

The Shaping of the Modern World: The Ages of Revolution

Text prepared by Prof. Erdal Yavuz. The references are given where possible. For the main sources refer below

Sources: Britannica Online <http://www.britannica.com/> , Questia's The Columbia Encyclopedia <http://www.questia.com/library/encyclopedia/>, The Encyclopedia of World History <http://www.bartleby.com/67/> Hanover College History Department <http://history.hanover.edu/etexts.html>, Library of Congress <http://www.loc.gov/tr/> New Internationalist Magazine <http://www.newint.org/> , The Internet History Sourcebooks Project <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/> ,United Kingdom, National Archives <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/> ,United States National Archives <http://www.archives.gov/> Washington State University, World Civilizations online class <http://www.wsu.edu/~dee/> ,Wikipedia, the free encyclopaedia http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Main_Page .World History: 16th to 19th Centuries <http://www.fsmitha.com/h3/index.html>

Ideological background

The "Age of Enlightenment" of the 18th century, besides development in sciences also witnessed efforts to discover the laws that govern the human beings and societies. The criticism of the existing institutions aimed to promote freedom and happiness as a natural right of the humanity.

According to John Locke, people come together in a "social contract" and create, through common consent, a government (the state) to protect rights of life, liberty and property of the individuals. If any government fails to protect these natural rights or prevents the exercise of these rights, the people have a right to revolt and establish the will of the people.

The well-known rule is generally the following: "The Nation is essentially the source of all sovereignty; and no other person or body is entitled to any authority, which is not expressly derived from it".

The above principle found its expression among others in the works of American philosopher **Thomas Paine** (1737-1809) (**Reading 1**), in The American Declaration of Independence (1776), The American Constitution (1787) and the French "Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen" (1789). Since then many constitutions as well as the Turkish Constitutions of 1961 and 1982 define their concepts of "sovereignty" in a similar way. (**Box in the reading**)

The American Revolution

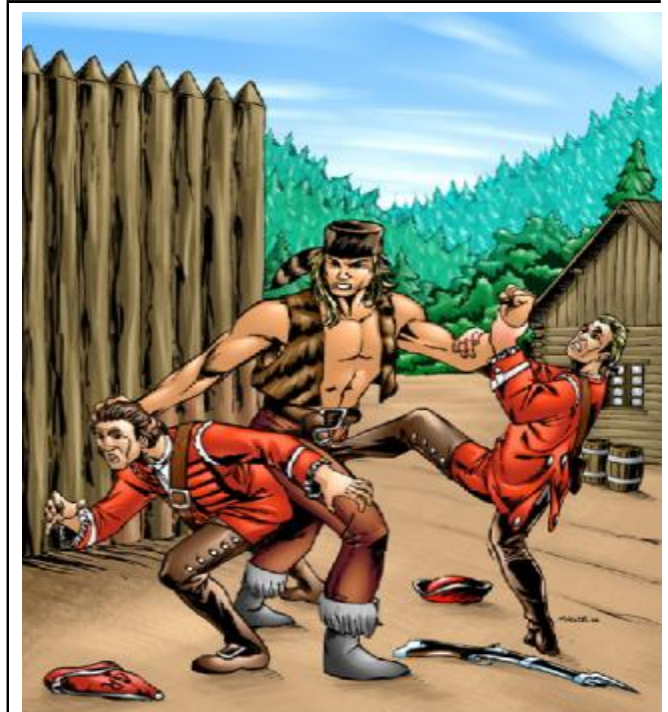
In the "New World" the ideas of enlightenment of the "Old World" had also began to influence a group of intellectuals. Moreover, these thinkers of America were the first to put the enlightenment ideas into practice and realize the first revolution based on the "sovereignty of people".

The British, dominating North America, in 1763 added Canada into its domains through a war with France.

Once the threat from the French Canada gone, the people of America, considered as subjects by England, began to raise objections against the taxes paid to the their protectors. The first political upheaval occurred in 1765 in response to the imposition of a new tax to finance the defense. The slogan of this revolt was "no taxation without representation!".

The final symbolic event during this phase was the revolt against the tax taken on imported tea. In 1773, ships with cargoes of tea had landed in Boston and Americans threw the chests of tea into the harbor.

This event, since then remembered as the "Boston Tea Party", triggered further clashes between American colonists and the British armed forces.



In 1955, an Italian group of cartoonists with the name "EsseGesse", under the influence of American films and much before the "Spagetti Western"s, began to publish the adventures of "Il Grande Blek" and "Capitan Miki".

These will be famous also in Turkey as "Teksas" with its hero "Çelik Bilek" and "Tom Miks".

Il Grande Blek (Çelik Bilek) is a volunteer of American independetists against the British forces called as "Red Coats" ("Kırmızı Şapkalılar" in Turkish).

The young Turkish readers of several generations have admired Blek's courage in his deeds against the British with the help of his eternal companions Professor Occultis (Oklitus in Turkish!) and little Roddy (Rodi).



In 1775, **George Washington** assigned as the commander-in-chief and a real war began.

During this period the writings of Thomas Paine, particularly his pamphlet "Common Sense" played an important role in turning the American opinion against the British.

In 1776, "the Declaration of Independence" prepared by the leaders **Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin** and others was announced, (**Reading 2**) and a provisional government was established. Finally, the British were obliged to come to terms and retire.

The constitution of the United States drafted on September 17, 1787 and adopted by the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. With the underlying principles drawn from Locke and Montesquieu, it created a federal union of sovereign states, and a federal government to operate that union.

So the United States of America founded by the following preamble of the Constitution:

"We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America"



From Gary Larson's *The Far Side gallery*

On the other hand (side), in France

France had begun to lose its overseas territories after 1750's to England, namely Louisiana, Canada, West Africa, Senegal, etc. This loss of markets and sources evidently caused a discontent of the bourgeoisie.

In England, due to the earlier developments and particularities of the society, bourgeoisie participated in decision making of social and economic issues.

In France, not only representation had been suppressed but also there were limitations on the market actions of merchant and industrial classes.

During the eve of the Revolution 90% of the French population (which was about 26 million at that time) were peasants, burdened by the taxes of the central government as well as the local taxes and forced labor imposed by the landlords and the church.

Members of the nobility and large landowners constituted 2% of the population while having under control 60% of the land. The rest, mostly constituting the population of towns, included merchants, manufacturers, urban laborers and other professions.

The political regime, supporting this socio-economical structure, was totally under the domination of the aristocrats, which used their "absolute" power not only to oppress peasants and the common people but also the members of the bourgeoisie.

The aristocracy at power refused all kinds of sharing the power with other classes and even all technical posts in the government were confined to the members of the aristocracy.

The state regulations, by the preventing the development of new methods of manufactures, and imposing strict quality measures limited the competitiveness of France in exports. In addition, the rights of representation and expression of the "third estate" suspended since a long time.

The works of the "philosophes" at that instance became appropriate and influential on preparing the path towards revolution.

Voltaire with "freedom and toleration", Jean Jacques Rousseau with "social contract" and Montesquieu with the "separation of powers" prepared the ideological background for the justification of a "change".

Stages of "The revolution"

Due to growing financial and administrative problems, the King Louis XVI was forced to appeal to a representative council **Etats Generaux**, constituted by the representatives of three estates: nobility, clergy and the common people, the "third estate", not met since 1614.

Assembly met in May 1789 but there was disagreement on issues and the unyielding attitudes of those belonging to the nobility (The First Estate). This resulted with an "oath to resist" at a gathering in a "Tennis Court" (**Jeu de Paume** in French) by the members of the common people (**Reading 3**) and finally caused the revolt of the people of Paris.

Famous prison Bastille captured on 14 July 1789 and since then this event is fêted as the national holiday in France.

From the diary of King Louis XVI On the day of the Revolution

("Today... nothing" !)

le 14 Juillet 1789

.... Aujourd'hui.....Rien !



Bastille during "the day"

An independent revolutionary government, "**commune**", established in Paris. The initial stage accompanied by the revolts of other towns with massive revolts of peasants throughout France.

This revolutionary burst was followed by the establishment of a National Assembly declaring the "Rights of Man and the Citizen" in August 1789 (**Reading 4**).

The feudal system and the kingdom abolished, and the lands belonging to the aristocracy and the church were the confiscated, and redistributed. (**Reading 5**)

The revolution with episodes continued throughout several years, with internal power struggles of the revolutionaries leading to the introduction of the "guillotine" as the famous device to exterminate the "enemies of the revolution".

Consequences

Although, after the revolution the power of the nobility diminished radically, some large estates continued to exist besides dependent agricultural labor. However, the small independent peasantry became the dominant production form in the countryside.

On the other hand, France gained a certain impetus towards **modernization** in the form of administrative efficiency, establishment of a national education system etc.

The French Revolution also opened the way to popular consensus on "reform" and "modernization" and the people acquired a passion to change towards "progress".

However, most of the reforms imposed from above, were changes for the happiness of the people but not always realized or wanted by the people.

Such reforms finding their justification in the "true" ideas of the rulers, if considered necessary, would be realized by force.

A dramatic example is the "Committee of Public Safety" founded by the radicals, under the control of **Maximilien Robespierre**, and the **Jacobin** period called the "Reign of Terror"(1793-1794). At least 1200 people met their deaths under the guillotine or otherwise; after accusations of counter-revolutionary activities. (**Reading 6**)

The politics of the radical side, then after called "Jacobin" will influence later revolutions and reform movements in the World and even today it has its place in political science terminology.

In Turkey also, the Young Turks, and later reformers, readily adopted such an understanding of reform, made easy also by the Ottoman patriarchal heritage.

On the other hand French Revolution's maxim: "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" founded universal popularity and helped the expression of common aspirations.

Namely, democratic rights (liberty), equalitarian programs (equality), and national consciousness (fraternity) were to unite all under the colors of the republic.

These slogans will influence other movements in other countries throughout the world in various forms. For example, the "Young Turks" who realized the 1908 revolution in Turkey had adopted the same maxim: "Hürriyet, Müsavat, Uhuvvet".



A bride's trousseau (çeyiz sandığı) of 1908, with heroes Enver and Niyazi on horseback. Writing at the bottom is our "maxim"!

The French revolution provoked and served as the point of departure of later uprisings, nationalist movements (like the Greek Independence of 1821)

It also influenced and shaped the modernization efforts of the period like that of Muhammed Ali in Egypt and Selim III and Mahmut II in the Ottoman Empire up to the Kemalist Reforms of the Turkish Republic.

The impacts of the "revolutionary" spirit even influenced the uprisings of the 1968's.

French Revolution also contributed to the institution of a new political culture, which moved besides the "national" also in "rational" and "positivist" lines.

The positivist maxim "*order and progress*" can also be detected in the name of "*İttihat ve Terakki*": (union and progress) of the Young Turk party.

It was also the French Revolution that that helped the future generations to accept the "normality" of change, and integrated masses into "*state building*" process.

For example the revolutionary anthem "Marseillaise" contained the elements of this integrative and mobilizing, patriotic spirit.

It is due to this spirit that the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 for a certain time had adopted Marseillaise as the celebratory music of their gatherings. **(Reading 7)**

This new political culture succeeded to mobilize people within the ranks of democratic republicanism, but this aspect caused fear of the “changing of order” within the established systems.

The Revolution and the Ottoman Empire

Long before the revolution, the Western supremacy in development was recognized in the Ottoman Empire and causes of the retard were being questioned.

It was Selim III (1789-1807) having some affinity with the French culture, to take concrete steps towards a reform. His attempts to construct a new army against the Janissaries were unsuccessful.

It is agreed among historians that the name of his modern army “Nizam-i Cedid” (New Order) is derived from the slogan “**Ordre Nouveau**” of the Revolution.

Meanwhile the traditional Ottoman administrators and observers had a suspicious and hostile approach towards the Revolution. **(Reading 8)**

However, the “secularist” “anti-Christian” aspect of the Revolution and the sameness of French and Ottoman enemies, Prussia, Austria, Russia etc. created a feeling of fraternity.

As a result, diplomatic relations with the Revolutionary French Government was established as early as 1793 on a friendly basis. The Ottoman military reform was entrusted to the experts from France and later reforms will bear the impact of the French advisors, and the spirit and programs of the French Revolution.

Reactions

The immediate reaction of the European monarchic powers to the revolution, encouraged by the war defeats of the Napoleonic France was with their attempts to defend the existing power relations of the “European System”.

In France, after certain turbulent years, **Napoleon Bonaparte** (15 August 1769 – 5 May 1821) a general of the French Revolution, became the First Consul of the Republic in 1799.

Then after a famous coup he ruled as Emperor of France and King of Italy under the name Napoleon I from May 1804 to 1814, and again briefly from 20 March to 22 June 1815.

Napoleon Bonaparte, one of the successful French generals, converted the republic to an increasingly autocratic regime while continuing to champion individual liberties, religious freedom, and the promulgation of a new law code.

Napoleon's attempt to create a world empire was less successful. Following a failed invasion of Russia in 1812, French forces fell back until their final defeat in 1815. But all this was alarming for the European rulers, aiming to safeguard their positions together with the boundaries of their states.

This is pronounced strongly in the **Congress of Vienna**, dominated by Austrian Foreign and later Prime Minister Prince Clemens Metternich, in 1815 within

what is called a “Holy Alliance” formed by Austria, Prussia, Russia and Great Britain. **(Reading 8)**



Europe 1815

They aimed to restore the balance of power, prevent further revolutions and alterations and thus reinforce the alliance of the ruling classes all over the Europe.

The initiative is the congress of Vienna in 1815 to construct a lasting peace predicated on the establishment of a European balance of power.

The settlements reached at Vienna gave Europe almost 50 years of stability. The sentiment at Vienna was to create a conservative political framework that would halt social and political revolution.

This “conservative” period of alliances and resistances to revolutions and modernity will continue until 1870's but within itself will provoke socialist, nationalist, democratic movements fostered by the living spirit of the Revolution.

Liberals sought greater individual liberties guaranteed by constitutions and parliaments. Radicals pressed for more democratic political structures and social reforms in favor of workers. Nationalists urged national boundaries that coincided with ethnic unity.

A breach of the Vienna system directly related to our history is the Greek independence in 1830.

A general look

Europe's modern history is generally started by the 1780s with the first phase of the Industrial Revolution in Britain and with the political and social revolution of 1789 in France. During the years 1789–1815, the French Revolution and related reform movements elsewhere dominated Europe, culminating in several revolutionary wars and the Napoleonic Wars.

During the next period, 1815–48, efforts to return to more conservative politics were progressively undermined by the political movements and doctrines brought by the French Revolution (liberalism, radicalism, nationalism, and early socialism) and by social turbulence provoked by increasing commercialization and industrialization.

This period concluded by the widespread revolutions of 1848–49. These revolutions produced important changes, but their failures also altered European politics, as both conservatives and liberals began to develop new policies.

Between 1850 and 1914, European industrialization advanced, causing long-lasting social and cultural, as well as economic, effects.

The concept of "nation" new to history is the result of American and French Revolutions, and became simultaneously a tool for the progress and modernity program of the bourgeoisies of various countries.

An interesting statement concerning the nation state is of writer and former Prime Minister of Piedmont, Massimo d'Azeglio. When the "nation-state" of Italy was created in 1861 he said: "We have made Italy, now we have to make Italians."

Many nation-states built their identity through displays of military authoritarianism and often by means of military conflict.

After the mid 19th century as European empires expanded to the Americas, Asia, Africa and the Middle East, the new rulers not only imposed colonial rule but also brought their own model of the nation-state.

New political aspirations like socialism and communalism drew new participants into the political arena from the middle classes and the workers. Mass movements and revolutions broke out in many countries from 1820's to 1850's.

National, regional as well as global issues and differences marked Europe during the 19th century finally resulting by the "First" "World" War.

Terms and names



Thomas Paine (1737 –1809), intellectual, scholar, revolutionary, and idealist, is widely recognized as one of the Founding Fathers of the United States. A radical pamphleteer, Paine projected and encouraged the American Revolution through his powerful writings.

An advocate for classical liberalism, he outlined his political philosophy in *Rights of Man*, and in *Common Sense*, a treatise on the benefits of personal liberty and limited government.

In 1787, he went to England and while there wrote *The Rights of Man*, which defended the French Revolution whose basic premises were that there are natural rights common to all men and only democratic institutions are able to guarantee these rights.

Paine's attack on English institutions led to his prosecution for treason and subsequent flight to Paris (1792). There, as a member of the National Convention, he took a significant part in French affairs. During the "Reign of Terror", he was imprisoned by the Jacobins about one year and released by the fall of Robespierre. In prison, he wrote his famous deistic, anti-biblical work *The Age of Reason*.

Returned to the United States in 1802, but due to his criticisms and veracity he was out of favor and he died in solitude and poverty seven years later.



George Washington (1732 – 1799) was the Commander-in-Chief of the Army in the American Revolutionary War from 1775 to 1783, and later became the first President of the United States, an office to which he was elected twice and remained in from 1789 to 1797.

Because of his central role in the founding of the United States, Washington is often called the "Father of his Country".

To the attention of the interested

A "must see" film note:

La Nuit de Varennes, (1982) of Ettore Scola

In June of 1791, a group of passengers in a stagecoach is caught up in the events of the French Revolution, and they find themselves in the city of Varennes when revolutionists arrest the fleeing King Louis.

Among the group, there is our Thomas Paine (Harvey Keitel) and the famous seducer Casanova (Marcello Mastroianni).



A "nice to know" history note:

Who would guess that Giovanni Giacomo de Seingalt known as **Casanova**, mentioned above, had passed a certain time in İstanbul around 1750's.

He was the guest of Earl of Bonneval known to us as Humbaracı Ahmet Paşa, whose house was at Kumbaracı Yokuşu in Beyoğlu.

The street takes the name from its famous resident. There are interesting observations of this stay in the *Memoirs of Casanova*



Thomas Jefferson

(1743–1826) the third President of the United States (1801–1809), author of the Declaration of Independence, and one of the most influential founders of the United States.

He is also a political moted classical liberalism,

republicanism, and the separation of church and state.

In addition to his political career, Jefferson was also an agriculturalist, horticulturist, architect, etymologist, archaeologist, mathematician, cryptographer, surveyor, paleontologist, author, lawyer, inventor, violinist, and the founder of the University of Virginia. Many people consider Jefferson to be among the most brilliant men ever to occupy the Presidency.

President John F. Kennedy welcomed forty-nine Nobel Prize winners to the White House in 1962, saying, "I think this is the most extraordinary collection of talent, of human knowledge, that has ever been gathered at the White House, with the possible exception of when Thomas Jefferson dined alone."

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Jefferson



Benjamin Franklin

Benjamin Franklin (1706 –1790) was one of the the Founders and early political figures and statesmen of the United States. One of the earliest Founders, Franklin was noted for his curiosity, writings, ingenuity and diversity of interests. His success in securing French military and financial aid

was the turning point for American victory over Britain.

Franklin was interested in science and technology, carrying out his famous electricity experiments and invented the Franklin stove, medical catheter, lightning rod, swimfins, glass harmonica, and bifocals. He also played a major role in establishing the higher education institutions.

modernization From Latin *modo* just now, from *modus* measure is in its original sense has a meaning like "be in pace with the time". In "Western" usage means the transformation of a society from a rural and agrarian condition to a secular, urban, and industrial one. As societies modernize, the individual becomes increasingly important, gradually replacing the family, community, or occupational group as the basic unit of society.

The concept of modernization comes from a view of societies as having a standard evolutionary pattern, as described in the social evolutionism theories. According to this each society would evolve inexorably from barbarism to ever greater levels of development and civilization. This approach has been criticized, mainly because it conflated modernization with Westernization. In this model, the modernization of a society required the destruction of the original, local culture and its replacement by a more Westernized one.

Jeu de Paume was originally a French precursor of tennis played without racquets. The players hit the ball with their hands. *Jeu de paume* literally means: game of palm (of the hand). and finally racquets, became standard equipment for the game, the name did not change. It became known as "tennis" in English. The famous *serment du jeu de paume* ('the Tennis Court Oath') in the Palace of Versailles is the formal announcement of the French revolution on 20 June 1789.



An instant of the "Oath"



Maximilien Robespierre

The full name Maximilien François Marie Isidore de Robespierre (1758 –1794) is one of the best-known leaders of the French Revolution. He earned the nickname "the Incorruptible" through his devotion to the Revolution. He was a very

influential member of the Committee of Public Safety, through which the revolutionaries consolidated their power. This was a period which is commonly known as the *Reign of Terror*. Although it was a collective effort, the name of Robespierre is always associated with it because of his prominence on the committee. But he also faced the same fate of his enemies, the guillotine. Politically he was a disciple of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, among other Enlightenment philosophes, and an articulator of the beliefs of the left-wing bourgeoisie.

Jacobin In the context of the French Revolution, a Jacobin originally meant a member of the Jacobin Club (1789-1794), but even at that time, the term Jacobins had been popularly applied to all of extreme revolutionary opinions: for example, "Jacobin democracy" is synonymous with totalitarian democracy. In contemporary France, this term refers to the concept of a centralized Republic, with power concentrated in the national government, at the expense of local or regional governments.

In the contemporary political jargon Jacobin (ist) (ism) is used for the application of one's rules or imposition of views, without a consent of other parties concerned, through an authority based on position or power. **(For a contemporary example, next page!)**

Siyaset

Erdoğan'dan Baba'ya yanıt: Ben jakoben değilim

Yavuz Donat'ın "Demirel derin devleti anlatıyor" dizi röportajı gündem oluşturdu.

SABAH'ın "Derin devlet" röportajı Başbakan Erdoğan'ın Fas gezisinde de yankı buldu. Erdoğan başkent Rabat'ta yaptığı basın toplantısında Demirel'in dizideki "Ben de, Menderes de, Erdoğan da jakobeniz. Çünkü gücü paylaşmayı sevmiyoruz" sözlerini değerlendirip karşı çıktı.

JAKOBEN DE DEĞİLİM TEK ADAM DA DEĞİLİM
Demirel'le jakobenlik tanımlerinin farklı olduğuna dikkat çeken Başbakan "Jakoben değilim, üstelik siyasette tekilci anlayışı hiçbir zaman savunmadım. Her zaman kolektif akıldan yana oldum" diye konuştu. İtirafıyla bir milleti suçlamaya kalkarsanız kabul etmeyiz.

From Sabah, April 1,2005



Napoleon Bonaparte (1769 – 1821) A general of the French Revolution, and the ruler of France as First Consul (Premier Consul) of the French Republic from 1799 to 1804, then as Emperor of the French (*Empereur des Français* !) and King of Italy under the name Napoleon I from 1804 to 1814, and again briefly in 1815.

regarded as one of the greatest commanders to have ever lived. Over the course of little more than a decade, he fought virtually every European power and acquired control of most of the western and central mainland of Europe by conquest or alliance until his disastrous invasion of Russia in 1812.

Aside from his military achievements, Napoleon is also remembered for the establishment of the Napoleonic Code. He is considered by some to have been one of the "enlightened despots".

By his expedition to Egypt in 1799 Napoleon also became a direct adversary of the Ottoman Empire. His expedition to seize Egypt, then a province of the Ottoman Empire, was to protect French trade interests and undermine Britain's access to India.

An unusual aspect of the Egyptian expedition was the inclusion of a large group of scientists whose investigations resulted in the founding of the Rosetta Stone, a key to decipher Egyptian hieroglyphs.

Congress of Vienna, United under the patronage of Metternich, from September 1814 till June 1815, was one of the most important international conferences in European history,

The problems confronting the congress were extremely complex, for the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars had swept away the entire structure of Europe. The major aim was to restore the pre-Revolutionary dynastic and territorial states and to achieve a balance of power for the preservation of peace

Some territorial changes brought about by the Congress of Vienna did not endure long but they represented a solution and an attempt at dealing with Europe as an organic whole. The Concert of Europe, which functioned, even though imperfectly, through the 19th century, may be credited to the Congress of Vienna. Moreover, it is acknowledged that the "Concert" also laid the bases of later developments like the contemporary European Union.

However, one major criticism to the Congress is its failure to include the Ottoman Empire in the settlement and to deal satisfactorily with the Eastern Question. **(Isn't it like a *déjà vu* ???)**

READINGS

Readings Starter!

Thomas Paine, from *The Rights of Man*, 1791

III. The Nation is essentially the source of all sovereignty; nor can any individual or any body of men, is entitled to any authority, which is not expressly derived from it.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, August 27, 1789

3. The principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. No body or individual may exercise any authority which does not proceed directly from the nation.

Turkish Constitution, 1982

Article 6. Sovereignty is vested fully and unconditionally in the nation. ...The right to exercise sovereignty shall not be delegated to any individual, group or class. No person or agency shall exercise any state authority, which does not emanate from the Constitution.

Note: There is a nuance in the wording of our constitution. Why?

Reading 1

Thomas Paine, from *The Rights of Man*, 1791

The two modes of Government which prevail in the world, are -First, Government by election and representation; Secondly, Government by hereditary succession.

The former is generally known by the name of Republic; the latter by that of Monarchy and Aristocracy.

As the exercise of Government requires talents and abilities, and as talents and abilities cannot have hereditary descent, it is evident that hereditary succession requires a belief from man to which his reason cannot subscribe, and which can only be established upon his ignorance; and the more ignorant any country is, the better it is fitted for this species of Government.

On the contrary, Government, in a well-constituted Republic, requires no belief from man beyond what his reason can give. He sees the rationale of the whole system, its origin and its operation; and it is best supported when best understood....

What we formerly called Revolutions were little more than a change of persons, or an alteration of local circumstances... and had nothing in their existence or their fate that could influence beyond the spot that produced them. But what we now see in the world, from the Revolutions of America and France, are a renovation of the natural order of things, a system of principles as universal as truth and the existence of man, and combining moral with political happiness and national prosperity.

I. Men are born, and always continue, free and equal in respect of their rights. Civil distinctions, therefore, can be founded only on public utility.

II. The end of all political associations is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man; and these rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance of oppression.

III. The Nation is essentially the source of all sovereignty; nor can ANY INDIVIDUAL or ANY BODY OF MEN, be entitled to any authority, which is not expressly derived from it...

Reading 2

The American Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them,

A decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes, which impel them to the separation,

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and pursuit of Happiness.

That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,

That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.

Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience had shown, that mankind are disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpation, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.

Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government.

Reading 3

The Tennis Court Oath, 20 June 1789

Source: <http://www.clinch.edu/history/wciv2/civ2ref/tennis.html>

“The national assembly, considering that it has been summoned to establish the constitution of the kingdom, to the effect the regeneration of the public order, and to maintain the true principles of monarchy; that nothing can prevent it from continuing its deliberations in whatever place it may be forced to establish itself; and finally, that whatsoever its members are assembled, there is the National Assembly;

Decreases that all members of this assembly shall immediately take a solemn oath not to separate, and to reassemble wherever circumstances require, until the constitution of the kingdom is established and consolidated upon firm foundations; and that, the said oath taken, all members and each one of them individually shall ratify this steadfast resolution by signature.”

Reading 4

From “The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen”, August 27, 1789

1. Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions may only be founded upon the general good.

2. The aim of all political association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression.

3. The principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. No body nor individual may exercise any authority which does not proceed directly from the nation.

4. Liberty consists in the freedom to do everything which injures no one else; hence the exercise of the natural rights of each man has no limits except those which assure to the other members of the society the enjoyment of the same rights. These limits can only be determined by law.

5. Law can only prohibit such actions as hurtful to society. Nothing may be prevented which is not forbidden by law, and no one may be forced to do anything not provided for by law.

6. Law is the expression of the general will. Every citizen has a right to participate personally or through his representative in its formation. It must be the same for all, whether it protects or punishes. All citizens, being equal in the eyes of the law, are equally eligible to all dignities and to all public positions and occupations, according to their abilities, and without distinctions except that of their virtues and talents.

7. No person shall be accused, arrested or imprisoned except in the cases or according to the forms prescribed by law. Any one soliciting, transmitting, executing or causing to be executed any arbitrary order shall be punished. But any citizen summoned or arrested in the virtue of the law shall submit without delay, as resistance constitutes an offence.

8. The law shall provide for such punishments only as are strictly and obviously necessary, and no one shall suffer punishment except it be legally inflicted in the virtue of a law passed and promulgated before the commission of the offence

9. As all persons are held innocent until they shall have been declared guilty, if arrest shall be deemed indispensable, all harshness not essential to the securing of the prisoner’s person shall be severely repressed by law.

10. No one shall be disquieted on account of his opinions, including his religious views, provided their manifestation does not disturb the public order established by law.

11. The free communication of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious of the rights of man. Every citizen may, accordingly, speak, write and print with freedom, but shall be responsible for such abuses of this freedom as shall be defined by law.

12. The security of the rights of man and of the citizen requires public military force. These forces are, therefore, established for the good of all and not for the personal advantage of those to whom they shall be entrusted.

13. A common contribution is essential for the maintenance of the public forces and for the cost of administration. This should be equitably distributed among all the citizens in proportion to their means.

14. All the citizens have a right to decide, either personally or by their representatives, as to the necessity of the public contribution; to grant this freely; to know to what uses it is put; and to fix the proportion, the mode of assessment, and of collection, and the duration of the taxes.

15. Society has the right to require of every public agent an account of his administration.

16. A society in which the observance of the law is not assured, nor the separation of powers defined, has no constitution at all.

Reading 5

From The Decree Abolishing the Feudal System

From J.H. Robinson, ed., *Readings in European History* 2.vol, Boston: Ginn, 1906, 404-409

The abolition of the feudal system, which took place during the famous night session of August 4-5, 1789, was caused by the reading of a report on the misery and disorders which, prevailed in the provinces. The report declares that " Letters from all the provinces indicate that property of all kinds is a prey to the most criminal violence; on all sides chateaux are being burned, convents destroyed, and farms abandoned to pillage. The taxes, the feudal dues, all are extinct; the laws are without force, and the magistrates without authority." With the hope of pacifying and encouraging the people, the Assembly, in a fervor of enthusiasm and excitement, straightway abolished many of the ancient abuses. The document here given is the revised decree, completed a week later.

I. The National Assembly hereby completely abolishes the feudal system. It decrees that, among the existing rights and dues, both feudal and "censual", all those originating in or representing real or personal serfdom shall be abolished without indemnification. All other dues are declared redeemable, the terms and mode of redemption to be fixed by the National Assembly. Those of the said dues, which are not extinguished by this decree, shall continue to be collected until indemnification shall take place....

III. The exclusive right to hunt and to maintain unenclosed warrens is likewise abolished, and every landowner shall have the right to kill, or to have destroyed on his own land, all kinds of game, observing, however, such police regulations as may be established with a view to the safety of the public....

IV. All manorial courts are hereby suppressed without indemnification. But the magistrates of these courts shall continue to perform their functions until such time as the National Assembly shall provide for the establishment of a new judicial system.

....

XI. All citizens, without distinction of birth, are eligible to any office or dignity, whether ecclesiastical, civil, or military; and no profession shall imply any derogation....

Reading 6

Maximilien Robespierre: Justification of the Use of Terror

<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/modsbook.html>"

On the Moral and Political Principles of Domestic Policy

This great purity of the French revolution's basis, the very sublimity of its objective, is precisely what causes both our strength and our weakness.

..... We must smother the internal and external enemies of the Republic or perish with it; now in this situation, the first maxim of your policy ought to be to lead the people by reason and the people's enemies by terror.

If the spring of popular government in time of peace is virtue, the springs of popular government in revolution are at once virtue and terror: virtue, without which terror is fatal; terror, without which virtue is powerless.

Terror is nothing other than justice, prompt, severe, inflexible; it is therefore an emanation of virtue; it is not so much a special principle as it is a consequence of the general principle of democracy applied to our country's most urgent needs.

It has been said that terror is the principle of despotic government. Does your government therefore resemble despotism? Yes, as the sword that gleams in the hands of the heroes of liberty resembles that with which the henchmen of tyranny are armed. Let the despot govern by terror his brutalized subjects; he is right, as a despot.

Subdue by terror the enemies of liberty, and you will be right, as founders of the Republic. The government of the revolution is liberty's despotism against tyranny. Is force made only to protect crime? And is the thunderbolt not destined to strike the heads of the proud? Indulgence for the royalists, cry certain men, mercy for the villains! No! mercy for the innocent, mercy for the weak, mercy for the unfortunate, mercy for humanity.

Society owes protection only to peaceable citizens; the only citizens in the Republic are the republicans. For it, the royalists, the conspirators are only strangers or, rather, enemies.

Reading 7

La Marseillaise, 1792

<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/modsbook.html>

La Marseillaise, the French national anthem, was composed in one night during the French Revolution (April 24, 1792) by Claude-Joseph Rouget de Lisle, a captain of the engineers and amateur musician. Originally entitled Chant de guerre de l'armée du Rhin (War Song of the Army of the Rhine), the anthem became called "La Marseillaise" because of its popularity with volunteer army units from Marseille. The Convention accepted it as the French national anthem in a decree passed July 14, 1795. La Marseillaise was banned by Napoleon during the Empire, and by Louis XVIII on the Second Restoration (1815), because of its revolutionary associations. Authorized after the July Revolution of 1830, it was again banned by Napoleon III and not reinstated until 1879.

*Let us go, children of the fatherland
Our day of Glory has arrived.
Against us stands tyranny,
The bloody flag is raised,*

*Come together in the countryside
To lower these savage soldiers
They come right into our arms
To cut the throats of your sons, your country.*

*To arms, citizens!
Form up your battalions
Let us march, Let us march!
That their impure blood
Should water our fields*

*Sacred love of the fatherland
Guide and support our vengeful arms.
Liberty, beloved liberty,
Fight with your defenders;*

*Fight with your defenders.
Under our flags, so that victory
Will rush to your manly strains;
That your dying enemies
Should see your triumph and glory*

*Allons les enfants de la Patrie
Le jour de gloire est arrivée
Contre nous, de la tyrannie,
L'étandard sanglant est levée*

*Entendez-vous, dans la compagne.
Mugir ces farouches soldats
Ils viennent jusque dans nos bras
Egorger vos fils, vos compagnes.*

*Aux armes citoyens!
Formez vos bataillons,
Marchons, marchons!
Qu'un sang impur Abreuve nos sillons*

*Amour sacré; de la Patrie,
Conduis, soutiens nos bras vengeurs,
Liberté; liberté; chérie,
Combats avec tes défenseurs;*

*Combats avec tes défenseurs.
Sous drapeaux, que la victoire
Acoureé tes males accents;
Que tes ennemis expirants
Voient ton triomphe et notre gloire!*

Reading 8

An Ottoman pamphlet distributed in Arabic in Syria, Egypt and Arabia (1798)

Source: Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, Oxford, 1968 pp.67-68

In the Name of God, the Merciful and the Compassionate.

O you who believe in the unity of God, community of Muslims, know that the French nation (may god devastate their dwellings and abase their banners, for they are tyrannical infidels and dissident evildoers) do not believe in the unity of the Lord of Heaven and Earth, nor in the mission of the intercessor on the Day of Judgement, but have abandoned all religions, and denied the after-world and its penalties....so that they have pillaged their churches and the adornments of their crucifixes and attacked their priests and monks.

They assert that the books which the prophets brought are clear error, and that the Koran, the Torah and Gospels are nothing, but fakes and idle talk...that all men are equal in humanity, and alike in being men, none has any superiority of merit over any other, and every one himself disposes of his soul and arranges his own livelihood in this life...With counterfeit books and meretricious falsehood they address themselves to every party and say: "We belong to you, to your religion and to your community", and they make them vain promises, and utter fearful warnings.

They are wholly given up to villainy and debauchery, and ride the steed of perfidy and presumption, and dive in the sea of delusion and oppression and are united under the banner of Satan...

Reading 8 (Continued)

Memorandum of Reis-ül-Küttab Ahmed Atif Efendi on the Revolution

Source: Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, Oxford, 1968 pp. 66-67

...the known and famous atheist Voltaire and Rousseau, and other materialists like them, had printed and published various works, consisting, God preserve us, of insults and vilification against pure prophets and great kings, of the removal and abolition of all religion and of allusions to the sweetness of equality and republicanism, all expressed in easily intelligible words and phrases, in the form of mockery, in the language of common people.

Finding the pleasure of novelty in these writings, most of the people, even youths and women, inclined towards them and paid close attention to them, so that heresy and wickedness spread like syphilis to the arteries of their brains and corrupted their beliefs.

When the revolution became more intense, none took offence at the closing of churches, the killing and expulsion of monks, and the abolition of religion and doctrine: they set their hearts on equality and freedom, through which they hoped to attain perfect bliss in this world, in accordance with the lying teachings increasingly disseminated among the common people by this pernicious crew, who stirred up sedition and evil because of selfishness or self-interest....

Nevertheless, the leaders of the sedition and evil appearing in France, in a manner without precedent, in order to facilitate the accomplishment of their evil purposes, and in utter disregard of the fearsome consequences, have removed the fear of God and the regard for retribution from the common people, made lawful all kinds of abominable deeds, utterly obliterated all shame and decency, and thus prepared the way for the reduction of the people of France to the state of cattle.

Nor were they satisfied with this alone, but, finding supporters like themselves in every place, in order to keep other states busy with the protection of their own regimes and thus forestall an attack on themselves, they had their rebellious declaration which they call "The Rights of Man" translated into all languages and published in all parts and strove to incite the common people of the nations and religions to rebel against the kings to whom they were subjected.

From the Report of Mehmed Said Halet Efendi,

Ambassador Ottoman in Paris from 1802 to 1806

Source: Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, Oxford, and 1968 pp. 69

I ask you to pray for my safe return from this land of infidels, for I have come as far as Paris, but I have not yet seen the Frangistan that people speak of and praise; in what Europe these wonderful things and these wise Franks are, I do not know...

Glory be to God, the minds and beliefs of these people! It is a strange thing that this Frangistan, with the praises of which our ears have for so long been filled, we found to be not only unlike what was said, but the reverse...

If anyone, with the intention either of intimidating you or of leading you astray, praises Frangistan, then ask him this question: 'Have you been to Europe, or have you not?' If he says: 'Indeed I have been there, and enjoyed myself awhile', then assuredly he is a partisan and a spy of the Franks. If he says, 'No, I have not been, I know it from history books', then he is one of two things -either he is an ass, who takes heed of what the Franks write, or else he praises the Franks out of religious fanaticism....

Reader 9

Clemens von Metternich, Secret Memorandum to Alexander I, 1820

From :Dennis Sherman, ed. *Western Civilization: Sources, Images, Interpretations, from the Renaissance to the Present*, McGraw Hill ,New York, 1995p.139-141

"L'Europe," a celebrated writer has recently said, "*fait aujourd'hui pitié a l'homme d'esprit et horreur a l'homme vertueux.*"*

It would be difficult to comprise in a few words a more exact picture of the situation at the time we are writing these lines!

Kings have to calculate the chances of their very existence in the immediate future; passions are let loose, and league together to overthrow everything which society respects as the basis of its existence; religion, public morality, laws, customs, rights, and duties, all are attacked, confounded, overthrown, or called in question. The great mass of the people are tranquil spectators of these attacks and revolutions, and of the absolute want of all means of defense. A few are carried off by the torrent, but the wishes of the immense majority are to maintain a repose which exists no longer, and of which even the first elements seem to be lost....

Having now thrown a rapid glance over the first causes of the present state of society, it is necessary to point out in a more particular manner the evil which threatens to deprive it, at one blow, of the real blessings, the fruits of genuine civilization, and to disturb it in the midst of its enjoyments. This evil may be described in one word--presumption; the natural effect of the rapid progression of the human mind towards the perfecting of so many things. This it is which at the present day leads so many individuals astray, for it has become an almost universal sentiment.

Religion, morality, legislation, economy, politics, administration, all have become common and accessible to everyone. Knowledge seems to come by inspiration; experience has no value for the presumptuous man; faith is nothing to him; he substitutes for it a pretended individual conviction, and to arrive at this conviction dispenses with all inquiry and with all study; for these means appear too trivial to a mind which believes itself strong enough to embrace at one glance all questions and all facts. Laws have no value for him, because he has not contributed to make them, and it would be beneath a man of his parts to recognize the limits traced by rude and ignorant generations. Power resides in himself; why should he submit himself to that which was only useful for the man deprived of light and knowledge? That which, according to him, was required in an age of weakness cannot be suitable in an age of reason and vigour amounting to universal perfection, which the German innovators designate by the idea, absurd in itself, of the Emancipation of the People! Morality itself he does not attack openly, for without it he could not be sure for a single instant of his own existence; but he interprets its essence after his own fashion, and allows every other person to do so likewise, provided that other person neither kills nor robs him.

In thus tracing the character of the presumptuous man, we believe we have traced that of the society of the day, composed of like elements, if the denomination of society is applicable to an order of things which only tends in principle towards individualizing all the elements of which society is composed. Presumption makes every man the guide of his own belief, the arbiter of laws according to which he is pleased to govern himself, or to allow some one else to govern him and his neighbors; it makes him, in short, the sole judge of his own faith, his own actions, and the principles according to which he guides them....

The Governments, having lost their balance, are frightened, intimidated, and thrown into confusion by the cries of the intermediary class of society, which, placed between the Kings and their subjects, breaks the sceptre of the monarch, and usurps the cry of the people--the class so often disowned by the people, and nevertheless too much listened to, caressed and feared by those who could with one word reduce it again to nothingness.

We see this intermediary class abandon itself with a blind fury and animosity which proves much more its own fears than any confidence in the success of its enterprises, to all the means which seem proper to assuage its thirst for power, applying itself to the task of persuading Kings that their rights are confined to sitting upon a throne, while those of the people are to govern, and to attack all that centuries have bequeathed as holy and worthy of man's respect--denying, in fact, the value of the past, and declaring themselves the masters of the future. We see this class take all sorts of disguises, uniting and subdividing as occasion offers, helping each other in the hour of danger, and the next day depriving each other of all their conquests. It takes possession of the press, and employs it to promote impiety, disobedience to the laws of religion and the State, and goes so far as to preach murder as a duty for those who desire what is good.

*Today, Europe cause pity to the men of spirit and horror to the virtuous