



The  
Teaching  
Series

**Special Focus in  
European History**

Teaching with Primary  
Sources

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### ***Important Note:***

*The following materials are organized around a particular theme that reflects important topics in AP European History. They are intended to provide teachers with professional development ideas and resources relating to that theme. However, the chosen theme cannot, and should not, be taken as any indication that a particular topic will appear on the AP Exam.*

## **Introduction from the Editor**

Patricia Peterson  
Evanston, Illinois

European History AP students must develop the skills required to work with primary sources. They learn to evaluate the relative importance of information gleaned from a variety of primary sources and to understand how historians obtain information and decide which sources to emphasize. Primary documents speak to us in the voice of the past—students must evaluate their relative importance and learn that historians arrive at different conclusions in interpreting the past.

The importance of using primary sources is demonstrated in each of the following examples submitted by teachers of AP European History.

## **Why Use Primary Sources in the AP European History Classroom?**

John E. Stovel  
Castilleja School  
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Primary sources should be a staple of the AP European History curriculum. The Document-Based Question (DBQ) component of the AP Exam, which counts as 55 percent of the candidate's essay grade, requires students to analyze primary sources and answer an essay question based on those sources. To be sure, however, the use of primary-source documents as a teaching tool extends well beyond exam preparation.

Even in AP classes, where students opt to take the course, learning styles will vary. Some students may do well reading sequential texts and following class lectures, while others will be more successful with the randomness of seminars and free-wheeling discussion. The latter group may well find that discussing primary sources is more congruous with the way in which they learn.

Major historical documents, such as Pericles' Funeral Oration, the Magna Carta, the Declaration of the Rights of Man, Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, and the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights, have been featured in classrooms for a long time. Why should students get their impression of these fundamental documents of Western democracy from textbook summaries or second-hand accounts, when these primary sources are widely available to them in suitable renderings or translations? Such documents should be presented to AP students so that they can savor the actual words that have shaped Europe's political heritage.

Other, less profound documents also have their place in AP courses. Items documenting the daily lives of people great and small serve to illuminate the textures of bygone eras. Whether the documents are from a governmental inquiry into the lives of workers or accounts of a rural festival, they give students a glimpse of how people lived long ago. Images, such as illustrations of the "plague columns" that dot squares in seventeenth-century European cities, also serve as effective sources. Was the plague so momentous that columns had to be set up to mark its occurrence? (Yes, actually.) Documents that reflect the age range of our students can be introduced, as well. School assignments from Nazi textbooks, for example, give students a more tangible point of reference and often lead to discussions about what it was like to live in Nazi Germany. Such glimpses pique students' interest, motivating them to delve further into the past. Of course, that doesn't happen every time a document is offered to them.

Building on the possibility of having students examine primary sources to heighten their interest in history, clever teachers can encourage class discussions that go beyond the information presented in the documents. For example, questions about the point of view of the document's author, its intended audience, and its genre, will help students develop the critical thinking skills needed to successfully answer a DBQ on the AP Exam. Taking it a step further, students can be taught to ask questions such as: Why was the document created? What purpose did it serve in the society from whence it came? No document was created *ex nihilo*. Each had a purpose. What was it? How does the purpose of the document affect our understanding of the document?

Those are the questions that make history provocative for students. Using documents helps free them from the tyranny of textbooks. It puts them where they want to be: in the center of the process. Of course, their answers to questions about primary sources and their interpretations of those sources may not be well informed because of insufficient knowledge and understanding. It is our job as teachers to stimulate students to think by broadening their knowledge base, so that their interpretations of documents will be more insightful.

## **Teaching with Documents: French Men, French Women, and the Rights of Man**

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Time is of the essence in the AP European History course. Careful planning is essential. Teachers can't just run to the copy machine at 6:45 a.m., run off a bunch of copies of the Treaty of Westphalia, and think they've prepared a creative activity for their class. Teaching with documents requires the same careful thought process every other worthwhile activity does. You must be clear as to why you are using documents, and what you expect the students to learn from the activity that they didn't know beforehand. How do the documents fit in with preceding lessons? What will come next?

Choosing the documents you wish to use in AP European History depends on where you want to go with them. Let's assume you want to raise a question about the role of women in the French Revolution. Presumably, you have already raised questions about the role of women in earlier eras. For example, during the Enlightenment, philosophers debated the role of women. Rousseau, most famously, thought that little boys and little girls were vastly different, and prescribed different education for them. Women participated in salons, but mostly as hostesses. Rural women in eighteenth-century France may well have run farms while their husbands were off supplementing the family's meager income. Urban women often managed their husbands' business, and it was not unheard of for them to take over the business if their husbands died. Males owned the property, however.

When numbers were needed in protest movements, women were usually welcomed. The French Revolution was no exception. In fact, the Women's March in October 1789, to protest high bread prices, resulted in the forced return of Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette and their infant son from opulent Versailles to the Tuileries in Paris. But what happened when it came time to grant equal rights to women? What did the canonical Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen have to say? How did women respond? What happened to women who did respond? To what extent did the assertion of natural rights, the rights of man, apply to all humans? Historians debate whether the French Revolution occasioned regression in the rights and status of women, which may have been improving throughout the eighteenth century.

### **Approaching the Context of Revolutionary France**

A solid study of revolutionary France is, of course, an essential topic in any AP European History syllabus. It is also a precursor to careful document study. There are three documents that we can use to exemplify the way the French Revolution treated women. The first is the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen itself, approved August 26, 1789, by the National Constituent Assembly, which was the lineal descendent of the Estates-General called by Louis XVI in the spring of 1789. The second document is the Declaration of the Rights of Woman, written by Olympe de Gouges, 1791. The third document is the transcript of the trial of Olympe de Gouges, which took place in 1793.

If we juxtapose the first two documents, the declarations, students can compare them article-by-article. De Gouges took each article the National Constituent Assembly had pronounced and rewrote it to include women. Even a cursory reading will confirm her technique. Going further, though, students should decipher whether the tone of the documents is the same. If they conclude it is the same, fine. For example, the two versions of Article 6 are remarkably similar.

If they seem to find differences, get them to articulate the differences they see. What leads them to say the tone is different? Is it de Gouges's statement that "woman has the right to mount the scaffold; she must equally have the right to mount the rostrum," which is considerably more incendiary than the National Constituent Assembly's "No one shall be disquieted on account of his opinions"?

Ask the students to speculate on why the tone is different in de Gouges's declaration. Why might de Gouges feel at odds with the Declaration of the Rights of Man? Was it because she was a woman? Does her use of the image of women mounting the scaffold add to or detract from the persuasiveness of her declaration? How would her language be received by its intended audience? Who was her intended audience, by the way?

De Gouges also included a polemical introduction, a preamble, a postscript, and a sample social contract between a man and a woman. Have the students characterize the tone of those sections and compare it to the tone of most of the articles. Again, why does de Gouges adopt a more strident, confrontational tone? Does the tone strengthen or weaken her arguments in the declaration itself? Who was her audience? What groups might be attracted by her tone? What groups might be repelled?



### **The Trial of Olympe de Gouges**

Now let us turn to the remarkable summary of the trial of Olympe de Gouges. Who wrote it? Why was it written? Does it display a point of view within its “four corners” or “on its face”? (Incidentally, who was “Louis Capet” and who was the “Capet woman”?) The author is unnamed, but given the revolutionary temper of the times, and the frequent use of the guillotine for silencing dissenters (which we know of from reading our textbooks), the author must have been in good favor with the authorities. Was it written to further the cause of the republican government? It seems relatively even-tempered. De Gouges is only demonized through the words of the prosecutor. Even when she falsely claims to be pregnant to avoid the guillotine, she is not maligned. She is even given a final, defiant word. The crowd responds with “Universal cries of ‘Vive la République.’” Were they in support of de Gouges, or against her? In other words, was she a popular martyr or another victim of revolutionary justice?

Look at the account of de Gouges’s trial again. Have the students list the charges against her. They will notice that there is a list of writings attributed to her, which in essence criticize the form and policies of the revolutionary government. She apparently did not deny having written those articles. The students may notice the absence of her Declaration of the Rights of Woman in the list of charges against her. Why? Clearly, it had an abrasive and accusative tone in its preamble and other sections, if not in the bulk of the articles. She might have offended a lot of men with her parody (was it a parody?) of the Declaration of the Rights of Man. Ask the students to explain why it wasn’t included in the charges against her.

So, why was de Gouges executed? Was it because she was a woman who didn’t know her place in the social order, or was it because she was a full citizen, exercising, dangerously to be sure, the rights of man and citizen, against a fragile government facing war abroad and unrest at home?

## Handout

### **Comparing the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen and the Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen**

Note: The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen was adopted by the French National Constituent Assembly in 1789. Olympe de Gouges's Declaration of the Rights of Woman was written in 1791 as a counterpoint to the earlier document. These two documents have been merged, article-by-article, for the purposes of our study. The Declaration of the Rights of Man appears in normal type, and its articles are numbered in Arabic numerals; the Declaration of the Rights of Woman appears in italics, and its articles are numbered in Roman numerals.

#### **Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, 1789**

The representatives of the French people, organized as a National Assembly, believing that the ignorance, neglect, or contempt of the rights of man are the sole cause of public calamities and of the corruption of governments, have determined to set forth in a solemn declaration the natural, unalienable, and sacred rights of man, in order that this declaration, being constantly before all the members of the Social body, shall remind them continually of their rights and duties; in order that the acts of the legislative power, as well as those of the executive power, may be compared at any moment with the objects and purposes of all political institutions and may thus be more respected, and, lastly, in order that the grievances of the citizens, based hereafter upon simple and incontestable principles, shall tend to the maintenance of the constitution and redound to the happiness of all. Therefore the National Assembly recognizes and proclaims, in the presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following rights of man and of the citizen:

***Declaration of the Rights of Woman, 1791***

*Man, are you capable of being just? It is a woman who poses the question; you will not deprive her of that right at least. Tell me, what gives you sovereign empire to oppress my sex? Your strength? Your talents? Observe the Creator in his wisdom; survey in all her grandeur that nature with whom you seem to want to be in harmony, and give me, if you dare, an example of this tyrannical empire. Go back to animals, consult the elements, study plants, finally glance at all the modifications of organic matter, and surrender to the evidence when I offer you the means; search, probe, and distinguish, if you can, the sexes in the administration of nature. Everywhere you will find them mingled; everywhere they cooperate in harmonious togetherness in this immortal masterpiece.*

*Man alone has raised his exceptional circumstances to a principle. Bizarre, blind, bloated with science and degenerated—in a century of enlightenment and wisdom—into the crassest ignorance, he wants to command as a despot a sex which is in full possession of its intellectual faculties; he pretends to enjoy the Revolution and to claim his rights to equality in order to say nothing more about it.*

***Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen***

*For the National Assembly to decree in its last sessions, or in those of the next legislature:*

***Preamble***

*Mothers, daughters, sisters [and] representatives of the nation demand to be constituted into a national assembly. Believing that ignorance, omission, or scorn for the rights of woman are the only causes of public misfortunes and of the corruption of governments, [the women] have resolved to set forth a solemn declaration the natural, inalienable, and sacred rights of woman in order that this declaration, constantly exposed before all members of the society, will ceaselessly remind them of their rights and duties; in order that the authoritative acts of women and the authoritative acts of men may be at any moment compared with and respectful of the purpose of all political institutions; and in order that citizens' demands, henceforth based on simple and incontestable principles, will always support the constitution, good morals, and the happiness of all.*

*Consequently, the sex that is as superior in beauty as it is in courage during the sufferings of maternity recognizes and declares in the presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following Rights of Woman and of Female Citizens.*

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

*Article I. Woman is born free and lives equal to man in her rights. Social distinctions can be based only on the common utility.*

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

*Article II. The purpose of any political association is the conservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of woman and man; these rights are liberty property, security, and especially resistance to oppression.*

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

*Article III. The principle of all sovereignty rests essentially with the nation, which is nothing but the union of woman and man; no body and no individual can exercise any authority which does not come expressly from it (the nation).*

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

*Article IV. Liberty and justice consist of restoring all that belongs to others; thus, the only limits on the exercise of the natural rights of woman are perpetual male tyranny; these limits are to be reformed by the laws of nature and reason.*

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

*Article V. Laws of nature and reason proscribe all acts harmful to society; everything which is not prohibited by these wise and divine laws cannot be prevented, and no one can be constrained to do what they do not command.*

**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 VI. The law must be the expression of the general will; all female and male citizens must contribute either personally or through their representatives to its formation; it must be the same for all: male and female citizens, being equal in the eyes of the law, must be equally admitted to all honors, positions, and public employment according to their capacity and without other distinctions besides those of their virtues and talents.*

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

*Article VII. No woman is an exception; she is accused, arrested, and detained in cases determined by law. Women, like men, obey this rigorous law.*

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

*Article VIII. The law must establish only those penalties that are strictly and obviously necessary...*

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

*Article IX. Once any woman is declared guilty, complete rigor is exercised by law.*

**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.

*Article X. No one is to be disquieted for his very basic opinions; woman has the right to mount the scaffold; she must equally have the right to mount the rostrum, provided that her demonstrations do not disturb the legally established public order.*

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

*Article XI. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the most precious rights of woman, since that liberty assures recognition of children by their fathers. Any female citizen thus may say freely, I am the mother of a child which belongs to you, without being forced by a barbarous prejudice to hide the truth; [an exception may be made] to respond to the abuse of this liberty in cases determined by law.*

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

*Article XII. The guarantee of the rights of woman and the female citizen implies a major benefit; this guarantee must be instituted for the advantage of all, and not for the particular benefit of those to whom it is entrusted.*

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

*Article XIII. For the support of the public force and the expenses of administration, the contributions of woman and man are equal; she shares all the duties and all the painful tasks; therefore, she must have the same share in the distribution of positions, employment, offices, honors, and jobs.*

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

*Article XIV. Female and male citizens have the right to verify, either by themselves or through their representatives, the necessity of the public contribution. This can only apply to women if they are granted an equal share, not only of wealth, but also of public administration, and in the determination of the proportion, the base, the collection, and the duration of the tax.*

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

*Article XV. The collectivity of women, joined for tax purposes to the aggregate of men, has the right to demand an accounting of his administration from any public agent.*

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

**Article XVI.** *No society has a constitution without the guarantee of rights and the separation of powers; the constitution is null if the majority of individuals comprising the nation have not cooperated in drafting it.*

**Article 17.** Since property is an inviolable and sacred right, no one shall be deprived thereof except where public necessity, legally determined, shall clearly demand it, and then only on condition that the owner shall have been previously and equitably indemnified.

**Article XVII.** *Property belongs to both sexes whether united or separate; for each it is an inviolable and sacred right; no one can be deprived of it, since it is the true patrimony of nature, unless the legally determined public need obviously dictates it, and then only with a just and prior indemnity.*

### **Postscript**

*Woman, wake up; the tocsin of reason is being heard throughout the whole universe; discover your rights. The powerful empire of nature is no longer surrounded by prejudice, fanaticism, superstition, and lies. The flame of truth has dispersed all the clouds of folly and usurpation. Enslaved man has multiplied his strength and needs recourse to yours to break his chains. Having become free, he has become unjust to his companion. Oh, women, women! When will you cease to be blind? What advantage have you received from the Revolution? A more pronounced scorn, a more marked disdain. In the centuries of corruption you ruled only over the weakness of men. The reclamation of your patrimony, based on the wise decrees of nature-what have you to dread from such a fine undertaking? The bon mot of the legislator of the marriage of Cana? Do you fear that our French legislators, correctors of that morality, long ensnared by political practices now out of date, will only say again to you: women, what is there in common between you and us? Everything, you will have to answer. If they persist in their weakness in putting this non sequitur in contradiction to their principles, courageously oppose the force of reason to the empty pretensions of superiority; unite yourselves beneath the standards of philosophy; deploy all the energy of your character, and you will soon see these haughty men, not groveling at your feet as servile adorers, but proud to share with you the treasures of the Supreme Being. Regardless of what barriers confront you, it is in your power to free yourselves; you have only to want to....*

*Marriage is the tomb of trust and love. The married woman can with impunity give bastards to her husband, and also give them the wealth which does not belong to them. The woman who is unmarried has only one feeble right; ancient and inhuman laws refuse to her for her children the right to the name and the wealth of their father; no new laws have been made in this matter. If it is considered a paradox and an impossibility on my part to try to give my sex an honorable and just consistency, I leave it to men to attain glory for dealing*



*with this matter; but while we wait, the way can be prepared through national education, the restoration of morals, and conjugal conventions.*

***Form for a Social Contract Between Man and Woman***

*We, \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_, moved by our own will, unite ourselves for the duration of our lives, and for the duration of our mutual inclinations, under the following conditions: We intend and wish to make our wealth communal, meanwhile reserving to ourselves the right to divide it in favor of our children and of those toward whom we might have a particular inclination, mutually recognizing that our property belongs directly to our children, from whatever bed they come, and that all of them without distinction have the right to bear the name of the fathers and mothers who have acknowledged them, and we are charged to subscribe to the law which punishes the renunciation of one's own blood. We likewise obligate ourselves, in case of separation, to divide our wealth and to set aside in advance the portion the law indicates for our children, and in the event of a perfect union, the one who dies will divest himself of half his property in his children's favor, and if one dies childless, the survivor will inherit by right, unless the dying person has disposed of half the common property in favor of one whom he judged deserving.*

*That is approximately the formula for the marriage act I propose for execution. Upon reading this strange document, I see rising up against me the hypocrites, the prudes, the clergy, and the whole infernal sequence. But how it [my proposal] offers to the wise the moral means of achieving the perfection of a happy government! . . .*

*Moreover, I would like a law which would assist widows and young girls deceived by the false promises of a man to whom they were attached; I would like, I say, this law to force an inconstant man to hold to his obligations or at least [to pay] an indemnity equal to his wealth. Again, I would like this law to be rigorous against women, at least those who have the effrontery to have recourse to a law which they themselves had violated by their misconduct, if proof of that were given. At the same time, as I showed in *Le Bonheur primitif de l'homme*, in 1788, that prostitutes should be placed in designated quarters. It is not prostitutes who contribute the most to the depravity of morals, it is the women of society. In regenerating the latter, the former are changed. This link of fraternal union will first bring disorder, but in consequence it will produce at the end a perfect harmony.*

*I offer a foolproof way to elevate the soul of women; it is to join them to all the activities of man; if man persists in finding this way impractical, let him share his fortune with woman, not at his caprice, but by the wisdom of laws. Prejudice falls, morals are purified, and nature regains all her rights. Add to this the marriage of priests and the strengthening of the king on his throne, and the French government cannot fail.*



## Handout

### The Trial of Olympe de Gouges

Audience of . . . . . 12 Brumaire, Year II of the Republic. Case of Olympe de Gouges.

Questioned concerning her name, surname, age, occupation, place of birth, and residence. Replied that her name was Marie Olympe de Gouges, age thirty-eight, *femme de lettres*, a native of Montauban, living in Paris, rue du Harlay, Section Pont-Neuf. The clerk read the act of accusation, the tenor of which follows.

Antoine-Quentin Fouquier-Tinville, public prosecutor before the Revolutionary Tribunal, etc.

States that, by an order of the administrators of police, dated last July 25th, signed Louvet and Baudrais, it was ordered that Marie Olympe de Gouges, widow of Aubry, charged with having composed a work contrary to the expressed desire of the entire nation, and directed against whoever might propose a form of government other than that of a republic, one and indivisible, be brought to the prison called l'Abbaye, and that the documents be sent to the public prosecutor of the Revolutionary Tribunal. Consequently, the accused was brought to the designated prison and the documents delivered to the public prosecutor on July 26th. The following August 6th, one of the judges of the Revolutionary Tribunal proceeded with the interrogation of the above-mentioned de Gouges woman.

From the examination of the documents deposited, together with the interrogation of the accused, it follows that against the desire manifested by the majority of Frenchmen for republican government, and in contempt of laws directed against whoever might propose another form of government, Olympe de Gouges composed and had printed works which can only be considered as an attack on the sovereignty of the people because they tend to call into question that concerning which it [the people] formally expressed its desire; that in her writing, entitled *Les Trois urnes, ou le Salut de la patrie*, there can be found the project of the liberty-killing faction which wanted to place before the people the approbation of the judgment of the tyrant condemned by the people itself; that the author of this work openly provoked civil war and sought to arm citizens against one another by proposing the meeting of primary assemblies to deliberate and express their desire concerning either monarchical government, which the national sovereignty had abolished and proscribed; concerning the one and indivisible republican [form], which it had chosen and established by the organ of its representatives; or, finally, concerning the federative [form], which would be the source of incalculable evils and which would destroy liberty infallibly.

... The public prosecutor stated next that it is with the most violent indignation that one hears the de Gouges woman say to men who for the past four years have not stopped making the greatest sacrifices for liberty; who on 10 August 1792, overturned both the throne and the tyrant; who knew how to bravely face the arms and frustrate the plots of the despot, his slaves, and the traitors who had abused the public confidence, to men who have submitted tyranny to the avenging blade of the law that Louis Capet still reigns among them.

There can be no mistaking the perfidious intentions of this criminal woman, and her hidden motives, when one observes her in all the works to which, at the very least, she lends her name, calumniating and spewing out bile in large doses against the warmest friends of the people, their most intrepid defender.

In a manuscript seized in her home, on which she placed a patriotic title only in order to get her poisons circulated more freely, she places in the mouth of the monster who surpasses the Messalinas and the Medicis these impious expressions: “the placard-makers, these paper scribblings, are not worth a Marat, a Robespierre; in the specious language of patriotism, they overturn everything in the name of the people; they appear to be serving propaganda and never have heads of factions better served the cause of kings; at one and the same time they serve two parties moving at a rapid pace towards the same goal. I love these enterprising men; they have a thorough knowledge of the difficult art of imposing on human weaknesses; they have sensed from the beginning that in order to serve me it was necessary to blaze a trail in the opposite direction; applaud yourself, Calonne, this is your work.”

Lastly, in the work in question one sees only provocation to the reestablishment of royalty on the part of a woman who, in one of her writings, admits that monarchy seems to her to be the government most suited to the French spirit; who in [the writing] in question points out that the desire for the republic was not freely pronounced; who, lastly, in another [writing] is not afraid to parody the traitor Isnard and to apply to all of France what the former restricted to the city of Paris alone, so calumniated by the partisans of royalty and by those of federalism.

On the basis of the foregoing expose the public prosecutor drew up this accusation against Marie Olympe de Gouges, widow Aubry, for having maliciously and purposefully composed writings attacking the sovereignty of the people (whose desire, when these were written, had been pronounced for republican government, one and indivisible) and tending towards the reestablishment of the monarchical government (which it [the people] had formally proscribed) as well as the federative [form] (against which it [the people] had forcefully protested); for having had printed up and distributed several copies of one of the cited works tending towards these ends, entitled, *Les Trois urnes, ou le Salut de la patrie*; for having been stopped in her distribution of a greater number of copies as

well as in her posting of the cited work only by the refusal of the bill-poster and by her prompt arrest; for having sent this work to her son, employed in the army of the Vendée as *officier de l'état major*; for having, in other manuscripts and printed works, notably, in the manuscript entitled *La France sauvée, ou le Tyran détrôné* as well as in the poster entitled *Olympe de Gouges au Tribunal Révolutionnaire*, sought to degrade the constituted authorities, calumniate the friends and defenders of the people and of liberty, and spread defiance among the representatives and the represented, which is contrary to the laws, and notably to that of last December 4th.

Consequently, the public prosecutor asks that he be given official notice by the assembled Tribunal of this indictment, etc., etc.

In this case only three witnesses were heard, one of whom was the citizen bill-poster, who stated that, having been asked to post a certain number of copies of printed material with the title *Les Trois urnes*, he refused when he found out about the principles contained in this writing.

When the accused was questioned sharply about when she composed this writing, she replied that it was some time last May, adding that what motivated her was that seeing the storms arising in a large number of *départements*, and notably in Bordeaux, Lyons, Marseilles, etc., she had the idea of bringing all parties together by leaving them all free in the choice of the kind of government which would be most suitable for them; that furthermore, her intentions had proven that she had in view only the happiness of her country.

Questioned about how it was that she, the accused, who believed herself to be such a good patriot, had been able to develop, in the month of June, means which she called conciliatory concerning a fact which could no longer be in question because the people, at that period, had formally pronounced for republican government, one and indivisible, she replied that this was also the [form of government] she had voted for as the preferable one; that for a long while she had professed only republican sentiments, as the jurors would be able to convince themselves from her work entitled *De l'esclavage des noirs*.

A reading was provided by Naulin, the public prosecutor's substitute, of a letter written by the accused to Hérault-Séchelles in which principles of federalism are found.

The accused replied to this fact that her intention had been, as she had said already, pure and that she wanted to be able to show her heart to the citizen jurors so that they might judge her love of liberty and her hatred of every kind of tyranny.

Asked to declare whether she acknowledged authorship of a manuscript work found among her papers entitled *La France sauvée ou le Tyran détrôné*, she replied yes.

Asked why she had placed injurious and perfidious declamations against the most ardent defenders of the rights of the people in the mouth of the person who in this work was supposed to represent the Capet woman, she replied that she had the Capet woman speaking the language appropriate for her; that besides, the handbill for which she was brought before the Tribunal had never been posted; that to avoid compromising herself she had decided to send twenty-four copies to the Committee of Public Safety, which, two days later, had her arrested.

The public prosecutor pointed out to the accused, concerning this matter, that if her placard entitled *Les Trois urnes* had not been made public, this was because the bill-poster had not been willing to take it upon himself. The accused was in agreement with this fact.

Questioned about whether, since her detention, she had not sent a copy to her son along with a letter, she said that the fact was exact and that her intention concerning this matter had been to apprise him of the cause of her arrest; that besides, she did not know whether her son had received it, not having heard from him in a long while and not knowing at all what could have become of him.

Asked to speak concerning various phrases in the placard entitled *Olympe de Gouges, défenseur de Louis Capet*, a work written by her at the time of the former's trial, and concerning the placard entitled *Olympe de Gouges au Tribunal Révolutionnaire* as well, she responded only with oratorical phrases and persisted in saying that she was and always had been a good *citoyenne*, that she had never intrigued.

Asked to express herself and to reply precisely concerning her sentiments with respect to the faithful representatives of the people whom she had insulted and calumniated in her writings, the accused replied that she had not changed, that she still held to her same opinion concerning them, and that she had looked upon them as ambitious persons.

In her defense the accused said that she had ruined herself in order to propagate the principles of the Revolution and that she was the founder of popular societies of her sex, etc.

During the resume of the charge brought by the public prosecutor, the accused, with respect to the facts she was hearing articulated against her, never stopped her smirking. Sometimes she shrugged her shoulders; then she clasped her hands and raised her eyes towards the ceiling of the room; then, suddenly, she moved on to an expressive gesture, showing astonishment; then gazing next at the court, she smiled at the spectators, etc. Here is the judgment rendered against her.

The Tribunal, based on the unanimous declaration of the jury, stating that: (1) it is a fact that there exist in the case writings tending towards the reestablishment of a power attacking the sovereignty of the people; [and] (2) that Marie Olympe de Gouges, calling herself widow Aubry, is proven guilty of being the author of these writings, and admitting the conclusions of the public prosecutor, condemns the aforementioned Marie Olympe de Gouges, widow Aubry, to the punishment of death in conformity with Article One of the law of last March 29th, which was read, which is conceived as follows: “Whoever is convicted of having composed or printed works or writings which provoke the dissolution of the national representation, the reestablishment of royalty, or of any other power attacking the sovereignty of the people, will be brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal and punished by death,” and declares the goods of the aforementioned Marie Olympe de Gouges seized for the benefit of the republic. . . .

Orders that by the diligence of the public prosecutor this judgment will be executed on the place de la Revolution of this city [and] printed, published, and posted throughout the realm; and given the public declaration made by the aforementioned Marie Olympe de Gouges that she was pregnant, the Tribunal, following the indictment of the public prosecutor, orders that the aforementioned Marie Olympe de Gouges will be seen and visited by the sworn surgeons and doctors and matrons of the Tribunal in order to determine the sincerity of her declaration so that on the basis of their sworn and filed report the Tribunal can pronounce according to the law.

Before pronouncing his judgment, the prosecutor summoned the accused to declare whether she had some observations to make concerning the application of the law, and she replied: “My enemies will not have the glory of seeing my blood flow. I am pregnant and will bear a citizen or *citoyenne* for the Republic.”

The same day [12 Brumaire], the health officer, having visited the condemned, recognized that her declaration was false.

. . . The execution took place the next day [13 Brumaire] towards 4 P.M.; while mounting the scaffold, the condemned, looking at the people, cried out: “Children of the Fatherland, you will avenge my death.” Universal cries of “*Vive la République*” were heard among the spectators waving hats in the air.

### Sources

Declaration of the Rights of Man: The Avalon Project at Yale Law School:

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

Declaration of the Rights of Woman; Trial of Olympe de Gouge. From Darline Gay Levy, Harriet Branson Applewhite, and Mary Durham Johnson, eds., *Women in Revolutionary Paris, 1789-1795* (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1980), pp. 87-96, 254-259.

## Teaching AP European History Using Primary Sources

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AP European History gives high school students the opportunity to experience a college-level survey course. Students are required to work with complex ideas, read college-level textbooks, and take a truly comprehensive exam at the end of the term. An integral part of this course is teaching students how to employ primary-source documents, as do professional historians.

Learning how to use primary-source documents is essential to understanding history, in general, and to successfully completing the Document-Based Question (DBQ) component of the AP Exam, in particular. The DBQ presents students with a question and a set of documents—approximately one dozen—that they must read and analyze to create an informed, thesis-driven answer. Many students come to the AP European History course with little or no experience using primary sources, so it is key to take the time to introduce techniques for working effectively with such documents.

### Begin with the Basics

Students will benefit most if you start with the basics, that is, explain what a primary source is. Primary sources directly relate to the event being studied. They usually date back to the time of the event, and are often produced by participants in the event. Historians also distinguish between primary sources that are part of the public record, such as manor rolls, laws, and public speeches, and primary sources of a more private sort, such as diary entries and personal letters. You might ask your students to list the primary sources that document their own lives, including birth certificates, photographs, report cards, emails, letters, and diaries.

The second idea essential to understanding primary sources deals with the way they are used by historians. Primary sources are the “raw material” of history, analogous to the iron ore that becomes steel through the process of refining. It is not merely famous official documents like the Magna Carta that generate history, but also the ephemeral and incidental documents, such as train tickets, photographs, and advertisements. Primary-source documents are the building blocks of history; they are small pieces of evidence that, when collected with other small pieces, allow us to see a bigger picture:

It's an unsettling exercise to try to guess what historians two or three hundred years hence will select as significant about our age. One depressing possibility might be the defunct Web sites we leave lying around in cyberspace. For if Robert Darnton can reconstruct early eighteenth-century Parisian society on the basis of bookseller reports, gossip-filled scandal sheets ... imagine what someone like him might do with what will remain of us.<sup>1</sup>

Along with primary sources, historians rely on secondary sources—what historians have said about the primary sources—and tertiary sources—what historians have said about the writings of other historians.

### **Context, Read for Content, Read for Analysis, Conclusion**

Ideally, students in the AP European History course will work with primary-source documents on a regular basis throughout the year. Students may need time to become accustomed to the idea that even archaic and unfamiliar language is not a barrier to understanding. They may also need to be reminded that accessing a reliable dictionary while reading is a good habit.

There are four steps to reading primary sources effectively. The first is to acknowledge the “context” of the document, that is, the author’s identity, audience, and intention for writing. As the AP Course Description for European History notes:

Acknowledgment of the documents’ source and their authors’ points of view requires students to demonstrate the skills of critical reading and inference. Students should pay attention to both internal evidence (the content and tone of each document in relation to the others) and external evidence (identifications of authors, the documents’ purpose or intended audience, and the date when each document was written).

You can provide some of this information, but students should be encouraged to extract information from their readings in the text and class discussions to add to the document’s history. It is important for students to understand that primary-source documents are not statements of fact but interpretation. They should think about *bias*, namely, the ways in which context influences content: who is speaking, their reason for speaking, and their larger purpose, and how those things shape what is said. Ask them to imagine telling a story to a friend, and then retelling the same story to a parent or a teacher—the facts may be the same, but the tone, emphasis, and even some of the details may change.



The next step is to have the students “read for content,” that is, to take stock of the overall purpose of the document and to get a sense of its contents, with an awareness of authorship and purpose. After their initial reading, they should be able to explain the crux of the document—who wrote it and what they said. Another way to help students get the “big picture” is to ask them to list the questions that are answered by the document, to discuss “what we can know” by reading the document.

The third step is to “read for analysis.” This second reading of the document begs the student to apply some order to their observations. They should be able to answer the questions posed during their initial reading and sketch some preliminary answers. What is the overall purpose of the document? What specific points does the author make? What evidence does the author offer? How well does the evidence serve the larger purpose of the document?

The last step is to reach a “conclusion” about the document, to sum up what it demonstrates and where it fits in the larger historical picture. Students should be ready to reconsider background and authorship, as well as the specific content of the document. As they will with the DBQ, students should be prepared to place this document in the larger context, comparing it to other documents on a similar topic and looking for points of agreement and opposition. They should also be encouraged to observe patterns such as change over time or transitional points in historical development.

### **Primary-Source Document Analysis in Action: French Imperialism**

Ask students to read the handout at the end of this section (“Jules Ferry, Speech Before the French Chamber of Deputies, March 28, 1884”) and to look up any unfamiliar words and references before coming to class. They should also review what they have learned about imperialism from earlier class discussions. Working together as a class, brainstorm through the four-step process: context, read for content, read for analysis, and conclusion.

Have students take notes, or prepare a follow-up handout that outlines what students realized in each step.

#### **Context**

Students should recognize the name of this French prime minister and statesman and may even recall him as an advocate for French imperialism. They should be able to place the date of the speech as occurring within the time frame of the new imperialism, and yet before the pivotal experience of the Berlin Conference. The tone of the document confirms a traditional emphatic style of political speech-making, and students should be encouraged to compare the more rhetorical points to the specific plans spelled out.



### **Read for Content**

Allow the students to quickly reread the document to refresh their memories, as though reviewing for a quiz. They should be able to see that Ferry calls for extending French imperialism and uses some of the same arguments employed by imperialists of other nations (Germany and Britain, for example). They may have observed that Ferry frames his argument in the first section of his speech—a common technique that differentiates a speech from a written argument. Students should be able to identify some of the broader questions addressed by the document:

- Why does France need more colonies?
- What specific benefits will France receive from extending her empire?
- How does France compare to other nations in terms of colonies, and what does this mean?

This will help students become sufficiently familiar with the document in order to make a more sophisticated analysis after rereading the document.

### **Read for Analysis**

Some students may notice that Ferry’s introduction provides the framework for a more analytical reading of the document and should be able to trace his three-part thesis throughout the speech. For example:

Ferry sees French imperialism as a beneficial plan related to the recent developments in the industrialized West. His theme seems to be that today presents special problems that demand imperialist solutions. France, now facing competition and economic protectionism from Germany and the United States, will benefit from more “outlets” to sell her manufactured goods. The less-civilized peoples of the world will benefit from contact with the “superior” and modern French. These colonies will provide a base for an empire that now reaches further than ever. He sees imperialism as the answer to a very modern set of problems that can have no other solution.

### **Conclusion**

Students will be asked to read other calls for imperialism, and should be able to compare Ferry's arguments to those offered by the British, German, and American imperialists of the day. They may notice similar appeals to national pride and the arguments in support of manufacturing and trade. They may also notice a particular urgency—"Is this a concern [that can wait] for the future? Or is this not a pressing need, one may say a crying need, of our industrial population?"—suggesting France's relative late entry into the race for colonies.

### **Note**

1. Gaddis, John Lewis. *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 23.

## Handout

### **Jules Ferry, Speech Before the French Chamber of Deputies, March 28, 1884**

The policy of colonial expansion is a political and economic system ... that can be connected to three sets of ideas: economic ideas; the most far-reaching ideas of civilization; and ideas of a political and patriotic sort.

In the area of economics, I am placing before you, with the support of some statistics, the considerations that justify the policy of colonial expansion, as seen from the perspective of a need, felt more and more urgently by the industrialized population of Europe and especially the people of our rich and hardworking country of France: the need for outlets [for exports]. Is this a fantasy? Is this a concern [that can wait] for the future? Or is this not a pressing need, one may say a crying need, of our industrial population? I merely express in a general way what each one of you can see for himself in the various parts of France. Yes, what our major industries [textiles, etc.], irrevocably steered by the treaties of 1860 into exports, lack more and more are outlets. Why? Because next door Germany is setting up trade barriers; because across the ocean the United States of America have become protectionists, and extreme protectionists at that; because not only are these great markets ... shrinking, becoming more and more difficult of access, but these great states are beginning to pour into our own markets products not seen there before. This is true not only for our agriculture, which has been so sorely tried ... and for which competition is no longer limited to the circle of large European states .... Today, as you know, competition, the law of supply and demand, freedom of trade, the effects of speculation, all radiate in a circle that reaches to the ends of the earth .... That is a great complication, a great economic difficulty; ... an extremely serious problem. It is so serious, gentlemen, so acute, that the least informed persons must already glimpse, foresee, and take precautions against the time when the great South American market that has, in a manner of speaking, belonged to us forever will be disputed and perhaps taken away from us by North American products. Nothing is more serious; there can be no graver social problem; and these matters are linked intimately to colonial policy.

Gentlemen, we must speak more loudly and more honestly! We must say openly that indeed the higher races have a right over the lower races. ... I repeat, that the superior races have a right because they have a duty. They have the duty to civilize the inferior races .... In the history of earlier centuries these duties, gentlemen, have often been misunderstood; and certainly when the Spanish soldiers and explorers introduced slavery into Central America, they did not fulfill their duty as men of a higher race .... But, in our time, I maintain that European nations acquit themselves with generosity, with grandeur, and with sincerity of this superior civilizing duty.

I say that French colonial policy, the policy of colonial expansion, the policy that has taken us under the Empire [the Second Empire, of Napoleon III], to Saigon, to Indochina [Vietnam], that has led us to Tunisia, to Madagascar—I say that this policy of colonial expansion was inspired by... the fact that a navy such as ours cannot do without safe harbors, defenses, supply centers on the high seas .... Are you unaware of this? Look at a map of the world.

Gentlemen, these are considerations that merit the full attention of patriots. The conditions of naval warfare have greatly changed .... At present, as you know, a warship, however perfect its design, cannot carry more than two weeks' supply of coal; and a vessel without coal is a wreck on the high seas, abandoned to the first occupier. Hence the need to have places of supply, shelters, ports for defense and provisioning... And that is why we needed Tunisia; that is why we needed Saigon and Indochina; that is why we need Madagascar... and why we shall never leave them! ... Gentlemen, in Europe such as it is today, in this competition of the many rivals we see rising up around us, some by military or naval improvements, others by the prodigious development of a constantly growing population; in a Europe, or rather in a universe thus constituted, a policy of withdrawal or abstention is simply the high road to decadence! In our time nations are great only through the activity they deploy; it is not by spreading the peaceable light of their institutions ... that they are great, in the present day. Spreading light without acting, without taking part in the affairs of the world, keeping out of all European alliances and seeing as a trap, an adventure, all expansion into Africa or the Orient—for a great nation to live this way, believe me, is to abdicate and, in less time than you may think, to sink from the first rank to the third and fourth.

### Source

Jules François Camille Ferry, “Speech Before the French Chamber of Deputies, March 28, 1884,” *Discours et Opinions de Jules Ferry*, ed. Paul Robiquet (Paris: Armand Colin & Cie., 1897), 1. 5, pp. 199-201, 210-11, 215-18. Translated by Ruth Kleinman in Brooklyn College Core Four Sourcebook. In Modern History Sourcebook, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1884ferry.html> (9 April 2004).

## The Renaissance: Using Primary Documents

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[T]hank God that it has been permitted him to be born in this new age, so full of hope and promise, which already rejoices in a greater array of nobly-gifted souls than the world has seen in the thousand years that have preceded it.

– Matteo Palmieri, mid-fifteenth-century writer

If then we are to call any age golden, it is beyond doubt that age which brings forth golden talents in different places. That such is true of this our age he who wishes to consider the illustrious discoveries of this century will hardly doubt. For this century, like a golden age, has restored to light the liberal arts, which were almost extinct: grammar, poetry, rhetoric, painting, sculpture, architecture, music . . . and all this in Florence. Achieving what had been honoured among the ancients, but almost forgotten since, the age has joined wisdom with eloquence, and prudence with the military art. . . . In you also, my dear Paul, this century appears to have perfected astronomy, and in Florence it has recalled the Platonic teaching from darkness into light. In Germany in our times have been invented the instruments for printing books.

– Marsilio Ficino, priest, author, translator of classic works, astrologer, and physician, in a letter, ca. 1492

Among the many subjects which interested me, I dwelt especially upon antiquity, for our own age has always repelled me, so that, had it not been for the love of those dear to me, I should have preferred to have been born in any other period than our own. In order to forget my own time, I have continually striven to place myself in spirit in other ages.

– Francesco Petrarca: Letters, ca.1372

What are we to make of these conflicting views of the age we call the Renaissance? What can we as teachers expect our students to learn from studying selected primary documents of the period? By reading excerpts from primary sources, students will create their own interpretation of the term *Renaissance* and identify its distinctive characteristics.

Encourage students to ask questions. Who did the authors consider to be an ideal man or woman? Whose work did the authors admire and why? How does the concept of scholars looking forward and backward apply to these authors? What are the limits, if any, to what people can accomplish? What was considered moral behavior when these documents were written? Are there rules for rulers? What is the point of view or bias of the authors? The teachers can pose these and many more questions, and students should be encouraged to ask questions of their own.

## Student Activities

- Reproduce the quotations above and ask the class to discuss what would make a period of time “a golden age.” Do we live in such a time? Why or why not? Then assign students to make individually a list of contemporary “nobly-gifted souls.” Who would each student include on such a list?
- Use Petrarch’s letters “To Posterity,” “To Boccaccio,” and “To Marcus Tullius Cicero” (available online at the Internet Medieval Sourcebook, [www.fordham.edu/halsall/sbook.html](http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/sbook.html)). Why would Petrarch write letters to a dead man, Cicero? How do these letters help define the term *Renaissance*? Consider uses of the term *birth* in nonphysical terms, i.e., “the birth of the blues” or “the birth of Venus.” What does the term mean? What, then, is *rebirth*? What did intellectuals such as Petrarch admire about the knowledge and culture of the ancient Greeks and Romans?
- Have students write a list of the qualities they would use to describe an ideal man. Compose another list of the qualities they think would describe an ideal woman. Take these up and read aloud the qualities admired by the class. Have a member of the class make a list of these on the board. Then direct students to “A Breef Rehersall of the Chiefe Conditions and Qualities in a Courtier,” a translation from Baldassare Castiglione’s *The Book of the Courtier* from 1561 (available online at <http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/~rbear/courtier/courtier.html>). What skills should a courtier have? What is most important to the author? Have the students compare and contrast the lists they made of ideal qualities with those listed by Castiglione. Would the class revise its list after reading the document? What would they add or subtract? Who was the author? Was he an example of the qualities he admired?
- Read from Giovanni Pico Della Mirandola’s “Oration on the Dignity of Man,” from the fifteenth century (available online at [http://www.wsu.edu:8080/~wldciv/world\\_civ\\_reader/world\\_civ\\_reader\\_1/pico.html](http://www.wsu.edu:8080/~wldciv/world_civ_reader/world_civ_reader_1/pico.html)). Pico was a humanist. What does this mean? What does *secular* mean? How did humanism differ from today’s secular humanism? Where is our place on the “chain of being”?
- Read passages from Niccolò Machiavelli’s *The Prince* or Desiderius Erasmus’s “Oration: Princes and Courts” (in *The Praise of Folly*). Both can be found online at Sue Pojer’s excellent Web site, at <http://www.historyteacher.net/APEuroCourse/WebLinks/WebLinks-Renaissance.html>. Have students restate the thesis of each writer and summarize the advice each gives for the best behavior of princes. How does Machiavelli define liberality? Does Erasmus’s use of the term mean the same thing? How does Erasmus’s advice to court lords compare with Castiglione’s? What is the opinion of each of these writers of his fellow man?

- Read Petrus Paulus Vergerius, *The New Education* (online at <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/vergerius.html>), or François Rabelais’s “Letter from Gargantua to his son Pantagruel” (available online at [http://www.wsu.edu:8080/~wldciv/world\\_civ\\_reader/world\\_civ\\_reader\\_2/rabelais.html](http://www.wsu.edu:8080/~wldciv/world_civ_reader/world_civ_reader_2/rabelais.html)). How do Rabelais and Vergerius help us understand that writers of their age did indeed look backward to the past and forward to the future? How does Vergerius define *liberal*? Why are both of these authors humanists? Compare the education proposed by these writers with your own.

To conclude the study of these primary documents, assign an essay to the students in which they define the term *Renaissance* and discuss its distinct characteristics. They should now be aware that emphasis was placed on a new definition of man, individualism, education, manners and morals, and intellectual pursuits. Encourage them to use their text and especially the documents. What can they tell you about the point of view of each of the authors they use in their writing?

## **Improving Student Comprehension: Primary Sources**

Excerpted from the *AP Vertical Teams Guide for Social Studies*

### **The Challenge**

Primary sources create student interest and provoke student questions. Primary sources often crackle with an electrifying intensity that is missing from later attempts to synthesize a variety of materials about an event or era.

Primary sources come in many shapes and sizes. Commonly used written primary sources include letters, diaries, newspaper articles, speeches, books, laws, treaties, and broadsides. Commonly explored visual primary sources include charts, graphs, paintings, political cartoons, photographs, and folk art. Oral sources include interviews and music. Multimedia sources include newscasts, films, and plays.

The ability to comprehend and analyze primary sources is integral to student success in AP courses. To engage in analysis, students need to understand both the message and the context in which the particular primary source was created. What does the source say? Who was the author and why did he or she create this piece? When and where was the primary source created? For whom was it created or performed?

Attention to both the message and the context leads to a more sophisticated understanding of a primary source's meaning. Students can then understand and interpret for themselves rather than rely on the interpretations of others.

The AP European History, AP U.S. History, and AP World History Examinations all explicitly test the students' ability to analyze primary source material through the document-based question. The AP Government, AP Economics, and AP Human Geography Examinations also frequently include questions that require students to analyze primary source material.

### **The Strategy**

Providing students with a list of prompts they can ask of any primary source is an effective method of promoting primary source analysis. These prompts encourage the student to consider both the primary source's message and context. The application of these prompts to a variety of primary sources enables the student to establish a pattern for reading and analyzing primary sources.



The acronym APPARTS provides prompts that assist students in gaining a fuller understanding of primary sources. Frequent practice in the use of APPARTS increases its effectiveness.

<p><b>APPARTS</b> <b>AUTHOR</b> <b>PLACE AND TIME</b> <b>PRIOR KNOWLEDGE</b> <b>AUDIENCE</b> <b>REASON</b> <b>THE MAIN IDEA</b> <b>SIGNIFICANCE</b></p>
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The “Author,” “Place and Time,” “Audience,” and “Reason” prompts encourage the student to consider the usefulness of the document as a piece of evidence. The “Prior Knowledge” and “The Main Idea” prompts encourage the student to focus on the message of the primary source. The “Significance” prompt encourages students to ask, “After all this analysis, how useful is the primary source as evidence in the argument I am trying to construct?” Different components of APPARTS may take on greater or lesser significance depending on the primary source and the question asked.

Used together, these prompts substantially improve the students’ ability to analyze primary source materials effectively. Even though APPARTS encourages students to systematically analyze particular parts of a primary source, students should be frequently reminded that APPARTS is not an end in itself. Rather, it is a means to help students better understand how a particular primary source can be used to make a point or support an argument.

For those teachers familiar with the acronym SOAPSTone (Speaker Occasion Audience Purpose Subject Tone) explored in several Pre-AP strategies workshops, APPARTS is NOT designed to replace SOAPSTone. Rather, APPARTS is yet another technique that promotes improved primary source analysis among middle and high school social studies students. By promoting a more complete and sophisticated analysis of primary sources, both APPARTS and SOAPSTone encourage a deeper understanding of these sources and the historical events and eras explored within them.

For additional information on Pre-AP: Interdisciplinary Strategies for English and Social Studies, a two-day workshop for teaching analytical skills in English and history, please contact your College Board Regional Office.

## **APPARTS**

### **AUTHOR**

Who created the source? What do you know about the author? What is the author's point of view?

### **PLACE AND TIME**

Where and when was the source produced? How might this affect the meaning of the source?

### **PRIOR KNOWLEDGE**

Beyond information about the author and the context of its creation, what do you know that would help you further understand the primary source? For example, do you recognize any symbols and recall what they represent?

### **AUDIENCE**

For whom was the source created and how might this affect the reliability of the source?

### **REASON**

Why was this source produced at the time it was produced?

### **THE MAIN IDEA**

What point is the source trying to convey?

### **SIGNIFICANCE**

Why is this source important? What inferences can you draw from this document? Ask yourself, "So what?" in relation to the question asked.

The following section contains written, visual, and transcribed oral primary sources. They were selected to highlight the meaning of the key words/phrases in the APPARTS acronym to educators reading this guide. Although some of the sources may be appropriate to use in certain classrooms, they were not originally chosen for this purpose. Because a primary source should be read in relationship to a bigger question, each primary source is linked with a particular question. While these individual documents were chosen to illuminate the importance and clarify the meaning of one of the specific questions included in APPARTS, each document can also be used to demonstrate the overall power of APPARTS. When appropriate, references to additional documents are also included. In each of the following documents:

- Consider the document in the context of the question posed;
- Apply APPARTS to the document; and
- Consider the special significance of the emphasized factor of the APPARTS acronym.

## AUTHOR

Identifying the author is crucial in primary source analysis. Whether the author is a person, an organization, or a government, the student should attempt to identify the author's prior history and point of view. For example, knowing that John Stuart Mill was a classical liberal could be very helpful in understanding a passage from one of his works. A student's recognition of the author enables the student to place the source in its historical context and begin to understand its meaning.

## Primary Source

**Question:** Evaluate the condition of labor in the United States in the 1950s.

**Source:** "Life of Workers in Capitalist Countries"

"The majority of people on earth live in countries which are under the domination of capitalists and landowners. The largest and most powerful capitalist country is the United States of America—the USA. Americans are energetic and work loving people. Through the labor of American working people the United States of America have become a rich, powerful nation. But it is not the working people who own all her riches. These are owned by the American capitalists.

"How then do the working people in the United States live?"

"In the United States of America there are five million unemployed.

"Unemployed?"

"Yes, unemployed, that is people who cannot find work for themselves. This is because the plants and the factories in American belong to the capitalists. The capitalists must pay the workers money for their labor. Therefore it is profitable for the capitalists to keep at the plants as few workers as possible. But those whom they do keep, the capitalists force to work double. In America not only millions of workers are deprived of the opportunity to work and to earn their living. Many doctors, teachers, engineers are also unemployed. Need, hunger—this is what unemployment means for the American working people.

"And what is the situation for those working people who do have employment?"

"They all live in constant fear—each day they too can become unemployed."

Excerpt reprinted from: *History of the USSR. Textbook for the 4th Grade*. (Moscow: State Educational Publishing House of the ministry of the RSFSR, 1961), section 59.

Attention to the author of this document should immediately cause a student to question its usefulness. After all, the author was an employee of the Soviet Government. On the other hand, if asked to consider Soviet perceptions of the conditions of American labor in the 1950s, recognizing the author's background would cause the student to pay particular attention to this document. Recognizing the author and the author's point of view might

also be an important step in placing the document in a greater historical context such as the Cold War, capitalism versus communism, or planned versus free market economy.

### PLACE AND TIME

“Place and Time” enables a student to judge the potential relevance of a source. For instance, if a student were asked to write a paper about France before the outbreak of World War I, recognizing that a potential source of information was written by a German shortly after the outbreak of World War I should raise questions about the usefulness of the source. Where and when a document was created can also play an important role in helping the student understand the greater historical context of a primary source.

### Primary Source

**Question:** To what extent did the French Revolution reflect Enlightenment ideas concerning the treatment of women?

**Source:** Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, 1792

“To M. Talleyrand-Perigord, Late Bishop of Autun.

Consider—I address you as a legislator—whether, when men contend for their freedom, and to be allowed to judge for themselves respecting their own happiness, it be inconsistent and unjust to subjugate women, even though you firmly believe that you are acting in the manner best calculated to promote happiness? Who made man the exclusive judge, if woman partake with him the gift of reason?...

But, if women are to be excluded, without having a voice, from a participation of the natural rights of mankind, prove first, to ward off the charge of injustice and inconsistency, that they want reason—else this flaw in your NEW CONSTITUTION will ever show that man must, in some shape, act as tyrant; and tyranny, in whatever part of society it rears its brazen front, will ever undermine morality.

Excerpt reprinted from: Wollstonecraft, Mary, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*. (New York: Source Book Press, 1971), 7–11.

Given the question asked, recognizing that the document was published in Great Britain in 1792 during the heart of the Enlightenment is important. Also recognizing that it was published just after the French Revolution of 1789 and the French Constitution of 1791, which failed to extend political rights to women, is perhaps even more important. However, if asked to explain twentieth-century justifications for women’s rights in America, the ideas contained in the document are still relevant, but placing the arguments in the era of the French Revolution is not as important.

**PRIOR KNOWLEDGE**

All students bring a wealth of prior knowledge to class. Tapping into this prior knowledge improves their ability to comprehend the meaning of a primary source. This prompt encourages students to explore this reservoir for useful information.

**Primary Source**

*Question:* How does church architecture represent the relationship between Christians and God as understood in medieval Christianity?

*Source:* Chartres Cathedral, c. 1194-1260, Chartres, France

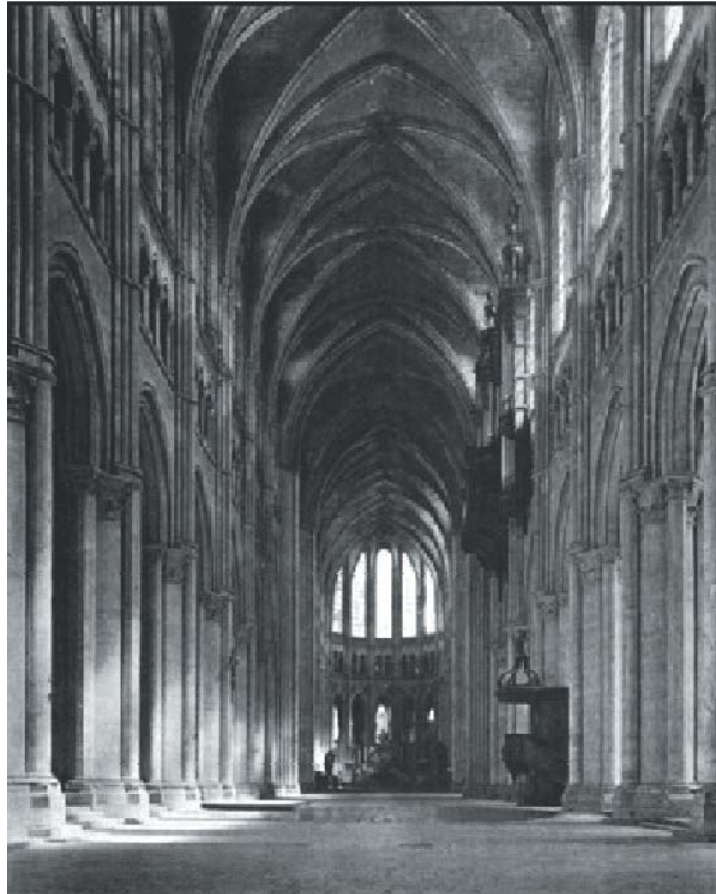


Image reprinted from: Fleming, William. Arts and Ideas, 6th edition. (New York: Holt, Reinhart, and Winston, 1980), 155.

Without the ability to recall and apply background knowledge about medieval Christianity and society, it would be extremely difficult for the student to recognize the meaning of the design and its messages about God, Christians, and the relationship between them. For example, without this prior knowledge, it would be difficult for the student to recognize how the cathedral was designed as a visual representation of the glory of God and the insignificance of humankind. The student might also not understand how the sacred geometry was created to reflect God's divine wisdom and that the light refracted through the stained glass windows was designed to suggest a visual representation of God.

## AUDIENCE

It is important to consider the audience when evaluating the validity of a primary source. For example, when exploring a politician’s motivations for recommending a certain action, private correspondence with trusted advisors and private diary entries might prove more reliable than statements made to the press or a speech before Congress. When students assess the usefulness of a source, the intended audience should always be considered.

### Primary Source

**Question:** Evaluate the justification used by nationalistic elements to overthrow colonial rule between 1945 and 1975.

**Source:** Ho Chi Minh, Declaration of Independence, September 2, 1945

“All men are created equal. They are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.”

This immortal statement was made in the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America in 1776. In a broader sense, this means: All the peoples on the earth are equal from birth, all the peoples have a right to live, to be happy and free.

The Declaration of the French Revolution made in 1791 on the Rights of Man and the Citizen also states: “All men are born free and with equal rights, and must always remain free and have equal rights.” Those are undeniable truths.

Nevertheless, for more than eighty years, the French imperialists, abusing the standard of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, have violated our Fatherland and oppressed our fellow-citizens. They have acted contrary to the ideals of humanity and justice. In the field of politics, they have deprived our people of every democratic liberty....

They have built more prisons than schools. They have mercilessly slain our patriots—they have drowned our uprisings in rivers of blood. They have fettered public opinion....

For these reasons, we, members of the Provisional Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, solemnly declare to the world that Vietnam has the right to be a free and independent country and in fact it is so already. The entire Vietnamese people are determined to mobilize all their physical and mental strength, to sacrifice their lives and property in order to safeguard their independence and liberty.

Excerpt reprinted from: Gettleman, Marvin E. et al. *Vietnam and America: A Documentary History*. (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1985), 40–42.

The fact that Ho believed he was addressing an audience that included the crowd gathered in Hanoi on September 2, 1945, as well as the French and the Americans, is important to consider when examining his speech. With these multiple audiences in mind, he crafted his speech to justify Vietnamese independence in terms of Western “natural rights” political philosophy.

## REASON

Knowing the reason a primary source was created can be instrumental to understanding its message and usefulness as a piece of evidence. For example, understanding that the source under investigation was created to persuade rather than educate would be important when judging its usefulness in relation to the question asked. Sometimes the reason a primary source was created can be gleaned from the document's tone or source, while at other times the reason is less clear and prior knowledge may play a key role in determining an answer to the prompt. In any case, exploring the reason behind a source's creation is important when analyzing primary source material.

### Primary Source

**Question:** To what degree were the American and French Revolutions motivated by ideology rather than by economics?

**Source:** The National Assembly, Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens, August 27, 1789

The representatives of the French people, organized as a National Assembly, believing that the ignorance, neglect, or contempt of the rights of man are the sole cause of public calamities and of the corruption of governments, have determined to set forth in a solemn declaration, the natural, inalienable and sacred rights of man....

- I. Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions may only be founded upon the general good.
- II. The aim of all political association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.
- III. The principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. No body nor individual may exercise any authority which does not proceed directly from the nation.

Excerpt reprinted from: Sherman, Dennis. *Western Civilization: Images and Interpretations*, Volume II, 3rd edition. (New York: McGraw Hill, Inc., 1991), 99–100.

Knowing that this document was designed to ideologically distance a revolutionary government from the Old Regime should lead to a critical evaluation of the sincerity of the philosophy espoused. Thus, examining the reason a document was written may undermine a document's reliability.



## THE MAIN IDEA

Correctly identifying the main idea or key point the author is trying to convey is vital to understanding a source's message. Students need to differentiate between the main idea and supporting details in a primary source, just as they do in secondary sources. This can be particularly challenging in primary sources because many of the clues that exist in secondary sources such as chapter headings, formal introductions, and conclusions do not exist in a primary source. Encouraging students to pay particular attention to repeated ideas, the first and last sentences of paragraphs, symbolism, and tone can help them recognize the main idea in a primary source.

### Primary Source

**Question:** What was the primary justification for the expansionistic tendencies of aggressor nations prior to World War II?

**Source:** Hashimoto Kingoro, Address to Young Men, 1930s

We have already said that there are only three ways left to Japan to escape from the pressure of surplus population. We are like a great crowd of people packed into a small and narrow room, and there are only three doors through which we might escape, namely emigration, advance into world markets, and expansion of territory. The first door, emigration, has been barred to us by the anti-Japanese immigration policies of other countries. The second door, advance into world markets, is being pushed shut by tariff barriers and the abrogation of commercial treaties. What should Japan do when two of the three doors have been closed against her?

It is quite natural that Japan should rush upon the last remaining door.

It may sound dangerous when we speak of territorial expansion, but the territorial expansion of which we speak does not in any sense of the word involve the occupation of the possessions of other countries, the planting of the Japanese flag thereon, and the declaration of their annexation to Japan. It is just that since the Powers [United States, Britain, France] have suppressed the circulation of Japanese materials and merchandise abroad, we are looking for some place overseas where Japanese capital, Japanese skills and Japanese labor can have free play, free from the oppression of the white race....

Suppose that there is still on this earth land endowed with abundant natural resources that have not been developed at all by the white race. Would it not then be God's will and the will of Providence that Japan go there and develop those resources for the benefit of mankind?

Excerpt reprinted from: Wiesner, Merry E. et al. *Discovering the Global Past: A Look at the Evidence, Volume II*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997), 366–67.

Students can find the main idea by focusing on key sentences and the repetition of ideas. The problem of surplus population, economic development, and a need for natural resources all point towards the main idea: territorial expansion. The solution of territorial expansion is referred to repeatedly and dramatically emphasized by the one-sentence second paragraph.

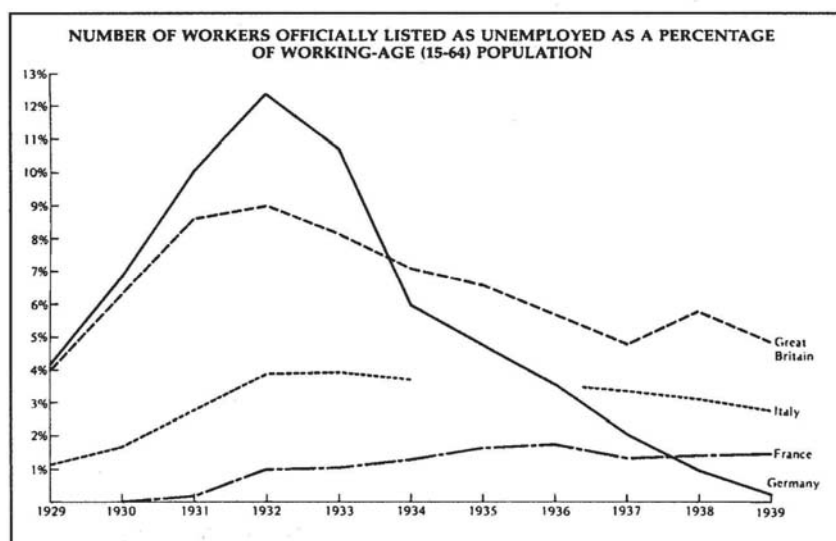
## SIGNIFICANCE

The “significance” prompt asks students to consider and decide how a primary source is relevant to the particular question asked. A source can be relevant for both the specific information it provides as well as the inferences it encourages the reader to draw. The significance of a particular primary source can change depending on the question asked. The significance prompt serves to remind students not to forget why they examined the primary source in the first place.

### Primary Source

**Question:** Examine factors that contributed to the rise of political extremism in 1930s Europe.

**Source:** Chambers, Mortimer et al., *The Western Experience*, fifth edition, (New York: McGraw Hill, Inc., 1991), 1180.



Note to reader: The graph is reprinted correctly. The data from Italy from 1934–1936 is also missing in the original graph.

Excerpt reprinted from: Chambers, Mortimer et al. *The Western Experience*, 5th edition, New York: McGraw Hill, Inc., 1991, 1180.

Although many political and ideological factors contributed to the rise of political extremism in 1930s Europe, this graph suggests that extreme economic distress played a role.

## TYING IT ALL TOGETHER

Having explored the individual components of APPARTS, the following documents are provided to demonstrate the power of APPARTS taken as a whole by applying it to a political cartoon, a pair of ex-slave narratives, an editorial, a graph, and a letter. One set of documents shows how a pair of documents can be effective in demonstrating to students and teachers the power of APPARTS. The section concludes with a sample document that could be used by a teacher in the classroom or by a presenter in a workshop to demonstrate the power of APPARTS. A worksheet is provided after these samples to use when working through the following documents.

### Example #1

*Question:* How and why did attitudes toward immigration change by the end of the nineteenth century?

*Source:* Joseph Keppler, "Looking Backward," *Puck Magazine*, January 11, 1893



Image reprinted from: Boorstin, Daniel J. and Brooks Mather Kelley with Ruth Frankel Boorstin. *A History of the United States*. (Needham, MA: Prentice Hall, 1996), 442.

**Example #2**

**Question:** Evaluate the argument for and against the death penalty.

**Source:** E.J. Dionne, Jr., the *Washington Post*, February 8, 2000

**Capital Pause**

“Whoops, sorry. Don’t pull that switch. We have the wrong person.”

That’s how Sen. Pat Leahy of Vermont summarizes the thinking behind Illinois Gov. George Ryan’s brave decision to stop executions until the system that imposes the death penalty is reformed. In words that rang out across the nation, Ryan said the process that metes out capital punishment in his state is “fraught with error.” He’s right—and his state provides more safeguards than others.

The key numbers are 13 and 12. The smaller is the number of people Illinois has executed since it reimposed capital punishment in 1977. The larger number is the number of condemned inmates who have been cleared in the same period. When it comes to life and death, you want a better percentage than that.

Ryan is not acting in isolation. For the first time in decades, death penalty supporters, not opponents, are playing defense.

Until the mid-1960’s, polls found that a healthy share of Americans resisted the idea of giving the government the power to execute.

But the crime wave that began 35 years ago dulled opposition and turned support for the death penalty into a political litmus test. The electorate’s understandable frustration with the criminal justice system’s failures bred a thirst for a form of punishment that could not be reversed on a technicality or nullified by a parole board.

Fearing those 30-second campaign ads that linked opposition to capital punishment with the coddling of criminals, one politician after another abandoned long-held principle to join the march to the death house.

Now criticism of the death penalty is becoming less politically toxic because the crime wave is ebbing. The rise of more successful policing and the imposition of sure penalties short of death have begun to answer the public’s practical concerns about crime and justice. And a quarter-century of experience offers ample evidence that the system through which the death penalty is imposed can bring us, as Ryan said, “so close to the ultimate nightmare, the state’s taking of innocent life.”

The Illinois experience is particularly dramatic because so much of the evidence exonerating death-row innocents came not from the criminal justice system but from outsiders—specifically a class of Northwestern University journalism students led by Prof. David Portress and a Chicago Tribune investigation series by Ken Armstrong and Steve Mills that studied the state’s 285 capital cases. Among other things, the Tribune team discovered that 33 death-row inmates were represented by lawyers who had at some point been disbarred or suspended.

The campaign for a moratorium on the death penalty is not confined to Illinois. The Nebraska legislature passed a moratorium, but it was vetoed by the governor. Moratorium legislation has been introduced in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Washington state. And this week, Leahy, a Vermont Democrat, will take the issue of mistaken executions to Congress. On Friday, he'll introduce a bill to provide new safeguards in capital cases. They'll include requirements that death-row inmates have the opportunity to seek DNA tests to prove their innocence before they're executed, and stronger guarantees that the accused in capital cases get adequate legal representation. As an example of legal abuse, he cites a well-known Texas case in which the lawyer representing a man on trial for his life spent most of the trial asleep.

"States that choose to impose capital punishment must be prepared to foot the bill," Leahy said in a Senate speech last week. "They should not be permitted to tip the scales of justice by denying capital defendants competent legal services."

David Bradford, general council to the MacArthur Justice Center and a leader of the Justice Project, a new death penalty reform group, argues that when the real costs of trying death penalty cases are stacked up against the alternative of life without parole, "it causes people to rethink whether it's worth all the money, energy, and diversion of resources into the death penalty."

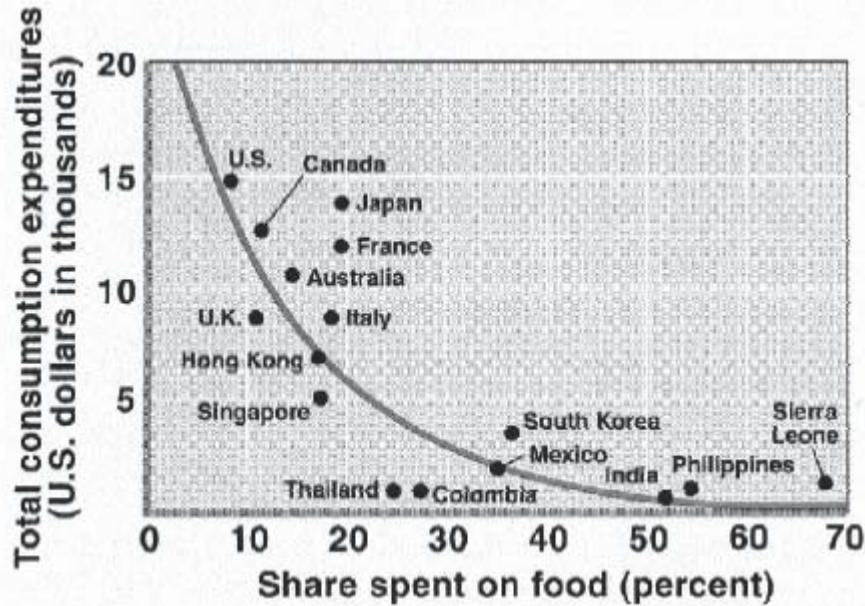
But it will be a long time before abolishing the death penalty becomes a popular cause. In the meantime, Leahy, a former prosecutor, said in an interview this weekend he hoped to win over death penalty supporters who, like Ryan, want to avoid catastrophic mistakes. "I'm saying to everyone, whether you're for the death penalty or against the death penalty, you've got to accept the fact that you can't execute an innocent person if you've got the tools to prevent it."

Excerpt reprinted from: E.J. Dionne, Jr., the *Washington Post*, February 8, 2000, A23.

**Example #3**

**Question:** Compare and contrast the difference in consumer spending in rich and poor countries.

**Source:** Putnam and Alhouse, *Food Consumption, Prices, and Expenditures*, 1970. 1992, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1993



Graph reprinted from: McConnell, Campbell R. and Stanley L. Brue. *Economics: Principles, Problems, and Policies*, 13th edition. (New York: McGraw Hill, 1996), 41.

**Example #4**

**Question:** How did China's policy of isolationism in trade and cultural exchange create tension with the outside world in the eighteenth century?

**Source:** Letter from Emperor Ch'ien-lung (Qianlong) to George III of England, 1793

You, O King, live beyond the confines of many seas. Nevertheless, impelled by your humble desire to partake of the benefits of our civilization, you have dispatched a mission respectfully bearing your memorial . . . . I have perused your memorial: the earnest terms in which it is couched reveal a respectful humility on your part which is highly praiseworthy.

In consideration of the fact that your ambassador and his deputy have come a long way with your memorial and tribute, I have shown them high favor and have allowed them to be introduced into my presence. To manifest my indulgence, I have entertained them at a banquet and made them numerous gifts. . . . .

As to your entreaty to send one of your nationals to be accredited to my Celestial Court and to be in control of your country's trade with China, this request is contrary to all usage of my dynasty and cannot possibly be entertained . . . . If you assert that your reverence for our Celestial Dynasty fills you with a desire to acquire our civilization, our ceremonies and code of laws differ so completely from your own that even if your envoy were able to acquire the rudiments of our civilization, you could not possibly transplant our manners and customs to your alien soil. Therefore, however adept the envoy might become, nothing would be gained thereby.

Swaying the wide world, I have but one aim in view, namely, to maintain a perfect governance and to fulfill the duties of the State: strange and costly objects do not interest me. If I have commanded that the tribute offerings sent by you, O King, are to be accepted, this was solely in consideration for the spirit which prompted you to dispatch them from afar. Our dynasty's majestic virtue has penetrated into every country under heaven, and kings of all nations have offered their costly tribute by land and sea. As your ambassador can see for himself, we possess all things. I set no value on objects strange and ingenious, and have no use for your country's manufactures.

Excerpt reprinted from: Eisen, Sydney and Maurice Filler eds. *The Human Adventure: Readings in World History*, Volume I. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1964), 79–80.



**Example #5**

**Question:** What consequences did the rise of fascism have on European civilians?

**Source:** Pablo Ruiz y Picasso (1881-1973)

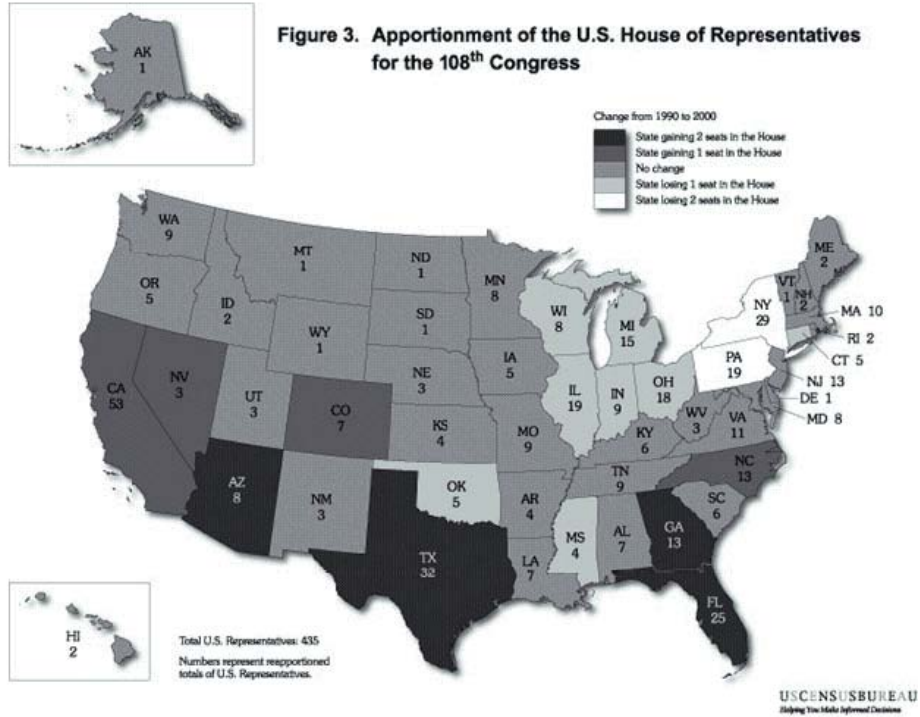


© 2006 Estate of Pablo Picasso / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Image reprinted from: Hartt, Frederick. *Art: A History of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture*, Fourth Edition. (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., and Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1993), p. 981.



**Example #6**

*Question:* Analyze the economic and political effects on the states that will lose or gain seats in the House of Representatives for the 108th Congress.



The Apportionment of the U.S. House of Representatives for the 108th Congress is reprinted from: [www.census.gov/population/cen2000/map03bw.gif](http://www.census.gov/population/cen2000/map03bw.gif)

**Example #7**

Question: What was life like as a slave?

**Primary Source #1**

Source: Interview with Susan Hamlin at 17 Henrietta Street, Charleston, South Carolina, by Jessie Butler

On July 6th, I interviewed Susan Hamlin, at 17 Henrietta Street, Charleston, S.C. She was sitting just inside of the front door, on a step leading up to the porch, and upon hearing me inquire for her she assumed that I was from the Welfare office, from which she had received aid prior to its closing. I did not correct this impression, and at no time did she suspect that the object of my visit was to get the story of her experience as a slave. During our conversation, she mentioned her age. "Why that's very interesting, Susan," I told her, "If you are that old you probably remember the Civil War and slavery days." "Yes, Ma'am, I been a slave myself," she said, and told me the following story:

"I kin remember some things like it was yesterday, but I is 104 years old now, and age is starting to get me, I can't remember everything like I use to. I getting old, old. You know I is old when I been a grown woman when the Civil War broke out. I was hired out then, to a Mr. McDonald, who lived on Atlantic Street. . . I got seven dollars a month for looking after children. . . I did not got the money, Mause got it." "Don't you think that was fair?" I asked. "If you were fed and clothed by him, shouldn't he be paid for your work?" "Course it been fair," she answered, "I belong to him and he got to get something to take care of me."

"My name before I was married was Susan Calder, but I married a man name Hamlin. I belonged to Mr. Edward Fuller, he was president of the First National Bank. . . Mr. Fuller was a good man and his wife's people been grand people, all good to their slaves. Seem like Mr. Fuller just git his slaves so he could be good to dem. He made all the little colored chillen love him. If you don't believe they loved him what they all cry and scream, and holler for when dey hear he dead? 'Oh, Mause dead my Mause dead, what I going to do, my Mause dead.' Dey tell dem t'aint no use to cry, dat can't bring him back, but de chillen keep on crying. We use to call him Mause Eddie but he named Mr. Edward Fuller, and he sure was a good man...."

"Were most of the masters kind?" I asked. "Well you know," she answered, "times den was just like dey is now, some was kind and some was mean; heaps of wickedness went on just de same as now. All my people was good people. I see some wickedness and I hear 'bout all kinds of t'ings but you don't know whether it was lie or not. Mr. Fuller been a Christian man."

"Do you think it would have been better if the Negroes had never left Africa?" was the next question I asked. "No Ma'am (emphatically) dem heathen didn't have no religion. I tell you how I t'ink it is. The Lord made t'ree nations, the white, the red and the black, and put dem in different places on de earth where dey was to stay. Dose black ignoramuses in Africa forgot God, and didn't have no religion and God blessed and prospered the white people dat did remember Him and sent dem to teach de black people even if dey have to grab dem and bring dem into bondage till dey learned some sense. The Indians forgot God and dey had to be taught better so dey land was taken away from dem. God sure bless and prosper de white people and he put de red and de black people use dem so day could teach dem and bring dem into sense wid God."

Excerpt reprinted from: Davidson, James West, and Mark Hamilton Lytle. *After the Fact: The Art of Historical Detection* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), 183-187.

**Primary Source #2**

**Source:** Interview with Susan Hamilton at 17 Henrietta Street, Charleston, South Carolina, by Augustus Ladson

“I’m a hund’ed an’ one years old now, son. De only one livin’ in my crowd frum de days I wuz a slave. Mr. Fuller, my master, who was president of de Firs’ National Bank, owned de fambly of us except my father. . . My pa b’long to a man on Edisto Island. Frum what he said, his master was very mean. Pa real name wus Adam Collins but he took his master’ name; he wus de coachman. Pa did supin one day en his master whipped him. De next day which wus Monday, pa carry him ’bout four miles frum home in de woods an’ give de same ’mount of lickin’ he wus given on Sunday. He tied him to a tree an’ unhitched de horse so it couldn’t git tie-up an’ kill e self. Pa den gone to de landin’ an’ cetch a boat dat wus comin’ to Charleston wood fa’m products. . . . W’en he got here he gone on de water-front an’ ax for a job on a ship so he could git to de North. He got de job an’ sail’ wood de ship. . . .”

“W’en any slave was whipped all de other slaves wus made to watch. I see women hung frum de ceilin’ of buildin’s an’ whipped with only supin tied ’round her lower part of de body, until w’en dey wus taken down, dere wusn’t breath in de body. I had some terribly bad experiences. . . .”

“De white race is so brazen. Dey come here an’ run de Indians frum dere own lan’, but dey couldn’t make dem slaves ’cause dey wouldn’t stan’ for it. Indians use to git up in trees an’ shoot dem with poison arrow. W’en dey couldn’t make dem slaves den dey gone to Africa an’ bring dere black brother an’ sister. Dey say ’mong themselves, “we gwine mix dem up en make ourselves king. Dats d only way we’d git even with de Indians.”

Excerpt reprinted from: Davidson, James West, and Mark Hamilton Lytle. *After the Fact: The Art of Historical Detection*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), 189–191.

**APPARTS WORKSHEET**

**Document:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Author:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Place and Time:** \_\_\_\_\_

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**Prior Knowledge:** \_\_\_\_\_

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**Audience:** \_\_\_\_\_

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**Reason:** \_\_\_\_\_

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**The Main Idea:** \_\_\_\_\_

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**Significance:** \_\_\_\_\_

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### **Possible Answers for Example #1: Keppler Cartoon**

**Author:** Joseph Keppler was an immigrant from Vienna who adamantly opposed immigration restrictions.

**Place and Time:** The cartoon appeared in *Puck Magazine*, a British publication, in 1893.

**Prior Knowledge:** During the 1890s, immigration increased dramatically from southern and eastern Europe. The Panic of 1893 worsened economic conditions in America, increasing political pressure for immigration restriction. The clothing of the characters indicates both their past poverty and their present wealth.

**Audience:** The audience is the British and American public, particularly the upper-middle-class readers of *Puck Magazine*.

**Reason:** The cartoon was created to generate opposition to immigration restrictions by encouraging the upper-middle-class audience to remember that they too were once immigrants.

**The Main Idea:** Former immigrants, who have benefited from the American Dream, are hypocritical when they deny this opportunity to new immigrants.

**Significance:** Waves of poor “new” immigrants created tension in American society over immigration restrictions.

### **Possible Answers for Example #2: Capital Pause**

**Author:** E. J. Dionne, Jr. is a political writer with liberal views.

**Place and Time:** The article appeared in the *Washington Post* on February 8, 2000.

**Prior Knowledge:** Knowledge of the due process rights of the accused, recent advances in DNA testing, and the number of people on death row who have evidentiary claims regarding their innocence would prove helpful in interpreting and understanding Dionne’s article.

**Audience:** The audience is a combination of local and national readers of the *Washington Post*.

**Reason:** The writer is attempting to persuade the reader that a moratorium on the death penalty may be necessary.

**The Main Idea:** Questions about how death penalty cases are tried and prosecuted, raised in many cases by outsiders, have led to doubts about the fairness of the criminal justice system.

**Significance:** The article allows students to discuss and debate the death penalty as it relates to the due process of the accused.

### **Possible Answers for Example #3: USDA Chart**

**Author:** The authors are USDA economists.

**Place and Time:** The graph was published in the United States in 1993.

**Prior Knowledge:** Important prior knowledge would include an understanding of global economic conditions during this time period, an understanding of economic concepts, such as consumption expenditures, and the ability to read and interpret a graph.

**Audience:** Given its publication in a USDA publication, this graph was produced for American business people.

**Reason:** The graph was produced to educate and inform about the different patterns of consumer spending among the nations of the world.

**The Main Idea:** Although wealthy countries spend larger amounts in absolute dollars than do poor countries, households in poor countries spend a much greater proportion of their budgets on food. By implication this leaves much less money available in poorer countries for other consumption expenditures.

**Significance:** This graph would provide significant consumer spending information that would help students begin to understand the differences between consumer spending in rich and poor countries.

### **Possible Answers for Example #4: Ch'ien-lung (Qianlong) Letter**

**Author:** The author of the letter is the Emperor of China, Ch'ien-lung (Qianlong).

**Place and Time:** The letter comes from the Emperor of China and was written in 1793.

**Prior Knowledge:** China viewed itself as the center of the world and superior to all other cultures; outsiders were viewed as barbarians. Great Britain wanted to increase trade with China, but had been rebuffed. In 1839, this led to war.

**Audience:** The audience is the King of England, George III, and the British government.

**Reason:** The letter was sent by the Chinese Emperor as a negative response to the British king's request to increase trade and allow the British government some control in the trade between the two nations.

**The Main Idea:** The Chinese Emperor expressed his belief that the Chinese civilization was superior to all others and produced all it needed, thus supporting China's isolationist policies. It also expressed the Chinese view of foreigners as inferiors.

**Significance:** This document would provide very useful information concerning China's official position of isolation, Britain's desire for trade, and the tensions these positions created.

### **Possible Answers for Example #5: Picasso Painting**

**Author:** The painter is Pablo Ruiz y Picasso, a modern Spanish artist, who sympathized with the Loyalist cause in its struggle against General Francisco Franco in the Spanish Civil War.

**Place and Time:** The painting was created in 1937 for the Pavilion of the Spanish Republic at the Paris International Exposition.

**Prior Knowledge:** The painting represents Picasso's reaction to the April 1937 terror-bombing of Guernica, a Basque town with Loyalist leanings, by the Nazis during the Spanish Civil War. Its style is cubist, a movement that Picasso helped found. To fully understand the painting's message, prior knowledge about the symbolism of the bull, lamp, and light would be helpful.

**Audience:** Given its display in Paris, the intended audience was international in nature.

**Reason:** The painting was created to protest the terror bombing of a civilian population.

**The Main Idea:** Picasso is trying to convey both the horror of modern warfare and sympathy for its victims.

**Significance:** The painting facilitates the study of the changing nature of warfare in the 1930s and allows students to explore the consequences of these changes and reactions to them.

### **Possible Answers for Example #6: U.S. Census Bureau Map**

**Author:** This map was created by the U.S. Census Bureau.

**Place and Time:** The map was produced in Washington, D.C. from data collected during the 2000 Census as of Census Day, April 1, 2000.

**Prior Knowledge:** Students should know that the membership of the House of Representatives is based on the population of the states according to Article 1, Section 2 of the U.S. Constitution. They might also know that since Amendment XVI (1913) was ratified, direct tax collections are no longer linked to the census.

**Audience:** While the Census 2000 data is public information, the primary audiences are the president, the Congress, and the governors and legislators of the 50 states.

**Reason:** Congress uses the census data for apportionment purposes, while the states use more specific and detailed information to redraw their legislative districts.

**The Main Idea:** The map depicts states gaining, losing, and experiencing no change in their representation in the House. It also clearly shows how the population is shifting to the South and West where the states with the greatest gains in representation are located.

**Significance:** Southern and western states gaining in population and representation will possess more influence in the 108th Congress and be the beneficiaries of numerous federal grant programs, in excess of \$180 billion that will be distributed to the states based on the Census 2000 data. In future presidential elections, these states will also have more votes in the electoral college.

### **How APPARTS Helps Understand Example #7: The Slaves Narratives**

After applying the APPARTS strategy to the interviews with Susan Hamlin and Susan Hamilton, who are, in fact, the same person, it is important to note that some aspects of APPARTS are more significant in these documents than they might be in others. Here, place and time, and audience are critical to analyzing these documents effectively. When students understand that these interviews took place in segregated Charleston, South Carolina, in the depths of the Great Depression and that the first interviewer was a white woman and the second interviewer was a black man, they can begin to make sense of Susan Hamilton's divergent answers.

To Hamilton, it mattered very much whether she was speaking to a white woman with power over her or to a young black man with whom she could speak from her heart. Her different descriptions of slavery speak directly to the impact of audience and make students realize that each document does not have equal value when answering the question, "What was life like as a slave?" A healthy skepticism enables students to become active learners.



## **Using Historical Documents: Advice Literature and Early Modern England**

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Documents are the building materials with which historians reconstruct the past. They are absolutely essential to the historical profession, but they can also be highly misleading and often untruthful. So much depends on two sets of variables—the bias and purpose of the reader, and the circumstances under which the document was written and has come down to us from the past.

How easy it is to be misled by a single document or artifact standing by itself can be dramatized by the penny assignment. Ask students to imagine themselves to be aliens from outer space who have arrived on Earth, which is in the condition that Mars is today—without sentient life, possibly without any form of life. They excavate and find a U.S. penny, presumably a relic from some long-vanished civilization. Ask the students what can be learned about the society that manufactured this artifact—its aspirations, assumptions, and social structure. The assignment will reveal how difficult it is to reconstruct the past, how much imagination it takes, and most shocking of all, how wrong we often are about the past.

Decoding the past may be both arduous and dangerous, but deciphering documents can also be a lot of fun. For professional historians, documents are the lifeblood of their craft, compasses in the fog of history that reveal the past as it actually was, not as it has been distorted by legend and fiction. For polemicists, documents are the grit with which they debate controversial issues such as the American dropping of the atomic bomb on Japan or the Anglo-American firebombing of the German city of Dresden during World War II (were these acts necessary and/or morally justifiable?).

For students, documents can be fun—but rarely are. They usually seem irrelevant; they are difficult and, unless cut to the point of emasculation, take forever to read. Worst of all, they require an inordinate amount of thinking before either their usefulness or meaning can be unlocked.

## Selecting Documents

To minimize these hurdles and enhance the possibility of pleasure in decoding the minds, aspirations, and prejudices of the past, there must be interchange between then and now, the dead and the living. And this can only be achieved if the documents are directly relevant to the lives of students being required to read them. Too often we forget that teenagers possess very little personal history by which to judge the importance of the past or its relationship to the present. Their curiosity and interests are largely focused on their immediate biological and social needs. The most successful documents in stimulating student interest and exciting their emotions that I have encountered have to do with advice literature, because if there is one thing students know about in abundance, it is advice. It surrounds them, plagues them, and guides them. They abhor it but cannot survive without it.

## The Usefulness of Advice Literature

Advice literature, especially parental precepts composed for the benefit of their offspring, is one of the oldest forms of expository writing, and the urge to model children in the parental image is one of the cruelest triumphs of hope over experience. English fathers from the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries were no different from other parents; they poured forth their “best opinion and counsels touching the well ordering” of their children with little concern that such advice was likely to fall upon deaf ears. Nevertheless, what they had to say, if the right questions are asked, offers unsurpassed windows into the dreams, priorities, and gut feelings of one segment of early modern English society—the male ruling elite. Best of all, the documents present students with the chance to compare the advice they are receiving from their own parents with that received by children 400 years ago, thereby measuring change over time: how much has remained the same, how much has changed, and why.

Three of the five documents presented below were written by privileged and wealthy fathers (who represented only a tiny fraction of the political nation) for the benefit of their sons, usually their eldest son. The advice offered is based on the conviction that political and economic power rested on the possession of land, which was passed from one generation to the next through the eldest male heir.

The precepts and instructions of William Cecil, Walter Raleigh, and William Wentworth were highly practical—at all costs the land had to be protected from the ignorance and malpractices of youth as it was passed from father to son. While purporting to be private epistles written solely for the benefit of their sons, the advice offered was in fact public, meant to be read by the entire ruling elite—both fathers and sons. Thomas Elyot’s *The Book Named the Governour* is equally elitist, aimed at the children of the rich and powerful and seeking to turn them into proper rulers of society. Advice to the vast illiterate and politically silent majority did not exist except through word of mouth.

Advice for young ladies, such as *How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter*, when it existed at all, was very different in spirit and emphasis simply because women very rarely inherited or exercised political and economic power, and daughters had a very different role to fulfill than sons.

### **How to Use Advice Literature**

To get the most out of these documents, a series of questions must be posed, the answers to which will, when a little imagination is exercised, reveal the mind and soul of the sixteenth-century body politic.

***Question 1: Why are early modern fathers so anxious to give advice to their sons? Are their motives the same as parents today?***

***Answer:*** Despite talk about wives, servants, and friends, most of the advice offered is about power and how to exercise authority both in public and private. These sons have been born to power, and as Elyot says in *The Book Named the Governour*, they “sit as it were on a pillar on top of a mountain” where everyone can view their “secret pastimes.” Their fathers are deeply concerned about the welfare of their families, not simply as biological but also as economic and political organisms. The family, if it was to survive, had to be protected from the inexperience and wantonness of sons. There is an unstated assumption that sons will follow in their fathers’ footsteps.

***Question 2: What is the attitude to marriage and women expressed in these documents?***

***Answer:*** Marriage was regarded as an instrument to protect and enhance the welfare and future of the family and had little to do with love or sexual attraction. Therefore, wives should be selected not for their beauty but for the ability to have children and secure the future of the family, to run a large and complex household in a thrifty fashion, and to take over the management of the estate in their husbands’ absences. Notice that the “Good Wife” teaches her daughter exactly these priorities. Also note how worried Raleigh is that his widow might remarry, thereby turning his estates over to another man.

***Question 3: How important is religion in these advice documents?***

***Answer:*** The surface answer is “very great.” All three fathers order their sons to pray regularly and obey God, and all the documents refer to God. Wentworth states in a treatise not given here that “man was created by the Almighty for no other end than to set forth... the glory of his creator, to serve him... and to praise his holy name.” But how sincere are these fathers? Is their religion lip service or real? The life they preach seems even more materialistic than in the twenty-first century. Fathers seem obsessed not with godliness but with money (note Raleigh’s quote that poverty is “often sent as a curse by God”) and with social status. They mouth humility, charity, and love, but there seems to

be very little real Christian virtue in their lives. Ask students whether this is an example of mental compartmentalization, i.e., the ability of all of us to live with mental contradictions.

***Question 4: What is the purpose of life advocated by these fathers?***

***Answer:*** Most everyone in the sixteenth century would say that the purpose of life was to live by Wentworth's precepts quoted above and seek salvation. In other words, the purpose of life was religious. Ask students what they think the purpose of life is today. By implication the fathers represented in these documents would probably have added another purpose for their sons—dedicate their lives to the welfare of the family. Note that their sons are given no choices in life, and their personal happiness is never considered.

***Question 5: What constitutes success in life in these documents?***

***Answer:*** Success is equated with the preservation of the family both in a biological and in an economic sense. There is little emphasis on individual success in life. The formula for success offered by fathers to their sons was not to fritter away what they have—in other words, the estates they have inherited—and to seek a patron who could protect their interests. There is very little sense of rising in life or bettering oneself because these children are already “to the manor born.” Thus the focus is on keeping what you have, which means much of the advice is negative—don't drink, don't lend money, don't gamble, and don't trust anybody. There is little talk about ambition, hard work, education, and getting ahead in life. There is no concern for the emotional welfare of the sons, nor are they ever regarded as being more important as individuals than the family to which they belong.

***Question 6: The documents speak often of the “friend.” Why is the friend so important?***

***Answer:*** When fathers speak of “friends” they often mean patrons. This is a society without competitive examinations, and therefore personal and family contacts were all important to success. The friend was important not simply because of patronage. The friend was far more important in one's private life than today because he did far more. At your death, you asked a friend to be your executor; there were no banks to do the job. When you went on foreign business trips, you asked your friend to look after your business and family obligations, and you gave him your valuables for safekeeping; there were no safe deposit boxes. As a consequence, you had to be very careful about selecting your friends, because a false friend could do a great deal of harm.

***Question 7: What is the view of human nature found in these documents?***

***Answer:*** Always suspect the worst and beware of appearances. There is a high degree of paranoia in these writings—especially in Wentworth’s advice to his son. One gets the distinct impression that these fathers think they are living in a world that is trying to deprive them of their rank and wealth. To a certain extent, all three are self-made men who have risen to the top and are anxious to keep what they have and prevent others from moving up the social ladder to replace them. They are fearful that what they have gained will be lost by the inexperience and weakness of their children and the conniving schemes of con men and thieves. One wonders, however, whether all parents are paranoid about their children, irrespective of wealth and rank. Ask your students about this.

***Question 8: What view of society do these fathers hold?***

***Answer:*** Society is static and unchanging. Having been created by God, it must be perfect, and therefore imperfection and evil in society must stem from evil men, not from any malfunction in society. This may in part help to explain the high level of paranoia. It also explains why there is no hint of political or social theory to be found in these documents. Wealthy, educated, and powerful as these fathers were, they did not see society as a system operating with its own internal rules and regulations. Instead, most of their advice consists of how to handle personal encounters—how to get a proper wife, how to cope with a suitor, how to give a gift, how to treat a servant, how to behave to those socially above or below you, and how to recognize evil people. Note also that there is no doubt on the part of these fathers that their advice is fresh, pertinent, and useful and will continue to be of use for generations to come. Contrast this to today’s society, where change is the norm.

***Question 9: What is the proper role a son is expected to play in society?***

***Answer:*** Education for the sons of the political elite was to learn what Elyot calls “Majesty” or what we today would call decorum: countenance, speech, gesture, and dress must be “accommodated to time, place and company.” A form of play acting was deemed necessary because, as Shakespeare said, “All the world’s a stage,” and children were expected to learn the script appropriate to that station to which God had assigned them. There was no talk of personal self-expression, finding your own potential, personal happiness, or being your “own man.” Notice also how holistic education is. What children learn in school is reinforced by pictures and mottos inscribed on the plates they eat from at home.

***Question 10: What is the role expected of women revealed in these documents?***

***Answer:*** Fathers clearly believed women to be subservient to men, potentially troublesome, and often downright evil. In contrast, the “Good Wife” has an equally poor regard for men, although she accepts the inferior status of her sex. She, like the fathers in these documents, is concerned about the welfare of the family and the dangers inherent in youthful inexperience. She is insistent that at all costs reputation and appearances must be maintained, and she displays no sympathy for the personal dreams and aspirations of her daughter.

Discussion of any one of these 10 questions and answers is guaranteed to stimulate debate and generate student interest because all the questions impinge upon the lives of the living as well as the dead. A student paper of some length, asking them to compare and contrast their own experiences as the recipients of parental advice to that given to sixteenth-century children, will be useful to student and teacher alike and will make the past more palatable to the present.

**Handout:**

**Walter Raleigh:  
Instructions to His Son and to Posterity (ca. 1610)**

*Sir Walter Raleigh (1552?–1618) wrote Instructions to His Son while he was in the Tower of London between 1603 and 1617 for the edification of his elder son, Wat, and his second son, Carew, who was conceived while his father was imprisoned (Raleigh’s wife had extensive visiting privileges). James I distrusted and disliked Raleigh—as did a great many other people—and he had him tried and imprisoned for well over a decade on somewhat questionable charges of treason. Raleigh was executed in 1618, immediately after his disastrous voyage to Guiana, where his son Wat was killed in a skirmish with the Spanish. Raleigh’s book of advice was first published in 1632.*

Source: *The Works of Walter Raleigh, Kt*, vol. 8, *Miscellaneous Works* (New York: Franklin, n.d.), pp. 557-70. Originally published in 1829.

**Chapter I**

*Virtuous persons to be made choice of for friends*

There is nothing more becoming any wise man than to make choice of friends; for by them thou shalt be judged what thou art. Let them therefore be wise and virtuous, and none of those that follow thee for gain; but make election rather of thy betters than thy inferiors, shunning always such as are poor and needy; for if thou givest twenty gifts, and refuse to do the like but once, all that thou hast done will be lost, and such men will become thy mortal enemies. Take also special care that thou never trust any friend or servant with any matter that may endanger thine estate; for so shalt thou make thyself a bondsman to him that thou trustest, and leave thyself always to his mercy. And be sure of this, thou shalt never find a friend in thy young years, whose conditions and qualities will please thee after thou comest to more discretion and judgment; and then all thou givest is lost, and all wherein thou shalt trust such a one will be discovered. Such therefore as are thy inferiors will follow thee but to eat thee out<sup>1</sup>, and when thou leavest to feed them they will hate thee; and such kind of men, if thou preserve thy estate, will always be had: and if thy friends be of better quality than thyself, thou mayest be sure of two things; the first, that they will be more careful to keep thy counsel, because they have more to lose than thou hast; the second, they will esteem thee for thyself, and not for that which thou dost possess; but if thou be subject to any great vanity or ill, (from which I hope God will bless thee,) then therein trust no man; for every man’s folly ought to be his greatest secret.



And although I persuade thee to associate thyself with thy betters, or at least with thy peers, yet remember always that thou venture not thy estate with any of those great ones that shall attempt unlawful things; for such men labour for themselves, and not for thee; thou shalt be sure to part with them in the danger, but not in the honour; and to venture a sure estate in present, in hope of a better in future, is mere madness: and great men forget such as have done them service, when they have obtained what they would, and will rather hate thee for saying thou hast been a means of their advancement, than acknowledge it. . . .

. . . Let thy love therefore be to the best, so long as they do well; but take heed that thou love God, thy country, thy prince, and thine own estate, before all others; for the fancies of men change, and he that loves to-day hateth to-morrow: but let reason be thy schoolmistress, which shall ever guide thee aright.

## **Chapter II**

### *Great care to be had in the choosing of a wife*

The next and greatest care ought to be in the choice of a wife, and the only danger therein is beauty, by which all men in all ages, wise and foolish, have been betrayed. And though I know it vain to use reasons or arguments to dissuade thee from being captivated therewith, there being few or none that ever resisted that witchery; yet I cannot omit to warn thee as of other things, which may be thy ruin and destruction. For the present time, it is true, that every man prefers his phantasy in that appetite before all other worldly desires, leaving the care of honour, credit, and safety in respect thereof: but remember, that though these affections do not last, yet the bond of marriage dureth to the end of thy life; and therefore better to be borne withal in a mistress than in a wife; for when thy humour shall change, thou art yet free to choose again, (if thou give thyself that vain liberty). Remember, secondly, that if thou marry for beauty, thou bindest thyself all thy life for that which perchance will never last nor please thee one year; and when thou hast it, it will be to thee of no price at all, for the desire dieth when it is attained and the affection perisheth when it is satisfied. . . . Yet I wish thee, above all the rest, have a care thou dost not marry an uncomely woman for any respect; for comeliness in children is riches, if nothing else be left them. And if thou have care for thy races of horses and other beasts, value the shape and comeliness of thy children before alliances or riches: have care therefore of both together; for if thou have a fair wife and a poor one, if thine own estate be not great, assure thyself that love abideth not with want; for she is the companion of plenty and honour: for I never yet knew a poor woman exceeding fair that was not made dishonest by one or other in the end. . . .



Have therefore ever more care that thou be beloved of thy wife, rather than thyself besotted on her: and thou shalt judge of her love by these two observations; first, if thou perceive she have a care of thy estate, and exercise herself therein; the other, if she study to please thee and be sweet unto thee in conversation, without thy instruction; for love needs no teaching nor precept. On the other side, be not sour or stern to thy wife; for cruelty engendereth no other thing than hatred: let her have equal part of thy estate whilst thou livest, if thou find her sparing and honest; but what thou givest after thy death, remember that thou givest it to a stranger, and most times to an enemy; for he that shall marry thy wife will despise thee, thy memory, and thine, and shall possess the quiet of thy labours, the fruit which thou hast planted, enjoy thy love, and spend with joy and ease what thou hast spared<sup>2</sup> and gotten with care and travel<sup>3</sup>: yet always remember, that thou leave not thy wife to be a shame unto thee after thou art dead, but that she may live according to thy estate; especially if thou has few children, and them provided for. But howsoever it be, or whatsoever thou find, leave thy wife no more than of necessity thou must, but only during her widowhood; for if she love again, let her not enjoy her second love in the same bed wherein she loved thee, nor fly to future pleasures with those feathers which death hath pulled from thy wings; but leave thy estate to thy house and children, in which thou livest upon earth, whilst it lasteth. To conclude; wives were ordained to continue the generation of men, not to transfer them and diminish them, either in continuance or ability; and therefore thy house and estate, which liveth in thy son, and not in thy wife, is to be preferred. . . .

### **Chapter III**

*Wisest men have been abused by flatterers*

Take care thou be not made a fool by flatterers, for even the wisest men are the worst kind of traitors; for they will strengthen thy imperfections, encourage thee in all evils, correct thee in nothing, but so shadow and paint all thy vices and follies as thou shalt never, by their will, discern evil from good, or vice from virtue. And because all men are apt to flatter themselves, to entertain the additions of other men's praises is most perilous. Do not therefore praise thyself, except thou wilt be counted a vainglorious fool, neither take delight in the praises of other men, except thou deserve it, and receive it from such as are worthy and honest, and will withal warn thee of thy faults: for flatterers have never any virtue, they are ever base, creeping, cowardly persons. A flatterer is said to be a beast that biteth smiling. . . . But it is hard to know them from friends, they are so obsequious and full of protestations; for a wolf resembles a dog, so doth a flatterer a friend. . . .

**Chapter V***Three rules to be observed for the preservation of a man's estate*

Amongst all other things of the world take care of thy estate, which thou shalt ever preserve, if thou observe three things; first, that thou know what thou hast, what every thing is worth that thou hast, and to see that thou art not wasted by thy servants and officers. The second is, that thou never spend any thing before thou have it; for borrowing is the canker and death of every man's estate. The third is, that thou suffer not thyself to be wounded for the other men's faults, and scourged for other men's offences, which is, the surety<sup>4</sup> for another; for thereby millions of men have been beggared and destroyed, paying the reckoning of other men's riot, and the charge of other men's folly and prodigality; if thou smart, smart for thine own sins; and, above all things, be not made an ass to carry the burdens of other men: if any friend desire thee to be his surety, give him a part of what thou hast to spare; if he press thee further, he is not thy friend at all, for friendship rather chooseth harm to itself than offereth it: if thou be bound for a stranger, thou art a fool: if for a merchant, thou putteth thy estate to learn to swim: if for a churchman, he hath no inheritance; if for a lawyer, he will find an evasion, by a syllable or word, to abuse thee: if for a poor man, thou must pay it thyself: if for a rich man, it need not: therefore from suretyship, as from a manslayer or enchanter, bless thyself; for the best profit and return will be this, that if thou force him for whom thou art bound, to pay it himself, he will become thy enemy; if thou use to pay it thyself, thou wilt be a beggar; and believe thy father in this, and print it in thy thought, that what virtue soever thou hast, be it never so manifold, if thou be poor withal, thou and thy qualities shall be despised: besides, poverty is oftentimes sent as a curse of God; it is a shame amongst men, an imprisonment of the mind, a vexation of every worthy spirit; thou shalt neither help thyself nor others; thou shalt drown thee in all thy virtues, having no means to shew them; thou shalt be a burden and an eyesore to thy friends, every man will fear thy company; thou shalt be driven basely to beg, and depend on others, to flatter unworthy men, to make dishonest shifts;<sup>5</sup> and, to conclude, poverty provokes a man to do infamous and detested deeds: let not vanity therefore, or persuasion, draw thee to that worst of worldly miseries.

If thou be rich, it will give thee pleasure in health, comfort in sickness, keep thy mind and body free, save thee from many perils, relieve thee in thy elder years, relieve the poor, and thy honest friends, and give means to thy posterity to live, and defend themselves, and thine own fame. . . .

## **Chapter VII**

*Brave rags<sup>6</sup> wear soonest out of fashion*

Exceed not in the humour<sup>7</sup> of rags and bravery, for these will soon wear out of fashion; but money in thy purse will ever be in fashion; and no man is esteemed for gay garments but by fools and women.

## **Chapter IX**

*What inconveniencies happen to such as delight in wine*

Take especial care that thou delight not in wine; for there never was any man that came to honour or preferment that loved it; for it transformeth a man into a beast, decayeth health, poisoneth the breath, destroyeth natural heat, brings a man's stomach to an artificial heat, deformeth the face, rotteth the teeth, and, to conclude, maketh a man contemptible, soon old, and despised of all wise and worthy men; hated in thy servants, in thyself, and companions; for it is a bewitching and infectious vice. . . .

## **Chapter X**

*Let God be thy protector and director in all thy actions*

Now for the world, I know it too well to persuade thee to dive into the practices thereof; rather stand upon thine own guard against all that tempt thee thereunto, or may practise upon thee in thy conscience, thy reputation, or thy purse; resolve that no man is wise or safe, but he that is honest.

Serve God; let him be the Author of all thy actions; commend all thy endeavours to him that must either wither or prosper them; please him with prayer, lest, if he frown, he confound all thy fortunes and labours like the drops of rain on the sandy ground. Let my experienced advice and fatherly instructions sink deep into thy heart. So God direct thee in all his ways, and fill thy heart with his grace.

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Notes: 1. eat thee out: i.e., of house and home; 2. spared: saved up; 3. travel: travail; 4. surety: pledge or guarantee; 5. shifts: evasions; 6. Brave rags: splendid dress; 7. humour: style

## Handout

### **William Wentworth: Advice to His Son (1604)**

*William Wentworth (1562-1614) was a country gentleman whose precepts for a successful career ran the emotional gamut from extreme paranoia about the dangers of life to unwarranted optimism about the usefulness of his wisdom. He wrote for the benefit of his twenty-two-year-old son Thomas, who he assumed would follow in his footsteps.*

*Actually Thomas did both much better and much worse: he rose to be Charles I's chief adviser and was made earl of Strafford but was impeached and executed by Parliament in 1641.*

Source: From J. P. Cooper, *Wentworth Papers 1397-1628*. London, 1973. Camden, 4th Series, Vol. 12, doc. 1, pp. 9-24. By permission of the Royal Historical Society.

William Wentworth of Wentworth Woodhus esquire<sup>1</sup> . . . being near the age of 45 years his advice and counsel to Thomas Wentworth his son and heir . . . touching the managing of his private estate and affairs; all written with his own hand.

Touching the good government of your person and affairs, albeit I verily hope that your own discretion guided from above, by the grace and power of a most merciful heavenly father, will give unto you the two inestimable benefits of a prosperous life and a happy ending. Yet, for that it pleaseth God many times to make the wise advice of some aged faithful friend the means of these blessings, by working in young men a sounder judgment than their small experience could otherways easily attain unto, I, your natural father, whose intents admit no guile and whose experience hath not been the least among others, have thought good, according to my small measure of wit, to deliver to you my best opinion and counsels touching the well ordering of yourself and your private estate.

GOD. First then fear God, love him and trust in him. Every night before you sleep and every morning before you rise, say prayers. . . . Bear a good conscience, be just, humble, charitable and merciful; be moderate in all things and frugal in expenses, for wasters and proud men be very fools. . . . Be very careful to govern your tongue and never speak in open places all you think; neither ever talk openly ill of any, for whatsoever you speak that way even in your own house most commonly is discovered and will certainly at some time do you harm. But to your wife, if she can keep counsel (as few women can), or to a private faithful friend, or some old servant that hath all his living<sup>2</sup> and credit under you, you may be more open, yet ever talk thereof but to one. . . .

Touching the KING our sovereign lord, pray for him and obey his laws; for in his safety consisteth the weale and prosperity of his subjects and the commonwealth is the ship we sail in. His greatest MAJESTRATE in the country as president or lieutenant, be you well

known to them and deserve their favors by your discretion, humility and remembering your duty with presents in due time; yet ever take heed that no man living overreach you for great sums of money, neither ever lend to greater men than yourself more than you mean to lose. . . .

For NOBLE MEN in general it is dangerous to be familiar with them, or to depend upon them or to deal with or trust them too much. For their thoughts are bestowed upon their own weighty causes and their estates and actions are governed by policy. . . . In any case never engage yourself for your superiors by bonds nor lend them more than you can be willing to give them. As it is no wisdom and many times danger to fawn and depend upon noblemen, so in any case be careful not to make them hate you. For their revenge by reason of the greatness of their mind and power at one time or other will do you displeasure; and against their displeasures you cannot defend yourself without great wit, much cost and peradventure danger of your life; therefore be provident and judicial that way. If the sheriff or any majestrate or commissioner send you a letter from any great person directed to them and you for anything concerning you, which letter they will have returned after you have had notice of it, do you never fail but with all speed take a true copy of that letter before you send it back and, not resolving hastily, consult at leisure ripely what provident and discreet course to take therein. . . .

The company of your EQUALS, whose estate<sup>3</sup> is not declining and in whom there is a good conscience and a well governed tongue, is very fit for you. . . .

If you desire AUTHORITY or degree of HONOR, you must make means for it, otherwise it will not be laid upon you, there be so many that make suit for it. . . . Yet he that will be honored and feared in his country must bear countenance and authority; for people are servile, not generous and do reverence men for fear, not for love of their virtues which they apprehend not. . . .

To your PARENTS be humble, dutiful and patient. . . .

Of KINSFOLK esteem the company of them most that be rich, honest and discreet and use them in your cause before others. If they be poorer and yet of good conscience and humble, regard them well. Yet if any of all these have lands or goods joining with you in no case trust them too much, for such occasions breed suits<sup>4</sup> and future enmities. Ever fear the worst, which discreet suspect is the surest means under God of your defence. . . . In matters of great importance trust none, but either those that of long time have rejoiced in the prosperity of your house, or of whom your father or yourself have had a long and great experience. And if it be a matter of secrecy, talk thereof ever to one alone. Whosoever comes to speak with you, comes premeditate for his advantage.

In any case have some insight in the laws, for it will be a great contentment, comfort and credit and quiet for you. . . .

LETTERS to friends and strangers write as few as you can and let these be penned with so good discretion as you need not care though they were proclaimed in any time to come. For it is a common custom of men to keep letters safely and sometimes many years after to produce them for evidence against the author of them, either in open court or otherwise. . . .

For your WIFE let her be well born and brought up but not too highly, of a healthful body, of a good complexion, humble and virtuous, some few years younger than yourself and many times not the prouder. . . . For her juncture<sup>5</sup> let it not be too large, lest your heir feel the smart and a second husband the sweet of that gross oversight. After marriage and that she have born you some children you may, if you think she deserve and need it, enlarge her juncture, yet in any case for no longer time than she shall remain widow. Ever remembering that after your death, yea though she be wise and well given, she is most like to be the wife of a stranger and peradventure no friend to your house. . . .

It is very fit for men to make show of a revengeful mind and something inclining to contention where the contrary inwardly must be sought for. For nothing but fear of revenge or suits can hold back men from doing wrong. . . . Yet sometimes in honesty policy, you must seem something contentious and ready to sue men that do you wrong, of purpose to curb their beastly and base natures which otherwise will not care for you. . . .

Whensoever a reconcilment shall happen betwixt you and your enemy, be not so unwise as afterwards to trust him. For secret poison is like to lie invisible in his heart, what protestations or show soever to the contrary; and commonly those men that have most wit and can speak best for themselves are least to be trusted. . . .

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Notes: 1. esquire: social rank below that of a knight; 2. living: livelihood; 3. estate: economic or social position; 4. suits: law suits; 5. juncture: financial settlement by the groom (or his parents) bestowed on the bride at the moment of marriage to provide for her in the event of her husband's death

## Handout

### **William Cecil: Certain Precepts for the Well Ordering of a Man's Life (ca. 1584)**

*William Cecil (1520–1598), who was created Lord Burghley in 1571, was Elizabeth I's chief minister for most of her reign. His precepts are directed to his son Robert, whom he was grooming as the queen's principal secretary (and who was later created earl of Salisbury by James I in 1605). It is often claimed that Burghley's words were the model for the fulsome admonitions of Polonius to his son Laertes in Shakespeare's Hamlet. Certainly his precepts were well known at court before they were published in 1617.*

Source: *Certaine precepts, or, directions for the well ordering and carriage of a man's life. . . left by William, Lord Burghley, to his sonne . . .* (London, 1637).

#### **SON ROBERT:**

The virtuous inclinations of thy matchless mother, by whose tender and godly care thy infancy was governed, together with thy education under so zealous and excellent a tutor, puts me rather in assurance of the hope that thou are not ignorant of that summary bond which is only able to make thee happy as well in thy death as life—I mean the true knowledge and worship of thy Creator and Redeemer, without which all other things are vain and miserable. So that, thy youth being guided by so all sufficient a teacher, I make no doubt but he will furnish thy life both with divine and moral documents; yet that I may not cast off the care beseeming a parent towards his child, or that thou shouldst have cause to derive thy whole felicity and welfare rather from others than from whence thou receivedst thy birth and being, I think it fit and agreeable to the affection I bear to help thee with such advertisements and rules for the squaring of thy life as are gained rather by much experience than long reading, to the end that thou, entering into this exorbitant age, mayest be the better prepared to shun those cautelous<sup>1</sup> courses whereinto this world and thy lack of experience may easily draw thee. And because I will not confound thy memory, I have reduced them into ten precepts and, next unto Moses' tables, if thou do imprint them in thy mind, then shalt [thou] reap the benefit and I the contentment. And these are they.



I. When it shall please God to bring thee to man's estate, use great providence and circumspection in choosing of a wife: for from thence will spring all thy future good or evil. And it is an action like a strategem of war, wherein a man can err but once. If thy estate be good, match near home, and at leisure; if weak, far off and quickly. Inquire diligently of her disposition, and how her parents have been inclined in their youth. Let her not be poor, how generous soever; for a man can buy nothing in the market with gentility. Nor choose a base and uncomely creature, although for wealth; for it will cause contempt in others, and loathing in thee. Neither make choice of a dwarf or a fool; for by the one thou shalt beget a race of pigmies: the other will be thy daily disgrace, and it will irk thee to hear her talk; and thou shalt find it to thy great grief, that there is nothing more fulsome than a she-fool.

And touching the guiding of thy house, let thy hospitality be moderate, and according to the measure of thy estate; rather plentiful than sparing, but not costly. For I never knew any growing poor by keeping an orderly table; but some consume themselves through secret visits, and then hospitality beareth the blame. But banish swinish drunkenness out of thine house, which is a vice which impaireth health, consumeth much, and maketh no show. And I never heard praise ascribed to a drunkard, but the well-bearing of his liquor; which is a better commendation for a brewer's horse or a carrion, than either for a gentleman, or serving-man. And beware thou spend not above a third of the four parts of thy living, nor above a third part of that in thy house; for the other two parts will do no more than defray thy extraordinaries, which always surmount thine ordinaries by far: otherwise thou shalt live like a rich beggar, in continual want. And the needy man can never live happily nor contented; for every least disaster makes him ready to mortgage or sell. And the gentlemen that sell an acre of land sell an ounce of credit; for gentility is nothing else but ancient riches; for that if the foundation sink, the building must needs follow. . . .

IV. Let thy kindred and allies be welcome to thy table. Grace them with thy countenance, and further them in all honest actions: for by this means, thou shalt so double the bond of nature, as thou shalt find them so many advocates to plead an apology for thee behind thy back. But shake off those glow-worms, I mean parasites and sycophants, who will feed and fawn upon thee in the summer of prosperity, but in adverse storms they will shelter thee no more than an arbour in winter.

V. Beware of suretyship<sup>2</sup> for the best friends; for he that payeth another man's debts seeks his own decay. But if thou canst not otherwise choose, rather lend thy money thyself upon good bands<sup>3</sup>, though thou borrow it: so shalt thou both pleasure thy friend and secure thyself. Neither borrow money of a friend; but of a mere stranger; where, paying for it, thou shalt hear of it no more: otherwise thou shalt eclipse thy credit, lose thy friend, and yet pay as dear as to another. But in borrowing of money, be precious of thy word; for he that hath care to keep days of payment is lord of other men's goods.



VI. Take no suit against a poor man, without receiving much wrong: for besides that thou makest him thy competitor, it is a base conquest to triumph where there is small resistance. Neither attempt law against a man before thou be thoroughly resolved that thou hast right on thy side; and then spare neither for money nor pains; for a cause or two so followed, and obtained, will free thee from suits a great part of thy life.

VII. Be sure to keep some great man thy friend, but trouble him not for trifles. Compliment him often. Present him with many, yet small gifts, and of little charge. And if thou hast cause to bestow any great gratuity, let it be some such thing as may be daily in sight. Otherwise, in this ambitious age, thou shalt remain as an hop<sup>4</sup> without a pole, live in obscurity, and be made a football for every insulting companion.

VIII. Towards thy superiors be humble, yet generous: with thy equals familiar, yet respective: towards thy inferiors show much humility and some familiarity; as to bow thy body, stretch forth thy hand, and uncover thy head, with such-like popular compliments. The first prepares way to thy advancement: the second makes thee known for a man well bred: the third gains a good report; which once got is easily kept. . . .

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Notes: 1. cautelous: deceitful; 2. suretyship: standing as a surety or guarantee; 3. bands: contracts; 4. hop: climbing plant

## Handout

### Thomas Elyot: The Book Named the Governour (1531)

The Governour of Sir Thomas Elyot (ca. 1490-1546) is the first book on education to be written in English. Elyot's aim was far more than pedagogical; he sought to elevate the commonwealth by advancing the learning, virtue, and decorum of youths who would one day be its leaders. The section on majesty, "the foundation of all excellent manners," from the second book of Elyot's treatise, embodies Elyot's conviction that the essence of civilization was the ability to enact in an elegant fashion the role God had assigned each individual to play in life.

Source: H. H. S. Croft, ed., *The boke named the governour deuised by Sir Thomas Elyot, knight* (London, 1880 [1531]).

### Chapter I

*What things he that is elected or appointed to be a governor of a public weal<sup>1</sup> ought to premeditate*

. . . First, and above all thing, let them consider that from God only proceedeth all honour, and that neither noble progeny, succession, nor election be of such force, that by them any estate or dignity may be so established that God being stirred to vengeance shall not shortly resume it, and perchance translate it where it shall like<sup>2</sup> him. . . .

They shall also consider that by their pre-eminence they sit as it were on a pillar on the top of a mountain, where all the people do behold them, not only in their open affairs, but also in their secret pastimes, privy dalliance, or other unprofitable or wanton conditions: which soon be discovered by the conversation of their most familiar servants, which do alway embrace that study wherein their master delighteth. . . .

## Chapter II

### *The exposition of majesty*

In a governor or man having in the public weal some great authority, the fountain of all excellent manners is Majesty; which is the whole proportion and figure of noble estate, and is properly a beauty or comeliness in his countenance, language and gesture apt to his dignity, and accommodate to time, place, and company; which, like as the sun doth his beams, so doth it cast on the beholders and hearers a pleasant and terrible reverence. Insomuch as the words or countenance of a noble man should be in the stead of a firm and stable law to his inferiors. Yet is not majesty alway in haughty or fierce countenance, nor in speech outrageous or arrogant, but in honourable and sober demeanour, deliberate and grave pronounciation, words clean and facile, void of rudeness and dishonesty, without vain or inordinate jangling, with such an excellent temperance, that he, among an infinite number of other persons, by his majesty may be espied for a governor. . . .

Moreover toward the acquiring of majesty, three things be required to be in the oration of a man having authority: that it be compendious, sententious, and delectable, having also respect to the time when, the place where, and the persons to whom it is spoken. For the words perchance apt for a banquet or time of solace be not commendable in time of consultation or service of God. That language that in the chamber is tolerable, in place of judgment or great assembly is nothing commendable.

## Chapter III

### *Of apparel belonging to a nobleman, being a governor or great counsellor*

Apparel may be well a part of majesty. For as there hath been ever a discrepance in vesture of youth and age, men and women, and our Lord God ordained the apparel of priests distinct from seculars, as it appeareth in Holy Scripture, also the Gentiles had of ancient time sundry apparel to sundry estates, as to the senate, and dignitaries called magistrates. And what enormity should it now be thought, and a thing to laugh at, to see a judge or sergeant at the law in a short coat, garded and pounced after the galyard<sup>3</sup> fashion, or an apprentice of the law or pleader come to the bar with a Milan bonnet or French hat on his head, set full of plumes, powdered with spangles. So is there apparel comely to every estate and degree, and that which exceedeth or lacketh, procureth reproach, in a nobleman specially. For apparel simple or scanty reproveth him of avarice. If it be always exceeding precious, and oftentimes changed, as well into charge as strange and new fashions, it causeth him to be noted dissolute of manners. . . .

Semblable<sup>4</sup> decking ought to be in the house of a nobleman or man of honour. I mean concerning ornaments of hall and chambers, in arras<sup>5</sup>, painted tables, and images containing histories, wherein is represented some monument of virtue, most cunningly wrought, with the circumstance of the matter briefly declared; whereby other men in beholding may be instructed, or at the leastways, to virtue persuaded. In likewise his plate and vessels would be engraved with histories, fables, or quick and wise sentences, comprehending good doctrine or counsels; whereby one of these commodities may happen, either that they which do eat or drink, having those wisdoms ever in sight, shall happen with the meat to receive some of them, or by purposing them at the table, may suscite<sup>6</sup> some disputation or reasoning; whereby some part of time shall be saved, which else by superfluous eating and drinking would be idly consumed. . . .

---

Notes: 1. weal: commonwealth; 2. like: please; 3. galyard: gallant; 4. Semblable: similarly; 5. arras: tapestries; 6. suscite: raise

## Handout

### How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter (ca. 1430)

*Like any parent, the woman in this rhyme is at pains to bring up her daughter in her own image. On the surface her instructions are very different from those directed by fathers to their sons in the previous selections, but her assumptions about God, society, and family and her ultimate goals may not have been all that different from those of her husband.*

Source: Edith Rickert, ed., *The Babees' Book: Medieval Manners for the Young* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1908), pp. 31-33, 35-37, 39-42.

The good wife taught her daughter,  
    Full many a time and oft,  
    A full good woman to be;  
For said she: "Daughter to me dear,  
Something good now must thou hear,  
    If thou wilt prosper thee.

Daughter, if thou will be a wife,  
    Look wisely that thou work;  
Look lovely and in good life,  
    Love God and Holy Kirk.<sup>1</sup>  
Go to church whene'er thou may,  
    Look thou spare for no rain,  
For best thou farest on that day;  
    To commune with God be fain.<sup>2</sup>  
    He must needs well thrive,  
    That liveth well all his life,  
    My lief<sup>3</sup> child.

...

The man that shall thee wed before God with a ring,  
Love thou him and honour most of earthly thing.  
Meekly thou him answer and not as an atterling,<sup>4</sup>  
So may'st thou slake his mood,<sup>5</sup> and be his dear darling.

A fair word and a meek  
Doth anger slake,  
My lief child.

...

Be of seemly semblance, wise, and other good cheer;  
Change not thy countenance for aught that thou may hear.  
Fare not as a gig,<sup>6</sup> for nought that may betide.  
Laugh thou not too loud nor yawn thou not too wide.

But laugh thou soft and mild,  
And be not of cheer too wild,  
My lief child.

...

And if thou be in any place where good ale is aloft,<sup>7</sup>  
Whether that thou serve thereof or that thou sit soft,  
Measurably thou take thereof, that thou fall in no blame,  
For if thou be often drunk, it falleth to thy shame.

For those that be often drunk—  
Thrift is from them sunk,  
My lief child.

...

Acquaint thee not with each man that goeth by the street,  
Though any man speak to thee, swiftly<sup>8</sup> thou him greet;  
By him do not stand, but let him his way depart,  
Lest he by his villainy should tempt thy heart.

For all men be not true  
That fair words can shew,  
My lief child.

Also, for covetousness gifts beware to take;  
Unless thou know why else,<sup>9</sup> quickly them forsake;  
For with gifts may men soon women overcome,  
Though they were as true as steel or as stone.

Bound forsooth is she  
That of any man takes fee,<sup>10</sup>  
My lief child.

And wisely govern thy house, and serving maids and men,  
Be thou not too bitter or too debonaire with them;  
But look well what most needs to be done,  
And set thy people at it, both rathely<sup>11</sup> and soon.

For ready is at need  
A foredone deed,  
My lief child.

...

And if thy husband be from home, let not thy folk do ill,  
But look who doeth well and who doeth nil;  
And he that doeth well, quit him well his while,  
But he that doeth other, serve him as the vile.

A foredone deed  
Will another speed,  
My lief child.

...

And if thy neighbour's wife hath on rich attire,  
Therefore mock not, nor let scorn burn thee as a fire.  
But thank thou God in heaven for what He may thee give,  
And so shalt thou, my daughter dear, a good life live,

He hath ease in his power,  
Who thanks the Lord every hour,  
My lief child.

...

Daughter, look that thou beware, whatsoever thee betide,  
Make not thy husband poor with spending or with pride.  
A man spend as he may that hath but easy good,<sup>12</sup>  
For as a wren hath veins, men must let her blood.<sup>13</sup>

His thrift waxeth thin  
That spendeth ere he win,  
My lief child.

...

And if thy children be rebel and will not blow them low,  
If any of them misdo, neither curse them nor blow;<sup>14</sup>  
But take a smart rod and beat them in a row,  
Till they cry mercy and their guilt well know.

Dear child, by this lore  
They will love thee even more,  
My lief child.

And look to thy daughters that none of them be lorn;<sup>15</sup>  
From the very time that they are of thee born,  
Busy thyself and gather fast for their marriage,  
And give them to spousing, as soon as they be of age.

Maidens be fair and amiable,  
But in their love full unstable,  
My lief child.

Now have I taught thee, daughter, as my mother did me;  
Think thereon night and day, that forgotten it not be.  
Have measure and lowness, as I have thee taught,  
Then whatever man shall wed thee will regret it naught.

Better you were a child unbore  
Than untaught in this wise lore,  
My lief child.

---

Notes: 1. Holy Kirk: the Catholic church; 2. be fain: be happy; 3. lief: dear; 4. atterling: shrew; 5. slake his mood: quiet his wrath; 6. gig: giddy girl; 7. aloft: i.e., being served; 8. swiftly: curtly; 9. else: i.e., another reason; 10. fee: gift; 11. rathely: quickly; 12. easy good: i.e., a small income; 13. blood: i.e., the tiny wren has only a small amount of blood; equivalent to the proverb “you can’t squeeze blood out of a stone”; 14. blow: scold; 15. lorn: ruined



## Contributors

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### About the Editor

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**Kelley Graham** attended Carleton University and the University of Toronto in Canada, and finished her work at Temple University in Philadelphia. Her main interest is in the history of consumption, or what Wordsworth called, “getting and spending.” A Reader and Table Leader for the AP European History Exam, she has retired to the quiet life of teaching history at Friends’ Central School outside of Philadelphia.

**Harriett Lillich** taught AP European History, world history, and a variety of electives at UMS-Wright Preparatory School in Mobile, Alabama. She has served as an AP European History Reader and has written test items for the SAT II.

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