

CRITICAL THINKING USING PRIMARY SOURCES IN WORLD HISTORY



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CRITICAL THINKING USING PRIMARY SOURCES IN WORLD HISTORY

WENDY S. WILSON AND
GERALD H. HERMAN

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Contents

<i>To the Teacher</i>	<i>iv</i>
<i>About the Authors</i>	<i>vi</i>

Unit 1: Octavian Augustus and the Formation of the Roman Empire

Historical Background	1
Critical-Reading Questions	2
Documents	3

Unit 2: Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Angevin Empire

Historical Background	9
Critical-Reading Questions	10
Documents	11

Unit 3: Martin Luther and the Suppression of the Peasant Revolt

Historical Background	16
Critical-Reading Questions	17
Documents	18

Unit 4: Oliver Cromwell and the English Civil War

Historical Background	27
Critical-Reading Questions	28
Documents	29

Unit 5: Peter the Great and the Westernization of Russia

Historical Background	35
Critical-Reading Questions	36
Documents	37

Unit 6: John Newton and the Transatlantic Slave Trade

Historical Background	42
Critical-Reading Questions	43
Documents	44

Unit 7: Maximilien Robespierre and the “Republic of Virtue”

Historical Background	53
Critical-Reading Questions	56
Documents	57

Unit 8: Robert Peel and the Corn Laws

Historical Background	66
Critical-Reading Questions	67
Documents	68

Unit 9: Sylvia Pankhurst: Advocate or Subversive?

Historical Background	75
Critical-Reading Questions	77
Documents	78

Unit 10: The Boxer Rebellion and the Westernization of China

Historical Background	86
Critical-Reading Questions	88
Documents	88

Unit 11: Francisco (Pancho) Villa: Outlaw or Revolutionary?

Historical Background	95
Critical-Reading Questions	96
Documents	97

Teacher’s Guide

Key Features of Documents	
Used in This Book	104
Grading Rubric for	
Document-Based Essays	109

Mock Trials—Student Information Sheets

1: Courtroom Personnel and Their Roles	111
2: Trial Procedure and Glossary of Legal Terms	113
3: Looking at the Evidence	115

Mock Trials—Guidepost Activities

1: Opening Statement	116
2: Witnesses	117
3: Witness Affidavit	118
4: Evidence Information	119
5: Closing Arguments	120
6: Newspaper Account of the Trial	121

Mock Trials—Witness Lists

Other Historical Figures Connected With Each Unit	122
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Resources	129
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To the Teacher

One of the most essential skills we can teach our students is **critical reading**, which includes **critical thinking** through the evaluation of source materials, particularly primary sources. This significant skill is included in many state frameworks, and it constitutes an important section of the Advanced Placement examinations employing DBQs, or document-based assessment questions.

The ability to read a complex document, to glean significant facts from it, and to detect and analyze any inherent biases and misstatements is a competency clearly needed by all our students, regardless of their ability level or the historical era (including the present day) under study. In fact, in our technological age, the deluge of information available on the World Wide Web and elsewhere makes even more urgent this capacity to determine the relative accuracy and merits of a given document. That is the principle around which this reproducible book is framed.

To accomplish this end, the authors have used figures from a broad range of times and cultures in world history who have helped to shape the period in which they lived. Each unit of this book focuses on one of these individuals.

Materials Included in This Book

Units include the following reproducible materials for your students:

- extensive **background information** on the person and historical era being highlighted
- **key questions** for students to consider as they engage in critical reading about this person and his or her time
- fascinating **primary sources** (letters, eyewitness accounts, diary entries, autobiographical extracts, artwork, government documents, congressional and parliamentary proceedings, and other authentic narratives)

- carefully selected **secondary sources** (magazine and newspaper articles, historical texts, and other nonfiction accounts)
- a detailed list of **multimedia resources** for further investigation

Suggested Procedure for Each Unit

Each unit begins with a reproducible **Historical Background** section. You may decide to assign this section for home reading, or you can have students read the information in class.

The Historical Background reading is followed by **Critical-Reading Questions** for students to consider as they read through the documents that follow. These questions will help them understand the historical context surrounding the person and the events highlighted in the unit. The questions will also help students grasp differing points of view (both political and cultural) that may have affected the events being described. These questions can be answered in a number of ways: (1) orally, within the framework of a whole-class discussion; (2) orally, with individual students or small groups of students answering a question assigned by the teacher; or (3) in writing, with students responding to specific questions in either essay or short-answer format.

The section titled **Documents** contains all of the reproducible readings that have been selected to present the person and topic under study. You may wish to exclude one or more of the documents in each unit, depending on your students' reading abilities and/or the time you have allotted for this activity. You may also choose to assign each document to a small group of students to read and analyze together; groups can then report on their individual documents in a jigsaw-style activity.

At the end of this text is a list of possible **Resources** for each unit, which includes a bibliography. You may wish to use these

Resources to extend your students' understanding of the issues. In a very few cases, some suggested movies are not currently in distribution. However, these movies are occasionally shown in theaters or on television, and they are excellent resources, if available.

The **Teacher's Guide** at the end of this volume includes **Key Features of Documents Used in This Book** to help you assess whether your students have grasped the most salient points in each of the documents you have assigned. This section also includes a grading rubric for student essays.

Mock Trials

A number of sensational trials have dominated the popular media in recent history. How can we, as teachers, turn our nation's fascination with trials into a learning experience? One way is to involve our students in an investigative exercise that encourages them to participate in information gathering and the critical evaluation of evidence necessary to prepare for a mock trial. This format helps students develop their research skills, learn to present information (testimony) clearly, and improve their critical-thinking skills in the

evaluation of primary-source materials (evidence) to formulate a conclusion or verdict.

Suggested "charges" to be brought against the featured person are contained in each unit. The reproducible pages in the Mock Trials section at the back of this book will help you and your students prepare for a trial. If your school has a mock trial club, you might enlist members' support in setting up your trial scenario.

The Mock Trials section also includes possible witness lists. The primary documents included in the unit can be used as evidence; you may also choose to add other documents or items to supplement those provided in the book.

Other Options

Teachers pressed for time can use the trial charges and documents for independent research assignments. Or a class could debate the culpability of the historical figure. Both the trial and the debate formats offer excellent performance-based assessment options. And no matter how the material is used, students learn to evaluate their sources and view all information with a critical eye. We hope that you and your students enjoy these materials.

About the Authors

Wendy S. Wilson has been a teacher in the Lexington, Massachusetts, public schools since 1971. She has taught social studies in grades 7–12, was appointed interim social studies department head, and served as the cable television specialist systemwide. She also has been a senior lecturer in history at University College, Northeastern University, since 1972, and team teaches a graduate course on history and media with Gerald Herman as well as an undergraduate course on films of the 1930s. Wilson has been a frequent presenter at national conferences and was the only public school teacher asked to serve on a task force titled *The Historian and Moving-Image Media*, which was funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities and the American Historical Association. As a program developer and on-camera presenter, she hosted three series on an educational satellite network, two on the Columbus Quincentennial and one on U.S. immigration. She has written several other Walch publications on social studies topics, including *Daily Warm-Ups: World History* and *Critical Thinking Using Primary Sources in U.S. History*.

Gerald H. Herman is a tenured assistant professor of history and education and special assistant to the office of the general counsel at Northeastern University. He is the author of a nine-part multimedia presentation and anthology on the culture on World War I entitled *World War I: The Destroying Fathers Confirmed* and of award-winning National Public Radio programs, one entitled *War* and another, on culture of World War II, entitled *The Sound in the Fury*. He also has written extensively on history and film, including analyses of individual films, teacher guides for secondary schools and colleges, and bibliographical references (including the media section of *The Craft of Public History*, published by Greenwood in 1983). Herman currently serves as media editor for *The Public Historian*. As a media writer and producer he has created a forty-program instructional television history of Western civilization, *Windows on the Past*, and a video for the National Council on Public History, *Public History Today*.

Recent publications include an extensive filmography of dramatic and documentary World War I films in *Hollywood's World War I: Motion Picture Images* (Popular Press, Bowling Green State University, 1997). Currently he is writing a comprehensive *Historians' Guide to Films*.



UNIT 1

Octavian Augustus and the Formation of the Roman Empire

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Although he was born simply Gaius Octavius, this Roman became the first true Emperor of Rome. He has been known throughout history as Emperor Augustus or Caesar Augustus. His reign is controversial because he engineered the end of the ancient Roman Republic and began the imperial legacy. Depending on one's viewpoint, Octavian can be seen as either a hero or a villain. Because he reigned for a long time (27 B.C.E.–14 C.E.), he was able to create a new type of government that endured for more than 300 years of Roman domination.

Octavian was first able to rise in Roman governmental affairs through his uncle, Julius Caesar. When Caesar was assassinated in 44 B.C.E., his will revealed that Octavian had been adopted by his uncle. Octavian vowed to avenge his (now) father's murder. He tried to undermine the power of Mark Antony and Aemilius Lepidus, who were in control in Rome. In this effort, Octavian gained the support of the leader of the Senate, Cicero. Eventually, Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus came to an agreement. They formed a triumvirate, defeated Julius Caesar's assassins, and divided control of the empire among themselves.

When Lepidus lost his power, Antony and Octavian began a long struggle for control of Rome and its territories. In 31 B.C.E., Octavian defeated Antony and the Egyptian queen, Cleopatra. He became the undisputed military leader of Rome, but his constitutional position was unclear. In what has become known as the First Settlement in January of 27 B.C.E., Octavian

pretended to restore the Roman Republic and give power back to the all-important Senate. In reality, the entire process was designed so that Octavian would get most of the power back again. He continued to be elected as *Consul*, a position that gave him executive authority in the Senate.

To honor Octavian for “restoring” the Republic, the Senate conferred many honors upon him, including the name *Augustus*. This meant that he was exalted and given a sacred status. Although it appeared that the newly revitalized Senate had a strong role to play in the government of Rome, Octavian really held the ultimate power. He was commander-in-chief of the army (*Imperator*), and he held the titles of *Tribune* (traditionally held by a member of the plebeian class) and *Princeps Senatus* (President of the Senate). All of his titles were legal terms from the days of the Republic, but the fact that now they were held by one man made this a fairly absolutist regime.

In 23 B.C.E., Augustus fell seriously ill. When he recovered, he once more altered the government of Rome in what has become known as the Second Settlement. Augustus resigned the consulship, but the Senate gave him tribunician authority for life. This meant that he could convene the Senate as well as the Tribal Assembly (popular assembly), propose legislation in both bodies, and have veto power over any enactments. Augustus also expanded his power over the provinces. Many historians see this as the true beginning of the Roman Empire, since, with his control of the army, no one could

challenge the authority of Augustus as emperor.

During his leadership of the empire, known as the Augustan Age, Octavian sought to make his reign the beginning of a new era after the long civil war that had marked the decline of the Republic. He undertook to rebuild the city of Rome; people said that he found Rome a city of brick and left it a city of marble. Augustus also passed laws regulating the morals and family life of Rome. He even went so far as to exile his own daughter for adultery.

That he was a consummate politician and careful in his relationships with leading citizens

is shown by the fact that there was only one plot against Octavian. Moreover, even allowing for the fact that the emperors who followed him were poor rulers, the regime as set up by Octavian Augustus became the standard for the long history of Rome. His influence was demonstrated in 2 B.C.E., when the Senate gave Augustus the new title of *Pater Patriae*, "Father of his Country." Augustus died in 14 C.E. An account of his achievements, known as the *Res Gestae*, was inscribed on pillars set up at the entrance to his mausoleum.

Critical-Reading Questions

Keep these questions in mind as you read the primary-source documents.

- How do Tacitus and Suetonius differ in their evaluations of the reign of Octavian? What can account for the difference in their viewpoints?
- List the five most significant "reforms" of Octavian. Why have you chosen these?
- It has been said that the Roman emperors kept the support of the people by offering them "bread and circuses." What evidence do you find that Octavian began this tradition?
- How did Octavian keep good public relations with the Romans?
- Was Octavian successful due to his own talents, or did the time in which he lived provide the opportunity for him to succeed?
- What problems with Roman society and government did Octavian successfully address?

Mock Trial

Here are the charges against Octavian Augustus (the defendant): Gaius Octavius, also known as Caesar Augustus, is charged with the overthrow of the Roman Republic, the usurpation of the traditional rights of Roman citizens, and the establishment of the Roman Empire with himself as the Emperor.

Document A

Excerpts from *The Ancyra Inscription, Detailing the Life of Caesar Augustus, c. 13 C.E.*

(From: *Augustus: The Life and Times of the Founder of the Roman Empire*, translated by Evelyn Shuckburgh. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1903, pp. 293–301. As found in William H. McNeill and Jean W. Sedlar, eds., *The Classical Mediterranean World*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1969, pp. 253–267)

When I was nineteen I collected an army on my own account and at my own expense, by the help of which I restored the republic to liberty, which had been enslaved by the tyranny of a faction; for which services the Senate, in complimentary decrees, added my name to the roll of their House in the consulship of Gaius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius (B.C. 43), giving me at the same time consular precedence in voting; and gave me imperium [supreme civil and military power]. It ordered me as propraetor [highest judicial authority] “to see along with the consuls that the republic suffered no damage.” Moreover, in the same year, both consuls having fallen, the people elected me consul and a triumvir for revising the constitution. . . .

I had to undertake wars by land and sea, civil and foreign, all over the world, and when victorious I spared all citizens who asked for pardon. Those foreign nations, who could safely be pardoned, I preferred to preserve rather than exterminate. About 500,000 Roman citizens took the military oath to me

I twice celebrated an ovation, three times curule triumphs, and was twenty-one times greeted as imperator. Though the Senate afterwards voted me several triumphs I declined them. I frequently also deposited laurels in the Capitol after performing the vows which I had taken in each war. For successful operations performed by myself or by my legates under my auspices by land and sea, the Senate fifty-three times decreed a supplication to the immortal gods I had been consul thirteen times at the writing of this, and am in the course of the thirty-seventh year of my tribunician power (A.D. 13–14).

The Dictatorship offered me in my presence and absence by the Senate and people in the consulship of Marcus Marcellus and Lucius Arruntius (22 B.C.) I declined to accept. I did not refuse at a time of very great scarcity of corn the commissionership of corn supply, which I administered in such a way that within a few days I freed the whole people from fear and danger. The consulship—either yearly or for life—then offered to me I declined to accept.

In the consulship of M. Vinicius and Q. Lucretius (19 B.C.), of P. and Cn. Lentulus (18 B.C.), and of Paullus Fabius Maximus and Q. Tubero (11 B.C.), when the Senate and people of Rome unanimously agreed that I should be elected overseer of the laws and morals; with unlimited powers and without a colleague, I refused every office offered me which was contrary to the customs of our ancestors. But what the Senate at that time wished me to manage, I carried out in virtue of my tribunician power, and in this office I five times received at my own request a colleague from the Senate.

I was one of the triumvirate [supreme commissioners] for the re-establishment of the constitution for ten consecutive years. I have been princeps senatus [presiding officer of the

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Senate] up to the day on which I write this for forty years. I am Pontifex Maximus [chief priest], Augur, one of the fifteen commissioners for religion, one of the seven for sacred feasts, and Arval brother, a sodalis Titius, a fetial [all are types of priesthood].

In my fifth consulship (29 B.C.) I increased the number of the patricians by order of people and Senate By new laws passed I recalled numerous customs of our ancestors that were falling into desuetude [disuse] in our time, and myself set precedents in many particulars for the imitation of posterity. . . .

By a decree of the Senate my name was included in the ritual of the Salii, and it was ordained by a law that my person should be sacred and that I should have the tribunician power for the term of my natural life. I refused to become Pontifex Maximus in succession to my colleague during his life, though the people offered me that sacred office formerly held by my father. Some years later I accepted that sacred office on the death of the man who had availed himself of the civil disturbance to secure it; such a multitude flocking to my election from all parts of Italy as is never recorded to have come to Rome before

To the Roman plebs I paid 300 sesterces [Roman currency] per head in virtue of my father's will; and in my own name I gave 400 apiece in my fifth consulship (29 B.C.) from the sale of spoils of war; and a second time in my tenth consulship (24 B.C.) out of my own private property I paid a bounty of 400 sesterces per man, and in my eleventh consulship (23 B.C.) I measured out twelve distributions of corn, having purchased the grain from my own resources. In the twelfth year of my tribunician power (11 B.C.), I for the third time gave a bounty of 400 sesterces a head. These largesses of mine affected never less than 250,000 persons. . . .

I four times subsidised the aerarium [national treasury] from my own money, the sums which I thus paid over to the commissioners of the treasury amounting to 150,000,000 sesterces. And in the consulship of M. Lepidus and L. Arruntius (A.D. 6), to the military treasury, which was established on my initiative for the payment of their good service allowance, to the soldiers who had served twenty years or more, I contributed from my own patrimony 170,000,000 sesterces. . . .

I built the curia and Chalcidicum adjoining it, and the temples of Apollo on the Palatine with its colonnades, the temple of the divine Iulius, the Lupercal, the colonnade at the Flaminian circus, . . . the state box at the Circus Maximus, the temples of Jupiter Feretrius and of Jupiter Tonans on the Capitol, the temple of Quirinus, the temples of Minerva and of Juno the Queen, and of Iupiter Libertas on the Aventine, the temple of the Lares at the head of the via Sacra, the temple of divine Penates in the Velia, the temple of Youth, the temple of the Mater Magna on the Palatine.

The Capitolium and the Pompeian theatre—both very costly works—I restored without any inscription of my own name. Water-conduits in many places that were decaying from age I repaired; and I doubled the aqueduct called the Aqua Marcia, by turning a new spring into its channel. . . .

In my sixth consulship (28 B.C.), I repaired eighty-two temples of the gods in the city in accordance with a decree of the Senate, none being omitted which at that time stood in need of repair. . . .

I three times gave a show of gladiators in my own name, and five times in the name of my sons and grandsons; in which shows about 10,000 men contended. I twice gave the people a show of athletes collected from all parts of the world in my own name, and a third time in the name of my grandson. . . .

I gave the people the spectacle of a naval battle on the other side of the Tiber . . . in which

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thirty beaked ships, triremes or biremes, and a still larger number of smaller vessels contended. In these fleets, besides the rowers, there fought about three thousand men. . . .

I cleared the sea of pirates. In that war I captured about 30,000 slaves, who had run away from their masters, and had borne arms against the republic, and handed them back to their owners to be punished. . . .

I extended the frontiers of all the provinces of the Roman people, which were bordered by tribes that had not submitted to our Empire. The provinces of the Gauls, and Spain and Germany, bounded by the Ocean from Gades to the mouth of the river Elbe, I reduced to a peaceful state. . . .

In my sixth and seventh consulships (28, 27 B.C.), when I had extinguished the flames of civil war, having by universal consent become possessed of the sole direction of affairs, I transferred the republic from my power to the will of the Senate and the people of Rome. For which good service on my part I was by decree of the Senate called by the name of Augustus. . . . After that time I took precedence of all in authority (*auctoritate*), but of power I had nothing more than those who were my colleagues in the several magistracies.

While I was administering my thirteenth consulship (2 B.C.), the Senate and equestrian order and the Roman people with one consent greeted me as FATHER OF MY COUNTRY, and decreed that it should be inscribed in the vestibule of my house, and in the Senate house, and in the Forum Augustum, and under the chariot which was there placed in my honour in accordance with a senatorial decree.

When I wrote this I was in my seventy-sixth year (A.D. 13–14).

Document B

Excerpts from Suetonius, *The Life of Augustus*, c. 122 C.E.

From Suetonius, "Life of Augustus," in *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, translated by Alexander Thomson, revised by T. Forester. London: George Bell, 1909. As found in Mark A. Kishlansky, ed., *Sources of World History*, Vol. I. New York: Harper Collins College, 1995, pp. 104–108.

He was advanced to public offices before the age at which he was legally qualified for them: and to some, also, of a new kind, and for life. He seized the consulship in the twentieth year of his age, quartering his legions in a threatening manner near the city, and sending deputies to demand it for him in the name of the army. When the senate demurred, a centurion, named Cornelius, who was at the head of the chief deputation, throwing back his cloak, and shewing the hilt of his sword, had the presumption to say in the senate-house, "This will make him consul, if ye will not." His second consulship he filled nine years afterwards; his third, after the interval of only one year, and held the same office every year successively until the eleventh. From this period, although the consulship was frequently offered him, he always declined it, until, after a long interval, not less than seventeen years, he voluntarily stood for the twelfth, and two years after that, for a thirteenth; that he might successively introduce into the forum, on their entering public life, his two sons, Caius and

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Lucius, while he was invested with the highest office in the state.

He accepted of the tribunitian power for life, but more than once chose a colleague in that office for ten years successively. He also had the supervision of morality and observance of the laws, for life, but without the title of censor; yet he thrice took a census of the people, the first and third time with a colleague, but the second by himself.

He twice entertained thoughts of restoring the republic; first, immediately after he had crushed Anthony, remembering that he had often charged him with being the obstacle to its restoration. The second time was in consequence of a long illness, when he sent for the magistrates and the senate to his own house, and delivered them a particular account of the state of the empire. But reflecting at the same time that it would be both hazardous to himself to return to the condition of a private person, and might be dangerous to the public to have the government placed again under the control of the people, he resolved to keep it in his own hands, whether with the better event or intention, is hard to say. His good intentions he often affirmed in private discourse, and also published an edict, in which it was declared in the following terms: "May it be permitted me to have the happiness of establishing the commonwealth on a safe and sound basis, and thus enjoy the reward of which I am ambitious, that of being celebrated for moulding it into the form best adapted to present circumstances; so that, on my leaving the world, I may carry with me the hope that the foundations which I have laid for its future government, will stand firm and stable."

The city, which was not built in a manner suitable to the grandeur of the empire, and was liable to inundations of the Tiber, as well as to fires, was so much improved under his administration, that he boasted, not without reason, that he "found it of brick, but left it of marble." He also rendered it secure for the time to come against such disasters, as far as could be effected by human foresight

He corrected many ill practices, which, to the detriment of the public, had either survived the licentious habits of the late civil wars, or else originated in the long peace. Bands of robbers showed themselves openly, completely armed, under colour of self-defence; and in different parts of the country, travellers, freemen and slaves without distinction, were forcibly carried off, and kept to work in the houses of correction The bandits he quelled by establishing posts of soldiers in suitable stations for the purpose; the houses of correction were subjected to a strict superintendence; all associations, those only excepted which were of ancient standing, and recognized by the laws, were dissolved. He burnt all the notes of those who had been a long time in arrear with the treasury, as being the principal source of vexatious suits and prosecutions He struck out of the list of criminals the names of those over whom prosecutions had been long impending, where nothing further was intended by the informers than to gratify their own malice, by seeing their enemies humiliated; laying it down as a rule, that if any one chose to renew a prosecution, he should incur the risk of the punishment which he sought to inflict

He was desirous that his friends should be great and powerful in the state, but have no exclusive privileges, or be exempt from the laws which governed others

The whole body of the people, upon a sudden impulse, and with unanimous consent, offered him the title of Father of His Country. It was announced to him first at Antium, by a deputation from the people, and upon his declining the honour, they repeated their offer on his return to Rome, in a full theatre, when they were crowned with laurel.

Document C

A Selection from the *Annals* by Tacitus Assessing the Reign of Augustus, c. 109 C.E.

From *Readings in European History*, edited by Leon Bernard and Theodore B. Hodges, translated by A. J. Church and W. J. Brodribb. New York: Macmillan, 1958, pp. 24–25. Also found on-line at many sites.

On the day of the funeral soldiers stood round as a guard, amid much ridicule from those who had either themselves witnessed or who had heard from their parents of the famous day when slavery was still something fresh, and freedom had been resought in vain, when the slaying of Caesar, the Dictator, seemed to some the vilest, to others, the most glorious of deeds. "Now," they said, "an aged sovereign, whose power had lasted long, who had provided his heirs with abundant means to coerce the State, requires forsooth the defence of soldiers that his burial may be undisturbed."

Then followed much talk about August himself. . . . People extolled, too, the number of his consulships . . . the continuance for thirty-seven years of the tribunitian power, the title of Imperator twenty-one times earned, and his other honours which had been either frequently repeated or were wholly new. Sensible men, however, spoke variously of his life with praise and censure. Some said "that dutiful feeling towards a father, and the necessities of the State in which laws had then no place, drove him into civil war, which can neither be planned nor conducted on any right principles. . . . The only remedy for his distracted country was the rule of a single man. Yet the State had been organized under the name neither of a kingdom nor a dictatorship, but under that of a prince. The ocean and remote rivers were the boundaries of the empire; the legions, provinces, fleets, all things were linked together; there was law for the citizens; there was respect shown to the allies. The capital had been embellished on a grand scale; only in a few instances had he resorted to force, simply to secure the general tranquillity."

It was said, on the other hand, "that filial duty and State necessity were merely assumed as a mask. It was really from a lust of sovereignty that he had excited the veterans by bribery, had, when a young man and a subject, raised an army, tampered with the Consul's legions, and feigned an attachment to the faction of Pompey. By a decree of the Senate he had usurped the high functions and authority of Praetor . . . wrested the consulate from a reluctant Senate, and turned against the State the arms with which he had been intrusted against Antony. Citizens were proscribed, lands divided, without so much as the approval of those who executed these deeds. . . . No doubt, there was peace after all this, but it was a peace stained with blood; . . .

". . . No honour was left for the gods, when Augustus chose to be himself worshipped with temples and statues, like those of the deities, and with flamens and priests. He had not even adopted Tiberius as his successor out of affection or any regard to the State, but, having thoroughly seen his arrogant and savage temper, he had sought glory for himself by a contrast of extreme wickedness."

Document D

Section from *The Aeneid*, by Vergil, (70 B.C.E.–19 B.C.E.)

(From the *Ancient History Sourcebook: Augustan Encomiums*, c. 31 B.C.E.–14 C.E. As found at www.fordham.edu/halsall/ancient/augustanencomiums.html)

Lo! Caesar and all the Julian
Line, predestined to rise to the infinite spaces of heaven.
This, yea, this is the man, so often foretold you in promise,
Caesar Augustus, descended from God, who again shall a golden
Age in Latium found, in fields once governed by Saturn
Further than India's hordes, or the Garymantian peoples
He shall extend his reign; there's a land beyond all of our planets

Yond the far track of the year and the sun, where sky-bearing Atlas
Turns on his shoulders the firmament studded with bright constellations;
Yea, even now, at his coming, foreshadowed by omens from heaven,
Shudder the Caspian realms, and the barbarous Scythian kingdoms,
While the disquieted harbors of Nile are affrighted!

Document E

Titles Adopted by Octavian Augustus

May 8, 44 B.C.E.—Octavian was adopted by Julius Caesar and became known as Gaius Julius Caesar.

January 42 B.C.E.—When Julius Caesar became deified, Octavian was known as Gaius Julius Caesar, *Divi filius* (son of the divine) *Imperator*.

40 B.C.E.—Octavian dropped Gaius and Julius from his name and used the title *Imperator Caesar* (this became the common name for all Roman emperors henceforth until approximately the fourth century C.E.)

January 16, 27 B.C.E.—The title *Augustus* was bestowed upon Octavian.

March 6, 12 B.C.E.—After the death of Lepidus, Octavian received the title *Pontifex Maximus*, or Chief Priest.

February 6, 2 B.C.E.—The Senate gave Octavian the honorary title of *Pater Patriae*, or *Father of His Country*.

Tribunician power was conferred on Octavian in 23 B.C.E. and renewed each year.

Consulship was conferred thirteen times from 43 to 2 B.C.E.

Octavian was acclaimed as *Imperator* twenty-one times throughout his life, beginning in 43 B.C.E. This title was usually given to a victorious general by his troops.



UNIT 2

Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Angevin Empire

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122–1204) was one of the dominant figures of medieval Europe. She had the unique distinction of being both queen of France and, later, queen of England. Eleanor was a ruler in her own right, since she had inherited the rich lands of Aquitaine and Poitou in France from her father (there being no male heir). Aquitaine was a prized possession, covering extensive land in southwestern France. Eleanor's court was a place of culture and refinement. At the age of 15, in 1137, Eleanor was married to King Louis VII of France, bringing her lands as a dowry.

Although they were married for 15 years, the relationship between the rather dour King Louis and the lively Eleanor appears to have been strained. Eleanor gave birth to two daughters but no sons, which added to the tension. In 1147, Louis and Eleanor left France on the Second Crusade to the Holy Land. It was rumored that Eleanor flirted with her uncle and others in Syria. Although unproven, these stories became the subject of poems and ballads that were popular even after Eleanor's death. It was probably while on crusade that Eleanor first decided her marriage to Louis was ill-fated.

Since Eleanor had not produced a male heir, she was able to convince church authorities to annul her marriage on the grounds of consanguinity (blood relationship) in 1152. It was unlikely that someone with her lands would remain single for long, and at the age of 30, she was married to 18-year-old Henry Plantagenet. Ironically, he

was as closely related to Eleanor by blood as King Louis. Henry gathered her lands into his possessions and became King Henry II of England in 1154, the first king of the Angevin dynasty. Eleanor gave birth to five sons and three daughters while married to Henry. She sought to control her lands as she saw fit, however, even setting up her own court in Poitiers, Aquitaine. Eleanor often acted for her husband, passing writs and laws and intervening in political affairs when necessary. Despite their strong personalities and age difference, the marriage worked for a while, even though Henry was known to be unfaithful and had two illegitimate sons. His love affair with Rosamunde Clifford was well known and commented upon at the time. For her part, Eleanor continued to be the subject of rumors, including one that she had had an affair with Henry's father, Geoffrey, the Count of Anjou. It was also rumored that she had brought about the murder of Henry's mistress, Rosamunde, who died in 1176.

When their sons came of age, the marriage began to falter. Henry became embroiled in a dispute with Thomas Becket, the archbishop of Canterbury, over the extension of English Common Law to include the church. This resulted in Becket's assassination by Henry's knights in 1170. Although Henry declared his innocence, he was forced to do penance. Henry also began to plan for his succession and divided his territories among his sons.

Henry declared his eldest son, Henry, as

his successor. However, Eleanor's favorite son, Richard (known as the Lion-Heart), was declared the inheritor of Aquitaine and Poitou. Geoffrey was given Brittany, and John, the youngest, got basically nothing. Henry then refused to include his sons in his decisions; he kept them guessing as to his exact intentions. In 1173, Henry "the Young King" rose in rebellion against his father and was joined by Richard and Geoffrey. Eleanor, tired of Henry's infidelities and eager to rule Aquitaine with Richard firmly in control, supported her sons. Henry was able to put down the rebellion. In 1174, he placed Eleanor in captivity in various castles for 15

years. He only let her out from time to time, to attend an Easter or Christmas court.

In 1183, Henry the younger rose against his father once more. He was aided by his brothers and the new king of France, Philip II. Although young Henry died in 1183 and Geoffrey in 1186, Richard continued the rebellion, eventually defeating his father in 1189. Two days after the defeat, Henry II died. He was succeeded by Richard, who ruled as Richard I. When Richard ascended the throne, Eleanor was released from confinement. Even in her old age, she played an active role in the politics of England and France.

Critical-Reading Questions

Keep these questions in mind as you read the primary-source documents.

- Eleanor of Aquitaine was an educated and literate woman, yet we have no personal writings from her. Why might this be?
- Eleanor was queen of France and then queen of England, but she is always referred to as Eleanor of Aquitaine. What does that tell us about how she was valued in medieval times?
- Many contemporary and later writings about Eleanor characterize her as a

demon, a wanton woman, and the murderer of Henry's mistress, Rosamunde.

Henry II was an unfaithful husband, yet we hear less about his infidelities than about Eleanor's behavior. What about Eleanor caused chroniclers to chastise her and excuse Henry's conduct?

- Recently, there has been significantly more interest in Eleanor of Aquitaine and other medieval women, such as Hildegard of Bingen. Why? Why is the study of women in the Middle Ages so difficult?

Mock Trial

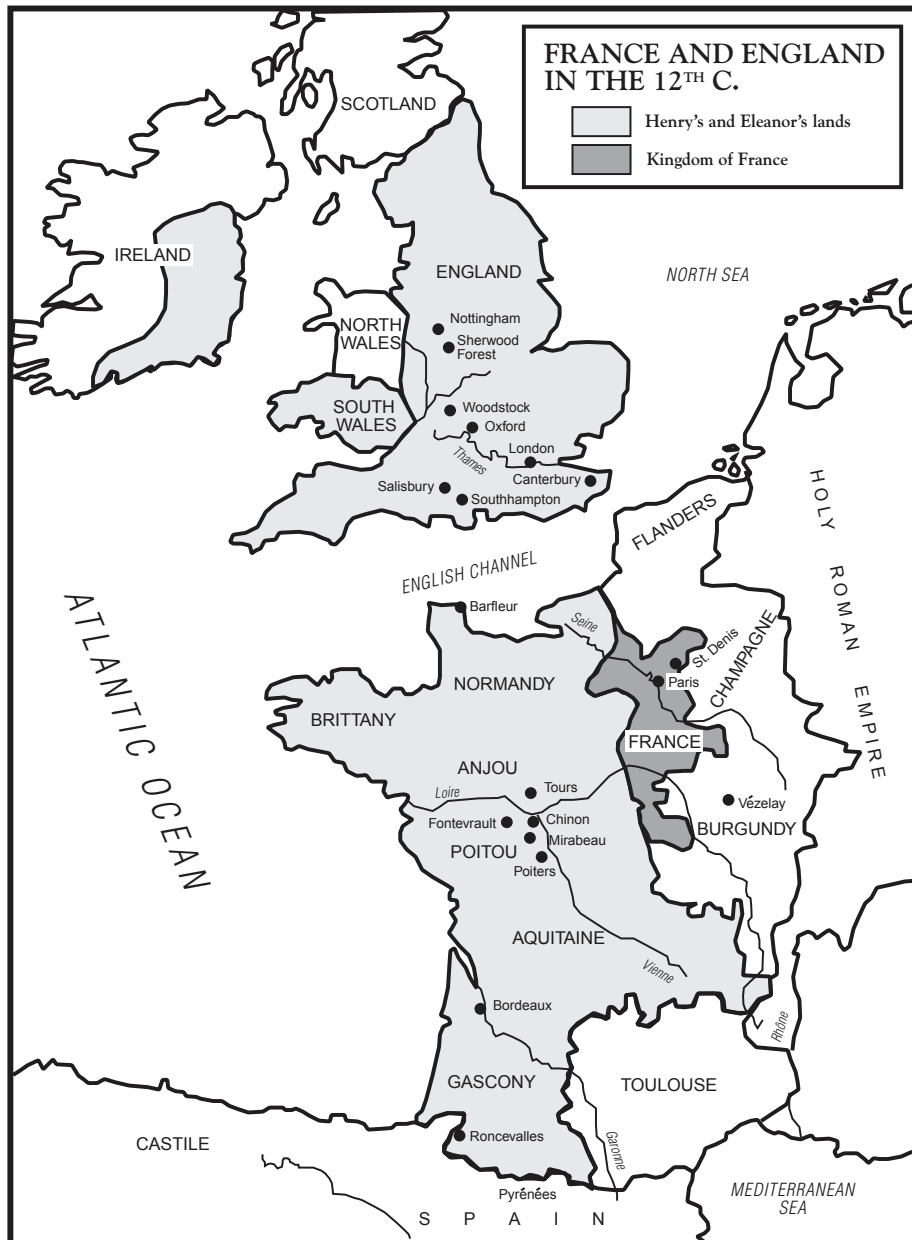
Here are the charges against Eleanor of Aquitaine (the defendant): Eleanor, Queen of England and Duchess of Aquitaine and Poitou, is charged with inciting rebellion against Henry Plantagenet, King of England, and aiding her sons in this rebellion.

DOCUMENTS

Document A

Lands of the Angevin Empire, Including the Lands Henry Claimed Upon His Marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine

(From Polly Schoyer Brooks, *Queen Eleanor: Independent Spirit of the Medieval World*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999.)



Document B

Support for Henry's Son, Henry the Younger, After His Coronation, As Voiced by Many During This Time

(From Jordan Fantosme, *Metrical Chronicle*, edited by Richard Howlett. Rolls series 82, Vol. 3, p. 203. As found in Marion Meade, *Eleanor of Aquitaine: A Biography*. New York: Hawthorn Books, 1977, p. 264.)

Afterwards between you and your son a deadly hatred sprung up
Whence many a gentle knight has since lost his life,
Many a man has been unhorsed, many a saddle emptied,
Many a good bucklet pierced, many a hauberk broken.
After his coronation and after his investiture
You filched from your son something of his lordship,
You took away from him his will; he could not get possession.

Document C

Excerpts from a Letter by Royal Clerk, Peter of Blois, to Queen Eleanor, 1173 (Written on Behalf of His Patron, the Archbishop of Rouen)

(From the Latin text in Chartres Ms#208, translated by Professor Michael Markowski, Westminster College Cf. Migne, P.L. 207:448–9. As found in the *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*.)

To Aleanor, Queen of England. From the Archbishop of Rouen . . .
Greetings in the search for peace—
Marriage is a firm and indissoluble union. This is public knowledge and no Christian can take the liberty to ignore it. . . .
So the woman is at fault who leaves her husband and fails to keep the trust of this social bond. When a married couple becomes one flesh, it is necessary that the union of bodies be accompanied by a unity and equality of spirit through mutual consent. A woman who is not under the headship of the husband violates the condition of nature, the mandate of the Apostle, and the law of Scripture. . . .
We deplore publicly and regretfully that, while you are a most prudent woman, you have left your husband. The body tears at itself. The body did not sever itself from the head, but what is worse, you have opened the way for the lord king's, and your own, children to rise up against the father. . . .
We know that unless you return to your husband, you will be the cause of widespread disaster. While you alone are now the delinquent one, your actions will result in ruin for everyone in the kingdom. Therefore, illustrious queen, return to your husband and our

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king. In your reconciliation, peace will be restored from distress, and in your return, joy may return to all. If our pleadings do not move you to this, at least let the affliction of the people, the imminent pressure of the church and the desolation of the kingdom stir you. For either truth deceives, or "every kingdom divided against itself will be destroyed [Luke 11]." Truly, this desolation cannot be stopped by the lord king but by his sons and their allies.

Against all women and out of childish counsel, you provoke disaster for the lord king, to whom powerful kings bow the neck. And so, before this matter reaches a bad end, you should return with your sons to your husband, whom you have promised to obey and live with. Turn back so that neither you nor your sons become suspect. We are certain that he will show you every possible kindness and the surest guarantee of safety.

I beg you, advise your sons to be obedient and respectful to their father. He has suffered many anxieties, offenses and grievances. Yet, so that impudence might not demolish and scatter good will . . ., we say these things to you, most pious queen, in the zeal of God and the disposition of sincere love.

Truly, you are our parishioner as much as your husband. We cannot fall short in justice: Either you will return to your husband, or we must call upon canon law and use ecclesiastical [church] censures against you. We say this reluctantly, but unless you come back to your senses, with sorrow and tears, we will do so.

Document D

Richard le Poitevin's Lament for Eleanor at the Time of Her Imprisonment

(From Marion Meade, *Eleanor of Aquitaine: A Biography*. New York: Hawthorn Books, 1977, p. 279.)

Tell me, Eagle with two heads, tell me: where were you when your eaglets, flying from their nest, dared to raise their talons against the king of the North Wind? It was you, we learn, who urged them to rise against their father. That is why you have been plucked from your own country and carried away to an alien land. Your barons have cheated you by their conciliatory words. In the old days, with your taste for luxury and refinement, you enjoyed a royal liberty. You lived richly on your own inheritance, you took pleasure in the pastimes of your women, you delighted in the melodies of the flute and drum. And now, Queen with two crowns, you consume yourself with sorrow, you ravage your heart with tears. Return, O captive, return to your own lands if you can. You may ask yourself: Where is my court? Where are the members of my family? Where are my handmaidens, my counselors? Some have been torn from their lands and condemned to a shameful death; some have been deprived of their sight, others wander exiled in far places. Eagle of the broken alliance, how much longer will you cry out unanswered? The king of the North Wind holds you in captivity. But do not despair; lift your voice like a bugle and it shall reach the ears of your sons. The day will come when they will set you free and you shall come again to dwell in your native land.

**Selected Stanzas of the Ballad "Fair Rosamunde"
by Thomas Deloney (late 16th century)**

(From Thomas Percy, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, edited by R. A. Willmott. London, n.d., pp. 252–257. As found in D. D. R. Owen, *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Queen and Legend*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1996, pp. 121–124.)

When as king Henry rulde this land,
The second of that name,
Besides the queene, he dearly lovde
A fair and comely dame.

Most peerlesse was her beautye founde,
Her favour and her face;
A sweeter creature in this worlde
Could never prince embrace. . . .

Yea Rosamonde, fair Rosamonde,
Her name was called so,
To whom our queene, dame Ellinor,
Was known a deadlye foe. . . .

But when the queene with stedfast eye
Beheld her beauteous face,
She was amazed in her minde
At her exceeding grace.

'Cast off from thee those robes,' she said,
'That riche and costlye bee;
And drinke thou up this deadlye draught,
Which I have brought to thee.'

Then presentlye upon her knees
Sweet Rosamonde did falle;
And pardon of the queene she crav'd
For her offences all.

'Take pittie on my youthfull yeares,'
Faire Rosamunde did crye;
'And lett mee not with poison stronge
Enforced bee to dye. . . .'

But nothing could this furious queene
Therewith appeased bee;
The cup of deadlye poyson stronge,
As she knelt on her knee,

Shee gave this comelye dame to drinke,
Who tooke it in her hande,
And from her bended knee arose,
And on her feet did stand;

And casting up her eyes to heaven,
Shee did for mercye calle;
And drinking up the poison stronge,
Her life she lost withalle.



UNIT 3

Martin Luther and the Suppression of the Peasant Revolt

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

One of the most pivotal events in the early modern world was the Protestant Reformation in Europe. The Reformation had social, economic, and political ramifications, since the Church was so intricately connected in all realms of life. Once the power of the Church was broken, many other changes ensued, such as demands for more active lay participation and the lessening of the burdens of traditional feudal obligations and taxes. The German Peasants' Revolt of 1524–25 was a good example of all of these forces at work.

The most influential figure in the Protestant Reformation was Martin Luther, a German theologian (1483–1546). Many consider Luther the founder of the Protestant movement. Luther's father wanted him to become a lawyer, but at the age of 22, he entered an Augustinian monastery. In 1507, Luther was ordained a priest. Due to his intelligence and scholarship, he was selected for advanced study and entered the University of Wittenberg.

Although Luther became a popular professor at Wittenberg and received his doctorate, he was consumed with feelings of sin and self-doubt. While meditating on the letters of Paul in the Bible, Luther developed his notion of "justification by faith." According to this belief, Christians are saved by the grace of God, not by any deeds that they perform. When the Dominican friar Johannes Tetzel appeared near Wittenberg, selling indulgences for the forgiveness of sins, Luther was stirred to action. He wrote 95 objections to the sale

of indulgences upon Biblical grounds. These *Ninety Theses* were printed and circulated in many areas of Europe. In the resulting furor, many adopted Luther's ideas, which had expanded to question the entire structure of the Catholic Church, such as the sanctity of the priesthood and the necessity for the seven sacraments.

Most of Luther's followers were from the literate classes, but German peasants also saw an opportunity to have their many grievances aired at this time. Peasants in the southern and southwestern regions of the German states were under many feudal obligations, although serfdom was on the decline in most of western Europe. As German princes sought to expand their power and rule their lands with a salaried bureaucracy, the costs were passed on to the peasants. The expansion of Roman Law during this period also harmed the peasants. Roman law recognized the value of private property; land the peasants had used freely (pasture, woods, and streams—often referred to as *common land*) became closed to them. The transition from payment in kind (for example, crops or livestock) to a monetary system also hurt the peasants, as did death duties on land. This reduced what could be passed from one generation to the next. Many peasants who had been freeholders became renters; then they fell further into serfdom. The peasants frequently petitioned their leaders for a return to the traditional local laws and customs that they found less restrictive.

Around Luther's time, the grievances came from more prosperous peasants who wanted greater influence in the political realm as well as the correction of economic hardships. Luther's ideas appealed to the peasants. In 1524, they rose in an armed rebellion. Some peasants hoped that Luther would serve as their arbitrator in dealing with the lords, a role he refused to take.

In Saxony, a radical minister named Thomas Müntzer took over as the leader of the peasants. Under his exhorting, the revolt became violent. On May 15, 1525, at Frankenhäusen, the peasant force met the imperial army and was slaughtered. Müntzer was

captured, tortured, and executed. The landlords took bloody reprisals against the peasants, leaving perhaps as many as 100,000 dead. Although the peasants as a class were not wiped out, because their landlords needed them to till the soil, they lost hope of any share of the political and economic life of the German states. In the words of historian Roland Bainton, "For three centuries they became hornless oxen." Many of them left the Protestant cause and returned to Catholicism or turned to the radical Anabaptists.

(Roland Bainton, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther*. New York: Abington Press, 1950, p. 281.)

Critical-Reading Questions

Keep these questions in mind as you read the primary-source documents.

- Was there anything in Luther's writings that could have convinced the German peasants that he would support them in their demands?
- What were the main demands the peasants made? Given the time period, were they reasonable and just?
- What was Luther's initial reaction to the peasants' demands?
- How is the religious ferment of the time reflected in the events of the peasant revolt?
- How did Luther's views change? What can account for this seemingly dramatic change of opinion? How does Luther justify the actions taken against the peasants?

Mock Trial

Here are the charges against Martin Luther (the defendant): Martin Luther, former professor of theology at the University of Wittenberg, is charged with inciting German peasants to rebel and then having them murdered to suppress that rebellion.

DOCUMENTS

Document A

Martin Luther's Treatise on Christian Liberty, 1520 (Exerpts)

(From Lewis W. Spitz, ed., *The Protestant Reformation*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1966, pp. 60–68.)

To make the way smoother for the unlearned—for only them do I serve—I shall set down the following two propositions concerning the freedom and the bondage of the spirit:

A Christian is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none.

A Christian is a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all.

These two theses seem to contradict each other. If, however, they should be found to fit together they would serve our purpose beautifully. Both are Paul's own statements, who says in I Cor. 9 [:19], "For though I am free from all men, I have made myself a slave to all," and in Rom. 13 [:8], "Owe no one anything, except to love one another." Love by its very nature is ready to serve and be subject to him who is loved. So Christ, although he was Lord of all, was "born of woman, born under the law" [Gal. 4:4], and therefore was at the same time a free man and a servant, "in the form of God" and "of a servant" [Phil. 2:6–7]. . . .

Not only are we the freest of kings, we are also priests forever, which is far more excellent than being kings, for as priests we are worthy to appear before God to pray for others and to teach one another divine things. These are the functions of priests, and they cannot be granted to any unbeliever. Thus Christ has made it possible for us, provided we believe in Him, to be not only His brethren, co-heirs and fellow-kings, but also His fellow-priests. Therefore we may boldly come into the presence of God in the spirit of faith [Heb. 10:19, 22] and cry "Abba, Father!" [We may] pray for one another, and do all things which we see done and foreshadowed in the outer and visible works of priests. . . .

This is done when that Christian liberty which He bestows is rightly taught and we are told in what way we Christians are all kings and priests and therefore lords of all and may firmly believe that whatever we have done is pleasing and acceptable in the sight of God as I have already said. . . .

This is the place to assert [what] was said above, namely, that a Christian is the servant of all and made subject to all. Insofar as he is free he does no works, but insofar as he is a servant he does all kinds of works.

Document B

The Twelve Articles of the Peasants of Swabia, 1524

(From Mark A. Kishlansky, ed., *Sources of the West: Readings in Western Civilization*, Vol I, Fourth edition. Boston: Longman, 2001, pp. 286–288.)

There are many evil writings put forth of late which take occasion, on account of the assembling of the peasants, to cast scorn upon the gospel, saying, "Is this the fruit of the new teaching, that no one should obey but that all should everywhere rise in revolt, and rush

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together to reform, or perhaps destroy altogether, the authorities, both ecclesiastic and lay?" The articles below shall answer these godless and criminal fault-finders, and serve, in the first place, to remove the reproach from the word of God, and, in the second place, to give a Christian excuse for the disobedience or even the revolt of the entire peasantry. . . .

The First Article. First, it is our humble petition and desire, as also our will and resolution, that in the future we should have power and authority so that each community should choose and appoint a pastor, and that we should have the right to depose him should he conduct himself improperly. The pastor thus chosen should teach us the gospel pure and simple, without any addition, doctrine, or ordinance of man.

The Second Article. According as the just tithe is established by the Old Testament and fulfilled in the New, we are ready and willing to pay the fair tithe of grain. The word of God plainly provides that in giving rightly to God and distributing to his people the services of a pastor are required. We will that for the future our church provost, whomsoever the community may appoint, shall gather and receive this tithe. From this he shall give to the pastor, elected by the whole community, a decent and sufficient maintenance for him and his, as shall seem right to the whole community. What remains over shall be given to the poor of the place, as the circumstances and the general opinion demand. . . .

The Third Article. It has been the custom hitherto for men to hold us as their own property, which is pitiable enough, considering that Christ has delivered and redeemed us all, without exception, by the shedding of his precious blood, the lowly as well as the great. Accordingly it is consistent with Scripture that we should be free and should wish to do so. . . . We therefore take it for granted that you will release us from serfdom as true Christians, unless it should be shown us from the gospel that we are serfs.

The Fourth Article. In the fourth place, it has been the custom heretofore that no poor man should be allowed to touch venison or wild fowl, or fish in flowing water, which seems to us quite unseemly and unbrotherly as well as selfish and not agreeable to the word of God. In some places the authorities preserve the game to our great annoyance and loss, recklessly permitting the unreasoning animals to destroy to no purpose our crops, which God suffers to grow for the use of man; and yet we must submit quietly. . . . Accordingly it is our desire, if a man holds possession of waters, that he should prove from satisfactory documents that his right has been unwittingly acquired by purchase. We do not wish to take it from him by force, but his rights should be exercised in a Christian and brotherly fashion. But whoever cannot produce such evidence should surrender his claim with good grace.

The Fifth Article. In the fifth place, we are aggrieved in the matter of woodcutting, for the noble folk have appropriated all the woods to themselves alone. If a poor man requires wood, he must pay two pieces of money for it. It is our opinion in regard to a wood which has fallen into the hands of a lord, whether spiritual or temporal, that unless it was duly purchased it should revert again to the community. It should, moreover, be free to every member of the community to help himself to such firewood as he needs in his home.

The Sixth Article. Our sixth complaint is in regard to the excessive services which are demanded of us and which are increased from day to day. We ask that this matter be properly looked into, so that we shall not continue to be oppressed in this way, but that some

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gracious consideration be given to us, since our forefathers were required only to serve according to the word of God.

The Seventh Article. Seventh, we will not hereafter allow ourselves to be farther oppressed by our lords, but will let them demand only what is just and proper according to the word of the agreement between the lord and the peasant. The lord should no longer try to force more services or other dues from the peasant without payment, but permit the peasant to enjoy his holding in peace and quiet. The peasant should, however, help the lord when it is necessary, and at proper times, when it will not be disadvantageous to the peasant, and for a suitable payment.

The Eighth Article. In the eighth place, we are greatly burdened by holdings which cannot support the rent exacted from them. The peasants suffer loss in this way and are ruined; and we ask that the lords may appoint persons of honor to inspect these holdings, and fix a rent in accordance with justice, so that the peasant shall not work for nothing, since the laborer is worthy of his hire.

The Ninth Article. In the ninth place, we are burdened with a great evil in the constant making of new laws. We are not judged according to the offense, but sometimes with great ill-will, and sometimes much too leniently. . . .

The Tenth Article. In the tenth place, we are aggrieved by the appropriation by individuals of meadows and fields which at one time belonged to a community. . . .

The Eleventh Article. In the eleventh place, we will entirely abolish the due called "heriot,"¹ and will no longer endure it, nor allow widows and orphans to be thus shamefully robbed against God's will.

Conclusion. In the twelfth place, it is our conclusion and final resolution that if any one or more of the articles here set forth should not be in agreement with the word of God, as we think they are, such article we will willingly retract if it is proved really to be against the word of God by a clear explanation of the Scripture. . . . The peace of Christ abide with us all.

¹The heriot was a death tax on inheritance, also known as the "todfall."

Document C

Martin Luther: Admonition to Peace, 1525 (Excerpts)

(From Mark A. Kishlansky, ed., *Sources of the West: Readings in Western Civilization*, Vol I, Fourth edition. Boston: Longman, 2001, pp. 288–290.)

To the peasants. So far, dear friends, for the princes; now let me, in all kindness and charity, address myself to you. I have acknowledged that the princes and lords who prohibit the preaching of the gospel, and who load the people with intolerable burdens, have well merited that the Almighty should cast them from their seats, seeing that they have sinned against God and against man, and are without excuse.

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Nevertheless, though your complaints are just, and your demands reasonable, it behoves you to prosecute those demands with moderation, conscience, and justice. If you act with conscience, moderation, and justice, God will aid you; and even though subdued for the moment, you will triumph in the end; and those of you who may perish in the struggle, will be saved. But if you have justice and conscience against you, you will fail; and even though you were not to fail, even though you were to kill all the princes, you, body and soul, would be none the less eternally damned. . . .

Put no trust, I pray you, in the prophets of murder whom Satan has raised up amongst you, and who proceed directly from him, though they sacrilegiously invoke the name of the holy gospel. They will hate me, I know, for the counsel I give you, they will call me hypocrite, but this I heed not a whit. What I desire is, to save from the anger of God the good and honest among you; I care not for the rest, I heed them not, I fear them not; let them despise me, if they will, I know One who is stronger than all of them put together, and he tells me in the 3rd Psalm to do that which I am now doing. The tens of thousands, and the hundreds of thousands, intimidate not me

Do you not perceive, my friends, that if your doctrine were tenable, there would remain upon earth neither authority, nor order, nor any species of justice. Every man would act entirely as his own judge, his own vindicator, and nought would be seen but murder, rapine, and desolation.

I say all this unto you, my dear friends, that you may see to what an extent you are profaning the name of Christ and of his holy law; however just your demands may be, it befits not a Christian to draw the sword, or to employ violence; you should rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded, according to the law which has been given unto you (1 Corinthians, vi.). At all events, if you persist in carrying out the dictates of a perverse will, desecrate not the name of Christ, nor impiously make use of it as a pretext and cloak for your unrighteous conduct. I will not permit you to do so; I will not excuse it; I will wrest that name from you by any effort of which I am capable, sacrificing, if necessary, the last drop of blood in my veins. . . .

It is absolutely essential, then, that you should either abandon your enterprise, and consent to endure the wrongs that men may do unto you, if you desire still to bear the name of Christians; or else, if you persist in your resolutions, that you should throw aside that name, and assume some other. Choose one or the other of these alternatives: there is no medium.

Answer to Article 1.—If authority will not support a pastor who is agreeable to the feelings of a particular parish, the parish should support him at its own expense. If authority will not permit this pastor to preach, the faithful should follow him elsewhere.

Answer to Article 2.—You seek to dispose of a tithe which does not belong to you; this would be a spoliation and robbery. If you wish to do good, let it be with your own money, and not with that of other people. God himself has told us that he despises an offering which is the product of theft.

Answer to Article 3.—You wish to apply to the flesh the Christian liberty taught by the gospel, but I would ask you did not Abraham and the other patriarchs, as well as the

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prophets, keep bondmen? St. Paul himself tells us that the empire of this world cannot subsist without an inequality of persons.

Answer to the eight last Articles.—As to your propositions respecting game, wood, feudal services, assessment of payments, &c., I refer these matters to the lawyers; I am not called upon to decide respecting them; but I repeat to you that the Christian is a martyr, and that he has no care for all these things; cease, then, to speak of the Christian law, and say rather than it is the human law, the natural law that you assert, for the Christian law commands you to suffer as to all these things, and to make your complaint to God alone.

Document D

Thomas Müntzer Criticizes Luther, 1525

(From Otto H. Brandt, *Thomas Müntzer, sein Leben und seine Schriften*. 1933, pp. 187–201. As found in Roland H. Bainton, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther*. New York: Abindon Press, 1950, pp. 277–278.)

Luther says that the poor people have enough in their faith. Doesn't he see that usury and taxes impede the reception of the faith? He claims that the Word of God is sufficient. Doesn't he realize that men whose every moment is consumed in the making of a living have no time to learn to read the Word of God? The princes bleed the people with usury and count as their own the fish in the stream, the bird of the air, and the grass of the field, and Dr. Liar says, "Amen!" What courage has he, Dr. Pussyfoot, the new pope of Wittenberg, Dr. Easychair, the basking sycophant? He says there should be no rebellion because the sword has been committed by God to the ruler, but the power of the sword belongs to the whole community. In the good old days the people stood by when judgment was rendered lest the ruler pervert justice, and the rulers have perverted justice. They shall be cast down from their seats. The fowls of the heavens are gathering to devour their carcasses.

Document E

Excerpt of a Letter from Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, to His Brother, c. 1525.

(From Roland H. Bainton, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther*. New York: Abingdon Press, 1950, p 278.)

Perhaps the peasants have been given just occasion for their uprising through the impeding of the Word of God. In many ways the poor folk have been wronged by the rulers, and now God is visiting his wrath upon us. If it be his will, the common man will come to rule; and if it be not his will, the end will soon be otherwise. Let us then pray to God to forgive our sins, and commit the case to him. He will work it out according to his good pleasure and glory.

Document F

From the Diary of Michael Eisenhart, Citizen of Rothenburg in Bavaria, 1525.

(From J. H. Robinson, *Readings in European History*. Vol. II. New York: Ginn, 1904, pp. 101–108. As found in Leon Bernard and Theodore B. Hodges. eds., *Readings in European History*. New York: Macmillan, 1958, pp. 230–232.)

On March 21, a Tuesday, thirty or forty peasants got together in a mob in Rothenburg, bought a kettledrum, and marched about the town, a part going to Pretheim and a part toward Orenbach. . . .

The working classes in the town now begin to revolt. . . .

March 24. This evening between five and six o'clock some one knocked off the head of Christ's image on a crucifix and struck off the arms.

March 26. Chrischainz, the baker, knocked the missal out of the priest's hand in the chapel of our Lady and drove away the priest from mass. . . .

On Tuesday eight hundred peasants came together. Those who would not join them willingly they forced to do so or took their property, as happened to a peasant at Wettring.

On this same day all the artisans were to lay all their complaints and demands before a committee. The taxes, wages, and methods of weighing were discussed. . . .

April 19. The peasants take three casks of wine from the priest at Scheckenpach and drink it up.

On Wednesday (April 26) Lorenz Knobloch was hewn to pieces by the peasants at Os-theim, and then they pelted one another with the fragments. They said he was a traitor and that he wanted to mislead them. Divine retribution! He had said he would not die until he had killed three priests, but, thank God, not one fell into his hands.

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In Rothenburg the citizens are summoned to decide whether, like the neighboring towns of Heilbronn, Dinkelsbühl and Wimfen, they will aid the peasants. The majority decide to send them guns and pikes, powder and lead.

May 15. The bell summoned the community. In spite of the protests of the old Christians, they are forced to obey the majority, and Rothenburg that day fell away from the empire and joined the peasants. . . .

May 21. Certain Hohenlohe peasants burn their lord's castle.

On the next Monday Margrave Casimir proceeds with his forces to subdue and punish the peasants. . . .

On Monday after Whitsunday eight thousand peasants are slaughtered by the troops of the League [the Swabian League under Casimir] near Büttart and Sulzdorf. In all these battles the League lost not over one hundred and fifty men.

On June 6 messengers are sent from Rothenburg to Casimir to ask for pardon. Next day others are sent to the League, but they are told that they must surrender unconditionally.

On Thursday following, after the League had retaken the town of Würzburg, they beheaded sixty-two.

After the League had attacked Bamberg they beheaded twenty-one.

On Friday after Corpus Christi, mass was once more chanted in Rothenburg, as formerly.

On the eve of Peter and Paul's day Margrave Casimir rides into Rothenburg with four hundred horsemen, a thousand footmen, and two hundred wagons full of arms and equipments.

June 30. The citizens of Rothenburg are summoned to the market place by a herald and surrounded by pikemen. They are accused of deserting the empire and joining the peasants, and are threatened with the vengeance they deserve.

The names of a number of citizens are read off, and they are beheaded on the spot. Their bodies are left on the market place all day.

Document G

Martin Luther, "Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants," May 1525 (Excerpts)

(From David Englander et al., eds., *Culture and Belief in Europe, 1450–1600*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1990, pp. 191–194.)

In the former book I did not venture to judge the peasants, since they had offered to be set right and to be instructed, and Christ's command, in Matthew 7[:1], says that we are not to judge. But before I look around they go on, and, forgetting their offer, they betake themselves to violence, and rob and rage and act like mad dogs. By this it is easy to see what they had in

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their false minds, and that the pretences which they made in their twelve articles, under the name of the Gospel, were nothing but lies. It is the devil's work that they are at, and in particular it is the work of the archdevil who rules at Mühlhausen, and does nothing else than stir up robbery, murder and bloodshed; as Christ says of him in John 8[:44], 'He was a murderer from the beginning.' . . .

The peasants have taken on themselves the burden of three terrible sins against God and man, by which they have abundantly merited death in body and soul. In the first place they have sworn to be true and faithful, submissive and obedient, to their rulers, as Christ commands, when he says, 'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's,' [Matthew 22:21] and in Romans 13[:1], 'Let everyone be subject unto the higher powers.' Because they are breaking this obedience, and are setting themselves against the higher powers, wilfully and with violence, they have forfeited body and soul, as faithless, perjured, lying, disobedient knaves and scoundrels are wont to do. . . .

In the second place, they are starting a rebellion, and violently robbing and plundering monasteries and castles which are not theirs, by which they have a second time deserved death in body and soul, if only as highwaymen and murderers. Besides, any man against whom it can be proved that he is a maker of sedition is outside the law of God and Empire, so that the first who can slay him is doing right and well. . . . For rebellion is not simple murder, but is like a great fire, which attacks and lays waste a whole land. . . . Therefore let everyone who can, smite, slay and stab, secretly or openly, remembering that nothing can be more poisonous, hurtful or devilish than a rebel. It is just as when one must kill a mad dog; if you do not strike him, he will strike you, and a whole land with you.

In the third place, they cloak this terrible and horrible sin with the Gospel, call themselves 'Christian brethren', receive oaths and homage, and compel people to hold with them to these abominations. Thus they become the greatest of all blasphemers of God and slanderers of his holy Name, serving the devil, under the outward appearance of the Gospel, thus earning death in body and soul ten times over. . . .

It does not help the peasants, when they pretend that, according to Genesis 1 and 2, all things were created free and common, and that all of us alike have been baptized. For under the New Testament Moses does not count; for there stands our Master, Christ, and subjects us, with our bodies and our property, to the emperor and the law of this world, when he says, 'Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's.' Paul, too, says, in Romans 13[:1], to all baptized Christians, 'Let every man be subject to the power', and Peter says, 'Be subject to every ordinance of man' [1 Peter 2:13]. . . . For baptism does not make men free in body and property, but in soul; and the Gospel does not make goods common. . . . Our peasants, however, would have other men's goods common, and keep their own goods for themselves. Fine Christians these! I think there is not a devil left in hell; they have all gone into the peasants. Their raving has gone beyond all measure. . . .

. . . I will not oppose a ruler who, even though he does not tolerate the Gospel, will smite and punish these peasants without offering to submit the case to judgment. For he is within his rights, since the peasants are not contending any longer for the Gospel, but

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have become faithless, perjured, disobedient, rebellious murderers, robbers and blasphemers, whom even heathen rulers have the right and power to punish; nay, it is their duty to punish them, for it is just for this purpose that they bear the sword, and are 'the ministers of God upon him that doeth evil'. . . .

Therefore, dear lords, here is a place where you can release, rescue, help. Have mercy on these poor people [whom the peasants have compelled to join them]. Stab, smite, slay, whoever [you] can. If you die in doing it, well for you! A more blessed death can never be yours, for you die in obeying the divine Word and commandment in Romans 13, and in loving service of your neighbour, whom you are rescuing from the bonds of hell and of the devil. And so I beg everyone who can to flee from the peasants as from the devil himself; those who do not flee, I pray that God will enlighten and convert. As for those who are not to be converted, God grant that they may have neither fortune nor success. To this let every pious Christian say Amen! For this prayer is right and good, and pleases God; this I know. If anyone think this too hard, let him remember that rebellion is intolerable and that the destruction of the world is to be expected every hour.



UNIT 4

Oliver Cromwell and the English Civil War

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The seventeenth century in England was a period of religious and political upheaval and experimentation. The events of this century established, once and for all, that England was going to be a constitutional or limited monarchy and that the official religion of the realm was that of the Anglican Church. Instrumental in the events from approximately 1640 to 1658 was Oliver Cromwell, a Puritan landowner who rose to prominence due to his abilities as a military commander.

When Queen Elizabeth I died in 1603, the crown passed to James VI of Scotland, who became King James I of England. England had a long tradition of parliamentary rule dating back to the Magna Carta of 1215, but James believed in the Divine Right of Kings. According to this theory, the king's power was absolute and unquestionable. His belief put James at odds with Parliament. Moreover, many elected members of Parliament were Puritans who were opposed to the Anglican Church, of which the king was the head. Monetary problems also plagued the monarchy, and any new taxes had to be approved by Parliament.

Upon James's death, his son Charles became king. Charles inherited his father's views as well as his problems. Charles I and Parliament were almost immediately opposed; Charles even attempted to rule without Parliament from 1629 to 1640. During this time, he trespassed upon the rights of his subjects each year to find funds without having to resort to

calling Parliament. A war with the Scots, however, caused by Charles's insistence on the use of the Anglican prayer book in that country, finally forced the king to call Parliament.

Parliament, under the control of the Puritans, forced reforms upon Charles before granting him any funds, most notably the Petition of Right. The king responded by attempting to arrest the Puritan leaders for treason. Just when it looked as if the Puritans had gained the upper hand, a party arose to support the king, fearing that the Puritans were going to abolish the primacy of the Anglican Church. A civil war broke out in 1642 between the supporters of the king and the supporters of Parliament. At first, the parliamentary forces were defeated. However, Oliver Cromwell formed a new cavalry regiment, known as the New Model Army, which was able to defeat the king in 1646.

In the chaos of the civil war, when the population of England was divided into many factions, the army came to be the supreme power. Parliament tried to govern, but Cromwell purged it of those elements who did not support the army, reducing Parliament to a "rump." This Rump Parliament put King Charles on trial for treason, found him guilty, and ordered his execution. England became a commonwealth to be ruled solely by Parliament, and Cromwell went off to subdue the Scots and the Irish.

The Rump Parliament proved incapable of governing. Cromwell eventually chased them out and ended their rule in 1653. The

army called for a new Parliament, which was to be made up of “Puritan saints,” but this group exhibited just as much incompetence as the Rump. Other Parliaments followed, but there was so much controversy that Cromwell, taking the title Lord Protector, virtually ruled England as a military dictatorship.

Although the majority of English citizens were Anglican, the Puritan minority in control forced their religious beliefs upon the nation.

They outlawed dancing, sporting events, music (except for hymns), and even Christmas. Upon Cromwell’s death in 1658 from malaria, the Commonwealth faltered, and the monarchy was restored in 1660. This great experiment in governing without a monarch had been a failure, yet England learned that having a constitutional monarch head the Anglican Church was preferable to a Puritan minority ruling through Parliament.

Critical-Reading Questions

Keep these questions in mind as you read the primary-source documents.

- Did King Charles abuse his authority as king of England? What evidence of abuse do you find in the documents?
- What are Charles’s arguments against his trial? Do you feel that the trial of the king was legal?
- Why did Cromwell feel that he was forced to take control of Parliament?
- Did Cromwell’s reign have any positive aspects and results?

Mock Trial

Here are the charges against Oliver Cromwell (the defendant): Oliver Cromwell is charged with the usurpation of the traditional government of England by first overthrowing the king, then taking control of Parliament.

Document A

Charles I Invades Parliament to Arrest Five Puritan Leaders, 1642

(John Rushworth, *Historical Collections*. Vol. IV. London: 1691, pp. 447–478. As found in Elizabeth Kimball Kendall, ed., *Sourcebook of English History*. New York: Macmillan, 1900, pp. 237–240.)

. . . The said five accused Members this day *after dinner* came into the House. . . .

They were no sooner sate in their places, but the House was informed . . . that his Majesty was coming with a Guard of Military Men, Commanders and Souldiers, to the House of Commons. . . . Whereupon a certain Member of the House having also private Intimation . . . that endeavours would be used this day to apprehend the five Members, the House required the five Members to depart the House forthwith, to the end to avoid Combustion in the House, if the said Souldiers should use Violence to pull any of them out. To which Command of the House, four of the said Members yielded ready Obedience, but Mr. *Stroud* was obstinate, till Sir *Walter Earle* (his ancient acquaintance) pulled him out by force, the King being at that time entering into the *New Pallace-yard*, in *Westminster*. And as his Majesty came through *Westminster Hall*, the Commanders, Reformadoes, &c. that attended him, made a Lane on both sides the Hall (through which his Majesty passed and came up the Stairs to the House of Commons) and stood before the Guard of Pentioners, and Halber-teers, (who also attended the Kings Person,) and the door of the House of Commons being thrown open, his Majesty entered the House, and as he passed up towards *the Chair* he cast his eye on the Right-hand near the Bar of the House, where Mr. *Pym* used to sit, but his Majesty not seeing him there (knowing him well) went up to the Chair, and said, "By your leave, (Mr. Speaker) I must borrow your Chair a little," whereupon the Speaker came out of the Chair, and his Majesty stepped up into it, after he had stood in the Chair a while, casting his Eye upon the Members as they stood up *uncovered*, but could not discern any of the five Members to be there, nor indeed were they easie to be discerned (had they been there) among so many bare Faces all standing up together.

Then his Majesty made this Speech,

"Gentlemen,

"I Am sorry for this occasion of coming unto you: Yesterday I sent a Serjeant at Arms upon a very Important occasion to apprehend some that by my command were accused of High Treason, whereunto I did expect Obedience and not a Message. And I must declare unto you here, that albeit, no King that ever was in *England*, shall be more careful of your Priviledges, to maintain them to the uttermost of his power then I shall be; yet you must know that in Cases of Treason, no person hath a priviledge. And therefore I am come to know if any of these persons that were accused are here: For I must tell you Gentlemen, that so long as these persons that I have accused (for no slight Crime but for Treason) are here, I cannot expect that this House will be in the Right way that I do heartily wish it; Therefore I am come to tell you that I must have them wheresoever I find them. Well since I see all the Birds are Flown, I do expect from you, that you shall send them unto me, as soon as they

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return hither. But I assure you, in the word of a King, I never did intend any Force, but shall proceed against them in a legal and fair way, for I never meant any other.

“And now since I see I cannot do what I came for, I think this no unfit occasion to repeat what I have said formerly, That whatsoever I have done in favour, and to the good of my Subjects, I do mean to maintain it.

“I will trouble you no more, but tell you I do expect as soon as they come to the House, you will send them to me; otherwise I must take my own Course to find them.”

Document B

Pamphleteer of the Time Describes the Civil War

(As found in James Harvey Robinson, *Readings in European History*. Boston: Ginn, 1906, p. 357.)

The war went on with horrid rage in many places at one time; and the fire, when once kindled, cast forth, through every corner of the land, not only sparks but devouring flames; insomuch that the kingdom of England was divided into more seats of war than counties; nor has she more fields than skirmishes, nor cities than sieges; and almost all the palaces of lords, and other great houses, were turned everywhere into garrisons of war. They fought at once by sea and land; and through all England (who could but lament the miseries of his country!) sad spectacles were seen of plundering and firing villages; and the fields, otherwise waste and desolate, were rich only and terribly glorious in camps and armies.

Document C

Oliver Cromwell Justifies the Army's Attack on Parliament, c. 1648

(Excerpts from a letter to Colonel Hammond [Robin] in Thomas Carlyle, ed., *Letters and Speeches*. New York, 1847, pp. 108ff. As found in George L. Mosse et al., eds., *Europe in Review*. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1957, pp. 74–75.)

. . . You say: “God hath appointed authorities among the nations, to which active or passive obedience is to be yielded. This resides in England in the Parliament. Therefore active or passive resistance,” &c.

Authorities and powers are the ordinance of God. This or that species is of human institution, and limited, some with larger, others with stricter bands, each one according to its constitution. But I do not therefore think the Authorities may do *anything*, and yet such obedience be due. All agree that there are cases in which it is lawful to resist. If so, your ground fails, and so likewise the inference. Indeed, dear Robin, not to multiply words, the query is, Whether ours be such a case? This ingenuously is the true question.

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To this I shall say nothing, though I could say very much; but only desire thee to see what thou findest in thy own heart to two or three plain considerations: *First*, Whether *Salus Populi* [the good of the people] be a sound position? *Secondly*, Whether in the way in hand, really and before the Lord, before whom conscience has to stand, this be provided for; or if the whole fruit of the war is not like to be frustrated, and all most like to turn to what it was, and worse? And this, contrary to Engagements, explicit Covenants with those who ventured their lives upon those Covenants and Engagements, without whom perhaps, in equity, relaxation ought not to be? *Thirdly*, Whether this Army be not a lawful Power, called by God to oppose and fight against the King upon some stated grounds; and being in power to such ends, may not oppose one Name of Authority, for those ends, as well as another Name—since it was not the outward Authority summoning them that by its power made the quarrel lawful but the quarrel was lawful in itself? If so, it may be, acting will be justified *in foro humano* [before men]. But truly this kind of reasonings may be but fleshly either with or against: only it is good to try what truth may be in them. And the Lord teach us. . . .

We trust, the same Lord who hath framed our minds in our actings is with us in this also. And all contrary to a natural tendency, and to those comforts *our* hearts could wish to enjoy as well as others. And the difficulties probably to be encountered with, and the enemies:—not few; even all that is glorious in this world. Appearance of united names, titles and authorities “all against us”;—and yet not terrified “we”: only desiring to fear our great God, that we do nothing against His will. Truly, this is our condition.

And to conclude. We in this Northern Army were in a waiting posture; desiring to see what the Lord would lead us to. . . . Dear Robin, beware of men; look up to the Lord. Let Him be free to speak and command in thy heart. Take heed of the things I fear thou has reasoned thyself into; and thou shall be able through Him, without consulting flesh and blood, to do valiantly for Him and His people.

Document D

The Charge Against King Charles I at His Trial, December 1648

(From John Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, 1659.)

That said Charles Stuart, being admitted King of England, and therein trusted with a limited power to govern by and according to the laws of the land, and not otherwise; and by his trust, oath, and office, being obliged to use the power committed to him for the good and benefit of the people, and for the preservation of their rights and liberties; yet, nevertheless, out of a wicked design to erect and uphold in himself an unlimited and tyrannical power to rule according to his will, and to overthrow the rights and liberties of the people, yea, to take away and make void the foundations thereof, and of all redress and remedy of misgovernment, which by the fundamental constitutions of this kingdom were

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reserved on the people's behalf in the right and power of frequent and successive Parliaments, or national meetings in Council; he, the said Charles Stuart, for accomplishment of such his designs, and for the protecting of himself and his adherents in his and their wicked practices, to the same ends hath traitorously and maliciously levied war against the present Parliament, and the people therein represented, particularly upon or about the 30th day of June, in the year of our Lord 1642, at Beverley, in the County of York; and upon or about the 24th day of August in the same year, at the County of the Town of Nottingham, where and when he set up his standard of war; and also on or about the 23rd day of October in the same year, at Edgehill or Keynton-field, in the County of Warwick; and upon or about the 30th day of November in the same year, at Brentford, in the Country of Middlesex. . . . [there continues a list of dates and places where the king has levied war] At which several times and places, or most of them, and at many other places in this land, at several other times within the years aforementioned, and in the year of our Lord 1646, he, the said Charles Stuart, hath caused and procured many thousands of the free people of this nation to be slain; and by divisions, parities, and insurrections within this land, by invasions from foreign parts, endeavoured and procured by him, and by many other evil ways and means, he, the said Charles Stuart, hath not only maintained and carried on the said war both by land and sea, during the years beforementioned, but also hath renewed, or caused to be renewed, the said war against the Parliament and good people of this nation in this present year 1648. . . . By which cruel and unnatural wars, by him, the said Charles Stuart, levied, continued, and renewed as aforesaid, much innocent blood of the free people of this nation hath been spilt, many families have been undone, the public treasure wasted and exhausted, trade obstructed and miserably decayed, vast expense and damage to the nation incurred, and many parts of this land spoiled, some of them even to desolation. . . .

All which wicked designs, wars, and evil practices of him, the said Charles Stuart, have been, and are carried on for the advancement and upholding of a personal interest of will, power, and pretended prerogative to himself and his family, against the public interest, common right, liberty, justice, and peace of the people of this nation, by and from whom he was entrusted as aforesaid.

By all which it appeareth that the said Charles Stuart hath been, and is the occasioner, author, and continuer of the said unnatural, cruel and bloody wars; and therein guilty of all the treasons, murders, rapines, burnings, spoils, desolations, damages and mischiefs to this nation, acted and committed in the said wars, or occasioned thereby.

The Speech of King Charles at His Trial, January 1649

(From <http://personal.pitnet.net/primarysources/charles.html>.)

I would know by what power I am called hither . . . I would know by what authority, I mean *lawful*; there are many unlawful authorities in the world; thieves and robbers by the high-ways . . . Remember, I am your King, your *lawful* King, and what sins you bring upon your heads, and the judgement of God upon this land. Think well upon it, I say, think well upon it, before you go further from one sin to a greater . . . I have a trust committed to me by God, by old and lawful descent, I will not betray it, to answer a new unlawful authority; therefore resolve me that, and you shall hear more of me.

I do stand more for the liberty of my people, than any here that come to be my pretended judges . . . I do not come here as submitting to the Court. I will stand as much for the privilege of the House of Commons, rightly understood, as any man here whatsoever: I see no House of Lords here, that may constitute a Parliament . . . Let me see a legal authority warranted by the Word of God, the Scriptures, or warranted by the constitutions of the Kingdom, and I will answer.

It is not a slight thing you are about. I am sworn to keep the peace, by that duty I owe to God and my country; and I will do it to the last breath of my body. And therefore ye shall do well to satisfy, first, God, and then the country, by what authority you do it. If you do it by an usurped authority, you cannot answer it; there is a God in Heaven, that will call you, and all that give you power, to account.

If it were only my own particular case, I would have satisfied myself with the protestation I made the last time I was here, against the legality of the Court, and that a King cannot be tried by any superior jurisdiction on earth: but it is not my case alone, it is the freedom and the liberty of the people of England; and do you pretend what you will, I stand more for their liberties. For if power without law, may make laws, may alter the fundamental laws of the Kingdom, I do not know what subject he is in England that can be sure of his life, or any thing that he calls his own.

I do not know the forms of law; I do know law and reason, though I am no lawyer professed; but I know as much law as any gentleman in England, and therefore, under favour, I do plead for the liberties of the people of England more than you do; and therefore if I should impose a belief upon any man without reasons given for it, it were unreasonable . . . The Commons of England was never a Court of Judicature; I would know how they came to be so.

It was the liberty, freedom, and laws of the subject that ever I took—defended myself with arms. I never took up arms against the people, but for the laws . . . For the charge, I value it not a rush. It is the liberty of the people of England that I stand for. For me to acknowledge a new Court that I never heard of before, I that am your King, that should be an example to all the people of England, for to uphold justice, to maintain the old laws, indeed I do not know how to do it.

This many-a-day all things have been taken away from me, but that that I call more

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dear to me than my life, which is my conscience, and my honour: and if I had a respect to my life more than the peace of the Kingdom, and the liberty of the subject, certainly I should have made a particular defence for my self; for by that at leastwise I might have delayed an ugly sentence, which I believe will pass upon me Now, sir, I conceive that an hasty sentence once passed, may sooner be repented of than recalled: and truly, the self-same desire that I have for the peace of the Kingdom, and the liberty of the subject, more than my own particular ends, makes me now at lest desire, before sentence be given, that I may be heard . . . before the Lords and Commons If I cannot get this liberty, I do protest, that these fair shows of liberty and peace are pure shows and that you will not hear your King.

Document F

Oliver Cromwell Dismisses the Rump Parliament, 20 April, 1653

(From the DC Speech Archive at www.debate.f25.com/archive/cromwell.html.)

It is high time for me to put an end to your sitting in this place, which you have dishonored by your contempt of all virtue, and defiled by your practice of every vice; ye are a factious crew, and enemies to all good government; ye are a pack of mercenary wretches, and would like Esau sell your country for a mess of pottage, and like Judas betray your God for a few pieces of money; is there a single virtue now remaining amongst you? Is there one vice you do not possess? Ye have no more religion than my horse; gold is your God; which of you have not barter'd your conscience for bribes? Is there a man amongst you that has the least care for the good of the Commonwealth?

Ye sordid prostitutes have you not defil'd this sacred place, and turn'd the Lord's temple into a den of thieves, by your immoral principles and wicked practices? Ye are grown intolerably odious to the whole nation; you were deputed here by the people to get grievances redress'd, are yourselves become the greatest grievance. Your country therefore calls upon me to cleanse this Augean stable, by putting a final period to your iniquitous proceedings in this House; and which by God's help, and the strength he has given me, I am now come to do; I command ye therefore, upon the peril of your lives, to depart immediately out of this place; go, get you out! Make haste! Ye venal slaves be gone! So! Take away that shining bauble there, and lock up the doors. In the name of God, go!



UNIT 5

Peter the Great and the Westernization of Russia

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Peter I became czar of Russia in 1683 and ruled until 1725. His reign is viewed as a turning point for his nation; the long-term results of his rule are still debated today. When Peter was born, Russia was a nation very different from Europe. It had strange and crude customs, primitive technology, a huge peasant population falling further into serfdom, and a church that feared learning and advancement. A Russian bishop was reported to have declared, “Abhorred of God is any who loves geometry; it is a spiritual sin.”¹

As a young man, Peter was impressed with western Europe. He often mixed with foreigners living in Russia. He also traveled to western Europe, spending over a year mostly in Holland and England. He visited workshops, military fortifications, shipbuilding facilities (where he worked as a carpenter), and any other institution where he could gain knowledge about European technology and political and economic structures. Standing 6 feet 8 inches tall, Peter dressed and acted like a common laborer. He often left his living spaces in shambles, but he learned quickly. Peter recruited over 1,000 experts to come to Russia to help modernize the state. His motives appear to have been not so much to bring European civilization to Russia as an end in itself, but to create a new Russia that could defend itself against the West and expand its territory to include warm-water ports.

From the beginning, Peter’s “reforms” and his reign caused controversy. While he was in western Europe, his elite guard in the

army, the *streltsy*, rebelled. Peter returned to Russia and savagely put down the rebellion, killing five of the insurgents himself. A major defeat by the Swedes in 1700, when a Swedish force of 8,000 routed 40,000 Russians, further convinced Peter that he needed to rebuild his army. This he did. His modernized army was eventually able to defeat the Swedes in 1709. This enabled Peter to secure a section of the Baltic coast, where he built a new capital city modeled on cities in western Europe. He named it St. Petersburg.

Peter embarked on other reforms, in particular dismantling the structure of the Russian Orthodox Church. The Church had undergone some changes in the 1650s, mainly to correct some mistranslations in the Russian version of the Bible. Some had opposed these changes; they became known as the Old Believers and were particularly numerous among the peasants. Peter opposed both the Old Believers and the reformers. He put the church under the control of a committee of bishops called the Holy Synod, and he put that body under a government official called the Procurator of the Holy Synod. This basically secularized the church, making the czar its head instead of the traditional patriarch.

The traditional Russian nobility, or *Boyar* class, was subjected to mandatory state service under Peter’s rule. A Table of Ranks replaced the status of nobility by birth with a nobility based on state service. Peasants fell into a form of serfdom that was more like chattel

slavery, since they could be bought and sold without their land. To force Russians to behave more like western Europeans, Peter held classes in etiquette. He forbade men to wear beards, made the nobles send their sons to school, and edited the first Russian newspaper. When his son made it clear that when he

became czar he would not continue his father's reforms, Peter had him tortured to death.

By the time of Peter's death, Russia was much more part of western Europe than it had been, but questions still remain about the human cost of this rapid westernization.

¹ From R. R. Palmer and Joel Colton, *A History of the Modern World*. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1995, eighth edition, p. 236

Critical-Reading Questions

Keep these questions in mind as you read the primary-source documents.

- What were the conditions in Russia (social, political, economic) before the reign of Peter the Great? In what areas did Russia lag behind western Europe?
- What traditional institutions did Peter the Great see as impediments to progress in Russia?
- How did Peter's personality affect the way in which he instituted reforms? Compare the description of Peter in Document A with that in Document F. How do they differ?
- Was it necessary for the reforms to take the form they did?
- Were Peter's changes truly reforms for the betterment of Russia, or were they forced westernization or Europeanization for the expansion of Russian territory and power?
- What segments of Russian society were most affected by the changes of Peter the Great?
- In what ways was Russia better off after the reign of Peter the Great?
- Were there any negative results of Peter's changes?

Mock Trial

Here are the charges against Peter the Great (the defendant): Peter I, czar of Russia, is charged with the suppression of the traditional liberties of his people, especially in his acts against the Boyars, Old Believers of the Russian Church, and serfs.

Document A

Bishop Burnet's Impressions of Peter the Great in 1698 (Excerpts)

(From James Harvey Robinson, *Readings in European History*. Boston: Ginn, 1906, pp. 388–390.)

I mentioned in the relation of the former year [1698] the tsar's coming out of his own country; on which I will now enlarge. He came this winter over to England and stayed some months among us. I waited often on him, and was ordered both by the king and the archbishop and bishops to attend upon him and to offer him such informations of our religion and constitution as he was willing to receive. I had good interpreters, so I had much free discourse with him. He is a man of a very hot temper, soon inflamed and very brutal in his passion. He raises his natural heat by drinking much brandy, which he rectifies himself with great application. He is subject to convulsive motions all over his body, and his head seems to be affected with these. He wants not capacity, and has a larger measure of knowledge than might be expected from his education, which was very indifferent. A want of judgment, with an instability of temper, appear in him too often and too evidently. . . .

He was desirous to understand our doctrine, but he did not seem disposed to mend matters in Moscovy. He was, indeed, resolved to encourage learning and to polish his people by sending some of them to travel in other countries and to draw strangers to come and live among them. He seemed apprehensive still [i.e., ever] of his sister's [i.e., the Princess Sophia's] intrigues. There was a mixture both of passion and severity in his temper. He is resolute, but understands little of war, and seemed not at all inquisitive that way. . . .

He went from hence to the court of Vienna, where he purposed to have stayed some time, but he was called home sooner than he had intended upon a discovery, or a suspicion, of intrigues managed by his sister. The strangers, to whom he trusted most, were so true to him that those designs were crushed before he came back. But on this occasion he let loose his fury on all whom he suspected. Some hundreds of them were hanged all around Moskow, and it was said that he cut off many heads with his own hand; and so far was he from relenting or showing any sort of tenderness that he seemed delighted with it. How long he is to be the scourge of that nation God only knows.

Document B

An English Engineer, John Perry, Describes Russia and the Changes That Peter the Great Brought to His Country

(From John Perry, *The State of Russia Under the Present Czar*. As found in Putnam, Peter, ed., *Seven Britons in Imperial Russia, 1698–1812*. Copyright © 1952 by Princeton University Press. Reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press. As found in Leon Bernard and Theodore Hodges, eds., *Readings in European History*. New York: MacMillan, 1958, pp. 298–301.)

It was a very rare thing in Russia before this present Czar's time to have found any man, even among the highest and the most learned of the clergy, to have understood any language but their own; and as they were themselves void of learning, so they were wary and cautious to keep out all means that might bring it in, lest their ignorance should be discovered . . . for which reason the learning of foreign languages and books were always formerly discouraged; even as they are to this day in the Turkish Empire. . . .

There came once a press and letters out of Poland to Mosco, where a printing-house was set up with approbation of one of the former Czars; but long after the house was fir'd in the night-time, and the press and letters were burnt, as was thought by the procurement of the priests, they looking upon all other books except the history of their own country, and the exploits and victories of their Czars, and the lives and miracles of their saints, to be as dangerous as witchcraft.

This ignorance was not so much to be wonder'd at when it is consider'd that they neither suffer'd their sons to travel, nor was there ever any university in the country, or considerable school of any learning, till this Czar's time. . . .

. . . notwithstanding their pretended purity in keeping their fasts, and abstaining from flesh, there is nothing more common than to have both the people and the priest, too, go to church on a holiday in the morning, and get drunk in the afternoon long before night; especially the greater the holiday, the more it is excusable, and the custom, to be drunk. It is very ordinary at such times, if you ride through Mosco in the evening on a great holiday, to see the priests, as well as other men, lie drunk about the streets. . . .

It had been the manner of the Russes, like the Patriarchs of old, to wear long beards hanging down upon their bosoms, which they comb'd out with pride, and kept smooth and fine, without one hair to be diminish'd. . . . The Czar, therefore, to reform this foolish custom, and to make them look like other Europeans, ordered a tax to be laid, on all gentlemen, merchants, and others of his subjects (excepting the priests and common peasants, or slaves) that they should each of them pay a hundred rubles per annum, for the wearing of their beards, and that even the common people should pay a copeck at the entrance of the gates of any of the towns or cities of Russia. . . .

The Czar . . . gave orders that all his boyars and people whatsoever, that came near his court, and that were in his pay should . . . equip themselves with handsome cloathes made after the English fashion. . . . And next he commanded, that a pattern of cloathes of the English fashion should be hung up at all the gates of the city of Mosco, and that publication should be made, that all persons (excepting the common peasants who brought goods and

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provisions into the city) should make their cloathes according to the said patterns; and that whosoever should disobey the said orders, and should be found passing any of the gates of the city in their long habits, should either pay two grevens (which is 20 pence) or be obliged to kneel down at the gates of the city, and to have their coats cut off just even with the ground. . . .

. . . . It [is] a thing common in Russia to beat wives in a most barbarous manner, very often so unhumanly that they die with the blows; the wives being thus many times made desperate, murther [murder] their husbands in revenge for the ill usage they receive; on which occasion there is a law made, that when they murther their husbands, they are set alive in the ground, standing upright, with the earth fill'd about them, and only their heads left just above the earth, and a watch set over them, that they shall not be relieved till they are starved to death; which is a common sight in that countrey, and I have known them live sometimes seven or eight days in that posture.

. . . among some other causes, one of the chief which makes the generality of the nobility at present uneasy, is, that the Czar obliges them against their will, to come and live at Petersburg, with their wives and their families, where they are oblig'd to build new houses for themselves, and where all manner of provisions are usually three or four times as dear, and forage for their horses, etc. at least six or eight times as dear as it is at Mosco; which happens from the small quantity which the countrey thereabouts produces, being more than two thirds woods and bogs; and not only the nobility, but merchants and tradesmen of all sorts, are oblig'd to go and live there.

Document C

Engraving of the State Executioners Torturing the *Streltsy* for Rebelling Against Peter the Great While He Was Traveling in Western Europe, 1698

(Used by permission of the British Library, London.)



Document D

An Account of the Torture of the *Streltsy* by Johann Georg Korb, an Austrian Official at the Court of the Czar

(From Johann Georg Korb, *Diary of an Austrian Secretary of Legation at the Court of Tsar Peter the Great*, Vol. I. Translated and edited by Count MacDonnel. London: Frank Cass, 1968, p. 243. Used by permission of Frank Cass Publishers. As found in Robert K. Massie, *Peter the Great: His Life and World*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981, pp. 254–255.)

While one accomplice or rebel was being tied to a rack, . . . his lamentations gave rise to a hope that truth might be pressed from him by torments; but no, for as soon as his body began to be stretched with the rope, besides the horrible cracking of his members which

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were being torn from their natural sockets, he remained mute, even when twenty strokes of the knout were superadded, as if the accumulation of his pain were too great to afflict the senses. All believed that the man must be crushed with excess of calamity to such a degree that he must have lost the power of moaning and of speech. So he was loosed from the infamous rack and rope, and then asked if he knew the persons present in the torture chamber. To the astonishment of all, he enumerated every one of them. But when they put a fresh question about the treason, once more he became utterly dumb, and did not break silence during the whole quarter of an hour, while he was roasted by a fire at the Tsar's command. The Tsar, tired at last of this exceedingly wicked stubbornness, furiously raised the stick which he happened to have in his hand, and thrust it so violently into his jaws—clenched in obstinate silence—to break them open, and make him give tongue and speak. And these words too that fell from the raging man, "Confess, beast, confess!" loudly proclaimed how great was his wrath.

Document E

Description of Peter the Great's Reform of the Russian Orthodox Church

(Translation © 1993 by M. E. Sharpe Inc. From Evgenii V. Anisimov, *The Reforms of Peter the Great: Progress Through Coercion in Russia*, translated by John T. Alexander. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1993.) Reprinted with permission.

His Imperial Majesty, attending a meeting of archbishops and observing the increased desire of several for the selection of a patriarch, which had been proposed by the clergy more than once, pulled out of his pocket with one hand the Spiritual Regulation prepared for such an instance and dispatching it, told them threateningly: "You ask for a patriarch, here is a spiritual patriarch for you, and to those who think otherwise (he unsheathed a dirk with his other hand and struck the table with it) here's a steel patriarch for you!" Then he stood up and left. After that the proposal to select a patriarch was abandoned and the Most Holy Synod was established. In agreement with Peter the Great's intention to establish a Spiritual College were Stefan Yavorsky and Feofan Prokopovich who had been helping His Majesty in writing the Regulation. Peter designated the former chairman of the Synod and the latter he made vice-president, whereas he himself became head of the church of his own state and once, recounting the disputes of Patriarch Nikon with the tsar, his parent Aleksei Mikhailovich, he said: "It's time to constrain the authority not proper to the old man [i.e., the patriarch]; God willing, it is for me to reform the laity and the clergy, for them I am both master and patriarch."



UNIT 6

John Newton and the Transatlantic Slave Trade

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Although slavery had certainly existed since ancient times, the historical significance of the transatlantic slave trade surpassed all previous forms of slavery. This is due to the numbers of slaves captured and transported across the ocean, the effects on Africa, the results for the Americas (where most slaves landed), and the influences on the economies of many European states, particularly England. Millions of Africans were shipped to the Americas from the time the trade actively got under way in the early 1600s until it was outlawed by most nations in the early 1800s.

The effects on Africa have been much debated, but it is widely acknowledged that the slave trade encouraged warfare and dissension among African peoples and depleted the population of the continent. The trade did, however, bring Africa into a closer relationship with Europe. The millions of Africans brought to the New World left a cultural and racial heritage, especially as they outnumbered European immigrants to the New World by four times before about 1820.

The economic motives for the slave trade were great. Although the trade was risky for Europeans due to occurrences such as disease, shipwrecks, and slave rebellions, the rewards often far outweighed those hazards. Profits were as high as 300 percent for shipowners and slave traders. Slaves could be purchased in Africa for trade goods such as manufactured cloth, iron bars, beads, alcohol, tobacco, or brass bowls. Thus the trade produced an outlet for goods as well as a commodity

in return—slaves for the New World plantations.

Students frequently ask why the Africans participated in the slave trade and whether they realized the consequences of their actions upon their people. There are many interpretations of African intent. Some historians believe the Africans did not truly understand the damage the slave trade was doing to their continent. Others feel that the Africans did understand the detrimental results of the trade, but they were tempted by the goods offered by the Europeans and the high prices Europeans were willing to pay for slaves. Elaborate rituals imposed on European traders required them to buy first from the local chief or king before beginning any regular trade. A series of dues or gifts to the king was required to secure a good relationship for trade; this sometimes amounted to approximately 10 percent of the total goods sold. Clearly, the slave trade was lucrative for the African traders involved as well as for the Europeans.

Although many European states participated in the slave trade, the nation that benefited the most economically was Great Britain. To reduce the risks involved in the African trade, partnerships were formed. These partnerships purchased ships, secured experienced captains, and hired the sailors. Usually, these ventures realized huge profits.

One of the best-known Englishmen involved in the slave trade was John Newton. Newton was born in England in 1725. Through a series of misadventures and misfortunes he went to sea at a young age. At one

point his fortunes fell so low that he became a slave in Africa. He eventually became a slave trader, and then a captain of a ship that transported slaves from Sierra Leone to the Americas. Newton experienced a religious conversion while at sea. He eventually retired from slave trading and entered the Anglican priesthood. In his later life, he spoke and wrote

against the slave trade. He is probably best remembered today for writing the words to the popular hymn “Amazing Grace.” Many Europeans participated in the slave trade; Newton can be viewed as only one representative of the large group that profited from the sale of human cargo.

Critical-Reading Questions

Keep these questions in mind as you read the primary-source documents.

- Who profited from the slave trade: African chiefs? Middlemen procurers? Ship captains?
- How might an African be captured or otherwise procured as a slave?
- What effect did European traders have on slavery in Africa?
- What were the risks and liabilities Europeans encountered when engaging in the slave trade?
- Was slave trading financially worth the risks involved?
- What were the effects of the slave trade on Africa?

Mock Trial

Here are the charges against John Newton (the defendant): John Newton is charged with trafficking in the enslavement and sale of Africans for monetary profit.

DOCUMENTS

Document A

Account by John Barbot, Agent for the French Royal African Company, Who Made at Least Two Voyages to the West Coast of Africa, 1678 and 1682. (Excerpt)

(From John Barbot, *A Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea*. As found in Thomas Astley and John Churchill, eds., *Collection of Voyages and Travels*. London: 1732.)

Those sold by the Blacks are for the most part prisoners of war, taken either in fight, or pursuit, or in the incursions they make into their enemies territories; others stolen away by their own countrymen; and some there are, who will sell their own children, kindred, or neighbours. This has been often seen, and to compass it, they desire the person they intend to sell, to help them in carrying something to the factory by way of trade, and when there, the person so deluded, not understanding the language, is [s]old and deliver'd up as a slave, notwithstanding all his resistance, and exclaiming against the treachery. . . .

The kings are so absolute, that upon any slight pretense of offenses committed by their subjects, they order them to be sold for slaves, without regard to rank, or possession. . . .

Abundance of little Blacks of both sexes are also stolen away by their neighbours, when found abroad on the roads, or in the woods; or else in the Cougans, or corn-fields, at the time of the year, when their parents keep them there all day, to scare away the devouring small birds, that come to feed on the millet, in swarms. . . .

In times of dearth and famine, abundance of those people will sell themselves, for a maintenance, to prevent starving. When I first arriv'd at Goerree, in December, 1681, I could have bought a great number, at very easy rates, if I could have found provisions to subsist them; so great was the dearth then, in that part of Nigritia.

To conclude, some slaves are also brought to these Blacks, from very remote inland countries, by way of trade, and sold for things of very inconsiderable value; but these slaves are generally poor and weak, by reason of the barbarous usage they have had in traveling so far, being continually beaten, and almost famish'd; so inhuman are the Blacks to one another. . . .

Document B

An Account of Trading on the Slave Coast, c. 1700 by a Dutch Trader, Willem Bosman (Excerpt)

(From Willem Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea, Divided into the Gold, Slave, and Ivory Coasts*. 2nd edition, translated from the Dutch. London: 1721, pp. 339–345. As found in David Northrup, ed., *The Atlantic Slave Trade*. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1994, pp. 71–72.)

The first business of one of our factors [agents] when he comes to Fida [Whydah], is to satisfy the customs of the king and the great men, which amounts to about a hundred

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pounds in Guinea value, as the goods must yield there. After which we have free license to trade, which is published throughout the whole land by the crier.

But yet before we can deal with any person, we are obliged to buy the king's whole stock of slaves at a set price, which is commonly one third or one fourth higher than ordinary; after which, we obtain free leave to deal with all his subjects, of what rank soever. But if there happen to be no stock of slaves, the factor must then resolve to run the risk of trusting the inhabitants with goods to the value of one or two hundred slaves; which commodities they send into the inland country, in order to buy with them slaves at all markets, and that sometimes two hundred miles deep in the country. For you ought to be informed, that markets of men are here kept in the same manner as those of beasts with us.

Not a few in our country fondly imagine that parents here sell their children, men their wives, and one brother the other. But those who think so, do deceive themselves; for this never happens on any other account but that of necessity, or some great crime; but most of the slaves that are offered to us, are prisoners of war, which are sold by the victors as their booty.

Document C

Observations on the Country of Africa by Captain John Adams, c. 1786–1800. (Excerpt)

(From Captain John Adams, *Sketches Taken During Ten Voyages to Africa*. London: Hurst, Robinson, n.d. 1970 reprint by Johnson Reprint Corporation, pp. 72–74.)

The climate of Africa is, therefore, unfavorable to any rapid progress being made in the civilization of its inhabitants.

That the Africans are endowed by nature with faculties as capable of receiving instruction, as the savages inhabiting any other country we are acquainted with, is at this day not to be questioned; although this climate, as before remarked, is unfavorable to either bodily or mental exertion; and the nature of their civil and religious institutions is such, as to place them in a state of extreme degradation, for Africa is a country chiefly inhabited by tyrants and slaves.

The natives of the western shores of Africa, have certainly local advantages very superior to those inhabiting the eastern shores; because they have a free and easy communication with the most enlightened nations of Europe, which the others have not; and however justly the trade in slaves, carried on by Europeans with the former, has been reprobated by enlightened men of all countries, yet it is probable that should the Africans ever become a civilized people, the foundation of their becoming so, will have been laid by the slave-trade.

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Because, when the slave-trade is abolished by all those nations who have hitherto carried it on, on the western shores of Africa, it is probable the chiefs inhabiting those parts, will direct their attention to obtaining from the soil, those products for which they can obtain in exchange such articles as they have been accustomed to receive in barter for slaves; but wherever the trade in slaves exists, the cultivation of the soil and the obtaining the natural and valuable products of the country, for sale to the Europeans, will be neglected. Man is the offspring of pleasure, although in Africa he is too often the child of misfortune; and whether there is a demand for him, as an article of merchandise or otherwise, he will continue to be propagated and reared: and so long as he continues to be an object of commerce, he will be preferred to any other, because he can be obtained without labour. Superior to bales or casks of merchandise, he possesses locomotive powers; carriages of beasts of burthen are unnecessary for his conveyance to the port of embarkation, for he is himself both the article of merchandise and the carrier. . . .

It is to be presumed then, that the first approaches of the Africans towards a state of civilization and an amelioration of their condition, will be first observable in those inhabiting the western coast, and after the slave-trade has *totally ceased* to exist. Wars of aggression will become less frequent, as the principal excitement to them will have ceased to operate; and the chiefs will then find it indispensable to direct their attention to the cultivation of the soil, in order to obtain from it for barter, its natural products.

Document D

Excerpt from the Journal of John Newton, c. 1745–1754

(John Newton, *Journal of a Slave Trader*. London: Epworth Press, 1962, p. 109. As found in Edward Reynolds, *Stand the Storm: A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1985, p. 34.)

I verily believe, that the far greater part of the wars, in Africa, would cease, if the Europeans would cease to tempt them, by offering goods for slaves. And though they do not bring legion into the field, their ways are bloody. I believe, the captives reserved for sale are fewer than the slain.

I have not sufficient data to warrant calculation, but I suppose, not less than one hundred thousand slaves are exported, annually, from all parts of Africa, and that more than one-half of these are exported in English bottoms.

Document E

Narrative of the Travels of Ali Eisami, As Dictated in Sierra Leone, c. 1850

(S. W. Koelle, *African Native Literature*. London: 1854, pp. 248–256. As found in Philip D. Curtin, ed., *Africa Remembered: Narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967, pp. 211–213.)

After I had been there about three years, I called a companion, saying, "Come and accompany me!" for I had a friend in the town of the name of Gubber. The youth arose, and we started together, but as we were going towards the town of Gubber, seven Fulbe waylaid us, seized us, tied our hands upon our backs, fettered us, put us in the way, and then we went till it became day. When it was day, both they and we became hungry in a hostile place, the land being the land of Ngizim. In this place we sat down, and ate the fruit of a certain tree called *ganga*, till it became dark, when they took us again, and carried us to the town of Ngololo to market. On that day some Hausa bought us, took us into a house, and put iron fetters on our feet; then, after five days, we set out, and were twenty-two days, till we arrived in Hausa. . . . After marching a fortnight, we arrived at Birnin Yauri. Here the Hausa sold us, and took their goods, whilst Borgawa bought us. The Borgawa roused us up, and when we came to their town, the man who had bought me, did not leave me alone at all; I had iron fetters around my feet, both by night and by day. After I had stayed with him seven days, he took me, and brought me to the town of Sai, where a Yoruba bought me.

The Yoruba who bought me was a son of the Katunga king; he liked me, and called me to sit down before him, and, on seeing my tattoo-marks, he said to me, "Were you the son of a king in your country?" To this I replied, "My father, as for me, I will not tell lies, because times are evil, and our Lord has given me into slavery: my father was a scholar." Then he said, "As for this youth and his father, his father must have been a fine man; I will not treat him ill," and so he kept me in his house. In this place I remained a long time, so that I understood their language. After I had been there four years, a war arose: now, all the slaves who went to the war, became free; so when the slaves heard these good news, they all ran there, and the Yoruba saw it. The friend of the man who had bought me, said to him, "If you do not sell this slave of yours, he will run away, and go to the war, so that your cowries will be lost, for this fellow has sound eyes." Then the man took hold of me, and bound me, and his three sons took me to the town of Ajashe, where white men had landed; then they took off the fetters from my feet, and carried me before them to the white people, who bought me, and put an iron around my neck. After having bought all the people, they took us, brought us to the seashore, brought a very small canoe, and transferred us one by one to the large vessel.

Document F

The Account Book of the Ship *Fortuna* Showing Costs and Profits, March 1827

(Captain Theophilus Conneau, *A Slaver's Log Book or 20 Years' Residence in Africa*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976, pp. 77–79.)

On the given day, the *Fortuna* left the river with 220 slaves. Three months after, I received information that she had landed in the Bay of Matanzas 217 slaves, which were sold at 21 ounces each by the lump. (Let me here remark it was a choice cargo.) This high price realized her owners in less than four months forty-one thousand dollars.

As the reader may with difficulty credit such enormous profit, I will give here a full statement of the fitting out of this vessel in 1827:

First cost of the <i>Fortuna</i>	\$3,700.00
Fitting sails, carpenters' and coopers' bill	2,500.00
Provision for crew, \$765.00, ditto for slaves, \$350.00	1,115.00
Advance to 18 men 'fore the mast @ \$50	900.00
Ditto Captain	100.00
Ditto Mate	80.00
Ditto Second Mate	70.00
Ditto Boatswain	70.00
Ditto Cook & Steward, \$60 each	120.00
Cargo: 200 mill cigars, 500 doubloons	10,900.00
Clearance, and hush moneys	<u>200.</u>
	\$19,755.00
Commission on the amount, 5%	<u>987.00</u>
<i>Fortuna's</i> full cost on her voyage out	\$20,742.00
Expenses on her return:	
Captain's head money, \$8 a head	1,746.00
Mate's head money, \$4 a head	873.00
2nd Mate & Boatswain, \$2 a head	873.00
Captain's wages 66 days at \$100 a month	219.78
1st Mate's wages 66 days at \$80 a month	175.56
2nd Mate & Boatswain wages 66 days at \$70 a month	307.12
Cook & Steward wages 66 days at \$60 a month	264.00
18 Sailors wages 66 days at \$50 a month	<u>1,972.00</u>
	27,172.46
Government officers, \$8 per head	1,736.00
My commission on the 217 slaves, expenses deducted	5,565.00

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Consignees' commission 5% on the value of the slaves, \$77,469.00	\$ 3,873.00
217 slaves dresses, \$2 each	<u>434.00</u>
Expenses—full amount	\$38,780.46
Returns	
Value of vessel at auction	3,950.00
Cargo: 217 slaves at 357 dollars	<u>77,469.00</u>
	\$81,419.00
Extra expenses, such as doctor, fresh provisions, landing, boat hire, etc.	<u>1,000.00</u>
	\$80,419.00
Costs as above	<u>38,700.00</u>
Net Profit	\$41,719.00

The above statement is a correct valuation of the outfits, expenses, and returns of this vessel, fitted out in Havana in 1827. At that time the Government only received—I may say, clandestinely exacted—eight dollars' bonus each head. But of late years, the responsibility being greater on the Governors of Cuba, the importers of slaves have been made to pay as much as three ounces per head, besides a few dashes to smaller Government satellites.

Document G

Excerpt from the Biography of Mahommah G. Baquaqua, A Native of Zoogoo, in the Interior of Africa

(As found at <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/baquaqua/baquaqua.html>. © This work is the property of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. It may be used freely by individuals for research, teaching, and personal use.)

It has already been stated, that when any person gives evidence of gaining an eminent position in the country, he is immediately envied, and means are taken to put him out of the way; thus when it was seen that my situation was one of trust and confidence with the king, I was of course soon singled out as a fit object of vengeance by an envious class of my countrymen, decoyed away and sold into slavery. I went to the city one day to see my mother, when I was followed by music (the drum) and called to by name, the drum beating to the measure of a song which had been composed apparently in honor of me, on account

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of, as I supposed, my elevated position with the king. This pleased me mightily, and I felt highly flattered, and was very liberal, and gave the people money and wine, they singing and gesturing the time. About a mile from my mother's house, where a strong drink called Bah-gee, was made out of the grain Har-nee; thither we repaired; and . . . I was quite intoxicated, and they persuaded me to go with them to Zar-ach-o, about one mile from Zoogoo, to visit a strange king that I had never seen before. When we arrived there, the king made much of us all, and a great feast was prepared, and plenty of drink was given to me, indeed all appeared to drink very freely.

In the morning when I arose, I found that I was a prisoner, and my companions were all gone. Oh, horror! I then discovered that I had been betrayed into the hands of my enemies, and sold for a slave. Never shall I forget my feelings on that occasion; the thoughts of my poor mother harassed me very much, and the loss of my liberty and honorable position with the king, grieved me very sorely. I lamented bitterly my folly in being so easily deceived, and was led to drown all caution in the bowl. Had it not been that my senses had been taken from me, the chance was that I should have escaped their snares, at least for that time.

Document H

Excerpt from John Newton's *Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade*, c. 1788

(From John Newton, *Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade*. London: 1788, pp. 98–107. As found in David Northrop, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1994, pp. 81–84.)

For the sake of method, I could wish to consider the African trade,—first, with regard to the effect it has upon our own people; and secondly, as it concerns the blacks, or, as they are more contemptuously styled, the negro slaves, whom we purchase upon the coast. But these two topics are so interwoven together, that it will not be easy to keep them exactly separate.

1. The first point I shall mention is surely of political importance, if the lives of our fellow-subjects be so; and if a rapid loss of seamen deserves the attention of a maritime people. This loss, in the African trade, is truly alarming. I admit, that many of them are cut off in their first voyage, and consequently, before they can properly rank as seamen; though they would have been seamen if they had lived. But the neighborhood of our seaports is continually drained of men and boys to supply the places of those who die abroad; and if they are not all seamen, they are all our brethren and countrymen, subjects of the British government. . . .

. . . the fact, however, is sure, that a great number of our seamen perish in the slave trade. Few ships, comparatively, are either blown up, or totally cut off; but some are. Of the rest, I have known some that have lost half their people, and some a larger proportion. I am

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far from saying, that it is always, or even often, thus; but, I believe I shall state the matter sufficiently low, if I suppose, that at least one-fifth part of those who go from England to the coast of Africa, in ships which trade for slaves, never return from thence. . . .

2. There is a second, which either is, or ought to be, deemed of importance, considered in a political light; I mean, the dreadful effects of this trade upon the minds of those who are engaged in it. There are, doubtless, exceptions; and I would willingly except myself. But in general, I know of no method of getting money, not even that of robbing for it upon the highway, which has so direct a tendency to efface the moral sense, to rob the heart of every gentle and humane disposition, and to harden it, like steel, against all impressions of sensibility.

Document I

The King of Asante Argues for the Slave Trade, c. 1820 (As Recounted in an Interview with a Representative of the British Government)

(From Joseph Dupuis, *Journal of a Residence in Asantee*. London: 1824, pp. 162–164. As found in David Northrup, ed., *The Atlantic Slave Trade*. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1994, pp. 93–94.)

Taking up one of my observations, he remarked, “the white men who go to council with your master, and pray to the great God for him, do not understand my country, or they would not say the slave trade was bad. But if they think it bad now, why did they think it good before. Is not your law an old law, the same as the Crammo [Muslim] law? Do you not both serve the same God, only you have different fashions and customs? Crammos [Muslims] are strong people in fetische, and they say the law is good, because the great God made the book; so they buy slaves, and teach them good things, which they knew not before. This makes every body love the Crammos, and they go every where up and down, and the people give them food when they want it. Then these men come all the way from the great water [the river Niger], and from Manding, and Dagomba, and Killinga; they stop and trade for slaves, and then go home. If the great king would like to restore this trade, it would be good for the white men and for me too, because Ashantee is a country for war, and the people are strong; so if you talk that palaver [conference] for me properly, in the white country, if you go there, I will give you plenty of gold, and I will make you richer than all the white men.”

I urged the impossibility of the king’s request, promising, however, to record his sentiments faithfully. “Well then,” said the king, “you must put down in my master’s book all I shall say, and then he will look to it, now he is my friend. And when he sees what is true, he will surely restore that trade. I cannot make war to catch slaves in the bush, like a thief. My ancestors never did so. But if I fight a king, and kill him when he is insolent, then certainly I must have his gold, and his slaves, and the people are mine too. Do not the white kings act like this? Because I hear the old men say, that before I conquered Fantee and killed the

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Braffoes and the kings, that white men came in great ships, and fought and killed many people; and then they took the gold and slaves to the white country: and sometimes they fought together. That is all the same as these black countries. The great God and the fetische made war for strong men every where, because then they can pay plenty of gold and proper sacrifice. When I fought Gaman, I did not make war for slaves, but because Dinkera (the king) sent me an arrogant message and killed my people, and refused to pay me gold as his father did. Then my fetische made me strong like my ancestors, and I killed Dinkera, and took his gold, and brought more than 20,000 slaves to Coomassy. Some of these people being bad men, I washed my stool in their blood for the fetische. But then some were good people, and these I sold or gave to my captains: many, moreover, died, because this country does not grow too much corn like Sarem, and what can I do? Unless I kill or sell them, they will grow strong and kill my people. Now you must tell my master that these slaves can work for him, and if he wants 10,000 he can have them. And if he wants fine handsome girls and women to give his captains, I can send him great numbers."



UNIT 7

Maximilien Robespierre and the “Republic of Virtue”

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The French Revolution is a topic of immense complexity, and the figure of Robespierre is a good example of the chaos and division of the time.

Faced with financial collapse, political unrest, crop failures, and a resulting rise in food prices during the terrible winter of 1788–1789, Louis XVI called the Estates Général into session for the first time in 174 years. Robespierre was elected as a deputy to the Third Estate. He arrived in Paris and took his seat as one of the 621 commoners in the plenary session on May 5, 1789, to hear the king’s charge and requests for more taxes.

Shortly thereafter, the delegates representing the clergy and nobles adjourned to separate chambers and refused to come together with the Third Estate to act in concert. Thereupon, the commoners declared themselves a National Assembly and vowed to legislate for the nation. Louis called troops to Versailles but the Assembly, reconstituting itself as a National and Constituent Assembly, began writing a constitution for the French nation. In response to events at Versailles, the poor people of Paris—known first as the *sans culottes*, later as *enragés*—rose up in defense of the Assembly. On July 14, 1789, they attacked the Bastille, a prison that symbolized royal abuses. The French Revolution had begun.

In August, peasants in the countryside rebelled against ecclesiastical (church-related) and feudal privileges and manorial taxation. Later in the month, the Assembly *engrossed* “The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of

the Citizen,” whose first article proclaimed, “Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. . .” The Assembly then began work on a constitution. When it was completed, it reorganized the feudal provinces of the country into 83 *départements*, nationalized the church, and restricted the franchise to male property owners. For this reason—that the limited franchise violated the Declaration of the Rights of Man and disenfranchised the Parisian *enragés* who had defended the Revolution a year earlier—some Assembly members, led by Robespierre, opposed its ratification. Nonetheless, the French Constitution was ratified. Despite the king’s unwillingness to recognize it, the National and Constituent Assembly declared France a constitutional monarchy. They arranged for the election of a Legislative Assembly to govern.

Unfortunately, each of these actions roused opposition from various segments of society. Aristocrats and clergymen began fleeing the country almost as soon as the revolution began, and they urged the king to follow. These *émigrés* also began agitating in their new countries for intervention by France’s neighbors to restore a monarchical form of government. Amid this agitation, in June 1791, Louis and his family tried unsuccessfully to flee the country. They were recognized and returned to Paris. The majority of the Assembly, though already convinced of Louis’s duplicity, believed that punishing the king would only widen the rifts in society. They rejected demands for his trial and execution.

Gratefully, the king formally assented to the constitution on September 13, 1791.

Over the two and a half years of the Assembly's existence, Robespierre lived simply but respectably. He made some 500 speeches supporting the ideas of constitutional monarchy and an established religion as necessary for social and political order. He also advocated universal male suffrage and called for the expansion of property holding as an essential economic base for democracy. He decried the evils of racial and religious bigotry, proposed the emancipation of African slaves, and argued that, properly liberated, the natural goodness of mankind (following Rousseau's notion of a "general will") would call forth "virtue," both as a basis for living and as a foundation for a just state. During the course of the Enlightenment, some *philosophes* replaced the concepts of absolute "good" and "evil," divined from traditional religion, with ideas about universal "virtue" and "vice," rationally or intuitively derived from nature and imbedded in "human nature." Following Rousseau's path, Robespierre attempted to turn these ideals into the practical bases upon which a revolutionary France would be reborn. Once in power, he followed Rousseau's ideas about the importance of religion as social cement and followed what he believed were Rousseau's counsels by executing enemies of the revolution in order to preserve it.

In 1791, French *émigrés* had begun organizing military forces to take back their country. For its part, the Girondist leaders of the Legislative Assembly welcomed the prospect of war as an opportunity to unmask the revolution's domestic enemies, to scatter its foreign opponents, and to spread the revolution beyond France. When the French army was ordered to attack, officers trained under the *ancien régime* (the "old" system before the revolution) resigned, and elite regiments deserted to the enemy. In June, the government asked the king for authority to raise new forces (the *Levée en masse*) for the defense of Paris. Louis

refused and dismissed his ministers. On July 29, Robespierre addressed the Jacobin Club and demanded the overthrow of the king, whose procrastination he viewed as an effort to aid France's enemies. Early in the morning of August 10, delegates of the Paris Commune, supported by the National Guard, invaded the Tuileries (the royal palace) and the royal family was captured. The royal prisoners were turned over to the Commune, who locked them up. They then began rounding up priests suspected of harboring antirevolutionary sentiments.

At that point, the right wing of the Assembly ceased attending. The remaining Rump, led by Danton, tried to calm and unite the French people to defend the country against invasion. On August 23, Prussian and *émigré* forces crossed the border. Counterrevolutionary outbreaks occurred over conscription, food prices, and anticlerical legislation. Beginning on September 2, Parisian crowds began storming the places where suspected counterrevolutionaries were being held; they carried out summary executions. Robespierre took no part either in the agitation or in the killings, and the Assembly made little effort to stop the September Massacres. The same day, it called a national election, based on universal male suffrage, to elect delegates to a Constitutional Convention to meet the demands of the revolution now under attack. Robespierre was elected to head the Paris delegation, but he remained in a subordinate position in the Convention's leadership.

The next day, the National Convention convened and created the First French Republic. On October 11, it ordered the creation of a new republican constitution. Because of the national emergency, however, it never went into effect. Then the Convention members factionalized over issues of political control.

In November, evidence was presented to the Convention showing that the king had conspired with some of the revolution's luminaries (Mirabeau, Lafayette, Tallyrand, and others) to not only limit the revolution

but, with France's enemies, to destroy it. Robespierre joined the call to put the king on trial. Louis was convicted of treason on January 16, 1793. The next day, the Convention's members imposed the death penalty. The king was guillotined on January 21, 1793.

With the king's execution, the *Montagnards*, led by the Jacobins, became the major force in the Convention. The Girondins, who had split over the death penalty, collapsed in disarray. As France's enemies coalesced, the French armies suffered setbacks and defections. The political and economic situation inside the country became more tenuous. Faced with these complex problems, the Convention assigned its governing authority to a group of specialist committees. One of these committees, whose mandate was to counter foreign agents and internal subversion, was the Committee of Public Safety. It then created a revolutionary tribunal to try suspects; its verdicts were final. At the end of July, the Convention elected Robespierre as one of the twelve members of the Committee of Public Safety. At the beginning of August, faced with invasion, military betrayal and defeat, internal revolt, and economic crisis, the Convention made the committee's power virtually absolute. As France mobilized its resources, it clamped down further on dissent. A Law of Suspects, directed at returned *émigrés*, was approved by the convention in September 1793. Another law denied those accused the right to a defense. It also set the death penalty for offenses ranging from criticizing the republic to stealing public property. To insure loyalty to the revolution, the Committee of Public Safety instituted a Reign of Terror that lasted from September 1793 through the end of July 1794. Robespierre never became dictator under this system, but he was the most visible and doctrinaire of the Committee's twelve members, and he controlled many of its decisions. The Committee also extended its reach through the countryside, supplementing the guillotine with cruder methods like firing

squads and mass drownings. Thousands were killed. Soon Girondins and other dissenting revolutionaries fell victim to the demand for absolute loyalty; old scores were settled as well. When Danton and others pushed for an end to the terror, they were denounced (despite Robespierre's reservations) by the Committee, tried, and executed as traitors.

At the same time, recognizing that the French needed a new set of beliefs to replace Catholic "superstition," Robespierre called for the creation of a Republic of Virtue. This was meant to embody Rousseau's belief that a pure religion of an encompassing God and the hope of an afterlife were necessary to the development of civic "virtue." On June 4, 1794, Robespierre was elected president of the Convention.

Disagreements and fear further sapped the convention and the power of the Committee of Public Safety became concentrated in the hands of a new triumvirate—Robespierre, Georges Couthon, and Louis-Antoine de Saint-Just. An assassination attempt against Robespierre in May 1794 brought the Terror to full throttle. Over the next seven weeks, more people (1,376) were guillotined in Paris than had been executed there since the Reign of Terror began. No one felt safe—not even the agents of the Terror itself. In June, when Robespierre called his provincial agents home to explain "excesses" and their attacks on religion, they concluded that Robespierre himself had become a threat to the revolution. A plot to remove Robespierre began to form. On July 27 (or the Ninth of Thermidor of Year II in the revolutionary calendar), after a ferocious debate, the Convention ordered the arrest of Robespierre and his supporters. The next day, Robespierre, his brother Augustin, Couthon, and Saint-Just were condemned by the Revolutionary Tribunal and guillotined. The following day, 70 more Commune members were also executed. The Thermidorian Reaction and a conservative backlash had begun.

Critical-Reading Questions

Keep these questions in mind as you read the primary-source documents.

- Once the revolution began, what did the king do to support or undermine its progress? How did his actions affect the course of the revolution?
- What alternative theories of government did the revolution bring forth?
- What opposition did the revolutionaries face? How did they react to these threats? Were they justified in their reactions?
- What kind of political society did the Jacobins seek? What methods did they employ to achieve these ends? Were their methods justified under the circumstances? Are such methods ever justified?
- How did Rousseau's ideas affect and/or seem to justify the actions of revolutionaries like Robespierre?
- In light of what followed (the Directory, Napoléon, Bourbon restoration), was there any other course that the revolutionaries might have followed to preserve its gains?
- What are the differences between revolutionaries and terrorists? Were the Jacobins terrorists?

Mock Trial

Here are the charges against Maximilien François Marie de Robespierre (the defendant): Maximilien François Marie de Robespierre is charged with usurping power and authorizing terrorist acts against his own people to enhance and maintain his control.

Document A

Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen from the Constitution of the Year I (1793)

(From Frank Maloy Anderson, ed., The Constitution and Other Select Documents Illustrative of the History of France 1789–1901. Minneapolis: W. W. Wilson, 1904, pp. 170–174.)

Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen

The French people, convinced that forgetfulness and contempts of the natural rights of man are the sole causes of the miseries of the world, have resolved to set forth in a solemn declaration these sacred and inalienable rights, in order that all the citizens, being able to compare unceasingly the acts of the government with the aim of every social institution, may never allow themselves to be oppressed and debased by tyranny; and in order that the people may always have before their eyes the foundations of their liberty and their welfare, the magistrate the rule of his duties, the legislator the purpose of his commission.

In consequence, it proclaims in the presence of the supreme being the following declaration of the rights of man and citizen.

1. The aim of society is the common welfare. Government is instituted in order to guarantee to man the enjoyment of his natural and imprescriptible rights.

2. These rights are equality, liberty, security, and property.

3. All men are equal by nature and before the law.

4. Law is the free and solemn expression of the general will; it is the same for all, whether it protects or punishes; it can command only what is just and useful to society; it can forbid only what is injurious to it.

5. All citizens are equally eligible to public employments. Free peoples know no other grounds for preference in their elections than virtue and talent.

6. Liberty is the power that belongs to man to do whatever is not injurious to the rights of others; it has nature for its principle, justice for its rule, law for its defense; its moral limit is in this maxim: Do not do to another that which you do not wish should be done to you.

7. The right to express one's thoughts and opinions by means of the press or in any other manner, the right to assemble peaceably, the free pursuit of religion, cannot be forbidden. The necessity of enunciating these rights supposes either the presence or the fresh recollection of despotism.

8. Security consists in the protection afforded by society to each of its members for the preservation of his person, his rights, and his property.

9. The law ought to protect public and personal liberty against the oppression of those who govern.

10. No one ought to be accused, arrested, or detained except in the cases determined by law and according to the forms that it has prescribed. Any citizen summoned or seized by the authority of the law, ought to obey immediately; he makes himself guilty by resistance.

11. Any act done against man outside of the cases and without the forms that the law

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determines is arbitrary and tyrannical; the one against whom it may be intended to be executed by violence has the right to repel it by force.

12. Those who may incite, expedite, subscribe to, execute or cause to be executed arbitrary legal instruments are guilty and ought to be punished.

13. Every man being presumed innocent until he has been pronounced guilty, if it is thought indispensable to arrest him, all severity that may not be necessary to secure his person ought to be strictly repressed by law.

14. No one ought to be tried and punished except after having been heard or legally summoned, and except in virtue of a law promulgated prior to the offense. The law which would punish offenses committed before it existed would be a tyranny: the retroactive effect given to the law would be a crime.

15. The law ought to impose only penalties that are strictly and obviously necessary: the punishments ought to be proportionate to the offense and useful to society. . . .

20. No tax can be imposed except for the general advantage. All citizens have the right to participate in the establishment of taxes, to watch over the employment of them, and to cause an account of them to be rendered. . . .

26. No portion of the people can exercise the power of the entire people, but each section of the sovereign, in assembly, ought to enjoy the right to express its will with entire freedom.

27. Let any person who may usurp the sovereignty be instantly put to death by free men.

28. A people has always the right to review, to reform, and to alter its constitution. One generation cannot subject to its law the future generations. . . .

31. The offenses of the representatives of the people and of its agents ought never to go unpunished. No one has the right to claim for himself more inviolability than other citizens.

Document B

Statement of King Louis XVI Justifying His Flight to Varennes (June 20, 1791)

(From Frank Maloy Anderson, ed., *The Constitution and Other Select Documents Illustrative of the History of France 1789–1907*. Second Revised Edition. Minneapolis: W. W. Wilson, 1908, pp. 46–50.)

The calling of the Estates-General, the doubling of the deputies of the Third Estate, the efforts which the King made to clear up the difficulties which might delay the meeting of the Estates-General, and those which arose after its opening, all the retrenchments which the King made in his personal expenditure, all the sacrifices which he made for his people in the session of June 3rd, finally the union of the orders, brought about by the expression of

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the King's desire, a measure which His Majesty then judged indispensable for the inauguration of the Estates-General: all his anxiety, all his efforts, all his generosity, all his devotion to his people, all have been disparaged, all have been misconstrued.

The time when the Estates-General, assuming the name of the National Assembly, began to busy itself with the constitution of the kingdom, calls to mind the memoirs which the factious were cunning enough to cause to be sent from several provinces and the movements of Paris to cause the deputies to disregard one of the principal clauses contained in all their *cahiers*, which provided that *the making of the laws should be done in concert with the King*. In defiance of that clause, the assembly put the King entirely outside the constitution, in refusing to him the right to grant or to withhold his sanction to the articles which it regarded as constitutional, while reserving to itself the right to reckon in that class those which it thought belonged there, and by restraining for those regarded as purely legislative the royal prerogative to a right of suspension until the third legislature; a purely illusory right, as so many examples prove only too fully. . . .

Finances. The King had declared, even before the meeting of the Estates-General, that he recognized in the assemblies of the nation the right to grant subsidies, and that he no longer desired to tax the people without their consent.

But the nearer we see the assembly approach the end of its labors, the more we see increased measures which make difficult or even impossible the carrying on of the government and create for it lack of confidence and disfavor; other regulations, instead of applying balm to the wounds which still bleed in many provinces only increase the uneasiness and provoke discontent. The spirit of the clubs dominates and invades everything; thousands of calumniating and incendiary newspapers and pamphlets, which increase daily, are only their echoes and prepare men to become what they wish them to be. The National Assembly has never dared to remedy that license, so far removed from true liberty; it has lost its credit, and even the force of which it would have need in order to turn upon its steps and to change that which would seem to it well to correct. We see by the spirit which reigns in the clubs, and the manner in which they make themselves masters of the new primary assemblies, what must be expected from them; and if they allow to become perceptible any inclinations to turn back upon any matter, it is in order to destroy the remainder of the monarchy and establish a metaphysical and philosophical government impossible to put into operation.

In view of all these reasons and the impossibility for the King, from the position in which he is placed, effecting the good and preventing the evil which is perpetrated, is it astonishing that the King has sought to recover his liberty and to put himself and his family in safety?

Frenchmen, and especially Parisians, you inhabitants of a city which the ancestors of His Majesty were pleased to call the good city of Paris, distrust the suggestions and lies of your false friends; return to your King; he will always be your father, your best friend: what pleasure will he not take in forgetting all his personal injuries, and in beholding himself again in the midst of you, when a constitution, which he shall have freely accepted, shall cause your religion to be respected, the government to be established upon a firm footing and made useful by its operation, the property and status of each person no

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longer disturbed, the laws no longer violated with impunity, and, finally, liberty founded upon firm and immovable foundations.

Signed, Louis

Paris, 20 June 1791

Document C

The “Extraordinary Criminal Tribunal” and the Guillotine

(From John Gideon Mulligen, *Recollections of Republican France, From 1790–1801*. London: H. Colburn, 1848. As reprinted in J. M. Thompson, *English Witnesses of the French Revolution*. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1930/1970, pp. 250–252.)

In the centre of the hall [in the *Palais de Justice*] under a statue of justice, holding scales in one hand, and a sword in the other, with the book of laws by her side, sat Dumas, the president, with the other judges. Under them were seated the public accuser, Fouquier-Tinville, and his scribes. Three coloured ostrich plumes waved over their turned-up hats, *à la Henri IV*, and they wore a tri-coloured scarf. To the right were benches on which the accused were placed in several rows, and gendarmes, with carbines and fixed bayonets by their sides. To the left was the jury.

Never can I forget the mournful appearance of these funereal processions to the place of execution. The march was opened by a detachment of mounted gendarmes—the carts followed; they were the same carts as those used in Paris for carrying wood; four boards were placed across them for seats, and on each board sat two, and sometimes three victims; their hands were tied behind their backs, and the constant jolting of the cart made them nod their heads up and down, to the great amusement of the spectators. On the front of the cart stood Samson, the executioner, or one of his sons or assistants; gendarmes on foot marched by the side; then followed a hackney-coach, in which was the *Rapporteur* [recorder] and his clerk, whose duty it was to witness the execution, and then return to Fouquier-Tinville, the *Accusateur Public* [public prosecutor], to report the execution of what they called the law.

The process of execution was also a sad and heart-rending spectacle. In the middle of the Place de la Révolution [before the revolution, the Place Louis XV; now the Place de la Concorde—“the place of peace”] was erected a guillotine, in front of a colossal statue of Liberty, represented seated on a rock, a Phrygian cap on her head, a spear in her hand, the other reposing on a shield. On one side of the scaffold were drawn out a sufficient number of carts, with large baskets painted red, to receive the heads and bodies of the victims. Those bearing the condemned moved on slowly to the foot of the guillotine; the culprits

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were led out in turn, and, if necessary, supported by two of the executioner's valets, as they were formerly called, but now denominated *élèves de l'Exécuteur des hautes oeuvres de la justice* [students of the executor of the great works of justice]; but their assistance was rarely required. Most of these unfortunates ascended the scaffold with a determined step—many of them looked up firmly on the menacing instrument of death, beholding for the last time the rays of the glorious sun, beaming on the polished axe; and I have seen some young men actually dance a few steps before they went up to be strapped to the perpendicular plane, which was then tilted to a horizontal plane in a moment, and ran on the grooves until the neck was secured and closed in by a moving board, when the head passed through what was called in derision, *la lunette republicaine* [the republican telescope]; the weighty knife was then dropped with a heavy fall; and, with incredible dexterity and rapidity, two executioners tossed the body into the basket, while another threw the head after it.

Document D

Robespierre and the Republic of Virtue

(From Maximilien Robespierre, *Report Upon the Principles of Political Morality Which Are to Form the Basis of the Administration of the Interior Concerns of the Republic*. Philadelphia, 1794.)

Every precaution must early be used to place the interests of freedom in the hands of truth, which is eternal, rather than in those of men who change; so that if the government forgets the interests of the people or falls into the hands of men corrupted, according to the natural course of things, the light of acknowledged principles should unmask their treasons, and that every new faction may read its death in the very thought of a crime. Happy the people that attains this end; for, whatever new machinations are plotted against their liberty, what resources does not public reason present when guaranteeing freedom!

What is the end of our revolution? The tranquil enjoyment of liberty and equality; the reign of that eternal justice, the laws of which are graven, not on marble or stone, but in the hearts of men, even in the heart of the slave who has forgotten them, and in that of the tyrant who disowns them.

We wish that order of things where all the low and cruel passions are enchained, all the beneficent and generous passions awakened by the laws; where ambition subsists in a desire to deserve glory and serve the country; where distinctions grow out of the system of equality, where the citizen submits to the authority of the magistrate, the magistrate obeys that of the people, and the people are governed by a love of justice; where the country secures the comfort of each individual, and where each individual prides himself

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on the prosperity and glory of his country; where every soul expands by a free communication of republican sentiments, and by the necessity of deserving the esteem of a great people: where the arts serve to embellish that liberty which gives them value and support, and commerce is a source of public wealth and not merely of immense riches to a few individuals. . . .

Since virtue and equality are the soul of the republic, and that your aim is to found, to consolidate the republic, it follows, that the first rule of your political conduct should be, to let all your measures tend to maintain equality and encourage virtue, for the first care of the legislator should be to strengthen the principles on which the government rests. Hence all that tends to excite a love of country, to purify manners, to exalt the mind, to direct the passions of the human heart towards the public good, you should adopt and establish. All that tends to concenter and debase them into selfish egotism, to awaken an infatuation for littlenesses, and a disregard for greatness, you should reject or repress. In the system of the French revolution that which is immoral is impolitic, and what tends to corrupt is counter-revolutionary. Weaknesses, vices, prejudices are the road to monarchy . . . languour which ease produces and a distrust of our own courage. . . .

Republican virtue may be considered as it respects the people and as it respects the government. It is necessary in both. When however, the government alone want it, there exists a resource in that of the people; but when the people themselves are corrupted liberty is already lost.

Happily virtue is natural in the people, [despite] aristocratical prejudices. A nation is truly corrupt, when, after having, by degrees lost its character and liberty, it slides from democracy into aristocracy or monarchy; this is the death of the political body by decrepitude. . . .

But, when, by prodigious effects of courage and of reason, a whole people break asunder the fetters of despotism to make of the fragments trophies to liberty; when, by their innate vigor, they rise in a manner from the arms of death, to resume all the strength of youth when, in turns forgiving and inexorable, intrepid and docile, they can neither be checked by impregnable ramparts, nor by innumerable armies of tyrants leagued against them, and yet of themselves stop at the voice of the law; if then they do not reach the heights of their destiny it can only be the fault of those who govern. . . .

The protection of government is only due to peaceable citizens; and all citizens in the republic are republicans. The royalists, the conspirators, are strangers, or rather enemies. Is not this dreadful contest, which liberty maintains against tyranny, indivisible? Are not the internal enemies the allies of those in the exterior? The assassins who lay waste [to] the interior; the intriguers who purchase the consciences of the delegates of the people: the traitors who sell them; the mercenary libellists paid to dishonor the cause of the people, to smother public virtue, to fan the flame of civil discord, and bring about a political counter revolution by means of a moral one; all these men, are they less culpable or less dangerous than the tyrants whom they serve?

Robespierre Justifies Republican Terror

(From Maximilien Robespierre, *Report Upon the Principles of Political Morality Which Are to Form the Basis of the Administration of the Interior Concerns of the Republic*. Philadelphia, 1794.)

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. Our strength, because it gives to us truth's ascendancy over imposture, and the rights of the public interest over private interests; our weakness, because it rallies all vicious men against us, all those who in their hearts contemplated despoiling the people and all those who intend to let it be despoiled with impunity, both those who have rejected freedom as a personal calamity and those who have embraced the revolution as a career and the Republic as prey. Hence the defection of so many ambitious or greedy men who since the point of departure have abandoned us along the way because they did not begin the journey with the same destination in view. The two opposing spirits that have been represented in a struggle to rule nature might be said to be fighting in this great period of human history to fix irrevocably the world's destinies, and France is the scene of this fearful combat. Without, all the tyrants encircle you; within, all tyranny's friends conspire; they will conspire until hope is wrested from crime. 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? . . .

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. This terrible war waged by liberty against tyranny—is it not indivisible? Are the enemies within not the allies of the enemies without? The assassins who tear our country apart, the intriguers who buy the consciences that hold the people's mandate; the traitors who sell them; the mercenary pamphleteers hired to dishonor the people's cause, to kill public virtue, to stir up the fire of civil discord, and to prepare political counterrevolution by moral counterrevolution—are all those men less guilty or less dangerous than the tyrants whom they serve?

Document F

A French Romantic Conservative's Verdict on the Radical Revolution

(From François-René Chateaubriand, *Historical, Political, and Moral Essay on Revolutions, Ancient and Modern*. London: Colburn, 1815, pp. 46–54.)

The French novelist and essayist François-René Chateaubriand (1768–1848) was a royalist who for a time admired Napoleon. Like Burke, he denounced the revolutionary reliance on reason and advocated a return to Christian principles. Although Chateaubriand detested the revolutionaries and their principles, he recognized that the French Revolution required extended commentary. Here he analyzes the Jacobins, whom he clearly despises.

These infuriated men alone could have devised the means, and what is still more incredible, partly have succeeded in the execution of their project. The means were doubtless execrable, but it must be acknowledged that they were of gigantic conception. The Jacobins possessed minds rarefied by the fire of republican enthusiasm, and they may be said to have been reduced, by their purifying scrutinies . . . to the quintessence of infamy. Hence they displayed, at the same time, a degree of energy which was completely without example, and an extent of crimes, which all those of history, put together, can scarcely equal. . . .

Agents having been placed at their posts in every corner of the republic, and the word communicated to affiliated societies, the monsters . . . gave the fearful signal which was to recall Sparta from its ruins. It resounded through France like the trump of the exterminating angel—the monuments of the sons of men crumbled away, and the graves opened.

At the same moment a thousand sanguinary guillotines were erected in all the towns and villages of France. The citizen was suddenly awoke in the night by the report of cannon and roll of the drum, to receive an order for his immediate departure to the army. He was thunderstruck, and knew not whether he was awake. He hesitated and looked around him. There he espied the ghastly heads and hideous trunks of those unfortunate wretches, who had perhaps refused to march at the first summons, only that they might take a last farewell of their families. What could he do? Where were the leaders, under whom he could place himself in order to avoid the requisition? Every one, thus taken separately, found himself deprived of all defense. On one side he beheld certain death; on the other bands of volunteers, who, flying from the famine, persecution, and intolerance of the interior, were going to seek bread and liberty in the army. They were intoxicated, singing, full of all the ardor of youth; and the citizen, with a guillotine before his eyes, seeing no other resource but to join them, took his departure with despair in his heart. . . .

While the armies were forming, the prisons were filled with all the wealthy persons of France. At one place they were drowned by thousands, at another the doors of the crowded dungeons were opened and the victims fired upon by cannon loaded with grapeshot. The guillotine was at work day and night. . . .

Thus the Jacobins attained four leading points at once, towards the establishment of their republic; they destroyed the inequality of rank, leveled the fortunes of individuals, augmented the finances by the confiscation of every person's property who was condemned,

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and attached the army to their interest by buoying it up with the hope that it would some day possess these estates.

The people, now hearing of nothing but conspiracies, invasion, and treason, were afraid of their own friends, and fancying themselves upon a mine which was ready to burst beneath them, sunk into a state of torpid terror. This the Jacobins had foreseen. A man, if now asked for bread, gave it; if for his garment, he took it off; if for his life, he resigned it without regret. At the same time he saw all the churches shut, its ministers sacrificed, and the ancient worship of the country banished under pain of death. He was told that there is no celestial vengeance but a guillotine; while by a contradictory and inexplicable jargon, he was commanded to adore the virtues for which festivals were instituted, where girls, clothed in white, and crowned with roses, entertained idle curiosity by singing hymns in honor of the Gods. The unfortunate confounded people no longer knew where they were nor whether they existed. They sought in vain for their ancient customs—these had vanished. . . .

Such were the Jacobins, of whom much has been said, though few people knew them. Most persons have indulged in declamation and published their crimes, without stating the general principle on which they acted. This principle consisted in the system of perfection, towards which the first step to be made was the restoration of the Spartan laws. We have ascribed too much to passions and circumstances. A distinguishing feature of the French Revolution is, that it is necessary to admit speculative views and abstract doctrines, as infinite in their causes. It was in part effected by the men of letters, who were rather inhabitants of Rome and Athens than of their own country, and who endeavored to bring back the manner of antiquity into modern Europe.



UNIT 8

Robert Peel and the Corn Laws

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Great Britain underwent some profound changes. One of the most significant of these was the movement of large numbers of the population from the rural southern counties of England to the growing industrial towns and cities of the Midlands in the north. As agricultural fields became enclosed and new techniques in farming produced more food with the need for less labor, agrarian workers were often thrown off the land. Many were forced to move into urban industrial regions where they could find employment in the factories and mills. This pattern was repeated in other areas of the world as economies experienced changes in agriculture and industrialization, but Britain was the first nation to undergo this transition.

Another change in Britain was that by 1800, landownership was no longer the only source of wealth. Overseas trade, commerce, and industry began to dominate the economy. Despite this, the landed aristocracy continued to dominate the government, controlling both houses of Parliament. It took a series of reform bills (the first in 1832) to rectify this situation and extend the right to vote first to the wealthy industrial middle class and eventually to the majority of adult males by 1900. There was also a shift in parliamentary representation from the underpopulated agrarian regions to larger urban areas. Much of the early nineteenth century saw a struggle on the part of landowners to hold on to the prestige and power they had wielded since the Middle

Ages. Nowhere was this better illustrated than in the fight over the Corn Laws.

The Corn Laws, taxes on foreign grain, were first passed in 1815 after the Napoleonic Wars. (In Britain, *corn* is grain such as wheat and barley.) The purpose was to protect farming in Britain, which had become very profitable during the war years when no foreign grain was imported. This had resulted in an expansion of British wheat farming, but also high food prices due to the lack of any competition. Since most voters and members of Parliament were landowners, this legislation favored them. The working classes in the growing towns had to spend much of their wages on food; thus they were unable to buy manufactured goods. The middle-class industrialists believed that the Corn Laws hurt them doubly, first by reducing the domestic market for their manufactured products and secondly by forcing them to pay their workers higher wages so that they could pay for the expensive domestic grain.

There was much agitation in Britain against the Corn Laws. This was tied in with the general movement to reform Parliament and take away the power long held by the landowning aristocracy. The Anti-Corn Law League was formed in 1838 in Manchester. It was made up of middle-class industrialists, traders, bankers, and merchants who wished to see the total repeal of the Corn Laws. They saw this as a step to free trade, which they felt would allow them to sell more products not only in Britain but also overseas.

Throughout this period, Robert Peel was a dominant figure in the British government, serving as prime minister twice. He was actively involved in the major issues of his day, such as parliamentary reform, Catholic emancipation (allowing Catholics to hold political office), and the controversy surrounding the Corn Laws. In all three cases, Peel was strongly against any reform or change. Interestingly, though, when he felt that there was no alternative, he modified his resistance.

Sir Robert Peel was born in 1788. As a reward for doing well in school, his father bought him a parliamentary seat, and Peel entered the House of Commons at the age of 21. A member of the Tory (Conservative) Party, Peel rose rapidly in the government, becoming the chief secretary for Ireland and later Home Secretary. When it became clear that Ireland was on the brink of rebellion in 1829, Peel introduced the bill for Catholic emancipation, although he had vehemently opposed it earlier. That same year, he reformed the police force of London; the officers became known as Peelers or Bobbies.

Peel strongly objected to the bill to reform Parliament and spoke against it many

times. After the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832 and the subsequent defeat of many Tories (who had opposed the bill), Peel became the leader of the party. When asked by King William IV to form a government, he became conciliatory, pledging to accept the bill. Although Peel only served for one year as prime minister and resigned in 1835, he was once more asked to lead a Tory government in 1841.

Peel remained opposed to the repeal of the Corn Laws, but the popularity of the Anti-Corn Law League and the forcefulness of their arguments were making it more and more difficult for the government not to act. The failure of the potato crop and the resulting famine in Ireland helped to push Peel to action. In 1846, the Corn Laws were repealed and the way was open to free trade. Ironically, although he had spent most of his life opposed to reform, Peel is sometimes given credit for initiating free trade in Britain. As a result of the repeal, the Conservative Party split, and Peel was forced to resign. He continued to attend the House of Commons until he died from a riding accident in 1850.

Critical-Reading Questions

Keep these questions in mind as you read the primary-source documents.

- What was the original intention behind the Corn Laws?
- Which social class, or classes, did the Corn Laws benefit? Which social classes did the Corn Laws harm?
- What was the impact of the Corn Laws on the industrial towns of England?
- What arguments did the Anti-Corn Law League use in their struggle for the repeal of the Corn Laws?
- How did conservatives characterize supporters of the Anti-Corn Law League?
- What was Peel's original reason for maintaining the Corn Laws? Why did Robert Peel change his mind about the Corn Laws?
- How do these documents and the arguments for and against the Corn Laws demonstrate the following trends and philosophies emerging in the early nineteenth century?
 - classical liberalism
 - laissez-faire*
 - socialism/Marxism

Mock Trial

Here are the charges against Robert Peel (the defendant): Sir Robert Peel, member of Parliament and prime minister of Great Britain, is charged with the pain and suffering of the industrial laboring classes in British society due to his support of the Corn Laws.

DOCUMENTS

Document A

Lord Binning Speaks in Parliament on Behalf of Landowners and Farmers, 1815

(From *Parliamentary Debates*. 1815. 1st Series, Vol. 29, Col. 984.)

In the depressed state of agriculture for the last twelve months, some relief was absolutely necessary. Numbers of persons had been turned out of employment, and the pressure of the poor rates was become intolerable . . . Most enormous losses had been suffered in the last year; and if some speedy remedy was not administered by the wisdom and firmness of the legislature, the agricultural interest of the country might soon be completely ruined.

Document B

Petition to Parliament Concerning the Corn Laws, 1841

(From *A Web of English History*. 22 November 2002. As found at the Peel Web: <http://dSPACE.dial.pipex.com/town/terrace/adw/03/peel/cornlaws/petition.htm>.)

The humble Petition of the undersigned, the Inhabitants of North and South Cadbury, in the county of Somerset,
Sheweth,

That we your Petitioners approach your honourable House under the most serious apprehension that the proposed alteration of the present Corn Law will be, if carried into effect, attended with dangerous consequences to the Nation, deluding the people with the expectation that cheap bread could be obtained without a corresponding lowering of wages, thereby raising hopes without the possibility of their being realised; that we consider that it is the first duty of the Legislature to ensure, as far as can be effected by human legislation, a certain, regular and sufficient supply of wheat for the consumption of the people, and that the present Corn Law effects that object as near as may be; in order that the supply of wheat may continue to be commensurate with the utmost wants of the people, every security and encouragement must be afforded to home cultivation; that as experience has

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shown the uncertainty of commercial intercourse, it will be most ruinous to all ranks of society to place dependence upon foreign countries for the supply of wheat, instead of mainly relying on our native resources, thereby throwing our own labourers out of work, and risking the chance at a future day of famine in our now plenteous land.

That we further consider that uncertainty and vacillation in the Corn Laws are ruinous to the enterprize, skill, and outlay of the farmer, useless to the manufacturing classes, whose main stay is the home market; and that it is the greatest injustice to place the British agriculturalist and those connected with the land, who are the great consumers of manufactured goods, on a par with the cultivators of foreign soils, who are comparatively unburthened with taxation and unacquainted with English comforts.

That it appears to your Petitioners fearful to contemplate the total disorganization of engagements, such as mortgages, settlement, annuitants, interests, or national securities, which must follow the depreciated value of our soil, at present bearing the principal weight of Parliament and local taxation.

That your petitioners humbly trust the funds of our charitable institutions may not be impaired, nor our moral or political importance as a nation be lessened; and that the agricultural interests of Britain may not be sacrificed or made secondary to any other interest whatever.

We your Petitioners humbly but strongly pray, that the existing Corn Laws may remain unaltered.

James Bennett
S. Blackall
John Gifford
&c. &c. &c.

Document C

A Corn Law Rhyme by Ebenezer Elliott

(From *A Web of English History*. 22 November 2002. As found at The Peel Web: <http://dSPACE.dial.pipex.com/town/terrace/adw03/peel/cornlaws/clrhymes.htm>.)

Caged Rats

Ye coop us up, and tax our bread,
And wonder why we pine;
But ye are fat, and round, and red,
And fill'd with tax-bought wine.
Thus twelve rats starve while three rats thrive,
(Like you on mine and me,)
When fifteen rats are caged alive,
With food for nine and three.

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Haste! Havoc's torch begins to glow—
The ending is begun;
Make haste! Destruction thinks ye slow;
Make haste to be undone!
Why are ye call'd "My Lord" and "Squire",
While fed by mine and me,
And wringing food, and clothes and fire,
From bread-tax'd misery?

Make haste, slow rogues! Prohibit trade,
Prohibit honest gain;
Turn all the good that God hath made
To fear, and hate, and pain;
Till beggars all, assassins all,
All cannibals we be,
And death shall have no funeral
From shipless sea to sea

Document D

Extract of a Speech Given in London in 1844 by Richard Cobden, Leader of the Anti-Corn Law League

(From J. F. C. Harrison, ed., *Society and Politics in England, 1780–1960*. New York: Harper & Row, 1965, pp. 170–172)

In the first place, we want free trade in corn, because we think it just; we ask for the abolition of all restriction upon that article, exclusively, simply because we believe that, if we obtain that, we shall get rid of all other monopolies without any trouble. We do not seek free trade in corn primarily for the purpose of purchasing it at a cheaper money-rate; we require it at the natural price of the world's market, whether it becomes dearer with free trade—as wool seems to be getting up now, after the abolition of the 1d. a pound—or whether it is cheaper, it matters not to us, provided the people of this country have it at its natural price, and every source of supply is freely opened, as nature and nature's God intended it to be;—then, and then only, shall we be satisfied. If they come to motives, we state that we do not believe that free trade in corn will injure the farmer; we are convinced that it will benefit the tenant-farmer as much as any trader or manufacturer in the community.

Neither do we believe it will injure the farm-labourer; we think it will enlarge the market for his labour, and give him an opportunity of finding employment, not only on the soil by the improvements which agriculturists must adopt, but that there will also be a general rise in wages from the increased demand for employment in the neighbouring towns, which will give young peasants an opportunity of choosing between the labour of the field

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and that of the towns. We do not expect that it will injure the land-owner, provided he looks merely to his pecuniary interest in the matter; we have no doubt it will interfere with his political despotism—that political union which now exists in the House of Commons, and to a certain extent also, though terribly shattered, in the counties of this country. We believe that it might interfere with that; and that with free trade in corn men must look for political power rather by honest means—to the intelligence and love of their fellow-countrymen—than by the aid of this monopoly, which binds men together by depressing and injuring their fellow-citizens. . . .

We believe that free trade will increase the demand for labour of every kind, not merely of the mechanical classes and those engaged in laborious bodily occupations, but for clerks, shopmen and warehousemen, giving employment to all those youths whom you are so desirous of setting out in the world. . . . Finally, we believe that Free Trade will not diminish, but, on the contrary, increase the Queen's revenue.

Document E

An Attack on the Anti-Corn Law League by J. W. Croker, Writing for the Conservatives in the *Quarterly Review*, LXXI, 1842

(From *A Web of English History*. As found at the Peel Web:
www.dspace.dial.pipex.com/town/terrace/adw03/peel/peelhome.htm.)

We are satisfied that we have made out such a case against the Anti-Corn-Law Association and League, as no rational man in the country . . . can resist.

We have shown that these societies set out with a public and fundamental engagement to act by 'legal and constitutional means'; but that, on the contrary, all their proceedings have been in the highest degree unconstitutional, and, to the common sense of mankind, illegal.

We have shown that their second fundamental engagement, 'that no party political discussion should be allowed at any of their meetings', has been scandalously violated; and that the language of their speeches and their press has been not merely violent and indecent—but incendiary and seditious.

We have shown that, even from the outset, they endeavoured to menace the government and the legislature with the pressure of physical force, and that these threats continued with increasing violence, till lost at length in the tumult of the actual outbreak which they had provoked.

We have shown that the Magistrates who belonged to these societies, instead of maintaining the peace and tranquillity of their respective jurisdictions, were amongst the most prominent and violent promoters of every species of agitation; and that, while all of them talked language and promulgated doctrines that endangered the public peace, some, the highest in authority, volunteered declarations which those inclined to disturb the public peace might reasonably consider as promises of, at least, impunity. . . .

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We have shown that—from first to last—their system has been one of falsehood and deception—from their original fundamental imposture of being the advocates of the poor—down to the meaner shifts of calling brutal violence freedom of discussion, and a subscription for feeding sedition and riot a fund for education or charity.

And, finally, we hope we have shown that no man of common sense of any party . . . can hesitate to pronounce the existence of such associations—raising money—exciting mobs—organised—and—to use a term of the same Jacobin origins as their own, a hatred—for the avowed purpose of coercing the government and the legislature—can hesitate, we say, to pronounce the existence of such associations disgraceful to our national character, and wholly incompatible either with the internal peace and commercial prosperity of the country—or, in the highest meaning of the words—the SAFETY OF THE STATE.

Document F

Robert Peel's Speech on the Corn Law, 1841

(From Hansard, *House of Commons Daily Debates*. LIX, 413–429. As found at the Peel Web: <http://dSPACE.dial.pipex.com/town/terrace/adw03/peel/peelhome.htm>.)

I now approach the more important and exciting question of the Corn-laws. In order that I may make no mistake, allow me to refer to the expressions which I made use of on this point before the dissolution. I said, that on consideration I had formed an opinion, which intervening consideration has not induced me to alter, that the principle of a graduated scale was preferable to that of a fixed and irrevocable duty; but I said then, and I say now, in doing so I repeat the language which I held in 1839, that I will not bind myself to the details of the existing law, but will reserve to myself the unfettered discretion of considering and amending that law. I hold the same language now; but if you ask me whether I bind myself to the maintenance of the existing law in its details, or if you say that that is the condition in which the agricultural interest give me their support, I say that on that condition I will not accept their support. . . . If I could bring myself to think—if I could believe that an alteration of the Corn-laws would preclude the risk of such distress—if I thought it would be an effectual remedy, in all cases, against such instances of lamentable suffering as that which have been described, I would say at once to the agricultural interest, 'It is for your advantage rather to submit to any reduction of price, than, if an alteration of the Corn-laws would really be the cure for these sufferings, to compel their continuance.' I should say, that it would be for the interest, not of the community in general, but especially of the agriculturists themselves, if, by any sacrifice of theirs, they could prevent the existence of such distress. If any sacrifice of theirs could prevent their being the real cause of the distress—could prevent the continuance of it—could offer a guarantee against the recurrence of it, I would earnestly advise a relaxation, an alteration, nay, if necessary, a repeal of the Corn-laws. But it is because I cannot convince my mind that the Corn-laws are at the bottom of this distress, or that the repeal of them, or the alteration of their principle, would be its cure, that I am induced to continue my maintenance of them.

**“The Corn Laws,” An Article for a German Newspaper,
Written by Frederick Engels, 1842**

(From *Rheinische Zeitung*, December 22, 1842. As found on-line at www.Marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1842/12/27.htm.)

From *Lancashire*, December 22. The end of the existing Corn Laws is rapidly approaching. The people are in a real fury about the “corn tax”, and no matter what the Tories do, they cannot withstand the pressure of the exasperated masses. Sir Robert Peel has pro-rogued [postponed] Parliament until February 2—six weeks for the opposition to fan the anger still more. When the new session opens, Peel will have to state his position on the sliding-scale at the very outset; it is generally believed that he has at least begun to waver in his attitude towards it. If he decides to drop it, the more extreme Tories will undoubtedly resign from the government and make room for the moderate Whigs, and then the Peel-Russell coalition will have come into being. In any case, the aristocracy will defend itself stubbornly, and I, for my part, do not think it can be induced to agree voluntarily to the free import of corn. The English nobility allowed the Reform Bill and Catholic emancipation to go through, but the effort that this cost it would be nothing compared with that which abolition of the Corn Laws would entail. What is a weakening of the aristocracy’s influence at parliamentary elections compared with a 30 per cent reduction in the property of the whole English nobility? And if even the two above-mentioned Bills have evoked such struggles, if the Reform Bill was passed only with the aid of popular risings and stones thrown at the windows of the aristocracy, cannot the nobility be relied upon to test whether the people has enough courage and strength to ensure that its will is carried out? The summer disturbances certainly showed the nobility how ineffectual the English people is when it revolts. I am firmly convinced that this time the aristocracy will remain adamant until the knife is at its throat. There can be no doubt, however, that the people will not go on much longer paying the aristocracy a penny (10 Prussian pfennigs) on every pound of bread it eats. The Anti-Corn Law League has seen to that. Its activity has been tremendous; I intend to write a more detailed report about it.

Suffice it to say that one of the most important results due partly to the Corn Laws, partly to the League, is the freeing of the tenant farmers from the moral influence of their aristocratic landlords. Up to now, no one has been so indifferent to political issues as the English tenant farmers, i. e., the entire agricultural section of the nation. As a matter of course, the landlord was a Tory and evicted every tenant who voted against the Tories at the parliamentary elections. The result was that the 252 Members of Parliament which the agricultural districts in the United Kingdom have to elect were, as a rule, almost all Tories. Now, however, due to the effect of the Corn Laws and the publications of the League, distributed in hundreds of thousands of copies, the tenant farmer has been awakened to political consciousness. He has realised that his interests are not identical with those of the landlord, but are directly opposed to them, and that to no one have the Corn Laws been more unfavourable than to himself. Hence a considerable change has taken place among tenant farmers. The majority of them are now Whigs, and since the landlords may now find it difficult to exert a decisive influence on the tenant farmers’ vote at the elections, the 252 seats

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held by the Tories will probably soon pass to the same number of Whigs. Even if this change-over only affected half the seats, it would already alter the character of the House of Commons considerably, since as a result the Whigs would be assured of a majority there for good. And that is bound to happen. Particularly if the Corn laws were repealed, for then the tenant farmer would become completely independent of the landlord, because tenancy agreements would have to be concluded under quite new conditions after the repeal. The aristocracy thought that it had achieved a remarkably clever stroke of business by passing the Corn Laws; but the money it has obtained as a result by no means outweighs the disadvantage which these laws have caused it. And this disadvantage lies precisely in the fact that from now on the aristocracy is no longer the representative of agriculture, but of its own selfish interests.



UNIT 9

Sylvia Pankhurst: Advocate or Subversive?

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Sylvia Pankhurst was born in 1882 in Manchester, England, the second of four children of Richard and Emmeline Pankhurst. Her mother was the secretary of the Manchester branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. Sylvia's father, Dr. Richard Marsden Pankhurst, was a radical lawyer who had drafted the first women's enfranchisement bill, introduced into Parliament in 1870. All through Sylvia's youth, the Pankhursts remained involved in reform activities.

In 1898, when Sylvia was 16, she received a scholarship to the Manchester School of Art. After touring and studying in Venice, she came home to Manchester in 1903. Her mother secured for her a commission to decorate the Independent Labour Party Hall named for her father. There Sylvia discovered that women were not permitted to join the ILP Manchester branch. When she told her mother and sister Christabel, they decided to organize the Women's Social and Political Union to raise the visibility of women's suffrage as a political goal. The organization's slogan became "deeds, not words." The WSPU began to confront the political establishment, especially of the Liberal Party, which came into power at the end of 1905 and won a strong electoral victory early the next year. Though generally supportive, the Independent Labour Party subordinated the issue of votes for women to that of universal suffrage for both men and women, while the Liberal Party simply avoided the issue.

In 1906, Sylvia began to work full time

for her mother's organization. She began in London, where, with Kier Hardie's advice, she organized the first militant women's meeting in the city (February 16, 1906). In publicizing this meeting, the *Daily Mail* newspaper referred to the meeting's sponsoring group as "Suffragettes," a term that became widely used. Hardie attempted, unsuccessfully, to move a women's suffrage bill in the House of Commons in April. WSPU members who were watching the maneuvering from the Strangers Gallery protested and were forcibly ejected. As the group turned from petitioning to more direct action, Sylvia participated in acts of civil disobedience. She went on hunger strikes when she was imprisoned. Despite her passionate support for her mother's organization, she worried over what she regarded as her sister's emphasis on middle- and upper-class women—the taunt that the movement was interested in "votes for ladies" arose from this. She also objected to her mother's thin-skinned rejection of even the slightest disagreement from her colleagues; later, supporters would be thrown out of the movement for these affronts.

Gradually Sylvia's goals veered away from those of her mother and sister. She began to champion the rights of working-class women. This concern arose from her deep commitment to the Labour Party's socialist ideals. Sylvia broke with the WSPU in 1912 when, frustrated by the failure of yet another franchise bill, Christabel (who had avoided prison by fleeing to Paris) called for "destructive

militancy" (acts of vandalism) to be adopted as a formal policy. Sylvia rejected the policy as counterproductive. With an American supporter, Zelig Emerson, she moved to East London to focus on the living and working conditions and the rights of working women. Sylvia and some of her supporters were soon arrested. Again, they went on hunger strikes. When even forced feeding could not insure their health, the government passed the Prisoners' Temporary Discharge for Ill Health Act—referred to by the suffragettes as the Cat and Mouse Act. It allowed women to be released to avoid their dying in jail, then rearrested when their condition improved. In January 1914, while playing Cat and Mouse with authorities who were trying to rearrest her, Sylvia was summoned by her mother and sister to Paris for one last attempt at reconciliation. When that failed, Christabel ordered Sylvia to sever her organization's connection to the WSPU. Sylvia renamed her organization the East London Federation of Suffragettes and invited workers of both sexes to join (the WSPU was open only to women). At Emerson's urging, she also founded a newspaper, the *Woman's Dreadnought*, to spread the word.

When the First World War broke out, Christabel returned to England. The WSPU suspended its antigovernment activities until the war's end, coming out in favor of "women's right to serve." They hoped that if women proved themselves through war service, the government would have to award them the vote. (In fact, this did eventually happen with the passage of The Representation of the People Act in 1918.) During the war, Sylvia continued to demand the immediate enfranchisement of women. She also advocated pacifism and worked to alleviate working-class suffering. The government arrested her for sedition for speaking at an anti-war rally (a group of miners paid her fine).

When the Russian Revolution took place in 1917, Sylvia supported it. She changed the name of her newspaper to the *Worker's Dreadnought* in July 1917. Under British government auspices, Emmeline had gone to Russia that summer to convince the provisional government to remain in the war. When the Bolshevik Revolution overthrew the provisional government and sued for peace with the Central Powers, Sylvia supported the Bolsheviks. She organized a Hands Off Russia campaign and communicated with Lenin. She traveled illegally to Russia in 1921, wrote a book called *Russia As I Saw It*, met Lenin, and attended the First Congress of the Third International. When she returned, she was arrested and imprisoned for six months by the British authorities under the Defense of the Realm Act. She was denounced by Lenin in a polemic entitled "Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder."

Sylvia's experiences in Italy, both before the war and in 1919, when she attended the Socialist Congress at Bologna, made her an early and active opponent of fascism. She was also influenced by Silvio Erasmus Corio (described later by their son as "an Italian libertarian Socialist"), who had kept the *Worker's Dreadnought* operating while she was imprisoned. Sylvia founded two antifascist societies, published more than 20 nonfiction books, and produced two poetry collections. She bitterly opposed Italy's invasion of Ethiopia in 1935. She met Emperor Haile Selassie, helped to found the Abyssinia Society, and started another newspaper, *New Times and Ethiopia News*, which continued publication through the Second World War. During the war (which she supported), Sylvia also worked on behalf of antifascist aliens interned by the British government. After the war, she campaigned for the independence of Italy's former colonies, created a foundation and a newspaper in support of Ethiopia, and died there in 1960.

Critical-Reading Questions

Keep these questions in mind as you read the primary-source documents.

- What were the aims of the suffragists?
- Why did Emmeline Pankhurst feel that the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies was inadequate to achieve these goals?
- How did the Liberal and Independent Labour Parties react to the demands for women's suffrage?
- What actions did the Women's Social and Political Union undertake to achieve their objectives?
- Why did Sylvia break with the Women's Social and Political Union?
- How did Sylvia carry her ideals into practice through the East London Federation of Suffragettes and its newspaper, the *Woman's* (later the *Worker's Dreadnought*)?
- Based on the foregoing, how do you think Sylvia felt about the passage of The Representation of the People Act in 1918?
- Why was Sylvia an early supporter of the Bolshevik Revolution?
- How did the latter part of Sylvia's life fulfill her ideals of "the new woman"?

Mock Trial

Here are the charges against Sylvia Pankhurst (the defendant): Sylvia Pankhurst is charged with disorderly conduct and fomenting riot for her acts of civil disobedience before the First World War. She is also charged with sedition for disrupting the war effort by diverting the attention of working men and women from the effort to defeat the enemy and by supporting the nation's enemies in time of war.

Document A

Women's Social and Political Union Manifesto, October 1908

(From Midge Mackenzie, *Shoulder to Shoulder, A Documentary*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975, p. 83.)

Parliament is about to meet to continue the work of legislation.

The bill for the enfranchisement of women, which earlier in the year passed its second reading by a great majority, finds no place in the Government programme, although every effort has been made by women to convince the Cabinet that it is expedient, as well as just, that the disability of sex should be removed without further delay.

Great demonstrations, exceeding in size any ever held in support of any other question, have taken place all over the country.

At the by-elections, the voters have voted against the Government on the issue of votes for women.

To all these manifestations of the people's will, the Government continue blind and deaf.

It is for us who are called the militant women to take further action and to show our determination to break down this obstinate resistance to our just demands.

On October 13 we shall meet in the Caxton Hall, and we have asked those who support our demands to assemble in Parliament Square.

From our meeting in Caxton Hall will be chosen a deputation to go again, as deputations have gone before, to the House of Commons, to enter the House—if possible the Chamber itself—and lay our claim to the vote before the Government and Parliament.

Women have the right, being voteless, to plead their cause in person. We shall insist on that right. . . .

On October 13, in Parliament Square, there will be many thousands of people to see fair play between the women and the Government.

Thousands of our fellow countrywomen, who are unable by their circumstances to take an active part in the fight, are looking to us to obtain for them their political freedom.

All over the world women are gaining hope from our efforts here in England.

Let us then show the world on October 13, 1908, that British women are determined to be free citizens of a free country before the year is out.

Yours, in the women's cause,
Emmeline Pankhurst

Document B

Letter from J. Kier Hardie, M.P., Describing the Forced Feeding of Women in Prison, September 29, 1908

(From the *Daily News*. Reprinted in Midge Mackenzie, *Shoulder to Shoulder, A Documentary*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975, p. 131.)

To the editor of the DAILY NEWS

Sir,—May I crave the courtesy of your columns to call attention to the latest development in connection with the militant section of the women's suffrage movement?

In reply to a question of mine to-day, Mr. Masterman, speaking on behalf of the Home Secretary, admitted that some of the nine women prisoners now in Winson Green Gaol, Birmingham, had been subjected to "hospital treatment," and admitted that this euphemism meant administering food by force. The process employed was the insertion of a tube down the throat into the stomach and pumping the food down. To do this, I am advised, a gag has to be used to keep the mouth open.

That there is difference of opinion concerning the tactics of the militant Suffragettes goes without saying, but surely there can be no two opinions concerning the horrible brutality of this proceeding? Women, worn and weak by hunger, are seized upon, held down by brute force, gagged, a tube inserted down the throat, and food poured or pumped into the stomach. Let British men think over the spectacle.

I endeavoured to learn from Mr. Masterman under what law, rule, or regulation this thing had been done, but he was unable to say without notice. He admitted, however, that it had been done by order of the Home Office. My information is that there is no such power given to prison authorities save in the case of persons certified to be insane. If this be so, a very serious responsibility rests with the Home Office, and I shall endeavour to find out to-morrow at question time whether it is so or not.

May I add one more remark? I was horrified at the levity displayed by a large section of the Members of the House when the question was being answered. Had I not heard it I could not have believed that a body of gentlemen could have found reason for mirth and applause in a scene which I venture to say has no parallel in the recent history of our country. One of these days we shall learn that Mrs. Leigh or some other of her brave fellow-prisoners has succumbed to the "hospital treatment," as a man did in 1870. I would not envy the position of the Home Secretary or the Government responsible for such a result. Surely the people of these islands will speak out ere our annals are stained by such a tragedy.
—Yours, etc.,

J. Keir Hardie
House of Commons,
Sept. 27

Document C

Suffragism, Reform, and the Legitimacy of Militant Tactics

(From Sylvia Pankhurst, *The Suffragette*. 1911. Reprinted in Kathryn Dodd, ed., *A Sylvia Pankhurst Reader*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1993, pp. 42–23.)

I believe that women striving for enfranchisement in other lands and reformers of future days may learn with renewed hope and confidence how the 'family,' who in 1905 set out determined to make votes for women the dominant issue of the politics of their time, in but six years drew to their standard the great woman's army of to-day. It is certain that the militant struggle in which this woman's army has engaged and which has come as the climax to the long, patient effort of the earlier pioneers, will rank amongst the great reform movements of the world. Set as it has been in modern humdrum days it can yet compare with any movement for variety and vivacity of incident. The adventurous and resourceful daring of the young Suffragettes who, by climbing up on roofs, by sliding down through skylights, by hiding under platforms, constantly succeeded in asking their endless questions, has never been excelled. What could be more piquant than the fact that two of the Cabinet Ministers who were carrying out a policy of coercion towards the women should have been forced into the witness box to be questioned and cross-questioned by Miss Christabel Pankhurst, the prisoner in the dock? What, too, could throw a keener searchlight upon the methods of our statesmen than the evidence put forward in the course of that trial?

To many of our contemporaries perhaps the most remarkable feature of the militant movement has been the flinging-aside by thousands of women of the conventional standards that hedge us so closely round in these days for a right that large numbers of men who possess it scarcely value. Of course it was more difficult for the earlier militants to break through the conventionalities than for those who followed, but, as one of those associated with the movement from its inception, I believe that the effort was greater for those who first came forward to stand by the originators than for the little group by whom the first blows were struck. I believe this because I know the original militants were already in close association with the truth that not only were the deeds of the old time pioneers and martyrs glorious, but that their work still lacks completion, and that it behoves those of us who have grasped an idea for human betterment to endure, if need be, social ostracism, violence, and hardship of all kinds, in order to establish it. Moreover, whilst the originators of the militant tactics let fly their bolt, as it were, from the clear sky, their early associates rallied to their aid in the teeth of all the fierce and bitter opposition that had been raised.

The hearts of students of the movement in after years will be stirred by the faith and endurance shown by the women who faced violence at the hands of the police and others in Parliament Square and at the Cabinet Minister meetings, and above all by the heroism of the noble women who went through the hunger strike and the mental and physical torture of forcible feeding.

A passionate love of freedom, a strong desire to do social service and an intense sympathy for the unfortunate, together made the movement possible in its present form. Those who have worked as part of it know that it is notable not merely for its enthusiasm and

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courage, but also for its cheery spirit of loyalty and comradeship, its patient thoroughness in organisation which has made possible its many great demonstrations and processions, its freedom from bitterness and recrimination, and its firm faith in the right.

Document D

Suffragette Sisters to Separate: Miss Sylvia Pankhurst Forms New Organisation "Extension: Not Split" More Militant Methods to Be Used by New Body

(From the *Daily Sketch*, February 7, 1914. Reprinted in Midge Mackenzie, *Shoulder to Shoulder, A Documentary*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975, p. 270.)

The movement in the East End of London, of which Miss Sylvia Pankhurst is hon. secretary, hitherto named the East London Federation of the W.S.P.U., has now become a separate organization, entirely independent of the W.S.P.U.

MISS PANKHURST EXPLAINS

"It is not a split; it is an extension," Miss Sylvia Pankhurst told the *Daily Sketch* last night.

"We have only become in name what we were in fact before, an independent organisation.

"When we started work down here we had what we have now—an independent secretary and treasurer. You see, the movement has grown so large that it is difficult to work.

"Down here the conditions are different from what they are in other parts. We do different things. For instance, our 'no rent' strike which we are arranging for could not be carried out in any other part, but headquarters do not object to it, because they cannot do it themselves."

CONFINED TO THE EAST END

"The difference between our new organisation and the old one is that the East End movement is one restricted by a specific area, while the other has no boundary.

"Another difficulty is that down here we had become so large, and the conditions were peculiar to itself, that it was not always possible for headquarters to be able to give a decision at once and it was therefore thought it would be better if we were independent. You may say that our aims and objects will be the same as they always were."

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SUGGESTED BY W.S.P.U.

"Did the suggestion that you should act independently come from headquarters?" asked the *Daily Sketch*.

Miss Sylvia pondered, and said: "Yes, you may state that it did."

What are the views of Miss Sylvia Pankhurst which are "not those of Miss Christabel Pankhurst"?

It said that Miss Sylvia Pankhurst has for a long time adopted a militant policy of her own without consulting headquarters. One point of difference is that Miss Christabel Pankhurst has issued instructions that the W.S.P.U. was to be kept independent of all political parties, while the movement led by her sister has assumed strongly Socialist sympathies. Most of Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's supporters are avowed Socialists, and Miss Pankhurst has been working in close alliance with Mr. George Lansbury and other leaders of Labour in Bow and Bromley and adjoining constituencies.

"TERROR TO THE GOVERNMENT"

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst also established her "People's Army" for repelling police brutality, a departure from the Union policy. A third point is that the "Army" is open to both men and women, while the W.S.P.U. excludes men.

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst has figured in more than one street riot; and has been arrested in Whitehall, while leading men and women towards Downing Street. She boasts that the East End suffragists are "a terror to the Government."

Document E

The Right to Serve

(From Emmeline Pankhurst, "A Speech Delivered at the London Polytechnic, June 24, 1915." Reprinted in Midge Mackenzie, *Shoulder to Shoulder, A Documentary*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975, p. 293.)

EMMELINE PANKHURST: The object of the women responsible for this meeting is to keep before the nation what they feel to be the real need for us here in Great Britain; the object we should be determined to attain if this war is to be won and if the ideals of which we have been thinking this afternoon are to be preserved.

Women are eating their hearts out with desire to see their services utilised in this national emergency. It is not a question with us of war bonuses; it is not a question of red tape, which has to be slowly untied. With us it is not a question of these things; but we realise that if this war is to be won, the whole energy of the nation and the whole capacity of the nation will have to be utilised in order to win.

And that is not the opinion of women alone; the Prime Minister said it weeks ago; Mr. Lloyd George has said it. But what is the outcome of all they have said? A week is to be

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spent and perhaps a minimum of money is to be spent on getting a comparatively small number of men trade unionists into hire on this question. . . . How is it that men can be so behind as not to see that the fire of patriotism burns in the hearts of women quite as strongly as it does in the hearts of men.

Imagine what women are thinking, when they find in Germany half a million women today are engaged in making ammunition—while 70,000-odd women who registered themselves at Easter at one single invitation of the Board of Trade are only being utilised to the number of 2,000 for national service.

Well, it is very difficult indeed for women to restrain their impatience and it is only because they realise how serious the situation is that their impatience is not being made more manifest than at present. . . . What I am saying this afternoon is not in unkind criticism of my native land. It is really because of my burning desire to make it plain to the only people who can deal with the situation that we are ready as a nation to be organised and to do our part.

I expect I am the biggest rebel in this meeting and I am one of the biggest rebels in the country. I am one of those people who, at the right time and in the proper place, are prepared to fight for certain ideals of freedom and liberty and would be willing to give my life for them; we are prepared to hold great organising meetings all over the country and enlist women for war service if they will only set us free to do it. We here and now this afternoon offer our services to the Government, to recruit and enlist the women of the country for war service, whether that war service is the making of munitions, or whether that war service is the replacing of skilled men who have been called up, so that the business of the country may go on.

Document F

Meeting Announcement

(Reprinted in Midge Mackenzie, *Shoulder to Shoulder, A Documentary*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975, p. 297.)

Down with Sweating!
IF A WOMAN DOES A MAN'S JOB
SHE MUST HAVE A MAN'S PAY!
Down with High Prices and Big Profits
VOTES FOR WORKING WOMEN
GREAT JOINT DEMONSTRATION OF

The East London Federation of the Suffragettes, United Suffragists, Forward Cymric Suffrage Union, Herald League, B.S.P., The Dockers' Union, and branches of the I.L.P. Amalgamated Toolmakers, Engineers and Machinists, Electrical Trade Union, National Union of Railwaymen, and others.

IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE
SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 4 p.m.
COME IN YOUR THOUSANDS AND SEND THE GOVERNMENT A BUDGET MESSAGE.

Document G

British Workers and the Bolshevik Revolution

(From Sylvia Pankhurst in *The Revolutionary Age*, August 9, 1919.)

Our progress is very slow. When the Allied intervention to crush the Russian Soviets began a year ago, it was impossible to arouse British workers to protest against it. . . .

The workers are gradually coming to realize that the Russian and Hungarian Soviet Governments are governments of the working class, answering to their needs, and enabling them, at last, to realize their long cherished ideals. Though the official leaders like Arthur Henderson have deprecated, repudiated, and even helped to slander the Soviets, a deeply felt sense of solidarity with Communist Russia has been growing steadily amongst workers. For months past "Hands Off Russia" has found its way into the resolution of every labor and Socialist propaganda meeting and literature about Russia has been the more eagerly read than any other. At the Southport Conference of the Labor Party, which opened on June 25th, the feeling which has been growing during the year was clearly manifest. To the mass of the 950 delegates Russia was the most burning of all questions, and throughout the

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conference, by clapping, by cheers, by interjectory remarks, they gave vocal expression to heated thought on the Russian question. The rank and file delegates were far in advance of the platform and the well-known leaders (Resolutions at the Labor Party Conference are placed on the agenda several months beforehand and emergency resolutions are only brought forward through the standing orders committee). This official element acts as a barrier to swift progress difficult to circumvent. Nevertheless it can be said that the Southport Conference of the Labor Party has succeeded in declaring itself on the following points:

- (1) It has clearly recognized the International class struggle between Labor and Capital.
- (2) It has declared (though as yet a little timidly, and without as yet full preparedness to meet all the obligations of this choice) its solidarity with the Worker's Socialist Republics of Russia and Hungary.
- (3) It has declared itself in favor of using direct industrial action to achieve the political ends of the workers.
- (4) It has decided that direct industrial action shall be used to stop capitalist attacks upon the Socialist Republics of Russia and Hungary.
- (5) But it has left this action to the joint Executives, and the Executives will not act without pressure.



UNIT 10

The Boxer Rebellion and the Westernization of China

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In 1644, a new dynasty seized control of China. Known as the Manchu or Ch'ing dynasty, its rulers were not even ethnically Chinese; they came from Manchuria, to the north of China. By the nineteenth century, the Ch'ing dynasty was failing to preserve order and control its vast territories.

Various sectors of Chinese society arose in a series of revolts and upheavals to challenge the authority of the Manchu government. They protested over such grievances as corruption, poverty, greedy landlords, extortion, and the fact that the Manchus were regarded as foreigners. The largest of these rebellions was in Taiping in 1850, in which perhaps as many as 20 million people died. The Manchu government put down the rebellion with the help of the Europeans led by British General Charles Gordon. This demonstrates that by the mid-nineteenth century, the Manchus were dependent on the Europeans for their continued rule. Foreign powers defended the Manchus because they needed a government in China (albeit a weak one) with which to make treaties.

China had been forced to trade with the West as a result of the Opium War of 1839–41 and a later outbreak in 1857. The British, in order to maintain a balance of payment in trade, exported opium to China; when the Chinese government attempted to restrict the trade of this addictive drug, the British went to war with the Chinese. By the treaties of Nanking (1842) and Tientsin (1857), China was forced to grant many concessions to the

European powers and the United States. Foreigners had the right to make their own settlements in the “treaty ports,” or trade cities, and they were subject to the laws of their own countries, not Chinese law. By the end of the nineteenth century, Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Japan, and the United States all had spheres of influence within China where they were basically free to do as they pleased.

Despite efforts of the Manchu government to westernize, they were unable to thwart the foreigners. It appeared to most Chinese that their government was not only dependent on the outsiders but totally unable to rule effectively. By the end of the nineteenth century, the presence of Christian missionaries (who often interfered in local affairs), a devastating drought in many provinces, and a dowager empress who wished to push out the foreigners combined to produce a climate ripe for revolt.

There had always been many secret societies in China, but this era saw the rise of a group known as the Fists of Righteous Harmony (translations of the name vary slightly). The group attracted thousands of devoted followers. Known by Westerners as the Boxers because of their practice of martial arts, the Boxers gained support from the government as antiforeign forces began to gain control of the Ch'ing regime. The Dowager Empress Tzu Hsi found the Boxers useful in expelling the “foreign devils,” as the Westerners were called. By 1899, the Boxers had begun to attack and kill Christian missionaries and their Chinese

converts. The Boxers claimed that they had a magic power that made them impervious to western bullets, and that millions of “spirit soldiers” would rise from the dead and join in their fight. Historians have pointed out that this is similar to the Ghost Dancers among the Sioux in the United States, many of whom were killed at Wounded Knee.

As nearly 20,000 Boxers converged on the city of Peking (now Beijing), ministers (diplomats) of foreign nations demanded that the government troops protect them and stop the Boxer menace. Although Tzu Hsi told the ministers that imperial troops would crush the Boxer movement, in reality the government did nothing. In June 1900, things got worse for the foreigners as Boxers burned their houses and churches and killed a German diplomat. An international relief force of over 2,000 men was sent from the port of Tientsin to Peking, but it was forced to turn back when blocked by the Boxers and imperial troops.

In Peking, the foreign ministers, their families, Chinese Christians, and foreign workers were besieged in the area of the city where the legations were clustered. With a small military force to protect them, they were able to withstand the Boxer attacks for

nearly two months. Finally, on August 14, 1900, an international relief force made up of sailors and soldiers from eight countries, including the United States and Japan, was able to reach Peking and rescue the foreign legation. The foreign troops looted the city, and the dowager empress escaped with members of her court. Tzu Hsi returned to Peking a year later, but the Ch’ing dynasty never recovered its power.

The foreign powers placed heavy reparations and controls on China, including an indemnity of \$330 million. Although China still remained an independent and sovereign state, foreign powers controlled many spheres of influence, extracting whatever economic advantages they could from China. The Boxer Rebellion was a failure as far as its aim to push out the foreigners and western influences, but it did cause the Manchu government to westernize in order to strengthen itself to meet the foreign threat. A revolutionary tradition continued in China— not only to remove foreigners from Chinese soil, but also to remove the inept Manchu government. This ultimately resulted in the revolution of 1912, when China was declared a republic.

Critical-Reading Questions

Keep these questions in mind as you read the primary-source documents.

- What were the aims of the Boxers?
- How were foreign powers involved in China? How was this repugnant to the Chinese and their sense of tradition?
- How did the imperial government of China use the Boxers for their own objectives?
- What arguments did anti-imperialists make to explain, if not condone, the Boxer movement?
- Do you feel that the Chinese government could have met the threat of foreign domination by any means other than supporting the Boxers?
- Did the Boxer movement ultimately have any benefit for China, or was it totally detrimental? Why?

Mock Trial

Here are the charges against the Boxers (the defendants): The members of a secret society, the Fists of Righteous Harmony, popularly known as the Boxers, are charged with mayhem, rebellion, and murder against their fellow Chinese and against Westerners living in China.

DOCUMENTS

Document A

Pronouncement by the Dowager Empress Tzu Hsi in 1900

(As found in Burt Hirschfeld, *Fifty-Five Days of Terror*. New York: Julian Messner, 1964, pp 94–95.)

. . . For the past thirty years [the foreigners] have taken advantage of our country's benevolence and generosity as well as our wholehearted conciliation to give free rein to their unscrupulous ambitions. They have oppressed our state, encroached upon our territory, trampled upon our people, and exacted our wealth. Every concession made by the Court has caused them day by day to rely more upon violence until they shrink from nothing. In small matters they oppress peaceful people; in large matters they insult what is divine and holy. All the people of our country are so full of anger and grievances that every one desires to take vengeance.

Document B

Boxer Handbill Issued by the “Lord of Wealth and Happiness”

(From Henry Savage Landor, *China and the Allies*. Vol. I. New York, 1901, pp. 16–17. As found in Richard O’Connor, *The Spirit Soldiers*. New York: G. P. Putnam’s sons, 1973, p. 16.)

The Catholic and Protestant religions being insolent to the gods, and extinguishing sanctity, rendering no obedience to Buddha, and enraging Heaven and Earth, the rain clouds no longer visit us; but eight million Spirit Soldiers will descend from Heaven and sweep the Empire clean of all foreigners. Then will the gentle showers once more water our lands; and when the tread of soldiers and the clash of steel are heard heralding woes to all our people, then the Buddhist Patriotic League of Boxers will be able to protect the Empire and to bring peace to all its people. Hasten, then, to spread this doctrine far and wide, for if you gain one adherent to the faith your own person will be absolved from all future misfortunes. If you gain five adherents your whole family will be absolved from all future misfortunes, and if you gain ten adherents your whole village will be absolved from all calamities. Those who gain no adherents to the cause shall be decapitated, for until all foreigners have been exterminated the rain can never visit us.

Document C

Letter to Eva Price’s Niece from Alice M. Williams, Wife of the Rev. George Williams, 1900

(As found in *China Journal 1889–1900: An American Missionary Family During the Boxer Rebellion*. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1989, pp. 239–240.)

Oberlin, Ohio
September 10, 1900

My dear Clara,

Is it possible that we must give up hope? I do not want to do so even yet. I do not know what word you may have had, but this is what came to us yesterday in the *Plain Dealer*:

Washington D.C. Sept. 8. The State Department is in receipt of a cablegram from U.S. Consul General Goodnow at Shanghai, dated Sept. 7 reporting the deaths about July 31 at Fen Chou fu and Tai Ku of the following missionaries:

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Rev. C. W. Price and wife [Eva] and daughter Florence
Rev. and Mrs. E. R. Atwater and two children
Rev. and Mrs. D. H. Clapp
Rev. George L. Williams
Rev. F. W. Davis
Miss Rowena Bird
Miss Mary L. Partridge

The Fen Chou fu party left the station under a Chinese escort for the coast and were murdered enroute. The Tai Ku party were killed at that station.

The plain facts seem to indicate that it is all true, but some may have escaped. I have thought many times of you all and especially of your aunty's mother, your grandmother. How hard this must be for her. If all is true they are a united happy family on the other shore. Dear Eva seemed to be living in a shadow that some dreadful calamity was to fall upon dear little Florence. It came upon them together, and now they are at rest. Why such loving hands should be called home in this manner is hard for us to say. Some day all will be made plain. What our work will be with all those at rest is hard to even think of, but God knows. He has plans, and we are to follow in his footsteps. I think and pray for you all.

Your loving friend,
Alice M. Williams

Document D

Adventures of Yao Chen-Yuan, Messenger for the Foreign Legation at Peking, During the Boxer War, 1900 (Excerpt)

(As found in the *Internet Modern History Sourcebook*. www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/modsbook.html.)

When I left the Legation, I crossed the bridge and climbed over a wall of barricades into Su Wang Fu, where two Japanese soldiers said to me: "What are you doing here?" "I am going to Tientsin with letters," I replied. "What is your name?" inquired one of them. When I told him, he said in a kind but warning tone "You must be careful or you will be killed before you are well started on your way." He took me to a small lane at the outskirts of the barricades, where he left me to go on alone; but I had not gone far when I discovered that a Boxer watchman was stationed at the other end of the street and my heart almost stood still. I had gone too far, however, to turn back, so I put on a bold front, prayed the

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Lord for guidance, and walked boldly onward. "Give me ten cents, and I will let you pass," was all he said, which I was quite ready to do. . . .

During the night, a crowd passed by, led by a woman Boxer—a member of the Society of the Red Lantern—who asked me my name, my business, and where I was going. As I seemed to satisfy them with my answer, they went about their business, which was the destruction of a Catholic village, and the murder of the Christians. The next morning I continued on my way, being early joined by a Boxer who invited me to dine with him, after which we separated.

That night I heard the keeper of the inn at which I stopped say to a Boxer, "We have no Christians here," and I spent the night in peace. The following day a child warned me not to go through a certain village, saying that the Boxers were taking every one they suspected, and I saw the fire kindled at which they burnt twenty Christians, while I at the same time thanked the Lord for putting it into the mind of a child to warn me, and thus save me, and perhaps the people of the Legation, from a like horrible fate.

Document E

Excerpt from a Speech Given by Mark Twain at the Berkeley Lyceum in New York, November 23, 1900

(From *The Boxer Rebellion*. August 1999. As found at <http://mebn.org/bxr.html>.)

China never wanted foreigners any more than foreigners wanted Chinamen, and on this question I am with the Boxers every time. The Boxer is a patriot. He loves his country better than he does the countries of other people. I wish him success. The Boxer believes in driving us out of his country. I am a Boxer too, I believe in driving him out of our country.

Document F

Journal Entry by Luella Miner, Member of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Who Was in the Besieged Legations in Peking, 1900

(From Luella Miner's journal, August 16, 1900. As found in Paul A. Cohen, *History in Three Keys*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997, p. 184.)

The conduct of the Russian soldiers is *atrocious*, the French are not much better, and the Japanese are looting and burning without mercy. . . . The Russians all the way up from Tientsin butchered women and children without mercy, and women and girls by hundreds have committed suicide to escape a worse fate at the hands of Russian and Japanese brutes. Our American soldiers saw them jumping into the river and into wells, in T'ungchow twelve girls in one well, and one mother was drowning two of her little children in a large water jar. . . . It is easy to say that China has brought this calamity on herself—that this is not war but punishment—but when we *can* distinguish the innocent from the guilty why stain the last pages of the century's history by records which would disgrace the annals of the dark ages? Sweet lessons in "western civilization" we are giving to the Chinese.

Document G

Excerpts from "The Chinese Boxers," in *The Public* 3, June 16, 1900

(From "The Chinese Boxers." *The Public* 3 (June 16, 1900). As found at www.boondocksnet.com/ai/ailtexts/chineseboxers.html.)

In the face of the sensational news from China, with its terrifying accounts of cruelly murderous assaults upon Christian missionaries, men and women, the feat of listening to the Chinese side of the question is not without its difficulties. One cannot consider with patience, what may seem to be a plea in palliation of wholesale murder, in a strange land by strange people, of men and women of one's own race. Nevertheless there is a Chinese side to this sad affair, and it will harm no one to try at least to see it. Perhaps that may be most easily done by calmly putting ourselves in imagination for a moment in the place of the Chinamen whose outrages have aroused our indignation and excited our demands for vengeance. No fair-minded person will object to doing this. For these Chinamen are men like ourselves, differing only as their peculiar associations and training, their traditions and their outlook upon the world, have accustomed them to see things from a different point of view from ours. . . .

Suppose the Chinese had come among us as we have gone to China. Suppose their merchants had got a foothold upon our coast. Suppose these merchants, finding the liquor

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traffic especially profitable because of our passion for drink, but checked by stringent prohibition laws like those of Maine, had called upon the emperor of China to force that traffic upon us from China, in spite of our laws. Suppose that the emperor's interference had brought on a war upon our own soil, in which by some magical superiority in death-dealing machines the Chinese had slaughtered our people in great numbers and forced us to yield to their demands. And suppose that, in the adjustment of terms of peace, we had been compelled not only to pay an immense money indemnity to China, but also surrender to her the right of occupation and sovereignty over a commanding position upon our coast. If China had thus outrageously foisted herself upon us, it would have been precisely as England did to her, except that the subject of the quarrel in that case was opium instead of liquor.

But suppose, further, that the Chinese had sent missionaries to this country, and that the missionaries had not only built Joss-houses but had established outlandish schools and barbarian hospitals and had set about converting Christian people and their children to paganism. Beyond this, suppose that the Chinese had introduced methods of Sabbath breaking entirely new and unspeakably offensive to us, and in still other ways had outraged our religious prejudices, superstitions, and traditions. . . .

Suppose, too, that their popular Asiatic poets, were egging on the Asiatics to civilize us according to their standards by singing of that duty as "the yellow man's burden." And suppose, with all the rest, that these strange people were flocking to our shores; were settling in groups apart, making Chinatowns wherever they dropped down; were perpetuating their own customs and institutions—civil, social, political and religious—and threatening ours with extinction; were, in brief, well on the way towards transforming the United States into tributary provinces of Tibet, Japan and the Chinese empire.

What, in those circumstances, would happen in this country? Need we ask what would happen? Could we doubt what would happen? Do we not know what actually has happened, only in minor degree, upon the bare possibility of even a peaceful Chinese invasion? There would be an uprising in this country precisely like that of the "boxers" in China.

Document H

Excerpts from a Sermon by Herbert Bigelow, Printed in *The Public* 3, June 30, 1900

(From Herbert S. Bigelow, "The Chinese Motes and the American Beams." *The Public* 3 (June 30, 1900). As found at www.boondocksnet.com/ai/aitexts/bigelow000624.html.)

While we deny the Chinaman's right to murder foreigners, who are there under treaty guarantees, are we equally ready to concede the right of his government, in a peaceable and legal way, to exclude foreigners? We exercised that right when we passed the Chinese

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exclusion act. If the Chinaman does not like us, so much the worse for his taste, of course. But have we any stones to throw on that score? What are the Boxers but an A. P. A. organization,¹ with yellow skins and pig-tails, and with the courage of their convictions? . . .

But it is said the Chinaman is shockingly behind the times. Yet before we are carried away by the Kipling hysteria it would be well to consider the beam in our own eye. I do not believe we should permit the murder of our citizens. Neither do I believe we should begin the war for the protection of the missionary, and end it with a claim for territory. The Boxers were too accommodating. They seem to have proceeded on the plan of Artemus Ward, which was to find out what your enemy wants and then let him have it. In the light of previous aggressions upon Chinese soil we may perhaps be forgiven the suspicion that the powers might consider this opportunity worth the blood of several missionaries. It is certainly the duty of the United States to take no part in this business beyond the protection of American citizens. It is our manifest duty to practice the virtues of a Christian democracy. As Gladstone advised: "Let us recognize, and recognize with frankness, the equality of the weak with the strong, the principle of brotherhoods among the nations and of their sacred independence."

¹ *The American Protection Association (A.P.A.) was an organization that worked for the Chinese Exclusion Act in the United States.*



UNIT 11

Francisco (Pancho) Villa: Outlaw or Revolutionary?

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The person now known as Pancho Villa was born in 1878 as Doroteo Arango. He was the son of a peasant and was orphaned at an early age. As an adolescent, he killed a hacienda owner for raping his sister. This forced him to change his name and become an outlaw. As Francisco (Pancho) Villa, he was a bandit and dealer in stolen cattle in the Mexican state of Chihuahua. In 1910, Villa joined Francisco Madero's rebellion against the Mexican dictator, Porfirio Diaz. Villa was a successful guerrilla commander and was instrumental in securing the triumph of the Madero revolution.

Madero became the president of Mexico. In 1912, however, there was an uprising that caused Villa once more to assume control of an army, under the orders of General Victoriano Huerta. When Huerta thought that Villa was insubordinate and out of his control, he had Villa imprisoned and sentenced to be shot. Villa was saved by the Madero family. He was able to escape prison and flee to the United States. When President Madero was assassinated in 1913, Villa returned to Mexico to fight the dictatorship imposed by Huerta. He formed a band of a few thousand men that became the famous Division del Norte (Division of the North).

Villa combined his forces with that of Venustiano Carranza and Emilio Zapata in the revolt against the repressive Huerta regime. They won several victories, including the key battle of Zacatecas. In December 1914, Villa's forces entered Mexico City as victors of the

revolution. During this time, Villa became something of a folk hero in the United States. Hollywood filmmakers and newspaper photographers recorded his deeds, often having Villa stage battles for the cameras.

Villa and Carranza became rivals, and a split developed between them. Villa retired with his army to Chihuahua in northern Mexico. He financed his army by stealing cattle and issuing his own money, which he forced merchants to accept at gunpoint. He attempted to break up the huge haciendas and parcel the land out to the local peasants; this won him a Robin Hood reputation. Villa's popularity in the United States fell when his troops ambushed and killed 17 Americans at Santa Ysabel in 1916, then raided the town of Columbus, New Mexico, killing another 17 Americans. Villa was said to have done this when the United States government recognized Carranza as president of Mexico; he wanted to prove that he, not Carranza, controlled northern Mexico.

After much indecision, President Wilson sent General John J. Pershing on two "punitive expeditions" to Mexico to capture Villa. These proved to be failures; Villa knew the territory and was extremely popular with the local people, and the Mexican government did not support the U.S. presence on Mexican soil. Despite Villa's popularity with the people of Mexico, the *Villistas* were defeated in several battles by the government forces. Villa continued his guerrilla activities against the Carranza government. When the government

was overthrown in 1920, Villa accepted a pardon, retiring to live quietly on his ranch. He was assassinated in 1923 by a jealous rival who feared his power.

Villa is a larger-than-life figure in Mexican history, considered by Mexicans as a hero of their revolution. Historians in the United States are more ambivalent about Villa and his role. Legends concentrate on Villa as a womanizer, Robin Hood, and the only

foreigner who successfully invaded the United States. Many historians today, particularly Friedrich Katz (see Bibliography), are attempting to separate legend from the reality of Villa's participation in the revolutionary movement in Mexico, examining how a man with peasant origins, no education, and no organized political party could make such an impact.

Critical-Reading Questions

Keep these questions in mind as you read the primary-source documents.

- What qualities did Pancho Villa have that made him a hero to the common people of Mexico?
- Why did Pershing's "punitive raids" fail?
- What can account for the fascination on the part of the media with Villa?
- Why do Emilio Zapata and Pancho Villa appear to be unlikely revolutionaries when compared with Thomas Jefferson, Lenin, Che Guevara, or Mao Zedong?
- Could Villa's actions against the United States be considered terrorism in the modern sense?
- Was Villa a true revolutionary, or was he simply a bandit/renege who used the political instability of Mexico as an excuse to gain personal power?
- What exactly is the difference between an outlaw and a revolutionary?

Mock Trial

Here are the charges against Francisco (Pancho) Villa (the defendant): Doroteo Arango, also known as Francisco, or Pancho, Villa, is charged with acts of terror against the legitimate government of Mexico as well as the invasion of the territory of the United States for the purpose of making war against its citizens and theft of their property.

DOCUMENTS

Document A

Excerpts from Editorials in Newspapers Owned by William Randolph Hearst, 1914

(As found in Freidrich Katz, *The Life and Times of Pancho Villa*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998, p. 499.)

You do your neighbor a service if you call a policeman to drive a sneak thief from his house, but you serve him ill if you send in a red-handed burglar and murderer to drive the lesser criminal away.

(Editorial criticizing President Wilson for supporting Villa against Huerta in the *New York American*, May 4, 1914)

The one man in this Mexican conflict and crisis who has appeared to tower above all others in personal power and capacity, in the magnetism to lead, the mastery to command, and the ability to execute, is Francisco Villa. . . .

If Villa is made president he will remain as president and establish a stable and reliable government.

If another man is made president by foreign interference he will have to reckon with Villa and with the masses who believe in Villa.

(Editorial in the *San Francisco Examiner*, September 26, 1914)

Document B

Eyewitness Account of a Meeting with Villa in Mexico, 1914

(From John Reed, *Insurgent Mexico*. New York: International Publishers, 1969, pp. 132, 144–145. Originally published and copyrighted 1914.)

The rich Mexicans who had oppressed the people and opposed the Revolution, he expelled promptly from the State and confiscated their vast holdings. By a simple stroke of the pen the 17,000,000 acres and innumerable business enterprises of the Terrazzas family became the property of the Constitutionalist government, as well as the great lands of the Creel family and the magnificent palaces which were their town houses. Remembering, however, how the Terrazzas exiles had once financed the Orozco Revolution, he imprisoned Don Luis Terrazzas, Jr., as a hostage in his own house in Chihuahua. Some particularly obnoxious political enemies were promptly executed in the penitentiary. The Revolution possesses a black book in which are set down the names, offenses, and property of those who have oppressed and robbed the people. The Germans, who had been particularly active politically, the Englishmen and Americans, he does not yet dare to molest. Their pages in the black book will be opened when the Constitutionalist government is established in Mexico City; and there, too, he will settle the account of the Mexican people with the Catholic Church. . . .

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It might not be uninteresting to know the passionate dream—the vision which animates this ignorant fighter, “not educated enough to be President of Mexico.” He told it to me once in these words: “When the new Republic is established there will never be any more army in Mexico. Armies are the greatest support of tyranny. There can be no dictator without an army.

“We will put the army to work. In all parts of the Republic we will establish military colonies composed of veterans of the Revolution. The State will give them grants of agricultural lands and establish big industrial enterprises to give them work. Three days a week they will work and work hard, because honest work is more important than fighting, and only honest work makes good citizens. And the other three days they will receive military instruction and go out and teach all the people how to fight. Then, when the Patria is invaded, we will just have to telephone from the palace at Mexico City, and in half a day all the Mexican people will rise from their fields and factories, fully armed, equipped and organized to defend their children and their homes.

“My ambition is to live my life in one of those military colonies among my *compañeros* [comrades] whom I love, who have suffered so long and so deeply with me. I think I would like the government to establish a leather factory there where we could make good saddles and bridles, because I know how to do that; and the rest of the time I would like to work on my little farm, raising cattle and corn. It would be fine, I think, to help make Mexico a happy place.”

Document C

Corrido Villista (A Song of a Villista, or Follower of Villa)

(From www.utep.edu/mecha/corridos/N.html. Translated by Joel Villegas.)

I am Pancho Villa's soldier
Of his most shining soldiers, I'm the most faithful,
It does not matter if I lose my life,
It is for men to lose their lives for him.

Of the great Division of the North
Only some of us remain,
Moving up mountain ranges and down mountains,
Always searching for soldiers.

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He has arrived, he is here,
Pancho Villa and his people,
With his brave shining soldiers,
For whom they will die.

Farewell villagers of Celaya,
Who bravely shed their blood,
Farewell to my beautiful city of Chihuahua,
We will see each other another time.

He has arrived and is here,
Pancho Villa and his people,
With his brave shining soldiers
Who will die for him.

Document D

Interview by Irish Newspaper Correspondent with Pablo López, One of Villa's Men, Who Was Captured After the Raid on Columbus, New Mexico, 1916

*(El Paso Herald, May 25, 1916. As found in Friedrich Katz, *The Life and Times of Pancho Villa*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998, pp. 560, 576.)*

"Ah," said López, "you are not then a gringo. Well, that makes a little difference; you have revolutions in your own land. Is it not so? Yes, my friends keep me posted on outside news. If it was not for them I would starve. . . . Yes, since it is you, I might talk a little. . . . I do not care to say much about Santa Ysabel. You know that was different from fighting armed men in Columbus but you can imagine perhaps that when you are the devoted slave of a great leader you obey orders.

"Even so, things might not have gone as they did if it had not been that there were other jefes [bosses] there among whom there was a spirit of devilry. Perhaps we would have been content with only the Americans' clothes and money.

"But Señor, they started to run and then our soldiers began to shoot. The smell makes our blood hotter. The excitement and—ah well, Señor, it was all over before I realized it. Yes, I was sorry when I had time to cool down and reflect. . . .

"I am only a poor ignorant peon, Señor. My only education was gained in leading oxen and following the plow. However, when the good Francisco Madero rose in arms

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against our despotic master, I gladly answered his call.

“We all knew Pancho Villa—and who did not? His exploits are recounted nightly at every fireside. He was the object of worship of all who were ground under the heel of the oppressor.

“When the call came, I was one of the first to join him and have been his faithful follower and adoring slave ever since. . . . I am bound for Santa Rose [Chihuahuan execution site] when I am able to walk there. I would much prefer to die for my country in battle, but if it is decided to kill me, I will die as Pancho Villa would wish me to—with my head erect and my eyes unbandaged and history will not be able to record that Pablo López flinched on the brink of eternity.”

Document E

Interview with Pancho Villa in the *El Paso Morning Times*, 1915

(As found in Friedrich Katz, *The Life and Times of Pancho Villa*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998, p. 523.)

Never had I doubted the justice of our cause. Through twenty-two years of fighting for what I believe to be the cause of liberty, of human liberty and justice. When I was young I took cognizance of the great injustices being done to the great mass of my compatriots. I too was a victim of that oppression. In my roughness I saw fifteen million people who were being oppressed under the cruel talons, and that millions had to suffer for the few who became rich and lived luxuriously. I saw and felt that very deeply, even when I was in prison. I solemnly swore that I would escape, attack that system, and punish it severely, as severely as I could.

Document F

Cartoon from the National Archives, c. 1916

(From http://arcweb.archives.gov/arc/digital_detail.jsp?&pg=5&rn=5&tn=306140&st=b&rp=details&nh=13.)



Document G

Letter from W. M. Stell to Lieutenant H. O. Flipper Describing Villa Attempting to Recruit Volunteers for His Army, October 30, 1916

(As found in Friedrich Katz, *The Life and Times of Pancho Villa*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998, p. 597.)

Villa went at once to the main plaza, bringing with him a music band from Cusi. The band played and many shouted, "Villa, viva Villa!" etc. Then Villa made a speech, stating that the Americans were coming in from every direction into Mexico and that Carranza had sold most of the republic to the Americans, and urged all his beloved paisanos to assist him to run the gringos out of the country, etc. Some three hundred signed at once. The number was so small that he became vexed. He took dinner and left at 3:30 P.M. for the station at San Isidro. . . .

During the days that Villa was in San Isidro, Julio Acosta [one of Villa's lieutenants] gave orders that every man that could walk must present himself to him and leave with him and Villa to fight against the Americans, that everybody must come to help and those that did not come were sent for and brought in by force. Three men were shot because they refused to go and many were badly treated and tortured and beaten and hung up, etc. One of the Rico boys was badly beaten and others burned with hot irons.

All this was a great surprise to the peons, as they were certain they would have a free hand again.

Teacher's Guide

- **Key Features of Documents Used in This Book**
- **Grading Rubric for Document-Based Essays**

Key Features of Documents Used in This Book

Unit 1: Octavian Augustus and the Formation of the Roman Empire

Document A is very similar to the *Res Gestae*, an account of Augustus's achievements that was inscribed on the columns of his mausoleum. This inscription was found on a temple in present day Ankara, Turkey. It was composed shortly before Octavian's death and celebrates his career. Note how it emphasizes that the authority was given to him and denies that he actively sought it.

Document B Suetonius (c. 69–122 C.E.) was an official in the Roman government, serving as imperial archivist. He is best known for his *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*. It is important to remember that Suetonius was part of the government that he wrote about. Note the similarities between his assessment and Document A.

Document C Tacitus (56–117 C.E.) was a Roman historian who also served in the Roman imperial government. He disliked the concentration of power in the hands of the early emperors and portrayed every emperor as corrupt and despotic. He believed that emperors had so much power that they were bound to be corrupted by it.

Document D Vergil could be considered the poet laureate of ancient Rome. His *Aeneid* tells of the legendary founding of Rome and its promise for a great and glorious future. Vergil spent the last years of his life working on this epic at a time when Octavian was consolidating his power.

Document E provides students with a time line and list of titles that Octavian held during his lifetime.

Unit 2: Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Angevin Empire

It is important to note that much that is written about Eleanor is in poems and ballads. As time went on, her life and exploits became legendary, taking on almost a mythical perspective. As a woman who lived outside the traditional dictates and gender roles of her time, Eleanor was often castigated for being aggressive and wishing to control her own destiny.

Document A is a map showing the lands ruled by Henry Plantagenet (Henry II) upon his marriage to

Eleanor and as a result of some of his conquests. Aquitaine and Poitou comprised a large and rich territory in France. Although the French king was considered the feudal overlord to these lands, note how Henry and Eleanor's lands are larger than those of the French crown.

Document B demonstrates that many were sympathetic to Henry's sons and their desire to be given more control in their realms. Henry did plan for his inheritance, even going so far as to have his eldest son coronated and invested with the office of king. However, Henry continued to hold the reins of power firmly in his hands. Many modern historians credit this as a reason for the rebellion of the sons against the father. As referred to in the document, a buckler (or bucklet) is a small shield; a hauberk is the tunic of chain-mail armor worn by knights during the twelfth century.

Document C is from a letter written by Henry's clerk at the request of his patron, Rotrou, the Archbishop of Rouen, at the request of the archbishop's patron, King Henry himself. Note the language and the arguments used to convince Eleanor that she is at fault. This document speaks volumes about the status of women—not only in the Middle Ages, but in the not-too-distant past.

Document D is a lament penned by a writer in Aquitaine. Eleanor was known as the Queen of Two Crowns or the Eagle of Two Heads, referring to her role as both queen of England and ruler of lands in France. This lament was written during Eleanor's captivity in England after the unsuccessful rebellion of her sons in 1173, when Henry dissolved her court at Poitiers and sent her across the channel.

Document E is an example of the legends that surrounded Eleanor after her death. There were many ballads and poems about her murder of "fair" Rosamunde. Even in the nineteenth century, this legend continued in poems and even plays. Rosamunde died in 1176, during the time when Henry had Eleanor imprisoned.

Unit 3: Martin Luther and the Suppression of the Peasant Revolt

Document A Luther wrote a number of treatises to set out his ideas on "justification by faith" and the

“priesthood of all believers.” This was one of his best-known writings. Note the use of the word *free* throughout the document—a concept that would appeal to classes that felt they were anything but.

Document B sets out the grievances of the peasants. Note how they articulate these grievances and the role that religion plays in their arguments.

Document C Luther was concerned about the social upheaval that his movement had caused. In this document, he exhorts the peasants to keep the peace and moderate their demands; he justifies their status using biblical references. The “prophets of murder” to whom he refers probably include Thomas Müntzer.

Document D Thomas Müntzer originally was a follower of Luther. He broke off with him in 1521 because he felt that Luther was too conservative and too supportive of the status quo.

Document E Not all of the nobles were opposed to the peasants. Frederick the Wise was the Elector of Saxony; he sympathized with the plight of the peasants.

Document F shows the extent of violence to which some of the peasants and their followers went in their revolt. The Empire was swift to strike back with savage reprisals at the peasants and any others who supported them.

Document G Luther was terrified by the revolt of the peasants. He crossed over completely to the side of the princes and lords in their repression of the revolt. In this document, he condemns the peasants for their actions and encourages the authorities to move against any who rebel.

Note how Luther always uses scripture to back up his beliefs.

Unit 4: Oliver Cromwell and the English Civil War

Document A is an eyewitness account of King Charles's attempt to arrest the five parliamentary leaders who he felt were responsible for the opposition to his power and for the passage of various reform acts limiting his authority. Note the conciliatory language used by the king to assure that this was not a trespass on the rights of Parliament, which it was.

Document B The destruction of the civil war was widespread. This pamphleteer laments the waste and carnage of the war.

Document C Note Cromwell's use of language and how he uses religion to justify the army's position. He argues that God is on the side of the just—and therefore on the side of the army.

Document D Once Parliament was reduced to a “rump” and the army was in control, the king was placed on trial for treason. Note the charges—the king is held responsible for all the disastrous aspects of the war.

Document E Charles argues that the trial is not legal since there is currently no House of Lords, which has been the highest court of the land. He further argues that he has taken up arms to support the liberty of the people of England. (This document and the previous one were used in the dialogue of the film *Cromwell*.)

Document F There was so much division in England caused by the civil war that the Rump Parliament proved incompetent to rule. Cromwell forced it to disband and took the title Lord Protector. He did call other Parliaments, but he ruled virtually as a military dictator until his death in 1558. The “shining bauble” referred to in his speech is the mace, the symbol of parliamentary power.

Unit 5: Peter the Great and the Westernization of Russia

Document A is an account of Peter the Great's personality by the English historian Bishop Burnet, who met Peter when he was visiting England in 1698.

Document B John Perry was an English engineer whom Peter the Great brought back to Russia. Perry spent 14 years in Russia and finally managed to escape back to England in 1714. His book about Russia and the changes that Peter tried to bring was widely read in Western Europe.

Document C is an engraving of the torture and execution of the *streltsy*. Dozens of men are being hanged. Some have had their hands and feet cut off. In the foreground, two wives of the soldiers are buried in earth up to their heads, probably to force them to give information about the plot. It should be noted that this was being done at a time when many western European nations, such as England, were outlawing cruel and unusual punishments.

Document D A rack was a device of torture upon which a person was stretched until his or her bones broke. A knout was a flogging whip with leather lashes that were often embedded with wires to increase the pain. It was reported that Peter participated personally in the torture and execution of the *streltsy*.

Document E is an anecdote showing Peter's personal role in reforming the Russian Orthodox Church (and, in effect, placing it under the control of the czar). The patriarch had been the traditional head of the Church. Note how Peter brings out a dirk (dagger) to make his point.

Unit 6: John Newton and the Transatlantic Slave Trade

Document A John Barbot served as an agent for the French Royal African Company. It is known that he made voyages to the West Coast of Africa in 1678 and 1682.

Document B Willem Bosman worked for the Dutch West India Company and was their chief agent on the west coast of Africa. He wrote many letters home to Holland describing the process of procuring slaves.

Document C Captain John Adams made ten trips to Africa between 1786 and 1800. He published his observations of the country as well as the trade between Europeans and Africans.

Document D After experiencing a religious conversion and repenting of his days as a slave trader, the Reverend John Newton wrote a journal about his experiences in the African trade.

Document E is a narrative dictated to a German linguist in Sierra Leone around 1850, but it details earlier events that probably occurred around 1810. It contains much political history of the area and was written at a time when some European nations were ending their part in the slave trade. Note the number of times Ali Eisami is bought and sold from one tribe to another. Cowries were seashells that were often used as currency in trade. Eisami was sent to the New World as a slave, captured at sea, and returned to Sierra Leone.

Document F demonstrates the tremendous profits to be had in the slave trade. It is the actual accounting of one voyage of the slave ship *Fortuna*. Note that the ship was outfitted in Cuba, as the slave trade was illegal by that time in Great Britain.

Document G is an account by an African who was kidnapped and sold into slavery. He converted to Christianity and eventually managed to return to his country. His story was written down by an English publisher named Samuel Moore in 1854.

Document H is taken from John Newton's book on the slave trade, published in 1788. Note the arguments he uses against the slave trade—that it is depleting England of its sailors and corrupting anyone involved in it.

Document I is an interview between a British official in Africa and an Ashante king who is upset that the slave trade has been abolished by the British government. Note the king's arguments for the slave trade and how he tries to bribe the official. *Fetische* refers to fetishes and superstitions.

Unit 7: Maximilien Robespierre and the "Republic of Virtue"

Document A consists of excerpts of the Declaration, which acted as the preamble to the Constitution of the Year I (1793). It differs from the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* approved in 1789, because (in article 21, for instance) it dwells more on the material aspects of social welfare and public relief than did the original. The 1793 Declaration represents the goals of the revolution at their most ideal. However, because of the continuing emergency manifested in the threat of invasion, continuing internal revolts, and fear (some would say paranoia) of subversion, the extraordinary powers granted by the convention to the Committees on General Security and Public Safety and to the Revolutionary Tribunal were continued. This constitution, though ratified, never went into effect. It was supplanted by the bourgeois constitution of 1795 that ushered in the Directory.

Document B is the statement left for the Legislative Assembly by King Louis XVI when he and his family attempted to flee the country in 1791. It presents the issues confronting Royalists as the Assembly adopted constitutional limitations to the king's power. Note that it was accompanied by a notice denying the king's ministers the ability to act under his authority.

Document C is a description, by a British observer who was unsympathetic to the revolution, of the operation of the Revolutionary Tribunal (technically named the Extraordinary Criminal Tribunal). He describes the passage of victims from the court to the *Place de la Revolution* (now the *Place de la Concorde*) for execution by guillotine. The tribunal prided itself on the fact that (for instance) between September 1793 and early February 1794 (the height of the Terror), though it convicted and executed 269 persons, it also acquitted and released 190 persons. At that point, it reported that there were 5,434 persons in detention awaiting trial.

Documents D and E are excerpts of a report made by Robespierre to the convention and published thereafter both in France and in the United States. In the first excerpt (D) he sets forth his vision for the French republic in terms that reflect his adoption of Rousseau's ideals. He reflects on the dangers and pitfalls faced by this new form of government in a hostile world, and asks how its enemies should be regarded. In the second excerpt (E), Robespierre turns more specifically to the use of terror as a republican weapon and its justification.

Document F reflects the view of the radical stage of the revolution that was held by Catholic

Royalists at the time of the Bourbon restoration in 1815. Here the Romantic writer and Bourbon foreign ministry official Chateaubriand (1768–1848) explains why ordinary Frenchmen found themselves sucked in by the Jacobins. This more or less became the official view of the Restoration era.

Unit 8: Robert Peel and the Corn Laws

Document A demonstrates the original reasoning behind the passage of the Corn Laws in 1815.

Document B is a petition from (presumably) agriculturalists from the agrarian county of Somerset in southwestern England. Note the arguments for the continuation of the Corn Laws: the supply of domestic wheat is more reliable than that of foreign grain; importing foreign grain will mean that rural laborers will be thrown out of work; farmers are the greatest consumers of manufactured goods, and they must, therefore, be kept employed. The writers are also fearful that the repeal of the Corn Laws will affect all levels of the economy, as land taxes support the nation. In addition, they fear that their charitable institutions will lose funds.

Document C is a poem that was written for the Anti-Corn Law campaign. Note how the aristocracy is characterized as fat and living off the profits of the tax while the majority of the people starve. The poem predicts a nation of beggars and murderers if this inequity continues.

Document D Richard Cobden was a Manchester manufacturer, a member of Parliament, and leader of the Anti-Corn Law League. This document sets out the arguments of the ACLL for the repeal of the Corn Laws. Note the impact of the Free Trade movement and the *laissez-faire* approach on Cobden's arguments.

Document E is an attack on the Anti-Corn Law League by conservatives in their periodical the *Quarterly Review*. Note that they do not attack the arguments used by the League against the continuance of the Corn Laws as much as the tactics used by the League. Note the use of words such as sedition, violence, and incendiary.

Document F is an extract of a speech made by Peel shortly after he became prime minister in 1841. He states that he is not convinced that repealing the Corn Laws would alleviate any distress, but he does not really address any of the arguments that the ACLL has made.

Document G is a report from Frederick Engels, co-author with Karl Marx of the *Communist Manifesto* (1848), to a German newspaper. Note how Engels, even at this date, sees the Corn Law debate in terms of a class struggle.

Unit 9: Sylvia Pankhurst: Advocate or Subversive?

Document A is the Women's Social and Political Union's manifesto in support of the enfranchisement of women bill that had been introduced into parliament but not supported by the Liberal government. It shows the growing support for women's suffrage and women's growing frustration over the government's inaction and repression.

Document B is a letter to the editor sent by Member of Parliament and suffrage supporter [James] Keir Hardie describing the conditions of imprisonment and forced feeding suffered by suffragettes.

Document C reprints an article by Sylvia Pankhurst in the WSPU's newspaper, *The Suffragette*, in which she attempts to connect the actions of militant suffragettes to other past and contemporary reform movements. She wrote this as the tactics of the WSPU were shifting from mass demonstrations to individual acts of violent disobedience. Less than a year later, Pankhurst would begin moving away from the Union over these two issues—support of wider reform issues and the role of violence in the struggle for reform.

Document D is a newspaper account of the formal split that took place in 1914, when Sylvia Pankhurst formed an independent organization in London's working-class East End. Note the ways in which Pankhurst tries to minimize the differences between the two groups.

Document E is the text of a speech delivered by Emmeline Pankhurst one year into the First World War. She is advocating "women's right to serve" in the war, hoping that patriotism and wartime service would result in the passage of voting rights. Three days later, after reading an account of the speech, King George V asked Lloyd George, a member of the War Cabinet (and soon to become Minister of Munitions), "whether it would be possible or advisable for you to make use of Mrs. Pankhurst." Within days, the WSPU received a grant to finance a parade encouraging women's service in the war. The trade unions feared an influx of women at lower wages that might challenge their hard-won wartime gains.

Document F is a poster issued by Sylvia's federation inviting people to a wartime rally to try to build unity within the labor movement for suffrage.

Document G is a portion of a 1919 article by Sylvia defending labor's opposition to the British government's ongoing policy of isolation of, and intervention against, the Soviet Union even after the end of the war. It is an accurate snapshot of her immediate postwar attitudes. A month later, Sylvia received an encouraging answer to a letter that she had written to Soviet leader V. I. Lenin. Lenin replied (in part), "I am personally convinced that to renounce participation

in the parliamentary elections is a mistake on the part of the revolutionary workers of Britain, but better to make that mistake than to delay the formation of a big Communist Party in Britain out of all the trends and elements, listed by you, which sympathize with Bolshevism and sincerely support the Soviet Republic."

Unit 10: The Boxer Rebellion and the Westernization of China

Document A is a quote from the Dowager Empress Tzu Hsi. She pretended to protect the foreigners and disparage the Boxer movement, but in reality she sided with the Boxers and ordered her imperial troops to aid them.

Document B shows the spiritual beliefs of the Boxers and their feeling that the drought, as well as other misfortunes, were caused by the presence of foreigners in their land.

Document C Eva Jane Price and her husband went from Oberlin College to China to become Christian missionaries. They lost two sons to illness in China, but remained steadfast in their belief that their duty was to bring the Christian religion to China. They were killed by the Boxers along with the husband of the letter writer in this document.

Document D is an excerpt from the story of Yao Chen-Yuan, a Chinese Christian who acted as a messenger for the members of the foreign legation in Peking.

Document E American humorist and writer Mark Twain was an anti-imperialist who was sympathetic to the Chinese and opposed to the foreign presence in China.

Document F Luella Miner kept a journal of her experiences in China during the Boxer Rebellion. Although she was critical of the armed forces of other nations, the Americans also participated in the looting and the reprisals following the rebellion.

Document G offers an interesting look at why the Boxers were opposed to the foreign presence in their nation. It tries to elicit sympathy by asking Americans how they would feel if their nation were overrun by Chinese invaders who forced their values and religion upon their subject peoples. It also satirizes Kipling's poem "The White Man's Burden," asking what would happen if the Chinese felt the need to civilize Americans according to an Asian viewpoint.

Document H is a portion of a sermon preached by an anti-imperialist. The speaker reminds his audience of the movement to exclude Chinese immigrants from the United States.

Unit 11: Francisco (Pancho) Villa: Outlaw or Revolutionary?

Document A William Randolph Hearst was the most influential American publisher of this era. The fact that his editorials expressed contradictory ideas about Villa demonstrates the ambivalence many people felt about the Mexican leader.

Document B John Reed was an American journalist who spent time in Mexico during the revolution and interviewed Villa extensively. Reed was a radical who was supportive of revolutionary movements.

Document C *Corridos* are traditional Mexican ballads. This one celebrates Villa and his Division of the North.

Document D This reporter for the *El Paso Herald* was an Irish national. Because of this, he was able to interview one of Villa's men who had been captured. The Villista had refused to speak to anyone who was from the United States. In this interview, the prisoner explains the massacre at Santa Ysabel, where seventeen Americans were killed. He also talks about his allegiance to Villa.

Document E In this interview, Villa emphasizes that the people of Mexico have been oppressed. He feels that it is his mission to right that wrong.

Document F Villa was a popular topic with newspapers. This cartoon was typical of the stereotypic portrayals of Mexicans prevalent at the time. Note the weapons Villa holds, his bare feet, and his ragged clothes.

Document G is an eyewitness account of Villa's attempt to recruit men for his forces to fight against the influence of Carranza and to raid north of the border. Some willingly joined with Villa, but others resisted forced enlistment.

Grading Rubric for Document-Based Essays

- Student has a clear thesis statement in an introductory paragraph.
- Student uses a majority of the documents in making his or her arguments.
- Student supports thesis with appropriate evidence from the documents.
- Student has an understanding of the content of the documents.
- Documents are quoted or cited correctly.
- Student is able to detect and analyze bias or point of view in at least two of the documents.
- Student is able to bring in appropriate outside historical information from the background material provided and the suggested readings.
- Student has a good concluding paragraph that sums up the thesis and the evidence of its veracity.

Mock Trials

- **Student Information Sheets**
- **Guidepost Activities**
- **Witness Lists: Other Historical Figures Connected with Each Unit**

Courtroom Personnel and Their Roles

Student Information Sheet 1

Name of Personnel:

Student Taking Role:

Defendant

Person charged with a crime. Presumed to be innocent until proven guilty beyond a reasonable doubt.

Judge

Conducts the trial and maintains order. Recognizes the attorneys for the defense and prosecution and keeps the order of the trial flowing correctly. May rule on whether evidence is admissible if it is questioned by an attorney.

Court Clerk

Aids the judge in conducting the trial. Calls the court to order as the judge enters by saying, "All rise. Superior Court of the State of _____, in the County of _____, the Honorable Judge _____ presiding, is now in session. Please be seated and come to order." The clerk also swears in witnesses: "You do solemnly affirm that the testimony you may give in the case now pending before this court shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth."

Bailiff

The bailiff brings in the defendant and is responsible for the security of the proceedings. The bailiff also brings in the witnesses to testify as they are called.

Attorneys

Attorneys argue their side of the case and present evidence and call witnesses. They should not supply information on their own but should use witnesses and evidence to prove their case.

Prosecuting Attorney(s)

The prosecuting attorney tries to convince the judge or jury that the defendant is guilty beyond a reasonable doubt.

Name of Personnel:

Student Taking Role:

Defense Attorney(s)

The defense attorney presents the case on behalf of the defendant and tries to disprove the prosecution's case. Defense attempts to undermine the prosecution's case by showing that the witnesses cannot be depended upon or that the evidence is questionable. Defense attorneys particularly look for inconsistencies in testimony.

Witnesses

Witnesses supply the facts in the case. They may state only facts, not opinions. The attorneys will watch for this. Witnesses may be called by either the prosecution or the defense. They may be called because of their expertise in a particular field relating to the evidence, or if they were eyewitnesses to a pivotal event relating to the charges against the defendant. They may also be called as character witnesses for the defendant.

The Jury

The role of the jury is to listen to all the facts of the case as presented by the prosecution and defense. The jury must then decide whether the defendant is guilty or not guilty of the crime. It may base its decision only on the facts presented during the trial and not on any outside sources or knowledge. Traditionally, there are twelve people on a jury, but for this trial, you may use a different number, depending upon the number of participating students.

Note on the jury: Rather than use members of your own class as jurors, you may wish to have another class act as the jury, or you may wish to use parents or teachers as jurors.

Trial Procedure and Glossary of Legal Terms

Student Information Sheet 2

There are four main stages to a trial: Opening Statements, Direct Examination of the Witnesses, Cross-Examination of the Witnesses, and Closing Arguments.

- I. Opening Statements
 1. Opening statement by the prosecution
 2. Opening statement by the defense (The defense attorney may decide to present his or her opening statement after the prosecution presents its entire case.)
- II. Prosecution Presents Its Case (This procedure is repeated until the prosecution has called all of its witnesses.)
 1. Prosecution calls first witness and goes through the direct examination of the witness.
 2. Defense attorney cross-examines prosecution's first witness.
 3. (optional) Prosecution may examine its witness again to clarify issues brought up by the defense.
 4. (optional) Defense may cross-examine prosecution's witness again.
- III. Defense Presents Its Case (This procedure is repeated until the defense has called all of its witnesses.)
 1. Defense calls first witness and goes through the direct examination of this witness.
 2. Prosecution cross-examines defense's first witness.
 3. (optional) Defense may examine its witness again to clarify issues brought up by prosecution.
 4. (optional) Prosecution may cross-examine defense's witness again.
- IV. Closing Arguments
 1. Closing argument by the prosecution
 2. Closing argument by the defense

Legal Terms:

Affidavit: A written declaration made under oath before an official such as a notary or court personnel.

Closing argument: Each side presents a summation of its case. The summation reviews the testimony heard, the evidence brought forward, and the arguments made by counsel. This is given in the past tense, as in “The prosecution has shown that. . .” or “Evidence has proven that. . . .”

Counsel: A formal term for a lawyer (or group of lawyers), particularly an attorney conducting a case in court.

Cross-examination: Questioning that occurs after the direct examination and is conducted by the counsel who did not call this witness.

Deposition: A written statement under oath by a witness for use in court, particularly if the witness cannot appear.

Direct examination: The first questioning of the witness by the counsel who called the witness to the stand.

Objection: What occurs when an attorney believes that the opposing attorney has violated the rules of evidence. The attorney may feel that the evidence presented is not relevant to the issues of the case, or that a question is leading, ambiguous, or based upon hearsay. It is then up to the judge to decide whether the objection has merit (“Objection sustained”) or not (“Objection overruled”).

Opening statement: When counsel, either prosecution or defense, presents an outline or summary of their case. The opening statement is a presentation of the issues and arguments that will be shown during the course of the trial and is always made in the future tense, such as “The defense will demonstrate. . . .” or “Evidence will prove that. . . .”

Plaintiff: The party that institutes the suit in court; tends to be used more in civil trials than in criminal trials.

Testimony: The affirmation of fact or truth as given before a court; usually done orally, as in the “testimony given by a witness.”

Looking at the Evidence

Student Information Sheet 3

For each case, you will receive evidence in the form of “documents.” These are rather like the “exhibits” used as evidence in a trial. Here, evidence can be a primary source or a secondary source. A primary source is a document or an artifact that is from the time period you are concerned with. For example, a letter from Christopher Columbus about one of his voyages is a primary-source document. A sculpture from early-sixteenth-century Mesoamerica is an example of a primary-source artifact. A secondary source is generally a written document, such as a textbook or magazine article, written by historians or other specialists based on their research.

Using sources, particularly primary sources, can be compared to acting as a detective sleuthing through history. You need to question the evidence, evaluate it, and draw inferences or conclusions based upon your careful analysis. It is important to view each piece of evidence with a critical eye. As a member of either the prosecution or defense team, you will wish to point out the truth of the evidence you use and “poke holes” in the evidence used by opposing counsel.

Keep the following things in mind when examining the evidence in each case:

- What kind of evidence is this? A document? An artifact? A primary or secondary source?
- If the evidence is a written document, what kind of document is it? A private letter, a public proclamation, a government dispatch?
- Who wrote or produced this evidence?
- Why was this document written or this artifact produced? Think of underlying motives!
- For whom was this document or artifact produced?
- When was it produced? How far removed is it from the event with which it is concerned?
- Where was the evidence constructed or written?
- If this is a secondary source, who wrote it, and what are his or her credentials?
- Can this piece of evidence be verified in any way? Is there another piece of evidence that corroborates it?

Opening Statement

Opening Statement for the Prosecution

The purpose is to inform the jury of the facts of the case. There will be no argument, discussion of law, or objections by the defense attorney or the defendant during your opening statements.

You should give: The name of the case, your name, your client's name (in the historical cases, the "people" may be the client; as in criminal cases, the "state" is who the prosecution is working for), the name of the defendant, the name of the defendant's counsel, a description or story of the facts in the case, a summary of the key facts that witnesses will bring forth in testimony, importance of any evidence/documents to be used in the case, and a strong conclusion that the guilt of the accused will be proved.

Opening Statement for the Defense

The purpose of your opening statement is to deny that the prosecution has a valid case and to briefly outline the facts from the defendant's point of view. There will be no interruptions or arguments from the prosecution during your opening statements.

You should give: Your name and your client's name (that of the defendant), a general synopsis of the defense, facts that tend to weaken the prosecution's case, a summary of what each defense witness will testify to, and a strong conclusion that the innocence of the accused will be maintained.

Your Opening Statement:

Witnesses

Guidepost Activity 2

Both prosecution and defense will wish to call witnesses. In the direct examination of a witness, the purpose is to present evidence that will get the verdict your side wishes to achieve. You should try to present the facts clearly to convince the jury of the logic of your case. You should also try to present your witnesses to the greatest advantage by demonstrating their credibility. Avoid complex questions; keep them clear and simple. Ask open-ended questions, which usually begin with “what,” “who,” “where,” “when,” or “how.” You should take notes when the witnesses called by opposing counsel give testimony so that you can cross-examine those witnesses. The purpose of cross-examination is to discredit your opponent’s witness. Plan what witnesses *you* will call and write down some potential questions.

Witness:

Possible Questions:

Witness Affidavit

Guidepost Activity 3

As a witness in a trial, you will be called upon to give a truthful account of issues and events pertaining to the case. In order to prepare for your court appearance, you should write down pertinent information in the form of a narrative. Include your name, your occupation, where you live, how long you have known the defendant (if at all), and any dealings you have had with the defendant. If you are an expert witness (e.g., doctor, handwriting analyst, ecologist, military tactician) who will be called upon to give testimony about an aspect of the case, try to guess the questions you will be asked by either the defense or the prosecution. Provide possible answers in your narrative.

Evidence Information

Guidepost Activity 4

Both the defense and prosecution teams will need to make use of evidence to prove their cases. Use this sheet to make notes on the evidence provided (Documents A, B, C, D, and E, etc.), as well as any other evidence you may uncover in your research. Think about how you can use this evidence to prove the guilt or innocence of the defendant.

Exhibit:

Notes:

Newspaper Account of the Trial

Guidepost Activity 6

Court trials seem to be items of great interest in the media. Some courts allow live media coverage; some allow representatives from the print and video media to be present, but with no live coverage permitted. Your challenge is to write a news report of the trial in which you have participated. You may write a report for one of the following news sources: a local newspaper, *The New York Times*, a news magazine, or a tabloid. Think of who your readership might be while writing your report. Observe the proper journalistic practice of explaining the “who,” “what,” “where,” “when,” “how,” and “why.” Don't forget the headline!

Witness Lists: Other Historical Figures Connected with Each Unit

If you decide to use the documents provided to construct a simulated trial, these are “witnesses” who might be called.

Unit 1: Octavian Augustus and the Formation of the Roman Empire

Marcus Tullius Cicero: Leader of the Senate and famous orator, he believed that Octavian might prove a useful ally to the Senate.

Mark Antony: At first ruling with Octavian, he eventually turned against him. Antony was defeated by Octavian and committed suicide.

Livia Drussila: Third wife of Octavian, she was particularly eager that her son Tiberius be the heir to Octavian.

Cleopatra: Queen of Egypt and consort of Antony, she committed suicide upon Antony’s death. Octavian was then able to incorporate Egypt as part of the Roman Empire.

Marcus Agrippa: Most faithful friend of Octavian, he was a successful military commander. After the death of several family members, Octavian chose Agrippa to be his successor as emperor, although ultimately he predeceased Octavian.

Julia: She was Octavian’s daughter by his second wife. Octavian hoped to have Julia’s children provide for his succession. He married her first to his sister’s son; after his nephew’s death, he married her to his best friend, Agrippa; and after Agrippa’s death he married her to his stepson, Tiberius. Julia was eventually exiled for adultery.

A soldier in the Roman Legions

A member of the Plebeian class

A member of the Patrician class

Unit 2: Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Angevin Empire

Henry II: Second husband of Eleanor and king of England from 1154 to 1189, he was the first king of the Angevin dynasty. Henry held extensive lands in France through inheritance and his marriage to

Eleanor. He is noted for his establishment of English Common Law and his dispute with Thomas Becket, the archbishop of Canterbury.

Thomas Becket: Henry’s archbishop of Canterbury, he would be an interesting witness because he was formerly Henry’s best friend. Henry even entrusted the education and upbringing of his young son Henry to Becket; Eleanor was said to be jealous of their friendship. When Becket thwarted Henry’s plan to put the church courts under royal control, they became bitter enemies. Becket was killed by Henry’s knights in 1170, although Henry swore that he was in no way responsible for this.

Richard the Lion Heart: Fourth son of Henry II and Eleanor’s favorite child, he was famous as a military man. Richard eventually ruled as king of England from 1189 to 1199.

Louis VII: King of France from 1137 to 1179 and first husband of Eleanor, he later supported Henry’s sons in their revolt against their father.

Philip II: Known as Philip Augustus due to his energy and power, he was king of France from 1179 to 1223. He supported Henry’s sons in their rebellion against their father as a way of weakening Henry’s control in France.

John Lackland: He was the youngest son of Henry and Eleanor. After the death of Henry the Younger in 1183, he became the favorite son of Henry, who wished him to inherit all of his lands. It is said that when Henry heard that John had joined Richard in a war against him, he turned his face to the wall and died. John eventually ruled England (1199–1216) as one of its worst kings.

Rosamunde Clifford: Mistress of Henry II and subject of many ballads and poems, she was always referred to as “Fair Rosamunde.” Her youth and beauty are emphasized in comparison with Eleanor, who was much older than her husband. Rosamunde died in 1176 of unknown, but probably natural, causes.

Eileen Power: An English social and economic historian (1889–1940), she wrote the classic book on the role and status of medieval women. She might be sympathetic to Eleanor’s plight as a pawn in the politics of the twelfth century.

Unit 3: Martin Luther and the Suppression of the Peasant Revolt

Erasmus of Rotterdam: A Christian humanist who agreed with Luther about church abuses, he nevertheless thought that Luther went much too far in his protests. Erasmus remained a Catholic.

Frederick the Wise, the Elector of Saxony: Frederick was a German prince who ruled the area where Luther lived and taught. A pious and devout Christian, he nonetheless supported and protected Luther in his fight with both the pope and the emperor. He was noted as a fair and just ruler.

Margrave Casimir: He was a German prince sent by the emperor to put down the peasant revolt, which he did with considerable violence.

Thomas Müntzer: A radical Protestant reformer, he felt that Luther was too lukewarm in his involvement with the social welfare of the lower classes. Müntzer supported the peasants in their revolt. He was captured, tortured, and executed by the authorities as a dangerous radical.

Pope Leo X: Pope at the time of Luther, he was concerned about maintaining the power of the papacy and the authority of the Roman Catholic Church. He was a member of the powerful Medici family of Florence.

Ulrich von Hutten: A knight who went over to the Protestant cause, he was not afraid to use armed violence to advance his beliefs.

Swabian peasant: The peasants in this area of Germany were among the first to rebel. They wrote up their demands in the Twelve Articles.

Unit 4: Oliver Cromwell and the English Civil War

Charles Stuart (later King Charles II): Son of King Charles I, he was later crowned as his successor. He became the king of England upon the restoration of the Stuarts in 1660.

Edward Hyde (later named the Earl of Clarendon): Originally he was a supporter of Parliament, but the increasing radicalism of that body caused him to become a supporter of the king. He followed Charles II into exile, then became an active member of the Restoration government in 1660.

John Pym: He was the leading Puritan in Parliament.

He opposed King Charles and supported the civil war against the king.

Thomas Fairfax: Commander of the Puritan forces along with Cromwell, he refused to attend the trial of King Charles, concerned about its legality.

Judge Bradshaw: The judge at the trial of King Charles, he refuted Charles's claim that the trial was illegal.

John Hampden: A Puritan leader in Parliament, in the 1630s he took Charles to court over the implementation of a new "ship money" tax. He claimed that it was illegal under the Magna Carta and the Petition of Right.

William Laud: Archbishop of Canterbury under Charles I, he supported Charles's desire to enforce religious uniformity and the use of the Anglican prayer book for all of Britain.

A Leveller: Levellers were radicals who believed in the complete equality of the social classes in England. They were a prominent group in the New Model Army.

A member of the Rump Parliament: The Rump Parliament was formed when the army purged Parliament of all but its supporters. Cromwell later dismissed the Rump for alleged incompetence and corruption.

Unit 5: Peter the Great and the Westernization of Russia

Old Believer: When church reforms were put into effect in the 1650s, largely to correct mistakes in the translation of the Bible, some people reacted in horror to the changes. They became known as the Old Believers, and they were particularly numerous in the peasant class. They distrusted reforms and government authority.

Member of the *streltsy*: The *streltsy* was the elite guard of the Russian czar. Many of them were opposed to Peter's rule and his changes; they rose in revolt in 1698.

Bishop in the Orthodox Church: After 1700, there was no patriarch appointed. The Russian Church, in effect, became a branch of the government with the czar as its head. Some bishops acquiesced in this, but some were very opposed.

Johann von Korb: An Austrian minister in the court of Peter the Great, he was an eyewitness to many of

Peter's reforms. He wrote a book of memoirs about his time in Russia.

Boyar: This was the name for a Russian noble. Peter attempted to diminish the Boyars' traditional authority by changing the aristocracy to a merit system. He required the Boyars to reside in St. Petersburg and educate their sons in the western style.

Charles XII of Sweden: An excellent military commander, he spent much of his time as king engaged in war. He was able to defeat Peter's much larger force in 1700. After Peter's reform and modernization of the army, the Swedes were defeated in 1709.

Foreign expert brought into Russia from Holland: Peter brought in hundreds of experts from western Europe to provide technical support for his attempts to modernize Russia. Many hated their stay in Russia but found it difficult to return home.

Unit 6: John Newton and the Transatlantic Slave Trade

A Liverpool shipowner: Liverpool was one of the English ports that made huge profits from the slave trade. Many of the ships used in the trade were outfitted and manned in Liverpool.

A West African king: Many of the African kings secured large profits from the slave trade due to the high prices in trade goods that the Europeans were willing to pay in return for slaves.

Olaudah Equiano: Olaudah Equiano wrote a vivid account of his kidnapping and sale into slavery. He was sent to Barbados at the age of twelve, later sold to a planter in Virginia, and then sold to a British naval officer. He eventually became a seaman and was able to buy his freedom. Equiano eventually settled in Britain and became an active abolitionist.

A West Indies plantation owner: Without a steady supply of slaves to do the backbreaking work on plantations, the plantation owners would not have been able to gain their huge profits from trade—particularly that in sugar.

William Wilberforce: Member of Parliament and leading abolitionist, he worked against the slave trade.

Granville Sharp: An employee in the British government, he was able to prosecute those responsible for throwing slaves overboard from the slave ship *Zong*

in 1783. When the Abolition Committee was formed in 1787, he became its first chairman.

Unit 7: Maximilien and the "Republic of Virtue"

Paul Barras: He served Louis XVI, then Robespierre, eventually turning on them both and playing a role in their deaths. Later he served as the leading member of the Directory.

Jacques-Pierre Brissot de Warville: His 1781 book, *Theory of Criminal Law*, was a plea for penal reform. This and other reformist tracts got him imprisoned for sedition. Elected to the Legislative Assembly in 1791, he argued, against Robespierre, in favor of war to spread the revolution abroad. He voted in favor of the king's execution, but in the power struggle that followed, he was accused of "federalism." He was arrested and guillotined in 1793.

Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick: Educated under the influence of the *philosophes*, Brunswick commanded Austro-Prussian troops at Coblenz when the *émigrés* began to demand help to restore absolute monarchy to France. Probably under their influence, he issued the Brunswick Manifesto in 1792. He led Austro-Prussian forces into France later that year, and continued to fight against the revolution until he was mortally wounded in the battle against Napoléon at Auerstedt in 1806.

Lazare Carnot: He served as the member of the Committee on Public Safety in charge of the creation and use of the French Revolutionary army. He was universally recognized as the "Organizer of Victory" in 1794. After the Thermidorian Reaction, he was chosen to be one of the five members of the Directory. Later he served Napoléon as war minister, but he left politics for science in 1807.

Marie Jean Antoine-Nicolas de Caritat, Marquis de Condorcet: He was a mathematician and philosopher who served during the *ancien regime* as inspector general of the Mint and as secretary of the *Academie Royale des Sciences*. In 1789 he supported the French Revolution and was elected from Paris to serve in the Legislative Assembly, where he played a major role in writing the first French Constitution. Though in favor of a republic (and a member of the Girondists), he argued to spare the king's life. When the Girondists fell from power, he argued against the new proposed Constitution (of the Year I). He then went into hiding, where he worked on *Esquisse d'un Tableau des Progrès de l'Esprit Humain* (Historical Survey of the Progress of the Human Mind). It used

scientific advances as the guarantor of progress and concluded, “We are approaching one of the grand revolutions of the human race.” He was eventually arrested and jailed, dying in his prison cell under mysterious circumstances on March 29, 1794.

George-Jacques Danton: He was a lawyer who achieved fame by arguing for a republic and confronting Lafayette. Becoming a leader of the Paris Commune, he organized the attack on the Tuileries that brought Louis XVI to Paris. He called for the *levée en masse* to confront France’s external and internal enemies—the “traitors within.” The immediate result was the September Massacres, which Danton condoned. During this period, he shifted his allegiance to the Jacobins and, with Robespierre and Marat, was widely assumed to be the *de facto* ruler of the country. Though nervous about the effect on France’s external enemies of charging the king, he ultimately voted for his execution. Danton played a major role in the creation of the Committee on Public Safety and in its extension of the Terror to the countryside. But when he called for an end to the Terror, Robespierre began to question his loyalty. After some hesitation, Danton was arrested. He was convicted *in absentia* of corruption and conspiracy and was guillotined on April 5, 1794.

Joseph Fouché: In 1792 he was elected to the Legislative Assembly from Nantes. He became more radical with the popular mood, and voted for the king’s execution. As the Terror spread through the country, Fouché was sent to Lyons. There he taxed private wealth, attacked the Catholic Church, and forcibly put down revolt without mercy. Called back to Paris by Robespierre to explain himself, Fouché began plotting to remove him to protect his own life.

Antoine-Quentin Fouquier-Tinville: Appointed by the Convention as the chief prosecutor before the Revolutionary Tribunal, he led the attack on Marie Antoinette and others. When Danton threatened to reveal too much at his trial, Fouquier-Tinville asked the Convention to pass an edict denying Danton the right to a defense. After the Thermidorian Reaction, he was called to account, but he avoided the guillotine until May 1795.

Marie-Joseph-Paul-Yves Roch-Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de Lafayette: A hero of the American Revolution, he was appointed head of the National Guard during the French Revolution. He proposed the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* in 1789. Lafayette was a strong supporter of constitutional monarchy. He supported the declaration of

war against the Austrians in 1792 and was sent to command an army against them. Disillusioned with the revolution’s radical turn, he offered to lead his army to overthrow the government in Paris on condition that the Austrians not invade his homeland. When this was revealed, he was forced to flee.

Jean-Paul Marat: Through his newspaper, *L’Ami du Peuple*, he controlled radical public opinion in Paris and became a leader in the Paris Commune. He worked to radicalize the Jacobin Club, incited the “invasion” of the Tuileries, and helped to feed the popular rage that produced the September Massacres. With Danton and Robespierre, Marat overthrew the Girondists, in retribution for which he was assassinated by Charlotte Corday.

Louis-Philippe-Joseph, Duke of Orléans (known during the French Revolution as **Philippe Égalité**), 1747–1793: First cousin of Louis XVI and Orléanist pretender to the French throne, he supported the revolution and voted for Louis’ execution. He was guillotined in 1793.

Louis Stanislas-Xavier, Comte de Provence (1755–1824): He was the third son of Louis XV and was the second in line for the French throne. When his brother, Louis XVI, attempted to flee France in 1791, the Count of Provence also left and succeeded. He arrived in Brussels to join his younger brother, Charles-Philippe, *Comte d’Artois*. Around them the *émigrés* clustered and plotted to overthrow the Revolution. When Louis XVI’s son (whom Royalists recognized as Louis XVII when Louis was guillotined) died in prison in 1795, Louis became the pretender to the French throne. When Napoléon was defeated in 1814 and again in 1815, Louis mounted the throne as Louis XVIII.

Thomas Paine (1737–1809): Paine was an English pamphleteer and political radical. He wrote for, and actively participated in, the American Revolution. For both political and personal reasons, he then emigrated to Europe and was reenergized by the French Revolution. Responding to Edmund Burke’s attack on the Revolution with a tract called *The Rights of Man*, Paine was tried for sedition and convicted *in absentia* in England. He was made an honorary citizen of the French Republic. As a delegate to the Convention, he argued to commute the king’s death sentence. In December 1793, at the apparent instigation of Robespierre, all foreigners were expelled from the Convention. Paine was arrested and imprisoned as an enemy Englishman. He survived, but died in poverty in the United States.

Jeanne Manon [Philipon] Roland de la Platière: She was the strong-willed wife of, and advisor to, Girondist Interior Minister Jean-Marie Roland de la Platière. She established a salon that became the intellectual and planning center for the Girondists. When her husband was accused of corruption and fled Paris, she remained behind to plead his cause. She was charged with complicity and convicted of treason against the Revolution. About to be guillotined, she is reputed to have said, “O Liberty, what crimes are committed in your name.”

Louis-Antoine de Saint-Just: Born in Picardy, he came to Paris, studied law, wrote erotic poetry, and lived a debauched life. The Revolution transformed him, turning his individualism to public purpose. He became an inspiring leader and served as a military commander in the campaigns of 1792. Upon his return to Paris, he became a devoted follower of Robespierre and died with him.

Unit 8: Robert Peel and the Corn Laws

John Bright: Son of a wealthy cotton manufacturer, John Bright was a Quaker who supported many liberal and progressive causes. He was elected to Parliament in 1843 and joined the Anti-Corn Law League. He was a very powerful orator and a popular speaker.

Richard Cobden: English manufacturer from the Midlands, he ran for the House of Commons after the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832. He was also the leader of the Anti-Corn Law League. Cobden traveled extensively to speak out against the Corn Laws and the inequities that he felt they created.

Cotton mill owner from Manchester: Mill owners and other industrialists were opposed to the Corn Laws; they felt the laws caused them to have to pay their workers higher wages just to survive. They further felt that the high price of food prevented people from purchasing their manufactured goods.

Cotton mill worker from Manchester: Urban workers could not grow their own food; they had to buy grain at whatever price it was offered. Entire members of families had to work in order to make ends meet. Urban workers were resentful of the landed aristocracy and the Corn Laws, which seemed to favor upper-class interests over those of the middle and lower classes.

Friedrich Engels: Son of a German industrialist who owned mills in England, Engels wrote extensively on the condition of the British working class. Later he

collaborated with Karl Marx on many writings, including the *Communist Manifesto*.

Member of the House of Lords: The House of Lords was dominated by members of the landed aristocracy. They supported the Corn Laws as a way to protect the high prices on domestic grain and food stuffs.

Daniel O’Connell: An Irish lawyer, in the 1830s he became a major figure in the House of Commons. He was active in the campaigns for prison and law reform, free trade, the abolition of slavery, and Jewish emancipation. O’Connell was so outspoken for reform that at one point he was imprisoned on a charge of sedition. He was active in trying to persuade Parliament to do more to alleviate the famine in Ireland, and saw the Corn Laws as an evil.

Agricultural laborer from the county of Somerset: Agricultural workers were tied to the success or failure of the landed estates upon which they worked. Even though they were usually tenant farmers, they could grow some of their own food. Higher prices in grain might have meant higher profits to the landlords, but it might also have meant higher rents for their tenants.

Unit 9: Sylvia Pankhurst: Advocate or Subversive?

Herbert Henry Asquith: He was a British Liberal who became prime minister in 1908 and remained so until 1916. Then, in the midst of the First World War, his government was displaced by a national coalition government. In 1925, Asquith was made first Earl of Oxford. He ended his days serving in the House of Lords. He was opposed to women’s suffrage, having served as prime minister during the most active and militant period of suffragette action.

Millicent Garrett Fawcett: Co-founder of the Woman’s Suffrage Committee in 1869, she consolidated the numerous suffragist committees into the large, nonmilitant National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies in 1897 and became its head. By 1914, some 411 self-supporting societies were so affiliated, and Fawcett supported women’s war service. In early 1917, she threw her support behind a government proposal that was approved as The Representation of the People Act in 1918.

Annie Kenney: This Lancashire mill worker was drawn to the WSPU and became, with Christabel Pankhurst, its chief organizer and supporter, especially in London. She was one of the few working-class women in the WSPU and was jailed

on several occasions. When Pankhurst fled to France, Kenney became her liaison to the group. She remained loyal to the WSPU when Sylvia Pankhurst departed.

David Lloyd George: A British Liberal reformer who supported worker benefits, he waffled on the issue of women's votes. Lloyd George headed the coalition government that approved The Representation of the People Act in 1918.

Lady Constance Georgina Lytton: The daughter of the diplomat and poet Robert Lytton, she became a member of the WSPU in 1909. In her organizational activities, she sometimes used the alias Jane Warton. She engaged in the violent tactics of the WSPU and was arrested for breaking windows in 1911.

Christabel Pankhurst: With her mother, Emmeline, she founded the Women's Social and Political Union. Having studied for the law, she became the WSPU's chief planner and activist. With Annie Kenney, she confronted Liberal Party leader Sir Edward Grey at a public meeting in London on October 13, 1905, on the issue of women's suffrage. When the women refused to be silenced, a scuffle with police ensued; the two were arrested and charged with assault. Later, to avoid arrest in connection to the militant campaign she had planned and in which she participated, Christabel fled to France in 1912. She returned at the outbreak of war in 1914. She made patriotic speeches during the war and supported her mother's "service for women" stance.

Emmeline Pankhurst: Let down by both the Liberal and Independent Labour Parties, she founded the Women's Social and Political Union in 1903 and became its head. She spent time in jail for the acts committed by WSPU members and went on hunger strikes. After the passage of the Representation of the People Act in 1918, she served as a Member of Parliament. Pankhurst wrote an autobiography, *My Own Story*, published in 1914.

Emmeline and Frederick William Pethick-Lawrence: They were strong and wealthy supporters of, and organizers for, the WSPU. Emmeline began doing social work and then served as the Union's treasurer. She was imprisoned on several occasions. The couple was expelled from the Union in 1912 over its adoption of violent tactics and because Christabel needed to assure her continued direction of the organization during her enforced absence in France. Thereafter, the Pethick-Lawrences continued

to speak out in favor of women's rights both at home and abroad. While in the United States in 1915, as confirmed pacifists, they helped to found the Woman's Peace Party with Chrystal Eastman and Jane Addams. They sailed with other pacifists on Henry Ford's Peace Ship in 1915 to a women's peace conference proposed by Dutch birth-control advocate Dr. Aleta Jacobs.

Unit 10: The Boxer Rebellion and the Westernization of China

Dowager Empress Tzu Hsi: A considerable power in the Manchu court, she pretended to support the foreigners. In reality, however, she ordered the imperial troops to support the Boxers. She was considered a threat to be reckoned with by foreigners.

Eva Jane Price: An American missionary who was murdered with her husband and daughter by the Boxers, she wrote extensive letters home telling of the Boxer threat in China.

A member of the Order of Harmonious Righteous Fists (Boxers)

Fei Ch'i-hao: A Chinese convert to Christianity, he helped at the Prices' school and remained loyal to them.

Sir Claude MacDonald: Foreign Minister for Great Britain in Peking, he was the commander-in-chief of the allied forces in the legation compound.

Li Hung-chang: This official of the Manchu court was, like many members of the court, secretly supportive of the antiforeign agitation.

Baron von Ketteler: Foreign minister for Germany in Peking, he was murdered on his way to complain to the Imperial Court about the treatment of foreigners.

Li Ping-Heng: This Chinese official was dedicated to fighting a war against all foreigners.

A Chinese merchant: Chinese merchants were forced to trade with foreign merchants in China under the guidelines of the foreign nations. This caused much anger among the Chinese.

Unit 11: Francisco (Pancho) Villa: Outlaw or Revolutionary?

Emiliano Zapata: Leader of a peasant army against

the Diaz dictatorship, Zapata was eager for land reform. This included the breakup of large estates and the distribution of land to the peasants.

General John J. Pershing: He was sent by President Wilson on a “punitive expedition” across the Mexican border to capture Villa. Pershing was unsuccessful, and his adventures were the topic of many newspaper accounts and cartoons.

John Reed: This American journalist met the leading figures of the Mexican Revolution. He later went on to cover the Russian Revolution and wrote a best seller, *Ten Days That Shook the World*. The movie *Reds* was based on Reed’s experiences in Russia.

A member of the Dorados: Pancho Villa’s personal guards were the Dorados. They were totally loyal to their leader.

Francisco Madero: He was the first to oppose the dictatorial regime of Diaz and to move the revolution forward. Supported by Villa, he gained the presidency,

but was forced to resign in a conservative coup led by General Huerta. He was assassinated by Huerta’s men.

A resident of Columbus, New Mexico

A Mexican peasant from the state of Chihuahua

Venustiano Carranza: He was one of the leaders of the rebellion against the counterrevolutionary forces of General Huerta. He and Villa eventually disagreed and split. Carranza eventually won the support of the middle classes and became the president of Mexico in 1917.

A Spanish hacienda owner in Chihuahau: Villa opposed both the Spanish landowners and the Catholic Church as enemies of the common people.

William Benton: English citizen and hacienda owner, he was executed by the order of Villa in 1914. This lost Villa support, particularly among the foreign residents of Mexico.

Resources

Unit 1: Octavian Augustus and the Formation of the Roman Empire

Bibliography

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- Shotter, D. C. *Augustus Caesar*. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Southern, Pat. *Augustus*. London: Routledge, 1998.
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- Talbert, R. J. A. *The Senate of Imperial Rome*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984.

Media Resources

Documentaries

- Roman City*. 60 minutes. A PBS program hosted by author/illustrator David Macaulay, this video explores life in a city during the Roman Empire.
- The Roman Empire in the First Century*. Four hours on two tapes or one DVD. This PBS miniseries is a cross between a documentary and a feature film. It explores the era of Augustus and his immediate successors.
- "The Romans: Life, Laughter, and Law." 27 minutes. Learning Corporation of America, 1971. This is part of a series titled *Western Civilization: Majesty and Madness*. Although not a feature-length film, "The Romans" contains performances of Roman literature and plays, including an excerpt from Plautus's *The Braggart Soldier*. It is a highly entertaining overview of Roman philosophy and life.

Feature Films

- Gladiator*. 155 minutes, 2000. This Academy Award-winning film is about a fictitious Roman general who is discredited by a rival. He must fight his way

to freedom. Not that Ancient Rome wasn't violent, but this is too violent for classroom use—it has an "R" rating.

- Hannibal*. 103 minutes, 1960. This film, dubbed from Italian, has authentic-looking sets, but the performances are rather wooden.
- I, Claudius*. 13 parts, 840 minutes total, 1980. This PBS series is based on Robert Graves's book of the same name. It covers the period from the reign of the emperor Octavian to the reign of Claudius.
- Julius Caesar*. 121 minutes, 1953. This is probably the best production of Shakespeare's play, with Marlon Brando playing Mark Antony.
- Spartacus*. 192 minutes, 1960. Directed by Stanley Kubrick and based on a novel by Howard Fast, this film centers on the abortive slave uprising of 73 B.C.E. It is an excellent treatment of the issues of oppression and resistance. New versions of this classic restore 12 minutes cut from the original.

Unit 2: Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Angevin Empire

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- Brooks, Polly Schoyer. *Queen Eleanor, Independent Spirit of the Medieval World*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999.
- Duby, Georges. *Women of the Twelfth Century, Volume One: Eleanor of Aquitaine and Six Others*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
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- Power, Eileen. *Medieval Women*. Cambridge, UK: University of Cambridge Press, 1995.
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Media Resources

Documentaries

History of Britain. 43 minutes. 2000. Programme 3 of Simon Schama's series covers the Angevin dynasty (c. 1087–1216).

"In the Light of the Above," from James Burke's *The Day the Universe Changed* series. 52 minutes. 1986. This segment covers the Middle Ages.

Medieval Women. 24 minutes. 1989. This is an illustrated lecture by Dr. Joyce Salisbury.

The Middle Ages: A Wanderer's Guide to Life and Letters. 27 minutes. Films for the Humanities and Sciences, 1971. Part of the *Western Civilization: Majesty and Madness* series, this video follows a wandering student to a town fair, through a castle, on the road, and in a cathedral. In each of these scenes, there is an excerpt of medieval poetry.

Two installments of Kenneth Clark's *Civilization* series "The Great Thaw" and "Romance and Reality" cover this period. 1971.

Feature Films

A Lion in Winter. 135 minutes. 1968. This is a rather Freudian look at a fictionalized Christmas court at Chinon. Katherine Hepburn won an Academy Award for her portrayal of Eleanor.

Becket. 148 minutes. 1966. Peter O'Toole plays Henry II in this portrayal of Henry's conflict with his archbishop, Thomas Becket.

Unit 3: Martin Luther and the Suppression of the Peasant Revolt

Bibliography

Bainton, Roland H. *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther*. New York: Abingdon Press, 1950.

Dickens, A. G., and John Tonkin. *The Reformation in Historical Thought*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985.

Englander, David, et al., eds. *Culture and Belief in Europe, 1450–1600*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1990.

Jensen, De Lamar. *Reformation Europe: Age of Reform and Revolution*. Lexington: D. C. Heath, 1992

Marius, Richard. *Martin Luther: The Christian Between God and Death*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.

Spitz, Lewis W., ed. *The Protestant Reformation*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1966.

Media Resources

Documentaries

Martin Luther. 120 minutes. Released in 2003 on DVD. This PBS documentary, part of the *Empires* series, focuses on Luther's vision of man's relationship with God and authority.

Martin Luther and the Protestant Reformation. 30 minutes. 1969. This is an excellent short BBC documentary on the subject.

The Reformation. 52 minutes. 1967. An NBC-produced documentary, this film surveys the entire period to the Peace of Augsburg.

The Reformation: Age of Revolt. 24 minutes. 1973. This Encyclopedia Britannica video is a briefer summary focusing on the role of Martin Luther.

The Reformation and the Rise of the Middle Class. 60 minutes. 1989. This is a two-part documentary that explores the Weber thesis.

Two episodes in Kenneth Clark's *Civilization*. 55 minutes each. 1969. This series explores this period. "Protest and Communication" analyzes the connections between northern humanism and the Reformation, while "Grandeur and Obedience" begins with Luther and Henry VIII, then carries through the Catholic reformation and the rise of the Baroque form.

Feature Films

Anne of a Thousand Days. 145 minutes. 1969. This is the story of Henry's ill-fated relationship with Anne Boleyn.

Henry VIII and His Six Wives. 125 minutes. 1973. This adaptation of the BBC television series has been featured on PBS.

Luther. 112 minutes. 1973. This adaptation of John Osborne's play covers Luther's life from his days as a monk through the Peasant's Rebellion.

A Man for All Seasons. 120 minutes. 1966. This Academy Award-winning film is about Thomas More and Henry VIII's break with Rome.

Martin Luther. 106 minutes. 1953 (French). This is a religiously sponsored account of Luther's life.

Martin Luther. 115 minutes. 2002. A two-part BBC production, this film starred Timothy West as Luther. Part One, "Driven to Defiance," presents Luther's growing disillusionment with the church, culminating with his posting of the famous 95 Theses. Part Two, "The Reluctant Revolutionary," shows how Luther's Theses inspired change throughout Europe.

A Matter of Conscience: Henry VIII and Thomas More. 30 minutes. Learning Corporation of America. 1972. Part of the *Western Civilization: Majesty and Madness*

series, this is a condensation of the film *A Man for All Seasons*. It is designed for classroom use and discussion.

The Private Life of Henry VIII. 97 minutes. 1933. This classic stars Charles Laughton as the king.

The Return of Martin Guerre. 111 minutes. 1982. Here is an excellent recreation of peasant life during the sixteenth century. Natalie Zemon Davis, the film's historical advisor, has written much on the film's historical accuracy and has published a book with the same title.

Unit 4: Oliver Cromwell and the English Civil War

Bibliography

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Cowie, Leonard W. *The Trial and Execution of Charles I*. New York: G. P. Putnam Sons, 1972.

Davis, J. C. *Oliver Cromwell*. London: Edward Arnold, 2001.

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Ollard, Richard. *This War Without an Enemy: A History of the English Civil Wars*. New York: Atheneum, 1976.

Media Resources

Documentaries

The Age of Absolute Monarchs in Europe. 13 minutes. 1965. This Coronet film uses the words of James I of England to explain the concept of the divine right of kings.

English History-Restoration and the Glorious Revolution. 11 minutes. 1958. This short film covers late seventeenth-century British politics.

Revolutions (1649–1689). 43 minutes. 2001. This is Programme 9 in Simon Schama's BBC *A History of Britain* series.

Feature Films

Cromwell. 128 minutes. 1970. This film uses many of

King Charles's and Cromwell's own words. Settings and costuming are accurate. Unfortunately, the historical events of the conflict are distorted.

The Puritan Revolution: Cromwell and the Rise of Parliamentary Democracy. 33 minutes. Learning Corporation of America, 1970. This film condenses the 1970 *Cromwell* into 33 minutes by adding narration. This is a good alternative to the feature-length film.

Restoration. 117 minutes. 1995. This is a lavish costume drama about the court of Charles II. It offers a good depiction of the time period, including the plague and the Great Fire of London, but it does contain several scenes that are explicitly sexual. Use selectively. Rated R.

Winstanley. 95 minutes. 1975. This unique film tells the story of a "Digger" community in the period just following the English Civil War. The filmmakers attempted to achieve total historical accuracy. Characters are dirty and disheveled, with bad teeth and complexions—hardly the typical Hollywood images of the seventeenth century—or any century, for that matter.

Unit 5: Peter the Great and the Westernization of Russia

Bibliography

Anderson, Matthew S. *Peter the Great*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1978.

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Soward, J. Kelley, ed. *Makers of World History*. Vol. II. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992.

Media Resources

Documentaries

Peter the Great. 30 minutes. Films for the Humanities & Sciences, 1990. This video offers a brief overview of Peter the Great's life and achievements.

Feature Films

The Blackmoor of Peter the Great. 99 minutes. 1970.

This is the story of Ibrahim Hannibal, a black African and godson of Peter the Great. In Russian, with subtitles.

The Deluge. 185 minutes. 1973. Made by Jerszy Hoffman from Henryk Stenkiewicz's novel, this film is set during the Great Northern War. In Polish, with subtitles.

Peter the First. Alexei Tolstoy wrote the screenplays for a two-part epic of Peter's life, with Nikolai Simonov as the Tsar and Nikolai Cherkasov as the Tsarevich Alexei (Part I: 1937, 95 min., subtitled, and Part II: 1939, 104 min., subtitled). The two spectacular films, directed by Vladimir Petrov, cover Peter's defeat of Charles XII of Sweden, the establishment of Russian naval power, and the struggle between the Tsar and his nobles over his plans for modernization and reform. The films are meant to equate Peter's struggles with those of Stalin in the midst of the purges, five-year plans, and popular-front diplomacy.

Peter the Great. 8 hours. 1986. This made-for-television three-part ponderous miniseries stars Maximilian Schell as the tsar; written by Edward Anhalt and filmed in Russia.

The Youth of Peter the Great. 1981. "Part I: Young Peter the Great" (140 minutes) and "Part II: The Great Beginning" (136 minutes). This is a two-part Russian epic, with subtitles.

Unit 6: John Newton and the Transatlantic Slave Trade

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Conneau, Captain Theophilus. *A Slaver's Logbook or 20 Years' Residence in Africa*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall: 1976. (Reprint of the original manuscript.)

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Worger, William H., ed. *Africa and the West: A Documentary History of the Slave Trade to Independence*. Pheonix: Oryx Press, 2001.

Media Resources

Documentaries

Africa: A Voyage of Discovery with Basil Davidson. Eight 57-minute episodes. 1984. The episode titled "The Bible and the Gun" covers the slave trade and its impact on Africa.

The Fight Against Slavery. 6 parts, 56 minutes each. 1977. This BBC production dramatizes the antislavery movement in Britain.

The Wonders of the African World, 6 episodes, 60 minutes each. 1999. This PBS series is hosted by Henry Louis Gates. One episode, "Slave Kingdoms," concentrates on the slave trade.

Feature Films

Amistad. 157 minutes. 1997. This film contains a powerful recreation of the slave trade and Middle Passage. However, it centers around the court case of a group of illegally captured Africans and their attempts to win their freedom.

Roots. 720 minutes. 1977. This is the made-for-television adaptation of Alex Haley's popular book. The early parts of the film show the capture of the main character in Africa and his transportation to America.

Educational Media

Migration in Modern World History, 1500–2000. Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, 2000. CD-ROM. Produced by the World History Center, Patrick

Manning, Director. Unit 6 is on “forced migration.”

Unit 7: Maximilien Robespierre and the “Republic of Virtue”

Bibliography

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Media Resources

Documentaries

- Fallacies of Hope*. 50 minutes. 1969. This episode of the *Civilization* series portrays the consequences of the political, moral, and aesthetic philosophy of the Enlightenment on the revolutionary epoch.
- The French Revolution*. 4 parts, 60 minutes each. 1989.

In four parts this documentary uses dramatic re-creations to portray episodes of the French Revolution.

The French Revolution: The Terror. 29 minutes. 1970.

This film is one of a pair of short docudramas produced by Learning Corporation as part of its *Western Civilization: Majesty and Madness* series.

The French Revolution Reconsidered. 52 minutes. 1989.

This is an episode in the CBS *48 Hours* news program that uses the French bicentennial celebration of the Revolution as a springboard for consideration of aspects of the collapse of communism in 1989.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Retreat to Romanticism. 24

minutes. 1991. This Films for the Humanities and Sciences production emphasizes Rousseau’s critique of the inequality and shallowness of French society, as well as the alternatives he proposed.

Feature Films

Danton. 136 minutes. 1982. Polish director Andrzej

Wajda addresses the challenges and costs of revolution, with obvious parallels to Lech Walesa’s fight against authoritarianism. In French, with English subtitles.

The Lady and the Duke. 129 minutes. 2001. This is

based on the true story (and diary) of Grace Dalrymple Elliott, the former mistress of the Prince of Wales and of Philippe, Duke of Orléans, who rescued a wounded aristocrat from under the noses of the Committee of Public Safety. In French, with English subtitles.

La Nuit de Varennes. 133 minutes. 1983. This film

features talky dialogue among French Revolutionary-era luminaries about the morality of acts like Louis XVI’s attempted escape. In French, with English subtitles.

Reign of Terror. 89 minutes. 1949. This is a chase

movie with protagonists who are after Robespierre’s black book. In the 1960s it was viewed as an early response to McCarthyism.

The Scarlet Pimpernel. 96 minutes. 1935. Based on the

Baroness Orczy’s novel, this film depicts the rescue of French nobles from the bloodthirsty French revolutionaries. This version stars Leslie Howard.

The Scarlet Pimpernel. 142 minutes. 1982. With

Anthony Andrews.

The Scarlet Pimpernel. 120 minutes. 1999. With

Richard E. Grant.

A Tale of Two Cities. 128 minutes. 1935. Based on

Charles Dickens’s 1859 novel of love, sacrifice, and redemption during the chaos of the French Revolution. This film stars Ronald Coleman.

Tale of Two Cities. 117 minutes. 1958. With Dirk

Bogarde.

Tale of Two Cities. 156 minutes. 1980. With Chris Sarandon.
Tale of Two Cities. 240 minutes. 1989. This *Masterpiece Theatre* production stars James Wilby.

Unit 8: Robert Peel and the Corn Laws

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Media Resources

Documentaries

The Agrarian Revolution. 23 minutes. 1979. This video from the International Film Bureau summarizes the enclosure movement and its results in England, the scientific breeding of animals, and the introduction of farm machinery. *The Industrial Revolution* (23 minutes, 1980), from the same company, explores some of the machinery and social transformations that accompanied the rise of the factory system.

The Factory and Marketplace Revolution. 52 minutes. 1986. Part of James Burke's *The Day the Universe Changed* series, this video (distributed by Churchill Films) explores the Commercial and Agrarian Revolutions and the industrialization of Britain.
A five-part series from Films for the Humanities & Sciences explores *The Industrial Revolution* (20 minutes each) in Britain. Its individual programs are "Working Lives," "Evolving Transportation Systems," "The Railway Age," "Harnessing Steam," and "The Growth of Towns and Cities." Another film from the same source traces "The Luddites" (50 minutes) and the general problem of machines replacing workers.
A History of Britain. 43 minutes. 2001. Programme 11, "The Wrong Empire" (about 1750–1800) deals with Britain's mercantile expansion. This was made for a BBC television series hosted by Simon Schama. Programme 12, "Forces of Nature," explores the political implications of the French, Industrial, and Romantic revolutions on the British.
John Kenneth Galbraith's *Age of Uncertainty* series explores the theoretical aspects of this economic transformation in several episodes. Episode 2: "The Manners and Morals of High Capitalism," Episode 6: "The Rise and Fall of Money," and Episode 10: "Land and the People" (60 minutes each, 1977) contain material germane to this period.
Victoria's Empire. 240 minutes. 2002. This PBS video series is about nineteenth-century England. The first part covers Peel's time.

Feature Films

Germinal. 170 minutes. 1993. Based on the novel by Emile Zola, this powerful drama deals with French coal miners in the mid-nineteenth century and industrial strife. Rated R.
The Great Train Robbery. 111 minutes. 1979. Based on the Michael Crichton book, this recounts an actual event in Victorian England. It is fun and fast moving.
How Green Was My Valley. 118 minutes. 1941. This film won Best Picture at the Academy Awards. It depicts the plight of Welsh coal miners. Although set in the twentieth century, conditions had changed little since the Industrial Revolution.
Modern Times. 89 minutes. 1936. This is a Chaplin film that pits man against machine. The only sound is the clang of the machinery. Semisilent.
Nicholas Nickleby. 108 minutes. 1947. Based on a Dickens novel, this film portrays Victorian England as a backdrop for a morality drama.
Oliver! 153 minutes. 1968. This Academy Award-winning musical is based on the novel by Charles

Dickens. It shows the opulence of Victorian England as well as the seamier side of life.

Pandaemonium. 125 minutes. 2000. This BBC TV film details the relationship between Romantic poets Samuel Taylor Coleridge and William Wordsworth during the end of the eighteenth century, as industrialism and political agitation are occurring in England.

Unit 9: Sylvia Pankhurst: Advocate or Subversive?

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Web Sites

<http://intranet.qe.dorset.sch.uk/britishhistory.htm>
www.sparticus.schoolnet.co.uk/biographies.htm
<http://sylvia pankhurst.gn.apc.org>

Media Resources

Documentaries

- Flappers: The Birth of the 20th Century Woman*. 53 minutes. Films for the Humanities and Sciences, 1999. This film focuses on British women in the decade following World War I.
- The Great War and the Shaping of the 20th Century*. 6 parts, 58 minutes each. PBS Video, 1996. This documentary series was created by Jay Winter for KCET, the BBC, and the Imperial War Museum. Program 3, "Total War," includes material on British women's role in the war effort.
- War Women of Britain: Women at War 1914–1918*. 58 minutes. 1991. This is a compilation of eight British World War I silent documentary short films (many propaganda) on the varied roles women and women's organizations played in the war. The video is available on-line from the Imperial War Museum in NTSC for use in the United States.

Feature Films

- Oh! What a Lovely War*. 139 minutes. 1969. Richard Attenborough's version of Joan Greenwood's antiwar settings of contemporary songs and letters contains a scene in which Vanessa Redgrave, playing Sylvia, makes an antiwar speech to a hostile working-class crowd.
- Shoulder to Shoulder*. 6 parts, 58 minutes each. 1988. This is the docudrama series created by Midge Mackenzie, Verity Lambert, and Georgia Brown for the BBC. Part 3 of the series focuses on Sylvia Pankhurst.

Unit 10: The Boxer Rebellion and the Westernization of China

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- Cohen, Paul. *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.
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- Price, Eva Jane. *China Journal, 1889–1900*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1989.
- Roberson, John R. *China: From Manchu to Mao, 1699–1976*. New York: Atheneum, 1980.

Web Site

There is an excellent web site maintained by Jim Zwick called "Anti-Imperialism in the United States, 1898–1935," at www.boondocksnet.com

Media Resources

Documentaries

America 1900. 180 minutes. 2000. This PBS video has a segment about the Boxer Rebellion and uses the words of American missionary Eva Jane Price (see above in Bibliography) to capture the horror Americans felt about the slaughter of foreigners in China.

China: Agonies of Nationalism 1800–1927. 29 minutes. 1972. This short film covers the period of the Opium Wars as well as the Boxer Rebellion and Chinese Revolution of 1911.

China: Rebellion and Revolution. 35 minutes each. 1977. This series contains programs on the uprising of the nineteenth century, including the Boxer Rebellion as well as Sun Yat-sen and the 1911 Revolution.

Westward to China and *The China Call*. 58 minutes each. 1994. These two films, produced by the Film History Foundation, are about Americans in China in the nineteenth century.

Feature Films

55 Days at Peking. 150 minutes, 1963. From a fundamentally Western point of view, this film is about the defense of the international settlement in Peking during the Boxer Rebellion.

The Last Emperor. 160 minutes. 1988. Bernardo Bertolucci's Academy Award-winning film is about Henry Pu Yi, the last Manchu emperor and, later, puppet ruler of the Japanese in Manchuko. It was the first western film actually made in the Forbidden City.

Unit 11: Francisco (Pancho) Villa:

Outlaw or Revolutionary?

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Smythe, Donald. *Guerrilla Warrior: The Early Life of John J. Pershing*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973.

Media Resources

Documentaries

Mexico. 60 minutes. 1988. First of a three-part series by the producers of the PBS series *Frontline*, this covers the time period 1910–1940.

Pancho Villa: Outlaw Hero. 50 minutes. A&E Biography Series. This presents a good overview of Villa's life and times. There are lesson plans based on this program at A&E's web site.

Feature Films

And Starring Pancho Villa as Himself. 112 minutes. 2003. This made-for-television movie deals with Villa's quest for publicity and his insatiable appetite for fame and power.

Like Water for Chocolate. 105 minutes. 1993. This film, which is rated "R," is about Mexican domestic life during the period of the revolution.

Pancho Villa. 92 minutes. 1972. This film stars Telly Savalas as Villa and is fraught with caricatures.

They Came to Cordura. 123 minutes. 1959. This is a film about courage and cowardice, set during the American punitive raid into Mexico in 1916.

Viva Villa. 115 minutes. 1934. Scripted by Ben Hecht, this film stars Wallace Beery as Villa.

Viva Zapata. 113 minutes. 1952. In this film by Elia Kazan, based on a script written by John Steinbeck, the peasant rights movement is turned into an anti-Communist movement.