform Uniform and compulsory school education system

Women were not considered active citizens under any of the governments of the French Revolution but women were quite active participants during the French Revolution. They joined the Revolution in the hope of improving their lives under the new government.

Most of the women in Third Estate worked for their living as flower sellers, fruits and vegetable vendors, seamstresses and employed as domestic servants in the houses of rich and prosperous people. Though they worked along with men, they were paid less than the men.



PATRIOTIC WOMEN'S CLUB

Working women also had to take the responsibilities of the house. They do not have any access to education or job training.

Soon women began to form their political clubs to discuss the issues they had to deal with in daily life. These political clubs became important points for the women to discuss government policies. There were about 60 such clubs and one of the most famous women's club was 'The Society of Revolutionary and Republican Women'. One of their main demands was that they

should be given the political rights. They demanded the right to vote, to be elected to the Assembly and to hold political offices.

Olympe de Gouges

She was one of the most important among the politically active women in revolutionary France. She protested against the Constitution and the Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen as they excluded women from basic rights that each human being was entitled to. She criticized the Jacobins government for closing down the women's clubs. She was tried by the National Convention, which charged her with treason. Soon after this she was executed.



However, changes were introduced in favour of women over a period of time. Schooling was made compulsory for all women and state schools encouraged education. Socially, women could no longer be forced to marry and were given the right to file for divorce. Marriage was also made into a legal contract. The movement for voting rights and equal wages continued.

Many prominent women leaders and thinkers were arrested and executed during the Reign of Terror. It was not before almost the next 150 years that French women gained the right to vote in 1946. This struggle was related to the movement for universal adult suffrage in the late 19th century.

REVOLUTION AND EVERYDAY LIFE

After the revolution, France saw many changes in the lives of people. The government formed after the revolution took the responsibility of passing laws that would translate the

ideas of liberty and equality into everyday life.

A major result was the abolition of the privileges that existed under the old regime. Church lands were bought by middle classes and the lands of the nobles were confiscated. Under Louis XVI all published material had to go through the censor board. The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen ensured Freedom of Speech and Expression to all the Citizens. This resulted in flourishing of literature, plays, etc. The ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity that were the pillars of the French Revolution spread far and wide through a free press.

Therefore, The French revolution gave the term 'nation' its modern meaning. A nation is not a territory but the people living there. France was not merely the territory known as France, but the



People Celebrating

DO YOU KNOW?

During the Revolution and the growth of National Constitutional Assembly, a number of interesting changes took place on paper. Since majority of Third Estate population was not literate, they created symbols which represented certain notions or meanings.

'French People'. This is how the concept of sovereignty developed which means that the people constituting the nation are the source of all power and authority. There cannot be any ruler above the people, only a republic in which the government derives its authority from the people and is answerable to the people.

Many political thinkers and historians have been influenced by the incidents of French Revolution over the ages. Karl Marx was one of the most prominent thinkers who developed his ideology from the incidents of this revolution. Many historians consider the French Revolution as the watershed between the medieval world and the beginning of the modern world. Thus, French Revolution is often named as the 'Dawn of Modern Era'.

French Revolution is considered to be a seminal event in the world history.It signalled the end of the medieval world of hierarchy, community and religion dominated by kings, nobles and priests and the dawn of the modern world of rights, democracy, socialism and the nationalism in which the middle classes, women peasants and the workers began to actively shape the world around them.



an eye within a triangle symbolised knowledge, sun rays to drive away ignorance



a snake biting its own tail in a ring meant the end of each process that began



Broken chains represented freedom from slavery.



A Phrygian cap represented a slave's freedom



Sceptre symbolised the royal power



bundle of rods or fasces meant unity lies strength



Law tablet symbolised that every citizen is same in the eyes of law



A winged woman signified power of law above all.



Blue- White- Red are the national colours of France

Do you know? The French Revolution Led to 'Isms'

Nationalism: A sense of being politically associated with one state is called nationalism. Nationalism is a feeling to be united with one nation politically in which the citizens who inhabited a common territory, possessed a voice in their common government and were conscious of their common heritage and their common interests.

Liberalism: emancipation of the individual from class, corporate or government restraints. No authority could rule over the individuals in an arbitrary manner. All men are to be treated as equal before the law and humanity implied fraternity among different people.

Socialism: emphasizes the rights of the community and its welfare. Promote collective well being rather than individual profit.

EXERCISE

I. Objective Type Questions



(A) Multiple Choice Questions:

- i. The burden of financial activities of the state during the old Regime was borne by the
 - a) Church
- b) Nobles
- c) Third estate
- d) The King
- ii. Austrian Princess Marie Antoinette was the Queen of which ruler of France?
 - a) Louis III
- b) Louis XIV
- c) Louis XV
- d) Louis XVI
- iii) Napoleon crowned himself the Emperor of France in
 - a)1805
- b) 1804
- c) 1803
- d) 1806
- iv) When was 'Tennis Court Oath taken in France?
 - a) 14 th july, 1789
 - b) 20 th June, 1789
 - c) 4th August, 1789
 - d) 5th May, 1789
- v). In context of France what was the 'Convention'?
 - a) A French School
- b) Newly Elected

Assembly

- c) The Club
- d) A women Organizations
- vi) Which was the idea permoted by Montesquieu
 - a) Divine Right
 - b) Decentralisation of Power

- c) The Social Contract
- d) Balance of

Power

- vii) In the history of France which period is known Reign of Great Terror
 - a) 1792-93
- b) 1774-76
- c) 1793-94
- d) 1804-1815

B. Fill in the blanks:

- i. The device used by French for beheading a person was known as
- ii. Bastille was stormed in the yearA.D.
- iii. In 1815A.D. Napolen was defeated in the battle of.....
-was the leader of Jacobin iv. Club.
- v. The book social contract was written by.....
- vi. Marseillaise was composed by......

C. Match the columns:

A

B Guillotine

- **Fortress Prison** 2) Tax levied by church
- Jacobin
- To behead a person 3) 4)

Rousseau A club of French middle Bastille

class

1)

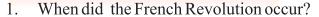
The Social Contract 5)

Tithe

D. Difference between:

- First estate and Third estate i.
- Tithe and Taille ii.

II. Very Short Answer Type Questions



- 2. Who was the leader of Jacobin Club?
- 3. What was Directory?
- 4. Which Estate used to pay taxes in the French Society?
- 5. What was the tax paid directly to the state?
- 6. Which classes were exempted from paying taxes?
- 7. How many types of taxes were paid by peasant?
- 8. Name the National Anthem of France.

III. Short answer type question:

- 1. How was the French society divided before the French Revolution?
- 2. Describe the role of Women in the French Revolution.

- 3. Describe in brief about the famous writers philosophers who influenced the French Revolution.
- 4. What do you mean by Monarchy?
- 5. What is National Constitutional Assembly?

IV. Long answer type questions:



- 1. Describe the circumstances leading to the outbreak of French Revolution.
- 2.. Explain the phases of the French Revolution.
- 3.. What was the impact of the French Revolution?
- 4. Discuss the causes of the French Revolution?
- 5. What was the condition of women of the Third Estate before 1789 A.D?.



Map activity

On the following map of Europe mark the following countries and their capitals.:

- **→** France
- → Portugal
- + Spain
- **→** Italy
- + England.
- → Austria



Russian Revolution 6

Introduction

In the previous Chapter, you read about the social, political and economic condition in Europe that led to the transformation in the French society. We also studied how the constitutional Monarchy System was abolished and the strong ideas of freedom, equality and fraternity became popular in Europe after the French Revolution. French Revolution

brought numerous transformations in the structure of French society. This chapter also deals with another form of revolution which we call Russian Revolution. In this chapter, we begin by describing Russian Revolution in general terms and end with two other revolutions like the February Revolution and the October Revolution.

1.1 Pre Revolutionary Conditions in Russia

By the end of the 19th century, most of the Western European countries were undergoing social, economic and political changes. Some countries like France had become Republics while others like England had become Constitutional Monarchies. New middle classes had become important in place of old feudal aristocracies. Rapid Industrialisation had made them rich

Radical or Liberal Responses: These responses are basically the responses of those people who accepted and wanted radical restructuring as well as transformation in the system.

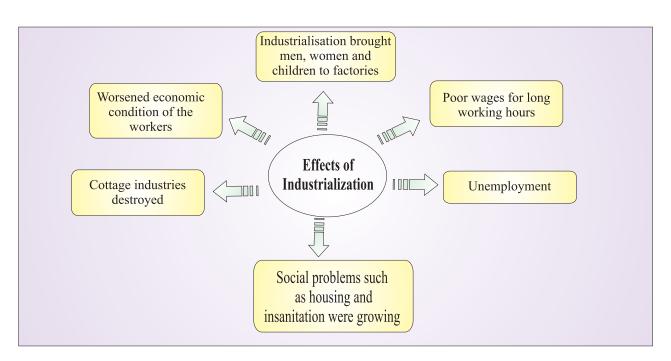
Conservative Responses: These people were in the favour of change but they wanted that it should be introduced gradually without altering the basic structure of the socity.



A Scene Depicting the Serfs

and powerful. As compared to the more liberal, prosperous and strong Western Europe, Russia remained an agriculturally backward country dominated by an authoritarian Tsar who controlled the lower classes with the help of military.

Although serfdom had been abolished in 1861, it had not improved the conditions of the peasants who had to pay for their own release and to become owners of small pieces of land. The hunger of land was the major social factor in Russian society. Russia also faced the challenge of a rapidly rising population. However most of the peasantry was loyal to the Tsar and considered him to be "a Father figure" and looked towards him for leadership and succour from the troubles of their daily life.



Industrialization in Russia

In order to make Russia a great power the Tsar began a policy of rapid industrialisation in late 19th century .A number of steel ,iron and other industries were established in and around Moscow and Urals. Mostly foreign owned these industries employed a number of workers. Men, women and children started going to factories due to industrialization .Poor working conditions, low wages etc., combined with a new sense of common identity fostered by **Socialism** led most of these workers to form unions of their own.

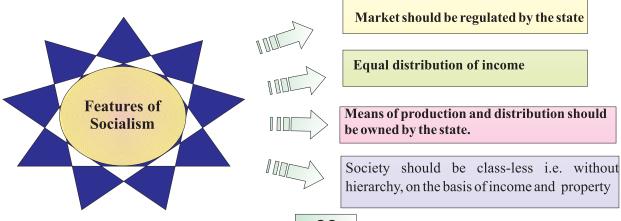
Do You Know?

Tsar, or Czar pronounced as 'Zaar' literally meant 'supreme ruler'. Tsardom in Russia began in 1547.



Tsar Nicholas II

Socialism is an ideology whose defining condition is ownership of the means of production and distribution by the Government or by a collective group of people.



During this period, the Tsar ruled like an authoritarian ruler. He ruled by repression through army and secret policy and denied civil and democratic rights to his subjects. As a result, the newly emerged bourgeoisie (middle class) comprising the industrialists, urban professionals, intellectuals etc., were increasingly dissatisfied with the rulers.

As a result of extreme political repression, lack of civil and political liberties and pitiable industrial conditions both workers and bourgeoise began to organise themselves into numerous political parties like Liberals, Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. Those pressing for political change often used violent methods like the killing of Tsar Alexander II in 1881. At the same time, the rising population, shortage of land and exploitation also led to the rise in peasant discontent.

2. The 1905 Revolution

The accumulated grievances of all these years eventually led to the Revolution of 1905 which was sparked off by the humiliating defeat of Russia in the Russo-Japanese War of 1905. This defeat dented the Tsar's image of an invincible warrior and Russia as a great power .A number of small revolts started by dissatisfied soldiers and peasants were however crushed by the Tsar with the help of the middle



class and the Kulaks (rich farmers) .Lack of coordination and unity among the rebels combined with the Tsar's willingness to compromise along with the support of the majority of the Army helped the Tsar to defeat the rebels.

3. Russia (1905-17)

By the 'October Manifesto' Tsar Nicholas II had promised a number of concessions to the Russians .These included:

- 1) An elected Duma
- 2) Freedom of press and association
- 3) Improvement in the working conditions of the industrial labour and increase in their wages.
- 4) Cancellation of redemption payments.

Duma: derived from the Russian word meaning 'to think', the Russian parliament. The Revolution of 1905 shook the Tsar so much that he agreed to the formation of a Duma in 1906 to advise him and to create legislation. The present day, Russian Parliament is also known as Duma.

However, most of these reforms remained on paper and the Tsar back-tracked on many of them. Duma was largely ignored and filled with loyalists through manipulation of electoral rules. Secret police continued to harass and arbitrarily arrest the students, Jews and the educated . Freedom of press, speech and association were denied