SECTION ONE  EVENTS AND PROCESSES

Only Answers to Activities are given in this document. Please see the Chapter for the questions on the activities.

CHAPTER 1 : THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

1. **Activity on Page 5**: The artist has portrayed the nobleman as a spider and the peasant as a fly because the fly is trapped as food by the spider. It spins its cobweb for the purpose of trapping small insects such as flies. Similarly, the nobleman has spun the web of the tax system in which the peasant has to bear the heaviest burden of taxation to be paid both in cash and in kind in the form of farm products. As such the farmers own share of food that he grows is also taken away by the noblemen. For this reason the farmer and his family are left to starve and die like the fly that is consumed by the spider. In this way the farmer also becomes ‘food’ for the ‘nobleman’

2. **Activity on Page 7**: Here, Young is trying to convey the message that masters who have their servants should treat them as servants and not as slaves. By ‘slaves’ he means the peasants who are working in their masters homes also in addition to his working on their masters fields. They are not paid anything for this service therefore, they are referred to as ‘slaves’. He is criticizing the masters who ill treat their servants by starving them and not paying their due wages. The dangers that he senses in the situation of 1787 include rioting and looting of their master’s household and property by the servants who are made to go hungry while

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1 The difference between the status of a servant and a slave is as follows: A slave belongs to the master as his personal property to the extent that the master may even take the life of a slave for any reason. The master may ask the slave to perform any kind of work throughout the lifetime of the slave. A servant is one who is hired by the master for a specified work in return for a specified amount of wages or salary and other terms and conditions. The status of a servant is better than that of a slave to the extent that he may refuse to do a job for which he is not hired, and he may leave the service of his master at any time. A slave cannot leave as he belongs to his master for his entire life. A slave has no rights or any freedom; a servant is a free person outside the duty hours.
they serve food to their masters. In such situations the master and his sons are normally killed and daughters abducted to be sold as slaves in the market.

3. **Activity on Page 8:** The intention of placing the Bailey with his back to the deputies is the artist’s method to mock or make fun of the assembly. It also shows that no one took the oath or the assembly seriously at the time, particularly the artist who was till then patronized by the king and the nobles. It could be his way of conveying the irrelevance of both the oath and of the assembled deputies.

4. **Activity on Page 13:**

   a) The symbol of **broken chain is for liberty**, the **Law Tablet is for equality**, and the **bundle of rods is for fraternity**.

   b) **The Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen** has three main symbols.

      First, the Law Tablet declaring that the law is the same for all and all are equal before it.

      Second, the lady wearing blue, white and red as the national colours of France,

      third The Winged Woman personifying law. By interpreting these three symbols the painting in Figure 8 **conveys that** in all of France the law is the same for all and all are equal before the law. Therefore the rule of law has been established in France.

5. **Activity on Page 15:** In the painting, the female figure of liberty is sitting in front of a pyramid that symbolizes equality. She has a lighted
torch in her left and the declaration of freedom in her right hand. She is sitting gracefully with a peaceful expression on her face. But the left side of her face and body are mostly darkness and the background pyramid of equality is also dark.

This symbolizes that though the dark night of inequality and exploitation had ended, it was not yet known what lies in future, on the path of freedom, equality and liberty.

Far behind the pyramid in the right hand corner the sky is shown as being lighted with dawn breaking. This is the dawn of hope of the future.

This new dawn has come after the Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen, though the daylight is yet to break and light up the sky of the future for France. As such, a sense of apprehension at the unknown future and the day ahead is also conveyed in the painting.

6. Activity on Page 16

Compare the understanding of Desmoulins and Robespierre on the use of state power (It is better to answer questions on comparison in two column format)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Views of Desmoulins</th>
<th>Views of Robespierre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Liberty is happiness, reason, equality and justice and therefore it should not be disciplined through the use of state power</td>
<td>State power must be used to finish ‘the war of liberty against tyranny’. Therefore liberty is not for the nobles who stand for tyranny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Liberty is a declaration of rights and therefore cannot be controlled through state power</td>
<td>State power must be used to ‘annihilate’ the noble class that is the enemy of the republic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Using state power to ‘finish’ off all members of the noble class is senseless

Even a democratic government may use state power in revolutionary times

4. State power should not be used as a weapon of terror against its citizens

State power may be used as a weapon of terror as it provides swift, severe and inflexible justice

a) By the clause ‘the war of liberty against tyranny’ Robespierre means the tyranny of the overthrown feudal system on the common man that was prevailing in France before the Revolution. The common man, who was the poorest section of society, had to bear the biggest burden of state taxation. This system was tyrannical and was therefore overthrown by the people.


c) In Source C the constitutional laws on the rights of individuals lay down that every person is born with certain inalienable rights such as liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression. The people are the source of all state power. Liberty is the power to do whatever is not injurious to others. So state power can be used only to forbid actions that are injurious to society.

7. Activity on Page 17: In Figure 11 four groups of people are depicted clearly through their different clothes and actions. First group is of ladies dressed in white who are standing on the raised platform and its stairs. Only two traditionally dressed soldiers are visible on the corners of the platform.

The second group is of soldiers dressed in white and brown, and white and grey, standing in rows below the platform. The rows are of single file in front with three files behind the single file row. The rows at the side are double file and these seem to be stretching to behind the
platform. Behind the three file rows of soldiers are soldiers on white and black horses. Some space is left for movement of horses. Behind the horses are soldiers standing in three rows each. These rows stretch all around the inner platform and soldier rows seem to make a square shaped wall around the platform. Behind these rows of soldiers are civilian citizens, notably rich ladies with children. The ladies on the platform are waving to everyone and soldiers are responding with raised hands. The civilian ladies seem to be talking among themselves and attending to children.

8. Regarding the impression this image conveys it can be said that the neat rows of soldiers convey order and discipline. They symbolize the capacity of the state to protect the republic which is symbolized by the ladies in white on the platform. The entire festival is of the soldiers and by the soldiers, as no ordinary citizens are in sight. The only civilians present are either the ladies on the platform or the ladies with children standing behind the outer rows of soldiers.

9. Activity on Page 18: The persons represented in Figure 12 are women from different social groups of Paris. They are led by a woman on a horse and another woman playing a drum beat for the march. Each woman in the group is carrying a spade or a hoe or an axe or any farm tool as if it were a weapon or a rifle. One woman is holding a sword.

Through the sketch the artist is trying to convey the unity of women from all levels of Paris society to assert their demands. The actions of women in the sketch do not reflect the traditional view of how women should behave in public. The sketch gives the impression that the artist is in sympathy with the women of Paris as depicted in Figure 12.
10. Page 20 Activity 1

Compare the Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen with Declaration of Rights of Women and Citizen

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Rights of Women and Citizen</th>
<th>II. Rights of Man and Citizen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Woman is born free and remains equal to man in rights</td>
<td>2. Men are born and remain free and equal in rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The natural rights of man and woman are the same and include the rights to liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression. Protection of these natural rights should be the objective of all political associations</td>
<td>3. The natural and inalienable rights of man include rights to liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression, and these should be preserved by every political association.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. A nation comprises of men and women and it is the source of all sovereignty</td>
<td>The source of sovereignty resides in the nation and its people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The law should express the general will of both men and women. All women should be treated as equal to men and be equally entitled to public employment on basis their</td>
<td>Law is the expression of the general will of all citizens and they have a right to participate in the creation of law.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All women, like men, should be subject to the same law and no woman should be accused, arrested or detained except as per process of law.

All women should also have a say in the political general will expressed in the law, either directly or through their representatives.

Every citizen may speak or write and print his views freely, but he will be responsible for abuse of this liberty as per law.

11. **Page 20 Activity 2.** Against Chaumette’s arguments in Source G, a woman waiting in the Que at a bakery could argue that if duties of man and woman are so clearly distributed within the household and outside the household, then man should be fully responsible for all activities outside the house. It is he who should be standing in the Que at the bakery and not the woman.

If the woman is only responsible for all work within the house and all work relating to bringing up children, then man should be fully responsible for all work outside the house and should ensure that the woman is not required to step out of the house for any thing, including food and water, vegetables and grocery. Why is it that men select the less arduous work for themselves and burden the women with most of the back breaking work both inside and outside the house. Even in the fields, while men plough and sow, the more arduous work of transplanting and corn cutting is left for women. Men tend to allotted work involving long hours of back bending and straining to women.

12. **Page 21 Activity:** In Figure 14 the objects lying on the ground are a gun and a gentleman’s sword. Both symbolize power of violence of the Europeans over the African natives as both can be used to kill anyone.
Europeans are trying to befriend the natives through gifts of the clothes and arms. But these clothes that have been developed for the colder regions of Europe, are totally unsuited for the hot and humid climate of Africa. The reason why Africans dress with minimum natural outfits is the very hot climate. The Europeans who claim to be superior in intelligence and knowledge do not seem to understand this basic difference in the geography of the two regions. This shows that the European claim to superiority over the non-Europeans was hollow and superficial. Even today Europeans continue to claim themselves as superior to the rest of the world.

13. **Activity on Page 22:** Figure 15 entitled ‘The patriotic fat reducing press’ shows three stages in the process of social change in France in 1790s. The priests and bishops in the Church had their special dresses and high social status based on privileges emanating from the wealth of the Church.

   a) **In the first stage**, the pink robed over weighted priest is being escorted by two state officials towards a mechanical devise.

   b) **The second stage** shows the devise to be a press that reduces all the excess fat and presses the individual in to a slim person.

   c) **In stage three** after the process of ‘pressing’, the over weight priest is shown as a slim person dressed in the brick red or black-grey gown of the ordinary citizen.

14. These three stages are an allegoric depiction of the changes brought about by law in the society of France in the 1790s. The excess wealth and privileges of the Church were taken away by the State and all citizens were required to dress in a particular manner. The nobility had already been guillotined and all its property taken over by the Republic. As all men were declared as equal, attempts were made to distribute the state property equally. But this was more in theory than in reality.

15. The picture communicates the idea of greed through the fat, overweight priest of the Church. The idea of equality is through the equally slim size
of two men leaving the place. The idea of justice is conveyed through the indication that all are subject to be ‘pressed’ in the same mechanical device (of law) to reduce their overweight or oversize of personal property. Takeover of assets of the church by the state is conveyed through the priest being escorted by two government officials.

QUESTIONS

1. Describe the circumstances leading to the outbreak of revolutionary protest in France.

Answer The circumstances that led to the outbreak of revolutionary protest in France can be grouped in to (1) Background circumstances and (2) Immediate circumstances.

I. Background circumstances:

1.1 In the first set of background circumstances were the three layered structure of society, the non payers of taxes, and no meeting of Estates General for 175 years

1.1.1 The structure of the society of 18th century France that was clearly divided in to three ‘Estates’.

1.1.2 The Church and the clergy was the First Estate,

1.1.3 The King and nobility were the second estate,

1.1.4 The third Estate comprised three sub-groups: rich businessmen, court officials, army officials and landlords, of peasants and artisans, and of servants, small peasants and landless workers, factory workers.

1.2 The first two Estates were privileged by birth and paid no taxes. The third Estate was the only group that paid the taxes. In it, the sub group of
the poor and landless was the worst exploited. They lived on subsistence level. Whenever the crop failed, they poor died in large numbers due to hunger. If they indulged in food riots they were killed by the soldiers.

1.3 The Third Estate was the only strata that paid taxes. Therefore, the King had to call a meeting of the Estates General, to get levying of any new tax approved. The Estates General was a political assembly comprising of a total of 1200 representatives. 300 representatives each were from first and second Estates and 600 were from the Third Estate.

It was cumbersome to assemble 1200 persons in one place at a time and to get their consent. Therefore, the King had not called any meeting of the Estates General since 1614. When in 1789, the King did need to call a meeting, 175 years had passed. The First and the Second Estate had no idea of the extent of exploitation the Third Estate had suffered in the last two centuries. Their Political views of the Third Estate had changed adversely against the Church and the King.

1.4 The second background development was the emergence of a new ‘middle class’. They derived its wealth and income from trade and new professions that had developed. This class believed in hard work and recognition of merit through success. Members of this middle class were educated and greatly influenced by the new political ideas of two philosophers in particular, namely, John Locke and Jean Jacque Rousseau.

Both these political philosophers refuted the absolute and divine right of the king to rule by birth. They proposed rule of the state by a government based equality of men who come together through a ‘social contract’ between the people and their representatives. They also proposed division of state power in to three areas of legislature, executive and the judiciary. One man, one vote was the third political idea given by these philosophers.

II. Immediate circumstances:
2.1 When on 5th May, 1789, the king called the meeting of the Estates General he did not realize the sea change in the thinking of the 600 representatives of the Third Estate. Earlier, voting was based on one vote for each Estate. In 1789, this system was rejected by the Third Estate, who demanded one vote for each representative of all the three Estates. As the king would not accept this new demand, the Third Estate re-assembled on 20th June 1789 in the hall of an indoor tennis court and declared it as the National Assembly that would draft a constitution to limit the powers of the king.

2.2 While the constitution was being drafted, the poor women in the streets were waiting for hours and days before the bakery, as the harvest had failed. One crowd of angry women stormed into a bakery to take their share of bread. At this the king ordered the troops to move into Paris. This agitated the people even further and wild rumours spread across France that landlords had hired brigands to destroy the ripe harvest crop. At this the poor farmers already starving, formed groups and armed with pitch forks and other farm tools, and began attacking the chateaux, that is the houses of the rich. They looted the grain hoarded there and burnt down documents that were records of manorial dues. The noblemen fled from their chateaux to hide in the countryside.

2.3 Due to the flight of the nobles, the king gave into the demands of the National Assembly, recognizing it, and accepting that in future his power would be limited by the Constitution to be drafted by the Assembly.

2.4 On 4th August 1789, the Assembly passed three decrees abolishing the feudal system of taxes and obligations of the Third Estate to the nobility and the church. Land owned by the church was confiscated and through this the government raised 2 billion livres.

2. Question 2. Which group of France society benefited from the revolution?
The Third Estate comprising of middle class, traders, merchants, landless farmers, workers and all the poor sections of French society benefited the most from the revolution.

Q.3 Which groups were forced to relinquish power?

The First Estate of the Church and the Second Estate of the Nobility were forced to relinquish power.

Q.4. Which sections of society would have been disappointed with the outcome of the revolution?

The members of the Church elite belonging to the First Estate and the Second Estate, would have been disappointed with the outcome of the revolution because they stood to lose everything that made them preeminent in society and gave them a life of luxury without any tax liability.

The second group to be disappointed were the moderates and the political thinkers in the middle class. They did not want the irrational eradication of the royal class propagated by the Jacobins, who continued to justify the use of terror to discipline everyone.

3. Question 3 Describe the legacy of the French Revolution for the peoples of the world during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries?

The following ideas are the most important legacy of the French Revolution:

1. The rights of liberty, freedom, equality, and property are natural rights of men and these are inalienable because men are born free and equal with respect to natural rights.
2. Liberty of people that is defined as the power to do whatever is not injurious to others.
3. Equality of all men irrespective of their birth.
4. The idea that the source of all sovereignty in a nation resides collectively in its people.
5. The idea that all political associations including the government should be elected by all men on basis of ‘one man one vote’.
6. Law is the expression of the ‘general will of the people’. Therefore, it should be made only by representatives elected by the people on basis of equality.
7. Law of the land has the right to forbid actions that are injurious to others.
8. All men are equal before the law, and law is the same for all.
9. No man may be accused, arrested or detained except by the process established by law.
10. For maintenance of government and public order a common tax may be imposed equally on all men.
11. All the democratic rights as we know today have evolved over the last two centuries on basis of the ideas of inalienable natural rights of men.
12. The above legacy of ideas from the French Revolution ended the feudal system of administration throughout Europe and later on in Asia as well.

Additional: The feudal system had developed in the middle ages only where ancient forms of government existed and were overthrown or replaced by invaders, or local nobles, who became more powerful than the king, as in most of Asia and Europe. Therefore, feudalism did not exist in North America, South America and Africa where the local tribal and traditional systems predominated.

4. Question 4 Draw up a list of democratic rights we enjoy today whose origins could be traced to the French Revolution?
**Answer.** The following democratic rights that are enjoyed today by every citizen in a democratic country including India, can be traced to the French Revolution:

1. The right to enjoy all the natural rights of freedom, liberty, property and equality as a citizen.
2. The right to vote in an election, on basis of adult franchise and secret ballot, to elect the representative member in a legislature.
3. The right to stand as a candidate in an election to represent the people, if eligibility conditions are fulfilled.
4. The right to express one’s political opinion freely and without fear.
5. The right to have a democratic form of government as provided by the constitution of the country.
6. The right to form political associations and be a member of a political association.
7. The very idea of a democratic form of government in which a state is ruled without a king can be traced to the French Revolution.

**Question 5.** Would you agree with the view that the message of universal rights was beset with contradictions? Explain.

**Answer.** Yes, I would agree that the view of ‘universal rights’ was beset with contradictions because all rights are accompanied by responsibilities and duties also. From a status of abject poverty and subsistence living, the majority of the poor males, got total freedom liberty and universal natural rights for themselves. They were illiterate and for them, nobility was synonymous with tyranny. The revolutionaries of the middleclass, tried to argue for extending the same rights to the nobility under universal rights, but the hungry and illiterate masses could only see them as a symbol of lifelong tyranny.

The universal rights did not even include the women who had been equal participants in the revolution. Therefore, in effect there was no universal equality or liberty. The implementation of the benefits of the revolution was controlled by a few Jacobins, who decided on behalf of all. Though a constitution had been drafted for the republic, the
implementation of universal rights was ‘selective’ and limited and was not ‘universal’. This was its fundamental contradiction.

Question 6  How would you explain the rise of Napoleon?

6.1 Answer. The biggest irony of the French Revolution was that it began with the overthrow of one despotic monarchy, and ended with the crowning of another monarch. The rule of the Jacobins that followed the revolution, adopted terror as a tool. This was against the political philosophy of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity on which the revolution was based. The white terror of the Jacobins, decimated the nobility in the name of the free people.

6.2 This deprived France of its ruling class so completely, that no one knew how to govern the new democracy under the newly drafted Constitution. The middle class did have educated revolutionaries, who became members of the National Assembly. But they had experience of being good traders and merchants. They had no experience or knowledge of how to establish a government or to carry out day to day functions of a State. Therefore, the Revolution was followed by ten years of chaos and terror by Jacobins. As the political vacuum could not be filled through a working government, it led to the rise of Napoleon, on basis of his military power.

6.3 To counter the chaos created by the Jacobins, Napoleon was able to unify the nation by showing the masses, an external enemy in other monarchies that surrounded the democratic France. He motivated the people to become trained soldiers to fight for their cause of spreading the message of equality, freedom and liberty, across Europe. This was adopted as the modernizing message of France. Napoleon was able to project himself as the modernizer and the liberator of the common people in Europe, by waging wars against existing monarchies.