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AP Special Focus: "Whose History Is It?"

Whose History Is It?: The Role of Social History and Point of View in the AP® Classroom

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"The AP® course and exam in European History are intended for qualified students who wish to complete classes in secondary school equivalent to college introductory courses in European history." This means nothing less than the AP course must reflect the *contemporary* college course in terms of chronological scope and approach. The course description emphasizes the entire chronological range from 1450 to the present, and it similarly emphasizes historical topics. Only one-third of the course description refers to political and diplomatic history. Intellectual and cultural history comprise another third of the course, and the final third focuses on social and economic history. Clearly, social history is at least as important as any of these topics, and the AP teacher cannot neglect it. Recent AP Exam questions (multiple choice, document based, and free response) specifically demonstrate the significance of gender and status (class, ethnicity, family, race, religion, work) at the AP level.

An important methodology of the course is "generic core scoring" for the required document-based question ("DBQ") on the AP Exam. "Generic core scoring" is a nine-point scale. "Basic core" refers to the first six required tasks, and "expanded core" refers to the final three tasks; the student must fulfill the six required tasks in "basic core" before he or she can fulfill the tasks enumerated in "expanded core." That is, the student must earn the six points in "basic core" before he or she can earn the three points in expanded core. An analysis of AP Exam results from the past several years clearly indicates that students continue to struggle with some of the tasks in "basic core," particularly the analysis of point of view or bias (POV) in at least three documents.

This publication specifically addresses the content and methodology of teaching social history, and also the analysis of primary documents to understand point of view. The editor and the seven authors are experienced Readers, Table Leaders, and Question Leaders at the AP Reading in European History. Additionally, two are College Board-endorsed consultants, and two have served as members of the Test Development Committee in AP European History. Bruce Adams and Ron Love are college professors whose articles are designed for the AP teacher. Professor Adams' article uses documents from several "DBQs" to emphasize both social history and point of view. His article includes the rubric for "core scoring," and he reviews "core scoring" in detail. Professor Love has selected and analyzed primary documents from eighteenth-century France to illustrate gender, status, and point of view. It is a rich source that faculty may use in many ways in the classroom. The five high school faculty have created lesson plans particularly tailored to social history and point of view, but also to reflect recent educational philosophy and practice. These lesson plans are collaborative and often kinesthetic; they do not reflect the traditional method of the "sage

on the stage," and the inventive AP teacher can apply them to other topics and periods. Susie Gerard focuses on peasants while Margaret Telford stresses the roles of the poor, and Steven Mercato and Jessica Young concentrate on the status and roles of women. Jennifer Norton has written about antisemitism, a topic that also has important implications for the theme of majority or minority status, which is pervasive though the chronology of the course. These articles and lesson plans have direct application to many of the most challenging aspects of teaching AP European History. All emphasize social history, primary sources, and point of view; six employ the interpretation of images, and four have direct application to the DBQ and core scoring.

The quote in the first paragraph, and the references to core scoring, content and topic in the first two paragraphs, are from http://apcentral.collegeboard.com/ apc/public/repository/ 05831apcoursedesceuro_4318.pdf. This is usually referred to as "AP Central®," and it is an *indispensable* resource for AP faculty.

Whose History Is It? Finding Evidence and Working With Point of View in the Document-Based Question

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The AP Examination in European History requires students to answer three "free-response questions." The first and only required question is the "Document-based question," or "DBQ." The DBQ is a very specific sort of writing exercise, designed to assess how well students read and understand historical documents and information and how well they construct a response to a question using the documents in specific ways. The directions instruct the students to 1) write an explicit thesis that directly addresses all parts of the question; 2) discuss a majority of the documents individually and specifically; 3) demonstrate understanding of the basic meaning of a majority of the documents; 4) support the thesis with appropriate interpretations of a majority of documents; 5) analyze point of view or bias in at least three documents; and 6) analyze documents by explicitly organizing them into at least three appropriate groups.

How then does the teacher of the AP European History course use the DBQ in class? It is, of course, an essential component of the AP Exam, and the students will benefit greatly by responding to the DBQ in a variety ways: as practice for the exam, as a writing exercise in and of itself, and as an opportunity to study history at a high cognitive level through the assessment of documentary evidence. The AP teacher can also use the DBQ to refer to groups or even individuals whose history is less well known: the poor, peasants, and women. Many DBQs offer an opportunity to refer to these groups in various ways, but the 2004 (poor), 2002 (urban poor), 1999 (peasants), and 1989 (women) DBQs offer specific opportunities for the AP teacher to help students respond to both POV and "Whose History is It?"

The "Generic Core-Scoring Guide for AP European History Document-Based Question" clearly indicates the tasks required of the student.

Generic Core-Scoring Guide for AP European History Document-Based Question (Score scale 0–9)			
BASIC CORE	**Points**	**EXPANDED CORE**	**Points**
1. Provides an appropriate, explicitly stated, thesis that directly addresses all parts of the question. **Thesis may not simply restate the question.**	**1**	Expands beyond basic core of 1–6. The basic score of 6 must be achieved before a student can earn expanded core points. Examples: • Has a clear, analytical, and comprehensive thesis. • Uses all or almost all documents. • Addresses all parts of the question thoroughly. • Uses documents persuasively as evidence. • Shows understanding of nuances in the documents. • Analyzes point of view or bias in at least four documents cited in the essay. • Analyzes the documents in additional ways—additional groupings or other. • Brings in relevant "outside" historical content.	**0–3**
2. Discusses a majority of the documents individually and specifically.	**1**		
3. Demonstrates understanding of the basic meaning of a majority of the documents (may misinterpret no more than one).	**1**		
4. Supports the thesis with appropriate interpretations of a majority of the documents.	**1**		
5. Analyzes point of view or bias in at least three documents.	**1**		
6. Analyzes documents by explicitly organizing them in at least three appropriate groups.	**1**		
Subtotal	**6**	**Subtotal**	**3**
TOTAL 9			

The student must earn all of the points in "basic core" (the first six) to move on to "expanded core." Each year, the question leaders for scoring the DBQ create a guide to help Readers (scorers) understand how the generic core should be applied to that year's DBQ. Here are the scoring standards for the 2006 DBQ.

AP® EUROPEAN HISTORY
2006 SCORING GUIDELINES

Question 1—Document-Based Question

How did Europeans perceive the role of organized sports in Europe during the period from 1860 to 1940?

BASIC CORE: 1 point each to a total of 6 points

1. **Provides an appropriate, explicitly stated, thesis that directly addresses all parts of the question. Thesis may not simply restate the question.**
   The thesis must suggest a minimal level of analysis or context (drawn from the documents). It need not appear in the first paragraph.

2. **Discusses a majority of the documents individually and specifically.**
   The student must use at least seven documents—even if used incorrectly—by reference to anything in the box. Documents cannot be referenced together in order to get credit for this point (e.g., "Documents 1, 4, and 6 suggest . . . "). Documents need not be cited by number or by name.

3. **Demonstrates understanding of the basic meaning of a majority of the documents (may misinterpret no more than one).**
   A student may not significantly misinterpret more than one document. A major misinterpretation is an incorrect analysis or one that leads to an inaccurate grouping or a false conclusion.

4. **Supports the thesis with appropriate interpretations of a majority of the documents.**
   The student must use at least seven documents, and the documents used in the body of the essay must provide support for the thesis. *A student cannot earn this point if no credit was awarded for point 1 (appropriate thesis).*

5. **Analyzes point of view or bias in at least three documents**.
   The student must make a reasonable effort to explain why a particular source expresses the stated view by
   - Relating authorial point of view to author's place in society (motive, position, status, etc.), OR
   - Evaluating the reliability of the source, OR
   - Recognizing that different kinds of documents serve different purposes, OR
   - Analyzing the tone of the documents; must be well developed.

   Note: *Attribution alone is not sufficient to earn credit for point of view*.

6. **Analyzes documents by explicitly organizing them in at least three appropriate groups.**
   A group must contain at least two documents that are used correctly. Groupings and corresponding documents (not inclusive) *may* include the following:

Nationalism/national unity	1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 9
Political	1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11
Militarism/war	1, 5, 6
Spectator activity	3, 9
Health	3, 8, 9 10, 12
Social Darwinism/advancement	1, 3, 5, 7, 8

AP® EUROPEAN HISTORY
2006 SCORING GUIDELINES

Question 1 (continued)

Moral strengthening/lessons	3, 4, 7, 8
Team building/camaraderie	4, 6, 7
Women/feminism	2, 10, 12
Rivalry	1, 3, 4, 5, 11
Prowar propaganda	5, 6
Cultural revolution	1, 8

EXPANDED CORE: 0–3 points to a total of 9 points

Expands beyond the basic core of 1–6. The basic score of 6 must be achieved before a student can earn expanded core points.

Examples:

- Has a clear, analytical, and comprehensive thesis.
- Uses all or almost all of the documents (11–12 documents).
- Uses the documents persuasively as evidence.
- Shows understanding of nuances of the documents.
- Analyzes point of view or bias in at least four documents cited in the essay.
- Analyzes the documents in additional ways/additional groupings or other.
- Brings in relevant "outside" information.

Year after year the students' greatest stumbling block is satisfying the requirement for point of view (POV), or basic core scoring point number 5. Many students write essays that would otherwise earn a higher score, but they do not satisfactorily address POV and receive only five points (basic core minus one) on a 10-point scale. This essay will explain how to help the students to understand POV and thus to satisfy the basic core scoring requirement for that category. It will also help the classroom teacher to use the DBQ and POV to address issues of class and gender.

Teachers and students need to remember that point of view is not a synonym for opinion. Describing what a document says does not reveal its author's POV. A student needs to offer a plausible explanation for why its author has that opinion or why a document of a particular sort might be trusted or suspected of a particular bias. We cannot know with full certainty why an author expresses the view he does, but we must make an educated supposition about all historical sources to assess how far we can trust the information in them. That is what the DBQ exercise asks students to do for POV credit.

Some documents lend themselves more easily to this sort of analysis. While students are reading a DBQ's documents, preparing to write their essay, they should question every document briefly. Is it an official pronouncement, a newspaper article, a diary entry, or a graph? Is its author male, female, a government or party official, or of a particular class or nationality? Might the sort of document or the gender, status, position, or experience of its writer have influenced what is written? In what particular way?

The 2004 DBQ asks students to analyze "attitudes toward and responses to 'the poor' in Europe between approximately 1450 and 1700." The historical background provided with the question informs students that in normal times half the population lived at a subsistence level and in times of "famine, wars, and economic dislocation, poverty increased, and up to 80 percent of a region's population faced possible starvation." Students are thus alerted that poverty was real and widespread. When they encounter document 8, they should therefore be suspicious of its message.

Source: Cardinal Richelieu, royal councillor, unofficial statement on poverty, France, 1625.

Instead of working as they should to earn a living, vagabonds and good-for-nothings have turned to begging, taking bread from the sick and deserving poor to whom it is due. We desire that in every town in our kingdom rules and regulations for the poor should be established, so that not only all those of the said town but also of the neighboring areas should be confined and fed, and those who are able to do so should be employed on public works.

Even if students don't know who Cardinal Richelieu was, they should be able to infer that he was part of the French privileged classes and to suggest that his class origins might

have biased his attitudes toward people he calls "good for nothings." Does the fact that the document was an "unofficial statement" allow us to think that its opinion was more candid than an official document might have been? Students who do know who Richelieu was can do all this with greater certainty and by adding even a brief explanation of his position and influence could earn credit for using helpful information not supplied by the DBQ's documents. This is called bringing in "relevant 'outside' historical content" in the expanded core.

Document 6 was written by the personal physician to the Earl of Somerset.

Source: William Turner, English doctor, *New Booke of Spiritual Physick*, London, England, 1555.

When I practiced medicine in my lord the Earl of Somerset's house, many sick beggars came to me, and not knowing that I was a physician, asked me for alms. Instead, I offered to heal them, for God's sake. But they would have none of that, for they would much rather be sick and live with ease and idleness than to be well and to honestly earn their living with great pain and labor.

Did a sixteenth-century English doctor belong to the upper classes? If he lived with and ministered to the Earl of Somerset, he almost certainly did. Was he likely to have an attitude shared by the upper classes? Might that view be prejudiced to see the unemployed as shiftless?

Document 11, an excerpt from a letter written by a wealthy merchant to his children, takes a similar view.

Source: Jean Maillefer, wealthy merchant, letter to his children, Reims, France, 1674.

I have heard the poor talk and learned that those who have grown accustomed to this life cannot leave it. They have no cares, pay no rent or taxes, have no losses to fear. They are independent, they warm themselves by the sun, sleep and laugh as long as they like, are at home everywhere, have the sky for a blanket, the earth for a mattress. In a word, they have no worries.

Does this accord with the students' understanding of poverty or with the historical background? Is it a mistaken, perhaps willfully mistaken, view of poverty in

seventeenth-century France? Might the same class bias that shaped Richelieu's and Doctor Turner's views be at work here?

Students who use these three documents to form a group might also want to ascribe a class-based POV to them collectively. They should be warned not to. Readers will count that as a single instance of POV, not three, leaving students to find at least two more POVs in their essay to earn credit for basic core point number 5. It would serve them better to address POV in single documents.

The only document (#3) in this DBQ that is thoroughly sympathetic to the poor belongs to Juan Luis Vives.

> Source: Juan Luis Vives, Spanish Humanist, *On Assistance to the Poor*, Bruges, Spanish Netherlands, 1526.
>
> When the general funds have been expended, those without means of subsistence are driven to robbery in the city and on the highways; others commit theft stealthily. Women of eligible years put modesty aside and, no longer holding to chastity, put it on sale. Old women run brothels and then take up sorcery. Children of the needy receive a deplorable upbringing. Together with their offspring, the poor are shut out of the churches and wander over the land. We do not know by what law the poor live, nor what their practices or beliefs are.
>
> Some know that they have a duty of charity to the poor, yet they do not perform what has been commanded. Others are repelled by the unworthiness of the applicants. Still others withdraw because their good intention is embarrassed by the great number, and they are uncertain where first or most effectively to bestow their money.

Vives claims that poverty drives people into lives of robbery, prostitution, and sorcery, and suggests that children raised in poverty are likely to follow their parents into criminal and unsavory occupations. Vives also suggests reasons why Christians, who should be aware of their duty to be charitable, choose not to be. His views are likely to sound more familiar to contemporary students as they are closer to a modern, sociological interpretation of poverty and of charity and welfare. Students could earn credit for POV by referring to Vives as a scholar who studied poverty and saw it in a more objective and clear-sighted way than the authors of most of the other documents represented here.

Question leaders and readers thought Rembrandt's painting, *Beggar's Receiving Alms at the Door of a House*, (document 9) was open to many interpretations. This gives students great scope for POV.


Rembrandt. f. 1648.

Can we assume that beggars are homeless, wearing and carrying everything they own? Did Rembrandt paint a family with small children to evoke sympathy among viewers? Or are the beggars maybe too healthy-looking to need a handout? Did it mean anything that the homeowner opened only the top half of his door? Students who interpreted the painting in a reasonable way and suggested why Rembrandt wanted to create that impression could have earned a point for POV.

The 2002 DBQ asked students to "Identify the issues raised by the growth of Manchester and analyze various reactions to those issues over the course of the nineteenth century." Document 6, written by someone identified as a public health reformer, offers a predictable view of Manchester's problems.

Source: Edwin Chadwick, public health reformer, *Report on the Sanitary Conditions of the Laboring Population of Great Britain*, 1842.

Diseases caused or aggravated by atmospheric impurities produced by decomposing animal and vegetable substances, by damp and filth, and close and overcrowded dwellings, prevail among the laboring classes. The annual loss of life from filth and bad ventilation is greater than the loss from death or wounds in modern wars. The exposed population is less susceptible to moral influences, and the effects of education are more temporary than with a healthy population. These circumstances tend to produce an adult population short-lived, reckless, and intemperate, and with habits of sensual gratification.

Wouldn't a reformer need to emphasize the negative, those problems in need of reform? Could he be led to exaggerate them? Or on the other hand, because he is a public reformer and has studied the problems of the working poor sufficiently thoroughly to have written a report on the topic, is he an expert, someone whose information and opinions readers ought to trust?

Flora Tristan, author of document 7, is identified as a French socialist and a women's rights advocate. She might therefore be seen twice as a radical. What might that do to her perspective?

Source: Flora Tristan, French socialist and women's rights advocate, her published journal, 1842.

Unless you have visited the manufacturing towns and seen the workers of Manchester, you cannot appreciate the physical suffering and moral degradation of this class of the population. Most workers lack clothing, bed, furniture, fuel, wholesome food—even potatoes! They spend from twelve to fourteen hours each day shut up in low-ceilinged rooms where with every breath of foul air they absorb fibers of cotton, wool, or flax, or particles of cotton, lead or iron. They live suspended between an insufficiency of food and an excess of strong drink; they are all wizened, sickly, and emaciated, their bodies thin and frail, their limbs feeble, their complexions pale, their eyes dead. If you visit a factory, it is easy to see that the comfort and welfare of the workers have never entered the builder's head.

O God! Can progress be bought only at the cost of men's lives?

Her trustworthiness as a source? She was French. Could she truly understand English conditions? On the other hand, do her words mean that she visited and saw the factories, homes, people, and town of Manchester with her own eyes and therefore might be all the more reliable? Did the fact that she wrote for herself in her journal suggest that she recorded only the facts as she saw them? Or because her journal was published (shortly after it was written?), should we wonder if this is an exaggeration of the true conditions presented as socialist propaganda?

Document 8 is a chart of mortality. It appears to be entirely factual and irrefutable.

Source: *The Lancet*, British medical journal, founded and edited by Thomas Wakley, medical reformer, 1843.

Average Age at Death

	Gentry/Professional	**Farmer/Trader**	**Laborer/Artisan**
Rural Districts			
Rutland	52	41	38
Bath	55	37	25
Industrial Districts			
Leeds	44	27	19
Manchester	38	20	17

The fact that it was published in *The Lancet*, a reputable journal that some students might know is still in publication, seems to make the information all the more reliable. But again Wakley is identified as a reformer. Might he have picked among the statistics available to him to show working-class and industrial-area mortality in the worst light?

Document 9 is less ambiguous. In the face of all other information about working-class conditions it is clearly Chamber of Commerce puffery.

Source: Wheelan and Co., preface to a business directory, on Manchester's being granted a royal charter as a city, 1852.

Perhaps no part of England, not even London, presents such remarkable and attractive features as Manchester, the Workshop of the World. It is to the energetic exertions and enterprising spirit of its population that Manchester is mainly indebted to its elevation as a seat of commerce and manufacture, which it has recently attained and for which it is distinguished beyond any other town in the British Dominions or indeed the world. There is scarcely a country on the face of the habitable globe into which the fruits of its industry have not penetrated.

Students need only notice that the view is presented by a Manchester corporation in a business directory to understand why Manchester's industry is presented in such glowing terms.

Document 11 stands in stark contrast to the "remarkable and attractive features" claimed for Manchester in document 9.

VIEW FROM BLACKFRIARS BRIDGE

The billowing, black smoke, the grimy facades, and the unknown discharge into the river all suggest that the filth and ill health referred to in several other documents was horribly real. But did *The Graphic*, a "weekly magazine dealing with social issues," pick the worst possible view of the city to highlight? Or can we assume that this engraving is a photographic likeness of a typical view?

Students taking the 1999 exam were asked to "analyze how various Russians perceived the condition of the Russian peasantry and explain how they proposed to change that condition" in the period from 1861 to 1914. Most of the documents in this DBQ lend themselves to POV analysis. Three documents were written by revolutionaries, three by peasants, and five others are government reports, two of them in graphic form. Document 6, an excerpt from the memoirs of the Socialist Revolutionary firebrand, Katerina Breshkovskaia, is predictably sympathetic to the peasants.

Source: Katerina Breshkovskaia, Socialist Revolutionary Party, memoirs of her revolutionary work between 1896 and 1903, published in 1931.

The peasants intensely desired education for their children, for they realized that this was the only way in which they could escape the slavery which they themselves had endured. In the villages I sometimes met a self-educated peasant who was familiar with Darwin's scientific works. The contrast between the intellectual development of such a man and his home surroundings was startling. A hut with four walls and an earthen floor was his home. After the first awkwardness he would draw a box from underneath his workbench and show me his treasured books. Such types were, to be sure, not frequent, but there was a general craving for knowledge among the peasants.

If students happen to know who Breshkovskaia was—the "little grandmother" of the Russian Revolution—or that Socialist revolutionaries sought and expected a peasant revolution in Russia, they could authoritatively and accurately interpret the POV of this document. Knowing neither of these things, students might still infer that a revolutionary would be sympathetic to the downtrodden, as the peasants are clearly depicted to be in this document. They might also question the document as an excerpt from a memoir that was published, maybe written, approximately 30 years after the time it recalls. Could Breshkovskaia accurately recall these events? Did she, maybe, slant them in a way she would prefer to remember them or present them to readers? It is always better if a student can correctly interpret an author or document's POV, but the Readers will grant POV credit for intelligent questioning about a document's provenance that helps interpret or group a particular document.

Document 8 is a private letter written to the tsar by his minister of finance.

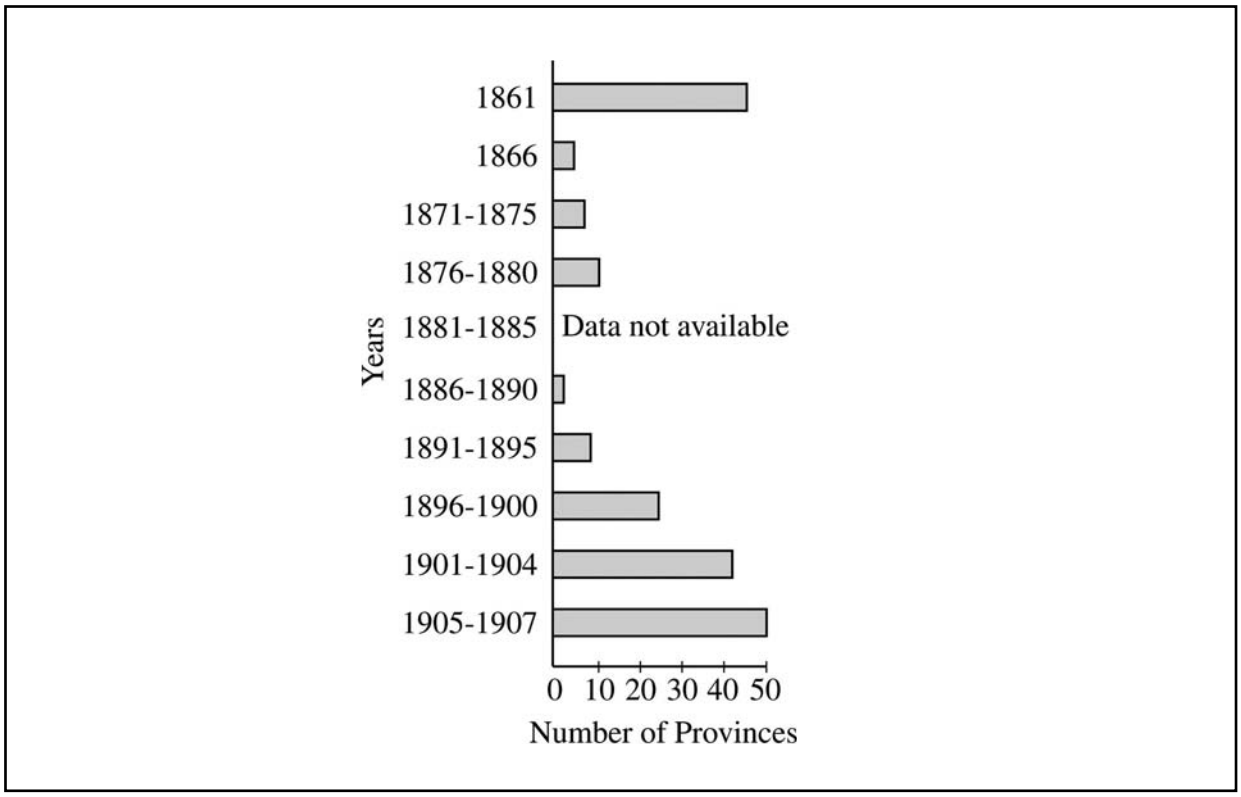
Source: Serge Witte, Minister of Finance (1892–1903), private letter to Tsar Nicholas II, 1898.

It was not enough to free the peasant from the serf owner—it is still necessary to free him from the slavery of despotism, to give him a legal system, and consequently also an understanding of legality, to educate him. But, at present the peasant is subjugated by the arbitrariness of the local police chief, the local bureaucrats, every noble landowner, and even his own village elders. Therefore, it is impossible to aid the peasant through material measures alone. First and foremost it is necessary to raise the spirit of the peasantry, to make them your free and loyal sons.

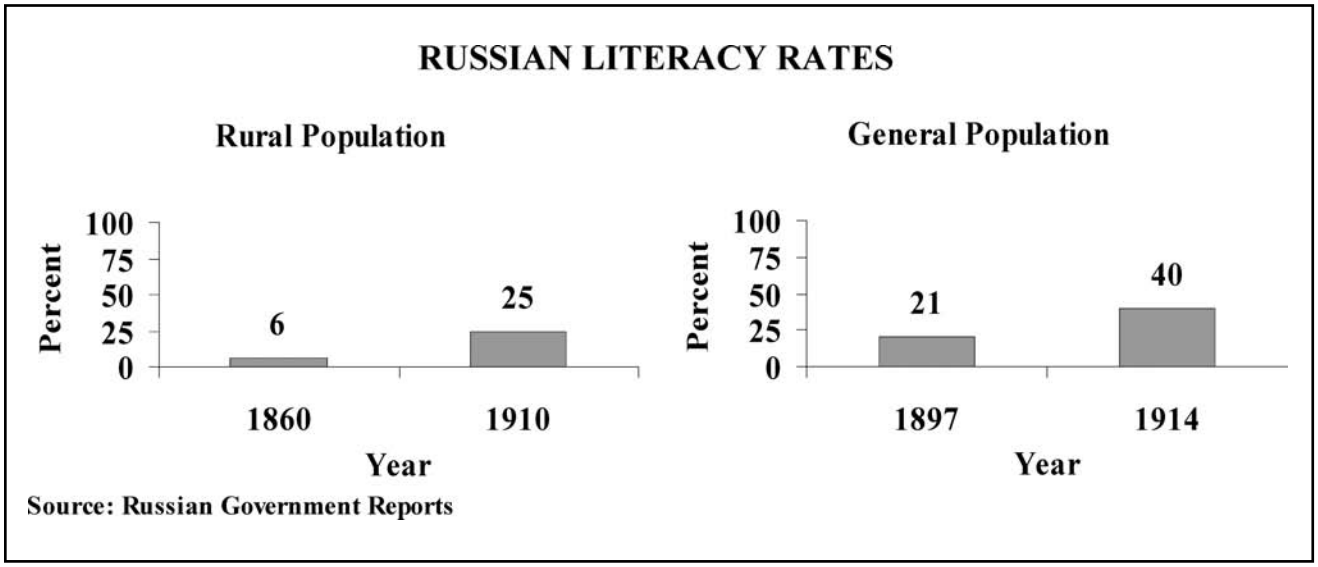
Students who suggest that a private letter, because it was not meant for public consumption, is more likely to be honest and therefore accurate, are invoking POV. They might also note that such a highly placed official ought to know what he was talking about. Either statement might be enough to earn POV credit; putting the two together would certainly nail it down.

Documents 1 and 12 are graphs of information about peasant rebellions and peasant literacy.

Document 1



Document 12



To earn POV credit students need only to say that these are statistics, presumably measured by agencies that had accurate facts available to them, and that the information was therefore trustworthy.

Documents 2, 10, and 11 were written by peasants.

Document 2

Source: Petition from peasants to Tsar Alexander II, 1863.

Some former serf owners choose the best land for themselves, and give the poor peasants the worst lands. Places characterized by sand and ravines with the smallest amount of hayland were designated as the peasant allotment. Orthodox emperor and our merciful father, order that the meadows and haylands be left to our community without any restriction; these will enable us to feed our livestock, which are necessary to our existence.

Document 10

Source: Peasant petition from Stavropol province to the Duma (the Russian parliament), signed by 41 literate peasants, with the names of 599 illiterate peasants listed, 1906.

We, the undersigned peasants, present this resolution to the Duma:

- No amnesty for political prisoners
- Under no circumstances give equal rights to the Jews, since these people seek to gain power over us
- Martial law should be retained until the country is pacified
- Land is to be allotted to the peasants who have too little or no land and forests
- Establish universal, free education

Document 11

Source: Sakhno, peasant representative to the Duma, speech, 1906.

Why can a landlord own a lot of land while all that remains to the peasant is a kingdom of heaven? When the peasants sent me here they instructed me to demand that that all state, private, and church lands be redistributed without compensation. A hungry man cannot sit quietly when he sees that in spite of all his suffering the powers are on the side of the landlords. He cannot help demanding land; his needs force him to demand it.

All three address the issue of land hunger, the peasants' perception that they possess too little land, but they do so in different ways, and document 11 also addresses other issues. Students should know that not all women, men, workers, government officials, or other categories of people will agree on any other particular issue. The peasants' unanimity on this issue might therefore stand out, and students could find POV in the peasants' actual lives; that is, the peasants pleaded for or demanded more land because in fact they didn't have enough land. The historical background to the 1999 DBQ explains that they had considerably less land per capita in 1900 than they had in 1861. The different tone of these three documents might also lead students to other sorts of POV interpretation. The peasants who petitioned the tsar in 1863 humbly appealed to their "Orthodox emperor and our merciful father" for redress of mistreatment during the emancipation process (document 2). In 1906 peasants petitioning to the Duma made an extensive series of demands (document 10). Besides offering an opportunity to talk about change over time—a good way to earn a point beyond the basic core—the tone and content of either document could be explained as arising from the very different political circumstances of 1863 and 1906, thus earning the point for POV.

The 1989 DBQ dealt with women's suffrage. Students were asked to "analyze and compare the major points of view concerning suffrage and the ways in which individual commentators believed woman suffrage would affect the political and social order." The authors of about half of the documents were women, all of whom spoke in favor of women's right to vote. Six of the seven male voices (one is a character lampooned in a political cartoon) speak against women's suffrage. Did gender influence speakers' point of view in these documents? Students need to present three points of view to earn basic core scoring point number 5. Having grouped the women authors in whatever ways chosen, they could suggest that the women who held some shared opinions did so at least in part because of their experience as women. Referring to specific inequalities or injustices would only strengthen their claim.

Count Reventlow (document 11), who spoke in 1912 against giving women the vote in Germany, referred to Germany's creation by "blood and iron" and claimed that it was "man's work."

> Women want to rule and we don't want to let them. The German Empire was created with blood and iron. That was man's work. If women helped, it was not women of the sort involved in the new women's movement, but women of the Spartan and old Germanic kind, who stood behind their men in battle and fired them on to kill as many enemies as possible (fervent applause).
>
> Count Reventlow, addressing the German League for the Prevention of the Emancipation of Women, 1912

Many students would understand the reference to blood and iron, and the date, two years before the outbreak of World War I, might also stand out to them. They could explain that Reventlow might hold the view he did in part because of Germany's rather recent unification and/or the militarism of the late prewar years. They could comment on his title and speculate on how his class background might have shaped his conservative views.

The opinion of Pope Pius XI (document 13), who wrote against women's suffrage in an encyclical on Christian marriage in 1930, could be ascribed to his gender and position as well as to traditional Christian teachings about women's subordinate position to men.

> This false liberty and unnatural equality with the husband is to the detriment of the woman herself, for if the woman descends from her regal throne, to which she has been raised within the walls of the home by means of the Gospel, she will soon be reduced to the old state of slavery and become as among the pagans, the mere instrument of man.
>
> Pope Pius XI, encyclical *On Christian Marriage in Our Day*, 1930.

Earning the basic core scoring point for POV should not be as difficult for students as it has been in past exams. If they are taught to question each document as they read it and to jot down a possible POV beside it, they should have plenty of reference. What was the author's gender, status, position, religion or age? When and where was the document written? For what audience was it written and how was it directed (privately, publicly)? How did the answers to these questions shape the content of the document?

Whose History Is It? Using Primary Documents to Teach Point of View

Attitudes Toward Bourgeois *Arrivistes* in Eighteenth-Century France: Class, Gender, and Vocation

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The late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw the emergence of the bourgeoisie and bourgeois culture across western Europe, especially in Britain, France, and the United Provinces of the Dutch Netherlands. This development was fuelled by economic growth since the late sixteenth century, owing to improved agricultural techniques, maritime trade, increased manufacturing, technological advancement, and economic stability. As warfare and foreign policy steadily became monopolies of the state, increasingly centralized kingdoms helped create the climate of economic stability. All of these factors combined to create a commercial revolution. While England was always (to use Napoleon Bonaparte's words) a "nation of shopkeepers" reliant on trade—especially maritime trade—as the foundation of the island kingdom's prosperity, the growth of the bourgeoisie in France as a distinctive social element during the early modern period was increasingly apparent to contemporary observers, if only because of the stronger social distinctions that existed in France and the prejudices that came with those distinctions.

Already there was animosity within the aristocracy between the nobility of the sword—the old families of ancient lineage who achieved their status through military service under the Crown—and the so-called "nobility of the robe" who were relative newcomers, often characterized as "pen and inkhorn gentlemen." They came generally from urban, bourgeois roots ("bourgeois" meaning "city dweller") and either purchased an office in the royal administration—usually the judiciary—that brought with it patents of nobility. This was the practice known as "venality of office." Or these servitors had been brought into the royal administration for their talent and expertise, and were subsequently ennobled for good service. Among such men were many professionals, lawyers in particular. Still others had acquired their new status through advantageous marriages with impoverished aristocrats, who thereby gained an infusion of money to restore their family's fortunes as part of the marriage bargain, or had purchased a country estate that carried with it a title. Finally, there were those who simply usurped the noble article to enjoy the privileges that came with aristocratic status, and masqueraded more or less successfully as members of the old aristocracy, a condition to which they had no legal claim.

Such *arriviste* bourgeois of late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France were therefore objects of jealousy to other ranks in society owing to their evident wealth, and objects of ridicule owing to their social pretensions. They used their money not just to live

comfortably—they were the most prominent engagers in the emerging phenomenon of conspicuous consumption during the eighteenth century—but also to imitate outwardly the aristocratic lifestyle that they could afford so much better than many impoverished old noble families. The old nobility suffered from small incomes and few means to increase their income except from the produce of the land (trade was strictly forbidden and resulted in the loss of aristocratic status). They often relied on the largesse of Crown pensions and royal favors to sustain their dignity, prestige, and way of life.

Because of their access to lucrative offices and the halls of power in the royal administration (especially the judiciary), the robe nobility was similarly despised by the sword nobility who, during the reigns of Louis XIII and Louis XIV, had seen themselves effectively excluded from high position. The French Crown's ongoing centralization efforts to break down vested interests bridled aristocratic independence. The Crown's goal was to render the Second Estate into a service nobility that was obedient to royal authority. To be sure, the aristocracy peopled the court, provided ambassadors, and produced military officers. But under Louis XIV in particular, they had been largely excluded from exercising real influence in government circles commensurate with their rank and historic role, thus adding to their bitterness toward the bourgeois ministers of state. These new statesmen were regarded, along with others of their background, as *arrivistes* and *nouveaux riches*—men who had more money than taste, more power than refinement, and more status than they deserved in a society regulated by caste, privilege, and legal inequality.

As the eighteenth century opened (and with the death of Louis XIV in 1715), there was a resurgence of the old aristocracy during the regency of Louis XV that prevailed largely to the Revolution of 1789. The nobility rebounded, reclaimed its former position in relation to the Crown, and erected ever higher social barriers to prevent bourgeois mobility into the ranks of the Second Estate. Ironically in this process, the nobility of the sword found a ready and willing ally in the nobility of the robe, who had evolved over several generations into an acceptable segment of the aristocracy that was equally determined to protect its privileged position at the apex of French society by excluding other bourgeois from achieving aristocratic status by the traditional means of venality or marriage. The sword and robe nobility thus joined ranks against the increasingly numerous, increasingly wealthy, and increasingly influential bourgeoisie. Partially for these reasons, therefore, the eighteenth century is referred to with justification as the Age of Aristocracy, as reflected in the artwork, literature and culture of the period, because the aristocracy enjoyed a resurgence that ended only with the collapse of the Old Regime in 1789.

In the meantime, the bourgeoisie had begun to evolve a separate identity of its own, an identity that grew stronger and more pronounced during the eighteenth century, especially among professional men such as lawyers and medical doctors. Excluded increasingly from access to aristocratic status, their own resentment toward their social betters increased over time, though this ill feeling did not prevent those who could afford it from continuing to imitate the aristocracy in style of dress, manners, pretensions, and manner of life. That

process of imitation persisted and grew still stronger among all levels within the bourgeoisie, including even the petty bourgeoisie composed of small shopkeepers, tradesmen, domestic servants, etc. The very wealthy bourgeois sought opportunities to "rub shoulders" with their aristocratic betters, whom they often encountered in the salons of eighteenth-century Paris. At the same time, however, larger numbers of the professionals in the bourgeoisie, who believed that they deserved to participate in the decision-making processes of the state commensurate with their wealth, talent, and increasing number, grew ever more resentful of an aristocratic social order that blocked all the customary opportunities to political engagement or social advancement. Yet many of these men wanted to participate in the decision-making process of society and the state not as nobles, but as bourgeois.

Unlike aristocratic culture, bourgeois culture was urban based and was expressed in the civic life of towns and cities, where the bourgeoisie—and especially the upper bourgeoisie—was the dominant social group. Over time that culture produced a stronger sense of identity that was distinctively "middle class" toward the end of the eighteenth century in particular. This identity helped make it possible to distinguish the bourgeoisie, if not as a separate group within French society and the old order, then certainly as a distinctive element within the ranks of the Third Estate. Partially for this reason, therefore, the period may be referred to as the Age of the Bourgeoisie just as deservedly as the Age of Aristocracy, as reflected by contemporary urban culture and civic life, theatre, novels, politics, and even artwork.

One must always remember, however, that no contemporaries anticipated the end of the Old Regime as a result of revolution in 1789; no one predicted the decline and collapse of monarchical government in France or the end of aristocratic privilege, power, and prestige. Even after the beginning of the Revolution, those involved in the National and Legislative Assemblies continued to think in terms of monarchical government, though constrained by constitutional limits. The following documents *must be read and analyzed*, therefore, from the contemporary point of view that society would remain as it always had been structured, even if some of the sources from which these excerpts come were written by their authors in later life, during the opening years of the Revolution, as they reflected back on youthful experience. What does emerge from these documents are specific points of view derived from class, gender, and generational differences, the contrasting perspectives of husbands and wives, and authorial perceptions related to the character of the particular source, whether a play, novel, memoir, or autobiography.

Document I

Jean-Baptiste Pocquelin, known as Molière, playwright, in 1670 (Molière. *The Shopkeeper Turned Gentleman [Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme]*).

Mrs. Jour: You are crazy, husband, with all your fads; and this has come upon you since you have taken it into your head to frequent the gentlefolk.

Mr. Jour: By frequenting the gentlefolk I show my judgment. It is surely better than keeping company with your citizens.

Mrs. Jour: Yes: there is much good to be got by frequenting your nobility, and you have done a noble stroke of business with that fine count with whom you are so wrapped up.

Mr. Jour: Peace. Be careful what you say. Let me tell you, wife, that you do not know of whom you are speaking when you speak of him! He is a man of more importance than you can imagine, a nobleman who is held in great honour at court, and who speaks to the king just as I speak to you. Is it not a thing which does me great honour that such a person should be seen so often in my house, should call me his dear friend, and should treat me as if I were his equal? He has more kindness for me than you could ever guess, and he treats me before the world with such affection that I am perfectly ashamed.

Mrs. Jour: Yes; he is kind to you, and flatters you, but he borrows your money of you.

Having acquired wealth though commerce, the fictional Monsieur Jourdan, a wealthy Parisian bourgeois during the reign of Louis XIV, seeks to emulate the aristocratic lifestyle in all things: attire, manners, pastimes, social connections, taste, etc. Within the play, therefore, he engages dancing, fencing, and philosophy masters (among others) to train him in these noble graces; he even hires a speech instructor to teach him how to speak in poetry like aristocrat characters in contemporary theatre, as opposed to the prose spoken by common-born characters in the same plays. All of this is superficial, however; it is mere imitation without depth, understanding, or genuine empathy. Jourdan is thus made to appear like a fool who—though a good businessman—has more money than taste or common sense, not only to his wife in the comedy (she is a woman who has a much more realistic outlook on the world and her husband's place in it than does her fictional husband), but more importantly to Molière's audience.

Both characters represent types in French society on whom Molière was able to draw when crafting his play. And he contrasted them very effectively. For while Mons. Jourdan's head is in aristocratic clouds as he seeks self-advancement, Madame Jourdan is far more practical. She knows that her husband is squandering money foolishly among the various instructors whom he has engaged, in the full knowledge that they will teach him nothing. On the contrary, these hired charlatans are all contemptuous of him, as they dip their respective hands deeply into his pockets, profiting from his silly quest to acquire a veneer of aristocratic airs and graces, none of which is intrinsic to his bourgeois character. Mme. Jourdan also perceives the real relationship between her gullible husband and the "beautiful count" referred to in the passage. For where Mons. Jourdan sees that relationship as a route to enhance his social station and prestige (he is a simple social climber who desires to improve his condition by making aristocratic contacts), Mme. Jourdan recognizes that the same relationship is really financial. Her businessman husband has money, whatever his social pretensions or lack of common sense; he also aspires to secondhand nobility by

associating with aristocrats of old family but few financial means—a relationship that the "beautiful count" willingly indulges so long as Jourdan is equally willing to open his purse to his aristocratic sponsor. Consequently, Mme. Jourdan wants her husband to abandon his expensive social "fantasies," which she regards as a form of "madness," in order to enjoy life as a bourgeois without any need to better himself. Her character thus indicates the existence in French society of an awareness of a bourgeois culture, however inchoate at the time the play was written, that was evidently apparent to Molière.

That distinctive bourgeois outlook is also hinted at in the character of Jourdan, albeit in a negative sense, for while he is flattered by the apparent consideration and recognition that the count extends to him, at the same time he is confused by the aristocrat's attention. Why would a count choose to befriend him, a mere bourgeois? Because, Mme. Jourdan sneers, of the money the count can borrow from her husband, who has deluded himself with pictures of self-advancement into aristocratic ranks—the usual goal of any bourgeois with wealth during the early modern period. He is so deluded, however, that he cannot see that he is being duped not just by the count but also by members of his own social caste, namely the various masters he has hired to teach him the aristocratic graces that he wants to acquire. Each of these instructors for hire seeks to profit from the social pretensions of their *arriviste* employer, whom they publicly flatter but privately disdain even as they take his money for their services.

The passage above thus reveals a number of themes or points of view common to the age of Louis XIV. One is the quest for social advancement. Among the various avenues for mobility of this sort, Mons. Jourdan uses his wealth to make aristocratic connections and purchase his way into nobility. A second theme is the position of bourgeois women in early modern France. In Parisian households especially, women oversaw the domestic economy, and while they too could harbor social pretensions of their own and frequently did, their pretensions were based as much on a strong desire to improve the family income and business connections where possible (a form of investment), as they were on a desire for social betterment. Consequently, while many bourgeois women tended to be more realistic in their outlook on social matters that pertained to improving the family's condition, they too sought social advancement and could be duped to that end in their own way. In this respect, Molière used the different perspectives that derive from gender very effectively in moving forward his comedy.

A third theme can be found in the title of the play itself, for it contains the very essence of the extended joke Molière fashioned. But the title as rendered into English fails to capture the essence of the humor effectively. Called in French simply *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, the title is an oxymoron. The word "bourgeois" automatically denoted to the seventeenth-century theatre-going audience an individual of common birth and background, a member of the vast Third Estate who was involved in trade or commerce of some kind, an urban dweller without any social prestige (except, of course, for what wealth commanded in city circles or the collective entitlements enjoyed under the law

owing to citizenship, guild membership, etc.), and someone who could never legitimately aspire to anything more in terms of social status or recognition, except through venality of office or marriage. "Bourgeois" could be used even more pejoratively to mean someone who lacked breeding, taste, connections and those intrinsic attributes that contemporaries associated with aristocratic blood and background. Nor could these virtues be acquired by imitation; they could be acquired only by birth. This explains Molière's joke in the title, which would have been understood instantly by anyone at the time, owing especially to the many Mons. Jourdan types who could be found throughout French society in the late seventeenth century. For "bourgeois" was considered to be absolutely antithetical to the word "*gentilhomme*," which denoted one of "gentle birth"—that is, an aristocrat by blood—who owed his status and many privileges to inheritance and ancient family lineage, and who allegedly embodied all of the attributes that the bourgeoisie might have aspired to, but could never claim as their own. For the French aristocrat, all doors were open to a life of privilege, including direct access to the king and the court, high military rank, diplomatic office, special protection under the law, preferential treatment and royal largesse. The contrast could not be greater between the two social castes, and that contrast is revealed with high humor in the play as a type of social commentary.

In short, the wide gulf that existed between the *bourgeois* and the *gentilhomme* was almost unbridgeable, and the two terms embodied worlds of meaning that would have been readily apparent to Molière's audience. Hence, the title itself represents a broad point of view reflective of social understanding in seventeeth-century France. Finally, this is a play, a form of fiction performed at the court before the Sun King, the royal family and the aristocratic courtiers by a bourgeois-born playwright who came from a humble background, but who had a keen understanding both of the social types that existed in the France of his day, as well as of the sensitivities of his aristocratic audience and royal patron. He thus knew how to poke fun, expose social folly, and yet not offend those who could ruin him.

Document 2

The duke of Saint Simon, aristocrat and courtier, in 1715 (Lewis, W. H., ed. *Memoirs of the Duc de Saint-Simon*. London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1964. 121–22.).

"As the King [Louis XIV] became weaker in health, and evidently drew near his end, I had continued interviews . . . upon the subject of the regency, the plan of government to be adopted, and the policy [the regent] should follow. . . . What I considered the most important thing to be done, was to overthrow entirely the system of government in which Cardinal Mazarin had imprisoned the King and the realm. A foreigner, risen from the dregs of the people, who thinks of nothing but his own power and his own greatness, cares nothing for the state . . . despises its laws, its genius, its advantages . . . [and thinks] only of subjugating all, of confounding all, of bringing all down to one level. . . . Mazarin succeeded so well in this policy that the nobility, by degrees, became annihilated, as we now see them. The pen and the robe people [i.e., the bourgeois ministers of state], on the other hand, were exalted; so that now things have reached such a pretty pass that the greatest lord is without power, and

in a thousand different manners is dependent upon the meanest plebian. . . . My design was to commence by introducing the nobility into the ministry, with the dignity and authority due to them, and by degrees to dismiss the pen and robe people from all employ not purely judicial. In this manner the administration of public affairs would be entirely in the hands of the aristocracy. . . . [As regent], the duke of Orleans exceedingly relished my project, which we much discussed."

The duc de Saint Simon, a member of the old French nobility of the sword, flourished during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In his memoirs, he articulated the deep anger and bitterness that many members of his social caste felt toward the upwardly mobile bourgeoisie, from whose ranks Louis XIII and subsequently Louis XIV had selected many key government officials and advisers. Both monarchs had made these personnel selections, or at least had approved the choices of their chief ministers, the Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin, who had brought into government ranks and even into royal councils men from bourgeois backgrounds noted for their expertise in specific matters. This process had also allowed both cardinal-ministers to create systems of clientage among men who could be trusted to obey official directions because their positions and continued good fortune (whether monetary or social) depended absolutely on the two cardinals and by extension their royal masters. From the beginning of his personal rule in 1661, Louis XIV had an additional motive for using bourgeois-born as opposed to aristocratic servitors of state. With memories of the Fronde revolts of the 1650s still fresh in his mind, he recognized the need to limit the old nobility's access to government power and key administrative positions, as a means of bringing this often troublesome caste more closely to heel and reducing their degree of independence by tying them more closely to his person and the court through royal service immediately under the aegis of the Crown. For during the sixteenth and early seventeeth centuries the aristocracy had defied royal authority too often by open rebellion against the monarchy, a chronic situation that both Louis XIV and his father had experienced personally. Neither Bourbon monarch ever envisaged eradicating the nobility as Saint-Simon hints; however, both kings recognized the continued importance of the caste in certain areas (i.e., diplomacy) of French government, the military and society as a whole. Rather, Louis XIII and Louis XIV sought to make the French aristocracy more obedient to their authority by rendering them into a service nobility that safeguarded the state's or the Crown's interests above their own. On the other hand, because the two kings also recognized the value of employing men from the bourgeoisie in government, administration, and the judiciary who owed everything they had to their royal employers and/or benefactors, they actively promoted social climbing among wealthy members of the bourgeoisie, with the added benefit to royal revenues, through the practice of venality of office. Indeed, the monarchy could depend not only upon socially ambitious bourgeois, men like Mons. Jourdan in Molière's play *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, to purchase offices offered for sale, but also upon aristocrats of the robe and sword alike to buy up these offices whenever possible, in the interests of excluding such "would-be gentlemen" from their ranks in order to halt what they viewed as an "inflation of honors."

Saint-Simon is also representative of the resurgence of the French aristocracy to power after the death of Louis XIV, particularly under the regency of Philippe duc d'Orléans in the minority years of the young Louis XV, who came to the throne at the age of 5 after the death of his great grandfather. In his memoirs, Saint-Simon wrote of the plans that he and the future regent had made with respect to various government reforms after the Sun King died, the most important among which was to restore aristocrats to positions of government power and eject the former ministers who came from the ranks, as Saint-Simon often sneered, of the "vile bourgeoisie." Certainly, the duke coveted, and obtained, a position in the regency government under Philippe d'Orléans, which contributed to his outlook. It should be noted, however, that nowhere in his memoirs did Saint-Simon blame the Sun King or his late father for the steady erosion—or annihilation, as he put it—of aristocratic prestige in French political life. Like Molière, he was very careful not to offend royal sensitivities. Rather, the duke blamed Richelieu, an aristocrat like himself, but much more especially Cardinal Mazarin, who was a far easier target. An Italian by birth and thus a foreigner (which suggests a degree of xenophobia in Saint-Simon's point of view), as well as a commoner, Mazarin had served as an intendant under Richelieu, who subsequently proposed him as his own successor to Louis XIII.

Saint-Simon also draws a sharp distinction between what he characterizes as the virtuous aristocratic perspective on the common good of the king and the state, in utter contrast to the bourgeois perspective—represented by Mazarin—on self-service, self-promotion, selfishness and simple greed. In addition to contrasting aristocratic altruism with bourgeois avarice, the duke points to the system of clientage created by Mazarin (though significantly not Richelieu, a fellow nobleman, who also had his clients) among his bourgeois creatures and foreign servitors, whom Saint-Simon excoriated as the dregs of society that held no regard for France's "laws, genius and advantages." He even seems to suspect Mazarin of wanting to erase all social distinctions in France, not by raising the bourgeoisie up to the level of aristocratic virtue and perspective, but by reducing the quality of all to a base, plebian level.

In effect, Saint-Simon perpetrates a slur against the bourgeoisie, whom he despised and referred to as "the pen and robe people"—a reference not just to the bourgeois ministers of Louis XIV, but tacitly also to the established "nobility of the robe," who had acquired their status through venality of office. At the same time, the duke emphasized what he saw as a clear social division between the nobility and "the meanest plebian"—a kind of class consciousness as expressed not by someone from lower in the social ranks like Molière, but from someone at the apex of early modern French society who despised the promotion of bourgeois to positions of influence and power in government, to the exclusion of his own caste from important participation the control over the direction of royal policy. It is all the more interesting, therefore, that while Saint-Simon urged that every bourgeois minister and high administrator be removed from office once Louis XIV was dead, the judiciary (which included many of the robe nobility) was to be left in place. As a result, both the law courts and the government would be within the exclusive control of the aristocracy as a whole,

including its robe and sword elements. What this reveals is the increasing, if grudging, acceptance of the robe nobility by the sword nobility, as both faced a common "enemy" during the eighteenth century—namely, an upwardly mobile bourgeoisie that continued to seek entry into aristocratic ranks.

Document 3

Pierre Carlet de Chamblain de Marivaux, Parisian novelist, in 1735 (Marivaux, Pierre Carlet de Chamblain. *Up From the Country, Infidelities and the Game of Love and Chance*. Leonard Tancock and David Cohen, trans. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1980. 30.).

"I was born in a village in Champagne, and it may be said in passing that I owed the beginning of my good fortune to the wine of my province. My father farmed for the lord of the manor, an exceedingly rich man . . . who might have been a gentleman if only he had been noble. He had made his pile in business and had contracted alliances with illustrious families through the marriages of two of his sons, one of whom had gone into the law and the other into the army. Father and sons lived on a magnificent scale; they had adopted the names of country estates. As to their real name, I don't think they remembered what it was themselves. Their origins were, so to speak, buried under immense wealth—known, but no longer mentioned. The distinguished marriages they had made had totally dazzled the imagination of other people concerning them, so that they were confused with the best people at court and in town. Human pride is basically pretty lenient over certain prejudices; it seems to realize itself how frivolous they are."

A Parisian, novelist and successful playwright, Marivaux flourished in the first half of the eighteenth century. Like Molière, he had keen insight into French society of the day, social conditions, social values, and social types, as revealed in his prose works and plays. These literary efforts consisted of romances and comedies that, like Molière's works, often exposed social customs and social foibles to public amusement. His unfinished novel, *Up From the Country*, is particularly rich in this respect. It is the fictional story of a young country bumpkin who comes from rural life in the province of Champagne to "big city" Paris, in order to seek his fortune. Written in the first person like a memoir, the protagonist's account of his social antecedents is very interesting, because it illustrates one method of social advancement into the aristocracy used by some wealthy bourgeois—a relatively common, if illegal, method that was denigrated by the old nobility (and many commoners too), and openly ridiculed in the works of such contemporary social commentators as Voltaire (e.g., the baron Thunder-ten-tronckh in *Candide*).

Near the beginning of the novel, the protagonist explains how a wealthy bourgeois who, by means of his money, advantageous marriages between his sons and local aristocrats, and

good connections with "the highest people at court and in town," had insinuated himself quietly (though illicitly) into the ranks of the nobility without anyone really noticing or offering a protest. On the contrary, a blind eye was turned toward his usurpation of aristocratic status. By adopting an aristocratic lifestyle (the family "lived on a magnificent scale") and with it the name of their country estate (in addition to the noble article "*de*"), this family of *bourgeois gentilhommes* had successfully concealed their real social origins and had been accepted into the ranks of the local aristocracy. Moreover, as time passed and they settled into life in rural Champagne, the deception became virtual reality, further blurring the family's bourgeois background to the extent that even the members of the family itself no longer remembered their original name. The passage of time, successful imitation of a noble lifestyle owed to the family's wealth, and intermarriage with genuine aristocrats thus combined to conceal the family's social origins and make it an acceptable, even respectable member of the Second Estate. So as Marivaux wrote, although the family's actual social origins were not unknown, those origins were "no longer mentioned." This suggests that while the bourgeois family had insinuated itself into aristocratic ranks, the older aristocracy was also complicit in helping to sustain the *arrivistes'* pretensions as a matter perhaps of necessity; to expose the family otherwise could have tarnished aristocratic status and privileges if it were revealed that their social biases, as well as prevailing social divisions, had been so easily breached by these bourgeois *parvenus*.

The last sentence in the excerpt is especially interesting, as it reveals the point of view of the novelist/playwright in his role as a social commentator. He juxtaposes pride and prejudice—in a manner reminiscent of Jane Austen's later novel of that title—in order to suggest how frivolous both were, and that each party in the bourgeois family's deception (i.e., itself and the local aristocracy) played its own particular part in a social comedy that was all too familiar to eighteenth-century reading audiences.

Document 4

Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours, Parisian bourgeois, in 1766 (Du Pont de Nemours, Pierre Samuel. *The Autobiography of Du Pont de Nemours.* Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, trans. & ed. Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1984. 123).

"[In my father's] view, a trade could provide the only good guarantee of peace and subsistence. He was not entirely wrong, but I had to spend fifty years and successively put my finger on all the keys of life to return to his opinion.… He feared that with my taste for reading and my already distinct leaning toward Poetry I should not wish to follow his art. He saw nothing higher than his files, than his wheel, than his shop and his appointment—which he counted on leaving to me. 'When your son has studied,' he said to my Mother, 'he will disdain all this.' Events confirmed his premonition completely. My Father did not want his children to rise above his station. He had noticed my mother's very profound desire for such promotion and the more acute this desire appeared to him, the more a natural sentiment of dignity opposed to his wife's dreams of nobility inspired in him a repugnance for everything

that would lead me to such a result. He had learned two verses that he quoted to my mother, the literary one:

> 'And let a rich merchant make his son a Counselor
> This son, in seeing him, will fear to degrade himself.'

The two verses shocked my ears . . . [and] I saw in his citation only that it was possible *for a merchant to make, if he so pleased, his son a counselor* and I found it very hard, very ridiculous, *that it did not so please* my Father."

This memoir, written during the French Revolution by a Parisian bourgeois, is very interesting for a variety of reasons related to point of view. First, though it dates from post 1789, the excerpt reveals that no one expected the outbreak of revolution earlier in the century, let alone on the eve of the meeting of the Estates General itself. The general belief was that patterns of life would continue as they always had; furthermore, distinctions in social status, and whether one could or should strive to better one's social status, remained unchanged and were expected to remain unchanged. A second interesting feature in the excerpt is the contrast in attitudes between Du Pont's father and mother. Du Pont Sr. wishes his son to follow in his footsteps by entering his trade, just as he had followed his own father in his line of work. As far as Du Pont Sr. was concerned, higher education beyond what one needed for business purposes merely encourage pretensions in people to aspire to be "better" than they were, though honest work provided both financial security and subsistence. Du Pont Sr. thus expressed sturdy bourgeois values, which he embraced to the extent that he did not want his own children to rise above his (or their) social station. Otherwise, they would disdain his trade and presumably also grow to disdain him.

What one sees in Du Pont Sr.'s thinking are two attitudes at work:1) a very traditional viewpoint that one trained and engaged in the profession or trade of one's father as solid, safe, and secure, without need for change; and 2) a notion, however inchoate in Du Pont Sr.'s perspective, of a bourgeois identity—that there was no need to "better" oneself socially, because such efforts would only undermine the work ethic that undergirded bourgeois values and engender scorn among people who (he implied) no longer labored with their hands, but aspired rather to live off society rather than contribute to its prosperity. Hence, Du Pont Sr. articulated an old ethos that still obtained in eighteenth-century France, but in a tone that also revealed how that ethos was slowly changing from the days of Mons. Jourdan in *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, as growing numbers of his social group began to view themselves as having a distinctive bourgeois culture and identity, and thus claimed validity as a separate social stratum within the Third Estate.

By contrast, Mme. Du Pont is a traditionalist in her viewpoints, insofar as she aspires (like Mons. Jourdan in Molière's play) to see her children rise in social status specifically by gaining entrance into the ranks of the aristocracy. Her outlook reflects a sense of pride or

social ambition that her son later deemed foolish in direct contrast to the "natural sentiment of [bourgeois] dignity" expressed by her husband—a bias also expressed in *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* by Mme. Jourdan. The route that Mme. Du Pont identified for the social betterment of her son is also very traditional—namely, venality of office, which is revealed by the reference to her wish that her son become a "counselor," or mid-level official in the French judiciary, that would gain him patents of nobility, coupled with specific privileges, entitlements under the law and aristocratic prestige. Mme. Du Pont thus envisaged for her son the purchase of an office that would elevate him effectively into the ranks of the robe aristocracy. But this caused an additional point of contention in the family, for where Mme. Du Pont wanted to spend her husband's hard-earned money to satisfy her son's social pretensions at the time and her own "dreams of nobility," Du Pont Sr. wanted to save that money for reinvestment in his business or for retirement, which, together with his "natural sentiment of dignity," work ethic, and set of bourgeois values, "inspired in him a repugnance" for his wife's plan.

Du Pont Jr., meanwhile, has a very introspective point of view on these issues, stemming from reflections made in later life. As a youth, he—like his mother—had aspired to moving upward socially into the ranks of the nobility via refined education (as opposed to an apprenticeship in his father's trade) and venality of office. As a mature man writing his memoirs, however, he acknowledged the acuteness of his father's concerns about how such social aspirations would change him and teach him to disdain trade, honest work, and the bourgeois values that Du Pont Sr. represented. The couplet, quoted by his father, especially warned that there could be no returning to one's more humble origins once the fatal step had been taken to climb into aristocratic ranks. Finally, it is important to note that all three Du Ponts—father, mother, and son—had one viewpoint in common, however they split otherwise along gender or generational lines. They saw the world in terms of more or less well-defined social castes, consisting of privileged aristocrats, bourgeois, the poor, etc., whatever degree of social mobility might have existed. Indeed, eighteenth-century France was a world of social distinctions, privilege and inequality as defined by custom, law, tradition, lifestyle, etc.—a set of distinctions that were largely accepted, though social attitudes were undergoing change at the same time. Mme. Du Pont and her son were traditionalists, insofar as they were dissatisfied with their bourgeois status and sought something better through customary avenues of social mobility. While such social ambitions were beyond the reach of Mme. Du Pont herself, they were not unattainable for her son, and she hoped to bask in his reflected nobility and to enjoy whatever secondhand privileges might come her way. Du Pont Sr., on the other hand, reflects both a traditional and a nontraditional outlook. While he disdained his wife's social pretensions because they violated his sense of value, work ethic, and place in the social spectrum, at the same time he embraced his bourgeois status and upheld its dignity. He thus had no need to aspire to become something more, for he saw validity in his own identity as a bourgeois.

Document 5

Jacques-Louis Ménétra, Parisian glazier-artisan, in 1779 (Ménétra, Jacques-Louis. *Journal of My Life.* Daniel Roche and Arthur Goldhammer, trans. & eds. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986. 159.).

"My father received an invitation for himself and another one for me from one of my cousins from my mother's side who was going to say his first mass at Nortre-Dame [cathedral] in the chapel of the Virgin, having been a choirboy. And he was named chaplain to Monseigneur the bishop of Lombes. Since we had enjoyed some gay times together I saw that there was more ambition than religion in him after all the nonsense we had talked about, and I knew that he had no faith in all those mysteries and that he regarded them as pure figments of man's imagination and the product of ignorance sustained by lies as articles of faith.… All my relatives watched him officiate with veneration, which bordered on adoration, but I saw the whole business in a very different light.… [Later] he explained to me that he had made this decision [to join the priesthood] more out of ambition than out of religion, and for his peace of mind, that he had had his fun and now, I told him, he was going to hear about other people's foolishness. He said to me, 'Cousin, I've chosen the wisest course; this is the way a man can live without difficulty and without the slightest worry.'"

Ménétra's reminiscences with respect to the rise of the French bourgeoisie in the eighteenth century are significant, because as an artisan (a glazier by trade) he was technically part of the "petty" bourgeoisie. As a youth, he had led a nomadic existence before settling down in later life, marrying and practicing the trade that he had learned, in accordance with custom and tradition, as an apprentice to his father. The excerpt quoted from his memoirs is also interesting because it reveals an additional route to bourgeois social climbing into a comfortable and relatively trouble-free style of life, at least, by entering the ranks of the Catholic priesthood—traditionally the First and most privilege Estate—as opposed to venality of office, marriage into an aristocratic family, or some other means.

At base, the passage also reveals an issue that formed part of the broad spectrum of the eighteenth-century experience; namely, the apparent hypocrisy, or at least the cynicism, of so many European clergy that lay at the heart of contemporary criticism of institutionalized religion, whether Catholic or non-Catholic, by Enlightenment thinkers, religious reformers, and numerous members of the general public, including aristocrats and artisans like Ménétra himself. From the evidence in the excerpt, religious faith had ceased to exercise a strong emotional hold over the author or his cousin, who cynically took holy orders, even though religion continued to command the devotion of many other members of their family who were eager to have a priest among them. This was viewed as a kind of second-class guarantee of their own salvation.

There are four major points of view expressed in the passage. First is the cynicism of Ménétra's cousin, already alluded to, who clearly did not believe but who saw the priesthood

as a means to better his social condition by escaping what he regarded as a secular life of toil and financial struggle in favor of a clerical life of comfort and leisure within the Church. Second is Ménétra's personal contempt for his cousin's choice, noting specifically that the new priest rejected the mysteries of Christianity as mere "nonsense," "figments of man's imagination," and the "product of ignorance sustained by lies as articles of faith," especially given that Ménétra's cousin, who was now chaplain to a prominent bishop, had led a loose, if not dissolute, life hitherto. Obviously, Ménétra scorned his cousin's hypocritical path to a life "without difficulty and without the slightest worry," which was also an oblique criticism of an institutional church that had ceased to address the emotional or spiritual needs of many French contemporaries. Third is the enthusiasm of other members of Ménétra's family, who regarded his cousin's ordination "with veneration, which bordered on adoration." This attitude reflected a still-persistent traditional belief in Christianity, demonstrating how strongly religious faith continued to command the devotion of large numbers of the general population, even in spite of the evident lack of piety that afflicted so many clergy of the day. Fourth is the background tension between religious faith and atheism, or rather the decline of strong religious feeling, that was a major trend of the eighteenth century, coupled with attacks on the institutional church. The latter was the focus of many Enlightenment *philosophes* and a major theme in their writings. Ménétra's reminiscences represent both a personal view, therefore (i.e., contempt for his cousin's cynicism), and a broader social view that reflected contemporary criticism not just of Christianity as a mere superstition that had held Europeans in thrall and ignorance for centuries, but also of an institutional church staffed by hypocritical priests who concerned themselves less with the spiritual well-being of their congregations than with living a privileged life as parasites on French society.

Document 6

Mme. Marie-Jeanne Phlipon Roland, Parisian bourgeoise, in 1792 (Roland, Marie-Jeanne Philipon. *The Memoirs of Madame Roland: A Heroine of the French Revolution*. Evelyn Schuckburgh, trans & ed. Mount Kisco, N.Y.: Moyer Bell Ltd., 1989. 189–90.).

"In due course Mme. Pénault invited us to dinner [at the chateau of Fontenay], but I was more than astonished to discover that it was not with her, but *below stairs* [with the servants] that we were expected to eat. . . . I took the view that Mme. Pénault should have arranged things differently or spared us altogether this double-edged courtesy. My great-aunt shared this opinion, but in order not to make trouble we accepted the invitation. I must admit that it was a new experience for me to see these second-degree deities. I had never before seen housemaids playing the lady. They had prepared themselves to receive us like veritable understudies in the theatre: dress, deportment, little airs and graces, nothing was omitted. Recent cast-offs from their mistresses' wardrobes gave their dress a richness which honest bourgeois taste would not have allowed, while their idea of fashion lent them a sort of elegance quite as alien to bourgeois modesty as to the artistic taste. . . . It was worse with the men. The sword of M. le maître d'hôtel, the lordly bearing of M. le chef, the elegant

gentility and gorgeous apparel of the valets did not redeem their awkward manners, the inadequacy of their language when they wanted to sound distinguished or the triviality of their conversation when they forgot for a moment the part they were playing. The talk was all of marquesses, counts and big financiers whose titles, fortunes and alliances you would have thought the personal concern of these upstarts. The left-overs from the first table were passed on to the second table, having been cleaned up and re-arranged so as to look like new, and there was still enough left over for the third table where the 'true domestics' ate…I realized that I was looking at a new world which reflected all the prejudices, vice and stupidity of the one I already knew and was neither more nor less worthless."

Mme. Roland's reflections, like those of Ménétra or Du Pont, expose another facet of the *arriviste* in French society of the eighteenth century, and the contempt with which so many of these social climbers were viewed. Writing her memoirs in 1792 in prison while awaiting execution at the beginning of the Reign of Terror, Mme. Roland was deeply critical of much of the way in which the Revolution was unfolding in France. Associated with the Girondist Party through her husband, a high-ranking official in the newly established republic, she was swept up with other members of her party as the radical Jacobins seized power and destroyed their former allies, who had become political enemies. Mme. Roland's memoirs, though not unique *per se*, are both fascinating and significant because they represent one of the few accounts about the period authored by an historically prominent French woman who happened also to be a member of the bourgeoisie in Paris. Her father, like Du Pont's father, was a tradesman, an engraver by profession, and it is clear from the excerpt that he reflected many of the same bourgeois values that one sees in the views expressed by Du Pont Sr.

Mme. Roland also reflected those views; however, she was much more self aware of her bourgeois identity than even her father or Du Pont Sr. Her attitude is clearly evident from the excerpt, in which Mme. Roland recalled in incident in her youth when she and her aunt were invited to lunch at the country estate of Mme. Pénault. She was the wife of a wealthy bourgeois who, according to the traditional route of upward mobility, had invested much of his money in real estate and the purchase of a rural château in order to imitate the nobility. In the passage, Mme. Pénault did not care to join her two guests for lunch; however, the suggestion was that she regarded any close association with them as beneath her newly acquired dignity despite their common social roots. Instead, to Mme. Roland's deep embarrassment at "this double-edged courtesy," she and her aunt were received not in the main house as respected, aristocratic guests would have been, but "below stairs" in the servants' quarters by their absentee hostess's domestic staff.

If many of the wealthy bourgeoisie aped the aristocracy, then what is revealed in the excerpt is how the domestic or servant class also imitated the upper bourgeoisie and nobility in their own way. Thus revealed is an element of social stratification that one rarely glimpses. In other words, while the general divisions of the social hierarchy in eighteenth-century France were still arranged in descending order according to the three major estates (the

clergy, nobility, and commons), each of these large strata of society—but especially the Third Estate—was subdivided into additional categories, thus creating an internal hierarchy of their own. Moreover, within the Third Estate, those subdivisions were often far more rigidly applied than those among the major social orders. Hence, there was often a very clear distinction made between the wealthy bourgeoisie who had the means to emulate aristocratic lifestyles as reflected by Mme. Pénault or Marivaux's fictional family from Champagne, and a second tier of bourgeois who continued to live in town and engage in trade, as represented by Mme. Roland. A third tier consisted, in part, of domestics who served "above stairs" (e.g., maître-d's, ladies' maids, valets, etc.), while a fourth tier comprised those servants who were restricted below stairs (scullery maids, cooks, etc.). The distinctions among the various tiers are clearly reflected in Mme. Roland's references to the scraps of a meal that were preserved, for example, from the first table of Mme. Pénault, and then were passed down to the second table of the "better" domestics, who in turn passed along the residue of those table leavings to the third level of servants below them.

In the excerpt, one sees two important developments. First was the way in which the domestic staff of Mme. Pénault imitated their social betters—both the aristocracy and the upper bourgeoisie—with cast-off clothing and hand-me-down language, just as wealthy bourgeois (like Mons. Jourdan and Mme. Pénault) sought to imitate the aristocracy in their own way. Second was the way in which Mme. Roland, herself a bourgeoise, expressed undisguised contempt for people who were socially beneath her not necessarily because she regarded them as her social inferiors (though that might have been part of her attitude) but because of their behavior. She characterized these domestics as "second-hand deities" who acted "like veritable understudies in the theatre"; furthermore, in language reminiscent of that used by Du Pont Sr., she derided their adoption of cast-off clothing with manners and conversation to match in a manner that was as "alien to bourgeois modesty as to the artistic taste." Her scorn is expressed not only from a woman's perspective, but also from a clearly bourgeois perspective that suggests a strong self-awareness, even pride, in her social status as a distinctive and legitimate element within French society in the late eighteenth century. For by the second half of the period, side by side with the growth in their wealth, numbers and importance, the bourgeoisie was steadily developing a set of values distinctively its own. That sense of worth, of dignity, and even of pride is implied strongly by the manner in which Mme. Roland expressed her scorn for those who adopted aristocratic airs in accordance with their social ambitions. That perspective is particularly pronounced in the last sentence of the passage, in which she criticizes the silly prejudices, vice, and stupidity of her contemporaries and fellow bourgeois. One can only imagine how she might have viewed Molière's Mons. Jourdan.

All six documents are united by the common theme of disdain toward the bourgeois *arriviste* in early modern France, though that disdain was expressed in different ways, ranging from high humor to outright scorn. Those bourgeois who sought to enter aristocratic ranks by whatever means, or at least to emulate the aristocratic style of life, were clearly objects of widespread criticism that cut across divisions of caste and class. That attitude did not

prevent those bourgeois who could afford to do so, however, from continuing to aspire to join the ranks of the nobility. This secondary theme also runs through all six documents. At the same time, both among and within these excerpts, are a wide variety of perspectives that reveal specific points of view, including the contrasting positions of husbands and wives, generational and gender differences, aristocratic (as opposed to bourgeois and even petty bourgeois) attitudes on the subject, and authorial outlooks related to the nature of the source, whether fictional or factual. The character of the works from which these excerpts come, coupled with the background of their individual authors, the time of life at which they wrote, and the audience they intended to reach, all shaped the content of their work and the character of their social commentary.

Whose History Is It? Using Primary Documents to Teach Point of View Women and Attitudes Toward Marriage in Eighteenth-Century France: Class, Gender, Age, and Vocation

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By convention in early modern European and French society, marriages among nobility and commoners alike were arranged by parents without much reference to the wishes of their children. Marriages were legal arrangements and the products sometimes of convenience that required preliminary negotiation between the fathers of both families involved, the payment of a dowry by the bride's parents, and the signing of a formal contract that solidified the expectations of both sides in the bargain, before the actual wedding ceremony took place in church. Under such conventions, the motives for marriage were very practical, including financial gain, acquisition of real estate or other property, advantageous connection (whether to unite two fortunes and estates, to enhance business prospects, or to acquire increased social status), or the birth of heirs, for in view of the contractual nature of the institution there was the expectation of mutual advantage on both sides. Marriages also were arranged between men and women who were widely divergent in age. While it was more common and socially acceptable for older men, often much older men, to marry younger women, matches between older women and younger men were not entirely unheard of, if more rare.

Marriage was thus a marketable commodity, and although marriages for love were not uncommon, love or mutual attraction between the couple to be married were absent from the marriage equation, and were thus considered to be afterthoughts of little importance when love or attraction were considered at all. Indeed, love was regarded in some ways as antithetical to marriage. If love occurred after the wedding, it was viewed as an unexpected benefit; if, however, the marriage was loveless, those who could afford to do so because of financial means or social status—both men and women—took lovers to satisfy their emotional and sexual needs. Otherwise, marriage was a formal arrangement, sanctified by religion and codified by law. This condition helps to explain why so many of the novels written during the eighteenth century focused on love matches between the protagonists or illicit love affairs outside the marriage bed. Because of the nature of the institution and the legalistic, pragmatic way in which it was handled, romance was regarded as a matter of fiction, something not necessarily found in "real life." Yet such novels also reflected a growing trend in the eighteenth century. As love became a factor in choosing a mate, young people began to demand a voice in deciding whom they would marry, and as the requirements of intimacy grew, they produced change in such things as architecture, where rooms—including bedrooms—no longer connected directly to one another but by separate corridors to ensure privacy.

The conventions of marriage could be especially constraining for women, whether of aristocratic or common birth, whose actions and property were awarded by law to their husbands' control and direction. To be sure, marriage could be a refuge from a life of poverty or loneliness, or provide a means of upward social mobility. But it was no guarantee against wedded abuse or neglect, while women in any case were made subordinate to their husband. Ironically, the lower the woman's social status, the more equality she tended to enjoy with her mate in terms of domestic arrangements, the household economy and family decision making. At the higher levels of society, by contrast, though married women lived in relative comfort and were attended by domestic staff, many aristocratic wives did not enjoy the freedom to pursue interests separate from those of their husbands; they were also subject to various constraints placed upon their personal and legal liberty by the highly structured society of manners in which they lived. Consequently, widowhood was viewed by many women—whether aristocratic, bourgeois, or peasant—as a reprieve from such constraints, and although there were many who remarried after the death of their first husband if only to safeguard their legal status, there were also many who enjoyed sufficient wealth and social position to remain single. Indeed, some women advocated vigorously against marriage altogether, for under the dictates of law, religion, custom, and tradition, when married they would lose their freedom of action and be reduced to their husband's control, a condition that not a few such advocates (some of whom were men) compared with a form of slavery in which women were victims without appeal.

Each of the following five documents offers a variety of perspectives on marriage as dictated by considerations of, and differences in, gender, generation, social status, and personal relationships. At the same time, the perspectives presented depended at least as much upon the nature of the primary source from which the excerpts derive, whether these were contemporary novels, journals, letters, or memoirs written after a lifetime of self-reflection. Consequently, the character of the source and the personality of the author are determining factors that are just as important when analyzing point of view in each excerpt, as are the accidents of gender, age, social caste or class, and vocation.

Document 1

Anne-Marie-Louis d'Orléans, duchesse de Montpensier, French princess and first cousin of King Louis XIV, 1660 (Montpensier, Anne-Marie-Louis d'Orléans, duchesse de. *Against Marriage: The Correspondence of the Grand Madmoiselle.* Joan DeJean, trans. & ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002. 43–9).

From a letter to Françoise Bertaut de Motteville, in which the duchesse de Montpensier discusses an idealized society composed only of women who would live in the countryside, devoting their lives to study and conversation:

"Perhaps you will argue that it is easier not to remarry than never to marry at all, and I will agree that that may be, but nothing will persuade me that anyone can desire to be married once they have been cured of that ambition.… Since in our [imagined] society nothing binds

and constrains us, the liberty that we would preserve for ourselves will protect us against marriage. It would be more of a check for our passions than a restricting obligation: when we are forced to do something, it becomes hateful, detestable, and we want to be free of it. This precious liberty would show us that it is enough to be able to do something not to want to do it. Our only vows and obligations would be to reason and good sense.… [By contrast,] marriage is that which has given men the upper hand; that this dependence to which custom subjects us, often against our will and because of family obligations of which we have been the victim, is what has caused us to be named the weaker sex. Let us at last deliver us from this slavery; let there be a corner in the world in which it can be said that women are their own mistresses and do not have all the faults that are attributed to them; and let us celebrate ourselves for the centuries to come through a way of life that will immortalize us."

The duchesse de Montpensier was the daughter of Gaston d'Orléans, the younger brother of Louis XIII and uncle of the future Louis XIV. As a princess of the blood royal, her potential for use as a political pawn in state affairs for such purposes as cementing alliances through royal marriage was very great. She was also the wealthiest woman in France, having inherited a huge personal fortune. Despite having suitors in her youth—among whom was the opportunistic duc de Lauzun, with whom she attempted to elope in the 1670s against the orders of her royal cousin, but was prevented by d'Artagnan of the Musketeers—the duchesse de Montpensier never married. Part of that decision was due to personal choice, but part also was due to the interference of Louis XIV, as he did not want to see her enormous wealth go to another man or foreign prince, in order to preserve it for the royal treasury at her death, which occurred in 1693.

Undoubtedly, the unique circumstance of her life and exalted position, combined perhaps with a degree of youthful rebelliousness, shaped the duchess's perspectives on marriage as expressed in this excerpt from a letter written to her friend and confidante, Mme. de Motteville. In the letter, she conceived of a female utopia without men, where women could live, read, study, and converse together in a community free from all masculine restraint, including marriage, which she viewed as a form of slavery that kept women subservient to men and took from them the liberty to develop their intellect and exercise their freedom of will. Continually in the excerpt, the duchess contrasted the institution of marriage as a form of female bondage with the unmarried state as a form of liberty. In addition to the constraints that marriage imposed by law, the duchess also noted how custom (which had the force of law in early modern times) contributed to women's dependency on men, a condition which, she scoffed, "cause[d] us to be named the weaker sex."

Consequently, not only did the duchesse de Montpensier advocate against remarriage in the case of widowhood, as she implies in the first sentence of the excerpt; she also opposed marriage in general. The tone of her words suggests that the ambition to marry was compelled by custom, and that through the application of reason and common sense any

woman would see the folly of entering into marriage once she understood how it would strip her of her identity and freedom of choice. At the same time, by scorning marriage and asserting their own free will, women could escape "all the faults that are attributed to them," and that were used as arguments for their subservience to men (e.g., women were prone to hysteria, they were overly emotional and lacked reason, etc.). Hence she proposed taking vows in her female utopia that appealed to reason and good sense, and admonished women not just to embrace but to celebrate their womanhood without reference to men. In this light, the duchesse de Montpensier evoked arguments and attitudes used a century later by early feminists.

Document 2

Pierre Carlet de Chamblain de Marivaux, Parisian novelist/playwright, in 1735 (Marivaux, Pierre Carlet de Chamblain. *Up From the Country, Infidelities and the Game of Love and Chance.* Leonard Tancock and David Cohen, trans. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1980. 105–06).

The conversation between two women characters in the story, the bourgeois Mlle. Habert and her widowed hostess Mme. d'Alain, about Mlle. Habert's forthcoming marriage to a younger man:

"'So you are inviting me to your wedding?' [asked Mme. d'Alain.] 'that's not all," said Mlle. Habert. 'We want to keep our marriage secret because of my sister, who might make a fuss.' 'Oh, why should she? Because of your age?' went on our hostess. 'Well really, that's a fine reason!.... Age has nothing to do with it except for those who are old...!' 'I am not all that old,' said Mlle. Habert with the slightly picqued air she had had all along. 'Oh, Lord bless you, no,' said the hostess, 'you are of an age to marry, now or never. After all, you love the one you love, and if it happens that your intended is young, all right, you take him young. If he's only twenty, that's not your fault any more than it's his. All the better that he should be young, my dear, and he will have youth for you both. Ten years more or less, even twenty, even thirty, that leaves another forty on top of that, and one of you doesn't offend God any more than the other. What would you like me to say? That you could be his mother? Well, the consolation for that is that he could be your son. If you had one of your own he might not be as handsome and he would already have cost you much more. Don't you take any notice of tittle-tattle, and finish telling me your story.'...'As regards age, Madame, [continued Mlle. Habert,] I am glad to tell you that I have no reason to fear gossip, and that at forty-five...' 'Forty-five!' the other cut in. 'Oh but that's nothing at all, only twenty-five years older than him. Why, bless you, I thought you were fifty at least—it's his face that took me in compared with yours. Only forty-five, my dear!...'

A Parisian novelist and successful playwright, Marivaux flourished in the first half of the eighteenth century, and his works reveal a keen insight into French society of the day. His

unfinished novel, *Up From the Country*, is particularly rich in terms of its references to, or reflection of, contemporary social conditions, values, and personality types. It is the fictional story of a youth from the country who comes to Paris to seek his fortune. In the course of his adventures, he meets, assists, and ultimately marries a bourgeois woman of comfortable means who is twice his age, to the disgust and jealousy of her older sister, with whom she had lived a life of spinsterhood hitherto. Although it was not uncommon for older women to marry younger men, or to take youthful lovers if already married, it was far more frequent and socially acceptable for older men to acquire much younger brides. That quasi-double standard is evident in the excerpt from the novel, in which Mlle. Habert, the protagonist's intended wife, and her widowed landlady, Mme. d'Alain, exchange views on the forthcoming marriage. What makes the passage still more interesting is that although the conversation takes place between two fictional female characters, the author of the novel was male. His tone suggests, however, a degree of sympathy for May–December marriages between older women and younger men, contrary to convention.

As the conversation between Habert and d'Alain unfolds, it becomes clear that while the latter claims to be supportive of her tenant's impending wedding, on the argument that she sees nothing wrong with such a match despite the age difference, Mme. d'Alain ultimately disapproves. For while disparaging the opposition to the marriage offered by Mlle. Habert's older sister, and agreeing to keep the wedding secret from that woman, as Mme. d'Alain puts forward reasons in support of the match (that the age difference is a result of circumstance, that Mlle. Habert was of an age to marry "now or never," that her intended husband at 20 years of age would have youth enough for both of them, that the couple were in love, that the difference in age was irrelevant though Mlle. Habert was old enough to be her future husband's mother, and so on), Mme. d'Alain continually returns to the age issue, all the while emphasizing (and increasing) her tenant's real age until Mlle. Habert corrects her. The last sentence, in which Mme. d'Alain expresses astonishment that her friend is only 45 when she looks 50—"it's his face that took me in comparison with yours"—is especially spiteful and reveals her basic disapproval of any marriage between an older woman and a younger man. In other words, while offering reasons in support of Mlle. Habert's wedding to the youthful protagonist, she steadily convinces herself that such a match is socially unacceptable. Consequently, women did not always share a common point of view on the issue, depending upon their adherence to social conventions, personal circumstances, or private beliefs of what constituted correct or incorrect behavior.

Document 3

Jacques-Louis Ménétra, a Parisian artisan, c. 1780 (Ménétra, Jacques-Louis. *Journal of My Life.* Daniel Roche and Arthur Goldhammer, trans. & eds. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986. 209–10.).

"Some time later a pastry maker set up shop near us; he spent a lot of money [and] knew how to sweet-talk my wife, who lent him money on condition that he marry my

daughter, which was like selling her into slavery. Her hand was requested with all the usual ceremonies. I thought she was still too young to start a home; she was barely eighteen, besides which I saw something in this [fellow's] face…; I had every reason not to approve his suit, but he had the knack of pleasing my wife. His hypocritical air…and his wicked face, about which I was not mistaken, prevented me from agreeing. The young person had no will. She was sacrificed to the monster by the greed of her mother and it was not long before [her mother] repented of her error. I told her that to marry our child, we needed money. She answered me, "Provided I find 600 *francs* cash she will make the sum of 2,400 *livres*." She accused me and confessed to me that since our daughter was born she had been putting aside 12 *sols* per day. And practically in spite of me the marriage was concluded and when I went to the notary to sign the contract, my wife used a ruse, and I led my daughter to the altar as one leads a lamb to slaughter, as the saying goes.… Not five months had gone by when [the marriage] fell apart…I did all I could and finally we rescued [my daughter] from the clutches of that ravishing wolf and kept her home with us after that monster had made her endure many cruelties."

Although Ménétra's journal is significant in its own right (there being few such documents from the pens of people who came not from the aristocracy or even the upper bourgeoisie, but rather from a petty bourgeois background) the excerpt that recalls his daughter's wedding to a prosperous pastry maker is particularly interesting for the various views of marriage that it contains. One of the most striking of these views is the close proximity between Ménétra's attitude toward bad marriages at least, and that of the duchesse de Montpensier toward marriage in general—that the institution could constitute a form of legalized slavery that held women in bondage from which release was difficult and usually only came with the death of one spouse or the other. Certainly, this was the situation into which Ménétra's daughter was delivered by the manipulations of Mme. Ménétra, albeit with his reluctant approval, and from which the young bride was rescued after five months of wedded misery.

A second perception is the contrast in points of view between husband and wife. Mme. Ménétra was willing to sacrifice her daughter's happiness and well-being to her own greed and social ambition—of which she later repented, whereas Mons. Ménétra's express concern was that at 18 years of age his daughter was too young for marriage, and, more importantly, that the pastry maker had a wicked character. In addition, there appears to be a reversal of roles here, for by tradition fathers had the final word in selecting spouses for their children from practical considerations of money, property, and social or business connections—considerations in which their children's personal happiness (as opposed to financial security, a different matter) was both an afterthought and associated more often with a mother's point of view. In the passage, it is clearly Ménétra himself who felt deep concern for his daughter's future well-being, while his wife viewed the match as an advantageous investment.

A third theme in the excerpt is the view of marriage as a contractual arrangement not just between two people but also between two families, which required the presentation of the would-be groom's suit to his prospective father-in-law, followed by preliminary negotiation of terms (hence the reference to "the usual ceremonies"), the payment of a dowry by the bride's parents, and the conclusion of a final written contract. Consequently, whether aristocratic or bourgeois, marriages were legal unions arranged by parents on behalf of their children for pragmatic or advantageous reasons of their own, in which the young couple to be wed had very little, if any voice.

A fourth and final point of view is gender driven and comes specifically from a male perspective as reflected by Ménétra's characterization of his wife's actions. His words evoke precisely those "faults that are attributed to [women]" against which the duchesse de Montpensier so earnestly protested. In the excerpt, Mme. Ménétra is described by her husband in relation to her daughter's wedding as easily duped by the good looks, sweet talk, and money of the pastry maker; she was conniving, manipulative of both her daughter and her husband, secretive (she had put money away without Ménétra's knowledge, let alone approval), greedy, superficial, stubborn, and willful. The only quality absent from this description is the hysteria so often attributed to women in accordance with contemporary gender prejudices.

Document 4

Pierre Choderlos de Laclos, French novelist, 1782 (De Laclos, Pierre Choderlos. *Les Liasons Dangereuses.* Lowell Blair, trans. Toronto: Bantam Books, 1989. 214–15.).

The fictional noblewoman, the marquise de Merteuil, to her fictional friend, Madame de Volanges, letter 104:

"What would you reply to your daughter if she said to you, 'Mother, I was young and inexperienced; I was carried away by an error that was pardonable at my age; but heaven, which had foreseen my weakness, had given me a wise mother to remedy it and protect me from it. Why, then did you forget your prudence and consent to my misfortune? Was it for me to choose a husband when I knew nothing about marriage? Even if I had wanted to, would it not have been your duty to oppose me? But I never had that foolish desire. Perfectly willing to obey you, I awaited your choice with respectful resignation; I never departed from the submission I owed to you, and yet I am now enduring the punishment that ought to befall only rebellious children. Ah, your weakness has ruined me . . . '

Perhaps her respect would stifle these complaints, but maternal love would sense them, and even though her tears were concealed from you, they would nevertheless flow upon your heart. Where would you then seek consolation? Would it be in that mad love against which you should have protected her, and by which, on the contrary, you had allowed yourself to be led astray? I do not know, my dear friend, whether I have too strong a prejudice against that passion, but I consider it dangerous, even in marriage. Not that I object to that sweet and

honorable sentiment which may arise to embellish the conjugal bond and soften, as it were, the duties it imposes; but that bond should not be formed by such a sentiment; a lifetime choice should not be made on the basis of a momentary illusion. After all, in order to choose we ought to compare, and how can we compare when we are entirely preoccupied with a single person, when we cannot know him, since we are plunged into rapture and blindness?"

Choderlos de Laclos' novel, *Les Liasons Dangereuses*, scandalized articulate French society, whose avidity to read the book made it an immediate and immense success, notwithstanding. An epistolary novel, its themes include the pleasures of sexual pursuit out of wedlock, the initiation (or corruption) of the innocent, and the degradation of the pious. The book "analyzed with caressing care the stratagems of promiscuity and the rewards of betrayal," wrote distinguished historian Peter Gay, through the schemes of two major characters who are "spectacularly villainous, . . . utterly devoid of decency and . . . single-mindedly dedicated to evil." One of these protagonists, an almost peerless seductress and manipulator of men and women in her own right, is the marquise de Merteuil, a noblewoman of high social status and wealth who, together with her collaborator, the vicomte de Valmont, plans the moral destruction through sexual conquest of a young virgin reared in a convent and a happily married, virtuous woman. Among several references to marriage in the novel (the marquise, for example, is a widow who refuses ever to remarry in order to preserve her freedom) is the excerpt selected above, in which the marquise advises a female friend against marriage for her daughter, and specifically against marriage for love. The passage thus expresses the perspective of a female character, albeit via the pen of its male author in the manner of the Marivaux excerpt. But the passage also articulates in fictional form some of the same sentiments toward marriage articulated by Ménétra toward the wedding of his daughter and his wife's shortsightedness in arranging that unhappy match.

The marquise de Merteuil counsels Mme. de Volanges with respect to three related points of view. First is that marriage should be entered into only after the prospective bride has accumulated experience of other men, as opposed to committing herself only to a single man without having had the opportunity to compare. "After all," she asks coldly, "in order to choose we ought to compare, and how can we compare when we are entirely preoccupied with a single person, when we cannot know him . . . ?" The marquise's second point, which lies at the core of her own cynicism toward wedlock, is that love is a dangerous passion "even in marriage" that plunges young women "into rapture and blindness." She admits that love may afterward arise between the married couple "to embellish the conjugal bed and soften . . . the duties its imposes." She warns, however, that a lifetime choice should never by made upon the basis "of a momentary illusion," but only after reflection and experience gained either personally or vicariously from other people. Hence the marquise makes her opening comment, which alludes to her statement later in the novel that she would never remarry—that although carried away by what could be excused as "pardonable error" in

youth, she was saved from marrying for love—clear evidence of a weak character—by her wise mother, who protected her from such an error of judgment. This leads to the marquise's third perspective, which also reflects the marriage conventions of early modern French society; namely, that parents, not children, were better qualified to select prospective spouses. For where youth is apt to err in choosing a mate according to "foolish desire" (i.e., love or mutual attraction), which she equates with a form of rebelliousness, parents are better suited to make the decision based on their life experience and practical calculations of monetary and social advantage without being blinded by passion. How could she have chosen a husband, the marquise asks, "when I knew nothing about marriage?" She further notes the parents' duty to oppose children who want to marry for love, and the children's obligation of submission to parental authority where marriage is concerned.

The excerpt also includes a number of useful comparisons with the points of view expressed by the duchesse de Montpensier (who, like the fictional marquise de Merteuil) opposed marriage because of the way it reduced women to a state of bondage that robbed them of their free will and emphasized their alleged weaknesses of character. The passage additionally presents an interesting contrast with the excerpt from Ménétra's journal, in which his wife did not behave as the wise mother evoked by the marquise de Merteuil and protect her child, but essentially forced her submissive daughter into an abusive match that quickly failed. Unlike the perspectives found in these other two works, however, the excerpt from *Les Liasons Dangereuses* underscores a growing trend in late eighteenth-century France, as young men and women sought increasingly to marry for love or mutual attraction in opposition (or rebellion, to use the marquise de Merteuil's word) to social convention, parental authority, and patterns of acceptable behavior.

Document 5

Mme. Marie-Jeanne Phlipon Roland, a Parisian bourgeoise, in 1792 (Roland, Marie-Jeanne Phlipon. *The Memoirs of Madame Roland: A Heroine of the French Revolution.* Evelyn Schuckburgh, trans & ed. Mount Kisco, N.Y.: Moyer Bell Ltd., 1989. 198–201.).

"As soon as a girl reaches adolescence, a crowd of [suitors] follows her about like bees around a newly opened flower.… They presented themselves [to me] in large numbers, and since it was not too easy to gain access to our apartment, most of them wrote to my parents. My father always showed me their letters. Quite independently of what the writer said about his state and fortune, I was influenced in the first place by the way he expressed himself. I prepared a draft for the reply, which my father copied down faithfully. I had him dismiss the suitors in a dignified manner, firmly and without offence.… In the majority of cases I had no difficulty in justifying my refusal. My father had little concern for anything but money. He had pretensions for me and would not look favorably on anyone…whose present means or future prospects did not guarantee me an easy life. He was upset when I hesitated to accept candidates who met these requirements. Differences of opinion began to develop between us on this subject and they increased as time went on.… My father realized that I could not accept anyone engaged in trades as such, and in any case his own pride would not have

allowed it. . . . 'You are aware, my dear child,' he said, 'that on principle I never thwart your inclinations . . . but what sort of future do you want?' 'I want the sort of future for which you have prepared me by teaching me to think and to study seriously. I do not know whom I shall marry, but it has to be a man with whom I can communicate and who knows what I am talking about. . . . To me, there can be no bliss in marriage without an intimate union of hearts and I would only marry a man who was like me. Besides, my husband must be worth more than me; nature and the laws have given him the primacy and I should be ashamed if he did not truly merit it. . . . I want a man whom I can love. . . . I deserve happiness and I defy the fates to deprive me of it.' 'there you are, [he replied,] up in the clouds again! It is all very fine to get up there, but not so easy to stay. Do not forget that I want grandchildren before I am too old."

Although her memoirs were composed in 1792 and are significant for her description of events in the opening years of the French Revolution up to the time of her execution with other members of the Girondist faction by the radical Jacobin party, Mme. Roland's recollections of her childhood, adolescence, and early adulthood in late eighteenth-century France give unique insight into bourgeois culture of the day. The influence of Enlightenment thought on contemporary society; the decline of the French monarchy and the growing fiscal crisis of the Crown; the enduring social structures, customs, and mores represent just a few broad facets of the age in which she lived and about which she wrote. Among the more fascinating details of her personal life are those related to a discussion with her father, an engraver by trade, about marriage that reflect differences as well as similarities in their points of view on the basis both of gender and of generation. Of particular interest are two perspectives that combined in the outlook of the future Mme. Roland. On the one hand, she was even in youth a traditionalist who accepted her father's right and authority to make the final selection of a suitor for her to marry, a selection to which she would submit as a dutiful daughter. But on the other hand, she represented a growing trend among late eighteenth-century people, especially young people, who believed that the motives of love and mutual attraction were at least as compelling as motives of money and connections in choosing an appropriate mate, and furthermore that children ought to have a voice in making the final decision about whom they would wed.

Both attitudes are evident from the opening sentences of the excerpt, in which Mme. Roland described how various suitors presented themselves first to her father in compliance with social custom, and that any reply she crafted would be delivered to the same suitors through her father's hands. Mme. Roland was also conservative enough to accept, as she wrote later in the passage, that once married her husband would have primacy over her according to the requirements "of nature and the laws." At the same time, however, she made her own expectations known about the qualities that any man would need before she would consider marriage to him. In language that appears strikingly modern, Mme. Roland insisted that her future husband be educated at her level, that he communicate well, that he be sensitive to

her needs and ideas, that he be worthy of her respect, that he have a moral character that was "worth more than" hers—in short, she wanted "a man whom [she could] love." That was the ultimate source of marital happiness in her thinking.

Her father, however, took a more traditional position on the issue. While he acknowledged that "in principle" he never thwarted his daughter's inclinations, and thus allowed her to exercise considerable influence over the selection of her future mate in tacit acknowledgement of changing trends in French society, his motives for selecting an appropriate husband for his daughter remained conservative nevertheless and reflected the ideas of an older generation. As Mme. Roland noted, her father "had little concern for anything but money." Furthermore, as a prosperous bourgeois he had social pretensions for his daughter and refused to accept proposals from any suitor who engaged in the trades like himself. Parental pride and social ambition to move upwardly in status led him to reject any potential candidate for his daughter's hand who did not meet his required qualifications. Finally, he harbored a traditional desire for grandchildren not only to bring him pleasure in old age but also to carry on the family line. Both sentiments are implied by his statements.

Yet in spite of the sharing of several points of view between Mme. Roland and her father, tensions emerged between them that derived from their different genders and generations. Mme. Roland's father was a conservative, whose views on marriage echoed those of the fictional Mme. d'Alain in Marivaux's novel, Mme. Ménétra, and the cynical marquise de Merteuil in *Les Liasons Dangereuses*. Practical motives of money, property, social mobility, connections, and to a degree age governed their common outlook. Mme. Roland's perspectives, though not entirely inconsistent with traditional values, are in some respects similar to those of the duchesse de Montpensier—who advocated for women's rights to choose for themselves—and Jacques-Louis Ménétra, whose perspectives on his own daughter's marriage had a more feminine flavor than those of his wife, which were more masculine. It is clear from her memoirs, however, that Mme. Roland was no feminist but a strong-willed and intelligent woman who was capable of asserting her voice within the social structures of her day that she accepted, including her husband's precedence in her own marriage. Hence, a final facet of the excerpt—present also in the passage from Ménétra's journal—is the powerful bond that existed between a father who respected his daughter's viewpoints, and a daughter who accepted her father's final authority. This mutual consideration, which helped to relax social customs in both cases, contrasts powerfully with the aristocratic code of conduct that dictated the marriage choices of the duchesse de Montpensier and her fictional counterpart, the marquise de Merteuil, neither of whom was permitted any voice in the arrangements made on their behalf. Hence, social status or class, as much as gender or generation, shaped attitudes toward marriage in eighteenth-century France and the freedom of individuals to exercise their freedom of choice. That theme, combined with the other points of view, is a common thread that unites all five of the documents.

Peasants in the History of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Relationships

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What was the life like for the multitudes of peasants who inhabited Europe? This question must be considered by students for them to comprehend more fully the political, social, and economic relationships that shaped the history of the continent.

Many textbooks treat the peasants collectively as a large segment of the European population that for many centuries possessed few rights and lived on the edge of starvation. While this is not necessarily incorrect, it is an incomplete analysis. It is the teacher's responsibility to introduce students to a broader view of this social class.

To gain a more complete and accurate understanding of the peasantry, students must explore the lives and grievances of European peasants, the differences between the lives of eastern and western European peasants, variations in the lives of landowning, landless, and semilandless peasants, and the changing conditions with which peasants had to contend in their daily lives.

Students often assume that the lives of all peasants were the same. In fact, many differences existed within the peasantry that students may be surprised to discover. For example, how did the lives of landowning peasants differ from the lives of landless peasants? What was life like for the class of semilandless peasants who owned a small bit of land, but not enough to support their families? Further investigation of these variations can help students more fully understand the rural population of Europe.

Many different types of resources can be used to introduce students to a balanced view of the peasantry. Written sources, artwork, and film excerpts can all provide clues to help explain the lifestyle of the European peasantry. Providing students with a wide variety of documents and artifacts allows the teacher to introduce students to a more insightful analysis of the European peasantry.

Analysis of written sources allows students to see firsthand the often onerous conditions in which the peasants had to live and the difficult situations with which they had to contend. Some written peasant sources do exist, such as "The Twelve Articles of the Peasants of Swabia" (1525), and students should be introduced to these sources. These can be especially useful when compared with nonpeasant sources.

However, because many peasants were illiterate or at least not adequately literate, limited original peasant sources exist, thus complicating the study of the peasantry. Another

useful source of information about the peasants exists in the form of artwork. Artists such as Bruegel the Elder provide students with images showing many aspects of peasant life, allowing students to appreciate often ignored characteristics of the peasantry.

While it is often not feasible to show full-length movies in an AP European History course, film excerpts can also be valuable tools for introducing students to a greater understanding of the lives of the peasants. Several films provide useful images of the peasantry.

- *The Return of Martin Guerre*: This film, set in 1560 and based on a true story, portrays the return of a peasant man, Martin Guerre, to his home in a French village. When his uncle becomes convinced that the man who returned was really an imposter, the drama intensifies. The film is one of the best portrayals of peasant life, partly because of the advice of Natalie Zemon Davis, a historian of early modern France, who aided producers with the design of the set, costumes, activities, and court scenes.
- *Winstanley*: This film set in 1649, depicts Gerrard Winstanley and the Diggers. Winstanley and his Digger community settled on common lands in Cobham, Surrey, forming a community that lasted only a year. The movie accurately depicts the Digger movement and the harsh weather and farming conditions of the mid-1600s in England.

Lesson Plan One: The German Peasants' Revolt, 1525

As part of the study of the Reformation period, this lesson plan is designed to help students consider the grievances of the German peasants and evaluate whether or not those grievances were justified. This lesson will also help students learn to work with the concept of point of view, considering not only the grievances of the peasants but also the characteristics of the peasantry that would have caused them to be discontented with their position in life.

In order to profit from this lesson, students must understand that although this peasants' war was the first major one to occur after the beginning of the Reformation, peasant revolts were common in locations all over Europe during the decades preceding this revolt, and a variety of factors often motivated their outbreak. These motivating factors included increasing taxation, burdensome obligations, and a desire for relief from the economic burdens of their class.

1. First, have *all* of the students read the introduction to the excerpts from "The Twelve Articles of the Swabian Peasants" (1525). Next, divide up the 12 articles among the students so that *each* student or *group* of students reads *one* or *two* of the articles. For each article, have the students analyze the peasant demands, looking for both the facts (what were they demanding) and the motives behind the demands (what were the reasons for the demands). When finished, the students should share the information that they found in their articles with the rest of the class. When they are done sharing, this is a good opportunity to have a large class discussion about the problems faced by the peasants and how their status affected their point of view.

Tools such as SOAPSTone (Speaker, Occasion, Audience, Purpose, Subject, Tone) and APPARTS (Author, Place and time, Prior knowledge, Audience, Reason, The main idea, Significance) can be helpful in the analysis of this or other similar documents. APPARTS is a tool found in *The AP Vertical Teams® Guide for Social Studies* (2001), pp. 15–18, which is designed to help students comprehend primary source material. SOAPSTone is a similar tool, found on pp. 3.3–3.5 of the *Advanced Placement Program® Building Success™: English and Social Studies Participant's Manual* (2003).

Having students make a chart, such as the one that follows, is often a helpful tool for teaching them to see the reasons why different groups of people hold different points of view about certain topics. This exercise will help students learn to determine the point of view of the author of a document and the reasons why that author has a particular point of view.

Depending on the level of students in your classroom, the amount of time spent on this activity might vary. It should take students 20 to 30 minutes to read the excerpts they have been assigned and complete a chart or a SOAPStone or APPARTS analysis. If the students have done a similar document analysis earlier in the past, then the document analysis could be assigned as homework. The student sharing of the various articles and the discussion of point of view should take between 30 to 45 minutes (or longer).

Article Number(s):	
Peasant Demands/Grievances	Reason(s) for Demands/Grievances
• • • • •	• • • • •
What point of view did the peasants represent and why?	

Excerpts from "The Twelve Articles of the Swabian Peasants" (1525)

The just and fundamental chief articles of all peasants and subjects of ecclesiastical and secular authorities in which they consider themselves aggrieved.

To the Christian reader, peace and the grace of God through the Christ. There are many Antichrists who have recently used the assemblies of peasants as a reason for pouring scorn on the Gospel, saying: "These are the fruits of the new Gospel: to be to no one, to rebel and rise in revolt everywhere, rally and band together with great force, to reform and overthrow ecclesiastical and secular authorities, indeed, perhaps even to slay them." The following articles are a reply to all these godless and malicious critics.

First, they will refute this calumny on the Word of God, and secondly provide a Christian justification for the disobedience, indeed, the rebellion, of all the peasants. In the first place, the Gospel is not the cause of disturbance or rebellion, since it speaks of Christ the promised Messiah, whose Word and life teach nothing but love, peace, patience, and concord, so that all who believe in this Christ become loving, peaceful, patient, and of one mind. Therefore the purpose of all the peasants' articles (as will clearly be seen) is to hear the Gospel and live according to it.…

Secondly, it follows clearly that the peasants who ask for this Gospel as their teaching and rule of life should not be called disobedient or rebellious. But if God deigns to hear the peasants (who plead anxiously to live according to his Word), who shall reproach the will of God? Who shall meddle in his judgment? Yea, who shall oppose his majesty? Did he not hear the children of Israel when they cried out to him and deliver them from the hand of Pharaoh? Shall he not also save his own today? Yea, he will save them, and speedily! Therefore, Christian reader, read the following articles with care, and then decide.

Here follow the articles.

The first article

First, it is our humble plea and request, as it is also the will and intention of all of us, that we should henceforth have the power and authority for the whole community to choose and elect its own pastor, and also to have the power to depose him should he conduct himself improperly. The same elected pastor shall preach the Holy Gospel to us purely and clearly, without any human additions to doctrines and commandments. For constant preaching of the true faith impels us to ask God for his grace that he may instill in us the same true faith and confirm it. For if his grace is not instilled in us, we remain always mere flesh and blood, which is worth nothing. As Scripture clearly says, we can only come to God through true faith, and can be saved only through his mercy. That is why we need such a guide and pastor; and thus our demand is grounded in Scripture.

The second article

Secondly, although the true tithe is ordained in the Old Testament and discharged in the New, nonetheless we will gladly pay the true grain tithe, only in just measure. Since it should be given to God and distributed to his servants, it belongs to a pastor who proclaims the Word of God clearly. We wish this tithe in future to be collected and received by our churchwarden, elected by the community. From it he will give the pastor who is elected by the entire community his adequate and sufficient sustenance for himself and his dependants, according to the judgment of the whole community. The remainder shall be distributed to the needy poor present in the same village, according to circumstances and the judgment of the community. Any further remainder should be retained against the need to provide military service in defense of the country, which should be paid for from this surplus, so that no territorial tax will be laid upon the poor man. Should it be that one or more villages have sold the tithe because of some need, whoever can prove he has purchased it with the consent of the whole village shall not suffer loss, for we will reach a proper settlement with him according to the circumstances of the case to redeem the tithe within a suitable time and in suitable installments. But whoever has not purchased the tithe from a village, but rather their forefathers have appropriated it for themselves, we will not, we should not, and we are not obliged to pay him any more, but only, as stated above, to maintain our elected pastor with the tithe, to collect what remains or distribute it, as is written in Holy Scripture, to the needy, be they clerical or lay. The small tithe we will not pay at all, for the Lord God created cattle for the free use of man, and we regard it as an improper tithe, invented by men. Therefore we will no longer pay it.

The third article

It has hitherto been the custom for the lords to treat us as their serfs, which is pitiable since Christ has redeemed and bought us all by the shedding of his precious blood, the shepherd just as the highest, no one excepted. Therefore it is demonstrated by Scripture that we are free and wish to be free. Not that we wish to be completely free and to have no authority, for God does not teach us that. We should live according to his commandments, not the free license of the flesh; but we are to love God, recognize him as our Lord in our neighbor, and do all that God commanded us at the Last Supper, as we would gladly do. Therefore we ought to live according to his commandment, which does not show and teach us not to obey authority, but rather that we should humble ourselves before everyone, not just authority, so that in this way we will gladly obey our elected and appointed rulers (whom God has ordained over us) in all reasonable and Christian matters. We have no doubt that, as true and genuine Christians, you will gladly release us from serfdom, or else show us from the Gospel that we are serfs.

The fourth article

It has hitherto been the custom that no poor man has been empowered or permitted to catch game, wildfowl, or fish in flowing water, which we consider quite improper and unbrotherly, indeed selfish and contrary to the Word of God. In some places the lords keep game in defiance of our wishes and to our great detriment, for we must suffer the dumb animals

wantonly and unnecessarily to devour our crops (which God has caused to grow for the use of man), not to mention that this is contrary to God and love of one's neighbor. For when the Lord God created man, he gave him dominion over all creatures, over the birds in the air and the fish in the water. Therefore it is our request that whoever has waters for which he has adequate documents to prove that they have been unwittingly bought by him, should not have them taken from him by force, but rather that Christian consideration be shown for the sake of brotherly love; but whoever cannot provide adequate proof, should surrender them to the community in a reasonable manner.

The fifth article

We are also aggrieved about woodcutting, for our lords have appropriated the woods to themselves alone, and when the poor man has need of timber he must buy it at twice the price. It is our opinion that all woods held by ecclesiastical or secular lords who have not bought them, should revert to the entire community. The community should be free to allow everyone in an orderly manner to take home without charge whatever he needs for firewood, and also to take timber for building free of charge, but only with the knowledge of the official elected by the community for that purpose. If there are no woods available other than those which have been properly purchased, a brotherly and Christian agreement should be reached with the owner. But if the property has first been arbitrarily expropriated and then sold, agreement should be reached according to the acts of the matter in the light of brotherly love and Holy Scripture.

The sixth article

The sixth concerns our grievous burden of labor services, which are increased from day to day in amount and variety. We request that a proper investigation be made in order that we be not so heavily burdened, but to have consideration for us with regard to how our forefathers performed services, but only according to the Word of God.

The seventh article

Seventh, in the future we will not allow a lord to oppress us further. Rather, as the lord has conferred a holding on a peasant on proper terms, so shall the latter possess it according to the agreement between lord and peasant. The lord should not force or compel him further in any way by asking for more services or other dues without recompense, so that the peasant may use and enjoy his property unburdened and in peace. But if the lord requires services, the peasant should willingly serve his lord before others, but at a time and day which is not to the disadvantage of the peasant, and for a proper wage.

The eighth article

Eighth, we are aggrieved, especially the many of us who have farms, that these cannot bear the rents, whereby the peasants lose their property and are ruined. The lords should have honorable men inspect these properties and fix a fair rent, so that the peasant does not work for nothing, for every laborer is worthy of his hire.

The ninth article

Ninth, we are aggrieved about cases of felony, where new laws are constantly being passed, for punishments are not imposed according to the facts of the case, but sometimes out of ill-will, sometimes out of partiality. In our opinion, punishment should be imposed according to the old written penalties, according to the circumstances, and not with partiality.

The tenth article

Tenth, we are aggrieved that some have appropriated meadows or arable that once belonged to the community. We wish to restore these to common ownership, unless they have been properly purchased. If they have been improperly purchased, an amicable and brotherly agreement should be reached by the parties according to the facts of the case.

The eleventh article

Eleventh, we wish to have the custom called heriot totally abolished, for we shall never tolerate or permit widows and orphans to be shamefully deprived and robbed of their property, contrary to God and to honor, as has happened in many places and in various forms, where those who should protect and guard them have instead flayed them and us; and if they had the slightest pretext they would have taken it all. God will tolerate it no longer and it should be completely abolished. Henceforth, no one should be obliged to pay anything, either small or great amounts.

Conclusion [twelfth article]

Twelfth, it is our conclusion and final opinion that if one or more of the articles presented here be not in accordance with the Word of God (which we would doubt), and such articles be demonstrated to us to be incompatible with the Word of God, then we will abandon them, when it is explained to us on the basis of Scripture. If any articles be conceded to us which are later found to be unjust, they shall be null and void from that moment, and no longer valid. Similarly, if further articles are found in Scripture to be in truth contrary to God and a burden to our neighbor, we shall reserve the right to have them included. We will exercise and apply Christian doctrine in all its aspects for which we shall pray to the Lord God, who alone (and no one else) can give it to us. The peace of Christ be with us all.

Other documents that could be substituted for "The Twelve Articles of the Swabian Peasants," 1525, include the following:

- "The Idea of Godly Law—Demands of the Klettgau Peasants" (March 25, 1525)
- "Grievances of Peasants of Thauer and Rettenberg" (May 15, 1525)

- "The Twelve Articles of the Swabian Peasants" (Feb. 27 to March 1, 1525) (Have the students read this document, even if they don't read any other peasant documents.)
- "Wendel Hipler's Agenda for the 'Peasant Parliament' in Heilbronn" (May 1525)

All of the documents listed above can be found in the following sources:

"Documents on the Peasant War, 1525." *Wired Humanities Project*. University of Oregon. 14 March 2002. http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/~history/courses/archive/fall01/Docs-PeasantWar.html.

Scott, Tom, and Bob Scribner, eds. *The German Peasants' War: A History in Documents.* Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanity Books, 1991. 251–276

Documentation for APPARTS and SOAPSTone can be found in the following publications:

The AP Vertical Teams® Guide for Social Studies. New York: The College Board, 2001. 16–41.

Building Success: Strategies to Prepare Students for College Prep and AP® Courses in English and Social Studies, Participant's Manual. New York: The College Board, 2003. 3.3–3.5.

2. Next, have *all* of the students read excerpts from the following document, again looking for both the facts presented in the document as well as the motives behind the writing of the document. Another chart, similar to the one made concerning the peasant demands, will help students analyze the reasons for Luther's condemnation of the peasants' revolt. This exercise will also allow students to practice the skill of determining point of view. The analysis of the Luther document should take students 15–20 minutes.

Title of Document:	
Main Points made by Martin Luther	Reason(s) for Main Points
•	•
•	•
•	•
•	•
•	•
What point of view did Luther hold and why?	

Excerpts from: "On the Murderous and Thieving Hordes of Peasants," Martin Luther, 1525

In my preceding pamphlet I had no occasion to condemn the peasants, because they promised to yield to law and better instruction, as Christ also demands (Matt. vii. 1). But before I can turn around, they go out and appeal to force, in spite of their promises, and rob and pillage and act like mad dogs. From this it is quite apparent what they had in their false minds, and that what they put forth under the name of the gospel in the *Twelve Articles* was all vain pretense. In short, they practice mere devil's work.… Since, therefore, those peasants and miserable wretches allow themselves to be led astray and act differently from what they declared, I likewise must write differently concerning them.…

With threefold horrible sins against God and men have these peasants loaded themselves, for which they have deserved a manifold death of body and soul.

First they have sworn to their true and gracious rulers to be submissive and obedient, in accord with God's command.… But since they have deliberately and sacrilegiously abandoned their obedience, and in addition have dared to oppose their lords, they have thereby forfeited body and soul, as perfidious, perjured, lying, disobedient wretches and scoundrels are wont to do.…

Second, they cause uproar and sacrilegiously rob and pillage monasteries and castles that do not belong to them, for which, like public highwaymen and murderers, they deserve the twofold death of body and soul. It is right and lawful to slay at the first opportunity a rebellious person, who is known as such, for he is already under God's and the emperor's ban.…Rebellion is not simply vile murder, but is like a great fire that kindles and devastates a country; it fills the land with murder and bloodshed, makes widows and orphans, and destroys everything, like the greatest calamity.…Just as one must slay a mad dog, so, if you do not fight the rebels, they will fight you, and the whole country with you.

Third, they cloak their frightful and revolting sins with the gospel, call themselves Christian brethren, swear allegiance, and compel people to join them in such abominations. Thereby they become the greatest blasphemers and violators of God's Holy name.…

This document can be found in the following sources:

Kreis, Steven. "Lectures on Modern European History: Luther Against the Peasants (1525)." 2002. *The History Guide*. 12 May 2004 http://www.historyguide.org/earlymod/peasants1525.html

Robinson, James Harvey. *Readings in European History, 2 Vols*., Boston: Ginn & Company, 1906. 2: 106–108.

3. At this point, the teacher can choose from several options.

   For option one, divide the class into two teams, one representing the peasants and the other representing Martin Luther. Ask the students to debate whether the peasants' grievances and actions were justified. In preparation for the debate and as a formative assessment, have each student prepare a list of arguments that could be used to support his/her position in the debate. Students should be able to also list evidence to support each argument. A chart can once again be helpful for this assessment. The organization of this activity and the debate itself will take one to two standard 50-minute class periods.

Position in Debate:	
Arguments that could be used to support your position in the debate	Evidence that could be used to support your main arguments for the debate
•	•
•	•
•	•
•	•
•	•

   For option two, hold a Socratic seminar asking students to discuss the following questions:

   1. What motives drove the peasants in their actions and demands?
   2. What motives drove Luther in his replies to the peasants?
   3. Were the actions and grievances of the peasants justified?
   4. To what extent did the 1525 peasant's revolt affect political, social, religious, and economic relationships in the northern states of the Holy Roman Empire?

   As a formative assessment, have the students answer the questions in writing prior to the seminar. The seminar itself should take 45 to 60 minutes.

4. This lesson can be ended with several different types of summative assessments:

   a. It could be a springboard for a class discussion of point of view and how it is seen in the various documents.

b. It could also be a springboard for a somewhat creative writing assignment concerning the peasants' revolt in which students could be asked to write either a letter to the editor or an editorial concerning the German Peasants' Revolt, taking either the point of view of a discontented peasant or a north German prince. For example, taking on the identity of one or the other, students could explain why they would have supported either Luther or the peasants and the reasons for their decision.

c. Finally, it could be ended with a more formal essay-writing assignment, using one of the following questions (or a similar question) as a prompt:

   i. To what extent were the demands of the German peasants (1525) justified?

   ii. Analyze the causes of the 1525 German Peasants' Revolt.

   iii. To what extent was Martin Luther justified in his response to the German Peasants' Revolt (1525)?

Either way, the reading and discussion of the documents and the summative assessment should clearly lead students to an understanding of the grievances of the peasants and of the impact that a person's social status has on the development of his or her ideas.

Lesson Plan Two: A Comparison of Eastern and Western Peasants

Students tend to think that the political, social, and economic status of peasants in all parts of Europe was relatively similar. While peasants in all parts of Europe lacked the social status to enjoy the privileges of the upper classes, significant differences did exist between many peasants in western Europe and their counterparts who lived in eastern Europe. This lesson is designed to help students discover some of the ways in which the lives of peasants in different regions varied.

1. Divide the class into four groups and assign each group to represent the peasants from one of the following places: Prussia, Russia, England, or France. More groups and nations can be added, depending on the size of the class, OR this assignment could be abbreviated by changing it to include only two groups, eastern and western Europe. Either way, you will need to assign the students a year or decade to research. The year 1700 works very well.
2. For class discussion, have each group of students research the following information about the peasants from their region in the assigned era. Give each student a blank chart with enough rows and columns to cover the required information for each nation, and have students record their researched information on the chart (see example below). This research could either be done at school, taking 45 to 60 minutes of class time, or it could be assigned as homework.

   a. Percent of the population that consisted of peasants

   b. Legal status of peasants

   c. Legal rights of peasants

   d. Legal obligations and taxes owed by peasants

e. Land ownership by peasants—Were peasants allowed to own land? If so, what percent of peasants owned land?

f. Daily life—What was it like for peasants?

g. Grievances of peasants

	Prussia	Russia	England	France
% Peasants				
Legal Status				
Legal Rights				
Obligations/Taxes				
Land Ownership				
Daily Life				
Grievances				

3. Next, invite each group of students to share the information about the peasants in their assigned region by adding it to a large butcher-paper version of the chart and explaining their findings to the rest of the class. Have students record the information from each region on their individual charts for future reference. This should take 15 to 20 minutes.
4. Next, hold a class discussion asking students to compare and contrast the differences in the status and conditions of the peasantry in the various regions. Students should be asked to analyze the reasons why peasants in eastern Europe had fewer rights, for the most part, than peasants in western Europe. Students should discover that despite the fact that all peasants had grievances, their grievances and the severity of the burdens that they bore varied according to region.

   Again, this is another good chance to talk about what factors influence point of view. For example, students should consider how and why the grievances of western and eastern European peasants differed. Depending on the depth of the analysis, the discussion could take anywhere from 20 to 60 minutes.
5. Finally, as a summative assessment, have students complete a writing assignment.

   a. Students could be asked to compare and contrast the political, economic, and social condition of the peasantry in eastern and western Europe in a formal essay. For this option, students could peer edit each other's essays or the teacher could grade them. Either way, essays should be graded using the AP generic FRQ ("Free-Response Question") rubric.

AP European History Generic FRQ Scoring Standard (2007)

These guidelines are intended to be generic and should be adapted to suit the particular needs of the question.

9-8

- Thesis is explicit and fully responsive to the question
- Organization is clear, consistently followed, and effective in support of the argument
- Essay is well balanced; all major topics suggested by the prompt are all covered at some length
- All major assertions in the essay are supported by multiple pieces of relevant evidence
- May contain errors that do not detract from the argument

7-6

- Thesis is explicit and responsive to the question
- Organization is clear, effective in support of the argument, but not consistently followed
- Essay is balanced; all major topics suggested by the prompt are covered at least briefly
- All major assertions in the essay are supported by at least one piece of relevant evidence
- May contain an error that detracts from the argument

5-4

- Thesis is explicit, but not fully responsive to the question
- Organization is clear, effective in support of the argument, but not consistently followed
- Essay shows some imbalance; some major topics suggested by the prompt are neglected
- Most of the major assertions in the essay are supported by least one piece of relevant evidence
- May contain a few errors that detract from the argument

3-2

- No explicit thesis or a thesis that merely repeats/paraphrases the prompt
- Organization is unclear and ineffective
- Essay shows serious imbalance, most major topics suggested by the prompt are neglected
- Only one or two major assertions are supported by relevant evidence
- May contain several errors that detract from the argument

1-0

- No discernable attempt at a thesis
- No discernable organization
- One or none of the major topics suggested by the prompt is mentioned
- Little or no supporting evidence used
- May contain numerous errors that detract from the argument

b. Instead of a formal essay, students could also be asked to do a more creative, but still historically based, piece of writing. Students could be asked to write a series of diary entries from a peasant living in a particular region of Europe, or they could be asked to imagine they were alive and present in a particular place and time observing the lives of the peasants. For example, students could write from the point of view of a nobleman observing the peasants working on his estate, or they could write from the perspective of a merchant or a peasant, as well. This exercise should help students understand that the identity of a person will determine that person's point of view concerning peasant life. Before giving this assignment, a discussion of the factors influencing point of view, such as socioeconomic status and geographical location, would be helpful to students.

Many sources may be used for this assignment, depending on the availability of research materials in your school library or classroom.

Lesson Plan Three: Analysis of Artistic Representations of the Peasantry

Art can often be used as a vehicle for the interpretation of social history, and analysis of artistic representations of the peasantry is no exception. Peasants have been depicted by many different European artists, and as with any other group of people, much can be learned about the peasants through an analysis of these works of art. This lesson is designed to introduce students to artistic representations of peasants and encourage them to draw conclusions about the lifestyle of peasants, based on the images. Examination of the artistic images will help students gain a better understanding of the lifestyle of the peasants.

Although many artists portrayed peasants in their works, and many works illustrating peasants are available, students enthusiastically enjoy examining the works of Pieter Bruegel the Elder. Bruegel's works have great value, because they provide the students with a rich array of information about the lives of the peasants. Part of the famous Brueghel family, Pieter settled in Antwerp, and his paintings often focused on peasants from Flanders. Analysis of some of these works can be enlightening to students.

Several different types of lessons can be taught using artwork depicting European peasants. The first, Plan A, involves having students examine one or two similar paintings of the peasantry. The second, Plan B, involves asking students to compare and contrast differing representations.

Plan A

1. Begin by showing students a painting depicting a peasant scene, such as Peasant *Wedding* (1568), *The Peasant Dance* (1568), both by Pieter Bruegel the Elder; *Peasants by the Hearth* by Pieter Aertsen; or *The Weeders* by Jules Breton.
2. Divide the class into four groups, with each group corresponding to one quadrant of the painting. Ask students in each group to carefully examine their quadrant, noticing all of the details in that part of the painting. This should take no more than five minutes.
3. After a few minutes, ask each group to share their findings with the rest of the class, noting any interesting details they have discovered.
4. When all of the groups have reported, hold a class discussion in which you ask the students the following questions:

   a. What are the most important details found in the picture? Why are these details important?
   b. What is the mood of the painting?
   c. What aspects of peasant life are depicted in the painting?
   d. How are the peasants depicted in the painting? Why do you think the artist chose to portray the peasants in this manner? (This question can provide an opportunity to discuss ways that point of view may be reflected in visual documents).
   e. What can you conclude about the peasantry from this painting?
   f. What can you conclude about society in general from this painting?

   This discussion should take about 15 to 20 minutes.

5. After the analysis and discussion of one painting in a large-group setting, as a formative assessment, have the students individually examine another painting, asking the same questions. For homework, or during class, students should examine the painting and then answer the questions in writing. Following their individual analysis, students can once again be asked to discuss the questions either in small-groups or in a large-group setting. As a summative assessment, you can add another painting on your unit test and ask students to answer similar questions about the new painting.

Plan B

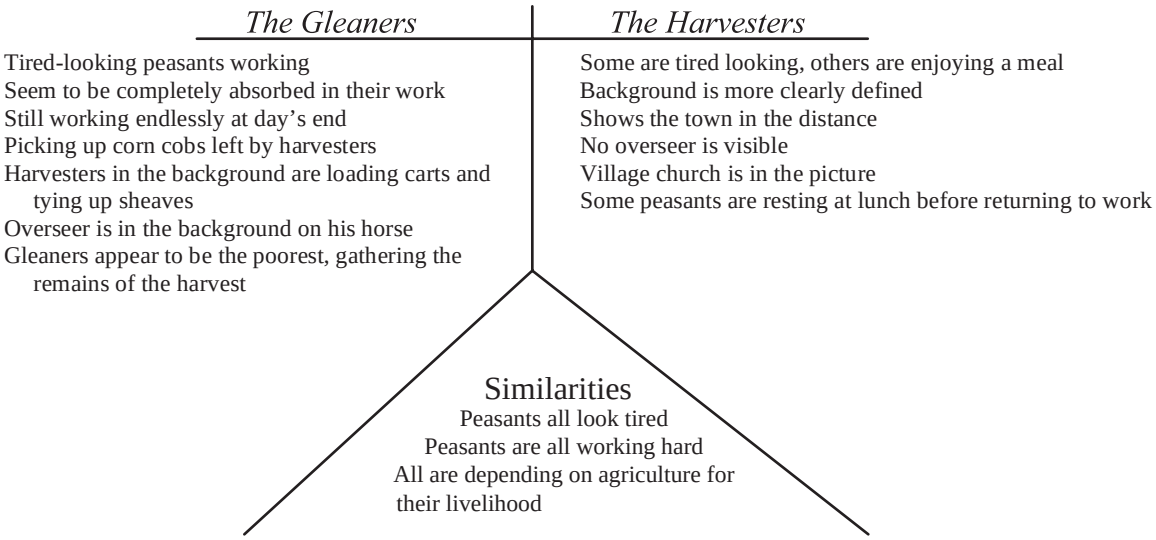
1. Choose two or three paintings which portray the peasantry differently and present these to the students. For example, *The Gleaners* by Jean Francois Millet could be contrasted with Pieter Bruegel's *The Harvesters*, or *Boy with a Basket* by Giacomo Ceruti could be contrasted with *A Peasant Girl Knitting* by Jules Breton.

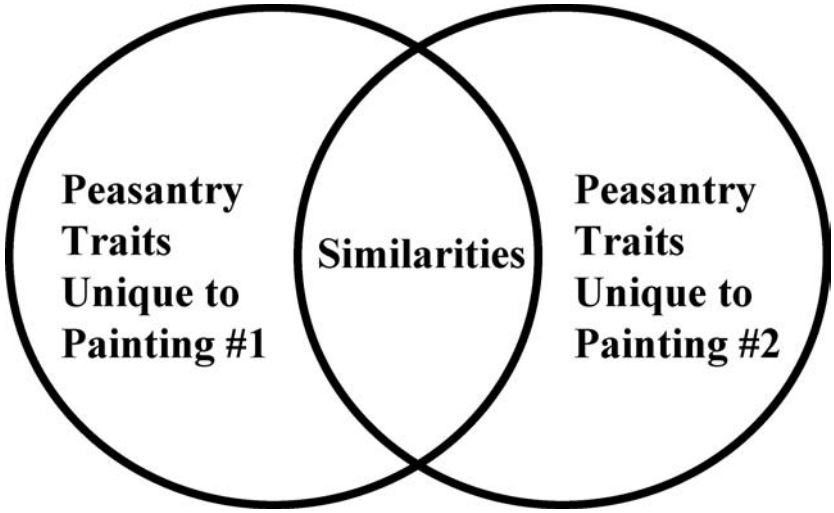
2. While carefully examining both paintings, have the students brainstorm a list of all of the details that they notice about the way in which the peasants are portrayed in each of the paintings. This can be done either individually or in groups and should take about 10 minutes.

The Gleaners, Jean Francois Millet, 1857

The Harvesters, Pieter Bruegel the Elder, 1565

3. Next, have the students prepare a Venn diagram or a modified T-chart that summarizes the major similarities and differences that the students discover concerning the state of the peasantry in the two paintings. This could be done either individually or in small-groups and should take about 10 minutes (see example below).





4. Finally, have a class discussion that centers around the following questions:
   a. What similarities exist between the two illustrations of the peasantry? Why do these similarities exist? What do these similarities tell you about the European peasantry?
   b. How and why do the two portrayals of the peasantry differ? What do the differences in the paintings tell you about the European peasantry?
   c. What is the point of view of the two painters? How do you know?
   d. When and where were the two paintings produced? Does this affect the portrayal of the peasants?

e. What can you conclude about the peasantry from these paintings?

f. What can you conclude about society in general from these paintings?

This discussion could take 15 to 20 minutes.

5. As a summative assessment, students could be asked to write a paragraph completing some or all of the questions found above for different works of art.

The following is a list of possible resources for lesson plan three

"Giacomo Ceruti." Art Renewal Center. 2000–2004 www.artrenewal.org/asp/database/art.asp?aid=4174.

Lacouture, Annette Bourrut. *Jules Breton: Painter of Peasant Life*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2003.

Murphy, Alexandra R., Richard Rand, Brian Allen, and James A. Ganz. *Drawn into the Light: Jean Francois Millet*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999.

Orenstein, Nadine M., ed. *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Prints and Drawings*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001.

Pioch, Nicholas. "Aertsen, Pieter: *Peasants by the Hearth*." Web Museum, Paris. 14 Oct. 2002 www.ibiblio.org/wm/paint/auth/aertsen/peasants-hearth/.

Pioch, Nicolas. "Bruegel, Pieter the Elder." Web Museum, Paris. 16 Aug. 2002 www.ibiblio.org/wm/paint/auth/bruegel/.

Pioch, Nicholas. "Millet, Jean Francois." Web Museum, Paris. 19 Aug. 2002 www.ibiblio.org/wm/paint/auth/millet/.

Rucker, Rudy. *As Above, So Below: A Novel of Peter Bruegel*. New York: Forge Books, 2002.

Wisse, Jacob. "Timeline of Art History: Pieter Bruegel the Elder." Metropolitan Museum of Art. October 2002 www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/brue/hd_brue.htm.

"Works of Art, European Paintings: *A Peasant Girl Knitting*." Metropolitan Museum of Art. 2000–2006 www.metmuseum.org/Works_of_Art/viewOne.asp?dep=11&viewMode=1&item=87%2E15%2E21.

Querelle des Femmes: "The Debate over Women"

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Background: Beginning in the 15th and sixteenth centuries the issue regarding the appropriate role for women in European society became hotly debated among European elites. This *querelle des femmes* ("debate over women") involved issues such as legal rights, power, education, faith, and family. The "debate" continued well into the twentieth century.

Activity Summary: Students analyze documents as they relate to the perceived "proper" role for women in 15th through seventeenth century European society. Working in small-groups, students create short summaries for the class. Students later analyze point of view and reliability in documents in a seminar setting. Next, in small-groups, students analyze document groupings and demonstrate their groupings to the class in a kinesthetic activity. Finally, students write a full-length DBQ essay.

Note: In order to provide students with more detail regarding views on women, the length of the documents in this activity is significantly longer than documents found on an actual AP Exam. Teachers who wish to simulate an actual DBQ can shorten the documents at their discretion.

Length of Activity: three days

When to Use Activity: Early in the year after studying the Renaissance and Reformation *or* anytime thereafter when initially training students on how to write a DBQ.

Objectives:

- Students will demonstrate knowledge of the meaning, or point of view (POV) of the documents regarding the *querelle des femmes*.
- Students will demonstrate analysis of bias and reliability in the documents.
- Students will demonstrate appropriate grouping of documents.
- Students will incorporate the above-mentioned skills into a full-length DBQ essay.

Materials: Documents 1–12, "DBQ Analysis Sheet" (one per student), butcher paper, tape, blank 8.5 × 11 paper, markers, official DBQ rubric

Number of Students: 11 to 33

Directions

Day 1: Jigsaw Activity—POV, Reliability, and Bias analysis

1. Divide class into 11 small-groups of 2 to 4 students.

2. Assign each group one document, a piece of butcher paper, markers, and tape. (Optional: the teacher may want to provide stapled packets of *all* twelve documents to each group as well).
3. Students will write a short bulleted summary (three to five points) onto a piece of butcher paper and then post up their summary for the class to see.
   - Suggestion: Make all students responsible for learning the information by using the group-work strategy "**Numbered Heads"** whereby the teacher will randomly pick someone from each group to make his or her group's presentation to the class. This will serve as a formative assessment.
4. Pass one "DBQ Analysis Sheet" to each student (or place a copy of the "DBQ Analysis Sheet" on an overhead transparency and instruct students to use this format when writing on their own sheets of notebook paper).
5. Each group will give a one- to two-minute presentation, followed by a two to three minute class discussion.
   - As each group gives its presentation, the rest of the class writes the information onto their "DBQ Analysis Sheet."
   - After the one to two minute student presentation the teacher asks the following questions of the group (or opens up questions to the class):
     - "Does the writer's situation or position in society have any bearing on why he/she might be expressing this view?"
     - "What does he/she have to gain by saying "X""
     - "What was the intended audience for this document?"
     - "How reliable is this document?"
     - Note: Some teachers may prefer to focus on SOAPSTone (Speaker, Occasion, Audience, Purpose, Subject, Tone), pp. 3.3–3.5, *Advanced Placement Program Building Success: English and Social Studies Participant Manual*.
6. Closure (5 minutes): summarize analysis of bias and reliability, and explain why it is critical for an effective DBQ essay.

Day 2: Grouping of Documents Activity

Objective: Students will analyze documents and group them into appropriate categories.

1. Butcher-paper summaries from the previous day are on the walls.
2. Use the same student groups as the day before, but assign a different document to each group (for example, Group 1 now gets Document 2, Group 2 gets Document 3, etc.).
3. Provide five blank sheets of 8½ × 11 paper and one marker for each group.
4. Instruct students to take out their "DBQ Activity Sheets" from yesterday.
5. Discuss grouping of documents with students. (10 minutes)
   - Explain to students that DBQs allow for a variety of possible groupings.
   - Questions to students might include:

- "What groupings can we identify that might be appropriate for these documents?"
- "Are there any plausible groupings based on occupation?" (Answers might include "humanist writers," "political leaders," "religious leaders," etc.)
- "Are there any plausible groupings based on POV?" (Answers might include "education," "religious views," "moral superiority of women," "weaknesses of women," etc.)
- "Are there categories that might be too broad or bogus?" (Answers might include "male views," "Italian views," "non-Italian views," etc.)

6. On a sheet of notebook paper, instruct each group of students to use all 12 documents in creating 3 to 5 categories. (5 to 10 minutes)
7. Instruct each group to *boldly* write the name of their document's author onto a blank sheet of paper. This will serve as the group's identification placard during the activity.

The next four steps will take most of the remaining class time and will serve as a formative assessment of grouping skills. Be sure to leave 5 to 10 minutes for closure.

8. Using "Numbered Heads" select one student from a group to choose a category, write the category name boldly on a blank sheet of paper, and come to the front of the class holding up the sheets of both their author and category.
   - Ask the student why he/she chose that category in which to place the author/document.
   - Ask the student to remain standing in front of the class.
9. Select a student from another group and ask him/her to either 1) create a new category for their author and stand in a separate location in front of the class or 2) join the category that is already in front of the class. That student must explain how their author/document fits the new category, or how their author/document has something in common with the existing category.
10. Repeat this process until all 12 groups are represented in front of the class. (No more than 6 groupings are possible for this exercise, but a minimum of 3 groups must be created.)
11. If time permits, you can repeat steps 8-10 again and require that each group find a different category to either create or join.
12. Closure: Review analysis grouping.
13. Summative Assessment: DBQ Essay (for homework):

Question: "**Analyze various views regarding the role of women in European society between 1400 and 1660."**

- The teacher may choose to limit students to their "DBQ Activity Sheets" as their main source of information as the documents are longer than documents on the actual AP Exam. Otherwise, each student will need to be supplied with a packet containing all 12 documents.

- The teacher will decide whether or not to stake students to a one-hour time limit when writing the DBQ at home.

Day 3: **Peer Grading of Essays**

Objective: Students will grade essays of their classmates in class using the generic AP European History DBQ Rubric.

- The rubric is located in the Course Description in European History: http://apcentral.collegeboard.com/apc/public/repository/05831apcoursdesceuroh_4318.pdf

1. Provide three to five copies of the DBQ Rubric for each student to use while grading peer essays.
2. Explain the rubric to students (10 to 15 minutes).
3. The teacher will act as a facilitator, directing the flow of essays and rubrics.
4. Students will trade essays with their peers. After each essay is graded, the reader should staple the rubric to the back of the essay, and pass it to the teacher so that a new reader can be found.
5. Students should try to read 3 to 5 essays during class time.
6. Debrief the process during the last 5 to 10 minutes of the class period.

DBQ ANALYSIS ACTIVITY SHEET

Question: "Analyze various views regarding the role of women in European society between 1400 and 1660."

Background: Beginning in the 15th century the issue regarding the appropriate role for women in European society became a hotly debated issue among European elites. This *querelle des femmes (*"debate regarding women") continued for centuries.

Document	Analysis	Grouping
(1) Christine de Pisan, Professional writer, *City of the Ladies*, 1405	POV: Bias: Reliability:	
(2) Leon Battista Alberti: Italian humanist writer and Renaissance artist, *On the Family,* c. 1432	POV: Bias: Reliability:	
(3) Laura Cereta: *Defense of the Liberal Instruction of Women*, letter, 1488	POV: Bias: Reliability:	
(4) Baldassare Castiglione: humanist scholar and diplomat, *The Courtier*, book, (1508–1516)	POV: Bias: Reliability:	
(5) Martin Luther: Protestant theologian, *The Estate of Marriage,* sermon, 1522	POV: Bias: Reliability:	

Document	Analysis	Grouping
(6) John Calvin, *Protestant theologian and political leader in Geneva,* sermon on the *Epistle of Saint Paul, to Titus*, c. 1539	POV: Bias: Reliability	
(7) John Knox, Presbyterian leader in Scotland, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, book, 1558	POV: Bias: Reliability:	
(8) Teresa of Avila, Spanish saint and founder of women's reformed order of the Carmelites, *The Way of Perfection,* c. 1566	POV: Bias: Reliability:	
(9) Queen Elizabeth I: speech to the troops before the battle with the Spanish Armada, 1588	POV: Bias: Reliability:	
(10) Arcangela Tarabotti: nun living in a Catholic convent, *Innocence Undone,* 1654	POV: Bias: Reliability:	
(11) Raphael, *Sistine Madonna,* 1512–1514	POV: Bias:	
(12) Artemisia Gentileschi, *Judith Beheading Holofernes,* 1612–1621	POV: Bias:	

Document 1

Source: Christine de Pisan, professional writer, *City of the Ladies,* 1405

Christine de Pisan (1363?–1431?) has been called Western society's first feminist. She was a professional writer in an era where such an occupation for women was rare. In the following excerpt from her book, she has a dialogue with an allegorical figure—Lady Reason.

"…But please enlighten me again, whether it has ever pleased this God, who has bestowed so many favors on women, to honor the feminine sex with the privilege of the virtue of high understanding and great learning, and whether women ever have a clever enough mind for this. I wish very much to know this because men maintain that the mind of women can learn only a little."

She [Lady Reason] answered, "My daughter, since I told you before, you know quite well that the opposite of their opinion is true and to show you this even more clearly, I will give you proof through examples. I tell you again—and don't doubt the contrary—if it were customary to send daughters to school like sons, and if they were then taught the natural sciences, they would learn as thoroughly and understand the subtleties of all the arts and sciences as well as sons. And by chance there happen to be such women, for, as I touched on before, just as women have more delicate bodies than men, weaker and less able to perform many tasks, so do they have minds that are freer and sharper whenever they apply themselves… [They only seem to know less than men] because they are not involved in many different things, but stay at home, where it is enough for them to run the household, and there is nothing which so instructs a reasonable creature as the exercise and experience of many different things."

Document 2

Source: Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472), Italian humanist writer and Renaissance artist, *On the Family,* c. 1432

They say that in choosing a wife one looks for beauty, parentage, and riches…. Among the most essential criteria of beauty in a woman is an honorable manner. Even a wild, prodigal, greasy, drunken woman may be beautiful of feature, but no one would call her a beautiful wife. A woman worthy of praise must show first of all in her conduct, modesty, and purity… There is nothing more disgusting than a coarse and dirty woman. How can it be anything but obvious that a bad-mannered woman is also rarely virtuous? We shall consider elsewhere the harm that comes to a family from women who lack virtue, for I myself do not know which is the worse fate for a family, total celibacy or a single dishonored woman. In a bride, therefore, a man must first seek beauty of mind, that is, good conduct and virtue.

In her body he must seek not only loveliness, grace, and charm but must also choose a woman who is well made for bearing children, with the kind of constitution that promises to make them strong and big. There's an old proverb, "When you pick your wife, you choose your children."

Document 3

Laura Cereta (1469–1499): *Defense of the Liberal Instruction of Women,* letter, 1488

Widowed and childless as a teenager, Laura Cereta turned toward scholarly pursuits where she became recognized as a leading intellectual in the late 1480s. Her desire to publish was severely criticized by male and female contemporaries and her only published writings are a volume of letters, first published in 1488.

…. I cannot tolerate your having attacked my entire sex. For this reason my thirsty soul seeks revenge, my sleeping pen is aroused to literary struggle, raging anger stirs mental passions long chained by silence. With just cause I am moved to demonstrate how great a reputation for learning and virtue women have won by their inborn excellence, manifested in every age as knowledge.…

Only the question of the rarity of outstanding women remains to be addressed. The explanation is clear: women have been able by nature to be exceptional, but have chosen lesser goals. For some women are concerned with parting their hair correctly, adorning themselves with lovely dresses, or decorating their fingers with pearls and other gems. Others delight in mouthing carefully composed phrases, indulging in dancing, or managing spoiled puppies. Still others wish to gaze at lavish banquet tables, to rest in sleep, or, standing at mirrors, to smear their lovely faces. But those in whom a deeper integrity yearns for virtue, restrain from the start their youthful souls, reflect on higher things, harden the body with sobriety and trials, and curb their tongues, open their ears, compose their thoughts in wakeful hours, their minds in contemplation, to letters bonded to righteousness. For knowledge is not given as a gift, but [is gained] with diligence. The free mind, not shirking effort, always soars zealously toward the good, and the desire to know grows ever more wide and deep. It is because of special holiness, therefore, that we [women] are rewarded by God the Giver with the gift of exceptional talent.… The will must choose to exercise the gift of reason.…

I have been praised too much; showing your contempt for women, you pretend that I alone am admirable because of the good fortune of my intellect.

Document 4

Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529), humanist scholar and diplomat, *The Courtier, book* (1508–1516)

A diplomat by profession, Castiglione wrote The Courtier, *which is seen as the quintessential work on the attributes of a "Renaissance Man" and cultivated behavior among the elite. The book is largely based on his experiences in the court of the Duke of Urbino.*

I think that in her ways, manners, words, gestures, and bearing, a woman ought to be very unlike a man; for just as he must show a certain solid and sturdy manliness, so it is seemly for a woman to have a soft and delicate tenderness, with an air of womanly sweetness in her every movement…

[Again]…many virtues of the mind are as necessary to a woman as to a man; also, gentle birth; to avoid affectation, to be naturally graceful in all her actions, to be mannerly, clever, prudent, not arrogant, not envious, not slanderous, not vain, not contentious, not inept, to know how to gain and hold the favor of her mistress [queen or presiding lady at court] and of all others, to perform well and gracefully the exercises that are suitable for women. And I do think that beauty is more necessary to her than to the Courtier, for truly that woman lacks much who lacks beauty.… I say that, in my opinion, in a Lady who lives at court a certain pleasing affability is becoming above all else, whereby she will be able to entertain graciously every kind of man with agreeable and comely conversation suited to the time and place and to the station of the person with whom she speaks, joining to serene and modest manners, and to that comeliness that ought to inform all her actions, a quick vivacity of spirit whereby she will show herself a stranger to all boorishness; but with such a kind manner as to cause her to be thought no less chaste, prudent, and gentle than she is agreeable, witty, and discreet: thus, she must observe a certain mean (difficult to achieve and, as it were, composed of contraries) and must strictly observe certain limits and not exceed them.

… And to repeat briefly a part of what has already been said. I wish this Lady to have knowledge of letters, of music, of painting, and know how to dance and how to be festive, adding a discreet modesty and the giving of a good impression of herself to those other things that have been required of the Courtier. And so, in her talk, her laughter, her play, her jesting, in short in everything, she will be most graceful and will converse appropriately with every person in whose company she may happen to be, using witticisms and pleasantries that are becoming to her.

Document 5

Martin Luther: Protestant theologian, *The Estate of Marriage,* sermon, 1522

Martin Luther rejected the practice of celibacy among the Catholic clergy when formulating his Lutheran doctrines. His marriage to Katharina von Bora is seen as an example of a Lutheran pastor who was free to marry and have children.

I once wrote down some advice concerning such persons for those who hear confession. It related to those cases where a husband or wife comes and wants to learn what he should do: his spouse is unable to fulfill the conjugal duty [get pregnant], yet he cannot get along without it because he finds that God's ordinance to multiply is still in force within him…

If a woman who is fit for marriage has a husband who is not, and she is unable openly to take unto herself another and unwilling, too, to do anything dishonorable since the pope in such a case demands without cause abundant testimony and evidence, she should say to her husband, "Look, my dear husband, you are unable to fulfill your conjugal duty toward me; you have cheated me out of my maidenhood and even imperiled my honor and my soul's salvation; in the sight of God there is no real marriage between us. Grant me the privilege of contracting a secret marriage with your brother or closest relative, and you retain the title of husband so that your property will not fall to strangers. Consent to being betrayed voluntarily by me, as you have betrayed me without my consent."

I stated further that the husband is obligated to consent to such an arrangement and thus to provide for her the conjugal duty and children, and that if he refuses to do so she should secretly flee from him to some other country and there contract a marriage. I gave this advice at a time when I was still timid. However, I should like now to give sounder advice in the matter, and take a firmer grip on the fool of a man who thus makes a fool of his wife. The same principle would apply if the circumstances were reversed, although this happens less frequently in the case of wives than of husbands. It will not do to lead one's fellow-man around by the nose so wantonly in matters of such great import involving his body, goods, honor, and salvation. He has to be told to make it right.

Document 6

Source: John Calvin (1509–1564), Protestant theologian and political leader in Geneva, Switzerland, sermon on the *Epistle of Saint Paul, to Titus,* c. 1539

…Now Saint Paul goes still forward with the virtues that ought to be in women already stricken in years: that is to wit, *That they should love their husbands & their children, that they should stay at home: & that they should be quiet with their husbands.*

Wherefore let us mark well, that Saint Paul will have women, not only to be chaste in keeping their faith and loyalty which they have plighted to their husbands: but also to maintain themselves in soberness, and to live so honestly, that they may show in all points of their life, and in all their words and countenances, that they be chaste and modest. Were it so, we should have great cause to praise God.

If a woman be stubborn, & have a frantic head: how may her husband deal with her? So then if a woman intend to submit herself to the order which nature shows her that she ought to keep, and which God commands, she must first of all come to so much reason, as to subdue her own wicked lusts that they bring her not a hard heart to be willful and stubborn against God's ordinance. [St. Paul] had spoken of the love that the women should bear to their husbands: and he adds their subjection also. For although women cannot love their husbands without yielding reverence unto them: yet is there somewhat more: that is, that they must not be over wise, to desire to rule their husbands, but consider that their husbands are appointed to be their heads, and that they themselves must not bear rule…

And again, for as much as God hath so honored the husbands: it is a double unkindness in them, if they cannot find in their hearts to behave themselves gently toward their wives, so that they bear with them as with the weaker vessels, as Saint Peter said that they may be linked together in such an holy friendship…: insomuch that Saint Paul shows that if husbands abide not in good agreement with their wives, they dishonor Christ.

Document 7

Source: John Knox, Presbyterian leader in Scotland, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, book, 1558

John Knox, the primary Calvinist figure in the Scottish Reformation, wrote this book anonymously, railing against contemporary female sovereigns of his day such as Mary I of Scotland (Mary, Queen of Scots) and Mary Tudor in England.

I am assured that God has revealed to some in this our age, that it is more than a monster in nature that a woman shall reign and have empire above man…

THE FIRST BLAST TO AWAKEN WOMEN DEGENERATE

To promote a woman to bear rule, superiority, dominion, or empire above any realm, nation, or city, is repugnant to nature; [an insult] to God, a thing most contrary to his revealed will and approved ordinance; and finally, it is the subversion of good order, of all equity and justice.

And first, where I affirm the empire of a woman to be a thing repugnant to nature, I mean not only that God, by the order of his creation, has [deprived] woman of authority and dominion, but also that man has seen, proved, and pronounced just causes why it should be. Man, I say, in many other cases, does in this behalf see very clearly. For the causes are so manifest, that they cannot be hid. For who can deny but it is repugnant to nature, that the blind shall be appointed to lead and conduct such as do see? That the weak, the sick, and impotent persons shall nourish and keep the whole and strong? And finally, that the foolish, mad, and frenetic shall govern the discreet, and give counsel to such as be sober of mind? And such be all women, compared unto man in bearing of authority. For their sight in civil regiment is but blindness; their strength, weakness; their counsel, foolishness; and judgment, frenzy, if it be rightly considered.

I except such as God, by singular privilege, and for certain causes known only to himself, has exempted from the common rank of women, and do speak of women as nature and experience do this day declare them. Nature, I say, does paint them forth to be weak, frail, impatient, feeble, and foolish; and experience has declared them to be inconstant, variable, cruel, lacking the spirit of counsel and regiment. And these notable faults have men in all ages espied in that kind, for the which not only they have removed women from rule and authority, but also some have thought that men subject to the counsel or empire of their wives were unworthy of public office.

Document 8

Teresa of Avila, Spanish saint and founder of women's reformed order of the Carmelites, *The Way of Perfection,* c. 1566

…And, seeing that I was a woman, and a sinner, and incapable of doing all I should like in the Lord's service, and as my whole yearning was, and still is, that, as He has so many enemies and so few friends, these last should be trusty ones, I determined to do the little that was in me—namely, to follow the evangelical counsels as perfectly as I could, and to see that these few nuns who are here should do the same, confiding in the great goodness of God, Who never fails to help those who resolve to forsake everything for His sake.…

…Lord, Thou didst not despise women, but didst always help them and show them great compassion. *Thou didst find more faith and no less love in them than in men, and one of them was Thy most sacred Mother,* [the Virgin Mary], *from whose merits we derive merit, and whose habit we wear, though our sins make us unworthy to do so. We can do nothing in public that is of any use to Thee, nor dare we speak of some of the truths over which we weep in secret, lest Thou shouldst not hear this our just petition. Yet, Lord, I cannot believe this of Thy goodness and righteousness, for Thou art a righteous Judge, not like judges in the world, who, being, after all, men and sons of Adam, refuse to consider any women's virtue as above suspicion. Yes, my King, but the day will come when all will be known. I am not speaking on my own account, for the whole world is already aware of my wickedness, and I am glad that it should become known; but, when I see what the times are like, I feel it is not right to repel spirits which are virtuous and brave, even though they be the spirits of women.*

Document 9

Source: Queen Elizabeth I (1558–1603), speech to the troops before the battle with the Spanish Armada, 1588

My loving people; we have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but, assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear: I have always so behaved myself that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and good-will of my subjects. And therefore I am come amongst you at this time; not as for my recreation or sport; but being resolved in the midst and heat of battle, to live or die amongst you all; to lay down for my God and for my kingdom and for my people my honor and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart of a king; and of a king of England too; and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realms: to which rather than any dishonor should grow by me, I myself will take up arms; I myself will be your general, judge and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field…By your concord in the camp and your valor in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdom and of my people.

Document 10

Source: Arcangela Tarabotti (1604–1652) nun living in a Catholic convent, *Innocence Undone,* 1654

Since woman is the epitome of all perfections, she is the last of the works of God, as far as material creation is concerned, but otherwise she dates from the beginning, and is the first-generated of all creatures, generated by the breath of God himself…before he made any thing from the beginning.

Almighty God, having kept the creation of the woman as the last act of his wonderful work, desired to bestow privileges upon her, reinforce her graces and gladden the whole world with her splendor. If the supreme Architect's greatness, wisdom and love toward us shone brightly in his other works, he planned to make the woman, this excellent last addition to his splendid construction, capable of filling with wonder whoever looked at her. He therefore gave her the strength to subdue and dominate the proudest and wildest hearts and hold them in sweet captivity by a mere glance or else by the power of her pure modesty. God formed Man, who is so proud, in the field of Damascus; and from one of his ribs he formed woman in the garden of Eden.

If I were not a female, I would deduce from this that the woman, both because of her composition and because of the place in which she was created, is nobler, gentler, stronger and worthier than the man.

…Anyone knows that women show more strength than men when they conceive and give birth, by tirelessly carrying all that weight around for nine months.

But you cruel men, who always go around preaching evil for good and good for evil, you pride yourselves in your strength because, like the inhuman creatures you are, you fight and kill each other like wild beasts…. Thus, if strength is the ability to bear misfortunes and insults, how can you call yourselves strong when you shed other people's blood sometimes for no reason at all and take the life of innocent creatures at the slightest provocation of a word or a suspicion?

…Listen to Solomon, whose words about women reinforce my argument: *Strength* and *dignity* are *her* clothing.

(Group #11 analyzes both documents below)

Document 11	**Document 12**
Raphael was one of the supreme masters of the High Renaissance in Rome. His main patrons were popes Julius II and Leo X. Among his finest works include numerous paintings of the Madonna with child.	*Artemisia Gentileschi was an important early Baroque artist who was deeply influenced by the work of the Italian master Caravaggio. At the age of 19, she was raped by her tutor, who was subsequently imprisoned for a year. The painting below has been interpreted by some as psychological revenge for her tragic experience.*

Raphael (1483–1520)**,** *The Sistine Madonna,* c. 1512–1514, oil on canvas, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden

Artemisia Gentileschi (1593–1653) *Judith Beheading Holofernes* (1612–21) Oil on canvas, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

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Document 5: Source: University of Warwick, Coventry, Department of History http://www.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/History/teaching/protref/women/WR0913.htm.

Document 6: Source: A Sermon of John Calvin upon the *Epistle of Saint Paul, to Titus* http://www.covenanter.org/JCalvin/titussermons/srmtts11.htm.

Document 7: Source: Extracted from: *Selected Writings of John Knox: Public Epistles, Treatises, and Expositions to the Year 1559* http://www.swrb.com/newslett/actualNLs/firblast.htm.

Document 8: Source: Sherman, Dennis, *Western Civilization: Sources, Images, and Interpretations, From the Renaissance to the Present, 2nd ed.* New York: McGraw Hill, 1995. 34–36.

Document 9: Source: Rabb, Theodore K., *Origins of the Modern West: Essays and Sources in Renaissance & Early Modern European History.* New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1993. 51.

Document 10: Source: Kishlansky, Mark, et al. *Civilization in the West, 5th ed.* New York: Longman, 2003. 491–492.

Document 11: Raphael (1483–1520)**,** *The Sistine Madonna,* c. 1512–1514. Oil on canvas. Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden.

Document 12: Artemisia Gentileschi (1593–1653), *Judith Beheading Holofernes,* 1612–1621. Oil on canvas. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

European Antisemitism from the Fifteenth through the Eighteenth Centuries

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Introduction, Rationale, Objectives

The subject of antisemitism comes up sporadically throughout the AP European History course from the 1492 expulsion of the Jews from Spain, to the late nineteenth-century Dreyfus affair, to the impact it had on Nazi ideology and the Holocaust. Students may also be aware of the resettlement of Jews in England under Oliver Cromwell, the relatively liberal policies of Joseph II of Austria in regard to Jews, and the emancipation of the Jews throughout most of Europe in the course of the nineteenth century. Yet few textbooks used in the European History classroom deal with the subject of antisemitism in a cohesive or comprehensive way.

This lesson focuses on the three centuries of European history before the emancipation of the Jews and before the emergence of the modern racial antisemitism that was used to justify the Nazi policies that resulted in the Holocaust. Students' understanding of these nineteenth- and twentieth-century events will be enhanced by understanding the historic roots of European antisemitism. Working with primary source documents and contemporary images, students will make comparisons and contrasts between different historical periods and hone their skills in analysis of primary source materials. A resource that can be very useful in helping students to begin decoding documents is the set of worksheets developed by the National Archives and available at www.archives.gov/education/lessons/worksheets/index.html. These worksheets help students approach text, cartoon, photo, poster, map, and artifact sources. They are particularly useful in the AP European History classroom because they each address the issue of authorship and purpose, both important for students' analysis of point of view.

In this lesson, students will learn about the religious, economic, and social bases for historic antisemitism in Europe from the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries by examining pictures and texts to determine the attitudes held about Jews and the actions taken against Jews in various European countries in this period. Students will gain practice in discerning the difference between beliefs/attitudes and actions/treatments of Jews. Students' understanding of these types of fine distinctions that are often found in DBQ prompts is a key skill in successful grouping of documents.

This lesson can be used in two different ways: as a learning exercise early in the course to help students learn to analyze primary sources for the DBQ task; or, for students already adept at such analysis, as a practice DBQ.

Historical Background

The roots of European antisemitism can be traced to the earliest periods of Christianity under the Roman Empire. Early Christian antisemitism, perhaps more accurately termed anti-Judaism, had as its root the charge of deicide and was advanced by Christian perceptions of Jewish obstinacy in their refusal to recognize Jesus as the Messiah or to convert to Christianity. Christians became more implacably hostile to Jews after the Roman destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE, which resulted in a significant Jewish Diaspora. While Christianity became an increasingly important social and political force over the next two centuries, the two religions existed primarily as persecuted sects within the Roman Empire until the conversion of Constantine in 313 CE.

With the legitimization of Christianity in the mid-fourth century Roman Empire, Jews faced ever-escalating persecutions by an antagonistic state religion. Christian teaching began to demonize Jews as Christ killers, children of the devil, capable of anything, who were collectively and eternally cursed for denying Christ and who deserved to suffer. Jews were marginalized, their religious practices curtailed, and their relations with Christians strictly proscribed. In addition to charges of deicide, Jews were accused of demonic practices such as ritual murder and desecration of the host, accusations that have historically been used as excuses for the despoliation and destruction of Jewish property and the taking of Jewish lives. Laws against intermarriage between Christians and Jews, laws against Jews having Christian slaves or servants, laws against Jews holding public office, and laws excluding Jews from citizenship all existed in various parts of Europe by the sixth century. From the seventh century, Jews had to take special oaths before they testified in courts of law; they were subject to forcible conversion, ghettoization, and expulsion, required to carry travel permits, and regularly had their property confiscated. Deprived in most parts of Europe from owing land or joining guilds, Jews became merchants and money-lenders, professions that gave rise to a kind of economic antisemitism: the Jew as usurer.

The eleventh through thirteenth centuries were particularly difficult for European Jews. During the Crusades, wholesale slaughters of Jewish communities, known as pogroms, occurred throughout Europe. The first dehumanizing and pejorative imagery of Jews began to appear in Christian churches. The Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 not only required Jews to wear a special yellow marking but also issued injunctions against forcible conversions, personal injuries, or deprivation of Jewish property by Christians. Accusations of ritual murder were leveled against Jews beginning with a notorious case in Norwich, England, in 1144, and thereafter regularly in England, Germany, Spain, and France throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These "blood libel" accusations and the consequent trials almost always resulted in bloody and violent reprisals against individual Jews and Jewish communities despite papal proclamations by Pope Innocent in 1246 and Pope Gregory in 1272 unequivocally denouncing the ritual murder myth. The end of the thirteenth century saw the expulsion of all Jews from England in 1290, the prohibition of Jewish settlement in France in 1291, and the massacre of approximately 100,000 Jews throughout Austria and southern Germany in 1298. In Vienna, Austria, in 1267 a special cone-shaped hat was added

to the yellow marking already widely required of Jews, a marking requirement that became ubiquitous throughout Europe in succeeding centuries as attested by the many stained glass windows in Christian churches and illuminated manuscripts showing Jews wearing the distinctive hat.

The fourteenth century brought the Black Death and widespread accusations of blame against Jews. More than 200 Jewish communities were destroyed. Jews were expelled from communities all across Europe and from all of France in 1394. One of the few places Jews were welcomed was Poland, and large numbers of Jews emigrated there beginning in the fourteenth century. While Jewish communities in Poland continued to suffer the usual ritual murder and host desecration accusations and reprisals with sad regularity, they were also able, as nowhere else in Europe, to enjoy religious, political, and economic opportunity, with the result that their numbers increased rapidly, and their communities, schools, religious and cultural life flourished. By 1500, Polish Jewry was enjoying a "Golden Age," forming a new merchant middle class and, as financial agents of the crown who were allowed to acquire land, also becoming a class of landed gentry.

The documents and images in the following lesson begin with the mid-fifteenth century and reveal the continuation of all of these historically established anti-Semitic attitudes, beliefs, and persecutions in Europe, along with occasional suggestions of tolerance and respect, which increase as the eighteenth century draws to a close. By the end of the eighteenth century, influenced by Enlightenment thought, European states began to institutionalize religious tolerance, ushering in a century of Jewish "emancipation." Beginning in France in 1791, Jews were granted not just religious freedoms, but full legal and civil rights in most of Europe by 1917. Antisemitism did not, however, fade away at the same time as Jewish emancipation. While the old antisemitic beliefs based on myth and superstition gradually lost their force, the nineteenth century gave rise to the beginnings of a new type of racial antisemitism influenced by social Darwinism and nationalism. Other new charges were fanned by publications such as the widely disseminated and inflammatory *Protocols of the Elders of Zion,* which focused on supposed plans for Jewish world economic and political domination. This publication, exposed as a hoax attributed to the Tsarist secret police and plagiarized from an earlier political satire without anti-Semitic themes, nonetheless continues to have a place in the annals of contemporary antisemitism. Finally, the social and political unrest in industrializing Europe gave rise to the accusation that Jews were at the core of Marxist and socialist unrest. Jews in the early twentieth century, then, were castigated incongruously as both capitalist exploiters and Marxist revolutionaries.

While the documents and images in this lesson do not touch on modern antisemitism, they will help students to better understand the lengthy and continuous "background noise" of antisemitism that existed in Europe prior to the rise of the Nazis, when antisemitism reached its fullest expression in the horrors and atrocities perpetuated against Jews during the Holocaust.

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Lesson Activities Using the Images and Documents

All of the following lesson activities support student competency in meeting the requirements of the grading rubric for the AP European History Document-based question. The rubric can be found at AP Central® and in the AP European History Course Description. There are two separate lesson activities focusing on analyzing and grouping documents, and two more that concentrate on analyzing documents and images for point of view. The lessons each use some or all of the primary source documents and images that are arranged in chronological order and can be found at the end of the lesson activity section.

Each suggested activity is designed to be completed within a class period of an hour to an hour and a half.

Analyzing Documents and Grouping Practice I

Make several copies of all the documents and images. Cut them out separately. Individually, in pairs, or in groups, have students analyze one or two images or text documents, each using the National Archives Document Analysis Worksheets, if desired. Make certain that students analyze each source for type, audience, and purpose, and have them discuss whether the source demonstrates an attitude/belief about Jews or a treatment/action for or against Jews. Once students have had an opportunity to analyze their assigned sources, have students report on their analyses, either to the class as a whole or in groups. As each document is being discussed, students should take notes on the following sheet:

Source	*List the attitudes toward, beliefs about, or accusations against the Jews stated or suggested by the source*	*List the treatments and persecutions of Jews or positive actions and treatments of Jews described or suggested in the source*	*Countries, groups, or individuals mentioned in the source*

Once this sheet is completed, students will have demonstrated their ability to discriminate between beliefs/attitudes and treatments/actions, and they will also have a tool for grouping documents in a variety of ways.

Grouping Practice II

This activity can follow the previous one, or it may be done on its own, after students have had an opportunity to analyze and discuss each document.

Each student needs his/her own set of documents, cut out individually. Put students in groups. Have one student place a document to begin a pile. The next student must put another source on top and explain why and how it fits with the first one to make a group. Each student thereafter has an opportunity to place a document related to this specific subject on the pile until there are no more documents left for that particular group. Students record their group by description and document number on a chart such as the one shown below and repeat the process until they run out of possible topics for different groupings.

For example: The first student places Document 1 on the table. The next student places Document 5, explaining that both documents show Jews wearing markings. This now becomes the subject of the grouping. The remaining students in the group should follow this subject when placing documents on the pile, putting in Documents 7, 9, and 10.

The groups may be as particular as "marking" or can represent broader generalizations such as "separation," which would include documents showing marking, ghettoization, and expulsion. Students should be able to come up with at least 10 different ways to group the documents, and may come up with many more.

Description of Grouping	Sources in the Group

The 18 sources reflect the following ranges of ideas and possible groupings:

Negative attitudes toward and beliefs about Jews:

- Jews are accused of being Christ-killers/anti-Christian/deicides: Documents 5, 8, 13
- Jews are accused of being economically exploitive/usurers: Documents 7, 8, 9, 14
- Jews are accused of being ritual murders (the so-called "Blood Libel"): Documents 4, 8
- Jews are accused of being desecrators of the host: Documents 5, 8
- Jews are accused of being alien/"other"/to be shunned and avoided: Documents 3, 7, 8, 9, 16
- Jews are accused of being "idolaters," their religious beliefs triumphed over by Christianity: Documents 2, 8, 9, 13
- Jews are accused of being "enslavers," of wanting to convert Christians, and of flaunting authority over Christians: Documents 8, 14
- Jews are accused of being untrustworthy, treacherous, evil: Documents 4, 5, 8, 9, 13, 14

Positive attitudes and beliefs about Jews:

- Although different, Jews should be treated mercifully: Documents 6, 10
- Jews are the same as any other human beings and should be treated as equal in rights: Documents 15, 17, 18

Negative treatments of and actions against Jews advocated and/or carried out:

- Jews are marked: Documents 1, 7, 9, 10
- Jews are (or should be) expelled: Documents 6, 8, 11, 16
- Jews are (or should be) excluded/confined to ghettos/separated from Christians: Documents 3, 9, 16
- Jews have (or should have) their religious rights curtailed: Documents 8, 9
- Jews have (or should have) their civil, legal, political, and economic rights curtailed: Documents 8, 9, 14
- Jews have (or should have) their movements restricted: Documents 3, 8, 9, 10
- Jews are (or should be) tortured, enslaved, or killed: Documents 5, 6, 8, 12, 15
- Jews have (or should have) their personal and religious property destroyed: Documents 8, 9, 12

Positive treatments of Jews advocated and/or carried out:

- Jews are treated mercifully, if not equally: Documents 6, 9, 10
- Jews are (or should be) tolerated/given the same rights and protections as all other citizens: Documents 15, 17, 18

Documents could also be grouped by nationality IF students' conclusions support specific attitudes or patterns of treatment within certain geographical or national areas:

- German/Austrian: Documents 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 11
- French: Documents 13, 15, 18
- Italian: Documents 5, 6, 9, 10, 14
- Polish/Russian: Documents 12, 14, 16

Of course, these are by no means the only ways to group the documents, as your students' creativity will probably demonstrate. Use this list as a guide as you monitor and assess students' understanding of all the ways to interpret the documents and to create valid document groupings of at least two documents each, both requirements of the DBQ grading rubric.

Point of View Practice Activity I

This activity uses the same sets of individually cut-out sources, but this time only the text documents will be used because the purpose of this activity is to help students identify the points of view of specific, identified speakers.

Individually, in pairs, or in groups, have students sort the documents into piles according to the attitudes about Jews represented in the source. Generally these will fall into "positive," "negative," and "mixed" piles. Once the documents are sorted, have students discuss them individually, either in their groups or in a class-wide discussion. Students should articulate the attitude in each document as specifically as possible beyond the basic "positive," "negative," "neutral," or "mixed." Ask students to state what evidence in the source supports their interpretation of the attitude they suggest.

Students should then discuss who the speaker is and what type of document it is. Once this is done, have them begin to analyze why such a person might hold such a belief or attitude about Jews and what bearing, if any, the type of source might have upon the attitude expressed.

For example:
Document 6

The attitude toward the Jews is sympathetic. He feels that the treatment they received in Spain and Portugal was terrible. The attitude toward the Spanish and Portuguese is negative. This is shown by the statement that the king of Portugal acted *worse* than the king of Spain; that he characterized the treatment of Jews as *slavery;* that he recounted the *banishment* and *deaths* of seven hundred children.

The speaker is also approving of the *friendly, merciful* treatment of Jews by the King of Naples, the Marranos, and even Dominican monks. The speaker is an Italian Jew. The type of document is only described as an account.

This speaker is sympathetic to the Jews because he is Jewish and probably identifies with their suffering. He may be biased in giving an overly positive account of the treatment of Jews in Italy because he is an Italian himself.

As the documents are discussed, you might want to have your students fill out the following charts:

Positive Attitudes				
Doc. #	Speaker	Type of Document	Attitude toward Jews	Why does this speaker state this attitude in this document? (POV)

Negative Attitudes				
Doc. #	Speaker	Type of Document	Attitude toward Jews	Why does this speaker state this attitude in this document? (POV)

Mixed Positive and Negative Attitudes						
Doc. #	Speaker	Type of Document	Positive/Neutral Attitudes	Why? (POV)	Negative Attitudes	Why? (POV)

The information in the charts, especially in the final column, will help you assess how perceptively your students are analyzing the national, economic, religious, philosophical, or political motivations and biases of various speakers.

Point of View Activity II

Once students have had practice working with text documents with identified speakers, they can try to deduce point of view from visual sources in which the "speaker" is often only vaguely implied. The previous activity can be repeated, this time using only the six illustrations and the map. In this activity, students will also be using their prior analysis of the text documents to support the attitudes that they are able to deduce from the illustrations.

In group or class discussion, have students consider each illustration and the map and arrive at a possible attitude implied by what is seen in the visual source. Have students "test" their hypotheses by supporting their conclusions with information from the text documents they previously analyzed.

For example:

Document 1:
This illustration shows a special kind of hat Jews were required to wear to distinguish them from the Christian population. This implies a negative attitude about Jews as "aliens" in the community. This is supported by documents 9 and 10, which discuss the marking of Jews and the restrictions on their economic activities. This is also an illustration from Germany, and document 8 supports the negative attitude about Jews as aliens implied in this illustration.

Students can fill in the following chart to record the attitudes and the connections they discover among documents:

Doc. #	Action taking place in visual source	Implied Attitude	Text documents supporting this analysis	Generalization to be drawn from text and visual sources

Going through this process helps students strengthen two necessary DBQ skills: their analysis of point of view, and their ability to group documents appropriately according to point of view. Their generalizations can then be used as topic sentences when they write their actual DBQs. Completing this activity will also help students in their ability to use all or almost all of the documents in a given DBQ, a skill that is reflected in the DBQ rubric.

Final Activity: Writing the DBQ

A logical culminating activity once students have done one or more of the previous lessons is to have them write an actual DBQ essay, using the charts and analyses they have already completed. This will also help you determine how well they have understood grouping and point of view. Students who have already acquired the skills of grouping and point of view can go straight to the writing of the DBQ. Since there are more than the number of documents and some are much longer than students are likely to find in a regulation DBQ, choose just 12 or 13 when constructing the DBQ for your students and consider editing some of the longer excerpts to make them more manageable, especially if you will be assigning this essay as a timed task.

Use the following prompt for the DBQ essay:

Discuss various Europeans' attitudes and beliefs about and treatments of Jews in the 15th through the eighteenth centuries, and analyze how these attitudes and treatments were challenged and changed over the time period.

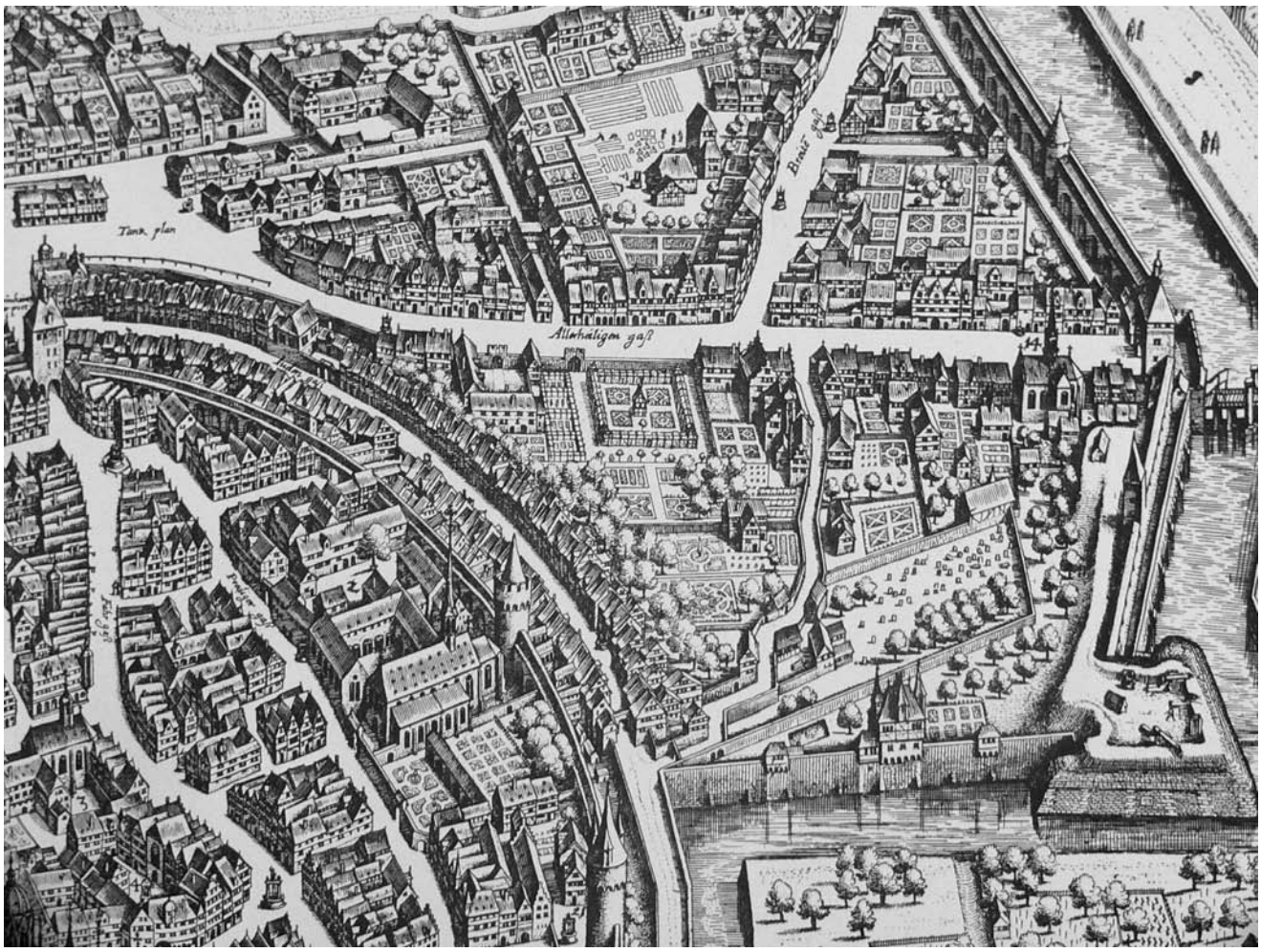
Document 1
The form and size of the "Jew Hat" as prescribed by law in Frankfurt, Germany. 15th-century engraving.

http://www.friends-partners.org/partners/beyond-the-pale/eng_captions/11-3.html

Document 2
Glass window in St. John's Church of Werben, Elbe River, Germany, circa 1450.

http://www.friends-partners.org/partners/beyond-the-pale/eng_captions/07–1.html
http://www.sprezzatura.it/Arte/Ecclesia_Synagoga/res/art1.htm

Document 3
The crescent-shaped "Jew Street" in Frankfurt, Germany, established in 1462. It was situated outside the city walls and had only two gates.



http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bild:Frankfurt_Judengase_1628.jpg

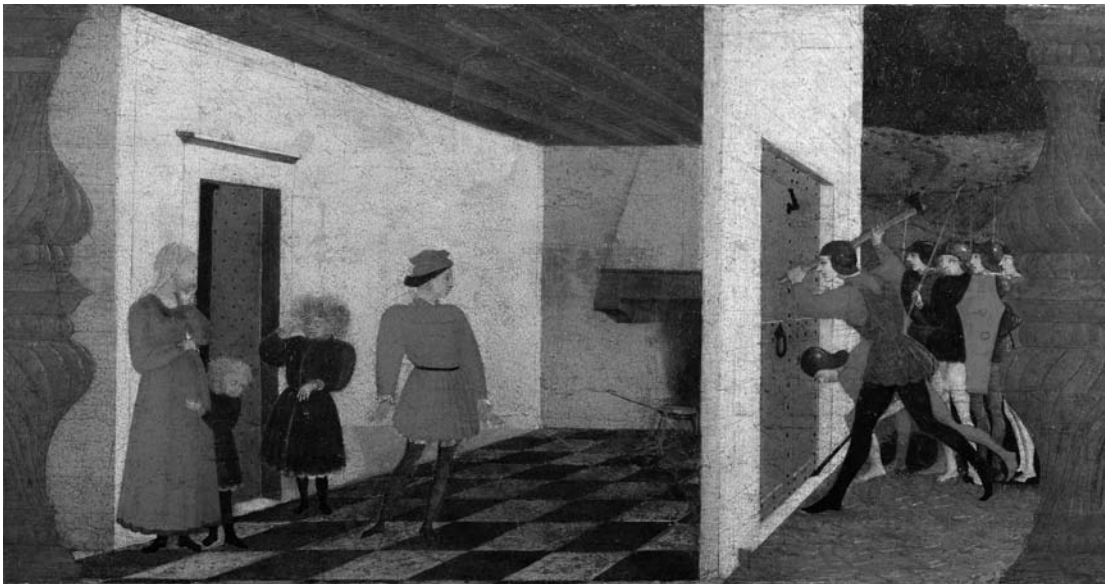
Document 4: The story of *The Jew's Stone*, Austria, 1462 (as recounted by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm)

In 1462 it so happened that in the Tyrol, in the village of Rinn, several Jews persuaded a poor farmer give up his little child, by paying him a lot of money. They took the child out into the forest and in the most horrible manner, martyred him there on a big stone, which is ever since called the "Judenstein" ["the Jewry-stone"]. The dead corpse they hung on a birch tree standing near a bridge. Now, the mother of the child was working in a field as the murder happened, and at once her thoughts turned to her child and without knowing why she became very afraid, and then, one after another, three fresh drops of blood fell on her hand. Full of anxiousness she hurried home and sought after her child. Her husband led her into the room and confessed what he had done. He wanted to show her the money which had released them from poverty, but it had all transformed into leaves. Then the father lost his mind and died of grief, but the mother went out to look for their little-child, and when she found it hanged on a tree, took it down with hot tears and carried it into the church in Rinn. And still the child lies there and is viewed by the people as a sacred child. The Judenstein was also brought there. It is said that a shepherd chopped down the tree on which the child had hanged, but when he wanted to take it to his home, he broke a leg and had to die.

http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/rinn.html

Document 5

Two of a series of six panels depicting the Desecration of the Host: a) A terrified Jewish family watches as blood flows from the Host they attempted to burn, while soldiers break down the door. b) The Jewish family is burned at the stake. Panels by Paolo Uccello, Italy, 1465.



http://www.friends-partners.org/partners/beyond-the-pale/eng_captions/09-2.html

Document 6: A 1495 account by an Italian Jew regarding the expulsion of Jews from Spain

After the King had captured the city of Granada from the Moors he ordered the expulsion of all the Jews in all parts of his kingdom. One hundred and twenty thousand of them went to Portugal. This king acted much worse toward them than the King of Spain, and after six months had elapsed he made slaves of all those that remained in his country, and banished seven hundred children to a remote island to settle it, and all of them died. Many ships with Jews went to the city of Naples. The king of this country was friendly to the Jews, received them all, and was merciful toward them, and he helped them with money. The Marranos* in this city lent them money on pledges without interest; even the Dominican Brotherhood acted mercifully toward them.

* term used to describe Jews from Spain who converted to Christianity

http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/jewish/1492-jews-spain1.html

Document 7
A Jewish couple from Worms, Germany Worms, Germany, sixteenth century.

http://www.friends-partners.org/partners/beyond-the-pale/eng_captions/11-1.html

Document 8: Martin Luther, "On the Jews and Their Lies," 1543

[The Jews] are nothing but thieves and robbers who daily eat no morsel and wear no thread of clothing which they have not stolen and pilfered from us by means of their accursed usury…I shall give you my sincere advice: First, to set fire to their synagogues or schools… Second, I advise that their houses also be razed and destroyed… Third, I advise that all their prayer books and Talmudic writings…be taken from them… Fourth, I advise that their rabbis be forbidden to teach henceforth on pain of loss of life and limb… Fifth, I advise that safe-conduct on the highways be abolished completely for the Jews… Sixth, I advise that usury be prohibited to them…they remain our daily murderers and bloodthirsty foes in their hearts. Their prayers and curses furnish evidence of that, as do the many stories which relate their torturing of children and all sorts of crimes for which they have often been burned at the stake or banished…let us emulate the common sense of other nations such as France, Spain, Bohemia, etc., compute with them how much their usury has extorted from us, divide this amicably, but then eject them forever from the country…so that you and we all can be rid of the unbearable, devilish burden of the Jews.

Document 9: Papal Bull of Pope Paul IV, 1555

1.... [I]n this city [Rome].... all Jews are to live solely in one location,... separated completely from the dwellings of Christians....And they are to have only one entry, and so too one exit.

2.... [the Jews] may have only one synagogue..., and they may construct no new synagogue. Nor may they possess any real property. [T]hey must demolish all their [other] synagogues. The property which they possess, they must sell to Christians...

3. And so that they be identified everywhere as Jews, men and women are... required... to wear... a hat or some obvious marking, both to be blue in color, in such a way that they may not be concealed or hidden....

4. [And they shall not] have nurses or serving women or any other Christians serving them.... Nor shall they have their children wet-nursed or reared by Christian women.

5. Nor may they themselves or anyone in their employ labor in public on Sundays or other feast days...

7. Nor may they... entertain or dine with Christians or to develop close relations and friendships with them.

8. Nor may they use in the ledgers and account books which they have with Christians... any other alphabet than the Latin one or any other language than everyday Italian.

9. Jews may carry on no business as purveyors of grain, barley, or other [food] items... but must be limited to dealing only in second-hand clothing.

10. As for [the Jews] who are physicians, even if they are requested, they may not attend to the care of Christians.

Stow, Kenneth R., *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry, 1555–1593.* New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1977.

http://www.pbs.org/wnet/heritage/episode5/documents/documents_3.html

Document 10: Patent Granted by Grand Duke Cosimo II de' Medici, March 10, 1611

Patent for the Jew Simon Basileo, on the 2nd of the present month:

The bearer of the present document, the Jew Simone Basileo from Mantua, has demonstrated his talent and his diligence to us while performing some plays. Therefore, it is our wish and our pleasure that he be allowed to travel, to sojourn and to perform plays in any city or in any other place in our State. Furthermore, neither he nor his companion shall wear a distinguishing badge, on their hat or elsewhere. Officials shall not hold this against them or hinder them in any way, but shall offer the assistance and courtesy that such ability merits.

http://www.medici.org/jewish/jdoc4.htm

Document 11

Expulsion of the Jews from Frankfurt on August 23, 1614. According to the text, "1380 persons old and young were counted at the exit of the gate." Contemporary etching by Georg Keller

Abb. 37. Auszug der Juden aus Frankfurt 1614. Gleichzeit. Kpfr. von Georg Keller. München, Kupferstichkabinet.

http://www.friends-partners.org/partners/beyond-the-pale/eng_captions/16-3L.html

Document 12: From *The Abyss of Despair*, an account by Rabbi Nathan of Hanover of the massacres of Polish Jews by Cossacks and Tartars during the Chmielnicki Revolts, 1648

There was no cruel device of murder in the whole world that was not perpetrated by the enemies. All the four death penalties: stoning, burning, beheading and strangling were meted out to the Jews. Many were taken by the Tartars into captivity… They seized comely women as handmaids and housekeepers, some as wives and concubines. Similar atrocities were perpetuated in all the settlements through which they passed. Scrolls of the Law were torn to pieces, and turned into boots and shoes for their feet… Other sacred books served to pave the streets. Some were used for kindling purposes, and others to stuff the barrels of their guns. http://www.pbs.org/wnet/heritage/pdfs/episode5.pdf?mii=1

Hannover, Nathan Nata. *Abyss of Despair.* Trans., Abraham J. Mesch. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1983

Document 13: Blaise Pascal, French mathematician, *Pensées,* 1670

It is a wonderful thing…to see this Jewish people existing so many years in perpetual misery, it being necessary as a proof of Jesus Christ both that they should exist to prove Him and that they should be miserable because they crucified Him…

http://www.ccel.org/ccel/pascal/pensees.html.

Document 14: Papal Encyclical of Pope Benedict XIV, June 14, 1751, to the Primate, Archbishops and Bishops, of the Kingdom of Poland

In regard to the Jews, We must express our concern. Our experts in Polish affairs have informed Us that the number of Jews in that country has greatly increased. The Jews have so replaced the Christians that some parishes are about to lose their ministers because their revenue has dwindled so drastically… Because the Jews control businesses selling liquor and even wine, they are therefore allowed to supervise the collection of public revenues… they have subjugated poor Christian farmers… some households have employed a Jew as "Superintendent-of-the-Household"; they ceaselessly flaunt authority over the Christians they are living with. It is now even commonplace for Christians and Jews to intermingle anywhere. Jews fearlessly keep Christians as their domestics, bound to their service. Furthermore, they amass a great store of money and then by an exorbitant rate of interest utterly destroy the wealth and inheritance of Christians.

http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Ben14/b14aquo.htm

Document 15: Voltaire, from "Tolerance" in *Philosophical Dictionary* 1764

If it were permitted to reason consistently in religious matters, it is clear we all ought to become Jews, because Jesus Christ was born a Jew, lived a Jew, died a Jew and that he said expressly that he was accomplishing, that he was fulfilling the Jewish religion. But it is clearer still that we ought to be tolerant of one another, because we are all weak, inconsistent, liable to fickleness and error. Shall a reed laid low in the mud by the wind say to a fellow reed fallen in the opposite direction: "Crawl as I crawl, wretch, or I shall petition that you be torn up by the roots and burned?"

http://www.gutenberg.org/files/18569/18569-h/18569-h.htm#Tolerance

Document 16:
Map of the Pale of Settlement

http://www.friends-partners.org/partners/beyond-the-pale/eng_captions/29-9.html

Document 17: *Toleranzpatenet* of Joseph II of Austria, 1782

Since the beginning of our reign we have made it one of our most important aims that all our subjects, whatever their nationality or religion, since they are accepted and tolerated in our states should share in the public welfare which we are endeavoring to nurture, enjoy liberty in accordance with the law, and encounter no hindrance in obtaining their livelihood and increasing their general industry by all honorable means.

Ben-Sasson, Hayim, ed. *A History of the Jewish People*. Tel Aviv, Israel: Dvir Publishing, 1969. 756.

Document 18: *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*, approved by the National Assembly of France, August 26, 1789, Articles 6 & 10

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

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

http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/rightsof.htm

Notes on Documents

Documents 1 and 7: It may surprise students to learn that Hitler was not original in requiring Jews to wear distinctive markings in public. Starting with a papal decree in 1215 and lasting well into the seventeenth century in some places, Jews were marked out from the rest of the populace by round yellow badges on their outer clothing, as seen in Document 7, and/or specially shaped hats, as shown in Document 1. The following excerpt explains the rationale:

1215 Fourth Lateran Council of the Catholic Church: Canon 68:
In some provinces a difference in dress distinguishes the Jews or Saracens [Muslims] from the Christians, but in certain others such a confusion has grown up that they cannot be distinguished by any difference. Thus it happens at times that through error Christians have relations with the women of Jews or Saracens, and Jews and Saracens with Christian women. Therefore, that they may not, under pretext of error of this sort, excuse themselves in the future for the excesses of such prohibited intercourse, we decree that such Jews and Saracens of both

sexes in every Christian province and at all times shall be marked off in the eyes of the public from other peoples through the character of their dress.
http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/lat4-c68.html

Note, too, that the Jewish man in Document 7 holds two attributes commonly associated with anti-Semitism: the money bag symbolizing the charge of Jewish usury, and bulbs of garlic their "foreign" dietary habits. Students should analyze the contradiction inherent in the marking of Jews, especially within the racial antisemitism of the Nazi state: If Jews were actually "alien," "foreign," and, as the Nazis decreed, a separate "race," why would they need to be marked at all? The fact that church and state authorities felt it necessary to order the marking of Jews supports the fact that they were in most instances indistinguishable from non-Jewish Europeans.

Document 2: Church versus Synagogue images were very common in the Middle Ages, seen on statuary such as the famous image at Strasbourg, in carvings on choir stalls, and as here, in stained glass. The denunciation of "synagogue" symbolizes Christian attitudes toward Judaism. In the left section of the window the Church is riding a tetramorph (a creature with the heads of eagle, human, lion, and bull, symbolizing the four Gospels). She holds the flag of the cross and the chalice in her hands. The divine hand from heaven places a crown on her head. In the right section the Synagogue is depicted as riding a broken-down donkey. In her right hand she holds the head of a goat, symbolizing the animal sacrifice practiced in ancient Judaism. Her crown is falling, showing that she has been superseded by the ascendancy of the Christian church and she is blindfolded, symbolizing Jewish "willful blindness" in not recognizing Christ as Messiah. The staff of her flag of authority is broken and the divine hand from heaven pierces her head and body with the sword of judgment. Synagogue's general appearance is that of a wayward, shameful woman compared to the depiction of Church as youthful and lovely, and bearing symbols of victory and salvation.

Document 3: This woodcut shows the physical exclusion of Jews from European town life: Jews were literally made outsiders by being confined to a certain street outside the protection of the city walls. Students should note what it meant to be outside the walls in terms of physical protection, status, and value in the community. The Jews here were not exactly ghettoized, since the area in which they were confined was not completely enclosed and the gates were not locked. The first "true" ghetto was probably established in Venice, and ghetto is an Italian word perhaps derived from "borghetto," meaning small quarter or neighborhood or the archaic Italian word for foundry, of which there were many in the Canaregio Sestiere where the ghetto was located.

When on March 29th, 1516 the Government of the Serenissima Repubblica issued special laws, the first Ghetto of Europe was instituted. It was an area where Jews were forced to live and which they could not leave from sunset to dawn. The area was closed by gates watched by guards and up till now the marks of the hinges are visible there. Jews were allowed to practice only some professions: they were doctors, because they were the most prepared and able to

understand Arab writings, money lenders, because Catholic religion forbade this practice, merchants and "strazzarioli," ragsellers. The Ghetto existed for more than two and a half centuries, until Napoleon conquered Venice and finally opened and eliminated every gate (1797): Jews were finally free to live in other areas of the city. —Ghetto Ebraico di Venezia
http://www.ghetto.it/ghetto/en/contenuti.asp?padre=1&figlio=1

Document 4: This account by the Grimm Brothers is the story of the supposed murder by Jews of Anderl von Rinn in Austria in 1462. Further information on this and other medieval to modern blood libel accusations may be found at www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/rinn.html.

The myth of the blood libel has been an enduring one, and is vitally important that you discuss with your students that it is just that: a vicious myth. Part of the myth generally includes not just the ritual murder of a Christian child (usually a boy) for use in the making of Passover matzo (unleavened bread) but in the ritual torture of the "victim" as well, including ritual circumcision. This myth is particularly egregious since Jewish commandments strictly prohibit killing, prohibit the torture of any living thing, prohibit the consumption of any kind of blood (kosher laws requiring all blood be drained before cooking), and prohibit the consumption of any part of any non-cud chewing, split-hoofed animal.

Beginning with the "martyrdom" of William of Norwich in 1144, more than 150 blood libel accusations have been used as an excuse to persecute, arrest, torture and execute Jews across Europe until the mid twentieth century. The pernicious myth prompted papal denunciations such as this one from Gregory X in 1272:

Since it happens occasionally that some Christians lose their Christian children, the Jews are accused by their enemies of secretly carrying off and killing these same Christian children and of making sacrifices of the heart and blood of these very children. It happens, too, that the parents of these children or some other Christian enemies of these Jews secretly hide these very children in order that they may be able to injure these Jews, and in order that they may be able to extort from them a certain amount of money by redeeming them from their straits.

And most falsely do these Christians claim that the Jews have secretly and furtively carried away these children and killed them, and that the Jews offer sacrifice from the heart and blood of these children, since their law in this matter precisely and expressly forbids Jews to sacrifice, eat, or drink the blood, or to eat the flesh of animals having claws.

[M]any Jews are often seized and detained unjustly because of this. We decree, therefore, that Christians need not be obeyed against Jews in a case or situation of this type, and we order that Jews seized under such a silly pretext be freed from imprisonment, and that they shall not be arrested henceforth on such a miserable pretext…

http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/g10-jews.html

Notwithstanding such papal declarations, many of the medieval blood libel "victims" such as "Little St. Hugh" of Lincoln, England (memorialized by Chaucer in the anti-Semitic *Prioress's Tale)*, "St. Simon of Trent" in Italy, and Anderl von Rinn of Austria eventually became the focus of cults in their local communities. By the 1960s all of these cults had been denounced by the Catholic Church, but in the case of Anderl von Rinn, the cult lasted until 1994, when the local bishop finally enforced the 1961 papal decree and stated that the blood libel was a slander that had "caused innumerable Jews to lose their homes, possessions, freedom, health, and life."

In the twentieth century, the blood libel was the basis for a terrible pogrom in Kisinev, Russia, in 1903 from which comes the following account:

From 3 A.M. to 8 P.M. on Monday the gangs raged through the ruins and rubble which they themselves had piled up. They plundered, robbed, destroyed Jewish property, stole it, burned it, devastated it. They chased, slew, raped and martyred the Jews. Jews had their heads hacked off. Towels were soaked in their blood and then waved like red flags. They jumped on the corpses and danced, roaring, drunk with vodka. Officials and policemen joined in the fun. [T]he synagogues were stormed and plundered. They tore the Torah from the holy ark and cut the parchment into small scraps (Christian children later sold them on the streets as mementos). It would be unjust not to mention those Christians who proved themselves true human beings—they deserve to be remembered because they were so few…

Perry, Marvin, Joseph Peden, and Theodore H. Von Laue, eds. *Sources of the Western Tradition.* Vol. 2. 4th ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999. 217–219.

Other pograms based on blood libel accusations occurred in Russia in 1911 and, almost unbelievably, in 1946 against a small remnant of about 200 Jews who had survived the Holocaust and returned to their homes in Kielce, Poland, resulting in 39 deaths.

Document 5: Like the myth of the blood libel, the myth of Jewish desecration of the host was a persistent one for several centuries. According to the myth, by buying or stealing the host (communion bread) and then attempting to stab or burn it, Jews were trying to "recrucify" Jesus since by church doctrine, the bread became the body of Jesus during the miracle of transubstantiation. In this way, the myth of host desecration supported the belief of Jews as deicides and, because in the myth the mutilated host would "bleed," the doctrine and truth of the Christian faith was "proved."

Document 6: Since this document references an event well covered in AP European History—the expulsion/forced conversion of the Jews by Isabella and Ferdinand of Spain in 1492—it should be well understood by students. It is interesting because it offers some information that students will not know—that Jews who were forced out of Spain because they refused to convert were well treated in Italy by the king, the converts, and the Dominican monks, and that Jews who fled to Portugal were victimized. This document might be grouped with Document 10, which also comment on the liberality of the Italians.

Point of view will be important in this document, since the account is from an Italian Jew who may be giving an overly favorable view of his fellow countrymen.

Document 7: (see above with Document 1)

Document 8: This document may be familiar to many students because versions of it exist in many document sourcebooks. While the excerpt does not explain why Luther was such a virulent antisemite, students may bring in their outside knowledge that he was disgusted with Jews because they would not see the theological "correctness" of acknowledging Jesus as the messiah. Note that Luther calls for a full-scale pogrom against Jews, including the age-old persecution of burning, the common recourse of expulsion, as well as various other persecutions including destruction of sacred property. Students should be challenged to make distinctions between what Luther advocates and what treatments were actually meted out.

Document 9: Students should note that this decree occurs during the height of the Catholic and Counter Reformation, and they should factor that contextual knowledge in with their interpretation of the document. Pope Paul IV is considered one of the most anti-Semitic of all Roman Catholic popes, and he dealt far more severely with both Jews and Marranos than his predecessors. Students should note, however, that while confined to a ghetto and reduced to worship in one synagogue, Roman Jews were not expelled. Points 4, 7, and 10 attest to the kinds of interactions in which Jews were engaged non-Jews (compare with Document 14). Challenge students to analyze the implicit distrusts and concerns behind points 8 and 9.

Document 10: The Medici name will be familiar to students, and they may comment on the generosity and magnanimity of Cosimo II toward Jews, linking this document to Document 6. More sophisticated students will recognize, however, that implicit in this document is the fact that in the 1600s throughout Italy, Jews were still routinely marked and their movements restricted, and that Cosimo's liberality extended only to this single talented Jew and his traveling companion.

Document 11: This image depicts expulsion, another common treatment of Jews throughout Europe. This was a routine occurrence for Jews throughout the Middle Ages and well into the seventeenth century. This particular expulsion occurred after riots that were led by a non-Jewish baker, Vincent Fettmilch, who was opposed to Jewish commercial connections to the wealthy merchants and wanted the Jews expelled from Frankfurt. The Jews fled for their lives from an angry mob who, once the Jews were expelled, looted and plundered the Jewish quarter. The Emperor Matthias eventually acted in favor of the Jews and had Fettmilch arrested, tried, and hanged. In 1616, the Jews of Frankfurt were brought back ceremoniously. The emperor's coat of arms was nailed to the entrance gate as a sign of protection, but the community was not allowed to expand again beyond 500 families.

Document 12: Bogdan Chmielnicki, an Orthodox Cossack with dreams of ruling the Ukraine, led a revolt of combined Tartar and Cossack forces against his perceived economic

and political enemies: the Jews, the Catholic Church, and the Polish nobility, all of whom suffered during the three-year uprising. Tens of thousands of Jews were murdered by Chmielnicki's forces, hundreds of Jewish communities destroyed, and thousands of Jews were sold into captivity in the Ottoman Empire. The event signaled the end of the "Golden Age" of Jewry in Poland. Large numbers of Jewish survivors left Poland for Germany and western Europe, Lithuania, and Russia. Rabbi Nathan of Hanover's eyewitness account enumerates the travails of Polish Jewry during the massacres.

Document 13: Some students may recognize the author of this document, a famous French mathematician. He espouses a common belief, even among the educated European elite: The Jews were necessary to prove the divinity of Jesus and their misery was their punishment for being deicides. Much like the host desecration myth and the antisemitic Church versus Synagogue imagery, Pascal's attitude implies the superiority of Christianity and provides theological justification for persecution of Jews.

Document 14: Despite the effects of the massacres of Polish Jews a century earlier, what is implicitly clear from this document is that the lives of Jews had improved substantially by 1751: They were competing economically with Christians, had risen socially to the point that they could employ Christian servants or hold positions of high authority in Christian households, and wielded some political power as shown by their collection of public revenue. In this document students should recognize that economic jealousy motivates the Catholic Church in its charge that Jews are the economic exploiters of Christians. What should also be noted is that at the height of the Enlightenment, the encyclical implicitly asserts that Jews are inferior ("Jews flaunt authority over Christians," "Jews fearlessly keep Christians as their domestics"), and they are to be shunned ("It is commonplace for Jews and Christians to intermingle").

Document 15: This document, by a recognizable Enlightenment figure well associated with religious tolerance, supports the idea that the Enlightenment did bring positive changes for the Jews of western Europe at least. It is a typically sharp witted, provocative pronouncement by Voltaire. It is interesting that in his metaphorical and rhetorical question, Voltaire obliquely hints at the common fate of the Jews since the Middle Ages: expulsion ("torn up by the roots") and destruction by fire (see Document 8).

Document 16: This map shows the phenomenon of exclusion, but on a national rather than a city scale—the confinement of Jews to a particular part of the country and their exclusion from the commercial, legal, political, and civil life of the nation. The Pale of Settlement was instituted in 1791 by Catherine the Great of Russia after the first partitions of Poland brought an enormous new Jewish population under Russian dominion. Jews were prohibited from settling anywhere outside of the Pale, and were expelled from villages, some towns, and certain cities even within the Pale. Jews within the Pale were registered and classified and their economic activity regulated. The Pale existed until 1917.

Document 17: Joseph II intended to integrate the Austrian Empire's Jews into the national and economic life of the country. In that spirit, he cancelled many of the movement and residence restrictions placed on Jews, granted them the right to employ Gentiles as servants, the right to send their children to non-Jewish schools as well as to establish their own schools, and the abolition of religious restrictions based on old antisemitic superstitions such as the prohibition against leaving their homes during Christian religious festivals. Joseph II's reforms were considered too radical and liberal by state officials and even some Jews. They were widely disregarded by Joseph II's heirs.

Document 18: This is the companion piece to the previous document, and shows the French revolutionaries at the forefront of the emancipation of the Jews of Europe. Imbued with Enlightenment ideals, the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizens* was the first to enshrine the concept of religious equality in Europe, and, despite the political turmoil of France in succeeding decades, this provision was never revoked. France was the first European nation to grant Jews full civil rights, beginning the era known as the Jewish Emancipation, which granted Jews full civil, legal, and religious rights in most European states by 1917.

Art as a Window to the European World: The Poor from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries: Class and Point of View

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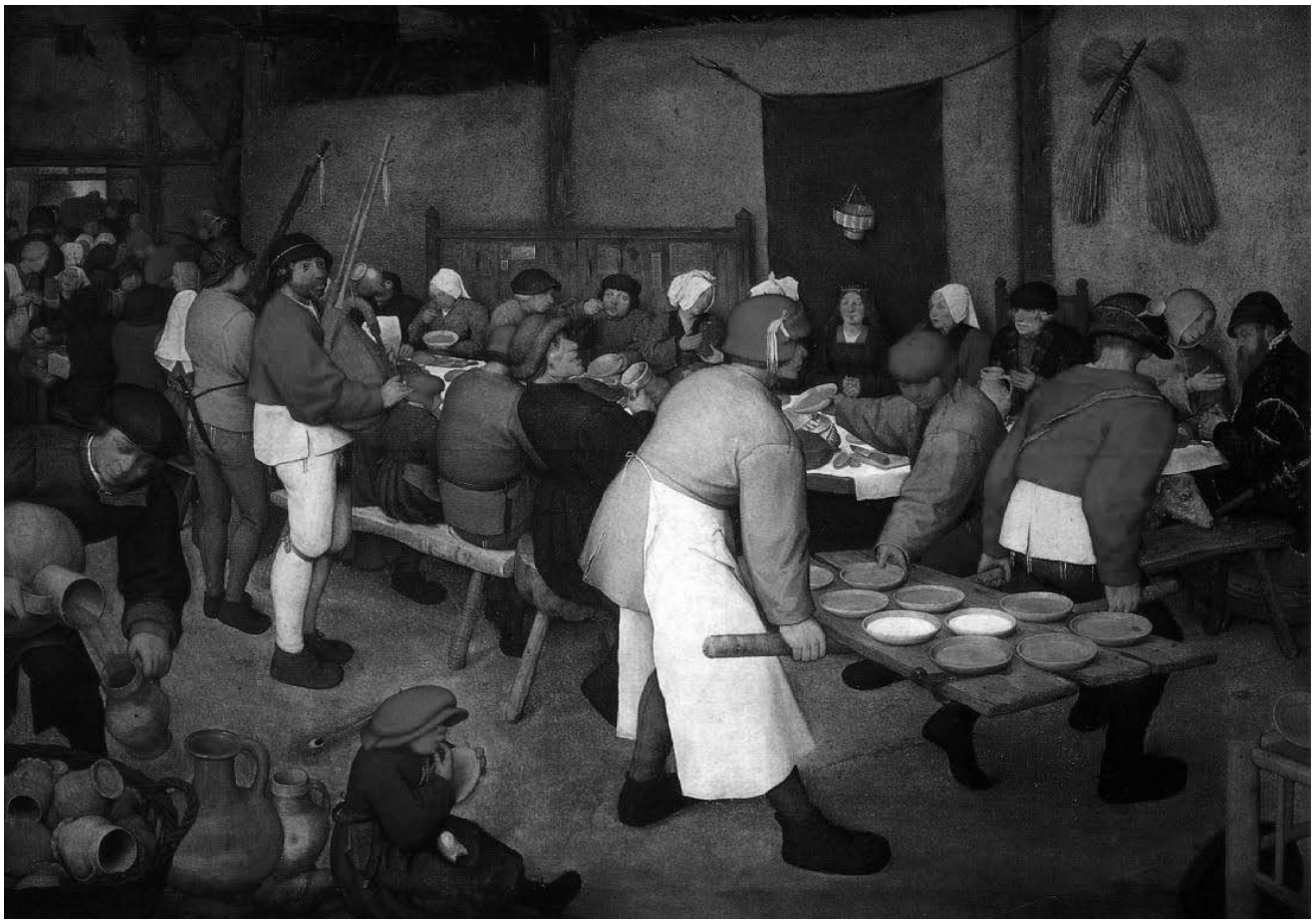
It is often said that art is a window to the world; however, the poor in Europe were seldom allowed close to that window. Making up over 50 percent of the population—and in times of famine and disaster, sometimes reaching up to 80 percent of the population—the poor were everywhere, except in art. Traditionally art was religious in nature since the church was the major benefactor. The Renaissance inspired a desire to create works based on Greek and Roman mythology through the works of Sandro Botticelli and other Neoplatonist painters, yet the majority of art in the Renaissance still had a religious theme. Portraiture was also becoming popular; however, only the wealthy could afford to have their portraits painted. From the sixteenth century through the nineteenth century, the poor were seldom portrayed in art, yet when they were portrayed it was often sympathetically, in spite of the increasingly negative attitudes of the general population toward the poor. By the nineteenth century, the poor played a larger role in art and in the European world. In the sixteenth century, Flemish painter Pieter Bruegel showed country life as carefree. From the point of view of numerous seventeenth-century artists, the poor are portrayed as docile. By the eighteenth century the Enlightenment influenced the point of view of painters to infuse the poor with moral virtue. In the nineteenth century the point of view of paintings of the poor was used for propagandistic purposes or to influence emotions during the Romantic period.

Sixteenth Century

By the start of the sixteenth century, attitudes toward the poor had shifted in Europe. Civil governments were now in charge of providing for the poor, a position that had previously been occupied by the church. In both Protestant and Catholic Europe there was a growing hostility toward the poor due in part to the Calvinist work ethic. As both population and inflation increased, the percent of the population that lived in poverty increased as well. The poor took to begging in the cities and to wandering throughout the countryside looking for food, shelter, or work. While this situation was not uncommon, the reaction in the sixteenth century was one of hostility toward the poor. People were upset with the laziness of the begging poor and with crimes that were connected to the wandering poor. At this time, a distinction was made between the deserving (or "God's") poor who needed charity, such as widows, orphans, the sick, and elderly, and the undeserving poor who should be forced to work but preferred to beg.

Flemish Renaissance painter Pieter Bruegel deviated from the acceptable religious themes and portraiture and the prevailing attitudes toward painting the poor. His works highlighted

village life in the Low Countries under Spanish rule. His sympathy for the poor earned him the nickname of "Peasant Bruegel." His portrayal of the lower classes was found in the paintings *Peasant Wedding* and *Peasant Dance*, both painted in 1568.



Pieter Bruegel, *Peasant Wedding* (1568)

His point of view gave the peasants a dignity often lacking in the writings of the time. He also blended the microcosms found in a village in *Netherlandish Proverbs* (1559), including nobility, peasants, and clerics, in a painting that illustrated 100 proverbs.

In Germany, as a result of the German Peasants' Revolt in 1525, peasants were portrayed as violent and attacking the leaders of the Catholic Church. In contrast with Bruegel's view of the poor was a woodcut from Germany that depicted a time when the peasants revolted and were ruthlessly suppressed. This point of view served as a warning against efforts by the peasants to improve their condition

German Peasants' War, 1525

Seventeenth Century

By the seventeenth century, new attitudes toward the poor leaned toward reform. Whereas in the sixteenth century, the poor were often forbidden to beg or were expelled from towns for begging, now the desire was to rehabilitate the poor by harsh discipline. Still the overall belief was that most of the poor were dangerous, lazy, and deceitful, and society wanted those poor to be changed or removed from society. The elite also began to organize charities to aid the poor. During the seventeenth century, numerous wars devastated the countryside in Germany, with the Thirty Years' War; France, with both the end of the religious struggle between the Catholics and Huguenots and the wars of Louis XIV; in England, with the English Civil War; and Austria's wars with the Turks. The population that suffered the most during times of war were the poor, such as the lowly farmer who had his land devastated and then lost it to the tax collector, and those that had their homes destroyed and were displaced by the fighting. These problems led to peasant unrest, which confirmed the prevailing point of view that the poor were dangerous. Painters during this period, in response to this attitude, tended to portray the poor as docile and accepting of their position with few exceptions.

The art of the seventeenth century was still predominantly religious in nature. During the Baroque period, several painters did attempt to portray the working or deserving poor in art. Spanish painter Diego Velazquez, although soon to be the court painter to Charles IV of Spain, painted *The Water Carrier of Seville* (1619). He managed to infuse dignity to a person of the lowest class, one who sold water on the street. Even with his torn cloak, the dominant figure in the painting brings a feeling of honest labor to his profession.

In the Low Countries, genre painting or paintings of everyday scenes became more prevalent. Since the Dutch had adopted Calvinism with its plain churches, biblical art was not the dominant theme in paintings. The burgher society also encouraged art in the

homes, and artists in the Netherlands sold their paintings on the open market. Art was often inexpensive and could be purchased by even the lower middle class, who wanted to imitate the upper class as much as possible. After winning their independence from Spain, the Dutch turned toward genre paintings of everyday scenes, occasionally of peasant life and of the poor. Even Rembrandt van Rijn painted a family begging for alms. This contrasted greatly with the sixteenth century, when begging was prohibited in the Spanish Netherlands. Dutch painter Adriaen Pietersz van de Venne depicted the horrible condition of the poor in his work, *Allegory of Poverty (*1630s). In this painting, a poor peasant in rags is seen carrying his family on his back to illustrate the Calvinist point of view of how difficult life was for the deserving poor.

In the middle seventeenth century there was an increased interest in portraying peasant domestic life. Dutch painter Adriaen van Ostade offered a dignified portrayal of peasant life in his painting *The Cottage Doorway* (1673). His brother Isaac van Ostade, in his painting, *Peasants Outside Farmhouse Butchering Pork* (1641), also portrayed the everyday life of the peasant as hardworking and happy. Other Dutch painters, such as Jan Molenaer, who painted *Peasants in a Tavern* (1660s) and Johannes Lingebach, who painted *Peasants Dancing* (1652), illustrated peasant life as happy and carefree. Flemish painter Adriaen Brouwer painted scenes of peasant life, often involving drinking. His painting, *Peasants Smoking and Drinking* (1635), was an example of genre painting. Another Flemish painter, David Teniers, painted a number of works with peasants as the general theme. His paintings included *Peasants Celebrating Twelfth Night* (1635) and *Landscape with Peasants Dancing* (1645–50.) Both the Dutch and the Flemish portrayed peasant life as carefree and happy, with few needs and even fewer wants. This view of peasant life in the Low Countries was due in part to their commercial strengths, religious affiliation, and lowered emphasis on social classes or rank.

In western Europe the population was sharply divided between those who were prosperous and those who were mired in poverty. German artist Christoph Paudiss, painting in the 1660s, also examined the hardships of the peasants in his work *Peasants in a Hut.* This painting exhibited the life of the peasants just a few years after the end of the Thirty Years' War, which devastated the German economy and reduced a large percent of the population into poverty. In France, Georges de La Tour painted a group of poor people gathered around an infant. Without the title, *Adoration of the Shepherds* (1645–50), this painting could be mistaken for a painting of a poor family in the countryside. Louis La Nain painted in a style similar to the Dutch genre paintings. In his painting, *Family of Country People* (1640), he managed to show the drab life of the peasant who had little cause to smile. Le Nain had lived during the time of the Thirty Years' War and was aware of the suffering of the poor as invading armies destroyed their land and crops. Possibly to please his patrons and customers, La Nain depicted the peasants as docile and pious in spite of the terrible living conditions and violent peasant revolts that were occurring in France during this period.

Louis La Nain, *Family of Country People* (1640)

Another French painter, Claude Lorrain, who specialized in landscapes, included peasants in his landscapes to give them a rural feel. In 1637 he painted *Landscape with Peasants Returning with Their Herds.*

In contrast to the rural scenes containing the poor in France and Germany, Marcellus Laroon published a book, *The Cryes of the City of London*, in 1687. It included a number of prints of the poor in an urban setting. The print *London Beggar* showed a woman with three children begging for charity. The poor were depicted in this century as dignified but docile, usually begging for charity or, as exhibited in the Low Countries, happy and carefree.

Eighteenth Century

By the eighteenth century, while the European economy was expanding due to colonial trade, the poor were not able to enjoy this new prosperity. Their conditions worsened and more and more peasants left their homes in search of work and food. Wars continued to plague the peasants in the countryside. Prussia and Austria fought the War of Austrian Succession, Peter the Great fought numerous wars, and the Seven Years' War involved a

number of European countries. With each of these and other conflicts the peasants were displaced from their land, and many were forced to move to the city in search of food or work. The growing number of homeless poor concerned the local governments, which could not meet the demand for assistance. As the fear of rising crime rates concerned officials, a large number of poor were placed in workshops. The largest and poorest class was the farmers, who were often forced off the land by agricultural changes and reform, in addition to war. They either sunk further into poverty, working as laborers for larger landowners or going to the city in search of work.

At the start of the century, the rococo style of elaborate interior designs was popular, and toward the end of the century neoclassicism had developed using the themes from classical Greece and Rome. The poor fit into neither of these categories. The major intellectual movement of this century was the Enlightenment, extolling the virtues of the natural man. Jean Jacque Rousseau, among others, praised the simple life and honest emotion of the peasants. French artist Jean Baptiste Greuze evoked a sentimental view of peasant life in the painting *Betrothal in the Village* (1761.) During this period paintings of the lower class often included moral lessons. In *Betrothal in the Village* happiness was seen as a reward for virtue.

Jean Baptiste Greuze, *Betrothal in the Village* (1761)

This was also evident in Greuze's work, *A Peasant Family Reading the Bible.* In Jean Baptiste Chardin's work, *The Kitchen Maid* (1738), the simple goodness of ordinary people of France was exhibited as virtue.

In England, a desire for reform was expressed through the satire of William Hogarth. His narrative paintings and prints dealt with the social evils of the time, as seen in his prints *Beer Street* in 1750 and *Gin Lane* in 1751. From the point of view of numerous reformers, liquor would ruin the lower classes, as exhibited in the print *Gin Lane.* This engraving was used as powerful propaganda to encourage the passage of the Gin Act of 1751. Although the Scientific Revolution and the Enlightenment brought great hope to Europe, the possibility of a better life did not reach the lower classes.

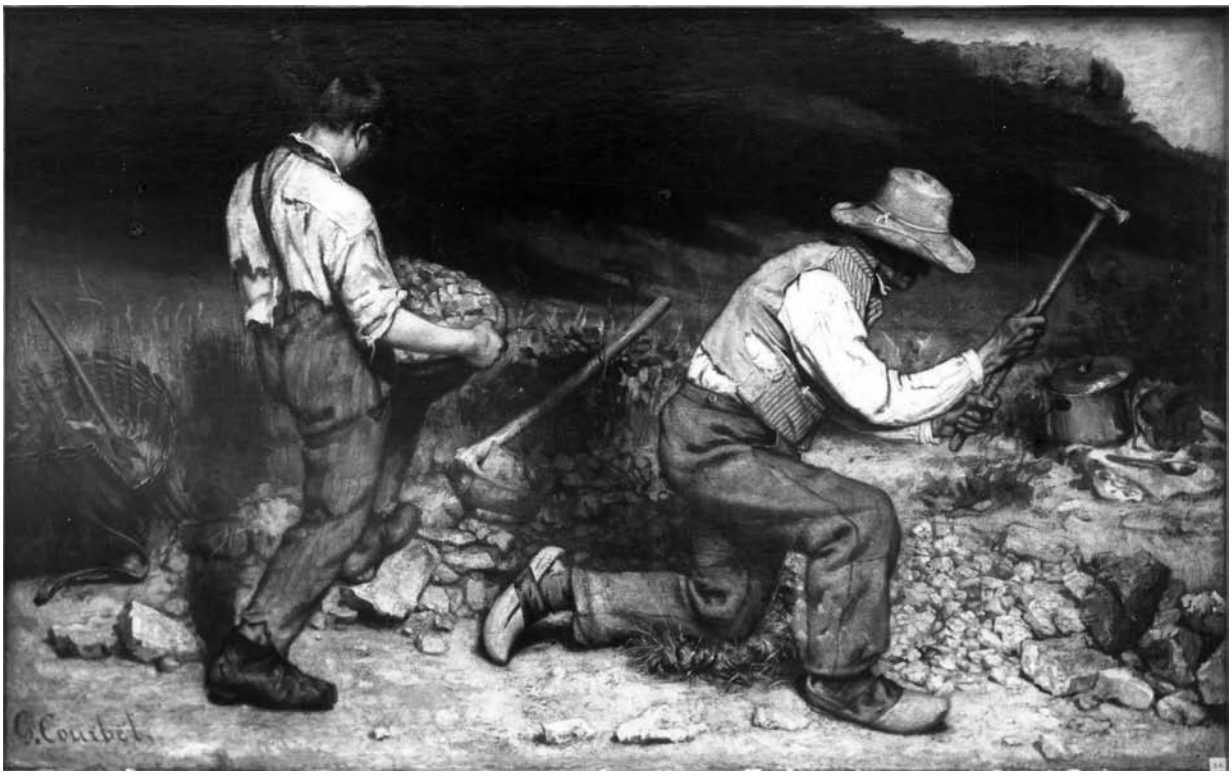
Nineteenth Century

By the nineteenth century, the attitude toward the poor was again one of reform. Social reformers saw education as a means of ending poverty. Public schools provided primary education in most countries in Europe. Begging was not encouraged, and leisure activities were organized for the urban poor to educate themselves with libraries opening and lectures presented. Parks were also established to provide the urban poor with other venues of entertainment. Other reformers wanted to improve the unsafe and unhealthy working conditions in the cities and factories. Ideas from the Enlightenment had filtered down to the lower classes, leading to a desire for rights and a move toward equality. The French Revolution had also spread these ideals, and protests over voting rights, working conditions, or a voice in the government led to riots and revolts that were harshly put down at every turn.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, romanticism was the notable style in art. Romantic artists celebrated the individual and emotions. This was especially true of Spanish artist Francisco Goya's painting *The Third of May* (1814.) Although he painted this scene six years after the event, it still evoked an emotional response from the viewer. The painting described the massacre of poor Spanish villagers by French troops in the Napoleonic Wars. This massacre was in retaliation to a Spanish attack to expel foreign troops on May 2, 1808. By picturing the unarmed and terrified peasants, Goya was able to inspire a feeling of nationalism and also one of pity. As a paradox to that painting, English painter John Constable, from the point of view of a member of the gentry, portrayed an idyllic English countryside in *The Haywain* (1821). It was more remarkable for what it did not show: the outbreaks of violence and arson by the agrarian working class who were being displaced from their land. French painter Eugene Delacroix painted *Liberty Leading the People* (1830). This painting portrayed the events of the Revolution of 1830 in France. It shows a scene with Liberty leading a representative group of Parisians, including the street boy and the urban worker. This painting was one of the few that showed the lower classes as menacing or threatening; however, from the point of view of a romantic, this threat was directed toward the government and not the upper and middle classes.

In keeping with the attitude that begging was not encouraged, French painter Theodore Gericault portrayed a poor, exhausted beggar limply extending his hand while the baker whose shop he is leaning against sells bread to paying customers in the 1821 lithograph *Pity the Sorrows of a Poor Old Man.* In England, still benefiting from the Industrial Revolution, Ford Maddox Brown was extolling the virtues of honest labor. Honest laborers were given strength and dignity in his painting, *Work*. This work also exhibited the attributes of success introduced during the Industrial Revolution. When dire circumstances prevailed, the poor continued to be pictured in a sympathetic manner. In Ireland, the horrors of the Potato Famine were illustrated in Daniel McDonald's painting *The Discovery of the Potato Blight* (1852.) A poor family is shown in despair when their potato crop was ruined.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, realism focused attention on images that had been deemed unworthy earlier. The common laborer and the peasant were more frequently the subject of works by French artists. This was seen as a natural outcome of the Revolution of 1848, when the workers rebelled against the bourgeoisie. The issue of labor became a major concern as the populist movement spread throughout Europe. Realist painters, such as Gustave Courbet, were sincere about painting the world around them, even if it was mundane. In *The Stone Breakers* (1849), Courbet painted the lowest members of society, common laborers who spend their days doing menial labor. The poor pictured here are neither romanticized nor idealized. Courbet in *Burial at Ornans* (1849) focused on the common folk in this drab painting in a bleak countryside.



Gustave Courbet, *The Stone Breakers* (1849)

Best known for portraying the French peasant at this time was Francois Millet. His painting portrayed the country poor at their tasks. Millet was from a peasant background and he could identify with the hardships of the poor. In *The Gleaners* (1857), he painted three peasant women at the lowest level of peasant society. By tradition, they were allowed to glean or pick up any grain that remained on the field after harvest. This backbreaking work provided very little grain, but they were desperate for food. Neither Courbet nor Millet's works were readily accepted by a public that was suspicious of the poor, since the poor were linked to the newly dangerous working class that had led the Revolution of 1848. The middle class also wanted to discontinue granting the traditional gleaning rights for economic reasons, so the sympathetic portrayer of the gleaners did not win their approval.

As the socialist movement with Marx and Engels as spokesmen frightened the middle class even more, favorable portrayals of the working class were less well received. People began to recognize the power of art as propaganda and as a means of political change. Artists were even being jailed if they were suspected of subversive subject matter. Honore Daumier in his lithograph *Rue Transnonain* (1834) described an actual event that occurred in Lyon when a sniper killed a civil guard helping to stop a workers' demonstration. Since the fatal shot had come from an apartment complex for workers, the guards stormed the building and killed all the inhabitants. Daumier's work shows a family that has been massacred in their beds. In *The Third Class Carriage* (1862), Daumier paints a scene in a railcar with the poor separated from the upper and middle class not only physically but mentally as well, as the poor seem to have patiently accepted their lot in life. The use of art for propaganda purposes became even more prevalent by the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The continuing theme of bestowing dignity upon the poor was evident in German painter Wilhelm Leibl's painting *Three Women in a Village Church* (1878–82). He painted three generations of Bavarian women piously attending church. In Russia realism developed in relation to a new concern for the peasantry. In 1861 Czar Alexander II abolished serfdom, emancipating the peasants from virtual slavery. Two years later a group of painters called the Wanderers believed that the authentic Russian culture was rooted in the traditions of the peasants. Ilya Repin's *The Bargehaulers on the Volga* (1870–73) was one of a series of works that detailed the social injustices of the poor. In this painting Repin depicted the peasants as poorly dressed and condemned to the backbreaking work of pulling ships up the Volga River.

Ilya Repin, *The Bargehaulers on the Volga* (1870–73)

This work was similar in many ways to Courbet's portrayals of the hardworking poor in France.

By the end of the nineteenth century photography and lithographs were making art more accessible to the masses and scenes of everyday life were more prevalent. The Impressionists and postimpressionists focused more on landscapes and urban scenes, usually not scenes of the poor. Georges Seurat, in his painting *A Sunday on La Grande Jatte* (1884), depicted public life on a Sunday on an island in the Seine River near an industrial suburb. It showed people from various classes, with a sleeveless worker sitting next to a well-dressed middle-class couple, thus making class distinctions less obvious. Vincent van Gogh, in his work *Road in Etten* (1881), painted a scene of a rural French lane with men sweeping the road, one of the lowest professions at that time. Even though the style is postimpressionism, the message was still the same as in previous centuries: The working poor were viewed with a dignity that belied their precarious struggle between life and death.

As art moved into the twentieth century, the poor were depicted with more frequency. Depending upon the prevailing attitude of government officials, painting and photographs of the poor were used for their realism or a source of propaganda for or against the government. Under certain regimes, these works of art were suppressed so as not to reflect badly upon the government. Paintings of the poor still predominately exhibited the docile attitudes of the hardworking peasants, a scene that appealed to the upper classes of the time.

Conclusion

The statement that art is a window to the world was exhibited by the lack of paintings depicting the poor. According to the middle and upper classes, the poor should be neither seen nor heard. Paintings depicting the often deplorable conditions of the lower class would only cause sympathy and a need to rectify these conditions. That change would cause not only expenditures by the rich, but a complete revision of society and the class structure.

Painters who depicted the poor or downtrodden often had difficulty selling their paintings to the upper classes, who had the means to purchase art. By the nineteenth century governments were unhappy with art used as propaganda depicting the terrible conditions of the poor, and these works were often suppressed. Reformers, on the other hand, used art to attempt to bring about change in both society and the class structure. Even today the poor are seldom acknowledged in works of art.

Guiding Questions

1. What institution was the primary patron of artists from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries, and how did this affect the style and themes used in art?
2. Why was the Dutch Republic different from other western European countries in their style and themes in art, especially in their portrayal of the poor?
3. In England how were the poor portrayed and often to what purpose? In France?
4. What medium in art would enable the poor to be portrayed more realistically, and how does this affect the social structure of the time?
5. Why are there not more works of art that portray the poor?

Activities

Mini-poster

Students will construct a mini-poster of one of the artists who portrayed the poor. Using the Internet, each student will produce a mini-poster, with a picture of the work of art making up about one-third of the page. The remainder of the page will include the title of the work, artist's name, date of the work, country of the artist, and a short paragraph about the work of art.

Students can display these mini-posters in a gallery setting, arranging the mini-posters by date. Students could then discuss how the poor were viewed in each time period and hypothesize on what factors might have brought a change over time. They can also arrange these works by country and by date if more than one work is from the same country. This could also lead to a discussion of change over time within the same country, as well as the change from one country to another as to how the poor were viewed. Change from one country to another could be explained by the form of government, or religious unity, or diversity.

Chart

Students will create a chart on the depictions of the poor in European Art.

Century:	sixteenth	seventeenth	eighteenth	nineteenth
How viewed by the classes:	govt. provide relief for deserving poor	rehabilitation	workshops	education
How portrayed in art by country:	Flemish—sympathetic German—unsympathetic	Spanish—hardworking Dutch—sympathetic Flemish—happy German—sympathetic French—docile English—docile	France—moral lesson English—satire	Spanish—patriotism English—idyllic French—sympathetic German—pious Russian—sympathetic Irish—sympathetic

Assessment

Students will write an essay on either of the following topics.

A. Compare and contrast the use of art to portray the poor in Catholic and Protestant countries and analyze the reason for the difference.

   Or:

B. Assess the validity of the statement, "Art is a window to the world," in relation to the European poor from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries.

AP European History Generic FRQ Scoring Standard (2007)

These guidelines are intended to be generic and should be adapted to suit the particular needs of the question.

9-8

- Thesis is explicit and fully responsive to the question
- Organization is clear, consistently followed, and effective in support of the argument
- Essay is well balanced; all major topics suggested by the prompt are all covered at some length
- All major assertions in the essay are supported by multiple pieces of relevant evidence
- May contain errors that do not detract from the argument

7-6

- Thesis is explicit and responsive to the question
- Organization is clear, effective in support of the argument, but not consistently followed
- Essay is balanced; all major topics suggested by the prompt are covered at least briefly
- All major assertions in the essay are supported by at least one piece of relevant evidence
- May contain an error that detracts from the argument

5-4

- Thesis is explicit, but not fully responsive to the question
- Organization is clear, effective in support of the argument, but not consistently followed
- Essay shows some imbalance; some major topics suggested by the prompt are neglected
- Most of the major assertions in the essay are supported by least one piece of relevant evidence
- May contain a few errors that detract from the argument

3-2

- No explicit thesis or a thesis that merely repeats/paraphrases the prompt
- Organization is unclear and ineffective
- Essay shows serious imbalance, most major topics suggested by the prompt are neglected
- Only one or two major assertions are supported by relevant evidence
- May contain several errors that detract from the argument

1-0

- No discernable attempt at a thesis
- No discernable organization
- One or none of the major topics suggested by the prompt is mentioned
- Little or no supporting evidence used
- May contain numerous errors that detract from the argument

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You can also Google or Yahoo search any of the artists.

How to Adapt an Older DBQ for a Student-Run Lesson

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Teachers are always looking for good ways to incorporate student leadership into AP European History. It is especially challenging because students come in to "Euro" knowing so much less than they might in an American history course. Here is a content-rich way to incorporate student leadership in a DBQ lesson with minimal stress on the student leaders and maximum learning for the students. If your classes are large you can divide them in half and have each half of the class work with a different student leader. This method gives you the chance to offer leadership opportunities to more students and also increases student participation because the groups are smaller. You may also choose to have two student leaders for a whole-class exercise.

How to Prepare

1. Select your student leaders. They do not need to be the very best of your students, though they should be enthusiastic, responsible, and well-regarded by their classmates.
2. Prepare your training sheets for the DBQ you choose.
3. Schedule a short meeting with your student leaders to discuss the content and the procedure. Give them copies of the DBQ and your training sheets. You may want to give your students some "outside information" to read before they teach the "Q." Such extra readings will give the student leaders more confidence, because they will be certain they know more than their classmates, and it will also help them field content questions when the students discuss the documents. Don't give them too much reading because you do not want the task to be onerous. The idea is to make it so painless, pleasant and PRODUCTIVE that students will enjoy the activity, learn from the activity, and want their own turns as student leaders.

Instructions for Student Leader(s) 1980 DBQ: Persecution of Witches

Begin by Reminding the Students of the Tasks They Need to do

1. Answer The Question, or "A.T.Q." They need to find *three* reasons for the persecution of individuals as witches.
2. They need *three* valid groups—NOT the ones provided in the exercise. Inform them that modern DBQ does not group the documents for students. They need a minimum of *two* documents per group. Documents must be discussed individually and specifically.
3. They need discussion of "point of view" *three* times. It does not need to be more than one sentence. POV, in general, addresses the motivation or the reliability of the author or source.

4. Students must use all the documents in their argument—even though the AP standards do not require them to do so, I do! Reassure the students that in the DBQ they will actually take in the AP Exam there will (probably) not be more than twelve documents.

Conduct the Exercise

1. Give everyone his or her copy of the DBQ and instruct everyone not to start reading until you say so. Students should have a pen to write all over the "Q." Give them exactly 15 minutes to read the documents, figure out some groups, locate places for "POV," and make up a thesis. Most students will not complete the task in 15 minutes if it is the first time they have had such a drill, and that's okay! Be sure to tell them so. They will have enough practice over the year that they will all be able to do it when it is time for the AP Exam.
2. After the 15-minute drill, ask for volunteers to share theses, volunteers to describe groups, and volunteers to offer examples of "POV." Ask if there are documents that people did not know how to use. Remind them that there will not be any "trick" documents on the AP Exam. Let your classmates help each other, or use the Training Sheet to explain confounding documents.
3. As you discuss the documents, practice referring to them by author or title so specifically that their AP Readers will know instantly which documents they are discussing. Don't let them get away with references to "Document 3."
4. Keep referring to the terms of the question and make sure that volunteered theses "A.T.Q."
5. Continue trying theses and discussing documents, groups, and ways to do POV until the bell rings.

Making a Training Sheet for an Older DBQ

The idea is to summarize the documents, indicate possible valid groups, and suggest possible ways for students to demonstrate knowledge of "point of view." Even though older DBQs were not composed with the intention of students evaluating the documents' "point of view," it is not difficult to find good chances for students to do so. After all, almost every document can be examined for its motivation and reliability.

For each document write a short summary in the most accessible language you can. You want to communicate speedily and effectively with your student leaders, and you want your student leaders to do the same with their classmates. If there are particular issues that you have found to be challenging for students, note them with a "caution" or similar device. After you have summarized the documents, list some of the possibilities for POV and for the application of Outside Information (OI). The students will probably come up with some good ones of their own. Ask your student leaders to keep, or to delegate someone to keep, a record of their suggestions. Finally, make a list of some valid groups and what holds them together as a group. Again, the students may have ideas of their own that you may wish to add for future use. The main thing is to be sure that students have enough examples of good groups that they will recognize—and shun—the bad ones. A group of "authors whose last name

starts with 'Q.'" for instance, would be a bad group. So would a group of "people who believe in witchcraft" in the Witchcraft DBQ, because the overwhelming majority of voices do.

When you have made your training sheets you can use them, share them, leave them with a substitute teacher, or apply them to the student-run class as suggested here.

If you know you are going to be absent from class, this DBQ activity is a great way to "substitute-proof" your classes so that no matter who substitutes for you, your students will still experience learning. I like to have a couple of class sets of DBQs and training sheets available for days when I might have to be absent unexpectedly as well. For last-minute absences it's a good idea to have a "go-to" student ready to step in as last-minute student leader. You will have spoken to this wonderful individual well in advance about this role, and you will certainly reward him or her handsomely with whatever point system you use. Using this plan will make your students grateful and will make your substitute grateful as well.

1980 DBQ

Using the following documents, identify and analyze at least three major reasons for the persecution of individuals as witches in Europe from the late 15th through the seventeenth centuries.

Document Group A: The Testimony of Accused Witches and Eyewitnesses

(1) "Walpurga Hausmaniun . . . has, upon kindly questioning and also torture, . . . confessed her witchcraft and admitted the following. When . . . she had become a widow, she cut corn for Hans Schlumperger. . . . Him she enticed with lewd speeches and gestures and they convened that they should . . . meet in her . . . dwelling, there to indulge in lustful intercourse. . . . [But] it was not the said bondsman who appeared unto her, but the Evil One [the Devil] in the latter's guise. . . . He made her many promises to help her in her poverty and need, wherefore she surrendered herself to him body and soul . . . For food she often had a good roast or an innocent child, which was also roasted, or a suckling pig. . . . [The Evil One] also compelled her to do away with and to kill young infants at birth. . . . This she did as follows. . . . A child of the Governor here . . . she had so infected with her salve that he died within three days. . . . Three years ago she had sucked out the blood of [citizen] Kunz's child, a twin, so that it died. . . . She had also rubbed a salve on a beautiful son of the . . . Chancellor, . . . this child had lovely fair hair and she had given him a hobby horse so that he might ride on it till he lost his senses. He died likewise. . . ."

Testimony of a licensed midwife at Dillingen, Germany, burned 1587

(2) "This movement was promoted by many in office, who hoped for wealth from the persecution. And so, from court to court throughout the towns and villages of all the diocese, scurried special accusers, inquisitors, . . . dragging to trial and torture human

beings of both sexes and burning them in great numbers. . . . Nor were spared even the leading men of the city of Trier. For the Judge with two Burgomasters, several Councillors and Associate Judges, canons of sundry collegiate churches . . . were swept away in this ruin . . . Meanwhile notaries, copyists, and innkeepers grew rich. The executioner rode a blooded horse, like a noble of the court, and went clad in gold and sliver; his wife vied with noble dames in the richness of her array. The children of those convicted and punished were sent into exile; their goods were confiscated."

The canon Linden, eyewitness to persecutions in Trier, Germany, 1592

(3) "Presently he cryeth out of some poor innocent neighbour that he or she hath bewitched him. For, saith he, such an old man or woman came lately to my door and desired some relief, and I denied it, and God forgive me, my heart did rise against her . . . and presently my child, my wife, myself, my horse, my cow, my sheep, my sow, my hog, my dog, my cat, or somewhat, was thus and thus handled in such a strange manner, as I dare swear she is a witch, or else how should these things be?"

Thomas Ady, describing the feelings of an English householder, circa 1650

(4) "There is one Alice Prabury in our parish that useth herself suspiciously in the likelihood of a witch, taking upon her not only to help Christian people of diseases strangely happened, but also horses and all other beasts. She taketh upon her to help by the way of charming, and in such ways that she will tell nobody her sayings."

Report of Churchwardens in Gloucestershire, England, 1563

(5) Some call me witch,
And being ignorant of my self, they go
About to teach me how to be one; urging,
That my bad tongue (by their bad language made so)
Forespeaks* their cattle, doth bewitch their corn,
Themselves, their servants, and their babes at nurse.
This they enforce upon me; and in part
Make me to credit it.
*makes prophesies or predictions against

"The Witch of Edmonton," a poem written in 1621

(6) "It is seldom that a poor old wretch is brought to trial . . . but there is, at the heels of her, a popular rage that does little less than demand her to be put to death; and if a judge is so clear and open as to declare himself against the impious vulgar opinion, that the devil himself has power to torment and kill innocent children, or that he is pleased to divert himself with the good people's cheese, butter, pigs and geese, . . . cry, this judge hath no religion, for he doth not believe in witches."

Roger North, brother of the Chief Justice in Exeter, England in 1682

(7) "Innocent have I come into prison, innocent have I been tortured, innocent must I die. For whoever comes into the witch prison must become a witch or be tortured until he invents something out of his head and—God pity him—bethinks him of something… When at last (the executioner) led me back into the prison he said to me, 'sir, I beg you, for God's sake confess something, whether it be true or not. Invent something, for you cannot endure the torture which you will be put to; and, even if you bear it all, yet you will not escape, not even if you are an earl, but one torture will follow another until you say you are a witch . . as you may see by all their trials, for one is just like another… 'Dear child, keep this letter secret so that people do not find it.… Good night, for your father Johannes Junius will never see you more."

Letter of Johannes Junius, the mayor of Bamberg, Germany, to his daughter, 1628

Document Group B: Religious Opinions

(1) "As for the question, why a greater number of witches is found in the fragile feminine sex than among men… the first is, that they are more credulous.… The second reason is, that women are naturally more impressionable, and more ready to receive the influence of a disembodied spirit; and that when they use this quality well they are very good, but when they use it ill they are very evil.… But the natural reason is that she is more carnal than a man.… And it should be noted that there was a defect in the formation of the first woman, since she was formed from a bent rib, that is, a rib of the breast, which is bent as it were in a contrary direction to a man. And since through this defect she is an imperfect animal, she always deceives.… "

Kramer and Sprenger, *The Hammer of Witches*, a handbook used by the Inquisition, written in 1484 by two Dominican monks

(2) "It has recently come to our ears, not without great pain to us, that… many persons of both sexes, heedless of their own salvation and forsaking the catholic faith, give themselves over to devils male and female.… We therefore, desiring, as is our duty… to remove all impediments by which… the… inquisitors are hindered in the exercise of their office… do hereby decree, by virtue of our apostolic authority, that it shall be permitted to the… inquisitors… to exercise their office of inquisition and to proceed to the correction, imprisonment, and punishment of the aforesaid persons for their said offences and crimes.… "

Pope Innocent VIII, "The Witch Bull." 1484

(3) "… sorcerers or witches are the Devil's whores who steal milk, raise storms, ride on goats or broomsticks, lame or maim people, torture babies in their cradles, change things into different shapes so that a human being seems to be a cow or an ox, and force people into love and immorality… not that the Devil is unable to do these things by himself without sorcerers, for he is lord of the world, yet he will not act without human help."

Martin Luther, preaching in 1522

(4) "But, the more to excite and urge us to such conduct, the Scripture announces that there are not one, or two, or a few enemies, but great armies who wage war against us. For even Mary Magdalene is said to have been delivered from seven demons, by whom she was possessed; (*Mark xvi. 9.*) and Christ declares it to be a common case, that, if you leave the place open for the re-entrance of a demon who has been ejected, he associates with himself seven spirits more wicked still, and returns to his vacant possession. (*Matt. xii. 43–45*) Indeed, one man is said to have been possessed by a whole legion. (*Luke viii. 30.*) By these passages, therefore, we are taught, that we have to contend with an infinite multitude of enemies…"

John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 1536

(5) "I suffered terribly from fear of Hell and the devils, whom I thought I saw [everywhere]…and sometimes with great rolling flaming eyes like saucers, having sparkling firebrands in one of their hands, and with the other reaching at me to tear me away to torments. Oh the leaps that I have made, the frights that I have had, the fears that I was in."

From the diary of a young Protestant boy, late sixteenth century, E. Rogers, *Some Account of the Life and Opinion of a Fifth-Monarchy Man*, 1867

Document Group C: Scientific Opinions

(1) "The bodies of aged persons are impure, which, when they [become diseased with] malice, they use their very breath and their sight, being apt for contagion, and by the Devil whetted for such purpose, to the vexation and destruction of others. For if they which are troubled with the disease of the eyes called opthalmia do infect others that look earnestly upon them, is it any marvel that these wicked creatures, having both bodies and minds in a higher degree corrupted, should work both these and greater mischiefs?"

W. Fulbecke, *A Parallele or Conference of the Civil Law, the Canon Law, and the Common Law*, 1618

(2) "…that childish old hags called witches can do anything to harm men or animals…I fight with natural reason.…My object is also medical, in that I have to show that those illnesses, whose origins are attributed to witches, come from natural causes.…Since witches are usually old women of melancholic nature and small brains [women who get easily depressed and have little trust in God], there is no doubt that the Devil easily affects and deceives their minds by illusions and apparitions that so bewilder them that they confess to actions that they are very far from having committed.…From consideration of their age and sex, Christians should be less ready to throw these poor mindless old women into dark, black, stinking prisons unfit for humans and inhabited by evil spirits that torment the prisoners."

Johan Wier (a Belgian physician), *De Praestigiis Daemonum*, 1563

Document Group D: Witchcraft Statistics Drawn From Contemporary Court Records

(1) Occupations of the husbands of those accused of witchcraft in an English Region, 1546–1680

Occupation of husbands	Number recorded, 1546–1680
laborer	23
farmer	11
tailor	4
yeoman	4
mason	2
sailor	2
beer brewer	1
shoemaker	1
weaver	1
gentleman	0

From Adam Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England: A Regional and Comparative Study*, 1970 (London: Routledge).

(2) Males and females executed in southwestern Germany, Switzerland, and selected parts of France

Area	Male	Female
southwestern Germany	238 (18%)	1,050 (82%)
Switzerland and selected parts of France	305 (22%)	1,060 (78%)

From Adam Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England: A Regional and Comparative Study*, 1970 (London: Routledge).

(3) Age of Suspected Witches

	Dates	Size of sample	Median age
Basel	1609–1617	10	60 (1 under age 50)
Fribourg, Germany	1607–1683	9	60 (2 under age 50)
Geneva	1537–1662	95	60 (24 under age 50)
Essex, England	1645	15	60 (2 under age 50)
Dept. of the Nord, France	1542–1679	39	55 (14 under age 50)

From H.C. Erik Midelfort, *Witch Hunting in Southwestern Germany, 1562–1684: the Social and Intellectual Foundations*, 1972 (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press)

Document Summaries for Witchcraft DBQ, 1980
With POV, Groups, and Outside Information Opportunities

Group A, Testimony of Accused Witches and Eyewitnesses

Document 1 Testimony of a licensed midwife at Dilligen, Germany, burned 1587
Walpurga Housmannin, the midwife, was tortured until she confessed to witchcraft. She said she made a bargain with the Devil, in the guise of a man, because she was poor. She confessed to killing the children of the Governor and the Chancellor.
POV: She was tortured, so her confession can hardly be believed.

Group A, Document 2 The canon Linden, eyewitness to persecutions in Trier, Germany, 1592
Lots of government officials benefited economically from the witch trials.
POV: As an eyewitness he may be assumed to have seen the things he described. But, of course, he could have been exaggerating if he himself had gained or lost anything in the persecutions.

Group A, Document 3 Thomas Ady, describing the feelings of an English householder, *circa* 1650
Ady describes someone blaming his misfortunes on a witch. The householder said that the witch took revenge upon him, his family, his crops, and his livestock because he denied the person aid when he was begged for it. CAUTION: Be sure students do not think that Ady himself is blaming his misfortunes on a witch. He is talking about someone else.
POV: It sounds as though he does not believe in witches.

Group A, Document 4 Report of Churchwardens in Gloucestershire, England, 1563
The Churchwardens think that Alice Prabury is a witch because she helps heal people and animals and does not explain how she does it.
OI: Accusations of witchcraft were not as prevalent in England as on the continent.

Group A, Document 5 "The Witch of Edmonton," a poem written in 1621
The author says that accusation of witchcraft is so specific and detailed that her accusers have not only taught her how to be a witch but made her believe she might be one.

Group A, Document 6 Roger North, brother of Chief Justice in Exeter, England, 1682
North's brother, a judge, is intimidated by an angry mob of people at an alleged witch's trial. If he says there is no reason to convict he fears being accused himself, or accused of "not believing."
POV: North is sympathetic to his brother's problem and also holds the populace in contempt, angry at the "popular rage" of the crowds and their "impious vulgar opinion."

Group A, Document 7 Letter of Johannes Junius, the mayor of Bamberg, Germany, to his daughter, 1628
Junius has been accused and informed by the executioner that he will be tortured until he confesses and will certainly die. The executioner begs him to make up a confession to spare himself pain. He maintains his innocence.

OI and POV: The letter was smuggled out to his daughter and it is his last testament, so he is probably telling the truth.

Group B, Religious Opinions

Group B, Document 1 Kramer and Sprenger, *The Hammer of Witches*, and handbook used by the Inquisition, written in 1484 by two Dominican monks
The monks explain that women are more likely to be witches because they are both more impressionable and also more carnal. Also, women are inherently defective because they were made from man's bent rib.
OI and POV: These guys "wrote the book" on witchcraft and lobbied aggressively for the Pope to issue the Witch Bull. As monks, they probably did not have much experience with women (or did they?) and of course no scientific knowledge.

Group B, Document 2 Pope Innocent VIII, "The Witch Bull," 1484
The pope says that he has just discovered that there are witches and that they are both male and female. He announces that inquisitors are permitted to search out and punish them.
POV and OI: The Witch Bull changed official Catholic thinking about witches. Before it was promulgated it was anathema to believe in witches, considered superstitious. Afterwards it was anathema *not* to believe. The Pope had been lobbied aggressively by the Dominicans.

Group B, Document 3 Martin Luther, preaching in 1522
Luther calls male and female witches the "devil's whores," describes all the bad things they do and says that the devil will not act without human help, even though he can.
POV: As the leader of the Reformation, if Luther said it, a lot of people would believe it, and it certainly sounds as though he is sincere.

Group B, Document 4 John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 1536
Calvin says that Scripture supports belief in witches and describes humanity as "at war" with these "infinite enemies."
POV and OI: Calvin's method was always to cite Scripture to prove all his theology, a common procedure for Christian argument. He was a well-educated lawyer as well as a theologian. It sounds like he really believes what he is saying.

Group B, Document 5 From the diary of a young Protestant boy, late sixteenth century, E. Rogers, *Some Account of the Life and Opinion of a Fifth-Monarchy Man*, 1867
The young Protestant boy is so afraid of hell and witches that he thinks he sees them everywhere.
POV: He certainly sounds sincere. Was he brainwashed?
NOTE: The account was *published* in 1867 but *written* in the late sixteenth century, i.e., between 1550–1600.

Group C, Scientific Opinions

Group C, Document 1 W. Fulbecke, *A Parallele or Conference of the Civil Law, the Canon Law and the Common Law*, 1618
Old people's bodies are impure and thus more susceptible to temptation from the devil.
POV: The document sounds like a book about comparative law and we don't know what the occupation of the author is. Is he likely to know what he is talking about?

Group C, Document 2 Johan Wier (a Belgian physician), *De Praestigiis Daemonum*, 1563
Wier says it is unreasonable to blame old hags called witches for harm to men and animals. He says such harms can be explained by natural causes. He says the "witches" have small brains and weak faith, and perhaps are affected by the devil who may give them "illusions or apparitions." He says that that they are so confused that they make false confessions. He says that because they are weak (from being female and old) they should not be punished or thrown into prisons.
POV: He is a doctor, so presumably he has experience with old people, and may prefer or respect a scientific approach.

Group D, Witchcraft Statistics Drawn From Contemporary Court Records

Group D, Document 1 Alan Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England: A Regional and Comparative Study*, 1970
Husbands of accused witches tend to be poor.
POV: He is a well-regarded modern scholar and his stats are probably accurate.

Group D, Document 2 Alan Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England: A Regional and Comparative Study*, 1970
Executed witches in Germany, Switzerland, and France tend overwhelmingly to be female.
POV: He is a well-regarded modern scholar and his stats are probably accurate.

Group D, Document 3 H.C. Erik Midelfort, *Witch Hunting in Southwestern Germany, 1562–1684: the Social and Intellectual Foundations*, 1972
Accused witches in all parts of Europe and England tend overwhelmingly to be old.
POV: He is a well-regarded modern scholar and his stats are probably accurate.

Possible Valid Groups:
Accused witches themselves: Witch of Edmonton, Johannes Junius.
Comments: The Witch of Edmonton is not certain he or she is a witch, but Junius is certain that he is not.

Individual people who are accused of being witches: Prabury, Junius, Witch of Edmonton, Hausmannin

People who do not believe in witches: Roger North/Roger North's brother, Johan Wier, Canon Linden,Thomas Ady
Comments: It is hard to see what common thread makes these people so much more rational or compassionate than the other authors. It was dangerous and courageous to take a stand against witchcraft.

Religious leaders: Pope, Kramer and Sprenger, Luther, Calvin, churchwardens
Comments: In spite of all the brutality of the religious wars, all religious groups agreed on the truth of witchcraft.

Modern statistics: Macfarlane, Macfarlane, and Midelfort
Comments: The statistics support the stereotype that witches were old poor women.

Official documents: Churchwardens, Testimony of Walpurga Hausmannin, Witch Bull

About Old People: Fulbecke, Johan Wier, Midelfort, Thomas Ady
Comments: Science was not very "scientific" during the witch craze, and neither was medicine.

Witches as Women: Hausmannin, churchwardens, Macfarlane, Macfarlane, Roger North, Wier, Prabury

Witches as midwives: Hausmannin, churchwardens
Comments: People were scared of women with apparently special powers of healing or special knowledge, as they might be of any oppressed group.

Motives of Accusers: Canon Linden, Thomas Ady, Hausmannin
Comments: The motives are either fear for one's own life and safety, or personal gain.

A Thematic Unit for the Intersection of Gender and Class in AP European History

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Forward

Students come to AP European History understanding that poor people have a different, a disadvantaged, historical experience than rich people. They have similar ideas about women. However, women's experience in history is profoundly affected by their class. Elite women will not have the same experience as their non-elite sisters; frequently they will reject goals of non-elite women, especially in the realm of economic change and sometimes even in the pursuit of political rights. Women's experience needs to be analyzed in the context of their class. When teachers address the question "Whose history is it?" they should look at the *intersection* of class and gender.

Students who have previously studied United States history may come to AP European with some knowledge of the "Cult of Domesticity." They may also have been exposed to Sojourner Truth's famous proclamation, "Ain't I a woman?" It may be helpful to juxtapose these assumptions about women. The first ideology, the middle class or elite one, asserts that they belong in a pure "sphere" isolated from the contaminating influence of the outside world; the second asserts that poor women face the same physical hardships that all poor people face regardless of gender.

The larger question is the need to understand the *diversity* of women's experience. It is the same for all minority, disadvantaged or oppressed groups. They do not all have the same experiences or grievances. Class makes a huge difference in the experiences of these groups and, therefore, in the ideology they embrace and the programs they advocate. Other factors, including race, national identity and pacifist ideology, contribute as well.

There is a huge psychological and pedagogical bonus to recognizing the interaction between gender and class in history. If you communicate to your students that minority experience in general is not homogeneous, that there are important economic, cultural and intellectual differences within these larger all-too-often stereotyped groups, of which women are only one, your African American, Asian, Jewish, Hispanic, Muslim, and other minority students will be grateful for your understanding and much more receptive to you as a teacher. They will probably be more inclined to give you their best effort.

Here are some good questions to help your students analyze the relationship between gender and class. They work for each lesson in the unit and for analyzing women's history in other areas as well:

1. How was women's work experience/marriage experience/child-rearing experience/ education experience different from men's within social class?
2. How was women's work experience/marriage experience/childrearing experience/ education experience different from other women's in different social classes?
3. How can one account for the long delay in women's achieving political equality and the even longer delay in women's achieving economic equality?
4. How did women of different classes define their grievances? How did they define feminism? What kinds of arguments did they use to advance their causes? How were these arguments received by men within their own class? Within their ideology, for instance, among socialists? What difference did class make to women within the feminist movements?
5. To what extent did women in different classes identify with each other's experiences?

The lessons in this unit use a variety of primary, secondary and visual sources. They may be evaluated through writing, student-made art work, class or small-group discussion, or multiple-choice questions.

Lesson One: Women in the Reformation

Methods: Scored Discussion and DBQ drill.

Readings:

Bridenthal, Renate, Claudia Koonz, and Susan Stuard, eds. *Becoming Visible: Women in European History.* 2nd ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1987. 202–219.

Briggs, Robin. *Witches and Neighbors*. New York: Viking Press, 1996. 17–59.

Ozment, Steven, and Frank M. Turner, eds. *The Many Sides of History: Readings in the Western Heritage; Volume I: The Ancient World to Early Modern Europe*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1987. 318–335.

Wiesner, Merry. *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 218–237

Evaluations: written DBQ, Class or Small-Group Discussion

Active learning: Student participation and student leadership are central to both activities.

Procedure:

1. Teach the AP European history DBQ on Witchcraft from 1980. The Reformation is taught early in the year when it is especially useful to combine delivering content with the requirements and skills students need to succeed on the DBQ. This lesson is also a good one to incorporate student leadership if desired. The directions for

a student-led lesson may be found in "How to Adapt an Older DBQ for a Student Run Lesson."

2. Have your students prepare for the discussions by asking them to read the packets for homework and make notes on their responses to the discussion questions.

In class conduct a **whole-class discussion** according to your favorite method—or—in class conduct your preferred method of **small-group discussion**. Here are some ways to do it:

Divide the students into groups and have them discuss their responses. Decide if you want to focus on discussing the breadth of their perspectives or on discovering a consensus. Decide on a reasonable amount of time for the discussion according to the difficulty of the material and their ability to engage with it. You know what will work for your students.

Variation 1: Pick or have the students pick a leader to report their findings to the class.

Variation 2: Pick or have the students pick a reporter to keep a record of students' contributions and questions.

Variation 3: Pick the groups ahead of time and balance them in ways that are appropriate for your students. Think about general ability, general interpersonal skills, general willingness to talk, and other factors.

Some Questions for the Class or Small-Group Discussion on Women in the Reformation

Did changes in the Reformation provide opportunities for women? In what ways did the Reformation limit women or change women's roles? In what ways did the Catholic Church during this period provide opportunities for women? OVERALL, DID THE REFORMATION IMPROVE CONDITIONS FOR WOMEN OR NOT? Look at education, role, and value of role within the family, and opportunities for leadership/education outside the home. Favorable or detrimental ideology? In what ways did the witch craze reflect anti-female sentiment and in what ways did it reflect other social, economic, or religious issues? How do you account for both Protestant and Catholic faiths accepting witchcraft? How do you account for the fact that 80 percent of executed witches were women? Compare marriage and family life in Catholic areas with family life in Protestant areas: more similar or more different? In which areas?

Lesson Two: *The Harlot's Progress*—"Working Women" in Eighteenth-Century London

Most historical political cartoons about women's issues are made from a man's perspective by a male artist. Studying these sources is, therefore, a great way to help your students analyze *Point Of View*.

Methods: Whole-class discussion after individual interrogation of the documents

Readings: William Hogarth's series *The Harlot's Progress*.

Evaluation: In-class or take-home essay. Discuss Hogarth's attitudes toward women of different life situations as revealed in *The Harlot's Progress*.

Active Learning: Students interrogate the documents individually.

Procedure: Give your students the six plates in the series, with the key printed on the backs of the images. Instruct them to not look at the key, but just to interrogate the pictures one at a time to understand the narrative. I like to play Handel in the background while the students look at the pictures. Tell them not to move from one picture to the next until instructed to do so. The idea is to be sure they have lots of time to look and question, and to be sure they know that there is lots to see. Ask them to highlight the parts of the pictures that are confusing. When they have had ample time to see all the images, begin a whole-class discussion about the heroine, Moll Hackabout.

Hogarth's engravings show the decline and fall of a seamstress who moves to the "big city" of London in the middle of the eighteenth century. The source mentioned in the bibliography provides a detailed explanation of the engravings so that teachers do not need to be expert in art history to use these lively and revealing documents. Ask your students how Hogarth feels about his heroine, and the society that has driven her to her terrible end. Would the story have been told the same way by a woman? Would all women, from all classes, have told it the same way? What roles do women of all classes play in this story?

The Harlot's Progress tells the story of the fall and speedy destruction of a girl who comes from the country to London to earn a livelihood. The work is primarily didactic; Hogarth's intention was to reveal through the girl's life the follies and miseries of vice with a view to providing his audiences of the negative consequences for their own conduct. Rigorous and unflinching as the tale is, however, it is not narrowly conceived or insensitively narrated. It is a discriminating portrayal of the fatal nature of human vanity and blindness, however innocuous, in the face of ruthless economic and sexual forces. It is also an account of the brutalizing effects of city life and a biting analysis of the institutions, classes, and professions that exploit and destroy human beings and of the types of people that are attracted to them. Not least of all it is a tale of the vulnerable position of women in a society whose laws, customs, and members are predisposed against them.

William Hogarth, *The Harlot's Progress*, 1732, Plate 1

Plate I

"Before the Bell Inn in Wood Street, Mary or Moll Hackabout, newly arrived in London, is caught between the aggressive agents of corruption, who are set against the crumbling tavern wall, and the ordinary (and passive) middle-class people arranged around the solidly built home. Dressed in modestly designed clothes and bearing the scissors and pin cushion of a dressmaker, she has just alighted from the York wagon. Though she appears as fresh and artless as the rose that covers her bosom, her expression suggests that she is a little flattered by the attention of the bawd.

"Above Moll, a housewife, surrounded by chamber pots and laundry, hangs out clothing. She seems to represent the secure if unexciting bourgeois life the girl leaves behind. With his back to her an affluent clergyman, perhaps Moll's father, reads the address on a letter, probably a request to the Bishop of London for a sinecure ('To the Right Reverend Father in London'). Short-sighted and insensitive to the crises around him (including his own), like his horse, he is intent on fulfilling his personal ambitions and desires at the expense of his flock.

"A bawd feels Moll with her naked hand in the same clinical way animals are inspected before purchase. This figure is said to resemble Mother Needham, the keeper of a notorious brothel patronized by the aristocracy; she had recently been stoned to death by the London populace when she was pilloried for managing a disorderly house. This procuress seems to be the instrument of the nobleman who stands in the shadow of the door leering intensely at the girl, his right hand fumbling suspiciously in his pocket. A symbol of aristocratic corruption, he has come with his pimp to prey on the indigent, naïve young girls who alight here from the country. The nobleman has been identified as Colonel Charteris, the worst of the exploitative privileged class to which he belonged.

"The coffin-like trunk with Moll's initials, the preoccupied clergyman (motifs which appear in the final scenes) and the dead goose ('For my Lofing Cosen in Tems Stret in London') give a funereal and ominous cast to the scene."

William Hogarth, The Harlot's Progress, 1732, Plate 2

Plate II

"Seduced by the glitter of a life of wealth and comfort, Moll has fallen quickly from the hands of the procuress and nobleman into the keeping of an unattractive but wealthy Jewish businessman. Quite transformed by her experience, she apes the lifestyle of the class to which

she aspires; instead of her modest work clothes she wears silk stockings, stylish shoes and a fashionable dress that reveals her arms and her breast. Her face, which bears a look of spirited insolence, is adorned with a beauty spot that may hide the first signs of venereal disease.

"Her apartment is richly appointed. She keeps a maid (dressed much as she herself was in Plate I), an exotic West Indian servant boy and a monkey. The monkey, the most pointed indication of her affection, resembles the merchant in facial expression and posture, and there is little difference in her treatment of either plaything. Prominent on her dressing table is a mirror, symbol of vanity, beside it a jar of make-up and a smiling white mask. The mask, which is not unlike a death mask, suggests that Moll has been taken to a masquerade by her partially but fashionably dressed visitor, a fellow noticeably more youthful and attractive than the middle-aged businessman who supports her.

"Behind her hang small portraits of two contemporaries held to be atheists, Samuel Clarke and Thomas Woolaston. Above the whole scene are two large paintings, one of Jonah outside Nineveh seated next to an ivy plant, the other of David dancing before the Ark while Uzzah, attempting to touch it, is knifed in the back. The picture of Jonah may be a warning to heed the prophet's message to reform. The painting of David and Uzzah, one of whom is killed for his sacrilege, the other rebuked by his wife for his indecency, seems to foreshadow the fates that await the two characters in the scene."

William Hogarth, *The Harlot's Progress*, 1732, Plate 3

Plate III

"Discarded by the merchant and her marketability reduced by disease, Moll is forced to live in a slum in Drury Lane and serve the population at large, even sexual deviants. Her principal lover is now a highwayman, James Dalton; his wig box rests on top of her crudely arranged canopy. In this breakfast scene, which exactly parallels the previous one, Moll rises at 11:45 a.m. to take her morning tea. Dressed a little less flamboyantly and looking considerably less vivacious, she dangles a watch taken from the previous night's customer.

"An ugly but practiced woman whose nose has been eaten away by disease has replaced her naïve servants. The bunter seems intended to serve as an example of the fate of those superannuated harlots who survive the mortal effects of syphilis. Moll's bed, only partially visible in a discreet corner of her former apartment, now fills the room. The delicate silver teapot is now replaced by a tin pot and the elegant table by a heavy, functional piece on which lie butter wrapped in a pastoral letter ('Pastoral Letter to') and some eating utensils. Her crude vanity holds a jar of professional make-up, a broken piece of mirror, a gin bottle, a fine-comb, a chipped punchbowl, a broken stem glass and a liquor measure. A letter addressed 'to Md. Hackabout' lies in the vanity drawer. Beneath the table are ale measures and tobacco pipes.

"The exotic monkey is replaced by a household cat that postures suggestively to indicate the girl's occupation. The large, expensively framed pictures of the previous apartment are here reduced to four small works. Above her chair (which holds her work coat, a candle and a dish—used as a chamber pot) is a medallion of some saint. Above that hangs portraits of Moll's idols, the roguish highwayman Mac(k)heath from Gay's *Beggar's Opera* and Dr.. Sacheveral S.T.P. (*sanctae theologiae professor*), a controversial divine of the period. Placed purposefully on top of these portraits are a jar and two vials of 'cures' for venereal diseases."

William Hogarth, The Harlot's Progress, 1732, Plate 4

Plate IV

"Sentenced to Bridewell Prison, Moll beats hemp with the other prisoners, mostly women, in this brutalizing house of 'correction.' The spirited look is gone from her tired, flabby face and her mouth droops slightly. She lifts her mallet only with great effort. Dressed in a grand gown, she is an object of ridicule to those around her. At her side stands a stern-faced jailer who threatens her with a leg-iron and cane—the stocks are already filled by another inmate.

"The prison itself is a nurturer of crime; behind Moll a woman (perhaps the keeper's wife) steals an item of the girl's dress while she mocks her fashionable condition and acquired sensibilities. Moll's servant, dressed in rags but for a pair of incongruously gaudy shoes and stockings, smiles at a woman's treatment of her mistress. Beside the servant, a woman kills vermin on her body.

"The prisoners are ranked by the warden according to their wealth and appearance. Next to Moll stands an older, well-dressed man who has been permitted to bring his dog to jail with him; the forged playing card that lies in front of him has betrayed him. Next to him

stands a mere child with a look of resignation on her pretty face; she works with great earnestness and intensity. Beside her a more experienced, older woman rests on her mallet as she watches the keeper's movements. The last visible figure in the line is a pregnant Black, evidence that women of all races are subject to the same fates. At the shed is a crude vengeful stick drawing of Sir John Gonson hanging from the gallows; the letters 'sir J.G.' appear above it. On the left wall stands a whipping post with the warning 'the Wages of Idleness.'"

William Hogarth, *The Harlot's Progress*, 1732, Plate 5

Plate V

"Moll is dying of venereal disease; already her face is white and waxen and her head falls lifelessly backward. The scene around her is agitated and disordered. Two expensively dressed parasites (identified as Dr. Richard Rock and Dr. Jean Misaubin) quarrel violently over the efficacy of their cures as the patient-victim expires unattended in their view. Before Moll's corpse is cold, a strange woman (perhaps the land-lady) rifles her trunk. She has already selected for herself the most ominous articles of Moll's wardrobe: her witch's hat, her dancing shoes, and her mask (now a black death mask) with a fan stuck grotesquely through its eyes. Moll's maid, with one comforting arm around the dying girl, attempts to

stop the looting and the turmoil. The girl's son sits beside his mother, oblivious to her death, struggling with the lice in his hair and attempting to cook for himself.

"The small apartment is the poorest and most primitive of Moll's abodes. Plaster has fallen from the walls; coal is stacked to the right of the fireside next to the bedpan covered with the plate ('B . . . Cook at the . . . '); holes in the doors have been filled in to keep the place warm. The room is without any of the signs of Moll's personality that characterize her previous apartments. Instead of works of art there hang on the wall only a broken mirror and a fly trap (a Jewish Passover cake coated with a sticky substance).

"Nor are there any of the usual signs of liquor; all her money has been spent on quacks for her disease. On the floor, by the overturned table, lies an advertisement for an "anodyne" (pain-killing) necklace purchased to cure her own or perhaps her son's congenital syphilis. The mantelpiece is lined with similarly useless prescriptions. By the pipe, spittoon and old punchbowl lie Moll's teeth; loosened by the fruitless use of mercury as a cure for venereal disease, they have come out. Over the expiring figure of Moll hang the limp, ghostly forms of her laundry."

William Hogarth, *The Harlot's Progress*, 1732, Plate 6

Plate VI

"Moll, dead at the age of twenty-three, is being waked. The plate on her coffin reads: 'M. Hackabout Died Sepr 2d. 1731 Aged 23.' Nobody mourns her passing at the mock vigil held for her. Leading lives without options, her sisters have little to learn from her death. Gathered around her coffin, they exhibit a variety of contrasting attitudes toward the occasion. Their spiritual leader, the clergyman (identified by Hogarth as 'the famous Couple-Beggar in The Fleet'), who is supposed to give a religious tone to the event, has his hand up the skirt of the girl beside him. His venereal preoccupation causes him to spill. The face of the girl who covers his exploring hand with a mourning hat is filled with a look of dreamy satisfaction.

"Before the coffin Moll's son, decked out grandly as the principal mourner, plays with his spinning top. At the right side of the scene an old woman, probably Moll's bawd, howls in a fit of tears inspired as much by the brandy bottle at her side as by considerations of her financial loss. Behind the bawd, an undertaker oversolicitously assists a girl with her glove; she postures as if in grief as she steals his handkerchief. At the mirror a girl adjusts her headgear vainly, oblivious to the prominent disease spot on her forehead. A weeping figure shows a disordered finger to a companion who seems more curious than sympathetic.

"Only one person lifts back the coffin lid (which is being used as a bar) to look in detached curiosity, rather than in grief or reflection, upon Moll's corpse. In the background, two older women huddle together demonstratively and drink. The only person with a sense of decorum is Moll's maid, who glares angrily at the conduct of the parson and his mate. Above the scene stands a plaque showing three faucets with spigots in them, the ironic coat of arms of the company."

Note: Illustrations and text are taken from Sean Shesgreen, ed. *Engravings by Hogarth: 101 Prints*. New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1973.

Lesson Three: Bluestocking and Socialist Women in Nineteenth-Century France

Most historical political cartoons about women's issues are made from a man's perspective by a male artist. Studying these sources is, therefore, a great way to help your students analyze *Point Of View*.

Method: Select secondary and primary sources according to your students' abilities. Have the students read these materials before they come to class to look at the visual sources.

Readings: Daumier cartoons; secondary source selections from *Becoming Visible* and *Changing Lives*; primary sources from Susan Groag Bell and Karen M. Offen, *Women, the Family and Freedom: The Debate in Documents*, two vols., Stanford University Press:

Stanford, Calif., 1983; from Erna Olafson Hellerstein, et al., *Victorian Women: A Documentary Account of Women's Lives in Nineteenth Century England, France and the United States*, Stanford University Press: Stanford Calif., 1981; or from Eleanor S. Riemer and John C. Fout, *European Women: A Documentary History, 1789–1945*, Schocken Books: New York, 1980.

Evaluation: In-class or take-home essay. "How did Daumier represent or misrepresent the goals and grievances of French socialist women? Alternative evaluation: Ask students to create their own political cartoons from Daumier's own point of view or from the point of view of one of the socialist women. Alternative evaluation: class or small-group discussion. Alternative Evaluation: multiple-choice quiz.

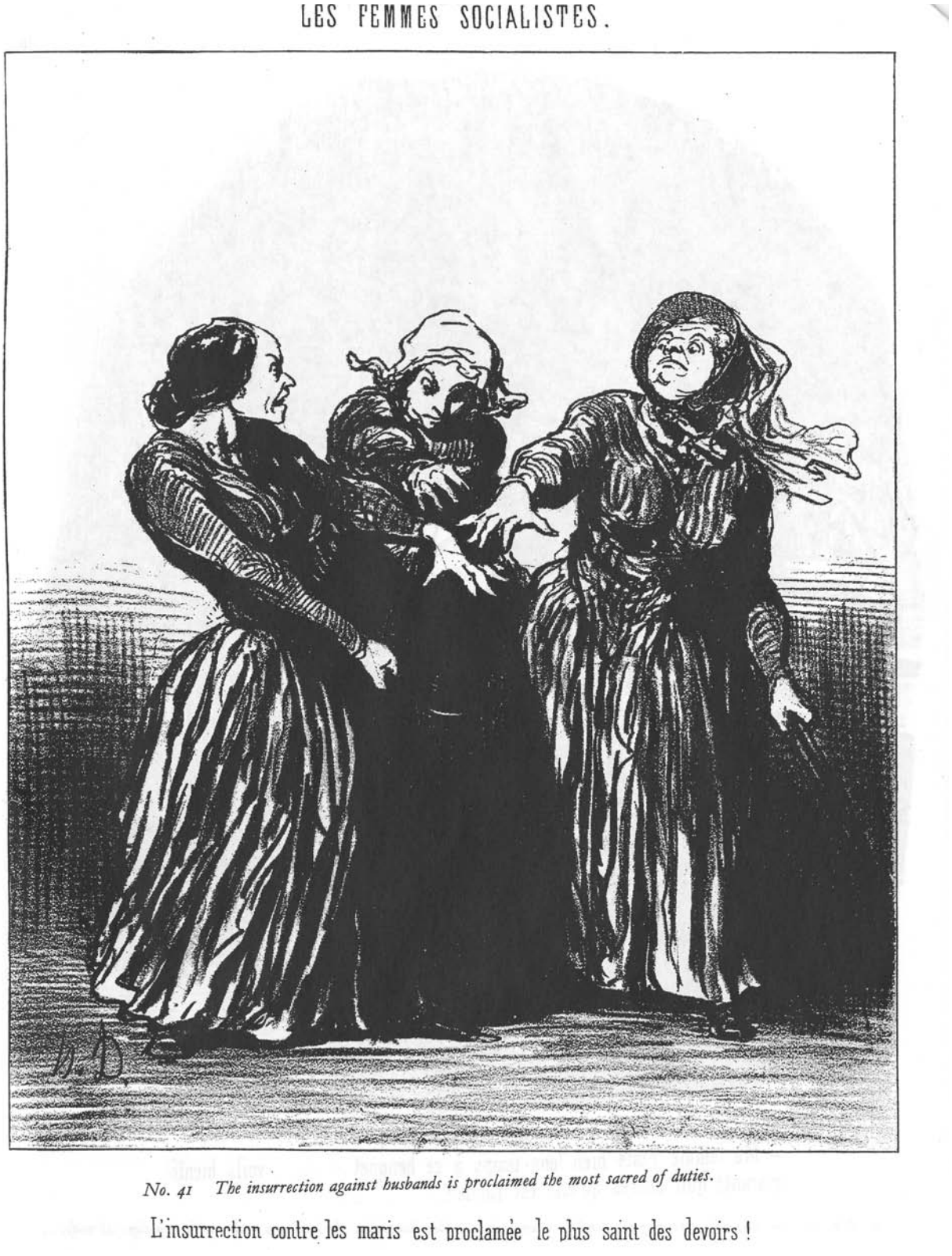
Active Learning: Students are interrogating visual sources and discussing them.

Procedure: Have students interrogate the pictures while playing your favorite French music from the early nineteenth century in the background. When they are done begin a whole-class or small-group discussion using the questions below. Follow with reading excerpts from *Becoming Visible* and class or small-group discussion.

Questions for Discussion on Daumier Cartoons

Honore Daumier made numerous cartoons mocking Saint-Simonian socialist women, "bluestocking" women, and others. He accused them of destroying the domestic harmony of middle-class households.

What were the real goals and grievances of the Saint-Simonian and other socialist women? What about them was so threatening to Daumier? Compare the cartoons to modern arguments for women's rights made in the post-World War II period, in the United States, and in Western Europe. What group of women is likely to be arguing for "domestic freedom"? Or "free love"? How effective were these women in achieving their goals? What conditions hampered their achievement? What issues might have been more urgent for women without education?



Honore Daumier, cartoon published in *Le Charivari*, April 20, 1849

Honore Daumier, cartoon published in *Le Charivari*, May 11, 1849

Honore Daumier, cartoon published in *Le Charivari*, June 9, 1849

Questions for Class or Small-Group Discussion Based on Chapters from *Becoming Visible*

Feminism, Socialism, and Feminist Socialism

Which is a better position: individualist or relational feminism? (Of course you will also have to define "better.") What is, or should be, the role of class in feminism? Should one's gender be more important than one's class? What are the differences in feminism, socialism, and feminist socialism, and how do they play out in England, France, and Germany? What's the difference between "bourgeois-feminism" and socialist feminism? Is there such a thing as "pure" feminism? How valid is the idea for the "mother-educator?" What kept the women's movement from being unified and successful? (And, of course, how would you define "success"?) What were the most important different social, political, and economic policies advocated by feminists in England, France, and Germany?

THE DIGNITY OF THE FRANCHISE.

Qualified Voter. 'AH, YOU MAY PAY TAXES, AN' YOU MAY 'AVE RESPONSERBILITIES AN' ALL; BUT WHEN IT COME TO *VOTIN*, YOU MUST LEAVE IT TO US *MEN*!" October 5, 1905

"The Dignity of the Franchise," 1905

Sample Multiple-Choice Questions for Feminism, Socialism, Feminist Socialism and Other Issues of Women's Experience in the Nineteenth Century

Feminism emerged as an important movement in the later nineteenth century. Its most important focus in the early years was on

a. charity management
b. nationalism
c. religious reforms
d. suffrage
e. factory safety

key: d

Which of these cultural innovations is NOT identified with "La Belle Epoque?"

a. increased participation of women in recreation
b. increased shopping opportunities, especially in department stores
c. development of bicycle riding as a participant and spectator sport
d. poisoning of husbands by urban women excluded from public recreation facilities
e. leisure activities increasingly available for the lower and middle classes

key: d

English feminism was different from Continental feminism because

a. England got universal manhood suffrage late and the industrial revolution early.
b. English married women already had broad rights to property and divorce.
c. unlike in France and Germany, socialist feminist women never had separate parallel groups to belong to.
d. there was widespread acceptance of Bebel's "Twaddle" theory of woman's special gifts for childrearing.
e. of the French Revolution.

key: a

Which is NOT TRUE about the acceptance of the "mother-educator" ideology?

a. It led to organization of motherhood training schools for women in Germany.
b. It supported the argument for women's increased access to education.
c. It was a main idea of the relational feminists.
d. It was supported by nonfeminists who wanted women to stay at home and care for children.

e. It made staying at home a more palatable choice for women by arguing that they were contributing to the well-being of their country.

key: c

Which is NOT a shared attitude of nineteenth-century European feminists?
a. There exists a common female experience.
b. Women are subject to institutional injustice.
c. The goals of feminism are to enhance women's power and to end the coercive power of men.
d. Men and women are fundamentally equal in nature and in abilities.
e. all the above

key: d

Which assertion would a "relational" feminist be most likely to support?
a. Women are only different from men because of history and custom.
b. Women's role in the family is not as important as her personal fulfillment.
c. Socialism is needed to make women economically independent from men.
d. Women are psychologically different from men and have special roles in society.
e. Women need to vote because they are citizens of their nations.

key: d

Which is NOT true of individualistic feminism?
a. It appealed only to bourgeois women.
b. It derived from Enlightenment ideals.
c. It was the more radical than relational feminism.
d. It focused more on a woman's personal fulfillment and less on her role as mother.
e. One of its advocates was John Stuart Mill.

key: d

Professionalized team sports emerged during the later nineteenth century largely due to
a. more leisure time and money available to the working class.
b. increased royal patronage.
c. desire of the church to fill workers' free time with approved activities.
d. desire of the masses to see violence and cruelty.
e. interest of women in more exciting activities than sewing and cleaning.

key: a

Which demographic change was of major concern to French political leaders at the end of the nineteenth century?

a. higher age at first marriage for women and men
b. increasing proportion of people who never married
c. increasing proportion of poor people
d. declining birth rate among all classes
e. increasing illegitimacy rate among the middle classes

key: d

The women's suffrage movement was most active and successful in the early twentieth century in which one of the following countries?

a. England
b. Germany
c. France
d. Switzerland
e. Italy

key: a

During the later nineteenth century, which of the following jobs was NOT a new area of opportunity for employment for women?

a. school teacher
b. secretary
c. telephone operator
d. shop assistant
e. mine worker

key: e

What phrase best describes the role of European women in factories as the nineteenth century progressed?

a. They held more responsible positions.
b. Fewer of them worked in factories.
c. More of them worked in industry.
d. More women factory workers were married than single.
e. Women were more resistant to factory discipline.

key: c

Lesson Four: Fashion and Fun

Method: Visual interrogation and class discussion.

Readings: Selected pictures from Norah Waugh's *Corsets and Crinolines*; selections from Eugen Weber's *France Fin de Siecle*

Evaluation: In-class or take-home essay: "Compare and contrast the underwear advertisements in nineteenth-century France and England with underwear advertisements from a variety of modern magazines." (Use your judgment about what will work in your community.) Alternative evaluation: Have students draw underwear ads as they might be drawn by the socialist women from LESSON THREE. Alternative evaluation: Scored Discussion. Alternative evaluation: multiple-choice quiz.

Active learning: Visual interrogation and whole-class and small-group discussion.

Procedure:

1. Underwear is always an engaging topic for young people. Have them look at the pictures of corsets in Norah Waugh's book and "deconstruct" them. Such a project is ideal for collaboration with your colleagues in English who might be more familiar with the method. Ask your students who is buying and wearing these garments. What garments do they think other groups of women were wearing? How did women get themselves into the garments? Who helped them? How realistic are the drawings? Would they have been made the same way, with the same subtext of sexuality, if they had been drawn by men? Why are the upper-class women likely to buy and wear them? You can also show these images to your students in conjunction with a discussion of how middle-class and elite women's participation in recreation changed in the late nineteenth century, for example, if you do the "Fashion and Fun" discussion based on Weber's *France: Fin de Siecle*.
2. Follow the visual interrogation with a whole-class or small-group scored discussion based on the Weber readings.

QUESTIONS FOR CLASS AND SMALL-GROUP DISCUSSION

on *France: Fin de Siecle* by Eugen Weber
Otherwise known informally as "Fashion and Fun"

"Affections and Disaffections"

How would you describe French family life in the late nineteenth century? In what ways does Weber's evidence explode any myths about "the good old days"? What kinds of long-term effects would these experiences have on young children? Is there evidence that there were any such consequences?

How were conditions for women in rural communities? How could society justify wife-selling? What if any was the relationship between women's rights and the power of the Roman Catholic Church? How did the relationship between sexual activity and ill health affect relationships between husbands and wives, men and women? How big of a change has there been since then?

How would you explain the relationship between women's "liberation" and paid employment? What would it mean in the nineteenth century to be "liberated"? How would your modern answer to that question be different? Or the same?

What relationships can you make between changes in women's fashion and changes in society? What relationships can you make between social class and social/cultural change? How did political changes relate to changes in women's fashion? Can you make any comparisons to modern times?

Explain how underwear came to be so much more important in the late nineteenth century than it had before? How did different social classes respond to underwear and also to new issues of personal hygiene?

What other kinds of freedom came along with "freedom from the corset"?

"La Petite Reine"

In what ways was the bicycle an emblem of progress? Can anything in contemporary life be seen that way? Trace the accessibility of the bicycle from the very rich to the working classes. In what ways do you see the origins of modern sports, sports heroes, or sports fans, sporting press, sports marketing? In what ways did the bicycle craze promote social mobility and social equality? In what ways did the bicycle craze promote freedom and opportunity for women? How did the craze affect women's fashions and what were the long term consequences of these changes? What ideas about women's health came to light in the bicycle craze? Can you make any comparison to ideas about women's health from the Reformation and early Scientific Revolution? What do you think the men were scared of? Origins of and consequences of the *Michelin Guide*? Trace the changing cost of bicycles and the relationship between their cost and workingmen's wages. What caused the decline in the bicycle craze? Any modern comparisons? In what ways did the development of the automobile parallel the development of the bicycle? What was the role of racing in promoting both bicycles and automobiles? (And, hey, look at all the famous names of modern companies that got their start in this period!!) What's the Tour de France really all about? What were its cultural and economic contributions to French life?


CORSETS AND CRINOLINES
Norah Waugh

55 **1791.** "The bosom, which Nature planted at the bottom of her chest, is pushed up by means of wadding and whalebone to a station so near her chin that in a very full subject that feature is sometimes lost between the invading mounds."

From a contemporary caricature

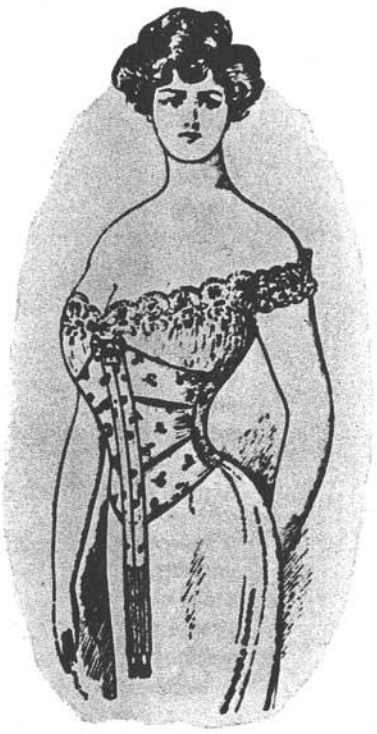
63 **1898.** "Corset Tailleur", coutil, 7s. 11d. (*Peter Robinson*)

64 **1899.** "Swanbill" corset, black coutil, £1 10s. (*Adley Bourne*)

65 **1900.** "Spécialité" corset. The new straight-fronted corset, white coutil, 27s. 6d. (*Dickins and Jones*)

66 **1900.** "Spécialité" corset, (*Dickins and Jones*)

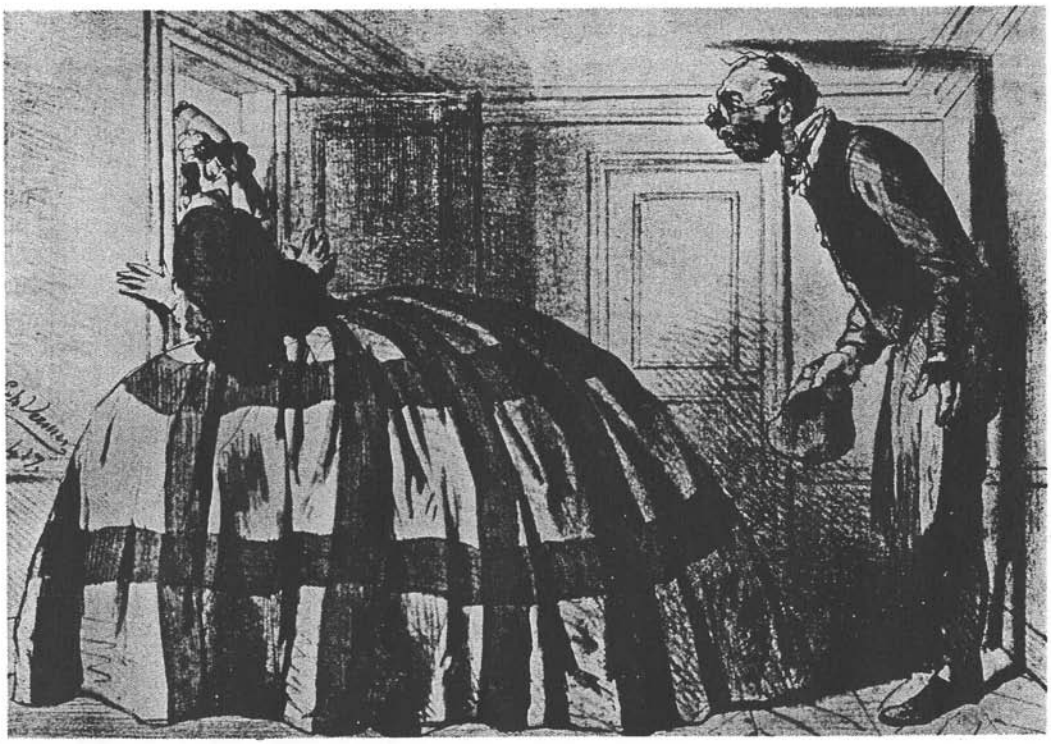
67 **1907.** Corset in white coutil, 15s. 9d. (*Royal Worcester*)



68 **1908.** Ribbon corset, 1s. 11½d. (*Spiers and Ponds*)

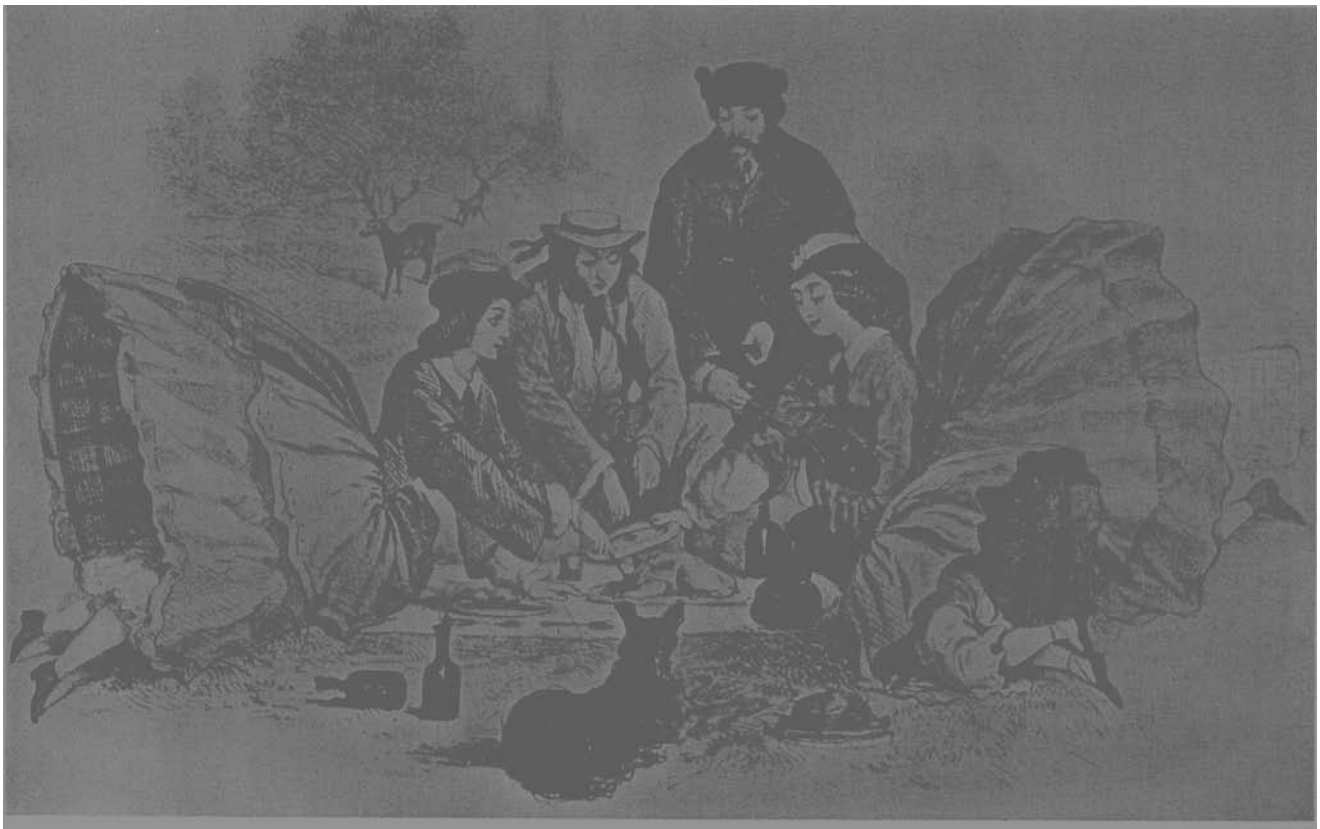
FROM "WASP-WAIST" TO "S-CURVE"

108 *c.* 1858. "Jeune dame à la mode, faisant faire un point à sa Jupe." Riveting a crinoline was a favourite subject of the cartoonist when steel cage petticoats first appeared



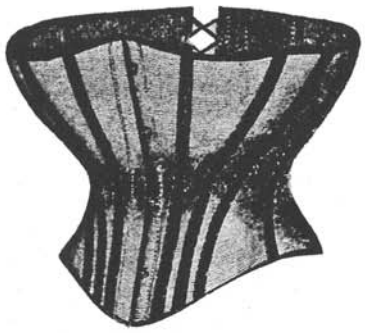
109 *c.* 1865. "Madame pourra se tenir dans la pièce de devant ... sa crinoline trouvera naturellement sa place dans l'autre." The enormous volume behind achieved by the crinoline in the late sixties was another cartoonist's delight

Both from contemporary prints

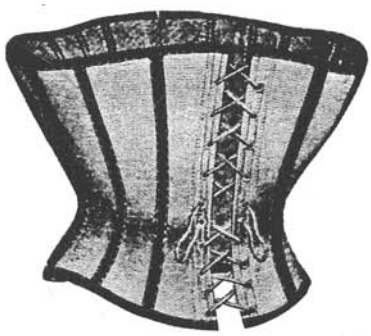


107 *c.* 1858. "The Picnic." "Among other problems to be solved was: How to lie down?" Obviously these young ladies are not wearing the patent collapsing crinoline, in which, as the advertisement says, "the most unwary or careless sitter is spared the mortification entailed should her crinoline fly up."

From a contemporary print

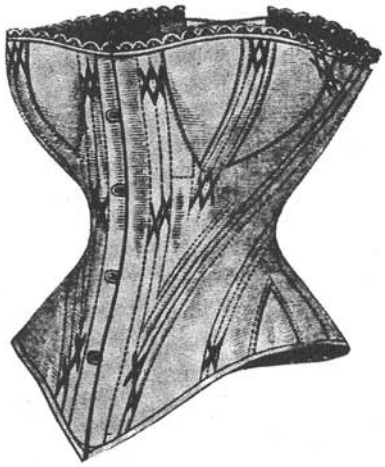


56 1868.



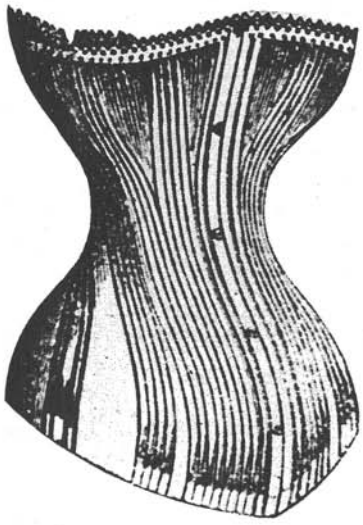
57 1868.

58 1866.



59 1866.

60 1878.



61 1885.

Figs. 56, 57 and 59 and Fig. 58, showing a young girl's corset, are from *Der Bazar*, and Fig. 60 from *La Mode Illustrée*. Patterns were supplied by, and instructions given in, the magazines for making these corsets. Fig. 61 shows a corset from the Grands Magasins du Louvre, Paris, illustrated in *Myra's Journal*

THE CORSETIERE REPLACES THE HOME DRESSMAKER

Selected Useful Sources for the intersection of class and gender in AP European History

Bridenthal, Renate, et al., eds. *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*. 2nd ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987.

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