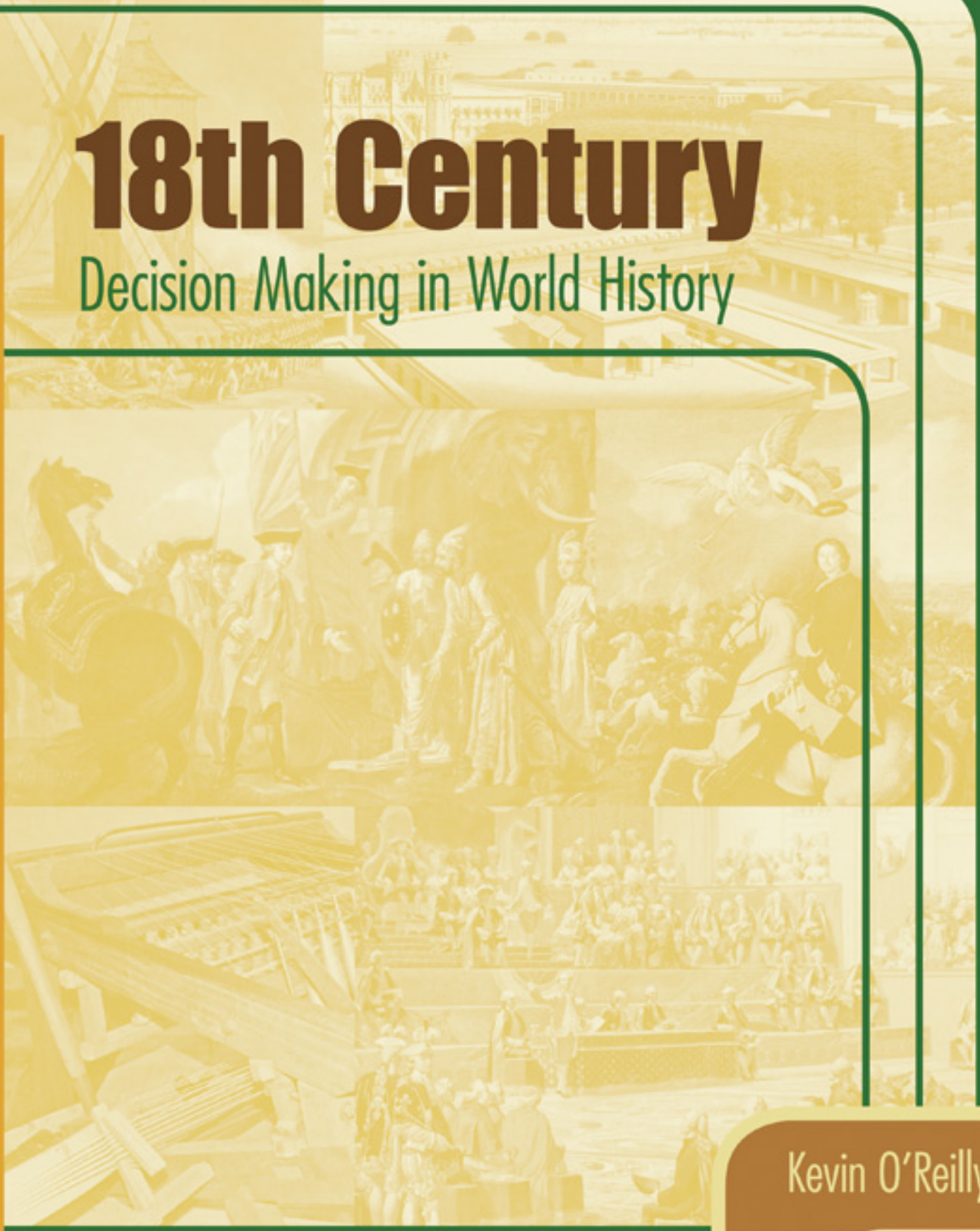
18th Century

Decision Making in World History



Kevin O'Reilly

Social Studies
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PREFACE: HINDSIGHT VS. FORESIGHT

When we study history, it is all too easy to sit in judgment of those who came before us. We read it after the fact; we see it in hindsight. Given the benefit of such 20/20 hindsight, some historical figures seem to have been very misguided or downright silly in their decisions. Why could they not anticipate the consequences of their choices? How could they have been so shortsighted? Sports enthusiasts call this sort of hindsight analysis "Monday-morning quarterbacking."

However, it is not as easy to laugh at the follies of past decision makers if we are confronted with the same decisions in history *before* we learn the actual results. In such a situation, we find ourselves making some of the same mistakes that historical figures made, and we sometimes commit new errors they did *not* make. This method of studying history, which we might call "foresight history," is far more challenging—and engaging—than the traditional retroactive method to which we are inured.

In short, when we learn history by hindsight, we risk becoming more arrogant and complacent. If, on the other hand, we learn history by *foresight*, by casting ourselves in the role of those historical figures and making decisions as they did, in ignorance of the outcome, we can learn humility and gain a great deal of empathy for historical decision makers. Students in my classes are constantly exclaiming, "This is hard!" as opposed to, "This is boring!"

Foresight history also helps students improve key skills they will use again and again as citizens—decision-making skills. Schools of law, medicine, business, nursing, the military, and many other institutions use case-study methods that require students to make decisions on a particular case and then analyze their thinking. If each of these varied disciplines values decision making so much, should we not be training all our future citizens how to make good decisions?

History provides many benefits for those who study it. Historical knowledge is liberating all by itself, letting us draw back the veil of ignorance and see the present from a perspective enlightened by the past. The more knowledge of history we possess, the better we understand our societies and ourselves. Study and evaluation of primary sources, discussions of motives, debates about significance, analyzing causes and effects, and many other strategies are vital to history courses. The lessons here on decision making support and enhance these other methods of studying history, rather than replacing them with a more "practical" type of history.

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Lesson 4: Early Industrialization in Britain

Lesson 5: Crisis in France

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INTRODUCTION

OVERVIEW

There are seven lessons in this volume on the eighteenth century: The Ottoman Empire, India and the British East India Company, Peter the Great, Early Industrialization in Britain, Crisis in France, Revolutionary Government in France, and Catherine the Great and the Enlightenment. As in the other volumes in the series, no effort is made to cover all the major topics in this time period. Rather, lessons were chosen around interesting decision-making problems.

THE *DECISION MAKING IN WORLD HISTORY* SERIES

The lessons in Decision Making in World History are meant to be used independently within a standard world history course in middle school, high school, or college. The teacher should decide when to use a decision-making lesson. There are several volumes in the series, listed on the back cover of the book. The lessons in this series have four main goals:

1. **Make History More Interesting.** Simply giving students the problems, having them make decisions, and then telling them what the people involved actually did will keep student interest high. It is exciting to make decisions before you know what the historical characters actually did. It is dynamic learning and it is open-ended. Students enjoy comparing their decisions to those of their classmates and to the decisions actually made by the historical figures. Even if you decide to use the lessons without giving instruction on how to perform the skills involved in decision making, students will still enjoy learning history this way.

   This increased interest should also lead to better reading comprehension. Students will actively read their texts searching for what happened and how it compared to what they chose.

2. **Improve Decision Making through Experience.** The primary way people learn to make better decisions is by making them, both good and bad. Students therefore become more sophisticated decision makers with every positive or negative outcome of their choices, especially the surprising ones. By giving students many chances to make decisions where they can learn from mistakes and surprises, we are speeding up the process of making them savvy decision makers. For example, students who decide to have a foreign government overthrown and see negative consequences will think twice before trying it again and will be skeptical of such a plan if proposed in the present day. Experience itself is the teacher.

3. **Develop More Complex Ethical Thinking.** Ethical questions will arise regularly, and by discussing their positions students will develop more complex moral arguments and understandings. Please note, however, that these lessons are not aimed primarily at ethical reasoning. Teachers who want to focus primarily on those types of lessons should consult *Reasoning with Democratic Values,* by Alan Lockwood and David Harris (New York: Teachers College Press, 1985).

4. **Improve the Use of Decision-Making Skills and Reflection on Those Skills.** As much as students can improve their decision making through experience, they will develop it that much more if they learn specific subskills, which can then become guidelines for thinking through decision-making problems more carefully. The instruction in these books is based on the skills of the **PAGE** model. The specific elements of **PAGE** are described in the section "Guide to Better Decision Making," and the strategies for teaching those skills are explained below in the section "PAGE Explanations and Examples."

   One of the teaching strategies emphasizes journal writing, in which students reflect on the problems they encounter, including how they could improve their own decision making. Teachers who succeed in getting students to reflect on how they could improve on the decisions they just made will help them be more reflective in general. Ideally, we want to train our future citizens to approach decision-making problems by asking insightful questions, carefully probing for underlying problems, seeing the problem from a variety of perspectives, setting clear and realistic goals, and imagining consequences.

HOW TO USE THIS BOOK

Before you take a closer look at the lesson components, take a moment to consider the following points. It is best to use these lessons:

1. ***Before* students read about or study the topics.** If students read about the topics before they do the problems in each lesson, they may know which options worked well or poorly. That will spoil the whole decision-making experience!

2. **Individually.** These are stand-alone lessons. They are meant to be plugged into your world history curriculum wherever you see fit. They are not intended as part of a sequence.

3. **Flexibly.** Each lesson can be used either as a quick introduction to a historical topic or unit, or, alternatively, as a lengthier in-depth study of the topic.

4. **To teach skills as well as history content.** These lessons focus on real, historical problems and are often accompanied by pages of historical context; as such, they provide both challenges to students' decision-making skills and the historical backdrop that will allow them to understand those situations.

LESSON COMPONENTS

Each book in this series comprises seven lessons. Each lesson includes the following:

1. **Introduction.** The first section of each lesson includes an overview of the topic, defines content vocabulary, and identifies the decision-making skills emphasized in the lesson.

2. **Lesson plan.** The main part of each lesson offers suggestions for how to use the handouts, how to focus on decision-making skills, how to connect the decision problem to the

larger historical context, how to use video and other supplementary sources, and how to troubleshoot problems should any arise.

3. **Teacher notes.** This section includes notes for expanding discussion, along with information about outcomes (versions for students are also provided—see item 6 below), references to historians, interpretations of the topic, decision-making analysis, and in some lessons suggestions for further research.

4. **Sources.** This section includes the specific publications and other sources of information used in the lesson.

5. **Problem(s).** Each lesson includes reproducible handouts used by students to read and analyze the problem, including a vocabulary list of relevant terms and concepts.

6. **Historical outcome of the problem.** In this section, students can read about what people in history actually did to solve the problem(s), along with the consequences of their decisions.

7. **Primary sources and visuals.** These resources are integrated into several of the lessons themselves, not included merely as window dressing.

Each individual decision-making challenge is referred to as a "problem." Some lessons have one problem to challenge students, while others contain numerous problems. The basic format of each lesson is problem, decision, outcome, discussion. The handouts for each lesson are designed to be photocopied or scanned, the teacher selecting which parts of handouts to use to advance the lesson.

While decision making is the main focus of the books, historical content is also very important. These lessons emphasize real historical problems that convey powerful lessons about world history—issues concerning taxation, regulation of business or individuals, welfare, war, and so forth. In addition, the problems are not all approached from the perspective of political leaders; many problems ask students to take the perspective of ordinary people. Including problems from the perspective of ordinary people prepares students for their roles as citizens in a democracy and encourages empathy for unfamiliar groups.

Most of the problems are brief—some as short as one paragraph. They could be used as class warm-ups that last no more than ten minutes. Even the short problems, however, can be quite complex and can draw forth some sophisticated analyses. You are the best judge of how much analysis should be included for each problem and for how long to run each problem and discussion.

On the other hand, some problems are obviously more complicated. These problems deal with crucial turning points in world history. For these problems, students will almost certainly need more background information before making decisions, and analysis of these problems could take several class periods. These more involved problems could form the basis for an entire unit of study. For example, the fourth lesson in the book could serve as an organizing device for a whole unit on industrialization.

WHAT IS DECISION MAKING? *(Student Handout 1)*

Because making decisions is the focus of the lessons, it is important to look at what happens in the process of decision making. As explained in Handout 1, decision making involves making a choice when there is no one clearly right answer (Halpern 1984). Students can derive important lessons about decision making from encountering "messy" decision problems. Even where outcomes do not show a particular choice to be clearly right or wrong, students will still be surprised by some aspects of the outcomes and thereby gain insight into decision making.

Decision Making as Experience

As argued in Handout 1, the most powerful teacher of good decision making is experience. People learn to make good decisions by making decisions. Bad decisions are more instructive, perhaps, in making us more skeptical decision makers, but that is not stressed to students in Handout 1. The teaching profession illustrates the negative-reinforcement aspect of decision making. Teachers who just put students into groups without giving specific directions quickly learn not to do that again. Lessons that do not work well are dropped or modified the next time around. Good teaching is basically good decision making, and good decision making is shaped rapidly by previous decisions.

Ordinary people, including students, have an optimistic tendency simply to assume their decisions will result in positive outcomes, rather than calculating the probabilities of certain outcomes. Decision-making experts, on the other hand, have a much more realistic view of probabilities, in part as a result of their greater experience with the type(s) of problem with which they often deal (Klein 1998). Experience teaches us to be more realistic about outcomes.

Just encountering the decision-making problems and outcomes in these books, therefore, will help students improve their decision making.

Targeting Decision-Making Skills

As mentioned in Handout 1, these books go beyond just the decision-making problems and their outcomes. They also provide a decision-making model and strategies for teaching the skills involved in decision making. Students learn a simple model of guidelines for making decisions—represented by the acronym **P-A-G-E** (explained in a later section and in Handouts 2 and 3). This model gives support and guidance for student decisions, allows for communication built around specific skills and a common vocabulary, and provides specific criteria for teachers to evaluate student progress on those skills.

You are crucial in this process; your role is to guide students as they encounter the decision-making problems in what Reuven Feuerstein (1980) refers to as "mediated learning." Your guidance and questions can help students make sense of what they are thinking when they make decisions about historical situations.

The debate among researchers about the relative power of experience versus instruction on decision making (Dean and Kuhn 2007) is not crucial to these books. Rather, the problems

and lessons in these books allow teachers to combine experience and instruction in the form of mediated learning (coaching).

Repetition in Order to Master Skills

These lessons are organized based on the hypothesis that several repetitions of decision-making problems and outcomes are an important factor in improving decision making (Klein 1998, 1995). That is, a person who has tried fifty problems will most likely have improved his or her decision-making skills more than a person who has tried only ten problems, simply because he or she has had more experiences making decisions. There are many problems included in these books, and you are encouraged to use them regularly (once or twice per week, perhaps) as warm-ups to start classes or units. It is not expected, however, that you will necessarily use all the problems. The time you do spend on the problems will enhance students' experiences in problem solving and decision making.

Having experience with a large number of problems also provides students with more historical analogies on which they can draw. It is striking how often decision makers base their thinking on an analogy (usually a recent one) in looking for ideas to help decide a problem (Klein 1987). Having a broader range of analogies allows students to be more skeptical of any analogy suggested, since students are more likely to think of analogies that are different from the ones offered.

Though many experiences with decision making will help, it is essential that you coach students (use mediated learning) and offer them time to reflect on their thinking during decision-making problems. Metacognition (thinking about our own thinking) is vital to improving thinking skills, according to numerous writers (Costa, Cohen, O'Reilly, Paul, and Swartz). You should therefore allow "postmortem" time for students to reflect on their thinking either verbally or in writing after each experience (see the section "Evaluating Students" for ideas). You are also encouraged to use some of the lessons for lengthier (one to three class periods), more in-depth analysis of student thinking and the historical topics involved; perhaps two or three lessons per semester could be used for in-depth analysis.

Individual Choice versus Historical Context

Research indicates that students generally view the role of individual choices as critical to historical events; for example, Rosa Parks is seen as an important catalyst of the civil rights movement. Professional historians, by contrast, stress underlying forces as more important; for example, African Americans fighting in World War II, the Cold War, and other conflicts have been identified as significant precursors of the civil rights movement (Kuhn, Weinstock, and Flaton 1994). Historical actors are constrained by historical context, researchers argue, much more than students probably think.

By focusing on decisions by individuals and by groups, the books in this series may seem to aggravate the overemphasis on the individual versus historical forces. The lessons in these books, however, help students see more historical context, not less. In order to make good decisions,

students need to learn a great deal of historical context. They are required in all lessons to ask questions about context. Each lesson includes a short outcome and a question about what historical forces, in hindsight, made it difficult for the individual to make a good decision. In addition, many problems include multiple points of view, which enrich student understanding of context. Finally, students discuss why the actual decision made historically was similar to or different from the decision they made, emphasizing context in shaping choices.

P-A-G-E *(Student Handouts 2 and 3)*

Good decision making involves a number of subskills. The more students can use the subskills, the more complex their thinking will be when they make decisions. In order to help students recall the subskills involved in decision making, these books offer them a simple acronym—**P-A-G-E**. The acronym is meant to help students recollect the subskills rather than provide an actual formula for deciding. Decision-making problems are too complex and varied for step-by-step formulas, and research indicates that expert decision makers do not follow step-by-step models (Klein 1998). For instance, in one problem seeing unintended consequences will be dominant, while in another, historical context will be more important. The **P-A-G-E** acronym consists of guidelines only, not specific steps or points that should or must be followed.

The Problem

The specific parts of **P-A-G-E** are explained in Handout 1 in the "Guide to Thoughtful Decision Making." The first section focuses on analyzing the problem, explaining what some experts call "framing." Framing seems to have a variety of meanings for different people. The guide emphasizes finding the underlying problem in an attempt to keep things simple for students. It also asks, "What is really going on here?" to help students uncover underlying problems.

According to Klein (1998), experts (people with a great deal of experience in a particular field, such as nursing, firefighting, or chess) "recognize" particular problems as being of one type or another. Once they make this recognition (frame it or represent it a particular way), experts can make very quick and successful decisions—that is why they are experts! Experts make these recognitions based on the large numbers of analogies they possess in their area of expertise. Thus, the section on framing is related to the section on analogies. Experiments with expert chess players have shown that recognition is extremely important. When pieces were placed on a board in completely random fashion, experts could remember the placement no better than nonexperts. But when the pieces were arranged as they would be in a game, experts could remember the placements with a single glance and project several possible moves.

How students see or frame a problem is partly dependent on how the problem is worded. To help students become more aware of wording, some problems are worded two different ways; for example, half the class could get the problem worded in a positive way while the other half gets negative wording. After students make their decisions, the class could discuss the effects of different wording on their decisions. Was it a big factor?

Political scientist James Voss (1998) believes that the way people perceive problems in foreign policy acts as a key variable in the decisions they make. He writes that problem representation, similar to framing, constrains what we do thereafter. For example, if we see a problem as a typical case of terrorist aggression, we will make choices that are different from those we would make if we saw the problem as a typical boundary dispute between neighboring countries. Questions included with some problems help students become more attuned to problem representation.

The section on assumptions is greatly simplified compared to the literature on assumptions, which delineates different types of assumptions (such as presuppositions and working assumptions). The primary method this book uses to teach students to recognize their own assumptions is to ask them to identify which of a specific menu of assumptions they made. When they see possible assumptions, they are better able to recognize those they have made. This strategy seems more effective than having students read a lengthy explanation on types of assumptions.

Ask for Information

Asking questions is crucial for good decision making. The more people know about background and context, the better they will understand the real problem. The guide emphasizes asking questions about analogies ("How is the historical case different from this decision-making problem?"), but you should also encourage students to think of historical analogies in the first place. Students will often think about a problem in terms of a personal analogy: "I don't like it when people criticize me, so it's wrong for a country to make a harsh speech against another country." Ask students where they got their ideas about what is really going on in a problem, probing for personal or historical analogies.

Goals

This section of the handout includes setting clear, realistic goals and generating numerous options for accomplishing those goals. Questions about ethics were also included in this section, because ethics is related to setting goals.

Effects

The section on effects/consequences includes both long-term unintended consequences and short-term possibilities of what could go wrong. Klein (1998) argues that the ability to run mental simulations—that is, to imagine what could go wrong and to imagine positive and negative consequences—is a vital skill in decision making. Every decision-making problem in this series emphasizes things that could go wrong.

STRATEGIES

The basic format of the lessons, as explained previously in the section "Lesson Components," is: problem, decision, outcome, discussion. Many of the subskills of decision making, however, are difficult for students to master. In order to assist students, subskills are sometimes included in

what might be referred to as a multiple-choice format in many lessons. For example, to improve the "asking for more information" skill, some lessons include a list of questions from which students can select those they wish to ask. To improve "identifying underlying problems," some lessons include possible underlying problems. To improve "considering other points of view," some lessons include handouts that put students into different roles (for example, not just looking at labor/strike problems from the point of view of the workers but also including the point of view of the owners), helping them see the problem from a different point of view.

EVALUATION TIPS FOR STUDENT HANDOUT 5 *(pages 24–25)*

Here are some possible answers to consider in grading student responses to the decision about dealing with the flood of imports from Britain in 1815 (page 25). They are only possible answers. Students will think of many other legitimate answers. Students need only get five criteria, and they need only suggest ideas for each criterion. So, for example, I give full credit to students who suggest any possible underlying problem or ask any reasonable question about context.

Recognize the Underlying Problem

1. One underlying problem of British imports is industrialization, which has gone further in Britain than in France because of the effects of the war. The more advanced stage of industrialization would be a cause of lower prices.

2. A second possible underlying cause might be that the British have an oversupply of goods that they need to sell because their businesses were making goods for the army and navy and now some of those goods are not needed for the military.

See the Problem from Other Points of View

1. We need to see the issue of a tariff from the point of view of French consumers. They have endured war and sacrifice and now would love to be able to buy low-priced goods. A tariff may seem like another hardship to them.

2. Considering a French tariff from the point of view of the British, it is easy to see that the British will likely put a tariff on French exports to Britain in retaliation for the French tariff. That will hurt the French economy.

Assumptions/Emotions

1. We have to question the assumption that protecting French businesses and jobs is necessary, and that it is more important than free trade and innovation due to competition.

2. Nationalism can set up emotions that accompany an "us versus them" competition, which could lead to a less than satisfactory decision.

Ask Questions about Context

1. How did the Napoleonic wars affect French businesses and consumers?

   The Napoleonic wars contributed to crippling the French economy.

2. How did Britain become the leader in industrialization? What factors besides the wars caused the French to lag behind?

   Improvements in technology and the government's decision to reduce regulations and tariffs and avoid large-scale subsidies allowed Britain to become the leader in industrialization. The French lagged behind because they experienced a revolution that exacerbated the financial crisis.

Ask about Sources

1. How reliable are the French businesses and workers who argue that France needs a tariff to protect businesses?

   The business owners and workers are primary sources, since they experience the effects of the competition from Britain. However, both groups have a reason to lie, since tariffs will help them even if tariffs hurt the economy as a whole.

2. How reliable are the opponents of the tariff?

   The opponents may be primary sources, but we cannot be sure. They do not seem to have a reason to lie, but they might be consumers who fear high prices or they might be businesses that depend on imports from Britain for parts for their products or services. For example, French dressmakers might be glad to get cheaper British cloth.

Ask about Analogies

1. Businesses recovered from wars in the past without government protection. Why would that not also be the case now?

   The Industrial Revolution is unique in history, creating massive shifts in the production of goods. In those other cases, businesses did not have to deal with such dramatic changes.

2. In the past, the French government's failure to control increasing bread prices caused the French Revolution. So shouldn't the government protect French businesses from unfair competition from abroad?

   The analogy to not controlling bread prices is very weak. That case was about protecting consumers, not businesses. It was also to protect consumers from higher prices, whereas in this case the tariff would increase prices.

What Are My Goals, and Are They Realistic?

1. Is the goal to protect French businesses in the short run, or to bring economic growth in the long run?
2. Is it realistic to expect French businesses to recover, without protection, in this difficult situation of the flood of British goods?

Generate Alternative Options

1. Are there alternatives other than increasing tariffs? Could we subsidize businesses?
2. Is it right to force people to pay higher prices and prevent them from buying products that they are freely choosing to buy? On the other hand, is it right to allow workers to lose their livelihoods by becoming unemployed while the government takes no action to protect them?

Play Out the Options

1. No tariff: If you do not put up a tariff to protect French businesses and workers, you will be called weak-willed and a terrible leader. Why are you not doing more to fight for the French economy? You will have to decide how to deal with that criticism.
2. No tariff: What strategy will you use for the next election if you are accused of being unpatriotic for not protecting the French against the British?
3. Tariff: If you ask for a tariff, you will have to get it passed in the National Assembly. Do you have enough votes to pass it? If not, what strategy do you have in mind to get it passed?
4. Tariff: What will you do if the British put up counter tariffs against French goods? France just lost a war to Britain. If the dispute over tariffs escalates, are you willing to go to war again?
5. Tariff: What will you do if there are demonstrations or riots in protest to high consumer prices? If consumers are unhappy with the tariff, how will you handle the next election?

Anticipate Consequences/Effects (Long-Term)

1. If you do not protect French businesses, you may make it harder for French leaders in the future to protect the economy when it is more urgent and needed.
2. If you do not put in a tariff, people who are hurt by free trade (the flood of British goods) may form into a political party to push for protection.
3. A tariff sets a precedent for tariffs from many other countries, which would slow down trade and hurt economic growth. An unintended consequence of tariffs is less wealth and more poverty in all the participating countries in the long run.

EVALUATING STUDENTS

There are numerous ways to evaluate student progress in both content and decision-making skills. A few examples are listed here:

- Quiz students on the vocabulary included in the relevant lesson(s).
- Have students keep a decision-making log, as outlined in Student Handout 4. Try distributing copies of the handout on colored paper so you can tell students to turn to their "green" (for example) decision-making log sheet and fill it in after they have analyzed the outcome of a problem. The right-hand column requires students to reflect on their thinking.
- Have students keep a journal wherein they comment on several aspects of the decision-making problems:
    - the decision actually made in history
    - what the actual decision makers did well or poorly
    - the historical constraints on the decision makers
    - what the outcome of the decision shows about that time period
    - the decision made by the student and what he/she did well or poorly
    - the "lessons" of this decision-making problem
- After the class has participated in a decision-making problem and discussed the outcome of the historical event, have students write a "history" of that event. Require students to include at least two elements of P-A-G-E in their historical analysis.
- As a test question, have students make a decision about one of the problems you do not use in class. Give them the problem and instruct them to make a decision and explain their thinking according to P-A-G-E. Each lesson has suggested answers with which you can grade their work.
- Have students evaluate the thinking given in Student Handout 5, "Evaluate Decision Making."

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GUIDE TO THOUGHTFUL DECISION MAKING

WELCOME TO "FORESIGHT" HISTORY!

The problems in the series *Decision Making in World History* will challenge you to make decisions about events in world history *before* you know what actually happened during those events. This is learning history in a foresighted way—first you decide, then find out what really happened—rather than hindsight history, where you just find out what happened. You will get at least two benefits from this method of learning history. First, you will improve your decision-making skills. Someday, when you avoid buying a "lemon" of a used car that would have wasted thousands of dollars, you should thank your history teacher for building up your decision-making skills. Second, it's fun to learn history as though it's a cliffhanger mystery, where you're eager to find out if your decision helped the country or ended in disaster. But don't forget to concentrate on the decision that was actually made in history and how it turned out. You can learn a lot about your own decision making through these problems, but you're mainly in class to learn history, what really happened, not what could have happened.

WHAT IS DECISION MAKING?

You've learned about problem solving in other courses such as math and science, and you've encountered problem solving when you've tried to build something or fix something. Decision making is like problem solving in some ways (it involves defining the problem and thinking of alternatives) but it's different from problem solving in that there is no one right answer. These are "messy" problems; even long after the event, people often disagree about what the best decision was or should have been.

DECISION MAKING AS EXPERIENCE

The most powerful teacher of good decision making is experience. People learn to make good decisions basically by making decisions, both good and bad. For example, you would probably feel safer if you were being treated by a doctor who had a lot of experience rather than by a brand-new doctor. The historical problems your teacher gives you will provide you with experience in making decisions that should help you be a better decision maker in your role as a citizen. You won't just have learned about history; you will have experienced it. After some of these lessons, you will feel like you made good decisions; for others, you may feel you've made errors in judgment. As you go along, try to reflect on your experiences as well as on your thinking about decision making.

THE PAGE GUIDE TO DECISION MAKING

While experience is the most important way to learn to make better decisions, it's also helpful to learn some basic decision-making skills so you know what areas to target in order to improve your overall decision making. Handout 2 contains an acronym, **P-A-G-E**, to give you guidelines for making better decisions. These aren't rules you have to follow; they are just meant as helpful tips to improve your thinking about decision making.

Handout 3 explains and gives examples for each part of the **P-A-G-E** guide to decision making. Keep it in your notebook for reference as you make decisions about situations in eighteenth-century history. Not every **P-A-G-E** guideline will apply to each decision-making problem you encounter. You (with the assistance of your teacher) will have to determine which guidelines work best with which problems.

P-A-G-E ANALYSIS FOR DECISION MAKING

DECISION-MAKING ANALYSIS

P = PROBLEM

- Identify any **underlying problem:** What's really going on here?
- Consider **other points of view:** How do others see this situation?
- What are my **assumptions**? **Emotions**?

A = ASK FOR INFORMATION (ABOUT)

- **Historical context:** What is the history and context of this issue?
- **Reliability of sources:** Does my information come from experts on this topic? Do the sources have a reason to lie? Is the information supported by evidence?
- **Historical analogies:** What has been done in the past about situations like this? In what ways are these other situations different from this situation?

G = GOALS

- What are my main **goals**? Are they **realistic**?
- What are my **options** to achieve my goals? Are they **ethical**?

E = EFFECTS

- **Predict unintended consequences:** What are some long-term effects?
- **Play out the options:** What could go wrong?

P-A-G-E EXPLANATIONS AND EXAMPLES

PROBLEM

Underlying Problem

Sometimes, a decision-making situation will seem very difficult until you recognize that an underlying problem exists. For example, suppose two people come in for marriage counseling because they have been arguing about money. The counselor is going to look for an underlying problem (such as unfulfilled needs) that might have led to overspending. A student doing poorly in school might turn things around by discovering she needs glasses—the underlying problem. Please remember that you should not just repeat or rephrase the "surface" or current problem. Instead, you are looking for what's behind it, what's causing it. Underlying problems are not openly given as part of the decision-making situation—you have to figure them out on your own.

Another way to think of this skill is "the ability to see what is really going on." Some people call this "framing" the problem. In other words, by putting a frame around the current problem and excluding unimportant parts, you discover what's really important. You need to call on your experiences in order to see what is really going on. In history, this is done through analogies. You need to say, "The problem we are facing now is like a problem people faced before [this is an analogy], so I'd better do this." The way you see (or frame, or represent) a problem is very important to the decision you eventually make.

Example:

Bob's grades have been much lower for the last three months in history class. He says he's bored in class, and he'll improve his grades when he really needs to.

List at least two possible underlying problems for Bob's lower grades. What is really going on?

Other Points of View

There is always more than one person involved in decisions in history. We need to consider all points of view as we make decisions in history, just as we need to consider other points of view in our own lives today.

Example:

My brother Mark is angry at me for borrowing his car three times. But he's wrong to be angry. I needed to get to work each time I borrowed the car.

Rewrite this problem from Mark's point of view.

What Are My Assumptions? Emotions?

Sometimes after we make a decision, we realize that we made an assumption that we didn't even know we were making until it was too late. Emotions are part of being human, so they are a legitimate part of making decisions. We do, however, need to be aware of our emotions during the decision-making process. Emotions, especially frustration and anger, can sometimes lead us to make irrational choices. People frequently become frustrated and say, "I've had enough of this situation. Let's just do *something*!" But they often come to regret the rushed choices they made under such circumstances. They would have benefited from saying to themselves, "Okay. I'm getting frustrated, but I still need to take the time necessary to make a good decision."

Studies have shown that when people are feeling pessimistic or when they're in a bad mood, they exaggerate the possible negative consequences of decisions; similarly, when they are feeling optimistic or are in a good mood, they overestimate positive consequences. Emotions and gut feelings are unavoidable and natural, but thinking the situation through is crucial to making good decisions. We wouldn't want the president to think about aiming nuclear missiles at Cuba based solely on his gut feeling—we'd want the president to gather information, consider several options, predict the possible consequences for millions of people, and calmly move toward a decision. As decision makers, we need to account for the role of emotion and gut feelings in our decisions and be aware of our emotions as we choose.

Example for assumptions:

Player to teammate: "We'll have no trouble beating Central. After all, Central lost to Suburban, and we beat Suburban the first game of the year."

What is the player assuming?

Example for emotions:

Suppose you have two children, and are trying to decide whether to buy life insurance. An insurance ad shows a boy who can't go to college because his father died and had no life insurance.

To what emotion does the ad appeal?

ASK

Ask about Historical Context (History of This Issue; Context in the World)

Asking questions about the historical background and the present context of a problem is essential to getting the information necessary to make a good decision. If you don't know the background, you will have difficulty deciding on the best solution. Every problem has a backstory, and we

need to find out what that story is. The key is to ask good questions that will help you obtain the necessary information.

Example:

You are seventeen years old, and you have been thinking about buying a car. You work part-time after school, about ten hours per week. Your parents have told you that you'll have to pay for the car yourself. You go to a used-car dealership and the salesperson shows you a used car that costs two thousand dollars.

What questions should you ask before you buy it?

Ask about Reliability of Sources

Information is crucial to making good decisions. But we need to be aware of the sources of our information and consider the reliability of those sources. Basing a decision on bad information from questionable sources is a recipe for disaster. You can evaluate sources by asking if the person giving the information has a reason to lie, if the person is a primary source, if other sources support this information, if the person is an expert on the topic, what the person's bias is on the topic, or if the person has been reliable in the past.

You should always be probing for disagreements among sources. Be wary if it appears that there are no disagreements. It might mean your advisers are engaging in "groupthink," where they are all pulled to the same option without thoroughly thinking through other options or considering what could go wrong. Always try to find someone who disagrees with a proposed option. If you can't find one, ask tough questions yourself.

Example:

The car salesperson says this used car is in perfect condition.

How reliable is the salesperson? What reasons might you have to distrust the person?

Ask about Historical Analogies

It's natural to compare the problems we encounter to similar situations that have occurred in the past. In fact, one reason we study history in the first place is to build a deeper understanding through learning about historical events/analogies. You should try to think of analogies to the problems you encounter. As mentioned above, you derive your understanding of what is important in a problem (framing) from analogies. (Example: "This problem is like the one George Washington faced at Trenton during the American Revolution.") The more you draw on your knowledge of history, the more likely you are to be able to understand a decision-making problem fully.

Analogies are tricky, however, because important differences often exist between the problems we encounter now and the historical cases we use to guide our decisions. We should always evaluate the analogies by asking, "How do the two cases differ? In what ways are they similar? Are they similar enough to justify the conclusion?" We should also consider whether other, more appropriate analogies could provide us with better guidance.

Example:

Suppose you drove in a race at the parking lot near a mall a month ago. You drove your five-year-old car, and your time was 36.8 seconds. Margaret told you that she had driven in a race the previous Sunday and her time was 28.2 seconds. She says this proves she is a better race driver than you are.

What are two questions you would ask to see if Margaret is really a better driver?

GOALS

What Are My Main Goals? Are They Realistic?

We can't make good decisions if we are unclear about our goals. Once we establish goals, we can more easily set priorities and use them as a basis for choosing options.

Establishing goals, however, isn't enough. The goals we set need to be realistic. Some decisions in history have been catastrophic because the decision makers didn't notice that they had unrealistic goals. It didn't matter how careful they were with the other decision-making skills—because their goals were unrealistic, they could never achieve them.

Example:

You're out of school and need a job because you live on your own and have expenses (rent, car payments, food, heat, and insurance). You've got two offers. The first one is close to where you live and pays a lot more money, but it's doing work you wouldn't like. The second job is farther away and pays less money (although enough to cover your expenses), but it's doing something that you really like. What do you do?

After you decide, list your goals and ask how realistic they are.

Generate Options to Help Achieve My Goals. Are They Ethical?

After you've made a decision, you don't want to be stuck thinking, "Oh, I wish I thought of that option before I decided!" At the same time, though, you don't want to become paralyzed trying to think of every possible option, no matter how remote. Important decisions, however, should spur us to take the time to ponder a number of options.

Example:

You are twenty-five years old, single, work full time ten miles from where you live, and drive your compact car to work. In recent months, gas prices have risen to very high levels. Your main goal at this point is to save money.

What options do you have for coping with these price increases?

EFFECTS

Predict Unintended Consequences

Most of the time, predicting unintended consequences will be more important than any other thinking you do about a problem. For some problems, it may be enough just to see the situation from other points of view or to ask questions about background or context. But considering consequences will do more to help avoid that awful feeling you get when you've made a bad decision.

Example:

Suppose you are thirty-five years old and have a son and a daughter, ages five and two. The company you work for is asking you to move to a different state. You can refuse and take a pay cut but keep your job.

If you make the move, what unintended consequences might you and your family experience in ten years? Guess at what the effects of the move might be.

Play Out the Options. What Could Go Wrong?

Here, you need to think about the short-term effects as opposed to long-term, unintended consequences. For example, say you're playing the role of president and decide to try to get a law passed to help solve a problem. You have to take into account the fact that Congress has the constitutional authority to pass laws; thus, to get your law enacted, you need to convince Congress to approve it. By noticing that the approval of Congress is vital to the success or failure of your decision, you've identified something that could go wrong and need to plan accordingly (for example, overcoming congressional opposition by talking to individual Congress members or thinking of another legislative option as backup).

Example:

Suppose you are thirty years old and working at a job you like. You get a job offer to work at a job for higher pay that is farther away from where you live now.

If you take the job, what could go wrong? List two or more things that could go wrong.

DECISION-MAKING LOG

What I Learned about the P-A-G-E Topic	Actual Decision	My Decision	Why Different from/ Similar to This Topic? (2 Examples)

EVALUATING DECISION MAKING

The year is 1815, and you are a leader of the government in France. The Napoleonic wars just ended last year, with the French defeat at Waterloo. The many wars over the past twenty-five years have crippled the French economy. Specifically, in the past ten years the British blockade has prevented French merchants from trading with the outside world. People in France were glad when the war ended, and they could get back to focusing on economic prosperity. Trade has increased, but that has brought a new problem. British goods, such as cloth, are being sold in France for low prices—so low that French businesses cannot compete. French people are buying British goods in large quantities and buying fewer French goods. As a result, French businesses are cutting back on their workers, leading to higher unemployment. Some French merchants and workers say the competition for customers is not fair. They say that the British businesses kept trading during the wars, while French businesses were cut off from trade. In addition, most production in France was for the war, and many French businesses were damaged during the fighting.

These merchants and workers argue that the government should protect French businesses from this unfair competition by increasing the tariff on British imports, at least until the French businesses get back on their feet. We should learn a lesson from history, they say. When the French government did not take action to protect French consumers from increasing bread prices in the 1780s, it caused the French Revolution. Doing nothing will lead to chaos.

Opponents of government protections for French businesses argue that British goods are cheaper than French goods because the British have industrialized more than the French. The British use machines more effectively for production, so their costs are lower. The best solution is for the government not to protect French businesses and instead leave them to compete on their own, which will force them to industrialize more quickly. These opponents of government protections point out that, after other wars in the previous century, governments did not protect their businesses by increasing tariffs, and the businesses survived, recovering markets and sales.

Which option will you choose? You may choose only one.

A. Increase the tariff on British goods coming into France to protect French businesses against British competition.

B. Let the businesses compete, which will keep them competitive and help the economy in the long run.

C. Take no action (that is, do not do either option A or B).

Decide which option you will choose, using at least five of the criteria from **P-A-G-E** (Handout 2). These are not the main four letters of **P-A-G-E**; rather, use the ten criteria under the main letters. For example, you wouldn't be using "Problem," but one of the three criteria under "Problem," such as "What are my assumptions?" Give your reasoning for each criterion as a separate paragraph.

Keep in mind that when you choose one option, you can write your analysis by showing what is wrong with choosing the other option. For example, if you choose not to increase the tariff and have business compete (Option B), you could show that the goal for the other option of increasing the tariff (Option A) is unrealistic and then explain.

After you have written your analysis according to five or more criteria, then write your overall decision about whether to increase the tariff and explain why you made the decision you did.

- **P:**

- **A:**

- **G:**

- **E:**

Your decision:

LESSON 1: THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Teacher's Guide

INTRODUCTION

Overview

One historian describes the Ottoman Empire as "one of the longest-lived (c. 1300–1922), yet least studied or understood, dynastic states in world history" (Kafadar 1995). It is fascinating to study because it was a multinational, multireligious, multiracial, multilingual empire that lasted for six hundred years. It lasted in spite of, or because of, its diversity. This lesson examines its policies on diversity as well as the empire's slow decline.

Vocabulary

- Byzantine Empire—the empire in eastern Europe supporting the Greek Orthodox Catholic faith
- caliph—Muslim religious leader
- Koran or Quran—the holy book of Islam
- madrassas—Muslim religious schools
- mosque—place of worship for Muslims
- Muhammad—prophet of Islam
- Ottomans—Turkish people who converted to Islam and who ruled the Ottoman Empire
- plunder—goods stolen during war
- refugees—people forced to flee their country
- Roman Catholics—followers of the pope in Rome
- sultan—the leader of a Muslim state
- Wahhabis—very strict Muslim group

Decision-Making Skills Emphasized

- Identify underlying problem(s)
- Consider other points of view
- Identify assumptions or emotions
- Generate ethical options
- Play out the options
- Predict unintended consequences

LESSON PLAN A: IN-DEPTH LESSON *(50 minutes)*

Procedure

Distribute Handout 1, have students read it, and have them decide which options they will choose for each of the four problems it lists. Remind students that they can choose as many options as they would like for addressing each problem. After they have written their selections, tell students to pair up and discuss their choices. Circulate around the room to answer questions or clear up misunderstandings. Bring the class back together, and ask them to vote on the options for Problem 1. After the discussion of the pros and cons of various choices, have students revote. Did many students change their votes? If so, why? Then move on using the same procedure to Problems 2–4.

When Handout 1 has been discussed and voted on, distribute Handout 2, with the decisions by the Ottomans and the outcomes of those decisions. Discuss the "Questions for Analysis" at the end of the handout.

1. Did the Ottoman sultan make good decisions regarding the empire?

   Handout 2 emphasizes that the sultan did make good decisions on these problems.

2. What did you do well or poorly in this decision-making problem regarding the empire?

   Answers will vary.

3. What was the most important decision-making skill in this problem (for example, identifying assumptions or setting realistic goals)?

   *Specific decision-making skills (**P-A-G-E**) are explained below in the section "Decision-Making Analysis." Answers will vary, but considering other points of view is an important skill, as shown in Handout 2.*

Handout 3 presents two new problems during the period when the empire was declining. Follow the procedure outlined for Handout 1: Students decide, they discuss their choices in pairs, they vote, they discuss the choices as a class, and they revote.

Finally, distribute Handout 4 with the outcomes. Have students read Handout 4 and answer the "Questions for Analysis" at the end of the sheet. Discuss.

1. Did the Ottoman leaders make good decisions regarding the decline of the empire?

   Handout 4 emphasizes that while the Ottomans made some changes that helped the empire to survive for hundreds of years, they failed, partly due to hubris, to make necessary radical changes.

2. What did you do well or poorly in this decision making problem on the decline of the empire?

   Answers will vary.

3. What was the most important decision-making skill in this problem (for example, identifying assumptions or setting realistic goals)?

   Answers will vary, but identifying assumptions is very important in this problem.

Option for Primary Sources: When students finish discussing the outcomes in Handout 4, distribute Handout 5 and have students answer the questions. Move around the room to answer questions about meaning or vocabulary.

1. According to this Austrian ambassador, why is the Ottoman Empire successful?

   The ambassador argues that the Ottoman Empire is successful because people are promoted by merit, rather than by family or connections.

2. How reliable is this letter as a source?

   It is a primary source, as it is from an observer to the Ottoman government. It is a private source, which makes it more reliable. But it is meant to influence the Austrian emperor to promote government officials by merit. In that respect, the ambassador has a reason to lie, or at least exaggerate. Other sources have also said that the Ottomans promoted government officials by merit, which strengthens the reliability of this source.

Reflecting on Decision Making

Ask students how well they did on decision making as Ottoman leaders. Which decision-making skills were especially important in making these decisions about revolutionary government? Which of the letters of **P-A-G-E** applied especially to this problem? (See the "Decision-Making Analysis" section below for ideas.) Ask students what they did well or poorly in terms of the **P-A-G-E** analysis of decision making. Discuss their answers.

Putting the Actual Decisions into Historical Context

Ask students whether the decisions made by Ottoman leaders were the result more of historical forces or of individual choices. Some students will argue that decisions made by the Ottomans were due to individual choices. The Ottomans could have made different, more restrictive choices, which they sometimes did make, but they made these choices instead. Other students will argue that the Ottomans' decisions were shaped by historical context. For example, they were faced with a multiethnic and multireligious empire, which shaped their more tolerant policies. Being too restrictive would have been disastrous for the empire.

Connecting to Today

Some people believe that the United States is declining compared to other, rising powers, most notably China. Other people dispute this claim. Based on what students have learned from the decline of the Ottoman Empire, what lessons can American leaders apply to this current situation?

Troubleshooting

Some students may get confused by the terms *Islam* and *Muslims*. Explain that *Islam* is the name of the religion, while *Muslim* is the name of a person who follows Islam.

LESSON PLAN B: QUICK MOTIVATOR LESSON *(20 minutes)*

Give Handout 1 for homework, and have students make their decisions. In class, ask for a show of hands for the various options. Discuss reasons for one or two of the problems for five minutes. Distribute Handout 2 with the outcomes, and have students write their reactions for homework. If you prefer to focus on the decline of the empire, follow the same procedure using Handouts 3 and 4.

TEACHER NOTES TO EXPAND DISCUSSION

(For outcomes for students, see Handouts 2 and 4.)

The term *Ottoman Empire* is used in this lesson, rather than Turkish empire or Turks. The Ottomans were of the Turkish ethnic group and were Muslim, but the empire was multiethnic and multireligious. Europeans outside the Ottoman Empire used the term *Turk* as synonymous with *Muslim*, even though many people in the Ottoman Empire were Christians and lived in Europe.

Handout 2 states that Christians in the Ottoman Empire did not generally have to serve in the military. The exception was the Janissaries, a Christian infantry usually armed with muskets. The Janissaries are interesting from a military point of view but not significant enough to complicate this decision-making problem. Since there were only about 12,000–20,000 Janissaries out of millions of Christians in the empire, it is fair to say that most Christians did not have to serve in the military. The policy of using Christians as Janissaries was effective, as shown by the dreadful effects when the Ottomans ended the practice. Muslims who had connections to powerful people in the government started serving in the military. Effectiveness dropped and several factions in the army revolted.

Some historians emphasize the ideology of "holy war" among the early Ottomans, while critics of this theory emphasize the pragmatic reasons for expansion, such as plunder and power, and the Ottomans' flexibility in tolerating conquered peoples of other faiths. Cemal Kafadar (1995) and Faroqhi (2010) outline this historiographic discussion.

The Ottomans did not always allow local leaders to control their own areas. In the early expansion they learned that too much control did not work well, so they changed to the more flexible approach with local leaders. Some parts of the Ottoman Empire had local control because the Ottomans simply could not gain control over those areas, which included mountainous areas and areas in which nomads roamed.

The Ottoman Empire was largely, but not completely, self-sufficient at the time of Süleyman the Magnificent (reigned 1520–1566). The empire traded, but it could function without trade because necessities were all available within the empire.

The Ottomans were known for taking land from rich landowners and dividing it among peasants, a practice with both an economic and a political purpose. Historian Raphaela Lewis (1971) states, "By wiping out the big land-owners the Turks put an end to the old feudalism in the Balkans and opened new horizons to the small farmers, who settled gratefully under Turkish rule and rewarded their benefactors with their loyalty."

Handout 2 describes ethnic clothing distinctions based on the colors of men's pants. In addition, there were class and occupation distinctions. Lower-class people wore loose trousers and long-sleeved linen or cotton shirts. Women also dressed based on their social class. People wore different kinds of turbans depending on their religious sect. For example, those who had completed the hajj to Mecca could wear a green turban. Teachers, who were admired for their occupation, also wore distinctive dress.

Historian Jason Goodwin (1998) describes European Catholics' preference for the Ottomans over their previous Catholic rulers: "[A]s islands under Catholic rule had fallen to the Turks, the Greek inhabitants received them with guarded jubilation. They invariably preferred direct Turkish rule to that rabble of Normans, adventurers, Neapolitans, crusaders, and above all, Venetians. . . ." The Ottomans successfully argued that they were the protectors of the Greek Orthodox church against the Roman Catholic Church under the pope. Another contemporary writer stated, "I have seen multitudes of Hungarian rustics set fire to their cottages, and fly with their wives and children, their cattle and instruments of labor, to the Turkish territories, where they knew that, besides the payment of the tenths, they would be subject to no imposts [taxes] or vexations."

In one of the more extreme cases of toleration after victory, the Ottomans allowed Christian knights whom they had defeated in battle to keep their weapons and relics. The knights could live under Ottoman rule for a three-year trial period and they could leave any time. They had freedom of religion and paid no taxes for five years. As might be expected, after the three years, most knights stayed in the empire.

As explained in Handout 2, the Ottomans recruited Christian boys as enslaved government servants, partly because they would be unlikely to rebel. Historian Lord Kinross (1977) states, "It was realistically argued that if Moslems were to become slaves of the Sultan they would abuse this privilege. Their relatives in the provinces would oppress the peasantry, refuse to pay taxes, rebel against the local authorities. 'But if Christian children accept Islam they become zealous in their faith and enemies of their relatives.'"

One of the divisions within the Ottoman Empire was between Sunni and Shiite Muslims. The Ottomans took pains to protect both groups. This division is not brought up in this lesson and can be addressed by teachers in a separate lesson.

Recent historians have revised the interpretation of the decline of the Ottoman Empire. The focus has shifted somewhat to why the empire managed to survive for over three hundred years from the first crises in the sixteenth century. (See Inalcik 1994, chapter 15.)

Decision-Making Analysis*

P = Problem

Identify any underlying problem(s).

Consider other points of view.

What are my assumptions? Emotions?

A = Ask for information (about)

Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)

Reliability of sources

Historical analogies

G = Goals

What are my main goals, and are they realistic?

Generate options to achieve these goals. Are they ethical?

E = Effects

Predict unintended consequences.

Play out the options. What could go wrong?

*Bold denotes topics addressed in this lesson.

- **Identify any underlying problem(s):** In Handout 3, Problem 1, students should consider the underlying problems that might have led to the decline of the Ottoman Empire. Some underlying problems are explained in Handout 4.
- **Consider other points of view:** In Handout 1, Problem 1, the Ottomans did well in considering the points of view of the various people they conquered, as explained in Handout 2. In Handout 1, Problem 2, they did well in recognizing the point of view of various religious groups within the empire. Hopefully, students did as well in considering these other groups.
- **Identify assumptions or emotions:** Handout 4 explains that the Ottomans' pride (hubris) prevented them from seeing their own weaknesses and making changes needed to minimize or stop their decline. They should have identified their assumption of superiority in order to see their weaknesses clearly.

- **Generate ethical options:** Problem 2 in Handout 1 involves the ethical question of whether it is right to restrict religious freedom, while Problem 4 raises the question of the morality of taking in or refusing refugees.
- **Predict unintended consequences:** Some of the unintended consequences of the decisions are outlined in Handouts 2 and 4. One unintended consequence of toleration for different ethnic groups (Handout 1, Problem 3) was that the empire became a magnet for ethnic groups seeking more freedom. The increased population may have led to food shortages, but it also led to a dynamic empire with many new ideas. In Handout 3, Problem 1, on the decline of the empire, the focus on the government helping the economy led to overregulation and a decline in the economy.
- **Play out the options:** Ottoman leaders did well in figuring out how to deal with various religious groups (Handout 1, Problem 2). They correctly saw that it would have been nearly impossible to enforce religious restrictions, and they played out the strategies needed to implement a more tolerant policy. For example, they worked with Christian and Jewish leaders on how they would police themselves. Likewise, Ottoman leaders did well in working with local leaders in terms of laying out what responsibilities the local leaders had and how those local leaders would be overseen by the empire.

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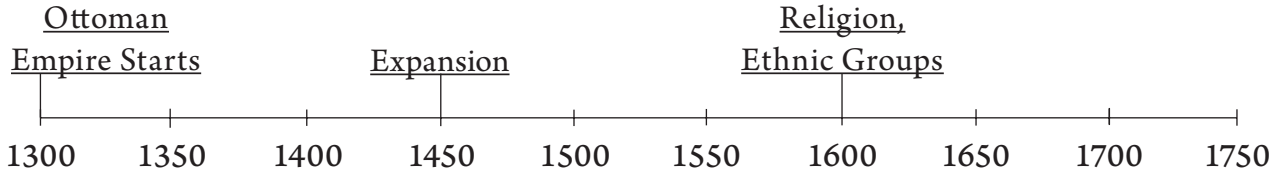
LESSON 1: THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

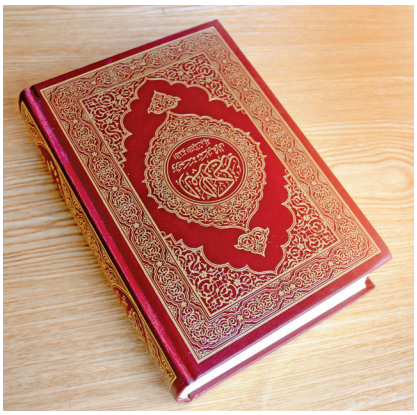
VOCABULARY

- Byzantine Empire—the empire in eastern Europe supporting the Greek Orthodox Catholic faith
- caliph—Muslim religious leader
- Koran or Quran—the holy book of Islam
- madrassas—Muslim religious schools
- mosque—place of worship for Muslims
- Muhammad—prophet of Islam
- Ottomans—Turkish people who converted to Islam and who ruled the Ottoman Empire
- plunder—goods stolen during war
- refugees—people forced to flee their country
- Roman Catholics—followers of the pope in Rome
- sultan—the leader of an Islamic state
- Wahhabis—a very strict Muslim group

AN EXPANDING EMPIRE

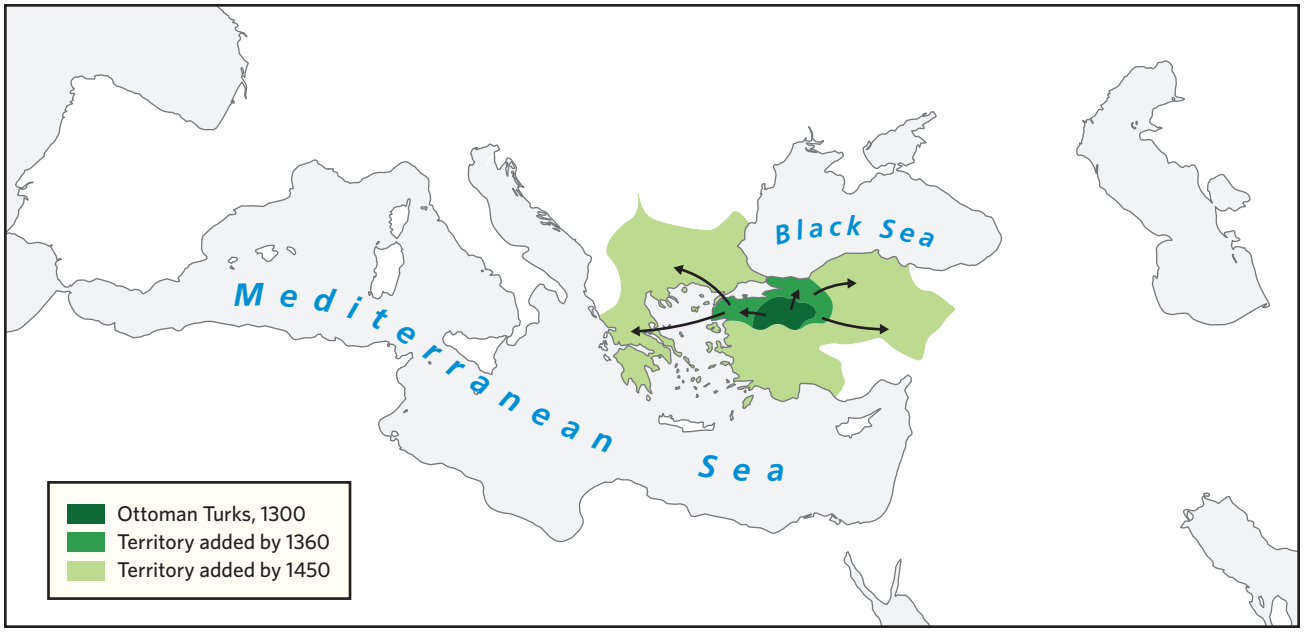


The year is 1450 and you are the sultan (ruler) of the Ottoman Empire, which has been ruled by the Ottoman family for more than one hundred years. The Ottomans are Turkish, and they have become Muslims. So they have built the empire largely on Muslim principles. For example, laws within the empire are based to a great extent on the Koran and Muslim teachings. Education and trading are based on Muslim ideals.



The Koran, the holy book of Islam

The empire has been centered on warfare. It is very strong and is expanding by taking land from other empires, especially in Europe. (See Map A.) The wars are often brutal. Soldiers who surrender are sometimes executed. The Ottomans almost always win these wars because they have high morale, very disciplined soldiers, muskets to mow down enemies, and cannons to knock down the walls of castles and fortified cities. The Ottomans are also helped by the fact that the Byzantine Empire is in decline. The stagnant economy and political oppression of the Byzantines make people there yearn for change, even Ottoman change. Hatred and warfare between Roman Catholics and Greek Orthodox Catholics occasionally lead each group to ask for Ottoman military help in order to defeat the other Catholic group.



Map A: Expansion of the Ottoman Empire

Image source: iStock.com/chutarat sae-khow.
Map: © Social Studies School Service

With all these advantages, the Ottoman Empire has expanded in Europe. This expansion keeps the Ottoman soldiers happy because the soldiers get to plunder (steal) goods from all the people they conquer.

Problem 1—Expansion Policy

When the Ottoman Empire conquers a new territory, which of these should it do? You can choose as many options as you would like.

A. Put in our own people to run the new territory to make sure the people there do what we want them to do.

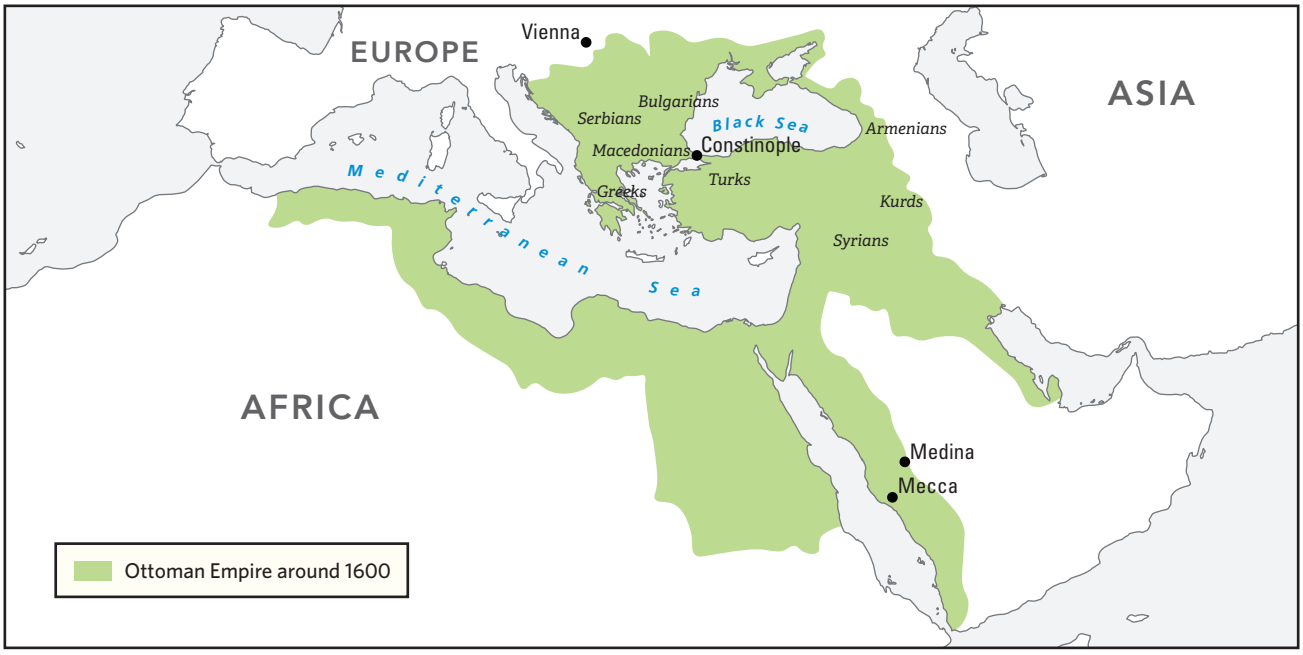
B. Allow the local leaders to stay in power as long as they do what we want when it affects the rest of the empire. As long as they don't hurt us, we leave them in power. After all, they have been ruling their territories already, so they know the local situations better than we do.

C. Increase taxes on the people in the conquered areas and bring most of the money back to the capital city to pay for the costs of the army and other expenditures.

D. Keep the taxes the same as they are already, but allocate some of the tax money to the running of the empire.

E. Lower the taxes from what they were before, but return some of the tax money to the running of the empire.

F. Take the land away from rich nobles and divide it among peasants (poor farmers). The peasants will love living in the Ottoman Empire after they get land.



Map B: Expansion of the Ottoman Empire

Note the artillery in this painting of the Ottomons in the Siege of Malta.

Now the year is about 1600 and the empire has expanded. (See Map B.) The Ottoman Empire is one of the strongest empires in the world, second only to the empire of China. There is great trade with the outside world but even more within the empire. Some people in the empire are extremely rich, with many luxuries.

By 1600 there are many ethnic groups and several religious groups within the empire. In the European part of the empire there are Greeks, Serbians, Bulgarians, Macedonians, and many others. On the Asian side there are Turks, Syrians, Armenians, Kurds, and many others. (See Map B.) These various groups speak many different languages and have their own customs. Overall, Turks are a small minority of the people, ruling over a much larger population of other groups. More than half the people are Muslims, including you and your family, but many others (close to half) are Christians and Jews. About 45 percent of the people in the empire are in Europe, about 45 percent are in Asia, and about 10 percent are in North Africa.

Problem 2—Religion

With three major religious groups in the empire, you have to deal with how to treat the various faiths. You, your family, and most Turks are Muslims, so you naturally believe that your faith and the principles of your religion are the ones people should follow. On the other hand, with so many Christians in the European part of the empire, and with so many Jewish people in the area around Jerusalem and elsewhere in the empire, it would hurt the empire to be harsh in the treatment of these other major religions. The talents and hard work of Christians and Jews bring wealth and economic growth to the empire, just as the talents and hard work of Muslims do.

What will your policy be toward religion in the empire? You can choose as many options as you would like.

A. Run the Ottoman Empire as a Muslim state. Order non-Muslims to convert to Islam or they will be punished, either by imprisonment or through exile out of the empire. A common religion (Islam) will unify the empire.

B. Allow Christians and Jews to practice their faiths, but base the government and laws on Islamic teachings. The government has to be based on the principles of the dominant religion, and that religion is Islam. These Islamic laws would apply to everyone in the Ottoman Empire.

Image source: The Siege of Malta: Capture of St. Elmo. By Matteo Perez d'Aleccio. 1565. Royal Museums of Greenwich, BHC0254.

C. Base the government on Islamic teachings, but allow Christian and Jewish areas to base laws on Christian and Jewish teachings. As long as these groups do not rebel against the empire, let them rule themselves according to their own faiths.

D. Allow Christians and Jews to practice their faiths, but put an extra tax on them that Muslims do not have to pay.

E. Allow Christians and Jews to practice their faiths, but make it illegal for them to get jobs at the highest levels of government.

F. Close the Christian churches and Jewish synagogues and turn them into Muslim mosques.

The Ottomans conquered Constantinople in 1453.

Problem 3—Ethnic Groups

With so many ethnic groups, you face decisions on how to deal with them. One possibility is to treat everyone equally in every way. But the Turkish people feel like they set up the empire, so they should get some special privileges—for example, being the only people allowed to serve in the highest level of government. Others feel that each ethnic group be the only ones allowed to dress in their traditional clothing. That way, every ethnic group will have pride in their ethnic traditions, and they will be easy to identify.

What will your policy be toward ethnic groups in the empire? You can choose as many options as you would like.

A. Treat every ethnic group equally, with no distinctions between groups.

B. Reserve the highest offices in government for Turks.

C. Reserve all government positions—including the police, educators, and tax collectors—for Turks.

D. Enforce housing restrictions that make it difficult for people to live in areas with people of other ethnic groups. For example, the government might tax Turkish people at a very low rate for living in a certain area of Constantinople but charge Serbs very high rates, so Serbs would not live there. The whole area would be populated only by Turks.

E. Enforce clothing restrictions that do not allow people from one ethnic group to wear the clothing of another ethnic group.

Image source: Mehmed II, Entering Constantinople. By Fausto Zonaro.

F. Pass a law forcing people to wear modern clothing in public, rather than their traditional clothing. In that way, people will feel their primary loyalty to the Ottoman Empire rather than to their individual ethnic group. People who dress the same will feel more united with each other.

G. Pass a law that everyone has to speak the same language, the Turkish language. Those who are caught speaking another language in public will be punished by fines, imprisonment, or exile out of the empire.

Problem 4—Refugees

The Spanish government has been punishing Jewish people for their faith, forcing them out of the country. Many Jews have been tortured and killed. The Jews who are being forced to leave Spain are desperate for a new place to live, but most other countries will not allow them in as refugees.

What will you do about these Jewish refugees?

A. Bring them into the Ottoman Empire. It is the right thing to do to provide a safe haven for the Jews so they can avoid persecution. In addition, these Jewish people will bring new skills and ideas, which will make the Ottoman Empire a better place.

B. Do not bring them into the Ottoman Empire. The Jewish refugees will take jobs from citizens of the Ottoman Empire. That is not fair. Let another country or empire take them in. Our number-one responsibility as leaders of the Ottoman Empire is to the people within our own empire, not to people from other countries, even when they are being mistreated.

OUTCOMES OF AN EXPANDING EMPIRE

The Ottomans were a warlike, violent people bent on expansion for much of their history. They conquered areas adjacent to their native Bithynia in northern Anatolia and enslaved prisoners of war. Nevertheless, for those they did not enslave, they made relatively wise decisions on all four problems (see Handout 1). There are many reasons the Ottoman Empire lasted so long while other empires failed more quickly; these include the well-disciplined Ottoman army, existing divisions within the ranks of their enemies, better use of technology, and a strong belief of their Muslim members that God (Allah) was on their side. However, another important reason for the Ottomans' success was their implementation of wise policies in four areas.

Problem 1—Expansion Policy

The sultans decided in most cases to let the local leaders stay in power (Option B). These policies were very effective in increasing Ottoman power and decreasing the level of problems for the expanding empire. Local leaders had good reasons to work effectively for the empire, since they felt fortunate that the Ottomans had allowed them to keep their leadership positions rather than jailing them or killing them. Poor farmers were also very happy to get land that was taken from nobles (Option F). The sultan actually owned all the land, but the peasants were happy to have land to work for themselves, without feudal dues, and to be able to pass the land on to their children. There was more control by the central government under the Ottomans, but since the feudal obligations were removed, the burden on peasants was less.

The Ottomans lowered taxes, with some exceptions, on the people they conquered (Option E). This policy was very popular with the conquered people and increased their loyalty to the Ottomans. People also liked that there was peace within the empire. People liked the stability compared to constant turmoil outside the empire, and they liked having increased trading opportunities, which the empire provided. A French traveler wrote, "The country is safe and there are no reports of brigands or highwaymen (robbers). . . ." The lower taxes worked for the Ottomans as well, since the conquered territories provided *added* tax money to the empire. Also, the government took one-fifth of the treasure taken from the conquests, including one-fifth of the captives, so the government prospered from each conquest despite the lower tax rates. Eventually, when the government needed more money, especially for war, it raised the taxes. People grumbled and at one point there were widespread, violent protests against these higher taxes. But in general, people tolerated the higher taxes as a tradeoff for peace and stability within the empire.

Problem 2—Religion

In general, the sultans decided to allow the conquered populations to practice their own faiths, not forcing them to convert to Islam (Option A)—with one exception, explained below. Muslim law

applied in general (Option B), but within Christian and Jewish communities Christian and Jewish principles were the basis of the law (Option C). The Ottomans even allowed these communities to run their own courts and punish their own people. (When there were disputes between Muslims and non-Muslims, the Muslim court decisions were final.) Public life—for example, bazaars where goods were bought and sold—was open to all people, regardless of religion. Christians and Jews paid taxes that Muslims did not have to pay (Option D), but unlike the Muslims, with few exceptions, they did not have to serve in the military. The Ottomans did convert some churches into mosques (Option F), but overall they left most churches and synagogues alone. As long as Christians and Jews paid their taxes and did not engage in behavior that was offensive to Muslims, they were left to practice their religions.

The Sultan meets with the leader of the Greek Orthodox church, called the patriarch. The sultan let the patriarch stay as the leader of that religion.

Non-Muslims were also not restricted from government jobs (Option E) and were allowed to achieve even the highest positions. Indeed, except for the sultan and his chief adviser, even the main government for the Ottoman Empire was run by former Christians, rather than by Muslims or Turks. Government officials searched the Christian areas of the empire to recruit boys with talent. Those selected were taken as enslaved people to the capital city, where they were converted to Islam and educated. The best of the group became government officials. The sultans felt that these outsiders would be extremely loyal to the government, since those selected lived in luxury at the head of the government. In addition, these outsiders would not have personal connections that would give them the power to carry out a rebellion if they did become discontented. The selection of people based on talent and performance was a key element in the success of the Ottoman Empire. It greatly increased the likelihood that the empire and army would be well run, and it gave the empire a great advantage over empires where people were promoted according to family connections. Indeed, when the Ottoman Empire stopped promoting people by merit, it was in decline.

In general, non-Muslims did not serve in the army, but one group of Christian-born men did serve. They were armed with the latest weapons (muskets), were very well trained, and were promoted by merit. These well-armed soldiers were a key to the military advantage that the Ottomans had over their rivals.

This allowance of other religions was partly caused by the Muslim principle of toleration of the "People of the Book," meaning Jews and Christians. According to Islamic law, which the Ottoman administration claimed to uphold, the state could not compel the conversion of its own Christian or Jewish subjects to Islam. Moreover, since so many people within the empire were Christians and Jews (close to 50 percent of the population), it would have been very shortsighted to use the strength of the empire to penalize people who practiced those other faiths.

Image sources: Mosaic of Gennadios Scholarios with Mehmed II by an 18th century Greek iconographer, Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople.

The effects of these relatively friendly policies toward religious freedom were positive for the Ottoman Empire. The empire avoided significant religious strife, evading the loss of valuable human capital and resources. Meanwhile, people were attracted to the relatively tolerant empire, bringing with them ideas and talent that made the empire stronger.

A Christian soldier, called a Janissary, in the Ottoman army

Problem 3—Ethnic Groups

Ottoman leaders treated everyone equally in some ways (Option A). For example, they did not reserve the highest government jobs for Turks (Option B), nor did they reserve ordinary government jobs (such as police) for Turks (Option C). On the other hand, the government set housing policies in some areas of the empire so that a single ethnic group would live together in a particular neighborhood (Option D). In other areas, members of different ethnic groups and different religions lived in the same locality. The government also encouraged people to wear the traditional dress of their ethnic group (Option E). For example, Turkish men wore red pants, Armenian men wore purple, Jewish men wore blue, and Greek men wore black. Eventually, in 1829, the government decided that, with few exceptions, men in the empire should wear modern clothing, which reduced the identification of various ethnic groups, especially in government (Option F). The government did not force everyone to speak the common Turkish language (Option G). The empire seemed to function successfully without a common language, but it did eventually decline, so it is hard to tell if language diversity hurt the empire. It would have been exceedingly difficult to enforce the use of a single language.

In summary, while there was some identification of ethnic groups in the Ottoman Empire, there was little discrimination. The empire was known to be relatively tolerant of many ethnic groups. As with religious toleration, this open policy toward ethnic groups was understandable, since the empire comprised many different ethnic groups. One of the distinguishing characteristics of the Ottoman Empire was its de-emphasis of nationalism. It was not an empire united by a single national group or language. It functioned well for hundreds of years by uniting many national groups under a single government based on warfare and conquest outside the empire, but peace and open trade within the empire. It was an empire based on economic prosperity rather than nationality. The Muslim religion was important to the empire, but religious toleration was also practiced. People in the empire united not for God but for gold and glory, according to one historian.

Image source: A Janissary in his full dress in 1700. Illustration by Charles marquis d'Argental Ferriol, 1757–1772, New York Public Library Digital Collections.

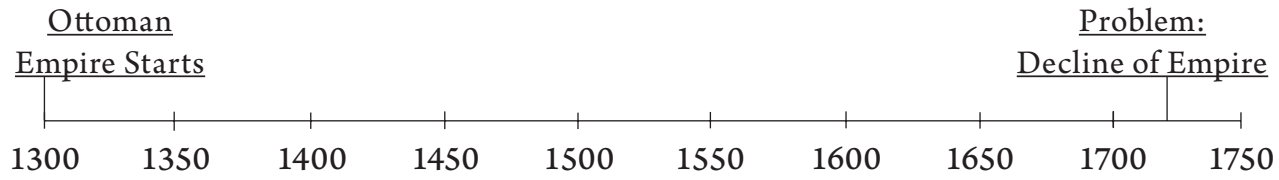
Problem 4—Refugees

The Ottoman sultan in 1492, Bayezid II, gladly took in the Jewish refugees (Option A). He felt that the refugees would be of great benefit to the Ottoman Empire. He laughed at the stupidity of the Spanish leaders, Ferdinand and Isabella, for "impoverishing their own country and enriching mine!" The sultan became known as Bayezid the Just, and the Ottoman Empire increased its reputation for being open to many ethnic and religious groups, thereby increasing travel and trade to the empire. Moreover, the Jewish refugees contributed new ideas and improved the Ottoman economy. In addition, taking in the refugees certainly improved the situation of those Jewish immigrants.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Did the Ottoman sultan Bayezid II make good decisions regarding the empire? Explain what he did well or where he went wrong.
2. What did you do well or poorly in these decision-making problems regarding the empire? Remember, just because you got a good outcome does not mean you decided well. Maybe you were just lucky.
3. What was the most important decision-making skill in this problem (for example, identifying assumptions or setting realistic goals)? Explain your answer.

WAR CRISIS, 1720



The year is 1720, and you are a leader of the Ottoman Empire. The empire is strong, but in 1683 the Ottoman army suffered a terrible defeat outside Vienna. (See Map B in Handout 1.) Since that time, the empire's military forces have lost many battles. The empire hasn't lost all the battles, but military victories have been much less common than defeats. The empire is declining.

There are three opinions about why the empire is declining. One group argues that the defeats are due to poor technology or military strategy. This group believes the Ottomans should buy the most modern weapons from other countries and learn about military organization and tactics in the uses of modern technology. Once the Ottomans catch up to other countries in terms of the uses of modern weapons, the balance of military power between the Ottomans and other countries will be restored, and the empire's decline will stop.

The attack on Vienna in 1683 was a terrible loss for the Ottomans when they were attacked from behind by a large army.

The second group argues that the empire is declining because Muslims within the empire are moving away from the true beliefs of Islam. The people in this religious group feel that most Muslims in the Ottoman Empire have turned away from Allah and the pure religious life outlined in the Koran. Modern weapons will not be the key to winning battles. Only a recommitment to Allah will save the empire from continued decline.

The third group argues that the empire is declining because the Ottoman economy is growing more slowly than the other economies in Europe and some economies in Asia. Unless the Ottoman economy starts growing more quickly, the basis for military power will be slowly undermined. A larger economy allows more resources to be devoted to the military. The European economies are also more open to trade, which allows more people to be more inventive and creative. Europeans are generating more new ideas than are the Ottomans.

Image source: Entsatzschlacht von Wien [Battle of Vienna]. By Frans Geffels, 1683, Wien Museum.

Problem 1—Stopping the Decline of the Empire

What will you do about the decline of the empire's military power? You can choose as many options as you would like. If you choose more than one option, rank them in terms of which you would emphasize the most (#1), the next most (#2), and so forth.

A. Learn about modern weapons, military organization, and strategy for using the weapons, and then modernize the Ottoman army.

B. Return to Allah and the pure religious life as described in the Koran. Concentrate on increasing the people's spiritual commitment as a way to stop the empire's military decline.

C. Modernize the Ottoman economy. The economy provides the basis for the military. A strong economy will lead to a strong military in the long run.

D. Do nothing. The decline of the empire is due to historical forces that are mostly out of our control, such as changes in trading patterns that have strengthened some countries more than the Ottoman Empire. Remember, we may be declining compared to other countries, but we are still growing and still very strong. Overreacting will just make the situation worse.

Problem 2—Religious Commitment

The religious group that feels the Ottomans have turned away from true Islam wants the Ottomans to return to their spiritual roots in the Islamic faith. They want people to lead pure spiritual lives based on the teachings of Muhammad as revealed in the Koran. They want to get rid of practices that are not Islamic. These religious people run religious schools that teach children to live strict spiritual lives. They are also very critical of you and the other leaders of the Ottoman Empire because you have moved away from pure spiritual lives. They say you have become corrupted by focusing on politics and economics, losing sight of the spiritual dimension underlying all aspects of society.

What will you do about the challenge of this religious group? You can choose as many options as you would like.

A. Leave the religious people alone. They have responsibility for spiritual matters for many people in the empire. If religious people want to open schools, that is fine. Just because they are critical of the government should not mean that the government should take any action. Governments should be able to accept criticism without taking action against the critics.

B. Take action to reinforce religious freedom within the empire. With about half the people in the empire from the Christian and Jewish faiths, it would not be wise to press Muslim teachings on these non-Muslims.

C. Force the religious people to shut down their schools, since these schools are undermining society and government. We have to shut down the schools in order to maintain the strength and stability of the empire.

D. Reform society to incorporate some of the ideas from the religious people. For example, use the Koran as the basis for several new laws for the empire.

E. Make the government more important to the spiritual life of Muslims within the empire. For example, have the government sponsor several more Muslim holidays. In addition, have the government take over the security of the holy sites in Mecca and Medina. (See Map B.) Since these are sites that many Muslims visit every year, they will see the government being supportive of their religious duties. That action will reduce the criticism coming from the religious people.

F. Send the army to arrest the more radical leaders of the religious people. The influence of the religious people needs to be reduced.

OUTCOMES OF THE WAR CRISIS

Problem 1—Stopping the Decline of the Empire

Some Ottoman leaders focused on securing modern weapons and strategies for using them (Option A). These changes were very much needed because the Ottomans had lost their military advantages. In the past, the Ottomans used the best weapons (muskets) effectively, but now the Europeans had the best weapons (improved muskets and artillery) and the discipline to use them effectively. A large number of people within the Ottoman Empire focused on increasing religious devotion to stop the decline of the empire. However, the government did not focus on the spiritual dimension for improving its chances in warfare (Option B). As explained in the next section, the government did focus on religion in Problem 2, but for reasons of control within the empire, not as a way to restore military strength.

The government also tried to strengthen the economy in order to build up military power (Option C), but its efforts actually hurt the economy because the government was interfering in the economic market. The government had always interfered in the market by regulating prices and quality of goods, making sure that sellers were not charging unfair prices. But now the regulations became much more severe, which hurt the economy overall. For example, the government took food from farmers at very low prices in order to feed the large population of the capital city of Constantinople (modern Istanbul) or to feed the army. The farmers' consequent loss of money made them less productive in later years. Why produce more food when the government will just rip you off by forcing you to sell at very low prices?

There were other possible causes of the decline of Ottoman power, including these:

1. Poor leadership: The sultans at this point were often not good leaders. They made poor decisions that weakened the empire. Many sultans were more interested in hanging on to power than in helping the empire. For example, many sultans were involved in strangling their own relatives to prevent rebellion. These brutal actions caused instability within the empire.

2. The Ottomans became settled, losing the warrior culture that had made them successful.

3. The empire stopped growing. Without the spoils of war, the army could not be fully paid and became restless. Many soldiers were unemployed. Without new money and goods flowing to the government from new conquered territories, the government raised taxes, which made people discontented. The allowance for local control, which had been a strength of the empire, became a weakness when the army and government began to decline. Without authority in the central government, the local leaders became more independent, weakening the solidarity of the empire. Without new conquered territories to provide for the empire's rapidly expanding population, many peasants became landless and unemployed.

4. Corruption increased: The empire gave up its emphasis on recruiting officials and military officers by merit. ("Who is the most qualified?") People started buying their way into government and passing government positions to their children. As a result, the quality of the officials (and their decisions) dropped. Land that had been taken from nobles and given to poor peasants was now given to people in the government who had political power.

The Ottomans should have considered these other possible underlying problems and tried to address them. For example, instead of focusing on how to win militarily and resume expanding, maybe the empire should have focused on building new industries within the empire. But the Ottomans were too proud and set in their ways to make the changes needed for the empire to survive. Since the Ottomans had conquered others and had been so successful, many of them felt they did not need to adapt to a changing world. Many Ottoman leaders and people refused to recognize that there were problems or weaknesses in the empire. They felt that the Ottoman Empire was superior to other empires, which prevented them from adopting the radical reforms necessary to cope with the rising power of other empires. Many Ottomans, in other words, believed that the empire had been successful in the past, so why should they change to new policies?

The Ottomans did, however, make some changes, and the empire lasted another two hundred years, so we shouldn't be too critical. The decline was slow in many ways, unnoticeable to most people in the empire. But it was still a decline that should have been addressed in more significant ways.

Problem 2—Religious Commitment

The government generally left the religious group that criticized their spiritual commitment, called the *Wahhabis*, alone (Option A), meanwhile preserving religious freedom for other faiths (Option B). It did not force the Wahhabis to shut down their religious schools, called *madrassas* (Option C), and it did not have the army arrest the radical leaders (Option F). In some ways, the government took actions to become more important to spiritual life (Option E) in order to minimize the power of the Wahhabis. It established more Muslim holidays and took an increased role in guarding the holy sites of Mecca and Medina. The sultans took the name *caliph*, meaning Muslim religious leader, in order to tie the government more directly to the Islamic faith. The government was not as interested in the genuine religious reform (Option D) that the Wahhabis wanted as it was in making Muslims think that it was favorable to the Islamic faith.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Did the Ottoman leaders make good decisions regarding the decline of the empire? Explain what they did well or where they went wrong.

2. What did you do well or poorly in these decision-making problems on the decline of the empire? Remember, just because you got a good outcome doesn't mean you decided well. Maybe you were just lucky.

3. What was the most important decision-making skill in this problem (for example, identifying assumptions or setting realistic goals)? Explain your answer.

TURKISH LETTERS OF OGIER GHISELIN DE BUSBECQ

Primary Source

Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq was the Austrian ambassador to the Ottoman Empire. This excerpt is from letters sent to the Austrian emperor between 1554 and 1562.

> The Sultan's hall was crowded with people, among whom were several officers of high rank. Besides these there were all the troopers of the Imperial guard, Spahis, Ghourebas, Ouloufedgis, and a large force of Janissaries; but there was not in all that great assembly a single man who owed his position to aught [anything] save [except] his valour and his merit. No distinction is attached to birth among the Turks; the deference to be paid to a man is measured by the position he holds in the public service. There is no fighting for precedence; a man's place is marked out by the duties he discharges. In making his appointments the Sultan pays no regard to any pretensions on the score of wealth or rank, nor does he take into consideration recommendations or popularity; he considers each case on its own merits, and examines carefully into the character, ability, and disposition of the man whose promotion is in question. It is by merit that men rise in the service, a system which ensures that posts should only be assigned to the competent. Each man in Turkey carries in his own hand his ancestry and his position in life, which he may make or mar as he will. Those who receive the highest offices from the Sultan are for the most part the sons of shepherds or herdsmen, and so far from being ashamed of their parentage, they actually glory in it, and consider it a matter of boasting that they owe nothing to the accident of birth; for they do not believe that high qualities are either natural or hereditary, nor do they think that they can be handed down from father to son, but that they are partly the gift of God, and partly the result of good training, great industry, and unwearied zeal; arguing that high qualities do not descend from a father to his son or heir, any more than a talent for music, mathematics, or the like; and that the mind does not derive its origin from the father, so that the son should necessarily be like the father in character, but emanates from heaven, and is thence infused into the human body. Among the Turks, therefore, honours, high posts, and judgeships are the rewards of great ability and good service. If a man be dishonest, or lazy, or careless, he remains at the bottom of the ladder, an object of contempt; for such qualities there are no honours in Turkey!
>
> This is the reason that they are successful in their undertakings, that they lord it over others, and are daily extending the bounds of their empire. These are not our ideas, with us [Austrians] there is no opening left for merit; birth is the standard for everything; the prestige of birth is the sole key to advancement in the public service. But on this head I shall perhaps have more to say to you in another place, and you must consider what I have said as strictly private.

Source: Forester, Charles Thornton, and F. H. Blackburne Daniell, eds. and trans., *The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq,* pp. 114–115, 152–156, 219–222. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1881. Reprinted by Jonathan Dresner at *World History,* Pittsburgh State University.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. According to this Austrian ambassador, why is the Ottoman Empire successful?
2. How reliable is this letter as a source?

LESSON 2: INDIA AND THE BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY

Teacher's Guide

INTRODUCTION

Overview

The decisions of leaders in Bengal and the British East India Company in the eighteenth century had significant long-term effects on India, ending with full-blown British imperial control of the subcontinent. This lesson puts students in the shoes of both an Indian leader and the leaders of the British East India Company and Parliament.

Vocabulary

- Battle of Plassey—a 1757 battle that resulted in British East India Company victory over Indians
- Bengal—a state in India
- Black Hole of Calcutta—the British term for the jail in Calcutta in which many prisoners of war, including British soldiers and their families, died while imprisoned
- British East India Company (BEIC)—a British trading company in India
- Calcutta—a city in Bengal
- famine—extreme scarcity of food
- Hinduism— a religion indigenous to India that emphasizes freedom from the material world through purification of desires and elimination of personal identity
- jewel in the crown—the British expression for the great value of colonial India to the British Empire
- Marathas—raiders in Bengal
- monopoly—the condition where one seller of goods or services has no competitors
- morale—the fighting spirit of soldiers
- Mughals—rulers of India for about three hundred years
- Muslims—followers of Islam, a monotheistic religion
- nawab—a political leader in India

- Parliament—the elected government in Britain
- raj—British government rule in India
- sepoys—Indian soldiers who served under British orders
- stock—shares of a company
- zaminders—Indian tax collectors

Decision-Making Skills Emphasized

- Identify underlying problems
- Consider other points of view
- Identify assumptions and emotions
- Generate ethical options
- Play out the options
- Predict unintended consequences

LESSON PLAN A: IN-DEPTH LESSON *(50 minutes)*

Procedure

Distribute Handout 1, have students read it, and have them decide individually which of the three options they will choose. Remind students to choose only one option. After they have written their choices, tell students to pair up and discuss them. Circulate around the room to answer questions or clear up misunderstandings. Bring the class back together and ask them to vote on the options.

After the discussion of the pros and cons of various choices, have students revote. Did many students change their votes? If so, why? Some students may suggest options other than the three given in Handout 1. For example, they may suggest setting up an alliance with the Mughals against the British East India Company (BEIC), or they might suggest opening trade more with the French or Dutch companies in order to minimize the power of the BEIC. If they do suggest new options, add them to the list, discuss the pros and cons of the new option(s), and have them revote on the expanded list of options. It is fascinating to see students switch their votes to a new option that they had not considered until a classmate suggested it.

When Handout 1 has been discussed and voted on, distribute Handout 2, which is from the point of view of the BEIC. Follow the same procedure as for Handout 1: Students decide individually, they discuss their choices in pairs, they vote, they discuss the choices as a class, and they revote.

After both handouts have been discussed and voted on, distribute Handout 3, with the outcomes of the nawab's decisions (Handout 1) and Robert Clive's decisions (Handout 2). Have students read Handout 3 and answer the "Questions for Analysis" at the end of the sheet.

1. Did the nawab (Handout 1) and Robert Clive (Handout 2) make good decisions regarding the state of Bengal?

   Answers will vary.

2. What did you do well or poorly in these decision-making problems?

   Answers will vary.

3. What was the most important decision-making skill in this problem (for example, identifying assumptions or setting realistic goals)? Explain your answer.

   *Specific decision-making skills (**P-A-G-E**) are explained below in the section "Decision-Making Analysis." Answers will vary, but considering unintended consequences is an important skill, as shown in Handout 3.*

Handout 4 presents the problem from the point of view of Parliament. Follow the procedure outlined for Handout 1: Students decide individually, they discuss their choices in pairs, they vote, they discuss the choices as a class, and they revote.

Finally, distribute Handout 5 with the outcomes. Have students read Handout 5 and answer the "Questions for Analysis" at the end of the sheet.

1. What did Parliament do well or poorly in this decision-making problem regarding the British East India Company? Explain your answer.

   Answers will vary.

2. What did you do well or poorly in this decision-making problem? Remember, just because you got a good outcome doesn't mean you decided well. Maybe you were just lucky.

   Answers will vary.

3. What was the most important decision-making skill in this problem (for example, identifying assumptions or setting realistic goals)?

   Answers will vary.

Option for Premortem Strategy: When students have made their decision in Handout 1 about whether to attack the British East India Company (or Handout 2, about responding to the idea of regime change, or Handout 4 about Parliament's role with the BEIC), focus them on unintended consequences by having them engage in a premortem strategy. Tell them that it is two years later and whatever choice they have made (make a deal, leave the situation alone, or attack) has been

a disaster. Students are to write out what the disaster is and what caused it. After students have written their scenarios, have them pair up and share them.

Then bring the class together to discuss their scenarios. Follow this discussion by asking students to review their choices. Did many students change their minds as a result of this activity? If you decide to use this premortem strategy with Handout 2 or Handout 4, make the time frame ten years instead of two years, in order to get students to consider long-term unintended consequences. In both of these problems, the long-term consequences are much more important. Short-term issues involved with playing out the option are more important in Handout 1.

Option for Primary Sources: When students finish discussing the outcomes in Handout 3, distribute Handout 6 and have students answer the questions.

1. According to the author, how well did the captured British people endure their captivity?

   He says in the fourth paragraph that the British captives were delirious and ungovernable. That is, they did not act with discipline.

2. Why did so many people die, according to the author?

   Overcrowding (suffocation), lack of water, lack of air.

3. How reliable is the letter as a source?

   It is a primary source, as it is written by a captive, an eyewitness. This is a private letter written to a friend, which strengthens the reliability. However, we have it, so it became public. The letter was published in newspapers all over Britain, so it is unclear if it was meant to be private. The letter uses emotional language, indicating that it could be exaggerating (reason to lie), which is logical for a letter written by a survivor of such difficult circumstances. It seems unreasonable that 146 people could fit at all in a room measuring 18 feet square. Historians question the accuracy of the number of people in the room.

Reflecting on Decision Making

Ask students how well they did on decision making on this problem. Which decision-making skills were especially important in making these decisions about Bengal and the British East India Company? Which of the letters of **P-A-G-E** applied especially to this problem? (See the "Decision-Making Analysis" section below for ideas.) Ask students what they did well or poorly in terms of the **P-A-G-E** analysis of decision making. Discuss their answers.

Putting the Actual Decisions into Historical Context

Ask students whether the decisions made by Robert Clive (Handout 3) were the result more of historical forces or of his personal choices. Some will argue that decisions made by Clive were due to his personal choices. He was emotional in wanting to restore British honor, and he may have been interested in being a hero in England. Other students will argue that Clive's decisions were

shaped by the historical context. He was clearly influenced by British attitudes of superiority in the eighteenth century. He took action because he was confident in British military strength compared to the Indians. Had the military situation been more even, he may have chosen differently.

Connecting to Today

Ask students what they learned from this lesson about businesses getting involved in other countries. Is the kind of escalating involvement—where a company first gets involved in trading, then injects itself into the politics of the country, which then compels the government of the home country to get involved—inevitable or likely?

Troubleshooting

There is a great deal of vocabulary that could make comprehension difficult for some students. You might want to review vocabulary before or during the reading of handouts.

LESSON PLAN B: QUICK MOTIVATOR LESSON *(20 minutes)*

Choose only the first set of handouts (Handouts 1–3). Give Handout 1 for homework and have students make their decisions. In class, ask for a show of hands for the various options. Discuss reasons for five minutes. Then have students read Handout 2 and decide with a show of hands for each option. Distribute Handout 3 with the outcomes, and have students write their reactions for homework.

TEACHER NOTES TO EXPAND DISCUSSION

(For outcomes for students, see Handouts 3 and 5.)

For simplicity, the lesson uses the term British East India Company or BEIC. In the earlier years, it was actually the East India Company. The former term is simpler and also more descriptive, reminding students that it is a British company.

As noted in the lesson plan above, historians are skeptical of some aspects of the account of captivity in the Black Hole of Calcutta written by Doctor Holwell (Handout 6), especially the number of people in the cell. The account was clearly successful as a propaganda victory for the British.

Decision-Making Analysis*

P = Problem

Identify any underlying problem(s).

Consider other points of view.

What are my assumptions? Emotions?

A = Ask for information (about)

Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)

Reliability of sources

Historical analogies

G = Goals

What are my main goals, and are they realistic?

Generate options to achieve these goals. Are they ethical?

E = Effects

Predict unintended consequences.

Play out the options. What could go wrong?

*Bold denotes topics addressed in this lesson.

- **Identify any underlying problem(s):** In Handout 1, the nawab should consider the underlying problem that the British have much greater military power. In any type of fighting, the British are very likely to win. That underlying disparity in military power shapes all the negotiations.
- **Consider other points of view:** In Handout 1, the nawab should consider how the British will react to an attack on Calcutta. In Handout 2, the BEIC should consider how common people in Bengal will feel about taxes being enforced by the BEIC. Since Handout 1 is from the Indian point of view, Handout 2 is from the BEIC point of view, and Handout 4 is from the British government point of view, students will naturally see the problem from different points of view.
- **Identify assumptions or emotions:** British leaders assumed the superiority of the British. They assumed British control of Bengal would, of necessity, mean better government and improved lives for the people of Bengal. Robert Clive made his decision to fight partly based on the emotion that he wanted to restore British honor. He was also hoping that he would establish himself as a hero.

- **Establish ethical options:** There are several ethical questions:
    - Is it morally right to fight a war to keep control of your government (Handout 1)?
    - Is it morally right to fight to make money (Handout 2)?
    - Is it morally right to get involved in the internal politics of another country or state (Handout 2)?
    - Is it morally right to collect taxes from a foreign country (Handout 2)?
    - Should a government always keep its promises (Handout 3, promise for a monopoly for BEIC)?
    - Is it morally right to have taxpayers pay to help rich shareholders (Handout 3)?
- **Predict unintended consequences:** The consequences, both intended and unintended, of the decisions are outlined in Handouts 3 and 5. One unintended consequence was famine in Bengal due to the more rigid and effective tax system (Handout 3). A second unintended consequence is the increased corruption in the BEIC as a result of the increased oversight to prevent corruption (Handout 5). A third unintended consequence is that once the BEIC gets involved in Bengal, it will get involved in other Indian states. A fourth unintended consequence is that if the BEIC gets in financial trouble, the British government will get involved to bail out the company. BEIC involvement in Bengal may very well lead to imperialism by the British government in all of India.
- **Play out the options:** In Handouts 1 and 2, leaders of the BEIC (and students) should consider several points in playing out the options:
    - If the nawab captures Calcutta, how will he defend the city and the state of Bengal against British counterattack (Handout 1)?
    - If the British help collect taxes, what problems could arise (Handout 2)? There will be confrontations, and probably violence, when people can't pay their taxes. Ordinary Indians will resent the British, and there are many millions of ordinary people in Bengal. How much will it cost to pay the tax collectors and the soldiers to protect them? Will the tax collectors be trained? What will you do if tax collections are less than the costs? What will you do when ordinary people in Bengal complain about tax collectors? Will there be a system set up for complaints?

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LESSON 2: INDIA AND THE BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY

VOCABULARY

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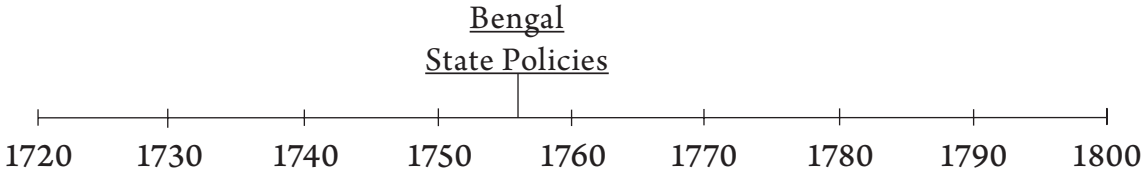
- sepoys—Indian soldiers who served under British orders
- stock—shares of a company
- zaminders—Indian tax collectors

THE BENGALI PERSPECTIVE



Siraj ud-Daulah, nawab of Bengal

The year is 1756, and you are Siraj ud-Daulah, the nawab (leader) of the state of Bengal, a wealthy state in northeast India. (See Map A.) The soil is excellent and the rivers flowing in the region (the Ganges and Brahmaputra Rivers) provide water for crops and transportation. Bengal is known for growing cotton and weaving cloth. The British East India Company buys and sells Indian cloth, along with salt, indigo and other products, which bring prosperity to Bengal.

The wealth of Bengal has allowed it to become independent of the Mughal Empire, which had ruled this area, along with most of the rest of India, for hundreds of years. But now, the Mughal Empire is getting very weak. Meanwhile, Bengal has become strong and rich that it no longer sends tax money to the Mughal government. Bengal rules itself.

While Bengal is strong, your hold on the government is weak for a number of reasons. First, you are a Muslim, and Muslims are a minority in Bengal. Hindus dominate in political and economic power, occupying most positions such as tax collectors, government officials, bankers, and merchants, while most Muslims in Bengal are poor farmers. Second, Hindu bankers control most of the financial institutions in Bengal. People need loans on a regular basis, and they get most of them from the Hindu banking group. That means the bankers have a great deal of economic and political power. Third, tax collectors, called *zaminders*, are also very strong and have their own armed guards, totaling thirty thousand soldiers. Even with all those armed soldiers, tax collecting is not well enforced. Some people get away without paying their fair share (or anything at all). Fourth, fierce fighters, called *Marathas*, have been raiding towns and villages in Bengal for many years, robbing and stealing.

Image sources: Courtesy of UCLA Social Sciences

To keep power and ensure stability in Bengal, you need an army, but the aforementioned weaknesses make it difficult to raise and keep an army. You need money from the Hindu tax collectors and Hindu bankers, which gives these groups more power over you. You have demanded money from the British, Dutch, and French trading companies, which is reasonable because these companies have made great profits from buying and selling in Bengal. They should share some of the wealth with the government in Bengal. The Dutch East India Company and the French East India Company have agreed to pay, but the British East India Company (BEIC) officials have refused to pay and have been strengthening their fort in Calcutta, the great port city in Bengal. If the BEIC finishes its defenses, it will have a military advantage allowing it to defy your government in other ways. In addition, groups that are challenging your authority in Bengal will be able to move to Calcutta, knowing they will be safe from your government.

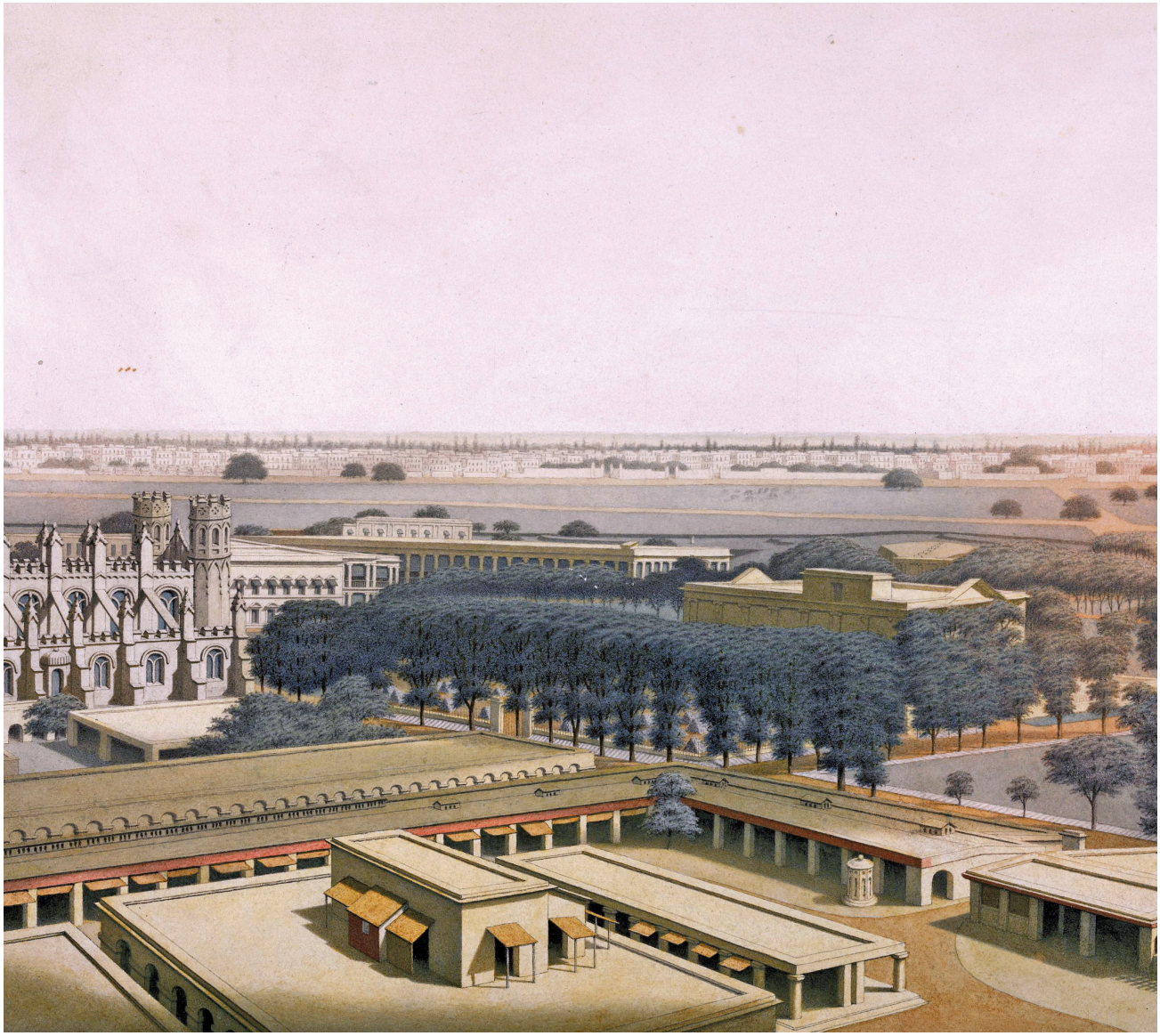
Map A: Bengal

How will you deal with the British East India Company? Choose only one option.

A. Offer a deal with the BEIC, where it collects taxes and shares the revenue with your government. This option has many advantages. The BEIC would be working with the zaminders, and since both the BEIC and the Hindu tax collectors would be working with you, both groups would be converted from hostility to friendship. Everyone would be bound together by the same interest, to collect tax revenue. Since the British have strong military power, it is likely that overall tax collections would go up. That way, you would have more money for a larger army to fight the Maratha raiders and you would have less need to borrow money from the Hindu bankers.

B. Leave the situation the way it is now. It might not be ideal, but anything you do might make the situation worse. If you leave things as they are now, these different groups might counter each other, allowing you to continue in power. Things are not so bad that drastic action is necessary.

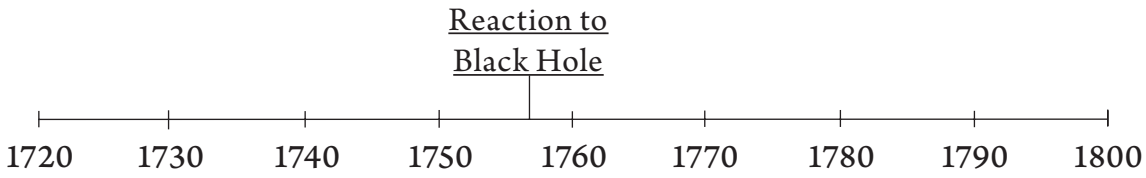
C. Attack the fort at Calcutta and drive out the BEIC. The fort is unfinished and not many soldiers are guarding it, so it should be easy to take over Calcutta. Since the BEIC refused to pay the money we demanded, you have to show the BEIC who is in charge. If the BEIC does not pay, no other company or country will pay. These companies are making big profits as guests in your state. You should decide who should pay and how much. Once you push out the BEIC, other opposition groups will see your strength and decide to cooperate with you.



Fort William in Calcutta, circa 1828

Image source: A View of the Interior of Fort William Looking East across the Courtyard Towards Chowringhee Gate and Chowringhee Road. By William Wood, 1828, British Library.

THE BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY PERSPECTIVE



The year is 1757, and you are Robert Clive, a military leader of the British East India Company (BEIC). The Indians in Bengal have attacked the BEIC fort at Calcutta and have taken it over. (See Map A in Handout 1.) The BEIC soldiers were outnumbered and did not fight hard to defend the fort. When the Indians captured the fort they put more than one hundred British soldiers and their families in one very small prison cell. About forty people died in just one night, most from suffocation. The cell is being referred to by the British press as the Black Hole of Calcutta.

A drawing of the Black Hole at the time

You led a small but disciplined force of British soldiers to defeat the Indian rebels and retake possession of Calcutta. After this British victory, the leader of Bengal signed a treaty in which he gave in to all the BEIC's major demands: (1) The BEIC could trade without paying taxes, (2) the BEIC could control its own supply of money, and (3) the BEIC was paid by the Bengali government for the losses in Calcutta.

Now several other groups in Bengal (some bankers and political leaders, for example) are asking that you overthrow the leader of Bengal and replace him with their leader. They are calling for regime change in Bengal. These people who want regime change also want to make a deal with the BEIC for the new government. The new government will allow the BEIC to collect taxes in Bengal, one of the richest states in India, in exchange for the BEIC paying a fixed amount to the Bengal government of £325,000 per year and defending Bengal against attacks from outside

Image source: Illustration of the Black Hole, in *Hutchinson's Story of the Nations* [London: Hutchinson, 1756]. From the Internet Archive.

groups. Leaders in the BEIC believe that this is a great opportunity for the company. The tax money collected will help pay the Indian and British soldiers who serve in the army of the BEIC. As long as the company makes sure everyone pays taxes regularly, the money collected from taxes from millions of taxpayers will be greater than the yearly payments to the Bengali government. In addition, British involvement in the whole state of Bengal, rather than just trading in Calcutta and along the coast, will bring stability and order to Bengal. It will help the people of Bengal to have a competent, steady government backed by British tax collection and professional governing abilities.

Defeating the Bengali soldiers in battle and overthrowing the government will bring honor back to the British after the humiliating defeat in Calcutta and the terrible losses of the Black Hole. The British people will once again have pride in their country and you could be seen as a war hero. This restoration of British honor is especially important right now, as Britain is in a world war against France. A victory in India will boost morale among the army's soldiers and throughout the country as a whole.

What will you do about the request to overthrow the leader of Bengal and replace him with Bengali leaders who will work with the BEIC?

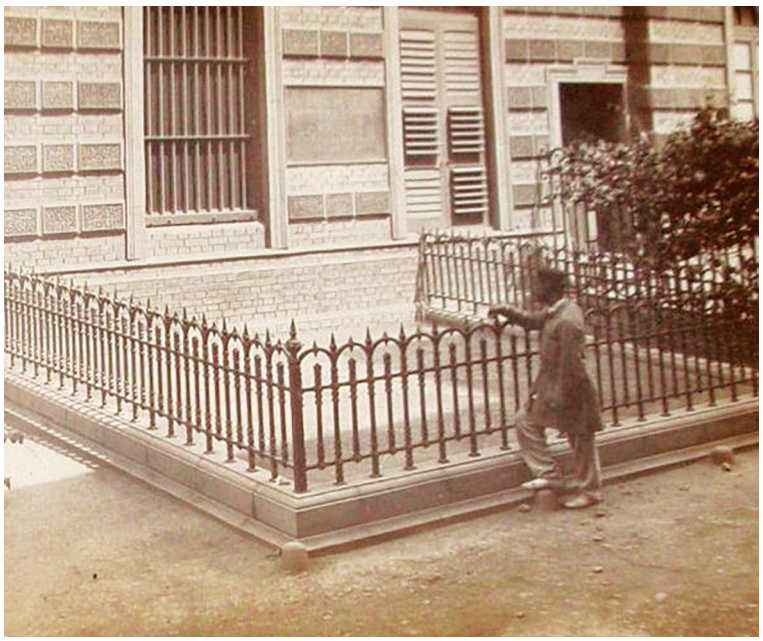
A. Don't get involved in the overthrow of the Bengali government or the deal to pay a fixed amount each year in exchange for the authority to collect taxes.

B. Agree to overthrow the Bengali government, but don't agree to the deal to pay a fixed amount each year to the new Bengali government in exchange for the authority to collect taxes.

C. Agree to overthrow the Bengali government and to the deal to pay a fixed amount each year to the new Bengali government in exchange for the authority to collect taxes.

OUTCOMES OF THE BLACK HOLE AND BRITISH REACTION

The nawab (leader) of Bengal, Siraj ud-Daulah, decided to attack the fort at Calcutta and drive the British East India Company (BEIC) out of Bengal (Handout 1, Option C), as mentioned in Handout 2. It didn't work. The Bengali forces did capture the fort, but they didn't treat the captured British people humanely, and many died. The mistreatment of British captives in the Black Hole of Calcutta united the British people to take action against the Bengalis for this atrocity. The British had superior weapons and training, so they quickly defeated the Bengalis and recaptured Calcutta. Siraj ud-Daulah should have considered that the British, with their superior weapons and training, would most likely win in any military fight. Since this option turned out so badly for Siraj ud-Daulah, he would very likely have been better off making a deal with the BEIC (Option A) or doing nothing (Option B).



A photograph taken in 1908 shows the spot of the Black Hole. Note the size of the area inside the fence that marks the prison cell.

Robert Clive decided to agree to overthrow the Bengali government. It wasn't necessary, because Siraj ud-Daulah signed the treaty giving the BEIC all of its main goals, as outlined in Handout 2. But Clive wanted to restore British honor by defeating the Bengalis in a major battle and overthrowing the government that had humiliated Britain. The British did win the Battle of Plassey against a larger Bengali force. Clive became a hero in Britain.

Clive also accepted the deal that the BEIC would pay a yearly fee to the new Bengali government in exchange for the authority to collect taxes in Bengal (Option C). It was a fateful decision because it fundamentally changed the main role of the BEIC in India from trading to tax collecting. The company became involved in Bengali politics because tax collection was related to political events in Bengal. For example, when the first Bengali leader didn't agree to BEIC requests, the company had him replaced with a more cooperative leader. It was a short step from involvement in Bengali politics to involvement in politics in India as a whole. The British were dominating Indian politics more directly, due to their superior weapons and training. Indians had to consider the British response to everything they did. The leaders of the BEIC didn't intend to take over Bengal or India. Nevertheless, their belief in their superiority and their greed caused the BEIC leaders gradually to take over.

Image source: Photograph taken by an employee of the Stereo-Travel Co. Public Domain.

Robert Clive meeting with Mir Jafar, nawab of Bengal, after the Battle of Plassey

The change to become tax collectors in Bengal wasn't really very profitable for the BEIC. In many years the company lost money. There were many causes of this negative outcome. It cost a great deal of money to hire people to collect the taxes and support and protect the tax collectors. The BEIC built up a very large army to safeguard its workers, costing a fortune and dominating the affairs of Bengal.

The effects on the people of Bengal were even worse. The main goal of the BEIC was to collect taxes, since its profits depended on how much money was collected in taxes. When there were crop failures in 1769, landowners had little extra money or grain to distribute to starving people. All their extra money had been removed by heavy taxation, which left no flexibility for the unfolding disaster. The crop failures turned into famine, in which up to ten million people of a population of forty million Bengalis died.

Previous food shortages had not turned into large-scale famines because leaders in Bengal had stored extra grain in good years to help feed people in lean years. People knew one another and helped one another in times of need. Leaders depended on the goodwill of the people to stay in

Image source: Robert Clive and Mir Jafar after the Battle of Plassey, 1757. By Francis Hayman, c. 1760, National Portrait Gallery London.

power, so they took steps to protect people from famine. The leaders of the BEIC didn't have the personal connection with or need for goodwill from the Bengali people. Their focus was on making money from tax collections. The people of Bengal had to pay what was owed in taxes. The famine of 1769–1770 in Bengal was a massive human tragedy caused in part by the British East India Company.

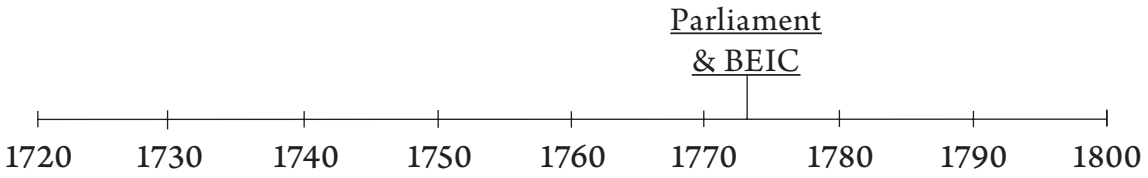
In the decades after the great famine, the BEIC went further in tax collection. Taxes were collected according to a list of rates issued by BEIC officials rather than by Indian tax collectors. To make more money, the British sought to cut out the Indian tax collectors. Company leaders also thought British officials would be more efficient, and less open to corruption, than Indian tax collectors. The new system undermined the face-to-face conversations that were a key element of governing in Bengal and led to the loss of many farms when landowners fell behind on taxes. The taxation policies of the BEIC led to the economic and social collapse of the rich state of Bengal.

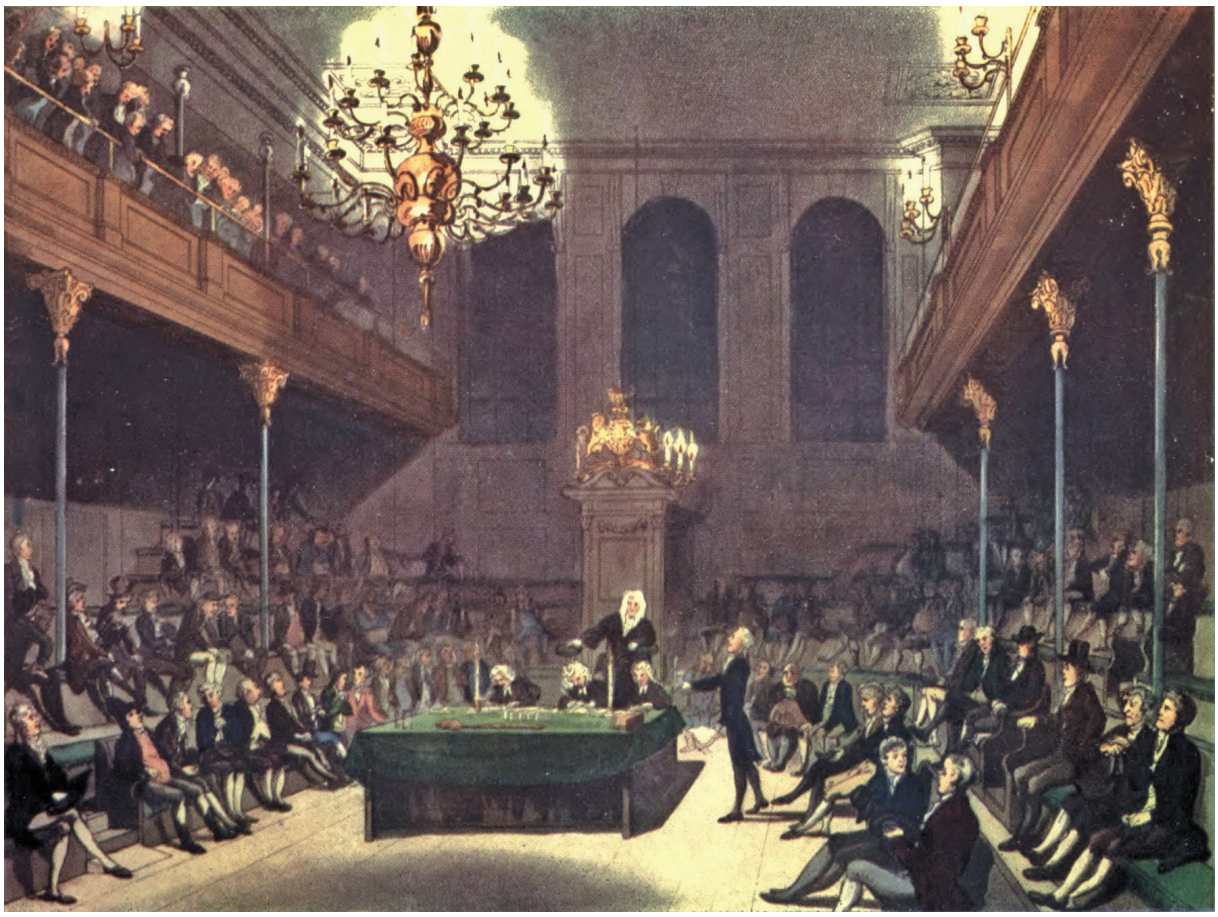
In a very real sense, then, the BEIC takeover of Bengal resulted in killing the goose that laid the golden eggs. An Indian writer stated, "Such is the little regard which they [British people] show to the people of these kingdoms, and such their antipathy [dislike] and indifference to their welfare, that the people under their dominion groan everywhere, and are reduced to poverty and distress."

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Did the nawab (Handout 1) and Robert Clive (Handout 2) make good decisions regarding the state of Bengal? Explain what they did well or where they went wrong.
2. What did you do well or poorly in these decision-making problems? Remember, just because you had a positive outcome doesn't mean you decided well. Maybe you were just lucky.
3. What was the most important decision-making skill in this problem (for example, identifying assumptions or setting realistic goals)? Explain your answer.

PARLIAMENT AND THE BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY





British House of Commons in 1808

The year is 1773 and you are a member of the British Parliament. The British East India Company (BEIC) has a very large debt, which it cannot pay because the money it makes from tax collecting and trade is less than the costs of governing Bengal (and other Indian states), along with the costs of running its business. These costs include paying for the wages of British and Indian soldiers; the salaries of tax collectors, clerks, and other officials; and the construction and maintenance of ships, forts, warehouses, and ports. In addition to the debt, there are charges of corruption against the leaders and tax collectors in the BEIC. The company is requesting a loan from the British

Image source: Illustrations by A. C. Pugin and T. Rowlandson, in Rudolph Ackermann, William Combe, and W. H. Pyne, The Microcosm of London [London: Methuen Publishing, 1904], Internet Archive, AAP-1752.

government. Critics of the BEIC say that lending taxpayer money to the company is a bad idea. If the BEIC cannot repay the loan, British taxpayers will lose a great deal of money. Critics argue that the BEIC should stand or fall based on its business, not be rescued by government when things are bad.

On the other hand, the BEIC's imports, especially tea and Indian cloth, are used widely throughout Britain. In addition, wealthy people all over Britain own stock in the company, and this includes many members of Parliament and other government leaders. BEIC stock is so important that it is one of the few stock prices quoted in London newspapers. If the company declines or goes out of business, powerful people will lose money, which could cripple the British economy. Stockholders want the government to help the BEIC recover from the tough times it is experiencing at this point. A successful BEIC means a more prosperous Britain.

In the meantime, critics of the company in London also say it is unfair that the BEIC has a monopoly on trade in India. They argue that there would be more control over the company if there were competition from other British companies. With competition, the company would lose business if it was corrupt or inefficient, since its prices would be higher than those of more efficient companies. Lower prices, in turn, would benefit consumers and manufacturers in Britain. The BEIC also would not be able to take advantage of Indians because other companies would be able to offer better deals to the Indians to get their business. Defenders of the BEIC monopoly argue that the company has made large loans to the British government to help finance major wars with France and other countries. In return, the government granted the BEIC its monopoly. It would not be fair to take away the monopoly after the company was generous in helping the government.

Other critics argue that the British government should get much more involved in overseeing the BEIC. They want Parliament to appoint the head of the BEIC and require regular, written reports to Parliament from company officials. Tax collectors will have to follow rules and submit paperwork to make sure there is no corruption. Still other critics want the British government to completely take over the BEIC. They argue that the company is too corrupt to save. Besides, even though the BEIC is a trading company rather than a government, it is governing the state of Bengal and several other states. Governing India should be the role of the British government, which has expertise in governing.

What will you do about the British East India Company in 1773? You can choose as many options as you would like.

A. Give the BEIC the loan. If you allow the company to fail, thousands of British jobs will be lost and British power in India will decline, to be replaced by the French or Dutch or some other power. The company has made a profit in the past, so these recent losses are probably temporary.

B. Pass laws in Parliament that give the British government greater control over the BEIC. The government will appoint the company head, and company officials will have to submit regular written reports. Tax collectors will have to follow rules and fill in paperwork to make sure there is no corruption.

C. End the monopoly that the BEIC has on Indian trade, allowing competition for that trade from other British companies. Ending the monopoly will bring down prices, introduce innovations (in order to compete), and reduce corruption.

D. Have the British government completely take over the BEIC and govern Bengal and other areas of India directly. A private British company should not govern territories anywhere in the world. That is the job of the professionals in the British government.

E. Do nothing to help the BEIC. Allow the company to keep collecting taxes as it does now.

F. Stop the BEIC from collecting taxes and being politically involved in India. If the BEIC makes money by trading in India, fine, but it should not be collecting taxes or be involved in politics in India. The money the BEIC is making hurts the people of India and corrupts British government and society.

OUTCOMES OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PARLIAMENT AND THE BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY

Members of Parliament gave the loan to the British East India Company (Option A) in return for greater control over the company (Option B). These choices did not work out very well. The company continued to lose money, so British taxpayers also continued to lose money, as more loans were needed. Lending money to a company that is unprofitable is risky. Critics were outraged that taxpayers, many of whom were poor, were lending money to rich officials in the BEIC.

Control over the company was also a failure, a result of unintended consequences. The requirement that BEIC tax collectors keep written records led to a more rigid tax system, which undermined the more informal, face-to-face system that had been used in Bengal and other states. The controls on what company officials could do prevented them from making contacts and adjustments with the local Indians that would have made the system work better for the Indians. The paperwork, including account books and other documents, meant that power centers shifted from the Indian countryside to BEIC cities in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras and to London. Since local Indians had no control over company officials, and since company officials knew how to manipulate the paperwork, BEIC corruption under the new British government control actually *increased.*

Meanwhile, the fixed tax system meant that more and more landowners had to sell their farms in order to pay off their tax debts. As local nobles had to sell off some of their land, they lost respect within the community, which made it more difficult to collect rents from their tenants. The buyers of these properties were often not local landowners, so they had even less knowledge of the areas or respect of local farmers. But the focus of the BEIC was on collecting rents, so the company supported the new landlords and ignored complaints by poor tenants. The company removed a protection of poorer people from landowners, which led to more oppression by those landowners. Between the corruption of BEIC officials and the decline in the economy, chaos reigned in the once prosperous state of Bengal and in other states in India. With declining revenue and instability in many areas, the BEIC used soldiers to force Indians to pay taxes and to bring order to the Indian countryside.

Some critics argued that the British government should not help the BEIC (Option E), while others pushed for Britain to cut its ties with India (Option F). Without government help, the BEIC would probably have gone out of business or at least become much smaller. If Britain had chosen

to cut ties with India, the history of both countries, but especially India, would have been radically different.

In later decades, the British Parliament ended the BEIC monopoly over trade in India (Option C). Lobbyists from other trading companies and from powerful manufacturing interests in Britain pressured the government to open the Indian trade to their interests. Manufacturers wanted the lower prices that competition would bring for the cotton they used in their textile (cloth-making) factories, as well as for shipping (for which the BEIC was allegedly overcharging).

After the monopoly ended, the BEIC continued to lose money. The company needed to employ Indian soldiers, called *sepoys*, but in 1857 the sepoys revolted. The British government concluded that the BEIC could not govern millions of Indians, so the British government took over the governing of India (Option D). The new government, called the *raj*, was the final step in British imperialism in India, which lasted until 1947, when the British left India and the Indian subcontinent was divided into India and Pakistan. India was known as the "jewel in the crown" of the British Empire. India brought great wealth to Britain and to many people in India, but it also brought suffering and heartache to many more Indian citizens.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What did Parliament do well or poorly in this decision-making problem regarding the British East India Company? Explain your answer.
2. What did you do well or poorly in this decision-making problem? Remember, just because you got a good outcome doesn't mean you decided well. Maybe you were just lucky.
3. What was the most important decision-making skill in this problem (for example, identifying assumptions or setting realistic goals)? Explain your answer.

A LETTER ABOUT THE BLACK HOLE OF CALCUTTA

Primary Source

This letter was written to a friend in 1758 by John Zephaniah Holwell, describing his capture in June 1756. He was put in a jail cell with more than one hundred other British prisoners, of whom about forty died during one night of captivity. Holwell was a surgeon for the British East India Company at the time he was captured by the Indians.

> Figure for yourself, my friend, if possible, the situation of a hundred and forty-six wretches, exhausted by continual fatigue and action, thus crammed together in a cube of about 18 feet, in a close sultry night, in Bengal, shut up to the eastward and southward (the only quarters from whence air could reach us), by dead walls, and by a wall and door to the north, open only to the westward by two windows, strongly barred by iron, from which we could receive scarce any [of] the least circulation of fresh air.
>
> What must ensue, appeared to me in lively and dreadful colors, the instant I cast my eyes round, and saw the size and situation of the room. Many unsuccessful attempts were made to force the door; for having nothing but our hands to work with, and the door opening inward, all endeavors were vain and fruitless. . . .
>
> Before nine o'clock every man's thirst grew intolerable and respiration difficult. . . .
>
> By half an hour past eleven the much greater number of those living were in an outrageous delirium and the other quite ungovernable, few retaining any calmness. . . .
>
> They all now found that water instead of relieving, rather heightened their uneasiness, and "Air Air" was the general cry. . . .
>
> At this juncture [in the morning] the Suba [Indian leader] who had received an account of the havoc death had made amongst us sent one of his Jemmautdaars [an official] to inquire if the chief survived. They shewed me to him. Told him I had appearance of life remaining and believed I might recover if the door was opened very soon. This answer being returned to the Suba an order came immediately for our release, it being then near six in the morning. The fresh air at the window soon brought me to life and a few minutes after the departure of the Jemmautdaar I was restored to my sight and senses. But oh! Sir, what words shall I adopt to tell you the whole that my soul suffered at reviewing the dreadful destruction round me. I will not attempt it and indeed tears (a tribute I believe I may ever pay to the remembrance of this scene and to the memory of those brave and valuable men) stop my pen.

The little strength remaining amongst the most robust who survived made it a difficult task to remove the dead piled up against the door; so that I believe it was more than twenty minutes before we obtained a passage out for one at a time.

The rest who survived the fatal night gained their liberty, except Mrs. Carey, who was too young and handsome. The dead bodies were promiscuously thrown into the ditch of our unfinished ravine and covered with the earth. . . .

Being myself once again at liberty it is time I should release you Sir, also, from the unpleasing travel I have led you in this narrative of our distresses from our entrance into that fatal Black Hole. And shall it after all be said or even thought that I can possibly have arraigned [accused] or commented too severely on a conduct which alone plunged us into these unequalled sufferings? I hope not. I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful and obedient humble Servant,

JZ HOLWELL

Source: Holwell, J. Z. *India Tracts.* London: Becket, 1764.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. According to the author, how well did the captured British people endure their captivity?
2. Why did so many people die, according to the author?
3. How reliable is this letter as a source?

LESSON 3: PETER THE GREAT

Teacher's Guide

INTRODUCTION

Overview

Peter the Great was an important leader in Russian history as his name—the Great—implies. In this lesson, students have the opportunity to make decisions as Peter. Many of these decisions will show to have significant positive and negative long-term unintended consequences.

Vocabulary

- absolutism—the philosophy that government should place all power in a single ruler or small body of rulers, reserving no power for the people
- czar—a king or supreme ruler of Russia
- entrepreneurs—business people
- literacy—the ability to read and write
- nobles—people with high rank in society who usually owned land that others maintained
- parasites—people who live off the work of others
- peasant—poor farmer
- Peter I—ruler of Russia from 1682 to 1725, known as Peter the Great
- poll tax—a tax on each individual adult
- Russian Orthodox Church—the dominant religion in Russia
- serfs—people who were forced to work on land owned by others
- subsidies—government help for businesses
- Table of Ranks—a list of positions in the Russian government that could be gained by one's achievements, not just family background
- tariff—a tax on imports
- turnpikes—roads that charge tolls

Decision-Making Skills Emphasized

- Identify underlying problems
- Consider other points of view
- Ask questions about context
- Ask questions about historical analogies
- Establish realistic goals
- Play out the options
- Predict unintended consequences

LESSON PLAN A: IN-DEPTH LESSON *(50 minutes)*

Procedure

Handouts 1, 2, and 3 are on foreign policy. Teachers who use Handout 1 will probably want to follow up with Handout 2, which contains an outcome of the decision on taking land and then follows that up with a new problem on whether and how to continue with the war. Handout 3 is an optional handout to help students think through their decision in Handout 2.

Distribute Handout 1 and have students read it. Tell them to decide whether they will take land around the Baltic Sea-Gulf of Finland and risk war with Sweden. After students individually write out their choices, have them pair up and discuss their choices. Circulate around the room to answer questions or clear up misunderstandings. Bring the class back together and ask them to vote on whether to take the land and risk war. After a discussion of the pros and cons of taking the land or not taking it, have students revote. Did many students change their votes? If so, why?

After Handout 1 has been discussed and voted on, distribute Handout 2, with the outcomes of Peter the Great's decision, along with a new problem of how to proceed with the war against Sweden after a major loss in battle. Repeat the procedure used for Handout 1: Students decide, they discuss their choices in pairs, they vote, they discuss the choices as a class, and they revote. Teachers can decide whether to use Handout 3, which provides more specific guiding questions to help students think through their decision. Teachers might use this handout if they noticed their students were not focusing enough on underlying problems, goals, or unintended consequences.

For Handout 4, follow the same procedure used for Handout 1. This handout consists of three problems: taxes, economy, and social matters. The teacher can decide whether to discuss and vote on all three problems at once or one at a time. When Handout 4 has been discussed and voted on, distribute Handout 5, with the outcomes of both Handout 2 (continuing the war) and Handout 4 (taxes, economy, and social issues). Have students read Handout 5 and answer the "Questions for Analysis" at the end of the sheet.

1. Did Peter the Great make good decisions regarding the war with Sweden and internal Russian affairs (taxes, economy, social matters)? Explain what he did well or where he went wrong.

   Answers will vary, but some students may notice the oppressive taxes and forced labor resulting from the war.

2. Does Peter the Great deserve that title?

   There should be some disagreement on this question, depending on whether students emphasize Peter's accomplishments or his oppressive, authoritarian leadership.

3. What did you do well or poorly in these decision-making problems?

   Answers will vary.

4. What was the most important decision-making skill in this problem (for example, identifying assumptions or setting realistic goals)?

   Answers will vary.

Option for Primary Sources: When students finish discussing the outcomes in Handout 5, distribute Handout 6, about the controversy on beards and Western-style dress. Have students read the document and answer the "Questions for Analysis."

1. Why were beards and dress so important to Peter the Great and the Russian people?

   The importance of beards and dress were symbolic for both sides. Peter wanted Russia to modernize. On the one hand, many Russians considered beards and dress representing traditional ways of life important, including their traditional Russian Orthodox religion. On the other hand, it is interesting to see how readily other Russians made the changes, on the other hand.

2. Did Peter make a mistake in enforcing Western ideas of dress and no beards on Russians?

   Answers will vary. This was one of the most controversial changes that Peter made. Although some Russians resisted, many others made the changes.

3. How reliable is this history as a source?

   It is a secondary source, since the author (although a contemporary) was never in Russia. In order to answer this part of the reliability, students would have to ask if the author saw Peter give the order or saw people react to the order. Being French, the author had a perspective that may have led him to exaggerate the backwardness of Russians (reason to lie). The French thought of themselves as more advanced than the Russians. They liked the idea of Peter the Great westernizing Russia and may have felt that Russians who were resisting the changes were standing in the way of progress. The title of the source says it is a "history," which implies that the author is trained in writing history. The writing itself seems objective. It is difficult to discern the author's point of view.

Reflecting on Decision Making

Ask students how well they did on decision making on this problem. Which decision-making skills were especially important in making these decisions about Peter the Great? Which of the letters of **P-A-G-E** applied especially to this problem? (See the "Decision-Making Analysis" section below for ideas.) Ask students what they did well or poorly in terms of the **P-A-G-E** analysis of decision making. Discuss their answers.

Putting the Actual Decisions into Historical Context

Ask students whether the decisions made by Peter the Great were the result more of historical forces or of his personal choices. Some will argue that decisions made by Peter the Great were due to his personal choices. He was focused on getting a warm-water port, which led to his decision to take land in the Baltic Sea-Gulf of Finland. The choice for war led to increased taxes. His desire to westernize Russia led to his social decisions—for example, in restricting beards and dress. Other students will argue that Peter the Great's decisions were shaped by the historical context. Geography influenced the desire for a warm-water port, leading to the war and higher taxes. His decision not to end serfdom was clearly shaped by his realization that he needed the support of the nobles.

Connecting to Today

Ask students what advice they would give a political leader today in terms of war, the economy, or social issues, based on the decisions made by Peter the Great. For example, are there issues that political leaders should avoid? Are there guidelines that political leaders should consider as they make decisions, based on the successes or failures of Peter the Great?

Troubleshooting

Most students will be unfamiliar with the geography around the Baltic Sea-Gulf of Finland. Using the maps will help overcome that difficulty. You might also want to review basic concepts, such as subsidies, serfs, tariffs, and the Russian Orthodox Church.

LESSON PLAN B: QUICK MOTIVATOR LESSON *(20–30 minutes)*

Chose only one set of problems, focusing either on foreign policy (Handouts 1, 2, and 5) or domestic policy (Handouts 4 and 5). For the foreign policy focus, give Handout 1 for homework and have students make their decisions. In class, ask for a show of hands for taking the land on the Baltic Sea-Gulf of Finland. Discuss reasons for five minutes. Distribute Handout 2 with the outcomes and the new problem about whether or how to continue the war. Have students decide, vote, discuss, and revote. Distribute Handout 5 with the outcomes (copy just the foreign policy part or tell students to read only that part) and have students write their reactions for homework.

For the domestic policy focus, give Handout 4 for homework and have students make their decisions. In class, ask for a show of hands for the decisions on taxes, the economy, and social issues. Discuss reasons for five minutes. Distribute Handout 5 with the outcomes (just copy the domestic policy part or tell students to just read that part), and have students write their reactions for homework.

TEACHER NOTES TO EXPAND DISCUSSION

(For outcomes for students, see Handout 5.)

During the reign of Peter the Great, Russia fought Turks, Persians, and other groups in addition to fighting Sweden, the focus of this lesson.

Historian Peter Lyashchenko (1972) writes about the burdens on Russians during Peter the Great's reign: "In addition to money duties, the populace was extremely overburdened by heavy obligations in kind—by the requisitioning of horses and carts for the military supply, by chopping wood for shipbuilding, by work on the construction of fortresses and towns, by work in factories and so forth. For the fortification and construction of Petersburg alone, tens of thousands of peasants were driven together from all parts of Russia to perish in that swampy region from exhausting labor."

Before using serfs, Peter brought criminals, prostitutes, and beggars to work in factories. People who were behind in paying their debts were sent to work in mines. Young people were forced to work in factories for seven years as apprentices. Historian Alexander Gerschenkron (1972) states: "Year in, year out, decrees were issued ordering mobilization of 40,000 workers to be sent under guard to St. Petersburg from all over the country, including Siberia; while the home villages and home towns of the labors were held to pay for their sustenance."

Many of the projects that Peter began, such as the canals and harbors (except St. Petersburg) were abandoned after Peter died. These projects were a frightful waste of materials and human labor. Tens of thousands of forced laborers died. The opportunity cost of these wasted materials and labor was very high. Some historians estimate that hundreds of thousands of workers died building each of the ports. Critics think this claim is an exaggeration but agree that tens of thousands died building each port. (See Gerschenkron 1972.)

Historian Aleksandr Kamenskii (2001) shows the mixed results of Peter the Great's reforms:

> In the course of the Petrine reforms Russia managed to do away with its technological backwardness. But the judicial and social basis of the new industry with its usage of servile labour and lack of conditions for the appearance of a free labour market meant that the reform did not favour future industrial development. On the contrary, the small elements of a free market economy which could be found in seventeenth-century Russia were destroyed in the course of tax and regional reforms.

Historian Anthony Lentin (1973) states:

> Russia under Peter I broke out of the paralyzing straight-jacket of the seventeenth century: from the Orthodox legacy of ignorance, unworldliness, isolationism and defeat; but these reforms bound her in the new and far tighter shackles of the modern leviathan-state; with its foreign commitments, its all-compassing demands and inescapable exactions; its inroads on private life, its harsh officialdom, its rigid divisions, its ubiquitous *fiskals* and secret police. Peter sloughed off the spiritual culture of Muscovy; but he took to St. Petersburg the traditional absolutism of Ivan the Terrible, the old "amalgam of despotism and servility"; clad it in the terminology of Grotius and Hobbes, and enforced it at bayonet-point with tens of thousands of Western-style muskets.

One of the tax ideas was to require that all petitions to the government be printed on paper with an eagle on it, which was taxed. Among other items taxed were melons, chess sets, watering horses, salt, coffins, private bathhouses, beards, and non-Western dress. Gerschenkron (1972) estimates the overall tax burden at "64 percent of the grains harvested from the peasant household's allotment of arable land."

Some historians argue that Peter the Great's policies are a form of mercantilism in the sense that the government was managing the economy. The state was using its power to control the economy to force it to develop. But if it was mercantilism, it was mercantilism without the doctrine. Peter did not read, and therefore was not testing any theories about state control of the economy.

According to Paul Dukes (1982), prior to Peter's reign about 50 percent of serfs were under the control of nobles, 25 percent of serfs worked for the Church, and 20 percent of serfs worked for the government. According to Anthony Lentin (1973), under Peter about half the serfs still belonged to nobles. The other half were under the control of the government, working on state land or government projects.

Historian M. M. Bogoslovsky (1990) writes: "The Petrine province did not concern itself with local welfare; all revenues went to the state treasury, not to meet local needs. The main duty of the governor was to collect from the *guberniia* entrusted to him all revenues due the treasury and to guard them, so that all state obligations were fulfilled." The government of the czar, not the local governments, was important.

Historian Richard Pipes (1990) argues that the Russian army, at 320,000, was about three times as large as what the population and economy could support in the eighteenth century. Many of the other problems grew out of this excessive army.

Many people see Peter the Great in positive terms. An art critic states, "Through Peter the Great the country [Russia] moved from the Medieval world to the Age of Enlightenment in a single, painful move." Paul Bushkovitch (2001) also argues:

> Peter the Great transformed his country, reorganizing and strengthening the state and army, conquering new territories and building a navy, a seaport, and a new capital in St. Petersburg.

> Perhaps most important, he Europeanized Russian culture, laying the foundations for the introduction into Russia of Western literature, science, and social and political thought. Later Russian history is not comprehensible without Peter, for it was his importation of European culture that made possible reform, liberalism, Western-style nationalism, and communism.

The historiography on Peter the Great is summarized well by Bushkovitch (2001, pp. 4–8) and Hughes (2002, pp. 219–25).

A major issue for the Russian government under Peter the Great, not dealt with in this lesson, was corruption. Peter tried to fight corruption, but by making the government larger, he also increased corruption.

There is some disagreement among historians about whether the poll tax increased or decreased the tax burden on most Russians. (See Hughes 1998.) The position in the lesson is that it increased taxes overall.

Peter was determined that the Church would serve the state. According to historian Anthony Lentin (1973), "Not even the secrets of the confessional remained inviolate, but where state security might be concerned, were to be passed on to the Secret Chancery [a government agency]." Peter regarded monks as parasites. He said, "Monasteries must use the revenue from their lands for deeds pleasing to God and for the good of the states, not for parasites. A monk needs to be fed and clothed and a prelate needs enough to maintain himself decently as befits his rank. But our monks have grown fat. The gates to heaven are faith, fasting and prayer. I'll clean them a path to paradise with bread and water, not with sturgeon and wine." Some in the Church regarded Peter as the anti-Christ.

Estimates of the number of industrial firms before and after Peter's reign vary among historians. The numbers used in Handout 5—twenty before and two hundred after—Peter are approximations to take account of the variance.

Historians are in agreement that Peter the Great was an autocrat. Paul Dukes (1982) states: "Peter was one of the greatest ideologues of absolutism." Peter's attitude toward the Russian people and toward the use of force is shown in this note in 1723: "It's true that there are few willing to participate, for our people are like children who, out of ignorance, will never get down to learning their alphabet unless the master forces them to do so."

According to historian Lindsey Hughes, almost all publishing was religious before Peter the Great. In the previous century, the Muscovite Press published fewer than ten nonreligious books.

Peter also wanted to modernize Russia in terms of marriage. He felt that marriage should be based on choice rather than family arrangement. He thought marriages based on love would have the added benefit of a higher birth rate.

Decision-Making Analysis*

P = Problem

Identify any underlying problem(s).

Consider other points of view.

What are my assumptions? Emotions?

A = Ask for information (about)

Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)

Reliability of sources

Historical analogies

G = Goals

What are my main goals, and are they realistic?

Generate options to achieve these goals. Are they ethical?

E = Effects

Predict unintended consequences.

Play out the options. What could go wrong?

*Bold denotes topics addressed in this lesson.

- **Identify any underlying problem(s):** Underlying problems are directly addressed in Handout 3, which forces students to think about *why* the Russian army lost the Battle of Narva. (The underlying reasons seem to be poor training and poor supplies for the soldiers.) One underlying problem can't be changed. The Swedish soldiers had already fought in other wars, whereas the Russians had not.
- **Consider other points of view:** Before deciding to take land on the Baltic Sea-Gulf of Finland, students need to consider the Swedish point of view. In deciding on taxes they need to consider the point of view of ordinary Russians, and in deciding on social changes, they need to consider the point of view of people living in villages and of religious people.
- **Questions about context:** Several questions should be asked, among which include:

  1. Handout 1: What are Russian chances in a war with Sweden?

     Russia has advantages, as outlined in Handout 1, but it has disadvantages also. The Swedish soldiers are well trained and battle hardened, whereas the Russian soldiers are not. In addition, Russian equipment, including weapons, is inferior to Swedish equipment.

2. Handout 2: Why did Russia lose the Battle of Narva to Sweden?

   There were several reasons for the loss: weak artillery, inexperienced officers, exhausted troops, unreliable supply lines. Russians ran out of supplies at several points. When Swedish reinforcements attacked, many Russian soldiers fled.

- **Question analogies:** In Handout 4, the analogy is made that England and Holland prospered from overseas trade so Russia could also. Looking for possible differences, we see that Russia is a very large country with poor internal transportation and very few warm-water ports, whereas England and Holland are small countries with good internal transportation and several excellent ports. These differences could be overcome but they are significant. It's possible that a part of Russia, near the ports, could be targeted for improved internal transportation so that particular area could benefit from long-distance trade.
- **Identify realistic goals:** It is important for students (as it was for Peter) to ask themselves why they were fighting the war at all. The goal was mostly to secure a warm-water port for Russia. Was that worth continuing the war? The goal was realistic, as Russia did win the war and secure the warm-water port.
- **Predict unintended consequences:** One of the unintended consequences from high taxes was peasants fleeing their villages to avoid the taxes. One consequence of keeping a large army filled with conscripts is that other countries will also keep large, conscripted armies. Russia would not necessarily have any great advantage, but the number of people killed in wars would surely increase. In addition, a larger army would cost Russia more money to provision it, leading to higher taxes, cuts in spending in other areas, or higher debt.
- **Play out the options:** In Handout 4, Problem 2, on the options to build factories in Russia (Options E, F, and G), there is a problem with a lack of skilled Russian workers. Even if you bring in foreign entrepreneurs, you still need to bring in skilled workers for key positions in each factory. Students need to play out the option of building factories in order to see this potential problem. In Handout 4, Problem 1, on taxes, the option to impose a poll tax involves thinking about short-term effects. In order to collect a per capita tax, there will have to be more government agents. This increase in government agents will lead to larger government. Also, in the same problem, granting monopolies to businesses means that free markets would not work, people would be paying more for the products, and the monopoly grants would be difficult to remove, since the businesses with the grants would fight any changes.

SOURCES

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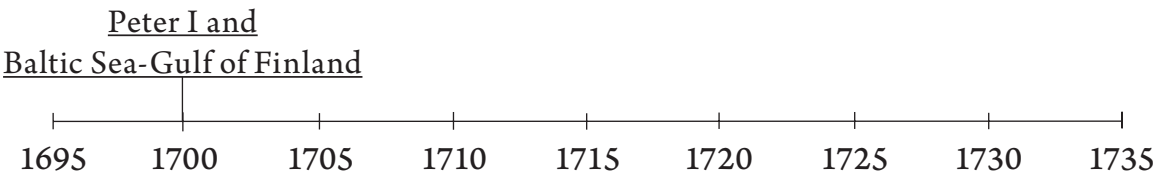
LESSON 3: PETER THE GREAT

VOCABULARY

- absolutism—the philosophy that government should place all power in a single ruler or small body of rulers, reserving no power for the people
- czar—a king or supreme ruler of Russia
- entrepreneurs—business people
- literacy—the ability to read and write
- nobles—people with high rank in society who usually owned land that others maintained
- parasites—people who live off the work of others
- peasant—poor farmer
- Peter I—ruler of Russia from 1682 to 1725, known as Peter the Great
- poll tax—a tax on each individual adult
- Russian Orthodox Church—the dominant religion in Russia
- serfs—people who were forced to work on land owned by others
- subsidies—government help for businesses
- Table of Ranks—a list of positions in the Russian government that could be gained by one's achievements, not just family background
- tariff—a tax on imports
- turnpikes—roads that charge tolls

WILL YOU TAKE LANDS ON THE BALTIC SEA-GULF OF FINLAND?



A portrait of Peter I, who was 6 feet, 8 inches tall

The year is 1700, and you are Peter I, czar of Russia. Currently, Russia has very little trade with other countries. There is one port, at Archangel (see Map A), but it is frozen over in the winter, and when the ice melts, ships still have to go around Finland and Norway lengthening every trip.

If Russia could secure a warm-water port—one that would remain open all year round—Russians would be able to greatly increase their nation's trade. Furthermore, Russia could become a naval power, increasing her prestige on the world stage. The only logical place for a warm-water port

Image source: Peter I the Great. By Paul Delaroche, 1838, Hamburger Kunsthalle.

Map A: Russian Expansion

is on the Baltic Sea-Gulf of Finland. It is frozen part of the year, but much less than Archangel. Currently, Sweden controls this entire area. Sweden is a powerful country, with a strong, well-trained army. But Sweden is weak right now, according to your advisers. It has a young and inexperienced king. In addition, Swedish troops have to be sent across the Baltic Sea; there is no land connection between Sweden and the area it controls near Russia (Map B). With the advantage of geography and more experienced leadership, Russia should be able to take the area on the Baltic Sea-Gulf of Finland. If Sweden chooses to fight, the Russians should be able to win easily.

Map B: Russian Expansion

Will you order the Russian army to invade and take the land around the Baltic Sea-Gulf of Finland, and thereby risk a war with Sweden?

A. Yes. Take the land and risk war. If there is a war, Russia will probably win.

B. No. Don't take the land and risk war with Sweden.

OUTCOMES OF TAKING BALTIC LANDS

Map C: Russian Expansion

Peter decided to take the land around the Baltic Sea-Gulf of Finland (Option A in Handout 1). As expected, the invasion led to a war with Sweden. What was not expected was the defeat of the Russian army at the Battle of Narva (Map C) in 1700. The Swedish army of only 8,000 soldiers won a dramatic victory over the much larger Russian army of 38,000. The Swedish king turned out to be a forceful leader, and Swedish soldiers were much better trained and prepared for battle than were Russian soldiers. You may have chosen not to take the land and risk war in Handout 1. But Peter did, so you now face a choice of whether to continue the war or negotiate a settlement with Sweden in which Sweden keeps its land along the Baltic Sea-Gulf of Finland.

If you choose now to negotiate, you have to be ready to give back the newly acquired land Russia has captured on the Baltic Sea-Gulf of Finland. If you are not willing to give that land up, you are really deciding to continue the war after a short negotiation.

If you choose to continue the war, you have two options. First, you could increase the Russian war effort. That would mean increasing taxes on the population, about 90 percent of whom are peasants (farmers). It would also mean raising a larger army and building a navy to block the Swedish army from sending soldiers across the Baltic Sea-Gulf of Finland. Part of this increased war effort would also include better training for Russian soldiers.

Another possibility to continue the war is to keep the Russian war effort at the same level as it is now. You could keep the same size army, the same level of supplies and weapons, and no navy in the Baltic Sea-Gulf of Finland. You have not won with this army so far, but maybe the Swedish forces were lucky in the Battle of Narva. Maybe the Swedish victory was the exception, not really a sign of overall dominance by Sweden. With better training, the Russian army will be more prepared for battle. So, perhaps you can win without increasing the war effort.

What will you do about the war with Sweden after the Russian defeat at the Battle of Narva? You may choose only one option.

A. Continue the war and increase the war effort (by expanding the army and navy), including better training for Russian soldiers.

B. Continue the war, but keep the army and navy at the same size as now. Improve training for soldiers and sailors.

C. Negotiate an end to the war, even if that means allowing Sweden to keep all the land in the area on the Baltic Sea-Gulf of Finland, some of which Russia has already captured.

WAR OR NEGOTIATION?

Before making your decision about whether to continue the war or negotiate, think about these elements of decision making:

1. **Underlying problems:** What are the underlying problems for Russia's defeat in the Swedish war so far? You cannot say that the Russians lost the battle or that the Russians lost more soldiers. That's the problem. What are the underlying reasons for the Russian loss?

2. **Goals:** What are your goals? You cannot say win the war. You need a more general goal. What are you trying to accomplish in general for Russia? How will winning the war against Sweden or how will negotiating help Russia?

3. **Unintended consequences:** What are the unintended consequences for each of the options in Handout 2?

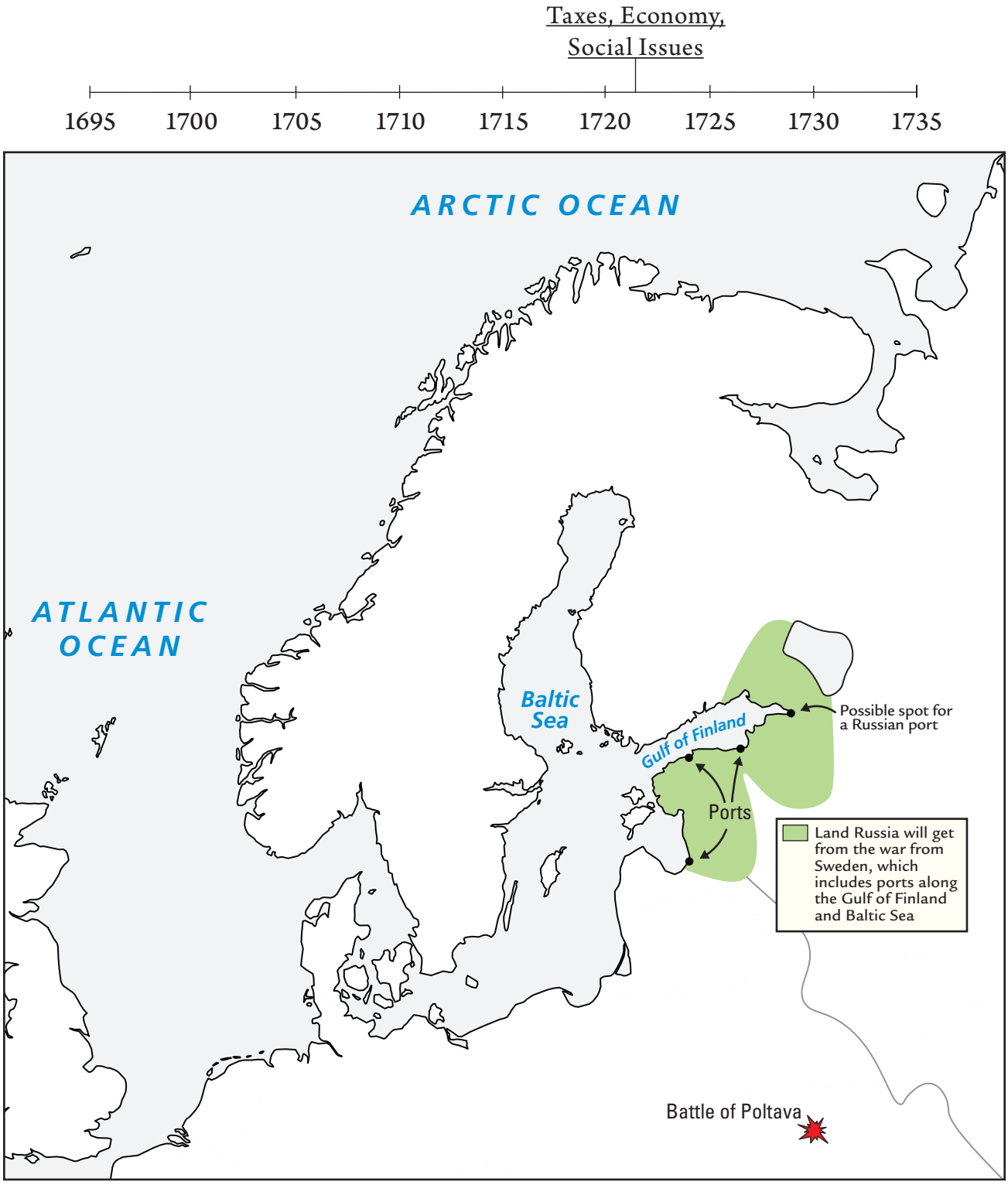
A. Increase the war effort: You can't say "win the war." That is the intended consequence. What are the unintended consequences of increasing the size of the army, building a navy, and increasing taxes? What will happen in villages, in cities, and on farms?

B. Keep the war effort the same: This option focuses on better training for soldiers. (Option A also calls for better training, but it is the main focus of Option B.) What changes will you have to make in order to improve training? What will be the unintended consequences of those actions or changes?

C. Negotiate: What will be the unintended consequences of negotiating after a major and humiliating defeat (Battle of Narva) and giving up the land captured in the area of the Baltic Sea-Gulf of Finland?

After you have answered these questions about underlying problems, goals, and unintended consequences, go back and see if you would like to change your decision about whether to continue the war or negotiate. Write the same choice or your new choice here:

TAXES, THE ECONOMY, AND SOCIAL MATTERS



Map D: Russian Expanion

The year is 1722, and as Czar Peter, you face a number of issues about Russia. After starting out poorly, the war with Sweden has gone well for Russia. In 1709, a Russian army defeated the Swedish army at Poltava (Map D). It was a great victory. The war has dragged on, but it looks like Russia will triumph and Sweden will have to admit defeat. Russia will get the land in the area of the Baltic Sea-Gulf of Finland (Map D). The favorable situation in the war allows you to turn your attention to Russia itself. What will you do about each of these problems?

Problem 1—Taxes

In order to fight the war, the government needs a great deal of money. Even though taxes are already high, the government cannot fight the war without collecting more money for ships for the navy, weapons for the army, and wages and supplies for the soldiers and sailors. One problem is that while taxes are high, they are not enforced well. Some people get away with paying less than they should.

What will you do about taxes? You can choose as many options as you would like.

A. Send out tax collectors to make sure the taxes are collected.

B. Put a new tax on each adult person in Russia. Right now, people are paying lower house taxes by crowding several families into the same house. (If the tax is $10 per house, a family could move out of its house and into a house with another family, and the cost per family is then $5 instead of $10.) People are also avoiding taxes on productive farmland by taking some of their land out of cultivation.

C. Appoint a person in each region of Russia to suggest new ideas for taxes. These people will get a bonus for a suggestion that is used by the government.

D. Increase the number of products that are taxed.

E. Increase the taxes on land owned by the nobles in Russia. After all, they can afford to pay more than poor serfs can.

F. Impose an income tax. The more money you make, the more you pay. This way, poor people will not be crushed by taxes.

G. Don't increase taxes. Borrow the money to fund the army and navy.

Problem 2—The Economy

Russia faces a number of problems in terms of the economy. There are very few roads, and since they are dirt roads, they are basically unusable when it rains or the snow melts, turning them into mud pits. Russia also has very little trade with other countries. Part of the reason is that the only large port is Archangel, far to the north, which is frozen over more than half the year (Map A), and it is a long way from this port to other European ports. The poor roads compound the problem. But

the economy is also weak because Russia manufactures almost nothing. Other than crops, Russia has very little to sell to other countries. Moreover, Russians are backward in their thinking. They don't know much about what other countries do or think or how they live. They don't know what products are available or how to do things differently. When they are confronted with a new way of farming, for example, they often say, "Well, we never did it this way before, so we don't want to change now." There are very few schools in Russia and most Russians are illiterate (cannot read or write).

What will you do about the economy? You may choose as many options as you would like.

A. Have the government use forced labor to build solid roads of gravel, larger stones, or granite, at least between the large cities. These roads would increase trade within Russia and with the outside world.

B. Encourage private companies to build roads by allowing them to charge tolls on the roads called turnpikes. This way, the roads wouldn't cost the government money or aggravation. And the roads would be efficient, since they would be built only where entrepreneurs (business owners) believed the roads would make money. Money would not be wasted by building roads to unprofitable places ("roads to nowhere").

C. Have the government use forced labor to build canals. The canals would be faster and therefore cheaper for shippers to use, increasing trade even more.

D. Have the government use forced labor to build a Russian port on the Baltic Sea-Gulf of Finland (Map D). The Baltic also freezes in winter, but not for as many days as in Archangel. In addition, the trip to other European ports would be much shorter and quicker than from Archangel. A port would open Russia much more to the rest of Europe, especially now that Russia controls the land along the Baltic Sea-Gulf of Finland.

E. Bring in foreigners to start businesses in manufacturing (such as making cloth or producing iron).

F. Have the government use forced labor to run state factories to manufacture goods.

G. Use government subsidies (payments of money) to get Russian nobles and merchants to open factories using forced labor.

H. Take all the land away from nobles to force them to open factories or other businesses.

I. Encourage Russians to travel to other countries, so they can observe how others live.

J. Force Russians to adopt the ways of people in Western countries. Russian men would have to shave their beards, and men and women would have to wear Western-style clothes, such as pants, belts, and shirts for men, rather than the loose-fitting robes of the Russians.

K. Put a tariff on imports to Russia to protect Russian manufacturers from competing with cheaper goods from foreign countries. Encourage exports to other countries through the new ports that Russia has opened. A recent book has said that England and Holland have grown rich through long-distance trade.

L. When the army is not fighting, force civilian Russians to house soldiers in their homes. That way, the government won't have to pay to feed or shelter the soldiers.

M. Open schools to increase literacy and provide training for professions, such as teachers.

Problem 3—Social Matters

Between 90 and 95 percent of Russians are peasants (poor farmers). Almost all of those are serfs, who are paid but are tied to the land—they can't leave without the permission of the landowner. They are paid very little, and they are trapped. At the other end of the social ladder are the nobles, who own most of the land. These nobles get special privileges because of their family name. For example, all the most important jobs in government are filled by nobles. People who are not of noble birth can never become members of the nobility.

Landlord and serf

The other great force in Russian society is the Russian Orthodox Church. This branch of the Catholic church owns the land that the nobles do not own. The church land is worked by serfs, who are tied to the land, just like serfs who work for nobles. The church doesn't pay taxes, which deprives the government of needed money. Also, many monks don't do any productive work. They spend part or all of their days praying and reading. They could be much more useful to society by helping the poor or by growing crops. Finally, the leader of the Russian Orthodox Church is seen by most Russians as equal to the czar.

What will you do about social matters? You may choose as many options as you would like.

A. Stop the practice of serfdom. The system is unfair and should be ended.

B. Keep serfdom, but have some of the serfs work for the government, building roads or ports, fighting in the army, or working for the government in factories.

C. Stop the whole system of inherited privilege, doing away with the nobles.

Image source: Yuri's Day. By Sergey Ivanov, 1908, Virtual Art Museum.

D. Keep the nobles as a dominant part of Russian society, but introduce merit-based promotion into the highest ranks in government rather than basing advancement just on family privilege.

E. Ally the government with the nobles. In exchange for their support of the government, help the nobles by imposing stricter rules on the serfs and enforcing them.

F. Make the nobles serve the government in exchange for keeping their privileges. For example, most nobles would be required to serve as officers in the army or navy.

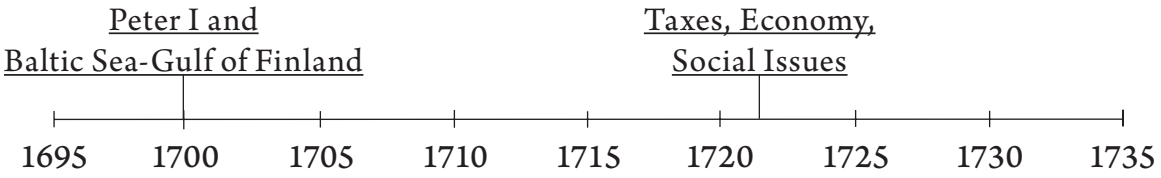
G. Make the church give up some of its land and make it pay taxes on its land.

H. Make all the priests and monks do productive work in order to keep their favored positions in Russian society.

I. Make the church give up all of its farmland. The government could make better use of the land than the church has.

J. Prevent the church from appointing a new leader. That way, the church will not be as strong as the government in Russia.

OUTCOMES OF PETER'S FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICIES *(Handouts 2 and 4)*



Peter decided (in Handout 2) to increase the war effort to win the war with Sweden (Option A). Within a few years, Russia equipped an army of 200,000 men and built and supplied a navy. The Russians also improved training, so the soldiers fought more effectively. The decision paid off in terms of the war. Russia decisively won the Battle of Poltava over the Swedish army in 1709 (Map D), turning the tide of the war in Russia's favor. The Russian victory over a European power brought several benefits. Russia gained territory on the Baltic Sea-Gulf of Finland, including ports that opened Russia to trade and exchanges with the rest of Europe (Map E). In addition, Russia was now regarded as a major power on the world stage.

A painting of Peter at the Battle of Poltava

From this point on, Russia would be more involved in the great issues in Europe and eventually in Asia. But the decision to increase the war effort brought several negative effects as well. First, taxes were raised significantly, which is explained below in the section on taxes. About 80 percent of the government budget was devoted to the war against Sweden, so almost all the higher taxes went for the war, not to improve life in Russia. Second, large numbers of Russian peasants were forced to serve in the military, basically for the rest of their lives. While most countries relied on volunteers for their armies, Russia moved to conscription, forcing people to serve. Each group of twenty households was required to furnish one soldier each year. Third, the government was much more involved and controlling in the lives of almost all Russians. People who disobeyed the government were often tortured and executed. In one revolt, 1,182 rebels were executed. Peter was so worried about keeping power that he even had his own son tortured to death to prevent a possible revolt.

Keeping the army the same size but improving training (Option B) might have worked as well at lower cost, but we will never know what ingredient was most important to a Russian victory. Negotiating (Option C) would have meant fewer deaths and lower taxes, but would mean no victory in war and no warm-water port with access to outside trade for Russia.

Image source: Peter I at the Battle of Poltava. By Johann Gottfried Tannauer, 1724–1725, the State Russian Museum.

Map E: Russian Expansion

In Handout 4, Peter made these decisions about the Russian economy and society.

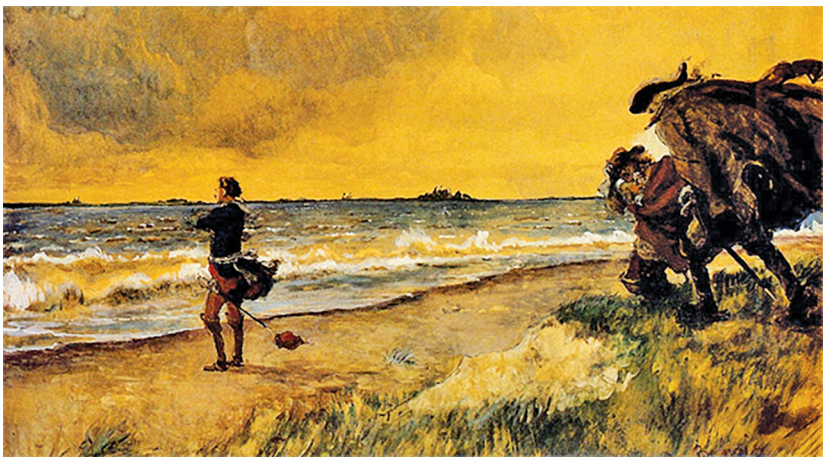
Problem 1—Taxes

Peter chose Options A–D. He started out by sending tax collectors to make sure taxes were paid (Option A), along with placing new taxes on more and more products (Option D). The people he appointed in each region (Option C) to suggest new taxes identified many new methods of taxation. The tax that brought in the most money was the tax on each adult Russian, called a *poll tax* or *soul tax* (Option B). This tax was able to pull out much more money and was much harder to

evade. Nobles who were poor, enslaved people, and some priests had not paid taxes. They all paid now. The new taxes made it possible for Peter to fund his expanded war with Sweden but led to a crushing tax burden for poor peasants, estimated by one historian to be an average of 67 percent of their income. That is, if a peasant made $100 per year, he paid taxes of $67, leaving him with only a third of what he earned. Overall, the amount of taxes collected increased five times during Peter's reign. For example, taxes that had totaled $10 before Peter increased to $50 under Peter.

Peter did raise taxes, so he did not choose Option G (not to increase taxes). He was worried that if he increased taxes on land (Option E) the nobles would revolt and overthrow him. He also thought they would probably revolt if he started an income tax (Option F), which would tax rich people more than poor people. Without an elected government based on the votes of the masses, ordinary people had no power. Taxing rich people more than poor people was not a realistic option for Peter in the 1720s.

Problem 2—The Economy



A painting of Peter dreaming of St. Petersburg

Taking all the land away from the nobles (Option H) would likely have led to a revolt by the nobles, so Peter did not choose that option. He used forced labor to build roads (Option A) and canals (Option C). He did not have private companies build toll roads, called *turnpikes*, which were popular in other countries (Option B). It isn't entirely clear why Peter avoided private roads, but it may be that he wanted to keep government control over roads. He also used forced labor to build the harbor on the Baltic Sea-Gulf of Finland, which he not so modestly named St. Petersburg (Option D), shown on Map E. Tens of thousands of ordinary Russian peasants died building St. Petersburg. Peter did force people to keep soldiers in their homes (Option L) when they were not fighting. It was one of his most hated actions. The soldiers committed crimes, such as rape. They were resented and despised by those housing them.

In terms of manufacturing, Peter brought in foreigners to start companies (Option E). These foreigners had the knowledge and experience to run successful businesses. As in the other areas of the economy, he used forced labor in many state-run factories (Option F), but he also used government subsidies for Russian merchants to start their own factories (Option G). The government paid some entrepreneurs part of the cost to open factories (subsidies). Alternatively, the government gave tax exemptions, offered monopolies, or guaranteed that the government

Image source: Peter the Great Meditating the Idea of Building St. Petersburg at the Shore of the Baltic Sea. By Alexandre Benois, 1916. Public Domain.

would buy all the products the manufacturers produced. In some cases, owners of manufacturing companies were allowed to buy all the people in a village to work in their factories. The people were forced to stay in those factories, like serfs. The number of factories in Russia expanded from about twenty before Peter to about two hundred by the end of Peter's reign. Russia advanced but remained behind in manufacturing compared to England, France, and other Western countries.

Man wearing a traditional Russian men's shirt

In terms of trade, Peter did impose a high tariff to protect Russian businesses from competition. But the tariff didn't have a significant effect, because the Russian people imported very little from other countries—there were few imports to stop. Peter encouraged Russian shipbuilding by requiring exports to be transported in Russian ships.

Peter wanted Russians to learn the ways of Western European countries in order to bring new ideas into Russia. The main way to advance, in Peter's view, was to learn the ways of more modern countries. With that goal in mind, he started elementary schools (Option M), simplified the Russian alphabet, increased the number of Western books published, encouraged Russians to travel to other countries (Option I), and forced people to adopt the ways of people in more modern countries (Option J). As a result of expanded education, literacy (basic reading and writing ability) increased somewhat in Russia. But forcing people to wear Western-style clothes (instead of traditional Russian robes) and men to shave their beards met with a great deal of criticism. Many people in outlying areas—for example, the Cossacks—resented being forced to change and did not alter their traditional ways. Several revolts were caused partly by resentment over Peter's policies on cutting beards and wearing Western-style clothes, especially the high taxes associated with preserving traditional beards and attire.

Problem 3—Social Matters

Peter did not end serfdom (Option A). Rather, he expanded it and used it to help the government through forced labor (Option B). Peter did not end the system of classes, with nobles at the top (Option C), since ending it would have led to a revolt by the nobles. Instead, he allied with the nobles (Option E) to get their support. But he made nobles serve the government in order to keep their privileges (Option F), a major benefit for the army and navy. One of the most important changes that Peter made was to base the top positions in society partly on merit, rather than only on family status (Option D). In the Table of Ranks, people

Russian beard token: Men with beards had to show the token to prove that they had paid the beard tax.

Image sources: Courtesy of Just.
Photograph of a Russian beard token, 2009, courtesy of the U.S. State Department.

could move up in rank based on their service to the state and the merit of their performance. The top ranks in society were still dominated by nobles, but there was more of a sense that even nobles had to perform to achieve and keep high rank, since everyone had to start from the lowest rank and work his way up. Advancement in rank by service to the state became a national obsession, especially by poorer Russians, according to historians. Many Russians emphasized their lifelong duty to serve the country. The result was a stronger, more efficient government.

A portrait of Peter the Great

In terms of the church, Peter wanted monks to do productive work to help the community (Option H). He regarded monks and nuns as parasites who wanted to escape their social duties. He said that ancient monks had grown their own food and supplied food for many poor people. He set a minimum of 80 bushels of wheat for each monk to produce per year. Peter did not want church leaders to give up all their land (Option I), but he did want them to give up a portion of their land and pay taxes on the rest (Option G). He also prevented the church from appointing a new leader (Option J), so it would not become too strong. Personally, Peter followed many of the traditions of the church, and he gave the appearance of being a devout believer. But he didn't like the loyalty that ordinary people had for the church. He wanted to make sure the government was stronger than the church.

Overall, Peter had a number of contradictory effects on Russia. On the positive side, he made Russia into a European power, increased manufacturing, and opened Russia to Western ideas. These changes, especially opening the country to westernization, have earned him the name Peter the Great.

On the negative side, Peter crushed ordinary people with extremely high taxes, used forced labor for most of his projects, forced peasants and nobles to serve in the army or navy, and strengthened and expanded the serf system. According to some historians, expanding the system of serfdom was a major block to Russian industrialization in the nineteenth century, when other countries were developing industries. It was more difficult to form a middle class in a society largely split between serfs and nobles. And, of course, the expansion of serfdom was a major step away from freedom in

Image source: Peter the Great, Tsar of Russia (1672-1725). By Godfrey Kneller,1698, Royal Collection.

Russia. The population was becoming more, not less, enslaved to the state. The common theme that runs through all of Peter's decisions in terms of war, foreign policy, the economy, and society was to strengthen the government. When Peter died, the government was much stronger than when he first took over as czar. The state had almost all the power, whereas the individual had no rights and simply had to obey. Historians refer to this dominance of government as *absolutism*.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Did Peter the Great make good decisions regarding the war with Sweden and internal Russian affairs (taxes, the economy, social matters)? Explain what he did well or where he went wrong.
2. Does Peter the Great deserve that title?
3. What did you do well or poorly in these decision-making problems? Remember, just because you had a positive result doesn't mean you decided well. Maybe you were just lucky.
4. What was the most important decision-making skill in this problem (for example, identifying assumptions or setting realistic goals)? Explain your answer.

PETER THE GREAT REFORMS BEARDS AND DRESS

Primary Source

This excerpt is from Jean Rousset de Missy's biography of Peter the Great, published around 1730. Rousset was French and a younger contemporary of Peter, who had died five years before this biography appeared.

> The czar labored at the reform of fashions, or, more properly speaking, of dress. Until that time the Russians had always worn long beards, which they cherished and preserved with much care, allowing them to hang down on their bosoms, without even cutting the moustache. With these long beards they wore the hair very short, except the ecclesiastics, who, to distinguish themselves, wore it very long. The czar, in order to reform that custom, ordered that gentlemen, merchants, and other subjects, except priests and peasants, should each pay a tax of one hundred rubles a year if they wished to keep their beards; the commoners had to pay one kopek each. Officials were stationed at the gates of the towns to collect that tax, which the Russians regarded as an enormous sin on the part of the czar and as a thing which tended to the abolition of their religion.
>
> These insinuations, which came from the priests, occasioned the publication of many pamphlets in Moscow, where for that reason alone the czar was regarded as a tyrant and a pagan; and there were many old Russians who, after having their beards shaved off, saved them preciously, in order to have them placed in their coffins, fearing that they would not be allowed to enter heaven without their beards. As for the young men, they followed the new custom with the more readiness as it made them appear more agreeable to the fair sex.
>
> From the reform in beards we may pass to that of clothes. Their garments, like those of the Orientals, were very long, reaching to the heel. The czar issued an ordinance abolishing that costume, commanding all the *boyars* [the nobles] and all those who had positions at court to dress after the French fashion, and likewise to adorn their clothes with gold or silver according to their means. As for the rest of the people, the following method was employed. A suit of clothes cut according to the new fashion was hung at the gate of the city, with a decree enjoining upon all except peasants to have their clothes made on this model, upon penalty of being forced to kneel and have all that part of their garments which fell below the knee cut off, or pay two *grives* every time they entered the town with clothes in the old style. Since the guards at the gates executed their duty in curtailing the garments in a sportive spirit, the people were amused and readily abandoned their old dress, especially in Moscow and its environs, and in the towns which the czar often visited.

> The dress of the women was changed, too. English hairdressing was substituted for the caps and bonnets hitherto worn; bodices, stays, and skirts, for the former undergarments. . . . The same ordinance also provided that in the future women, as well as men, should be invited to entertainments, such as weddings, banquets, and the like, where both sexes should mingle in the same hall, as in Holland and England. It was likewise added that these entertainments should conclude with concerts and dances, but that only those should be admitted who were dressed in English costumes. His Majesty set the example in all these changes. . . .

Source: Jean Rousset de Missy, *Life of Peter the Great*, c. 1730. Reprinted in *Readings in European History*, edited by James Harvey Robinson, Vol. 2, *From the Opening of the Protestant Revolt to the Present Day*, 303–12.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Why were beards and dress so important to Peter the Great and the Russian people?
2. Did Peter make a mistake in forcing Western-style dress and no beards on Russians?
3. How reliable is this biography as a source?

LESSON 4: EARLY INDUSTRIALIZATION IN BRITAIN

Teacher's Guide

INTRODUCTION

Overview

The Industrial Revolution had profound effects on societies all over the world. As one historian characterized it, throughout most of history people had just enough to survive, since the population grew relatively as fast as production of goods. After the Industrial Revolution "the race between babies and resources was won, resoundingly, by resources" (Caradonna 2014). Economic growth increased sharply in industrial countries, and a much larger share of the population escaped from abject poverty. Britain was the first country to experience early industrialization—in textiles, mining, and transportation, among other areas. In this lesson, students experience early industrialization from the perspective of government policies as well as from the perspective of ordinary working families and factory owners.

Vocabulary

- Adam Smith—an economist who favored free trade
- balance of trade—the relationship between a coutry's imports and exports
- domestic servant—a person who works in the home of the employer
- dormitory—a building with rooms for many people to sleep
- exports—goods sold to other countries
- flying shuttle—an invention that increased the speed of weaving cloth
- imports—goods purchased from other countries
- invest—to expend money hoping for profit
- laissez-faire—the economic policy of allowing the economy to work without government controls
- Luddites—weavers in Britain who opposed innovation
- mercantilism—government regulations designed to maximize exports in order to enrich the nation
- Parliament—the lawmaking body in Britain

- patent—a grant given to the inventor of a product to sell it without competition for a limited time period
- spinning jenny— an invention that increased the speed of spinning thread
- subsidy—government help for business, usually in the form of money
- tariff—a tax on imports
- textiles—goods made of cloth

Decision-Making Skills Emphasized

- Consider other points of view
- Evaluate the reliability of sources
- Consider realistic goals
- Generate ethical options
- Play out the options
- Predict unintended consequences

LESSON PLAN A: IN-DEPTH LESSON *(two class periods)*

Procedure

There are two sets of handouts for the first problem on the role of government during the industrial period. These handouts cover the same topics but in different ways. Teachers select one of the handout sets, either Handouts 1 and 2 or Handouts 3 and 4. Handouts 1 and 2 are labeled "Short," while Handouts 3 and 4 are labeled "Complex." Handout 1 gives students shorter explanations and only six options, whereas Handout 3 provides more complex explanations and gives students sixteen options.

If you decide on the short version of the problem on government, distribute Handout 1, have students read it, and decide which of the six options they will choose. Remind students that they can pick as many of the options as they would like. After they have written their selections, tell students to pair up and discuss their choices. Circulate around the room to answer questions or to clear up misunderstandings. Bring the class back together and ask them to vote on the options. After the discussion of the pros and cons of various choices, have students revote. Did many students change their votes? If so, why?

When Handout 1 has been discussed and voted on, distribute Handout 2, with the outcomes of Parliament's decisions, and answer the "Questions for Analysis" at the end of the sheet.

1. Did Parliament make good decisions regarding industrialization in Britain? Explain what they did well or where they went wrong.

   Answers will vary.

2. What did you do well or poorly in these decision-making problems?

   Answers will vary.

3. What was the most important decision-making skill in this problem (for example, identifying assumptions or setting realistic goals). Explain your answer.

   *Specific decision making skills (**P-A-G-E**) are explained below in the section "Decision-Making Analysis." Answers will vary, but considering playing out the options is an important skill, as shown in Handout 2.*

If you decide on the complex version of the problem on government, follow the same procedure outlined above but use Handouts 3 and 4 instead of Handouts 1 and 2.

Handout 5 presents the Industrial Revolution from the point of view of an ordinary worker. Follow the procedure outlined for Handout 1: Students decide, they discuss their choices in pairs, they vote, they discuss the choices as a class, and they revote.

When students have decided individually, discussed their choices in pairs, voted, discussed the choices as a class, and voted again, distribute Handout 6 with the outcomes. Have students read Handout 6 and answer the "Questions for Analysis" at the end of the sheet.

1. What did the worker do well or poorly in this decision-making problem regarding family and industrialization? Explain your answer.

   Answers will vary.

2. What did you do well or poorly in this decision-making problem? Explain what you did well or where you went wrong.

   Answers will vary.

3. What was the most important decision-making skill in this problem (for example, identifying assumptions or setting realistic goals)?

   Answers will vary, but predicting unintended consequences is very important.

Handout 7 presents the Industrial Revolution from the point of view of a factory owner. Follow the procedure outlined for Handout 1: Students decide, they discuss their choices in pairs, they vote, they discuss the choices as a class, and they revote.

When students have decided, discussed their choices in pairs, voted, discussed the choices as a class, and voted again, distribute Handout 8 with the outcomes. Have students read Handout 8 and answer the "Questions for Analysis" at the end of the sheet.

1. What did owner do well or poorly in this decision-making problem regarding industrialization? Explain your answer.

   Answers will vary.

2. What did you do well or poorly in this decision-making problem? Explain what you did well or where you went wrong.

   Answers will vary.

3. What was the most important decision-making skill in this problem (for example, identifying assumptions or setting realistic goals)?

   Answers will vary, but seeing the problem from other points of view is very important.

Option for Premortem Strategy: When students have made their decision in Handout 5 about whether, as a farmer, to move to factory work, focus them on unintended consequences by having them engage in a premortem strategy. Tell them that it is ten years later and whatever choice they have made (to stay on the farm, have the children work in a factory, have the whole family work in a factory, or destroy machines) has been a disaster. Students are to write out what the disaster is and what caused it. After students have written their scenarios, have them pair up and share them. Then bring the class together to discuss their scenarios. Follow this discussion by asking students to review their choices. Did many students change their minds as a result of this activity?

Option for Primary Sources: When students finish discussing the outcomes in Handout 6, distribute Handout 9 and have students answer the questions. Move around the room to answer questions about meaning or vocabulary.

1. Based on what these two women testified, how was factory work different from work on farms?

   It was different from farmwork in that they work according to the schedule of the factory, they were paid wages, and they were beaten.

2. Why did parents not protest the beating of children?

   The second woman emphasized the need for money. Any protest could lead to someone being fired, which would be a catastrophe for the family.

3. How reliable are the two statements as sources?

   These are primary sources, as they worked in a factory. This is public testimony, probably arranged in order to show that reform was needed. The women testifying, and the people who requested their testimony, have a reason to exaggerate. Both pieces of testimony paint the same picture of working in this factory (corroboration), including the children being beaten, which makes each piece of testimony more reliable. However, the two women may have talked with each other, which would mean that they did not independently corroborate their testimony.

Reflecting on Decision Making

Ask students how well they did on decision making on this problem. Which decision-making skills were especially important in making these decisions about industrialization? Which of the letters of **P-A-G-E** applied especially to this problem? (See the "Decision-Making Analysis" section below for ideas.) Ask students what they did well or poorly in terms of the **P-A-G-E** analysis of decision making. Discuss their answers.

Putting the Actual Decisions into Historical Context

Ask students whether the decisions made by Parliament were the result more of historical forces or of individual choices by the members of Parliament. Some will argue that decisions made by the MPs were due to individual choices. Each MP was elected and served in particular circumstances and had specific goals. The governments of other countries chose differently, showing that the leaders in Britain chose by free will. Other students will argue that MPs' decisions were shaped by historical context. They were clearly influenced by prevailing British attitudes about the role of government with regard to industrial development. Just the problems themselves are a result of industrialization.

Connecting to Today

Ask students whether the government today should subsidize businesses in key industries, such as high tech. Should the government institute tariffs to protect businesses inside the country? What lessons did students learn about these issues by studying them in this lesson?

Troubleshooting

There is a great deal of vocabulary that could make comprehension difficult for some students. You might want to review vocabulary before or during the reading of handouts.

LESSON PLAN B: QUICK MOTIVATOR LESSON *(20 minutes)*

Give Handout 1 for homework and have students make their decisions. In class, ask for a show of hands for the various options. Discuss reasons for five minutes. Distribute Handout 2 with the outcomes, and have students write their reactions for homework.

TEACHER NOTES TO EXPAND DISCUSSION

(For outcomes for students, see Handouts 2, 4, 6, and 8.)

The first problem, both short and complex (Handouts 1–4), focuses on macroeconomic issues while the other problems (Handouts 5–8) focus on microeconomic issues.

Handouts 2 and 4 state that Britain deregulated the economy to a great extent while other countries did not. There is some dispute among historians about this claim. F. Crouzet (1967)

argues that guilds, with their restrictive regulations, were never that prevalent in France, and regulations were widely evaded. Nevertheless, most historians think Britain was significantly more deregulated after 1770 than France was.

The free trade benefit from a powerful navy is illustrated by the contrast with France in the eighteenth century. During each war, the French overseas trade was disrupted or almost completely eliminated, with devastating effects on the economy.

There are different interpretations of the effects of the heavy military spending by the government as outlined in Handouts 2 and 4. Joel Mokyr (2009) and others argue that the negative effects outweigh the positive effects. Patrick O'Brien (1993) emphasizes the positive effects of safety for free trade, especially within the empire, and avoiding invasion of the British homeland. But even O'Brien notes the downside of excessive military spending:

> That orientation almost precluded domestic expenditures on social overhead capital, research and development, education and training and probably crowded out any serious contemplation of reforms to the legal system within which markets for commodities, factors of production and for money and credit evolved over this period.

This lesson is focused on the role of the government in the period of industrialization in Britain. It is not focused on the question of why Britain was the first country to industrialize, a subject of debate among historians. (See Crouzet 1967, Landes 1986, Crafts 1977, Mathias 1969, Thompson 1963, and Mokyr 2009 for interpretations on this debate.)

Historians disagree on whether the standard of living of workers went up or down overall during the period of industrialization in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. The debate between optimists and pessimists is summarized well in chapter 1 of John Rule's book (1986) and in chapter 18 of Mokyr's book (2009).

The British national debt rose from 35 percent of GDP in the early 1700s to 250 percent of GDP in 1815. But the government managed the debt, mainly because rich people in Britain felt enough confidence in the government to lend it large sums of money. Even though the debt was almost twice as high as in France, the interest payments were much lower, due to the sound financial system, which engendered confidence in lenders. Industrialization occurred in Britain during this time of enormous debt and the British managed to avoid revolution over the debt, unlike in France.

The farmer in this lesson (Handout 5) owns some land. The situation would have been much more desperate for landless laborers. A focus on a landless laborer, however, would have made the decision to move to a factory too one-sided to generate discussion of the option to stay on the farm.

Historian Neil Smelser (1959) outlines the reasons for fathers to choose to have their children work in the factories with them:

> Adult spinners preferred this system both because they could supplement their own family wages by their children's labour and because, as one spinner put it, 'working in a cotton-mill I could instruct them myself in their work.' The system perpetuated the traditional values of

> training children under parental authority for an occupation. Under this system an operative in the early nineteenth century was able to [quoting another historian] "live more generously, and clothe himself and his family better than many of the lower class of tradesmen . . . eat meat every day, wear broad cloth on Sunday, dress their wives and children well, furnish their houses with mahogany and carpets, subscribe to publications, and pass through life with much of humble respectability."

Because of changes in technology after 1820, including larger spinning mules and power looms, fewer men were needed, so the employment of individuals, mostly women and children, gradually replaced the practice of hiring families.

In terms of the effects of early industrialization on the family (Handout 6), Mokyr states:

> With the decline of the domestic economy, more and more activity moved outside the family home: Work, eating, entertainment, and social interactions increasingly took place away from home, while at the same time some houses may have had more strangers in them, such as servants, boarders, and child caretakers.

The hiring decisions by owners changed over time. The year 1795 was picked because by then power machines were quite widespread. In the outcomes (Handout 8), the later changes in hiring and in working and living conditions are discussed.

This lesson for owners (Handouts 7 and 8) focuses on workers and hiring practices. It does not delve into marketing practices, procuring raw materials, or other interesting features of owning a textile factory. The working conditions of miners or railway workers were very different from those of textile workers, so there is no basis for generalizing from the conditions for textile workers.

The question about hiring workers in Handouts 7 and 8 is quite interesting. Paternalistic owners, such as Robert Owen, are well known for their idealistic efforts to set up model factories and model towns. The reference in Handout 8 is to Samuel Gregg, owner of Quarry Bank Mill in Lancashire. Gregg made profits despite paying higher wages and providing housing. According to historian Mary Rose (1986):

> The absence of many alternatives in this [rural] area, combined with job security and a relatively high standard of comfort in Styal, meant that the workforce at Quarry Bank remained fairly stable from the 1830s until the 1870s. With labour turnover averaging 15 per cent per annum between 1835 and 1866 [for many factories turnover was over 80 percent], Gregg had achieved stability unparalleled in towns. Families, some of whom came to Styal in the 1820s, stayed in the village for generations.

As Handout 8 says, not many textile factory owners used company stores and scrip. Nevertheless, the lesson confronts students with this option, which was used frequently in mining towns in England.

Decision-Making Analysis*

P = Problem

Identify any underlying problem(s).

Consider other points of view.

What are my assumptions? Emotions?

A = Ask for information (about)

Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)

Reliability of sources

Historical analogies

G = Goals

What are my main goals, and are they realistic?

Generate options to achieve these goals. Are they ethical?

E = Effects

Predict unintended consequences.

Play out the options. What could go wrong?

*Bold denotes topics addressed in this lesson.

- **Consider other points of view:** In Handouts 1 and 3, British leaders, and students, need to consider the points of view of various groups. For example, how will taxpayers feel about their tax money going to help some businesses but not other businesses? How will consumers feel about paying higher prices for products that have a tariff (a tax added to imports) on them? In Handout 5, the father needs to consider the points of view of various family members in making such big changes. Handout 7 gives students a different perspective on workers from that of Handout 5. Completing both of those handouts could be helpful in recognizing how approaching a problem from a different point of view can change the way that problem is framed and analyzed.

- **Evaluate the reliability of sources:** In Handout 5, the factory owners assured parents that their children would be well supervised and taken care of while working in the factory and living in the city. The factory owners were not reliable sources, since they had an obvious reason to lie. They needed to reassure worried parents that everything would be fine, so they would get the workers they needed to run their factories. As later government reports showed, and as Charles Dickens showed in his novels, everything was not fine. Conditions in some factories and dormitories were deplorable.

- **Establish realistic goals:** The choices in Handout 5 revolve around goals in terms of financial security for the family versus changes in lifestyle. Students need to be clear about what their most important goal is.
- **Generate ethical options:** In Handout 7, students should consider whether running a company store is ethical, as it is taking advantage of workers. What role should morality play in running a factory? How much should owners pay workers? Should the amount be based on market rates for wages or on a living wage? What level of safety should be incorporated for machinery when it will increase costs and might thereby jeopardize the profitability of the factory? Should workers be beaten for slow work? Should they be fined for being late or for drinking alcohol outside work?
- **Predict unintended consequences:** The consequences, both intended and unintended, of the decisions are outlined in Handouts 2, 4, 6, and 8. As noted in Handout 6, one unintended consequence of moving to factory work was higher risk of disease in cities. Another unintended consequence of moving to factory work (Handout 6) was changing roles of fathers, mothers, and children. The nature of work also changed in many ways. For example, factory workers had to work during set hours, rather than periods determined by the weather or the season.
- **Play out the options:** In Handout 3 the members of Parliament (and students) should have considered several points in playing out the options: How would supporters of subsidies for canals or railroads overcome opposition in Parliament from areas that would not benefit from transportation improvements? They would not want their taxes to go up to help other areas. How would the government decide who gets the subsidies? How could the government set up a fair system to award the subsidies and avoid corruption? In Handout 5, if workers decided to stay in farming, spinning, and weaving rather than moving to factories, how would they have dealt with the loss of income from declining farm prices? If workers chose to move to factories, how would they have dealt with the cost and details of moving a whole family?

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LESSON 4: EARLY INDUSTRIALIZATION IN BRITAIN

VOCABULARY

- Adam Smith—an economist who favored free trade
- balance of trade—the relationship between a coutry's imports and exports
- domestic servant—a person who works in the home of the employer
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- tariff—a tax on imports
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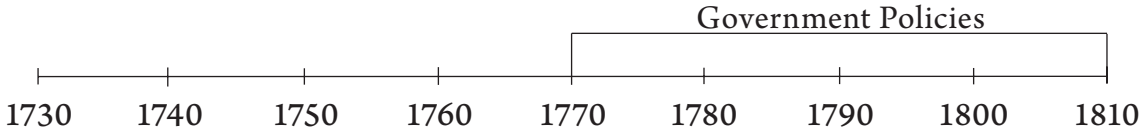
GOVERNMENT PERSPECTIVE

Short



The year is 1770, and you are a member of Parliament in Britain. The country has been changing in the last century. The population has increased dramatically, and people are buying more goods. There is a lot of trading within Britain and with the outside world. Britain has a large number of ships, which helps in trade. The question that many people have is: What role will the government play in all these changes?

What policies will you choose for the British government facing all these changes in Britain's economy and increasing industry? You may pick as many options as you would like.

A. Have the government give subsidies in the form of money payments or low-interest loans to important industries, such as mining, iron making, and textiles (cloth making). These subsidies will mean that businesses will expand and create many jobs in these key industries.

B. Increase the tariff in Britain to reduce unfair competition from other countries. According to supporters, the higher tariff will decrease imports, leading to expansion of British companies to make those goods, which will mean more jobs for British workers. In addition, with exports higher than imports, money will flow into Britain (do you see why?), making the country richer.

C. Spend government money heavily on the military to defend the empire. Many British businesses depend on foreign trade and investments, and a strong military, especially a strong navy, is necessary to protect that trade and those investments.

D. Decrease taxes on all groups of people in Britain. Since the government will be taking less money from people, the people will be free to use their money in creative ways, including investing in new, productive areas.

E. Have the government regulate the quality of key products (iron, steel, cloth) to make sure those products are of good value.

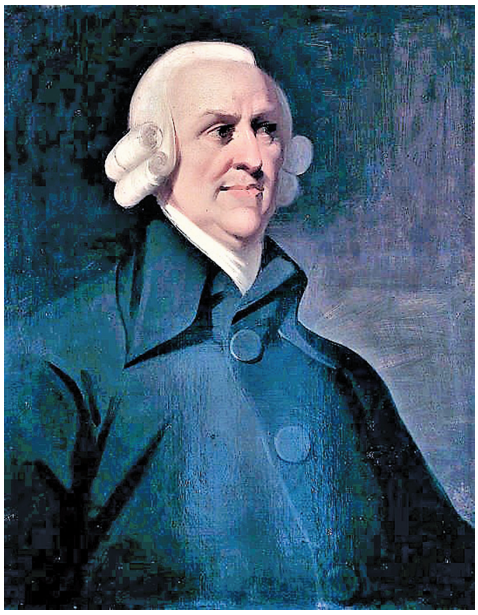
F. Attack and take over other countries. We can take their resources and thereby increase our wealth.

OUTCOMES OF GOVERNMENT POLICIES

Short

The British government did not give subsidies or loans to industries (Option A). According to many economic historians, Britain did well to avoid the trap of subsidizing industries, other than providing some minor help for transportation, such as canals and roads. Subsidizing business is less efficient than allowing companies to compete in the marketplace.

At the start of this period, the British government had tariffs and other policies designed to increase exports and decrease imports. This effort to create a favorable *balance* of trade and to regulate the economy was called *mercantilism*—government regulations designed to maximize exports in order to enrich the nation. In 1776, the economist Adam Smith wrote in *The Wealth of Nations* that countries should not interfere with trade. He said that free trade between nations brought more wealth than did a favorable balance of trade under mercantilism. Gradually, the British government became a champion of free trade (Option B). Smith also wrote that government should not subsidize businesses or interfere significantly in the market except to break up monopolies or enforce contracts. This view was called laissez-faire economics.



A portrait of Adam Smith

The British government decided to spend on a strong military (Option C). In fact, most government money (perhaps as much as 85 percent) in Britain was spent on the military at this time. That spending preserved free trade and investment outside the country. British shippers were safe to trade without fear of being attacked. On the other hand, the higher taxes and debt from all this spending on the military probably limited industrialization in some areas. It is difficult to come to any firm conclusions about whether it helped or hurt the British economy overall. Although the British government fought numerous wars at this time, it didn't choose to start wars to take over European countries (Option F). It did get into fights over colonies, but it didn't start wars and attack European countries directly. Britain was the strongest country in Europe after 1815 and yet it didn't attack other countries. That period of peace during much of the 1800s probably helped Europe to move ahead with industrialization.

Taxes were definitely not reduced at this time (Option D), as high taxes were needed to fund the military. Taxes were higher than they were in almost every other country. In addition, taxes were not fair, the heaviest taxes falling on the poorer members of British society. However, in other

Image source: The Muir portrait, c. 1800. From the Scottish National Gallery, courtesy of J. H. Romanes.

European countries, rich people generally paid nothing. This somewhat fairer tax system—where the rich at least paid some of the taxes—helped Britain avoid revolution, which happened in France and other countries in Europe. These revolutions in other countries delayed industrialization by disrupting trade, destroying property, and killing human resources, including inventors. Britain avoided all that destruction.

The government moved away from regulating the quality of products (Option E); such regulations had been in place before and remained in place in other countries. Some of these regulations had been established by workers' guilds (like unions) in order to prevent innovations (like the power loom) that would threaten their jobs. Many factors led to industrialization in Britain, and historians argue that the British government played a minor role in the process. Nevertheless, reducing regulations and tariffs and avoiding large-scale subsidies probably helped Britain industrialize faster and increased economic growth compared to what might have happened with regulations, tariffs, and subsidies in place.

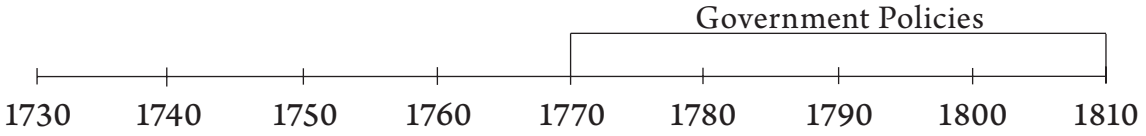
Between 1770 and 1850, Britain moved toward more competition and more unrestricted economic choices. The British had an openness toward new ideas and innovations that some other societies lacked. These approaches contributed positively to the nation's economic growth.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Did Parliament make good decisions regarding industrialization in Britain? Explain what they did well or where they went wrong.
2. What did you do well or poorly in these decision-making problems? Remember, just because you got a good outcome doesn't mean you decided well. Maybe you were just lucky.
3. What was the most important decision-making skill in this problem (for example, identifying assumptions or setting realistic goals)? Explain your answer.

GOVERNMENT PERSPECTIVE

Complex



The year is 1770, and you are a member of Parliament in Britain. The country has been changing in the last century. The population has increased dramatically, and people are buying more goods. There is a lot of trading within Britain and with the outside world. Most farmers are adding to their income by doing textile work at home. They work primarily on their farms, but when there is slack time, they spin and weave cloth to make extra money. Many people are moving to towns and cities to get jobs working on machines to make products or to buy and sell goods. Some wealthy farmers are investing money in cloth factories, in heavy industry such as mining or iron works, or in transportation.

The question that many people have is: What role will the government play in all these changes? The British government has had a policy of increasing exports and decreasing imports. According to supporters of this policy, mercantilism, a surplus of goods sold outside Britain leads to a favorable balance of trade—money flows into Britain, making the country richer. Britain has a large number of ships, which helps it trade. Meanwhile, the cost of shipping within Britain is very expensive, often higher than shipping all the way across the ocean to America.

What policies will you choose for the British government facing all these changes in industry in Britain? You can pick as many of the options as you would like.

A. Keep the government out of the economy. The production of goods is changing quickly on its own with the free market of investors and traders, according to the laws of supply, demand, and profits. The government should not get involved in giving taxpayer money to some businesses—in effect picking winners and losers. The government could never keep up with the rapid changes in the economy, which means it will waste taxpayer money.

B. Set up a solid banking system, with a central bank to back up the other banks, to provide a stable system for loans to expanding businesses.

C. Have the government give subsidies in the form of money payments or low-interest loans to important industries, such as mining, iron making, and textiles (cloth making). These subsidies will mean the businesses will expand and create many jobs.

D. Have the government give subsidies to build canals and railroads all over Britain. The decreased cost of transporting goods will make goods less expensive and will increase the amount of trading that is done within Britain.

E. Increase the tariff in Britain to reduce unfair competition from other countries. The higher tariff will decrease imports, leading to expansion of British companies to make those goods, which will mean more jobs for British workers. In addition, with exports higher than imports, money will flow into Britain (do you see why?), making the country richer.

F. Have the government take over and run key industries, such as mining and railroads. No private businesses have the money to run these industries. Only the government has sufficient money. The government would be creating jobs in these industries and would be paying decent wages, not the starvation wages paid by businesses now.

G. Spend government money heavily on the military to defend the empire. Many British businesses depend on foreign trade and investments. A strong military, especially a strong navy, is necessary to protect that trade and those investments.

H. Have the government protect businesses and property within Britain against violence and crime. When business owners know the government will enforce contracts, they will feel free to make more contracts. When factories and other property are protected against riots and destruction and when crime rates are low, business can expand in safety.

I. Modernize the patent laws to encourage people to invent new time-saving machines and inventions. If patents grant a monopoly for a limited period to people who create these inventions, it will encourage more inventions, which will help the economy grow.

J. Decrease taxes on all groups of people in Britain. Since the government will be taking less money from people, the people will be free to use their money in creative ways, including to invest in new productive areas.

K. Reduce corruption in government. At this point, there are many positions in government held by people who don't do very much and in some cases don't work at all. These "no show" government jobs get passed on to the relatives of officials. Other officials do favors for people in exchange for bribes. Reducing corruption will allow businesses to run more efficiently; not having to pay bribes will also save taxpayers money, since they will not have to pay the unproductive, corrupt officials.

L. Have the government regulate the quality of key products (iron, steel, cloth) to make sure those products are of good value.

M. Reduce or eliminate many regulations and special privileges. For example, eliminate the laws that require British goods to be shipped in British ships and that people must be buried in woolen cloth made in Britain.

N. Have the government take an active role in expanding and improving education. With better-educated workers and new ideas from educated citizens, the economy will expand more rapidly.

O. Attack and take over other countries in Europe. We can take their resources and thereby increase our wealth.

P. Take action to break up monopolies, which charge consumers higher prices and suppress new machines that might undermine their hold on the products they control. By breaking up monopolies, the government would be providing opportunities for everyone to compete fairly in the marketplace.

OUTCOMES OF GOVERNMENT POLICIES

Complex

The British government largely kept out of the economy (Option A), unlike most other governments in Europe. The British government let people invest and make decisions in the marketplace. But there were exceptions. The government had already established a stable banking system before 1770, led by the Bank of England (Option B). Most people did not borrow from banks (they used their own money or borrowed from relatives), so banking did not have a big effect on industrialization. But a solid banking system did help the government manage the debt, because it ensured lower interest rates.

The government gave help in the form of loans for the building of canals and railroads (Option D), although most canals and railroads were built primarily with private money. The government aid was very limited, because almost all government spending was on the military, as described below. Economic historians think the government could have done much better by spending more money on improving infrastructure (roads, bridges, canals, and other facilities) because that would have lowered shipping costs within Britain. The government did not give subsidies or loans to other industries (Option C). According to many economic historians, Britain did well to avoid the trap of subsidizing industries (other than infrastructure), called "industrial policy," since it is less efficient than allowing companies to compete in the marketplace. Nor did the government at this time take over and run any industries (Option F), as in a socialist system of economics.

Adam Smith, author of *The Wealth of Nations*

At the start of this period, the British government had tariffs and other policies designed to increase exports and decrease imports (Option E). This effort to create a favorable balance of trade and to regulate the economy was called *mercantilism*. In 1776, the economist Adam Smith wrote in *The Wealth of Nations* that countries should not interfere with trade. He said that free trade between nations brought more wealth than did a favorable balance of trade under mercantilism.

Image source: The Author of the Wealth of Nations. By John Kay, 1790, Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-101759.

Gradually, the British government became a champion of free trade. Smith also wrote that government should not subsidize businesses or interfere significantly in the market except to break up monopolies or enforce contracts. This policy is called *laissez-faire economics*.

The British government decided to spend on a strong military (Option G). In fact, most government money (perhaps as much as 85 percent) was spent on the military at this time. That spending preserved free trade and investment outside the country. British shippers were safe to trade without fear of being attacked. On the other hand, the higher taxes and debt from all this spending on the military probably limited industrialization in some areas, since resources were going to the military that could have benefited the economy. It is difficult to come to any firm conclusions about whether it helped or hurt the British economy overall. Although the British fought numerous wars at this time, it didn't choose to start wars to take over European countries (Option O). It did get into fights over colonies, but it didn't start wars and attack European countries directly. Britain was the strongest country in Europe after 1815 and yet it didn't attack other countries. That period of peace during much of the 1800s probably helped Europe to move ahead with industrialization. Many thinkers in Britain at the time believed that trade benefited all sides, as opposed to the previous mercantilist thinking that trade was economic warfare in which one side could win only by another side losing. These new thinkers believed Britain would benefit more from trade than from fighting. One British writer stated, "Trade will always follow cheapness, not conquest."

Taxes were definitely not reduced at this time (Option J), as high taxes were needed to fund the military. Taxes were higher than they were in almost every other country. In addition, taxes were not fair, the heaviest taxes falling on the poorer members of British society. However, while taxes were low for rich people in Britain, the taxes were fairer on rich people than they were in other European countries, where most rich people paid no taxes at all. This somewhat fairer tax system—where the rich at least paid some of the taxes—helped Britain avoid revolution, which happened in France and other countries in Europe. These revolutions in other countries delayed industrialization by disrupting trade, destroying property, and killing human resources (including inventors). Britain avoided all that destruction.

Meanwhile, the British government did try to protect property and contracts (Option H). The government didn't do a great job in these efforts. However, it clearly sided with owners when it came to riots, bringing in police and soldiers to suppress destruction of property or violence against people. Government leaders sincerely believed that the new machinery was good for the economy as a whole, rather than siding with workers who lost their jobs due to those machines. The government also tried to update the patent laws (Option I) at the end of this period (in 1852) by reducing fees for patent applications. Some inventors were certainly encouraged by the prospect of earning big profits from patents, but overall these changes did not have a major effect on new inventions, according to many economic historians.

The government moved away from regulations of the quality of products (Option L), which had been in place before industrialization and which remained in place in other countries. Some of these regulations had been established by workers' guilds (like unions) in order to prevent innovations (like the power loom) that would threaten their jobs. Historians agree that reducing regulations (Option M) helped Britain industrialize faster and increase economic growth, compared to European countries that did not reduce regulations.

The government did not increase spending for education (Option N). Some historians believe this lack of spending slowed down industrialization. For example, when Germany and France spent more on education, industrialization advanced more quickly. Eventually, Britain spent more on education as well, as industrialization advanced. But other historians feel that education was not as important in early industrialization (1770s) as it was in later years (1870s), when knowledge of chemistry, physics, and other disciplines was more important to innovations.

Two actions taken by people in Britain did seem to have a significant positive effect on industrialization. First, British people turned against corruption (Option K). It wasn't eliminated, but it was not as readily accepted that people would get "no show" jobs or that officials would take bribes. The amount of corruption in British government was high compared to that found in developed countries today, but it was much lower than it had been and much lower compared to other European countries at that time. Without the unproductive work of corrupt officials and without the drag of paying bribes to officials to get things done, the economy grew faster. Second, the British turned against monopolies (Option P). Many educated people were influenced by Enlightenment thinkers who said that monopolies hurt society. As a result, monopolies were not as acceptable with the general public as they had been. The government ended several monopolies by removing their special privileges. Most notably, the government ended the East India Company's monopoly on trade in India.

In the period between 1770 and 1850, Britain moved toward more competition and fewer restrictions on economic choices. The British had an openness toward new ideas and innovations that some other societies lacked. By 1850 it was not a laissez-faire economy, but it was as close to one as any that existed at the time (Option A). Some people began to feel that Britain had gone too far in allowing the market to control so many aspects of life. High disease rates in cities led to government programs to improve sanitation through the building of sewers, removal of garbage, street cleaning, and provisions for clean drinking water. Impure food (containing chemicals such as strychnine, lead, copper, arsenic, and mercury) led to government inspections and consumer protections. The debate over how far the government should go in regulating the economy continued. The key for Britain, according to some historians, was the flexibility of its society and government. In large part this flexibility was due to its parliamentary system, which allowed the voters to make changes when needed.

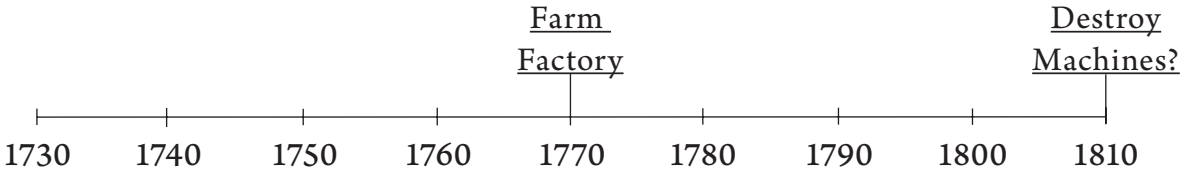
QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Did Parliament make good decisions regarding industrialization in Britain? Explain what it did well or where it went wrong.

2. What did you do well or poorly in these decision-making problems? Remember, just because you got a good outcome doesn't mean you decided well. Maybe you were just lucky.

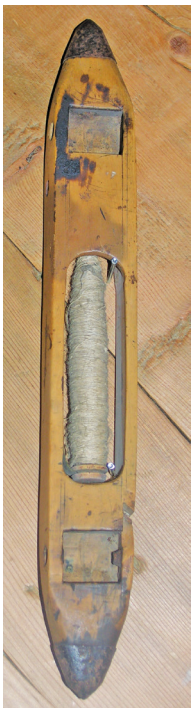
3. What was the most important decision-making skill in this problem (for example, identifying assumptions or setting realistic goals)? Explain your answer.

A WORKER'S PERSPECTIVE



The year is 1770, and you are a farmer in Lancashire County, England. The situation for farmers and workers in general is changing rapidly in your area. Farming doesn't bring in enough money to support your wife and three children because the prices of the farm goods that you sell are falling. But you are more than just a farmer. When your family isn't doing farmwork they earn money by spinning and weaving cloth. A person delivers cotton to your house which you spin into thread and then weave into cloth. When the person comes back, he pays you for the cloth you made. This is called the *putting-out system*. Even though prices are low for cloth, the flying shuttles and new spinning jennies are helping everyone produce a lot more cloth much faster. Your family can spin and weave the same amount of cloth in a day that it used to take more than a week to do, so you are earning good money—despite the low prices per yard of cloth—to supplement your farm income.

A spinning jenny can spin more than one spindle at a time.



A flying shuttle

Now you face a decision. Factories are being built in towns and cities in your area. Factories are buildings that house water-powered machines for producing cloth. The water power makes it possible for larger machines, called water frames and spinning mules, to run at faster speed. Workers in factories produce much more cloth, so they get paid higher wages, high enough to allow them to stop farming and do only factory work. But moving to a factory town would mean giving up farming and your whole way of life. One option for factory work is to send just your girls to the factory. You and your wife and son would continue to stay on the farm while your daughters go to the factory town to work. They would live in a workers' dormitory. The girls would be sending their money home to increase the family income. Another option is to move the whole family to the factory town. There everyone would work in the factory, under your supervision. Owners like to have families work as a unit under the control of the father. Your family income

would be even higher. All members of your family would be together, but everyone would have left the farm life.

What will you decide? Will you stay on the farm or move to town to do factory work? You may choose one option from A through D, and you may also choose (or not choose) Option E.

A. Stay on the farm and continue to split your work between farming and textile work (spinning and weaving). You will have less money than if you took one of the other options, but you will keep your family life the way it is now.

B. Ask your girls to go work in a nearby factory with its water-powered machines. They like the idea of going to a town, and the factory owner says the girls will be well supervised and chaperoned. The girls will be making more money than they could earn by spinning and weaving at home.

C. Take a job (just you) at a nearby factory, and move your family to the factory town. Your pay would be higher than for your wife or children, so they might be better off getting different jobs. Your wife could get a job as a seamstress (sewing cloth pieces together), while your daughters could work as domestic servants (maids) in people's homes. Your son could get a job as an apprentice, learning the skills of a trade.

D. Move your family to a nearby factory town to work together in a factory. This will bring in the most money for your family, and everyone in your family will be together. However, you will be leaving your farm life behind.

E. Join a group that is destroying the machines. The factories are starting to use power looms for weaving cloth. Up until now, weaving has been a skilled job done by men who received a good wage to support their families. These new machines are forcing the men to move to factories, where they lose their independence, their skills, and their high pay, all for the profits of the factory owners.

A modern photograph of one of the earliest cloth factories

Image source: Courtesy of chevin.

OUTCOMES FOR WORKERS

Different people chose one of the first four options (Options A–D). Those who stayed on the farm (Option A) tended to be worse off economically than those who moved to towns and cities. Farming was declining as a source of income. Large landowners took over more land because they could farm more efficiently, which was needed because of lower and lower farm prices. Many of the people who stayed on farms ended up as landless farm laborers, so they were worse off economically. On the other hand, those who stayed on the farms preserved their traditional life style and, in general, lived longer than those in cities. Farming was dangerous work, but diseases spread quickly in cities and poor sanitation was a major problem.

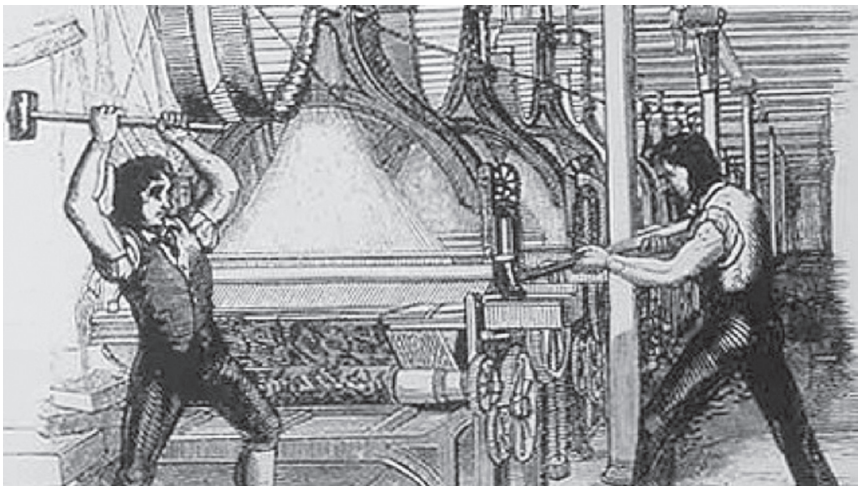
Other farmers sent their children to work in factories (Option B). They more often sent girls, since boys are stronger and could be more help on the farms. The factory owners said the children were well supervised, but this was not true in many cases. As Charles Dickens shows in his novels, children were often treated harshly and cruelly. On the other hand, many children gained a measure of independence. They lived away from the supervision of their parents, so they made decisions on their own, including in some cases, buying goods for themselves. This shift to children working caused dramatic changes in family dynamics.

Those men who chose to take a factory job and move their families to towns or cities (Option C) also experienced significant changes. The families still lived together in one apartment or house, but they worked separately. As in Option B, the children were more independent, since they were not supervised by their parents while they were at work. Most children got to and from work by themselves. Different schedules meant that families did not eat all their meals together. The world for wives also changed. While middle-class wives stayed home to raise young children, working-class women went to work in a variety of jobs. They had more independence as working women, and they earned their own money. Everyone had to adjust as family roles changed. Unfortunately, child labor meant that children often did not attend school. It wasn't a major issue, however, since many farm children did not go regularly to school either. When reformers suggested laws to prevent child labor, or at least limit it, many parents opposed the laws. They needed the money their children could earn in order to survive economically. Moreover, child labor laws meant that children could not work the same hours as their parents, which further eroded the close family structure.

The option that owners generally liked best in early industrialization in Britain was for whole families to move to towns and work in factories together (Option D). Family work meant that the father had the responsibility for supervising the other family members, removing a major headache and expense from the owner. And since the father knew the other family members much better than any supervisor could, he could be much more effective at motivating hard work or punishing poor work. In addition, family members did not quit easily when their whole family was working at a factory. On the other side of the arrangement, many workers also liked the family work option. Families could be kept together with higher pay than could be earned on the farm,

albeit in different surroundings. Keeping the family together was a key consideration for many farmers, since parents could continue to teach and supervise their children. This choice maintained family stability through these changing economic times. Nevertheless, eventually family members increasingly got employment as individuals; families working together became less common. Indeed, just moving the family to a town for work tended to break the extended family connections (for example, with aunts and uncles).

The changes from farm life were dramatic. On the farm, people worked according to the rhythms of nature and family life. People worked hard on the farm, but when they finished a task and were tired, they could relax. They worked while the sun was up, and they didn't do farmwork when it rained. The addition of spinning and weaving for wages (the putting-out system) changed the rhythms, so that when there was slack time, people had to spin or weave. But the factory system introduced an even greater change. Now work began and ended with the factory bell. People worked indoors all the time and worked at the pace of the machines. Lunch was at a scheduled time and for a brief set length of time. The father's authority was compromised. The factory owner dictated the hours, pace, and pay for work. Everyone knew the owner, not the father, had the ultimate authority in the factory.



Luddites destroying machines

As power machines changed the economy and society of Britain, fewer skilled hand workers remained. In the 1770s, the new spinning jennies and water frames threatened the domestic hand spinners. Spinners rioted and destroyed machines in the 1770s. Meanwhile, weavers were highly skilled men who had a tradition of high-quality work and good pay. The invention of the power loom threatened their very existence as skilled workers. Headed by Ned Ludd, they destroyed power looms at night, setting factory buildings and machines on fire. In the long run, the resistance of hand spinners in the 1770s, and of the so-called Luddites in the 1810s, did no good. Soldiers were sent to control the workers who resisted; they were arrested and jailed; and the machines were replaced. The number of hand-loom weavers dropped from 250,000 in 1820 to 50,000 in 1850. In later decades, workers stopped the futile action of destroying machines. Instead, they attempted to defend themselves by forming workers' cooperatives and labor unions, striking, pressuring Parliament to pass laws to protect workers, and establishing their own political party.

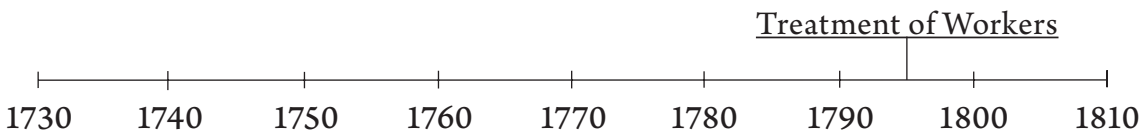
Image source: Illustration of Luddites destroying machines, in 1844, *Penny* magazine.

Industrialization in Britain, as in other countries, was truly a revolution. Workers reacted in different ways, some choosing to change slowly and others making a dramatic change toward the new way of life. No one could stop the changes, as many characteristics of the former life had faded from the areas touched by industrialization.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What did the worker do well or poorly in this decision-making problem regarding his family and industrialization? Explain your answer.
2. What did you do well or poorly in these decision-making problems? Remember, just because you got a good outcome doesn't mean you decided well. Maybe you were just lucky.
3. What was the most important decision-making skill in this problem (for example, identifying assumptions or setting realistic goals)? Explain your answer.

AN OWNER'S PERSPECTIVE



The year is 1795, and you are the owner of a textile (cloth-making) factory near Birmingham, England. You have new machinery (water-powered carding, spinning, and weaving machines) to produce much more cloth than you could before. You have about fifty workers at this point. You will need about fifty more workers for the new machines, but you will earn much more money by selling all that extra cloth. There isn't enough housing in the area for fifty new workers, so that could be a problem.

People on farms work according to the weather and seasons. People work hard for a few days and then relax, often drinking alcohol. When it is dark out or when it rains, people don't work. In short, the amount of work people accomplish varies from day to day, week to week, and season to season. In factories, the machines have to all be running at full speed all the time the factory is open for the cloth to be made. If the person operating a spinning machine is late or is drunk or doesn't show up for work, the fact that the other workers are there to run other machines doesn't matter—no cloth will get made because the manufacturing process depends on all machines being up and running. These considerations and others present you, as the owner, with many decisions to make—about which workers you will hire, what you will pay them, where they will live, and their working conditions at the factory.

What will you do about getting workers for the expansion of your factory?

Problem 1—Workers

Who will you hire? Choose one.

A. Hire men only. You have to pay more for them, but they are bigger and stronger. Also, men are the heads of their families, the breadwinners, so many people believe they should be hired. If women are hired instead of men, it will disrupt family life. Unemployed men would be depressed if they can't support their families, whereas women are not expected to work, so they will not be upset to not be hired.

B. Hire men and women. Women get paid less than men so that will save you money. Some jobs in the factory don't require strength, so women could do them as well as men.

C. Hire men, women, and children. Children get paid even less than women, and there are jobs in the factory that they could do, such as picking out loose threads. Some children could be hired out of orphanages, which would offer them work opportunities. They would be getting discipline and earning their own money.

D. Hire workers as families. If you hire whole families, the fathers and mothers will have responsibility for supervising their children, which will save you money on supervising costs. When the children don't work hard, their parents will have the responsibility to get them working faster. When children are sick, the parents will be there to take care of them.

Problem 2—Pay

How will you pay your workers? Choose one option.

A. Pay by the hour and pay the same rate (shillings per hour) as the other factories pay in your area.

B. Pay by the hour, but pay more than the other factories pay. That way, you will attract better workers and you will keep them longer. (They won't want to quit if they are making more money than the other factories pay.)

C. Pay by the amount produced (called *piecework*), not by the hour. With this payment method, workers have an incentive to work hard without your having to supervise them closely. If they don't work hard, they won't make as much money.

D. Pay in scrip instead of money. Scrip would be tokens or pieces of paper that you issue, used only to buy items at the company store, which you will build and own. Since scrip cannot be used to buy goods anywhere else, you can charge higher prices and make more money.

Problem 3—Living Conditions

What kind of living conditions will you establish for your workers?

A. Let workers find their own housing. Maybe there is enough housing in the area near the factory, so no new housing will need to be built. If not, maybe the new workers will move into the homes of people who already live in the area, so no new housing will need to be built. This type of arrangement—when workers move into a room or rooms rented from existing home owners—is called *boarding* and is common in Britain, and so will not be seen as unusual. The boarder pays the home owner's family to sleep and sometimes to eat meals at their house.

B. Build housing for the new workers. It will cost a lot of money to build housing, but you would be charging rent, so you will probably make money back on this investment. With some of your workers in housing you own, you will have more control over them. For example, if a worker doesn't work hard enough or if he goes to the tavern in the evening to drink alcohol, you can threaten to evict him from the apartment where he lives because you own it.

C. Build a whole town around your factory, including housing for all your workers, churches, a town government, parks, a library, stores, and other community buildings. It will cost a

great deal of money to build, but it will be an ideal place for workers to live. You will attract the best workers because of the safe environment you set up for them in your town. Since it is your own town, you will be able to prevent the building of taverns. As a result, it will be more difficult for workers to get drunk.

Problem 4—Working Conditions

What kind of working conditions will you create in the factory?

A. Make sure all machines have safety features on them, so workers don't get injured. It will cost you a lot of money to add safety features to the machines. Workers who are injured have no right to sue you, so there is no economic threat if you don't add safety features.

B. Limit the hours that people work in your factory—for example, no more than fifty hours per week. Some workers will like having limited hours, though it will mean that their pay will be less. However, with limited hours, workers will be more rested, and therefore they will be able to do more work during the hours when they are working.

C. Set up a very strict schedule for working and fine or fire people who aren't at their machines at the start of the day and stay at the machine throughout the work day.

D. To improve work habits, fire people who have been drunk.

E. To improve work habits, beat people who do not work hard.

OUTCOMES FOR OWNERS

Different owners chose different options for their factories.

Problem 1—Workers

Most owners chose to hire men, women, and children (Option C). There were many jobs in factories that did not require strength, and since women and children made less money, factory owners saved money by hiring them. Many children were hired from orphanages, which was an improvement for some children. In the first few decades of factory work, many owners hired families (Option D), which saved on supervising women and children. As villages grew into towns and towns grew into cities, more opportunities became available for other types of work for women and children, so the hiring of families became less common.

Problem 2—Pay

Most factory owners paid whatever the general hourly wage was for factory work in that area (Option A). No one wanted to have higher costs than their competitors, so paying higher wages didn't seem to be a good idea. However, owners paid a price for low wages. Turnover in factories was very high, sometimes approaching 100 percent in a year. Every time someone left, a new worker had to be trained. New workers weren't as fast or efficient as veteran workers, so the owners generally lost money if they paid lower wages.

Some owners did choose to pay higher wages (Option B), in the belief that they would attract the best workers and keep them longer. At least one owner of a large factory paid higher wages and provided housing and education for his workers. In return, workers did not quit very often (the average turnover was 15 percent per year), which saved the owner money on training costs. The factory was profitable for many decades, which provided workers with steady employment.

Many owners paid workers by the amount produced (piecework) rather than by the hour (Option C). Paying by piece was a very effective way for owners to increase how hard workers worked and did not require supervision to enforce efficiency, so the owners saved money in supervision costs. A few owners paid in scrip (Option D), which could be used only at company stores. Since the owners could charge workers more than the ordinary prices for what the workers bought, they were in effect reducing workers' wages. Many workers resented having to purchase necessities at the company stores.

Problem 3—Living Conditions

Most owners let workers find housing on their own (Option A), which led to overcrowding in existing housing until construction of new housing was completed. This practice often led to boarding arrangements. Since boarders paid for housing and food (room and board), the families who rented rooms found an additional source of income. However, most boarders were men,

A painting of the city of Manchester, showing pollution

who sometimes caused problems, such as drunkenness and violence. A few owners built housing for some of their new workers (Option B), but it was usually for a small number of workers. The housing was larger and of better quality than farm houses, so it was a step up for many farmers. However, the housing often became overcrowded, reducing the quality of the housing and leading to the spread of disease.

A modern photograph of well-constructed housing built for workers by Robert Owen at the model town of New Lanark

A very small number of owners built whole towns for their workers (Option C). Some of these owners, such as Robert Owen, were reform-minded people who sincerely wanted to improve the lives of their workers. These towns were built well and designed to improve the lives of workers and their families. Most company towns were not so wonderful, however. They became overcrowded and run down. In all the company towns, the factory owners had more control over workers and their lives than they would have had if workers lived on their own. Workers resented this increased control. They felt the owners thought they knew better what was good for workers than the workers themselves.

Image source: Image taken from *Views of Old Manchester* [Manchester: roprietors of the Mancunium Velveteen, 1885]. The British Library.
Photograph of New Lanark, © mrpbps/CC BY 2.0.

Problem 4—Working Conditions

Working conditions were worse in the small rural factories than in the larger, more modern city factories. Owners did not spend the money necessary to include safeguards in machinery, although some safety features were built into the machines (Option A). An owner who spent money on significant safety features would have higher costs than competitors, which could drive him out of business. Owners told workers to be careful. When a worker was injured, everyone blamed it on the careless behavior of the injured party. Since workers couldn't sue to be compensated for their injuries, owners had no monetary incentive to improve safety. When workers did get the right to sue later in the nineteenth century, many more safety features were implemented to protect owners from lawsuits. A few owners limited the number of hours for their workers (Option B), but most wanted the maximum hours worked, since it meant more cloth made and hence more profit. It wasn't until workers began to unionize that hours became more limited.

Owners had difficulty in changing farming work habits to work habits suitable for factories. Punctuality was crucial for the maximum efficiency of the machines. Everyone had to start at the same time and all the machines needed to keep running all day. Machine breakdowns were devastating. Factory owners set up schedules and fined people (or fired them) for being late (Option C). Workers were fined or fired for coming to work drunk (Option D), and workers—including children—were beaten for slow work (Option E). The beating of children was no worse than on a farm and may have been less severe than in orphanages. Gradually, workers gave up their farmwork habits and took on the regular work schedule of the factory. Many workers still drank at night, but they more often came to work sober. Owners were at the forefront of temperance efforts to reduce or eliminate drinking, but it was a losing battle.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What did the owner do well or poorly in this decision-making problem regarding industrialization? Explain your answer.
2. What did you do well or poorly in these decision-making problems? Remember, just because you got a good outcome doesn't mean you decided well. Maybe you were just lucky.
3. What was the most important decision-making skill in this problem (for example, identifying assumptions or setting realistic goals)? Explain your answer.

TESTIMONY TO THE FACTORY COMMISSION, 1833

Primary Source

In 1833 Parliament passed the Factory Act, following inquiries conducted by the Factory Inquiry Commission on working conditions inside factories. Below some of the testimony of two women factory workers is presented. (Words in parentheses were added to clarify meanings.)

> Hannah Goode: "I work at Mr. Wilson's mill (factory). I think the youngest child is about 7. I daresay there are 20 (children) under 9 years. It is about half past five by our clock at home when we go in. . . . We come out at seven by the mill. We never stop to take our meals, except at dinner.
>
> William Crookes is overlooker (supervisor) in our room. He is cross-tempered sometimes. He does not beat me; he beats the little children if they do not do their work right. . . . I have sometimes seen the little children drop asleep or so, but not lately. If they are catched asleep they get (beaten with) the strap. They are always very tired at night. . . . I can read a little; I can't write. I used to go to school before I went to the mill; I have (gone to the mill) since I am sixteen."
>
> Mrs. Smith: "I have three children working in Wilson's mill; one 11, one 13, and the other 14. They work regular hours there. We don't complain. If they go to drop the hours (cut the hours worked and therefore workers' pay), I don't know what poor people will do. We have hard work to live as it is. . . . My husband is of the same mind about it . . . last summer my husband was 6 weeks ill; we pledged (sold) almost all our things to live (to get money to eat); the things are not all out of pawn yet. (They haven't paid for everything to get them back.). . . . We complain of nothing but short wages (not being paid for hours worked). . . . My children have been in the mill three years. I have no complaint to make of their being beaten. . . . I would rather they were beaten than fined."

Source: Factory Inquiry Commission, Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1833. Reprinted in *Victorian Women: A Documentary Accounts of Women's Lives in Nineteenth-Century England, France and the United States,* by Erna Olafson Hellerstein, Leslie P Hume, and Karen M Offen. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press 1995.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Based on what these two women testified, how was factory work different from work on farms?
2. Why did parents not protest the beating of children?
3. How reliable is this testimony as a source?

LESSON 5: CRISIS IN FRANCE

Teacher's Guide

INTRODUCTION

Overview

The French Revolution had profound effects on France as well as on societies all over the world. It is so complex that it is split into two lessons. This lesson focuses on the causes of the revolution. It takes the perspective of King Louis XVI and deals with the problems in chronological order as the crisis intensifies. In that way, students will see the rising crises somewhat as they were unfolding. The next lesson (Lesson 6) puts students in the mindset of revolutionary leaders after the king has been overthrown, both as the new government deals with the continuing debt crisis and later, with a war crisis.

Vocabulary

- bankruptcy—the inability to repay loans or debts
- Bastille—a fort in Paris that the French revolutionaries captured
- cahiers—complaints submitted to the Estates General in France
- despotism—government when the ruler holds absolute power
- Enlightenment—a movement emphasizing reason rather than tradition
- Estates General—the meeting of the three estates in France
- First Estate—the church in France
- Louis XVI—king of France at the time of the French Revolution
- National Assembly—the elected government in France after the 1789 revolution
- peasants—poor farmers
- physiocrats—French economists who supported free trade
- Second Estate—the nobles in France
- Seven Years' War—a worldwide war between France and Britain, 1756–1763
- smuggling—trading illegally to avoid taxes or other sanctions
- stock market crash—a sudden drop in the prices of shares in a company that are traded publicly

- Tennis Court Oath—a pledge by members of the Third Estate to write a French constitution
- Third Estate—the middle class and poor in France (the common people)
- tithe—to contribute one-tenth of one's income to the church
- tolls—charges for using a road or canal
- Treaty of Paris, 1783—the peace treaty that ended the American Revolution and established the independence of the United States

Decision-Making Skills Emphasized

- Identify the underlying problem
- Consider other points of view
- Ask questions about context
- Evaluate the reliability of sources
- Consider realistic goals
- Play out the options
- Predict unintended consequences

LESSON PLAN A: IN-DEPTH LESSON *(50 minutes)*

Procedure

Have students read Handout 1 and then individually decide whether they will support the American colonists against the British. After they have written their decisions, tell students to pair up and discuss their choices. Circulate around the room to answer questions or clear up misunderstandings. Bring the class back together and ask them to vote on which option they chose. After the discussion of the pros and cons of helping the colonies, have students revote. Did many students change their votes? If so, why?

When Handout 1 has been discussed and voted on, distribute Handout 2, with the outcomes of the king's decision to help the colonies. Have students answer the "Questions for Analysis" at the end of the sheet.

1. Did Louis XVI make a good decision in regard to helping the colonies against the British? Explain what they did well or where they went wrong.

   Answers will vary.

2. What did you do well or poorly in these decision-making problems?

   Answers will vary.

3. What was the most important decision-making skill in this problem (for example, identifying assumptions or setting realistic goals)? Explain your answer.

   *Specific decision-making skills (**P-A-G-E**) are explained below in the section "Decision-Making Analysis." Answers will vary, but considering playing out the options is an important skill, as shown in Handout 2.*

Handout 3 presents students with the French debt crisis as it appeared in 1787. Follow the procedure outlined for Handout 1: Students decide, they discuss their choices in pairs, they vote, they discuss the choices as a class, and they revote. You could focus students on the skill of asking questions by asking them—after they have discussed the choices but before they revote—to write down a question they think would help them make a better decision. Possible questions and suggested answers:

1. Has free trade (Option D) been tried before?

   Yes. It has caused problems for some groups, but free trade brings higher growth in the long run. Removing price controls on wheat was tried in the 1770s. Prices increased dramatically, which led to bread riots by workers and poor people in cities. The price controls were put back.

2. Have other countries tried a constitutional monarchy (Option F)?

   Yes, the British did, and the system has worked well for them. Kings and queens in other countries are very much against giving up their power to legislatures.

3. What is the government spending money on at this point, and what could be cut (Option E)?

   Most of it is spent on the military. There is a lot of extravagant spending on the court, so that could be eliminated. But it amounts to only 6–7 percent of all government spending, so it won't make a big difference. There are many unnecessary jobs in government (called venal jobs). Those could be cut.

4. What happened when there were representative meetings (like the Estates General) in the past (Option G)?

   Trouble! The Estates General meeting a century ago was helpful, but the meetings of notables (nobles) and parliaments within the last decade have caused problems. The people selected for the meetings ended up thinking they should have the power to make decisions, thereby threatening the power of the king.

Option for Point-of-View Emphasis: When students have decided on their choices for Handout 3 in 1787, you could have them read Handout 4, with the points of view of six different groups at the time. These points of view will provide students with different perspectives on the debt crisis that might make them reconsider their decisions from Handout 3. Have them go through the viewpoints and decide how each group would feel about the various proposals in Handout 3.

A. Do nothing: supported by the rich clergy.

B. Increase taxes: opposed by all groups.

C. Increase taxes on the church and nobles: opposed by poor nobles and the rich clergy but supported by rich nobles, the poor clergy, the middle class, and peasants/workers.

D. Decrease trade restrictions: supported by rich nobles and the middle class.

E. Decrease spending: supported by the poor clergy, rich nobles, the middle class, and peasants/workers but opposed by poor nobles and the rich clergy.

F. Establish a representative assembly and cut the nobles' privileges: supported by the poor clergy, rich nobles, the middle class, and peasants/workers but opposed by poor nobles and the rich clergy.

G. Establish the Estates General: supported by all six groups but for different reasons.

Then have students answer the "Questions for Analysis."

1. Now look back at your decisions as the king in Handout 3. Seeing the situation from the perspectives of the six groups in this handout, would you change any of your decisions in Handout 3?

   Students will make different changes, depending on their answers.

2. Looking at all the perspectives (those of the king and the other six groups), why might it be difficult to come up with a good solution to the debt problem for France in 1787?

   The various groups have conflicting goals, so it will be very difficult to please them all.

When students have decided individually, discussed their choices in pairs, voted, discussed the pros and cons of choices as a class (and possibly looked at other points of view in Handout 4), and voted again, distribute Handout 5 with the outcomes. Have students read Handout 4 and answer the "Questions for Analysis" at the end of the sheet.

1. Did King Louis XVI make good decisions regarding the debt crisis in France?

   Answers will vary.

2. What did you do well or poorly in these decision-making problems?

   Answers will vary.

3. Was the most important decision-making skill in this problem?

   Answers will vary, but considering other points of view is stressed in this part of the lesson.

Handout 6 presents the new situation confronting the king with the Estates General and defiance in Paris in 1789. Follow the procedure outlined for Handout 1: Students decide, they discuss their choices in pairs, they vote, they discuss the choices as a class, and they revote.

When students have decided individually, discussed their choices in pairs, voted, discussed the choices as a class, and voted again, distribute Handout 7 with the outcomes in 1789. Have students read Handout 7 and answer the "Questions for Analysis" at the end of the sheet.

1. What did Louis XVI do well or poorly in these decision-making problems regarding the Estates General?

   Answers will vary.

2. What did you do well or poorly in these decision-making problems? Explain what you did well or where you went wrong.

   Answers will vary.

3. What was the most important decision-making skill in this problem (for example, identifying assumptions or setting realistic goals)?

   Answers will vary, but playing out the options is very important.

Option for Primary Sources: When students finish discussing the outcomes in Handout 7, distribute Handout 8 and have students answer the questions. Move around the room to answer questions about meaning or vocabulary. Then discuss the questions as a class. Possible answers include the following:

1. Is this cahier (complaint) radical for its time? Provide evidence from the document for or against its being radical.

   Evidence for radical: Free speech and free press are sacred, to be protected even when critical of the government; no special privileges for nobles; the third estate gets at least equal representation to the other estates; replace the taxes with a general tax, fairly placed on everyone. Evidence against being radical: The king remains in power; there will still be three estates (although the power of nobles will be reduced).

2. With which part of the cahier would the king most likely disagree?

   The king might object to the limits on government to prevent critical speech or the press. He might also object to the idea that the Third Estate has declared that many taxes are wrong and should be replaced.

3. How reliable is this cahier as a source?

   It is a primary source, as it is an actual cahier. It is public testimony, so it might be exaggerating the need for change. That is, the authors of the cahier have a reason to lie. A major question about the document is how well it represents the cahiers in general. Urban Paris is much different from rural France, so the cahiers would be different as well. Notice, for example, that there are no complaints about having to pay feudal dues in this Paris cahier.

Reflecting on Decision Making

Ask students how well they did on decision making on this problem. Which decision-making skills were especially important in making these decisions about the debt crisis? Which of the letters of **P-A-G-E** applied especially to this problem? (See the "Decision-Making Analysis" section below for ideas.) Ask students what they did well or poorly in terms of the **P-A-G-E** analysis of decision making. Discuss their answers.

Putting the Actual Decisions into Historical Context

Ask students whether the decisions made by Louis XVI were the result more of historical forces or of his personal choices. Some will argue that decisions made by Louis XVI were due to his personal choices. He had particular characteristics that shaped his choices. For example, he was often indecisive, changing his mind repeatedly. He had a poor relationship with his wife, which must have affected his psychological state. He had a tendency to retreat from major problems to go hunting. Other students will argue that Louis XVI's decisions were shaped by historical context. France was modernizing, so change had to happen. The debt crisis set the stage for these decisions, shaping and limiting what Louis XVI could do.

Connecting to Today

Ask students what the decision-making style of Louis XVI tells us about what we should look for in leaders today. What should we look for in a leader when we vote, based on what we learned from Louis XVI?

Troubleshooting

There is a great deal of vocabulary that could make comprehension difficult for some students. You might want to review vocabulary before or during the reading of handouts. Reviewing terms is especially important to understanding the economics of the debt crisis.

LESSON PLAN B: QUICK MOTIVATOR LESSON *(20 minutes)*

Give Handout 3 for homework and have students make their decisions. In class, ask for a show of hands for the various options. Discuss reasons for five minutes. Distribute Handout 5 with the outcomes, and have students write their reactions for homework.

TEACHER NOTES TO EXPAND DISCUSSION

(For outcomes for students, see Handouts 2, 5, and 7.)

A single date of 1787 was chosen for Handout 3, but in reality the debt crisis, along with associated economic issues, was ongoing for over a decade from 1778 to 1789. The crisis culminated in 1789, but a broad economic proposal was made in 1787. It was at that point that the king chose to convene the Estates General. So it seemed that 1787 was the best date.

In Handout 3, some of the options are patterned after proposals made in 1785 by the king's economic adviser, Charles Calonne. Jacques Necker and Étienne Brienne were the other finance ministers in France in the decade before the revolution. Necker was especially interested in eliminating venal positions in government. Necker was very popular with the common people. He published an account in 1781 saying that the debt could be paid back without any extra taxes. The French people believed this false argument, so he was considered to be someone who could solve the debt crisis. Students do not need to know the names or details of the various ministers, just the issues they had to confront. Necker's dismissal on July 12, 1789, was just two days before the storming of the Bastille, so it was undoubtedly an important factor in this key event. But including that would have needlessly complicated the problem.

There is disagreement about the extent to which the old regime was old-fashioned and resistant to modernism. This lesson reflects the view of Simon Schama (1989) and William Doyle (1999), that French society, including the nobles, was changing and modernizing before the revolution, and that those changes helped bring about the revolution. Schama argues that many nobles had absorbed Enlightenment views, such as the value of liberty over authority and friendship over hierarchy. So, while clergy and nobles entered the Estates General in their traditional roles, many of those delegates supported significant changes in society, including giving up their special privileges. It was a dilemma for them, as they also wanted to keep solidarity with their fellow bishops or nobles, who wanted to preserve the status quo.

The tax collectors mentioned in Handout 3 were called the Farmers General. They were hired by the government to collect some taxes in exchange for keeping a portion of the revenue raised. They were a state within the state, employing over thirty thousand people. Since the government could not easily check the amount taken in, the chance for the Farmers General to cheat the government was very great. French taxpayers certainly believed there was corruption, but the government tried to keep control of the taxes. For example, officials checked and registered salt at each step of production and distribution. As a result, the process of making and selling salt was very bureaucratic and expensive. In response, many French people smuggled salt, which cost about one-tenth the price of official salt. The French government found it difficult to use alternative methods for collecting taxes, because the Farmers General paid the government up front, and that cash was desperately needed to keep paying off the bonds that were coming due. The Farmers General were efficient in collecting the taxes. On the other hand, the Farmers General were taking increasingly high cuts of the revenue they collected and were charging higher rates on the loans they were making to the government (which is where they were getting the money to give the government up

front). Many government officials realized that they were just getting further in debt by continuing to rely on the Farmers General to collect taxes.

In addition to cutting out tolls and eliminating price controls on wheat, the physiocrats wanted all the taxes to be replaced by one tax on property (referred to these days as *tax simplification*). The physiocrats believed that economic growth from deregulating the economy would raise enough additional revenue to make up for lower taxes and reduce the debt. This argument is similar to one made in the United States in the late twentieth century, called *supply-side economics*.

There is strong evidence that Enlightenment ideas had widespread influence on French society. Literacy was very high, possibly higher than in late twentieth century America. Books and pamphlets containing Enlightenment thinking were very popular. There were many bookstores, often catering to rich nobles in the Paris area and around the country. Literary societies were widespread, and there were libraries for those too poor to buy the books and pamphlets. One of the central ideas pervading literature at the time was that France was on the verge of being reborn as a republic of friends, an idea that had dramatic consequences.

One of the problems with the monarchy was people's attitudes toward the king and queen. Many people saw the king as awkward, indecisive, and interested more in hunting than in running the government. Indeed, at crucial points in the escalating crisis, the king retreated to hunting and engorging himself, and he collapsed into helplessness. As an Austrian, the queen, Marie-Antoinette, was suspected of introducing foreign influence. Rumors circulated about her being a sexual monster and a lesbian, referred to as "the German vice." People also disliked the court, which comprised over fifty thousand people. These courtiers didn't do anything productive. They just engaged in court intrigue and lived a lavish lifestyle at taxpayer expense.

One of the most common complaints by the Third Estate was an end to forced labor (the *corvée*), in which common people had to work for the good of the community, often repairing roads. This work requirement is mentioned in Handout 4 in the second on the peasants and worker's perspective (the Third Estate).

The king vacillated between indecisiveness and asserting royal authority to disregard the law. At one point, he ordered loans to be initiated. One of the nobles said that the action was illegal. The king replied that it was legal because he wished it to be done.

Decision-Making Analysis*

P = Problem

Identify any underlying problem(s).

Consider other points of view.

What are my assumptions? Emotions?

A = Ask for information (about)

Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)

Reliability of sources

Historical analogies

G = Goals

What are my main goals, and are they realistic?

Generate options to achieve these goals. Are they ethical?

E = Effects

Predict unintended consequences.

Play out the options. What could go wrong?

*Bold denotes topics addressed in this lesson.

- **Identify any underlying problem:** A key underlying problem for all these decisions is the pace of modernization in France in the late eighteenth century and its effects on the power relationships in the government. If the king had recognized these dramatic changes, he might have agreed to give up taxing power sooner and avoided a full-blown revolution.
- **Consider other points of view:** Handout 4 focuses student attention on different points of view, and the lesson plan offers a strategy for using that handout to broaden student perspective beyond that of just the king.
- **Ask about historical context:** Asking questions can be a focus in regard to Handout 3, as outlined above in the procedures section, in the comments on Handout 3. There are four questions and suggested answers in those comments. In Handout 1, students should ask: Can we actually provide the military power to turn the tide in the war? How comparatively strong are the British, the colonists, and the French militarily? In Handout 6, students could ask: What is the state of the army?
- **Evaluate the reliability of sources:** The king had to decide how reliable the advice was that he was getting from his economic adviser. In reality, the king vacillated in his confidence of his economic advisers. He fired three of them and brought one of the fired advisers (Necker) back.

- **Establish realistic goals:** In Handout 1, the king set a reasonable goal of crippling the British, which he accomplished. In Handout 6, the king did not seem to establish a reasonable goal. He held out for as little change in the government as possible. When he lost control of the situation to the National Assembly, he then tried to compromise, but it was too late. Having a discussion before 1789 about what goals could be accomplished would have been very helpful to the king.
- **Predict unintended consequences:** The consequences, both intended and unintended, of the decisions are outlined in Handouts 2, 5, and 7. As noted in Handout 7, the long-term effects of the French Revolution were significant for France, for Europe, and for the world. The terror alone had dramatic effects on world history.
- **Play out the options:** For many of the decisions, students should consider what would be needed to carry out the decision. For example, in considering the option in Handout 3 to increase enforcement of the taxes, students need to ask what that would entail. How many people would need to be hired? How much would that cost the government? Who would oversee the agents to prevent fraud or abuse? In Handout 6, how would people react to a strong stand by the king against the National Assembly? What kind of support did the king have in the Assembly?

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LESSON 5: CRISIS IN FRANCE

VOCABULARY

- bankruptcy—the inability to repay loans or debts
- Bastille—a fort in Paris that the French revolutionaries captured
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- tithe—to contribute one-tenth of one's income to the church
- tolls—charges for using a road or canal
- Treaty of Paris, 1783—the peace treaty that ended the American Revolution and established the independence of the United States

WILL YOU HELP THE AMERICAN COLONIES?

Help American Colonies?

1778 1780 1782 1784 1786 1788 1790 1792 1794

The year is 1778, and you are King Louis XVI of France, the most important country in Europe. France has the most wealth, a worldwide set of colonies, and the most admired culture in Europe. The French language is so popular that it is spoken by educated people in many other countries.

A portrait of Louis XVI

You have been the king for only a few years, and you are a little unsure of yourself. One big problem for France is that Britain defeated France in the Seven Years' War, which ended fifteen years ago, in 1763. The French military lost major battles during the war, and France lost its vast colony of Canada as a result of the war. In addition, the war left the French government with a huge debt.

But now, France has an opportunity to get revenge on Britain. The British colonies in North America have declared independence and are fighting a war against Britain to gain their freedom. The colonies have sent representatives asking the French to help them against the British. If France signs an alliance with the American colonies, a French fleet and army could be sent to North America to tip the balance in favor of the colonies. The French fleet could wait for an opportunity to cut off a British army to keep it from escaping by sea. The colonial armies have shown that they are gaining the upper hand after their victory in the Battle of Saratoga, so the chances of victory in the war by the American colonies and the French are high. The French will recover honor and some colonies in the victory. A success in war will help France keep control of their islands in the Caribbean. All your advisers agree that these "sugar islands" will provide great wealth for France as long as France retains control of them. Victory will also increase the support of the French people for you as king.

Will you make an alliance with the American colonies and send an army and a navy fleet to help them in their war with Britain?

A. Yes.

B. No.

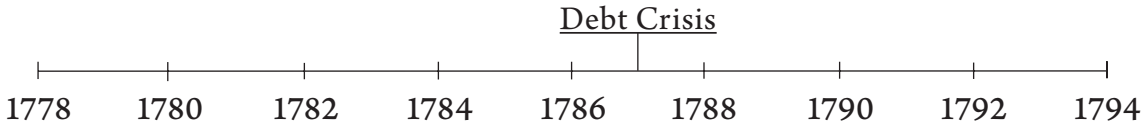
Image source: Louis XVI, King of France and Navarre (1754-1793), Wearing His Grand Royal Costume in 1779. By Antoine-François Callet, 1789, Palace of Versailles.

OUTCOMES OF HELPING THE AMERICAN COLONIES

Louis XVI decided to help the American colonies (Option A). His efforts were successful in many ways. The colonies won the war, so France won too. In the Treaty of Paris of 1783, Britain was humiliated, having been defeated in war by a colony. It lost one of its most valuable colonies. Meanwhile, France gained great honor for its military victories.

Unfortunately, the government debt in France exploded thanks to the cost of the war. Loans were piled on other loans as the government borrowed more and more money to fight the war. The costs for the navy were especially high. At the time, many justified the resulting debt, arguing that the British debt had increased just as much as the French debt. Most people in France felt that the increased debt was worth it in order to weaken their rival, Britain, in international affairs. That is what great powers do. Despite these optimistic views, the enormous debt turned out to be a major crisis for France in the next decade, as described in Handout 3.

DEBT CRISIS IN FRANCE, 1787



The year is 1787, and you are King Louis XVI of France. Your country is strong and wealthy. France has the largest population in Western Europe. Until the last few years the economy was growing at a healthy pace. International trade is at an all-time high, being five times greater than it was one hundred years ago. Many French ports are prosperous because of money gained from sugar and coffee imported from productive island colonies. Farming is backward because farms are so small, but enough food has been produced to feed the growing population. Improvements in transportation on canals and roads mean that businesses have larger markets, make more money, and employ more people. France has the most industry, especially in mining and cloth making, of any country in Europe except Britain. It is also strong in the production of iron, glass, and munitions.

Regrettably, the last few years have been difficult economically. Food production has dropped—leading to food shortages—and industrial production has not grown. There is increasing socioeconomic inequality within France. Some people are very rich, while many more (about 33 percent of the French population) are very poor. There is hostility between Catholics, the overwhelming majority of the population, and Protestants. But the biggest problem by far is that the government is deep in debt. The debt increased because of expenditures during both the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) and the American Revolution, when in 1778 the French sided with the American colonies against the British. This alliance was a great victory for France, but the national debt skyrocketed. However, the debt also resulted from increased spending after the wars, including high levels of military spending to guard and control the many French colonies. Meanwhile, one of the taxes expired, causing government revenues to drop.

It is not clear if France can pay off its debts. At this point, half the money the government takes in from taxes each year is spent on paying off the combined principle and interest due to the debt. Those huge payments do the country no good. If the debt were smaller, more money could be spent on the army and navy to protect the country, taxes could be reduced, or the government could do both. The debt is so large that people with money are more hesitant than they once were to lend money to the French government, fearing that the government may not be able to pay them back. Recently, because of this failure of the wealthy people to lend money to the French government, the stock market crashed and several large banks nearly went into bankruptcy. Without lenders, the government may not be able to pay its bills, which would cause an economic collapse. The government needs to get the debt under control in order to function in the future.

Advisers have given you a number of options to reduce the debt, outlined below. Which will you do? You may choose as many options as you would like.

A. Let things go as is. The debt will continue to grow, but eventually the economy may improve and the debt may gradually go down. It may best to choose this option because any other choice might make the economy worse.

B. Increase taxes on all the people. You could increase taxes on each person, but more important, you could make sure people pay the taxes they already owe. You would hire more officials to catch people who aren't paying all their taxes. At this point, many people evade paying all the taxes they owe. Common people see that the church (clergy in the Catholic church) and nobles don't have to pay taxes, so they feel it is only fair that they should get out of paying some or all of their taxes. They view the local tax collectors, who are private groups hired by the government, as corrupt bloodsuckers who make big money while they cheat both the taxpayers and the government.

C. Increase taxes on nobles and the Catholic church. Up to now, nobles have provided leadership instead of paying taxes. Priests and bishops have provided religious guidance instead of paying taxes. These tax exemptions are quite significant, as the church owns about 10 percent of all the land in France, while the nobles own about 25 percent. All that land is owned by less than 2 percent of the people in France. As a result, the main taxpayers are the common people (middle-class artisans, farmers, and poor people). The government could raise a lot of money to pay off the debt by making nobles and the church pay their fair share of taxes. Your economic adviser recommends that the many complicated taxes be replaced by one tax on landowners (nobles and the church), with no exemptions. Everyone who owns land would have to pay.

D. End government controls over trade. First, abandon controls on the price of wheat, which is used to make bread. At this time, the government sets a maximum price for how much farmers can charge for the grain they sell. Ordinary people in towns and cities like the control over prices because it keeps the cost of bread steady. Some poor people spend about half their income on bread, so bread prices are very important. But in the long run, the control of grain leads farmers to grow less wheat because they can't make as much profit on it as they could without the controls. According to your economic adviser, price controls are leading to shortages. If the prices were higher, farmers would grow and sell more wheat and there wouldn't be shortages.

E. End controls on trade in France. At this time, the government charges tolls for using rivers and roads to transport goods. Without the tolls, the government would lose tax money but trade would increase, which would bring prosperity to the country. Removing the tolls would also end or reduce the smuggling that is so common.

F. End tariffs on British goods coming into France. Your economic adviser says that through free trade with Britain, French consumers will get cheaper products and the French economy will grow, bringing prosperity to the country.

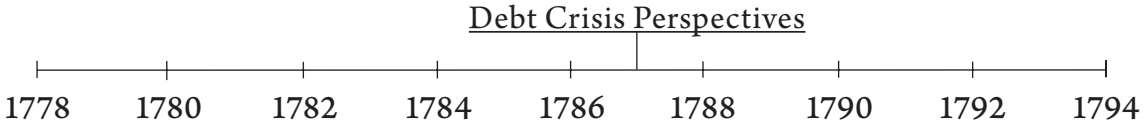
G. Cut government spending drastically. With lower spending, you would have more money to pay down the debt. On the other hand, some of these spending cuts could eliminate a large number of jobs in the government, and some of the cuts would have to be in the military because much of the spending is on the army and navy.

H. Change the whole system to a representative government. Taxes and other laws would be voted on in an assembly of representatives. You would still be king, but your power would be limited to appointing government officials and possibly vetoing bills passed by the assembly. Having a representative government pass taxes and budgets would show the support of the French people for the budget. That will allow the government to borrow money at lower interest rates, since investors would have greater trust that the government could tax to pay back the loans. On the other hand, your grandfather, King Louis XV, said that all authority comes from the king. He certainly wouldn't have agreed with a representative government.

I. Your economic adviser also says that the feudal system needs to be changed or ended. It gives special privileges to nobles, such as exclusive hunting privileges, which are resented by the rest of society.

J. Call a meeting of representatives of the nobles, the church, and the common people. This meeting would not be a change in government (Option H). Rather, it would be a onetime meeting to discuss how to deal with the debt crisis. This general meeting would allow all the people in France to be represented in making decisions on the debt. Whatever is decided will be legitimate, since every group will have been part of the decision. You would still be the king, with full power, but the people will have given their advice on what to do. According to your economic adviser, the French government needs to be seen as having support from its citizens in order to get people to lend to the government more of the money that is so desperately needed. A general meeting and discussion would be especially important if major changes are made in the whole system (Option F), because those kinds of changes should have support from most groups. You will still have the final say about what to do, but others will contribute ideas for how to effect change, which will make the decisions legitimate.

PERSPECTIVES ON THE DEBT CRISIS



This handout gives the perspective of various groups in France in 1787 on the debt crisis and related issues. Read each perspective and answer the questions. In France in 1787, society was divided into three groups, called estates: the First Estate was the Church (Catholic), about 1 percent of the people; the Second Estate was the nobility, about 1 percent of the people; and the Third Estate was the common people, about 98 percent of the people. Each estate had a perspective, described below.

Leaders in the Roman Catholic Church (First Estate)

Bishops and other leaders in the Roman Catholic Church are responsible for the spiritual life of the people—saying Mass, providing spiritual direction, and praying for people. The church also distributes food and other help to the poor. In return, the people pay about 10 percent of their income (called a *tithe*) to support the church. In addition, the church owns about 10 percent of the land in France for churches, monasteries and other buildings, as well as the farmland necessary to feed the monks, priests, and other clergy (officially approved religious people). Since the church takes care of the spiritual life of the country, its land and clergy are exempt from most taxes. Some people say that tithing and tax exemptions for the church are not fair, but people need to remember that shifting away from the traditional balance of church, nobility, and common people would risk chaos. Society needs the traditional church and nobles in order to keep the peace and to move forward. Also, France has been blessed with increasing prosperity in the past decades.

Which of the options in Handout 3 would this group favor? You can see the options in Handout 3, but here is a summary of them:

A. Do nothing.

B. Increase taxes in general.

C. Increase taxes on the church and the nobles.

D. Cut government control of trade and prices.

E. Cut government spending.

F. Change government to a national assembly and cut privileges for nobles.

G. Call for a general meeting to decide what to do.

Priests in the Roman Catholic Church (First Estate)

Ordinary priests are in constant contact with the common people through their parish churches. Many people who attend church are very poor. They have barely enough money to survive. When the price of bread goes up, their situation becomes truly desperate. Since priests see the effects of poverty, they sympathize with the perspectives of the poor. Paying the tithe to the church just makes the financial situation of the poor worse. The poor could certainly use the extra 10 percent taken from them for the tithe. On the other hand, society in France needs the church to provide a safety net for those in need—food, clothing, and shelter. The charitable work of the church, as well as the comfort and spiritual direction for the poor, might suffer if the tithe and tax exemptions are taken away. The church might collapse, which would hurt France in general and the poor in particular.

Which of the options in Handout 3 would this group favor? You can see the options in Handout 3, but here is a summary of them:

A. Do nothing.

B. Increase taxes in general.

C. Increase taxes on the church and the nobles.

D. Cut government control of trade and prices.

E. Cut government spending.

F. Change government to a national assembly and cut privileges for nobles.

G. Call for a general meeting to decide what to do.

Rich Nobles (Second Estate)

Rich nobles get special privileges, such as feudal dues, hunting rights, and exemptions from some taxes. In exchange, they provide order and leadership in their local communities. People look to them to provide stability and wisdom, and to meet local needs. Some people resent the special privileges of the nobility, but these people forget that the nobles provide leadership to the country, filling many of the highest positions in the government. Moreover, nobles supply the land and organization for the people who work on their land. Society in France needs the nobles to maintain tradition and provide stability for the whole society. If the nobles are restricted, chaos could follow. Without traditional restraints, people could try all kinds of radical ideas.

On the other hand, many nobles have entered into the modern economy of industry and trade, and many who are involved in farming are trying new methods to increase food production. They do not want to be held back by traditional farming methods. They want change. These nobles hold Enlightenment beliefs in rejecting special privileges for the few. Many have been influenced

by the writings of the philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau on the "social contract." The nobles in this group are often very rich, and many of them, perhaps most, reached their positions through service, talent, and merit, not by inheriting their position from noble parents. These rich nobles have been inspired by the American Revolution, with its emphasis on liberty and rights rather than special privileges and tradition. They admire George Washington as the "citizen general" who sacrificed for his country. He did not think of himself as better than other citizens. Neither did Benjamin Franklin, who also emphasized his belief in science over superstition. These nobles, like many people in the Third Estate, fear that the king could get too much power, leading to a form of governance they call *despotism*—absolute rule by a tyrant king. Since many of these rich nobles have served in local government assemblies, they always want representative groups (a national assembly) to have power, in order to prevent despotism.

Which of the options in Handout 3 would this group favor? You can see the options in Handout 3, but here is a summary of them:

A. Do nothing.

B. Increase taxes in general.

C. Increase taxes on the church and the nobles.

D. Cut government control of trade and prices.

E. Cut government spending.

F. Change government to a national assembly and cut privileges for nobles.

G. Call for a general meeting to decide what to do.

Poor Nobles (Second Estate)

About 60 percent of the nobles do not have a great deal of money; all they have are special privileges, such as feudal dues, hunting rights, and exemptions from some taxes. Their grown children can get positions as officers in the army. They have responsibility for their land and the people who work on the land, but they make very little money. In fact, many middle-class people are much wealthier than these poor nobles. As a result, some people in the middle class have the money to buy positions in government, while the poor nobles do not. Many resent the privileges of the nobles, but they shouldn't. The privileges are the one thing they get in exchange for not making much money and not being able to get the most important positions in government.

Which of the options in Handout 3 would this group favor? You can see the options in Handout 3, but here is a summary of them:

A. Do nothing.

B. Increase taxes in general.

C. Increase taxes on the church and the nobles.

D. Cut government control of trade and prices.

E. Cut government spending.

F. Change government to a national assembly and cut privileges for nobles.

G. Call for a general meeting to decide what to do.

Middle Class (Third Estate)

Some middle-class people are entrepreneurs or traders. Others in the middle class are lawyers. Like the rich nobles, many people in the middle class are investing their money in new, expanding businesses. Many in the middle class have more income than most nobles, and yet, the nobles have privileges that entrepreneurs and lawyers do not have. It isn't fair. While most middle-class people are Catholic, many also resent the special privileges of the church, which controls a great deal of land and doesn't have to pay taxes.

Some in the middle class are getting jobs in the government that are not difficult and that pay a good salary. Middle-class people get these jobs because the government sells these positions in order to raise money to pay off the debt, and middle-class people have the money to buy them. Enlightenment writers are very popular with lawyers and other educated people. They stress the need for power to be given to the common people to check those who historically have been more powerful. These Enlightenment writers argue that everyone is entitled to equal rights and no one should get special treatment. Enlightenment writers on economics argue that the government should not interfere in the buying and selling of products—the economy grows more rapidly when the government leaves it alone. While those in the middle class resent the privileges of the nobles, they are just as concerned about what would happen if poor, uneducated people got control of the government. If the poor were to get too much power, violence and chaos could arise. Middle-class people want economic stability and the rule of law, rather than the privileges of the nobles or the ferocity of the mob.

Which of the options in Handout 3 would this group favor? You can see the options in Handout 3, but here is a summary of them:

A. Do nothing.

B. Increase taxes in general.

C. Increase taxes on the church and the nobles.

D. Cut government control of trade and prices.

E. Cut government spending.

F. Change government to a national assembly and cut privileges for nobles.

G. Call for a general meeting to decide what to do.

Peasants/Workers (Third Estate)

Four out of every five people in France are peasants (poor farmers). Some are landless workers, while others are renters or sharecroppers. When there are bad harvests, due to bad weather, all these groups suffer, often finding themselves on the edge of starvation. In addition, peasants pay as much as 60 percent of their income for taxes, tithes to the church, and feudal dues. Peasants resent having to pay nobles for the use of their grain mills and wine presses, and they resent having to work several days per month—without being paid—for the government or their lords. Of course, they also resent that clergy and nobles don't have to pay taxes. They realize that the burden of taxation, in both money and work, falls on them, the poorest people in society! Most peasants don't like the changes that have been occurring in farming. They ask: Whatever happened to the common lands, where all people, rich and poor, could graze their animals? Why can't people be more concerned about each other rather than just making money?

Poor workers also live on the edge of starvation. They work all day long under dirty and dangerous conditions, and they pay more than half their income for bread. When bread prices go up, workers can pay as much as 90 percent of their income (after tithes and taxes) on bread, leaving nothing for heat, clothing, or other necessities. Workers and their families do not like rising bread prices and expect government to hold down those prices.

Peasants and workers are aware that while the Third Estate represents about 98 percent of the people in France, the church and nobles, who represent less than 2 percent of the population, control most of the government, land, and society.

Which of the options in Handout 3 would this group favor? You can see the options in Handout 3, but here is a summary of them:

A. Do nothing.

B. Increase taxes in general.

C. Increase taxes on the church and the nobles.

D. Cut government control of trade and prices.

E. Cut government spending.

F. Change government to a national assembly and cut privileges for nobles.

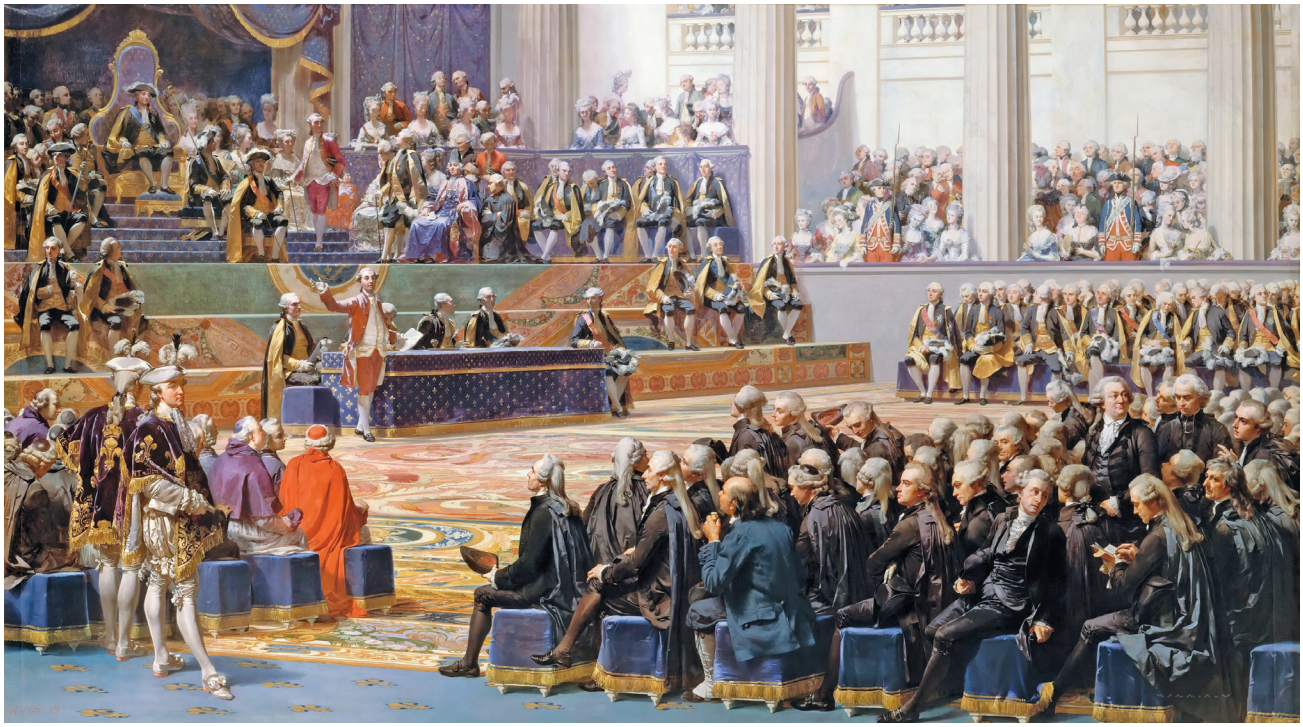
G. Call for a general meeting to decide what to do.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Now look back at your decisions as the king in Handout 3. Seeing the situation from the perspectives of the six groups in this handout, would you change any of your decisions in Handout 3?

2. Looking at all the perspectives (of the king and the six groups), why might it be difficult to come up with a good solution to the debt problem for France in 1787? What is the underlying problem?

OUTCOMES OF THE DEBT CRISIS IN 1787



Estates General

In Handout 3, the king decided on Option G, to call a meeting of the nation to discuss what to do about the debt crisis. The meeting was called the Estates General. Having everyone come together in a general meeting would allow the debt issue to be confronted and the options to be discussed and debated. The king felt that he had to do something about the crushing debt problem, so doing nothing (Option A) wasn't going to work. All the other options would involve problems that would be better discussed at a general meeting, where every group would get a say in what to do. Raising taxes and tightening up on collections (Option B) would be opposed by most people. Raising taxes on the church and nobles (Option C) might undermine the support of these powerful and wealthy groups for the king, as would ending feudalism (Option I).

Ending control of trade (Option D) might lead to higher unemployment due to competition as well as increased bread prices, which could lead to protests. The government had tried this strategy of deregulating the economy— which was pushed by a group called the *physiocrats*—several times in the 1780s. When bread prices increased and people were starving and rioting, the price maximums for wheat were reinstated. The dramatic rise in bread prices made the poorest members of society wonder whether the king was really protecting his people from starvation. Ending tolls (Option E) and reducing tariffs (Option F) would probably have helped the economy in the long run, but it would have reduced tax revenue, making the debt problem worse. Reducing tariffs would also

Image source: Opening of the Estates-General, May 5, 1789. By Auguste Couder, 1839, Palace of Versailles.

have increased unemployment in the short run. Decreasing spending (Option G) would lead to cuts in services, such as police, which could cause instability. It could also lead to unwelcome cuts in spending for luxuries for the king and the court at the palace in Versailles. However, there was definitely excessive spending, not just at the king's court, but throughout the government. There were many government jobs that paid a good salary but did not require much (or any) work. It would have been wise to eliminate those jobs to cut spending. Making major changes to the whole system (Option H) was opposed by the king, because it would take power away from him.

The Estates General did meet two years later, in 1789, in an effort to solve the government's financial problems (Option J). What it actually brought were new challenges for the government.

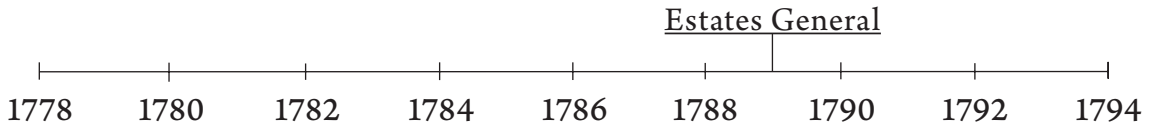
QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Did King Louis XVI make good decisions regarding the debt crisis in France? Explain what he did well or where he went wrong.

2. What did you do well or poorly in these decision-making problems? Remember, just because you got a positive outcome doesn't mean you decided well. Maybe you were just lucky.

3. What was the most important decision-making skill in this problem (for example, identifying assumptions or setting realistic goals)? Explain your answer.

THE KING AND THE ESTATES GENERAL



As you saw in Handout 5, King Louis XVI called the Estates General (Option G), which started meeting in 1789 near the town of Versailles. The Estates General is a general meeting of delegates who represent all three groups in French society, and similar meetings had occurred earlier in French history. The first group, the church, upheld the spiritual life of society. The second group, the nobles, represented order and tradition in society. The third group, the common people, represented everyone else, about 98 percent of all the people in France. The church (First Estate) sent 291 delegates, the nobles (Second Estate) sent 285 delegates, and the common people (Third Estate) sent 578 delegates.

The Estates General started with a parade of the three estates into the meeting hall. The delegates of the church and the nobility came dressed in their finest robes, while the delegates of the Third Estate dressed in ordinary clothes. It was a celebration of the traditional groups in society.

Problem 1—Complaints (Cahiers)

It is a tradition in France that when the Estates General convenes, each of the estates submits a list of complaints and wishes, called *cahiers*. Here is a list of a few of the complaints and wishes of the three estates, out of over 1,200 submitted. To which of these complaints/wishes will you, as king, agree? You may agree to as many or few as you would like.

A. The Third Estate wants each individual to vote separately, in which case the common people would have the majority of delegates compared to the church and nobles combined: 578 to 576 (291 + 285).

B. The First Estate (church) and Second Estate (nobles) want to have each estate vote as a unit, so the church gets one vote, the nobles get one vote, and the common people get one vote. In that way, the church and the nobles can combine to outvote the common people two votes to one.

C. All three estates want a constitution written before voting on any solutions to the debt problem. This constitution would give tax power to a national legislature (called the National Assembly), so the king's power to tax would be reduced or eliminated.

D. The First Estate wants any priest, not just nobles, to be able to become a bishop.

E. The First Estate wants only the Catholic religion to be practiced publicly in France, and it wants increased stipends for priests and more control over education.

F. The Second Estate wants nobility to be open to merit, not solely passed down by family name.

G. The Third Estate wants taxes to be fair. They want the church and the nobles to pay taxes (the church and the nobles do not have to pay taxes at this point). The new tax revenues collected from the First and Second Estates would reduce the taxes they, the common people, have to pay. Many, but not all, in the First and Second Estates agree that the nobles and the church should pay taxes, and that many taxes on poor people should be eliminated. They want to eliminate taxes on trade.

H. The Third Estate wants to end special privileges for nobles, such as their right to hunt (while commoners cannot), the fees common people have to pay to use the nobles' flour mills and bread-baking ovens, and the nobles' right to run the local courts. Common people complain that they don't get equal justice in courts run by nobles.

I. The Third Estate wants a return to common lands for farmers, where they can graze their farm animals. These common areas were closed off to the general public when they were made into private property in order to make money in the modern economy.

This cartoon shows the Third Estate carrying the other two estates, illustrating how unfair members of the Third Estate thought the system was. They wanted fair taxes to even out the burden.

Image source: Caricature on the Third Estate carrying the First and Second Estate on its back. Courtesy of the National Library of France.

Problem 2—Defiance by the Third Estate

After being unable to meet at the Estates General building, the Third Estate decided to meet at a tennis court and took an oath to stay together as a group, as a National Assembly, until they had written a constitution. In effect, the members of the Third Estate, along with some members of the church and nobility, are saying that they are forming a new government, in defiance of you, the king. If you let it go, this National Assembly will be making the important decisions about government, while you, as king, will be more of a figurehead, lacking in power.

A painting of the Tennis Court Oath

Then, more recently, a crowd of about sixty thousand people attacked and captured a fort in Paris, taking away cannons and ammunition and killing the commander after he had surrendered. Almost one hundred people in the crowd were killed in the attack. After the crowd attacked the fort, it invaded several wheat storage areas in Paris and took the wheat. There have been numerous bread riots in the past few years, and they are becoming more frequent.

What will you do about the defiance by the National Assembly (Third Estate) and the attacks in Paris? You may choose as many options as you would like.

A. Bring out the army to force the National Assembly to obey your commands to bring order to the government.

B. Bring out the army to impose order in Paris, even if that means shooting on the crowds. Use the army to guard the wheat storage places.

C. Negotiate with the National Assembly about what powers they will have and what powers you as king will have.

D. Appeal to the people of Paris to stop the violence and rioting for the good of the country.

E. Do nothing.

Image source: Le Serment du Jeu de paume. By Jacques-Louis David, 1791, the Musée Carnavalet.

OUTCOMES FOR THE KING AND THE ESTATES GENERAL

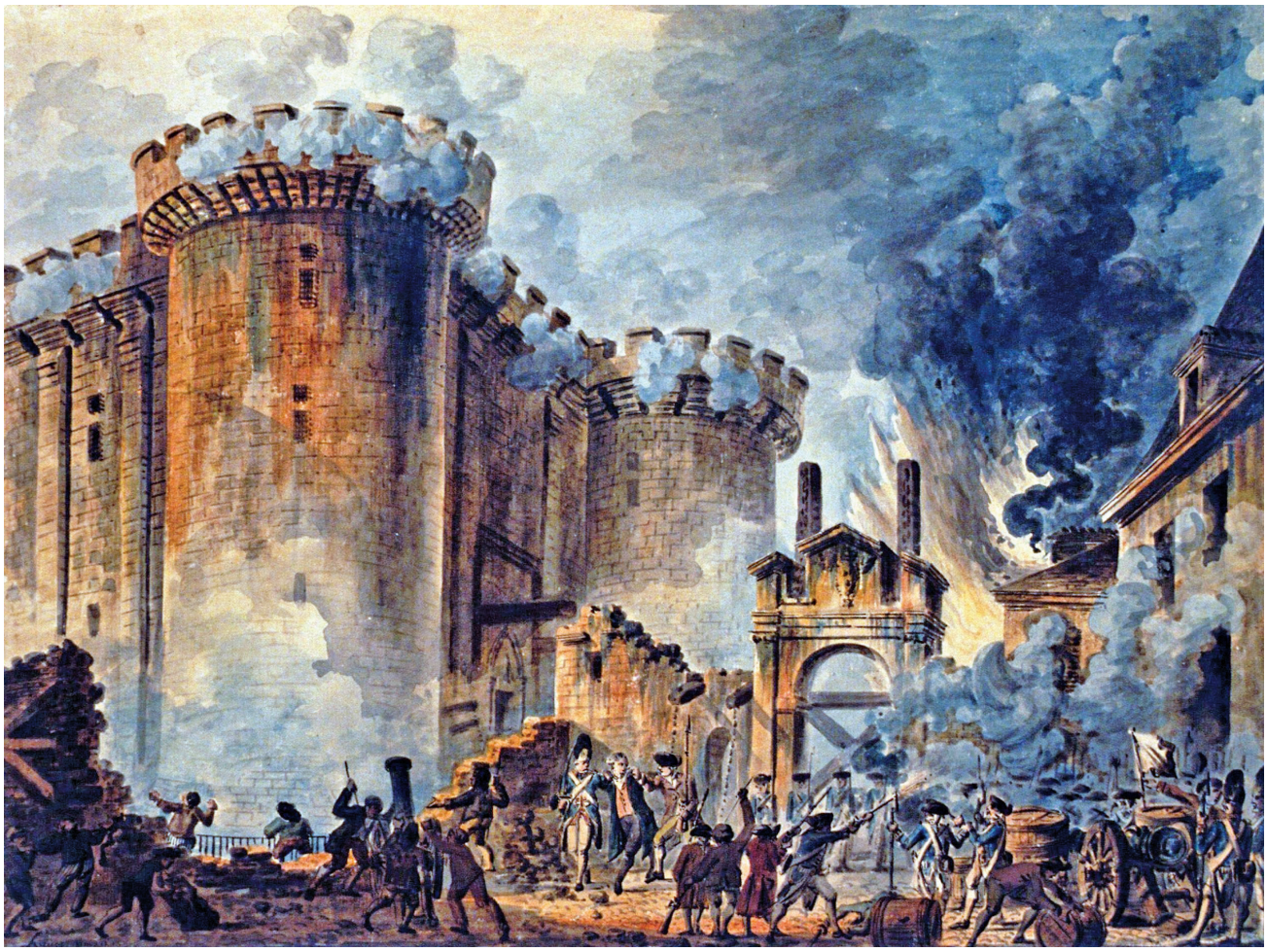
Handout 6, Problem 1

The king did not take a position on how many votes each estate would get (Complaints A and B), and he didn't take strong positions on Complaints E (Catholic religion) or I (common land). The king opposed the other complaints. Complaints C, D, F, G, and H would upset the traditional stability of the country. They might also upset some in the church and nobility, weakening the power of the king. Some historians believe that if the king had agreed to the National Assembly having the power to tax (Complaint C), the whole French Revolution might have been avoided. Rather than prompting a revolution, the government might have changed to a constitutional monarchy with a national assembly and a king with limited powers. The king, however, did not agree to that complaint. Instead, he gave a speech in which he stated that as king he still had the power to tax and rule for the good of the people. When a noble protested that the king's actions were illegal, the king replied that his actions were legal because they reflected his will. He said that the three estates (as opposed to the National Assembly by the Third Estate) would remain and should go back to work on solutions. He compromised later, but compromise came too late. At that point, the financial crisis was turning into political revolution.

Handout 6, Problem 2

The king's unwillingness to take decisive action made the situation worse. First, the Third Estate refused to leave the room after the king's speech, even though the king said that everyone needed to leave. When the king learned of the common people's defiance, he backed down, saying, "Oh well, let them stay." Second, as outlined in Handout 6, Problem 2, when the Third Estate met at the tennis court and pledged to form a new government, the king did not bring in the army to enforce his will (Option A). Third, violence broke out in Paris when the crowd attacked a fort, called the Bastille, as well as wheat storage buildings. Working people felt that the king was not fulfilling his duty to protect people from high bread prices. Moreover, poor people suspected that the wheat was being stored and given out to rich people while the poor went hungry.

The king thought about bringing in soldiers to preserve order, but he again decided against taking strong action (Option B). There were problems with using troops. French soldiers had low morale (desertion rates were high) and had told their officers that they did not want to shoot their fellow citizens. Some soldiers had already joined with the rebels. The danger was that large parts of the French army would switch to the rebel side, which would end the king's government very quickly. The king could have used foreign troops, such as hired Hungarian or German troops stationed in and around Paris, but the idea of foreign troops shooting French citizens was distasteful to the king and his advisers. The king did appeal to people to end the violence (Option C), but his appeal had



A painting of the storming of the Bastille

no effect, since the king no longer had authority in the government. The withdrawal of troops and the rise of violence led to about forty thousand nobles fleeing the country.

The debt crisis set the stage for the French Revolution. The Estates General combined complaints with electing representatives for political change, ensuring that complaints would be central. The meeting of the Estates General also raised expectations among the French people that the problems within the country would be solved. The public saw that the Estates General was called to solve a debt crisis that they were not even aware existed. When the debt crisis and other problems listed on the complaints weren't solved by the Estates General, people became frustrated and disappointed. Why was the Estates General called if it wasn't going to solve the problems?

Once they united as the National Assembly, the Third Estate felt it should be the government. As one of the representatives said, "What is the Third Estate? It is everything." As soon as the National Assembly became the governing body, there was little hope for moderate change in government, as had happened in Britain. Britain had formed a government with a representative assembly with power for people (House of Commons), the nobles (House of Lords), and the king—a limited monarchy. It helped the Third Estate that many members of the church (First Estate) and

Image source: La prise de la Bastille [The Storming of the Bastille]. By Jean-Pierre Houël, 1789, courtesy of the National Library of France.

the nobles (Second Estate) were ready to give up their privileges and to support representative government. When the middle-class members of the National Assembly did not try to stop poor people from taking violent action in Paris, they could not contain the violence and the demands for ever more radical changes. Traditional roles, such as bishops in the church and nobles in society, were seen as holding back the move toward a bright future based on the equality of citizens. Anyone not supporting this revolutionary future became suspect.

Without strong action to stop it, the French Revolution went forward, with dramatic consequences for France and for Europe in general. The National Assembly became the actual government, and the king lost his power. He went from Louis XVI, king of France, to Louis Capet, citizen of France. The dramatic effects of the French Revolution are treated in the next decision-making lesson (Handout 8).

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What did Louis XVI do well or poorly in these decision-making problems regarding the Estates General? Explain your answer.

2. What did you do well or poorly in these decision-making problems? Remember, just because you got a positive outcome doesn't mean you decided well. Maybe you were just lucky.

3. What was the most important decision-making skill in this problem (for example, identifying assumptions or setting realistic goals)? Explain your answer.

CAHIER OF THE THIRD ESTATE OF PARIS, 1789

Primary Source

The 1789 cahier of the Third Estate reads in part as follows:

Natural Rights

In every political society, all men are equal in rights. All power emanates from the nation, and may only be exercised for its well being.

Law exists only to guarantee to each individual the ownership of his property and the safety of his person.

All property is inviolable. No citizen may be arrested or punished except by legal judgment. . . .

The natural, civil, and religious liberty of each man, his personal safety, his absolute independence of every other authority except that of the law, prohibits all enquiry into his opinions, speech, writings, and actions, provided that they do not disturb public order and do not encroach on the rights of others.

Constitution

In the French monarchy, legislative power belongs to the nation conjointly with the King; executive power belongs to the King alone. . . .

Pending the much desired union of citizens of all classes in a common and general representation and deliberation, the citizens of the Third Estate shall have at least half the representatives. . . .

The monarch's person is sacred and inviolable. The succession to the throne is hereditary in the reigning family, in the male line, by order of primogeniture, to the exclusion of women and their descendants, whether male or female, and can only fall on a prince born French, within lawful marriage, and resident in the country.

No citizen may be arrested, nor his home entered, in pursuance of lettres de cachet, or any other order emanating from the executive power. . . .

The whole kingdom shall be divided into provincial assemblies, composed of inhabitants of the province, freely elected by each class, and in the proportions established.

In future there shall be no ennoblement. . . . The Estates General shall establish a system of civic honours, purely personal and not hereditary, which shall be conferred by the King . . .

without distinction, on citizens of any class who have merited them by the lustre of their patriotic virtues and the magnitude of their services.

Finances

Any special impost whatever, whether personal or on real estate, such as the taille, franc-fief, poll-tax, military service, forced labour, the billeting of troops, etc. shall be suppressed and replaced, if necessary, by general taxes born equally by citizens of all classes.

Customs [tariffs] shall only be levied at the point of admission to the Kingdom, and barriers shall be withdrawn thereto.

Source: Documents of the French Revolution. Available from Alpha History at http://alphahistory.com/frenchrevolution/cahier-of-the-third-estate-paris-1789/.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Is this cahier (complaint) radical for its time? Provide evidence from the document for or against its being radical.
2. With which part of the cahier would the king most likely disagree?
3. How reliable is this cahier as a source?

LESSON 6: REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT IN FRANCE

Teacher's Guide

INTRODUCTION

Overview

In this lesson, the revolutionary government in France is faced with two major crises, one on finances and the other on war. The decisions made in the second problem set especially had great influence on French society, as they led to what came to be known as the Terror. Perhaps the students will make better decisions than the revolutionary government did.

Vocabulary

- bankruptcy—the inability of a person, group, or country to pay back its loans or debts
- Committee of Public Information—the government agency in revolutionary France that arrested people who were threatening the revolution
- Declaration of the Rights of Man—the document that listed the rights of all men, issued by the revolutionary government in France in 1789
- draft—a system for requiring or forcing people to serve in the military
- emigrate—to move out of a country
- famine—extreme scarcity of food for a large population
- guillotine—a device used to execute people by cutting off their heads
- inflation—an increase in prices
- interest—money charged for a loan
- National Assembly—the lawmaking body that formed the revolutionary government in France
- sans-culottes—people in France who did not wear fancy pants; the common people
- terrorism—the unlawful use of violence and intimidation, especially against civilians, in the pursuit of political aims
- traitor—a person who betrays his or her country

Decision-Making Skills Emphasized

- Consider other points of view
- Identify assumptions or emotions
- Ask questions about context
- Evaluate the reliability of sources
- Consider realistic goals
- Generate ethical options
- Play out the options
- Predict unintended consequences

LESSON PLAN A: IN-DEPTH LESSON *(50 minutes)*

Procedure

Distribute Handout 1, have students read it, and have them decide which of the six options they will choose. Remind students that they may choose as many options as they would like. After they have written their selections, tell students to pair up and discuss their choices. Circulate around the room to answer questions or clear up misunderstandings. Bring the class back together and ask them to vote on the options. After the discussion of the pros and cons of various choices, have students revote. Did many students change their votes? If so, why?

When Handout 1 has been discussed and voted on, distribute Handout 2, with the outcomes of the National Assembly's decisions, and answer the "Questions for Analysis" at the end of the sheet.

1. Did the National Assembly make good decisions regarding the debt crisis in France? Explain what they did well or where they went wrong.

   Answers will vary.

2. What did you do well or poorly in this decision-making problem on the debt?

   Answers will vary.

3. What was the most important decision-making skill in this problem (for example, identifying assumptions or setting realistic goals)?

   *Specific decision making skills [**P-A-G-E**] are explained below in the section "Decision-Making Analysis." Answers will vary, but considering playing out the options and considering unintended consequences are important skills, as shown in Handout 2.*

Handout 3 presents a new problem focused on the war crisis of 1792. Follow the procedure outlined above for Handout 1: Students decide, they discuss their choices in pairs, they vote, they discuss the choices as a class, and they revote.

When students have decided, discussed their choices in pairs, voted, discussed the choices as a class, and voted again, distribute Handout 4 with the outcomes. Have students read Handout 4 and answer the "Questions for Analysis" at the end of the sheet.

1. What did the revolutionaries do well or poorly in this decision-making problem regarding the war crisis?

   Answers will vary.

2. What did you do well or poorly in this decision-making problem?

   Answers will vary.

3. What was the most important decision-making skill in this problem (for example, identifying assumptions or setting realistic goals)?

   Answers will vary, but thinking about ethical issues and considering unintended consequences are very important skills.

Option for Premortem Strategy: When students have made their decision in Handout 3 about what to do regarding the war crisis, focus them on unintended consequences by having them engage in a premortem strategy. Tell them that it is three years later and whatever choice they have made (drafting all young men into the army, taking land from the church, taking land from the nobles, and/or investigating and arresting suspected people) has been a disaster. Students are to write out what they think the disaster will be and what caused it. After students have written their scenarios, have them pair up and share them. Then bring the class together to discuss their scenarios. Follow this discussion by asking students to review their choices. Did many students change their minds as a result of this activity?

Option for Primary Sources: When students finish discussing the outcomes in Handout 4, distribute Handout 5 and have students answer the questions. Move around the room to answer queries about meaning or vocabulary.

1. What is Robespierre's main argument about the use of terror? What is his point?

   Robespierre is arguing that the use of terrorism is justified in a republican government. It is easy to focus on sub-arguments and miss the main point.

2. How reliable is this speech as a source?

   It is a primary source, as it is from a revolutionary leader, spoken at the time. It is a public source, so it is meant to appeal to the audience. Robespierre has a very great reason to lie, as he is trying to convince the National Assembly that terror is justified. However, if the historian is asking about the methods of propaganda used in the revolutionary government, then there is no reason to lie (it is clear that he is using propaganda), and the source is much more reliable.

Reflecting on Decision Making

Ask students how well they did on decision making on this problem. Which decision-making skills were especially important in making these decisions about revolutionary government? Which of the letters of **P-A-G-E** applied especially to this problem? (See the "Decision-Making Analysis" section below for ideas.) Ask students what they did well or poorly in terms of the **P-A-G-E** analysis of decision making. Discuss their answers.

Putting the Actual Decisions into Historical Context

Ask students whether the decisions made by the members of the National Assembly in France were the result more of historical forces or of individual choices. Some will argue that decisions made by the Assembly were due to individual choices. The members could have made different choices—for example, not to arrest suspects without trials. Also, members used the crowds to get more power in the Assembly against other members who had different views. Each leader was elected and served in particular circumstances and had specific goals. The governments of other countries chose differently, showing that the leaders in France chose by free will. Other students will argue that the Assembly's decisions were shaped by historical context. They were clearly influenced by the war crisis. Fear of imminent defeat and invasion of Paris set the historical context of these decisions.

Connecting to Today

Ask students to reflect on the lessons of the French Revolution. Based on what happened in the revolutionary government, what should governments do to protect individual rights when there is a crisis threatening the country? What should governments do when they face a financial crisis?

Troubleshooting

There is a great deal of vocabulary that could make comprehension difficult for some students. For example, some students may struggle with terms such as debt, bankruptcy, or inflation. You might want to review vocabulary before or during the reading of handouts.

LESSON PLAN B: QUICK MOTIVATOR LESSON *(20 minutes)*

Give Handout 3 for homework and have students make their decisions. In class, ask for a show of hands for the various options. Discuss reasons for five minutes. Distribute Handout 4 with the outcomes, and have students write their reactions for homework. If you prefer an economic focus, use the same procedure using Handouts 1 and 2.

TEACHER NOTES TO EXPAND DISCUSSION

(For outcomes for students, see Handouts 2 and 4.)

The descriptions of printing money in Handouts 1 and 2 are very much oversimplified. In reality, the government printed bonds (called *assignats*) to be sold at 5 percent interest, backed by the sale

of church property. The government reasoned that since the land would be sold slowly—so as not to collapse the real estate market by dumping a huge amount of land to be sold all at once—it could borrow money up front to pay off the debt and pay off the loans as the land was sold. People would be likely to buy the bonds, since they were backed by real assets. In reality, people quickly started using the bonds as currency. The effect was the same as if the government had simply printed money, and that is how it is described in the lesson, to avoid needless complication. The issue of the bonds followed Gresham's law: that bad money (paper money) drives out good money (coins) as people save the money that they believe is actually valuable. Coins became very scarce in France at this time.

There was intense struggle between factions within the National Assembly over all the years of the revolutionary government. The primary conflict at the time of this lesson (1790 to 1794) was between two political factions, the Girondins and the Mountain. Likewise, the Jacobin clubs held considerable power over the deliberations of the National Assembly. All of this is interesting, but not relevant to the decision-making problems in the lesson. Discussion of these factions would have introduced needless complexity.

The situation in much of revolutionary France was dual government, which led to great instability and fear. For example, there were the Jacobin clubs, which had great influence with many members of the National Assembly. In 1792 power was split between the Communes (secret police) and the National Assembly. Historian Crane Brinton refers to dual government in his book *The Anatomy of Revolution* (1938).

The early French Republic experienced what historians have called the Reign of Terror, the period when severe reprisals were taken against any seen as enemies of the new revolutionary state. In making the point that violence was an important part of the revolution all along, historian Simon Schama (1989) says, "The Terror was merely 1789 with a higher body count." He says the safety committees were the organs of a police state.

> It [one of the safety committees] arrogated to itself all the powers which had been deemed so obnoxious under the old regime: opening letters, creating networks of informers and spies, searching houses without warrants, providing machinery for denunciation and encouraging Patriots to bring any of their suspicions to the attention of the authorities.

Many leaders in the National Assembly thought monks and nuns in monasteries were leaching off society. In 1790, they closed the monasteries "to allow their inmates to enter the public realm." Priests and bishops were also at that point to be elected, like justices of the peace. It was yet another example of the hostility between the state and the church.

The land taken from noble émigrés included land owned by family members, even if they had remained in France.

Many in France wanted to spread the ideals of the revolution by war. After all, if men were born free, as the revolutionaries preached, then all of them should be liberated from their oppressors. French victories in war would spread the revolutionary system to many countries. Robespierre

opposed military expansion to spread the ideals of the revolution, saying, "No one loves armed missionaries."

There were numerous rebellions in various parts of France during the period of the lesson, one of the largest being the Vendée Rebellion in 1793. Thousands of French troops were sent to put down the rebellion, which degenerated into guerrilla warfare. Foreign powers conspired to support rebellions. The British actually sent a fleet to help the port city of Toulon to rebel against the French government. It is important to remember that the events and effects of the French Revolution were very different for different areas of the country. For example, most of the people killed in the Terror were killed near the front lines of battle or in Paris. In many other parts of the country, very few people were killed.

Handout 4 states that the French turned the tide of the war against outside armies and internal rebels. Thereafter, there were several other wars in which the French had wins and losses. One of the keys to ultimate victory by the French was the *levée en masse,* or conscription, as described in Handout 4.

Decision-Making Analysis*

P = Problem

Identify any underlying problem(s).

Consider other points of view.

What are my assumptions? Emotions?

A = Ask for information (about)

Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)

Reliability of sources

Historical analogies

G = Goals

What are my main goals, and are they realistic?

Generate options to achieve these goals. Are they ethical?

E = Effects

Predict unintended consequences.

Play out the options. What could go wrong?

*Bold denotes topics addressed in this lesson.

- **Consider other points of view:** In Handout 1, students need to consider the points of view of farmers, bishops, priests, and Catholic lay people. For example, how will farmers, clergy,

and nobles feel about having their property taken away from them? In Handout 3, students should consider the points of view of ordinary people responding to a draft, the relatives of people being arrested and executed, Catholics dealing with a required loyalty oath by clergy, and foreign powers reacting to the execution of the king.

- **Identify assumptions or emotions:** In Handout 3, revolutionary leaders (and students) should have been conscious that the emotion of fear is driving their choices. It isn't necessarily bad to be fearful, but people need to know when fear is influencing their decisions and how it is influencing them. In this case, many people lost their lives due in part to fear.
- **Ask questions about context:** In Handout 3, revolutionary leaders, and students, could ask about the power of the various armies and how likely it is that the Austrians/Prussians will break through and move into Paris. Another question might be what Britain or other countries have done in the past when a foreign king has been executed.
- **Evaluate the reliability of sources:** In Handout 3, how reliable are the rumors that people are betraying the revolution? What evidence of these betrayals do these people have?
- **Establish realistic goals:** In Handout 3, students should ask if arresting thousands of people will actually help turn the tide in the war. Maybe the main problem is on the battlefield, not on the home front. Even worse, arresting all these people might actually make the military situation worse for France by undermining morale among the common people. They may be asking what they are fighting for if their own government is violating people's rights.
- **Generate ethical options:** In Handout 1, the option of taking land from clergy or nobles or of taking food from farmers without their consent violates the right of private property and therefore is ethically problematic. In Handout 3, students should recognize that searching people's homes and arresting them without trials is immoral, or at least highly questionable.
- **Predict unintended consequences:** The consequences, both intended and unintended, of the decisions are outlined in Handouts 2 and 4. As noted in Handout 2, one unintended consequence of taking church land is long-term hostility between the church and the government in France. An unintended consequence of the government paying the salary of priests is the loss of independence of the church. Being paid by the government causes many problems for priests. Will they lose their salary if they don't support government actions that they feel are not in line with their religious beliefs? In Handout 3, the long-term effects of government violence in the Terror were important and ongoing, with many other groups, both government and nongovernment, using violence to achieve their ends.
- **Play out the options:** The short-term effects of various options are outlined in Handouts 2 and 4. For example, in Handout 1, the choice to print paper money led to inflation and then to food shortages because farmers were unwilling to sell their crops if they were to be paid in paper money. In Handout 3, instituting a draft would predictably be met by protests in some places.

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LESSON 6: REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT IN FRANCE

VOCABULARY

- bankruptcy—the inability of a person, group, or country to pay back its loans or debts
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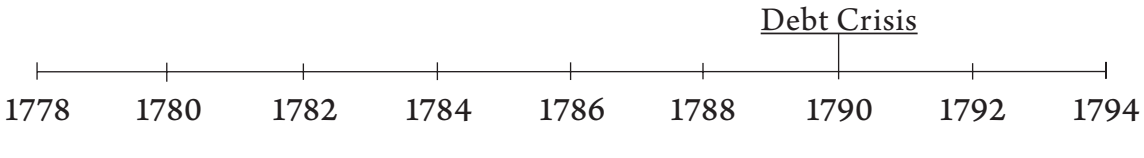
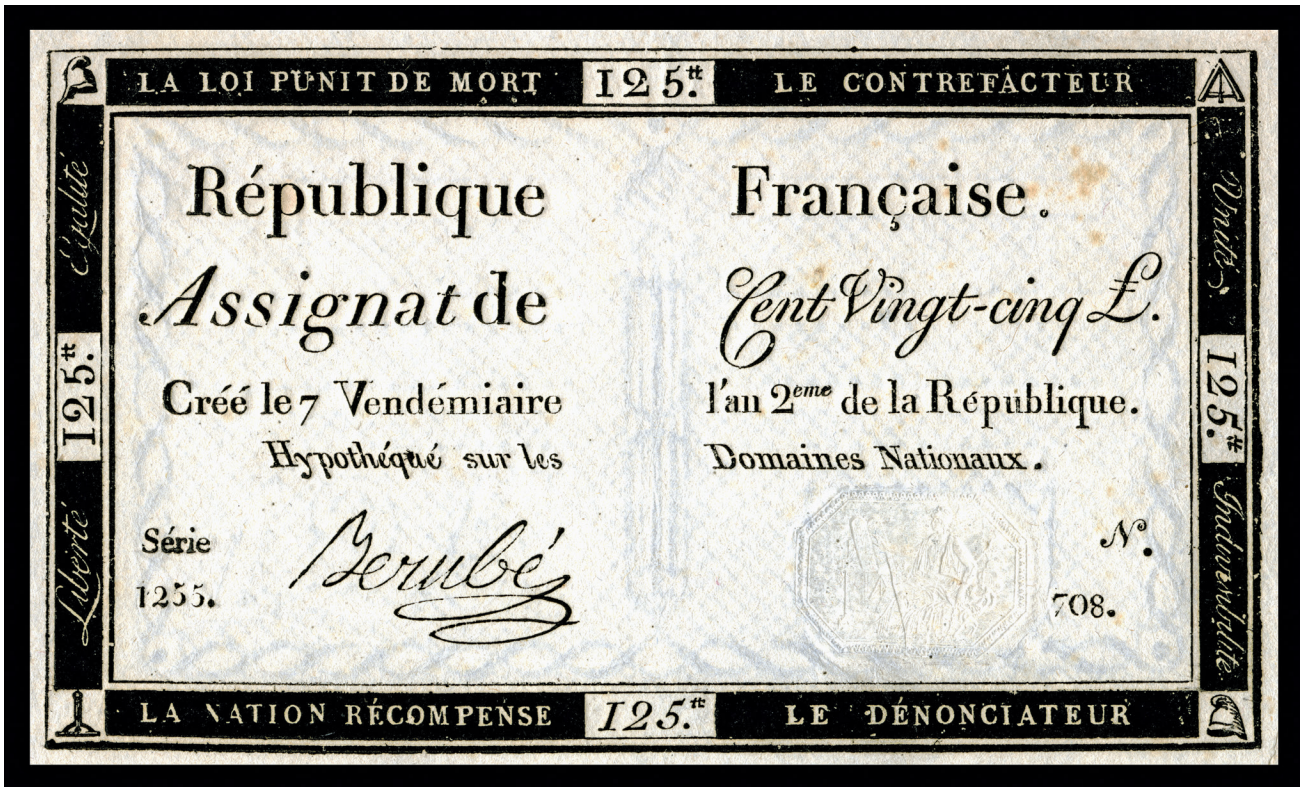
- terrorism—the unlawful use of violence and intimidation, especially against civilians, in the pursuit of political aims
- traitor—a person who betrays his or her country

WHAT WILL YOU DO ABOUT THE DEBT CRISIS?





Paper money

The year is 1790 and you are a member of the National Assembly in France. The National Assembly has taken over control of the government as a result of the French Revolution. It took control from the king, Louis XVI, who is living in Paris but who now does not have the authority to govern the country. This is a new chapter in the history of France, where the representatives of the people will make and enforce the laws for the good of everyone.

But with control comes responsibility. The financial crisis, which was a central cause of the revolution in France, is even worse than it was before the revolution. With the breakdown of government authority, many people aren't paying any taxes. When the National Assembly stopped all feudal dues, peasants felt they didn't need to pay any taxes. Meanwhile, because of all the violence and the lack of authority to collect taxes to pay the loans back, no one will loan money to the new French government. With a huge debt, a great drop in taxes collected, and no one willing

Image source: Early French banknote. Courtesy of the National Numismatic Collection at the Smithsonian Institution.

to lend money, the French government is extremely close to bankruptcy—that is, declaring that the government will not pay back the loans made by people to the French government. Bankruptcy might sound like an easy way out, but the reality is that once a country declares bankruptcy very few people will loan money to it again, even if they could demand very high interest rates. The French economy would be crippled far into the future if the country goes bankrupt.

What will you do about the huge debt of the French government? You may choose as many options as you would like.

A. Do nothing. It will be bad if we go bankrupt, making it harder to get loans. But we will have wiped out our debt, so inaction gives the French government a chance to make a clean start.

B. Print paper money and use the money to pay off the debt. True, this action will cause inflation, which will hurt most people in France, especially poor workers. But it will also make it easier to pay off the loans and wipe out the debt.

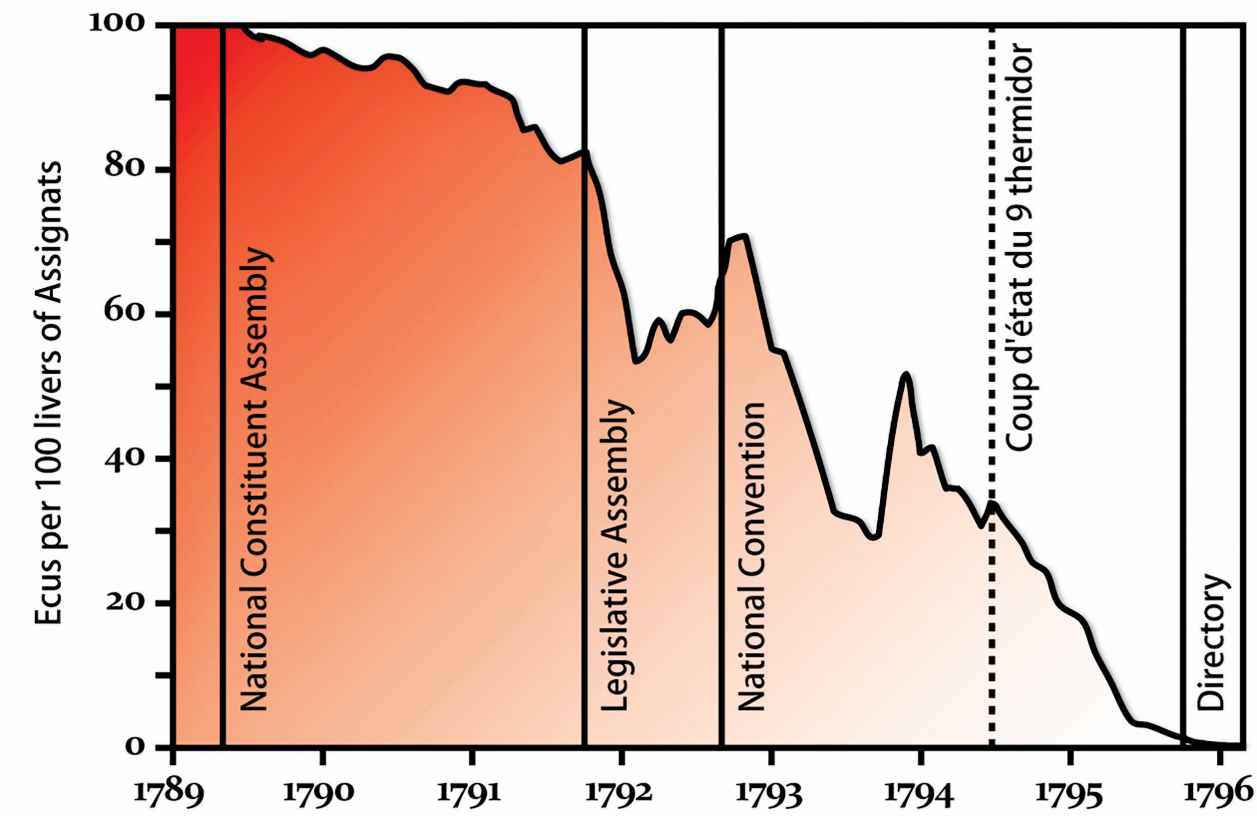
C. Take land that the Catholic church owns and sell it to pay down the debt. The church can keep the land on which the buildings are located, but there is no reason for the church to own farmland, amounting to about 10 percent of all the land in France. Moreover, the church doesn't pay taxes on all this land. We appreciate that the church takes care of the spiritual needs of France, but the people of France need the land more than the church does.

D. Increase taxation. We have to collect more money if we are going to pay down the debt.

E. Enforce the collection of taxes. Use government officials to make sure everyone pays his fair share and use soldiers to back them up. Too many are evading taxes right now.

F. Attack other countries, take control of them, and tax them to pay off the debt.

OUTCOMES OF THE DEBT CRISIS



A graph shows the declining value of paper money. When the value of money declines, prices go up (inflation).

The revolutionary government of the National Assembly decided on Options B, C, E, and eventually F. Printing paper money (Option B) helped pay off part of the debt, but it also caused great inflation, which destabilized the economy. The high prices were aggravated by a rebellion of enslaved people in Saint Domingue (Haiti), which led to shortages and higher prices on sugar, coffee, and rum. Sugar prices tripled. Rising prices, especially of bread, made life for workers more difficult. Since paper money was losing value (it eventually lost 99 percent of its value), farmers wanted to be paid in coins for their crops. But buyers of food wanted to pay for the food using the less valuable paper money. So farmers refused to sell some of their food, leading to shortages in the food supply. Parts of France were very close to famine. Three years later, the government sent in soldiers to take the food from farmers by force and arrested many farmers for undermining the revolution. These actions made farmers even more unhappy.

Taking the church's land (Option C) hurt France in the short run and in the long run. It turned many Catholics, who were the overwhelming majority of the population, against the revolutionary government, resulting in a civil war in some places. The sale of the church land did raise some money to pay off part of the debt, but it wasn't enough to solve the debt problem. The National Assembly decided to replace the many taxes under the king with one larger tax (Option D). But

the result was that less tax money was collected overall. The Assembly tried to better enforce tax collection (Option E), but these efforts failed. The system of tax collection under the king, where the tax collectors were paid a portion of what they collected, was much more effective. Tax collections dropped under the revolutionary government.

The country was too weak militarily in 1790 to attack other countries (Option F). But in 1791 the National Assembly voted for war, arguing that foreign powers were trying to bring down the revolution and put the king back on the throne. The motive for war was to preserve the revolution, but once territory was captured in Belgium, the French decided to tax the Belgian people to help pay the costs of the war and to pay down the debt. One member of the National Assembly stated, "the salvation of the Republic is in Belgium; it is only by the union of this rich country to our territory that we can restore our finances and continue the war." The revolutionary leader Robespierre argued against the war, warning that it would lead to government dictatorship and destruction of the rights of people, but he was outvoted. The French repeated this action of taking territory and taxing the people there to pay down the debt by taking areas in Luxemburg, Switzerland, Italy, and some German areas in the Rhineland. One unintended consequence of taking over the Rhineland was that it disrupted trade between the Rhineland and other German areas, which hurt the German economy in general.

Eventually, the government did declare bankruptcy in 1797 (mentioned in Option A). This had the negative effects, described in Handout 1, of hurting the credit rating for France, but it also allowed the government to start again without the burden of an enormous debt.

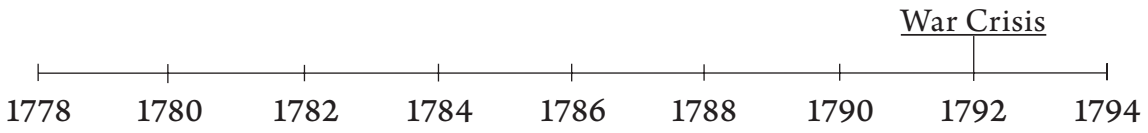
QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Did the National Assembly make good decisions regarding the debt crisis in France? Explain what they did well or where they went wrong.

2. What did you do well or poorly in this decision-making problem on the debt? Remember, just because you got a positive outcome doesn't mean you decided well. Maybe you were just lucky.

3. What was the most important decision-making skill in this problem (for example, identifying assumptions or setting realistic goals)? Explain your answer.

WAR CRISIS, 1792



This painting shows the fighting in the Vendée, where a large rebellion is taking place.

The year is 1792, and you are a leader in the National Assembly in France, which is facing a war crisis. Outside armies from Austria and Prussia have invaded France. If they capture the stronghold at Verdun, these foreign armies will be able to march to Paris and end the revolution. The reason that foreign countries are attacking France is partly to restore the king to power. There are rumors in Paris that many nobles, bishops, and ordinary French people are secretly supporting the invading armies so they can restore the king as the head of the government. Many people believe that French armies are being undermined by traitors at home. Thousands of nobles have emigrated, leaving France, but according to many people they have family members still in France who want to stop the revolution. There are major rebellions in two places in France against the new government by supporters of the king. There are food shortages in Paris and other cities.

Ordinary people in Paris—called *sans-culottes* (those without breeches) because they wear ordinary clothes rather than the fancy clothes of nobles—have already been involved in riots. In one fight with soldiers, eight hundred people were killed. France is in a desperate situation.

What will you do about the crisis? You may choose as many options as you would like.

A. Draft all males between ages sixteen and thirty to serve in the army. The increased size of the army will then turn the tide of the war.

B. Increase taxes and divert money from other government spending to the military to defeat the invading armies.

C. Give power to the government to investigate—including allowing private homes to be searched for evidence of disloyalty—and arrest without trial those French people who might be a threat to the revolution. Given the military threat, there is no time for lengthy trials to catch people who are disloyal. It is important to act swiftly to save the French nation.

Image source: Henri de La Rochejacquelein au combat de Cholet en 1793. By Paul-Émile Boutigny, 19th century, Musée d'art et d'histoire de Cholet.

D. Make all bishops and priests sign an oath of loyalty to the government. It seems reasonable for people to show their support for the nation at this critical time.

E. Take the land away from nobles who emigrated unless they agree to return to France. They would have two months to return or have their land taken over by the government and sold. The nobles deserve to be penalized for abandoning the country if they are not willing to return to defend the country. This action would have the advantage of raising money to pay off the huge debt and to fund the army.

F. Use the army of the National Assembly to stop the rioting, even if that means killing ordinary people in Paris.

G. Since the king and queen seem to be plotting against the revolutionary government, execute them. After all, they tried to flee to a remote part of the country to restore themselves to power. Once they are killed, there will be no reason for foreign powers to fight, since they can't put the king back on the throne.

Rioters slaughtered soldiers guarding the king.

Image source: Run on the Tuileries on 10. Aug. 1792 during the French Revolution. By Jean Duplessis-Bertaux, 1793, Palace of Versailles.

OUTCOMES OF THE WAR CRISIS

The Battle of Valmy was a major French victory.

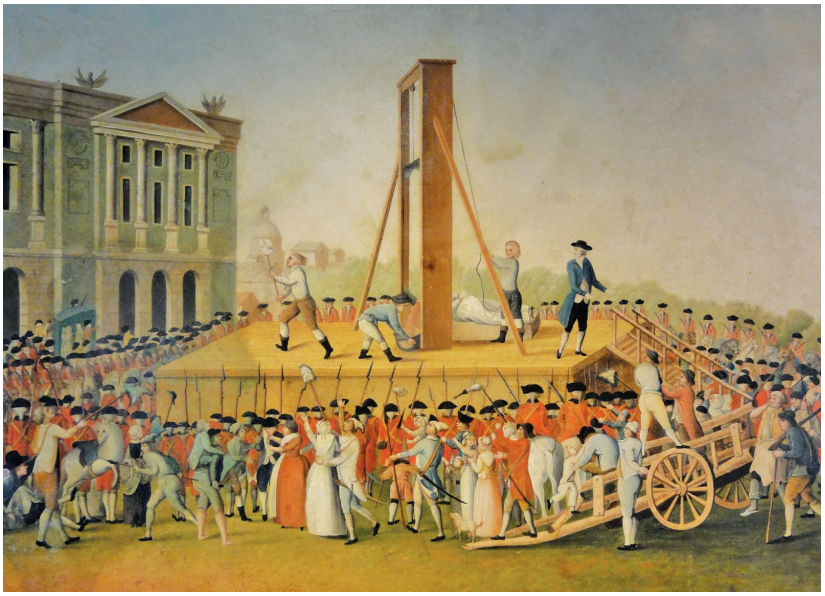
Over the next two years (1792–1793), the revolutionary government chose the draft (Option A), which made the army larger, and they chose to increase military spending (Option B), which made it more effective. These were the most important decisions contributing to the French winning the war. The draft was not popular and was resisted in some places in France, but it did increase the size of the French army. The French won two major battles and turned the tide of the war in their favor.

The revolutionary government also decided to stamp out disloyalty among its own citizens. It forced bishops and priests to take a loyalty oath (Option D), which caused religious divisions within France for many years. When the pope said that priests and bishops should not take the oath, priests and bishops were caught in a dilemma between their loyalty to their faith and their loyalty to their country. In addition, the government ended the mandatory 10 percent tax paid to the church (called the *tithe*). The government said it would pay the salaries of priests, but ending the tithe cut the independence of the church, making it dependent on the government. The combination of taking land from the church, ending the tithe, paying priests salaries from the government, and making clergy sign a loyalty oath gave Catholics the impression that the French government was hostile to religion. The French government gained a reputation for being antireligious.

Image source: Battle of Valmy. By Horace Vernet, 1826, National Gallery.

Taking land away from nobles (Option E) also hurt the French government. The nobles did not return, and the land was taken. But taking land without the permission of the owners violated the law, and it contradicted the belief held by almost all the revolutionary leaders in the rights to private property. Once the law was violated by the government, the people had less protection from government abuse.

The abuse by government was advanced most directly when the government took the power to investigate and arrest French citizens without trial (Option C). The government did set up trial courts, but then didn't require evidence to be presented. Trials consisted of a presentation of charges followed by the verdict and the sentence. Large groups of people were tried in minutes in the morning and executed in the afternoon of the same day. The government had set up a secret police force, at first under the Commune (the name of the revolutionary government from 1792 to 1795) and later under the Committee of Public Safety. This abuse of a basic right to a trial and to privacy within the home led to other abuses, such as shutting down those in the free press who were critical of the revolutionary government. It was a small step from those abuses to the systematic killing of people suspected of being disloyal to the revolutionary government. Tens of thousands of French people were executed by the guillotine in what was called the Reign of Terror. The word *terrorism* took on its modern meaning at this time in the French Revolution. No one was safe from being accused of disloyalty, being sent to jail without a trial, and then being executed. Fear was everywhere in France. If you chose Option C, you opened the door to government terrorism in France.



Marie Antoinette executed on the guillotine

Violence was an important part of the French Revolution from its start in 1789, with bread riots and attacks on wheat storage buildings. Leaders of the National Assembly wanted to stop the violence, since they had pushed for freedom for all people in the Declaration of the Rights of Man, specifically through free speech, a free press, and representative government or assembly. When fear increased in 1792 with foreign militaries threatening Paris and with the large-scale rebellions in several areas of France, the violence became more widespread and systematic. Mobs broke into the prisons in Paris and killed almost half of the prisoners—as many as fourteen hundred people were slaughtered. The government faced a difficult situation. However, breaking the law by setting up secret police only made the revolution more violent, leading to the Terror. The revolutionary

Image source: Illustration of Marie Antoinette's execution, 1793, courtesy of Art Resource.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man was supposed to protect people from government abuse.

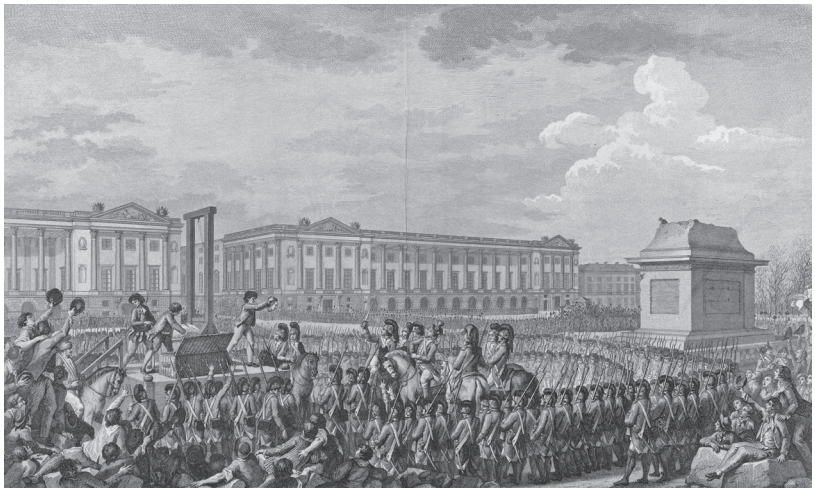
leader Robespierre said openly that the revolution was illegal: "All these things were illegal, just as illegal as the Revolution, as the fall of the King and of the Bastille, as illegal as freedom itself." Robespierre was implying that these violent measures were acceptable to support the revolution, which was illegal in the first place. (This is the "end justifies the means" argument.)

About five hundred thousand people were arrested during the Terror, and about forty thousand people were executed. Even many of the leaders of the revolution who were running the Terror for their own political ends became its victims, being executed toward the end of the Terror in 1794. Of the leaders of the revolution, about 40 percent died violently between 1789 and 1795. One of the saddest results of the revolution was that many people gave up their principles. People wanted to fit in with the revolutionary group to which they belonged, so they agreed to arguments that they knew were wrong. They were intimidated into violating their principles because if they didn't agree to the leaders' arguments, they could be accused of turning against the revolution, which could cost them their lives. They were victims of—or, even worse, became part of—the "thought police." People had revolted for high principles, such as liberty and equality, but once they were caught up in the violence and fear, they ended up supporting violations of rights and outright murder. The key to understanding the Terror is to understand fear. People were afraid they would be killed, so they accused their friends or neighbors and allowed executions to continue. Anyone who criticized the government could be executed.

Eventually, the revolutionaries tried the king and queen and executed them (Option G). Revolutionary leaders were afraid that if they didn't execute the king and queen there would be a civil war between the people of Paris (who wanted them executed) and the people of some of the provinces. Eliminating the king and queen might also weaken the pro-monarchy groups trying to stop the revolution, since there wouldn't be any king to put back on the throne. Like many of their other actions, this decision by the revolutionaries violated the ideals of the revolution. It had other,

Image source: Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. By Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier, c. 1789, Musée Carnavalet.

short-term negative effects as well. People throughout Europe were horrified that ordinary people would execute a king. The British decided to join the other countries fighting France, which only made the odds of France losing the war much greater.



The execution of Louis XVI

In 1795 the more moderate elements regained control of the government, and the executions slowed down. The reaction against the extremism of the revolution was known as the Thermidorian Reaction. The government was led by the more practical Directory from 1795 to 1799. Eventually, Napoleon Bonaparte took control of the government and established an empire rather than a republic. As one historian stated, "Eventually, renewed war brought a soldier to power."

The French economy was crippled by the revolution. Foreign trade declined dramatically and people lost their life savings due to inflation. Economic growth came to a standstill, unemployment rose, and crime increased. French society was disordered. Nobles lost their positions, as did bishops and priests. Ordinary people did not benefit from the losses to nobles and the church. People who serviced these groups—such as builders, painters, and cooks—lost their jobs. When feudal dues were eliminated, rents on ordinary people were increased in order to make up the difference. Charity in general declined, hospitals were closed, and education was disrupted by the revolution. Most people wanted less government in their daily lives, but the revolution brought much more government. Perhaps the biggest tragedy of the revolution was the loss of life. About one million French people died in the revolution between 1789 and 1799. There were positive effects of the revolution, such as the new value placed on the ideals of liberty and equality, which spread to other countries. However, the price paid for those gains was very high indeed.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Did the National Assembly make good decisions regarding the war crisis in France? Explain what they did well or where they went wrong.

2. What did you do well or poorly in these decision-making problems on the war crisis? Remember, just because you got a positive outcome doesn't mean you decided well. Maybe you were just lucky.

3. What was the most important decision-making skill in this problem (for example, identifying assumptions or setting realistic goals)? Explain your answer.

Image source: Execution of Louis XVI. By Isidore Stanislas Helman, 1794, National Library of France.

SPEECH BY ROBESPIERRE IN 1794

Primary Source

In a speech given to the National Convention in February 1794, Robespierre focused on revolutionary terror:

> What is the fundamental principle of the democratic or popular government. . . ? It is virtue. . . . Republican virtue can be considered in relation to the people and in relation to the government; it is necessary in both. When only the government lacks virtue, there remains a resource in the people's virtue; but when the people themselves are corrupted, liberty is already lost. . . . From all this let us deduce a great truth: the characteristic of popular government is confidence in the people and severity towards itself. . . .
>
> If the spring of popular government in time of peace is virtue, the springs of popular government in revolution are at once virtue and terror. Virtue without terror is fatal; terror without virtue is powerless. Terror is nothing other than justice: prompt, severe, inflexible. It is therefore an emanation of virtue . . . a consequence of the general principle of democracy applied to our country's most urgent needs.
>
> It has been said that terror is the principle of despotic government. Does your government therefore resemble despotism? Yes, as the sword that gleams in the hands of the heroes of liberty resembles those in the hands of the henchmen of tyranny. Let the despot govern by terror his brutalised subjects; he is right, as a despot. Subdue by terror the enemies of liberty, and you will be right. . . . The government of the revolution is liberty's despotism against tyranny. . . .
>
> Society owes protection only to peaceable citizens. The only citizens in the Republic are the republicans . . . the royalists, the conspirators are only strangers or enemies. This terrible war waged by liberty against tyranny, is it not indivisible? Are the enemies within not the allies of the enemies without? The assassins who tear our country apart; the intriguers who buy the consciences that hold the people's mandate; the traitors who sell them; the mercenary pamphleteers hired to dishonor the people's cause, to kill public virtue, to stir up the fire of civil discord, and to prepare political counter-revolution by moral counterrevolution . . . are all those men less guilty or less dangerous than the tyrants whom they serve?

Source: Documents of the French Revolution. Available from Alpha History at http://alphahistory.com/frenchrevolution/robespierre-revolutionary-terror-1794/.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What is Robespierre's main argument about the use of terror? What is his point?
2. How reliable is this speech as a source?

LESSON 7: CATHERINE THE GREAT AND THE ENLIGHTENMENT

Teacher's Guide

INTRODUCTION

Overview

The reign of Catherine the Great in Russia (1762–1796) was autocratic but also partly based on Enlightenment ideas. Because she was a woman leader and intended to introduce Enlightenment ideas, it is interesting to see the decisions she made as empress. The lesson also lets students see the period from the perspective of Sultan Mustafa III of the Ottoman Empire. By seeing the problem from different points of view, students have the opportunity to improve their empathic skills.

Vocabulary

- autocrat—a leader with all the power
- Catherine II—empress of Russia
- Enlightenment—an eighteenth-century philosophical movement based on the belief in the power of human reason
- Khanate—a region ruled by a Turkish tribal or military leader known as a khan
- Muslim—a follower of Islam, a monotheistic religion
- noble—a person with inherited privilege
- Ottoman Empire—a Turkish empire (1299–1922) that at its height occupied parts of Western Asia, Europe, and North Africa
- rally-round-the-flag effect—the patriotic feeling of support that citizens have for their leader in times of war or other crises
- serf—an agricultural worker tied to the ruling noble's land
- Sharia law—religious law based on the holy books of Islam
- Süleyman the Magnificent—the sultan of the Ottoman Empire at its most powerful, in the mid-1500s
- Yemelyan Pugachev—the leader of a large but unsuccessful revolt in Russia

Decision-Making Skills Emphasized

- Identify underlying problems
- Consider other points of view
- Ask questions about context
- Ask questions about the reliability of sources
- Play out the options
- Predict unintended consequences

LESSON PLAN A: IN-DEPTH LESSON *(50 minutes)*

Procedure

This lesson confronts students with decision-making problems in domestic and foreign policy in Russia under Catherine the Great. It also addresses foreign policy under Mustafa III, sultan of the Ottoman Empire. Handout 1, on Russian domestic policies, has its own outcomes in Handout 2. Handout 3 is on foreign policy from the Russian perspective, while Handout 4 looks at the same foreign policy problem from the Turkish perspective. The outcomes of these foreign policies are covered in Handout 5. Handout 6 contains a list of questions that students could ask in regard to the problem in Handout 3 (Russian perspective) as well as a different list of questions to ask about the problem in Handout 4 (Turkish perspective). Handout 7 contains suggested answers for the questions from both the Russian and Turkish perspectives in Handout 6. Handout 8 is a primary source on Russian foreign policy.

Distribute Handout 1 and have students read it. Tell them to decide individually which options they will choose for the four problems: on limiting the power of the empress, on serfs, on laws and punishment, and on how to deal with a revolt. Remind students that for Problems 3 (laws) and 4 (revolt) they may choose as many options as they would like. After students have individually chosen their options, have them pair up and discuss their choices. Circulate around the room to answer questions or clear up misunderstandings. Bring the class back together and ask them to vote on the options. After the discussion of the pros and cons of various choices, have students revote. Did many students changed their votes? If so, why?

When Handout 1 has been discussed and voted on, distribute Handout 2, with the outcomes of Catherine the Great's decisions. Have students read Handout 2 and answer the "Questions for Analysis" at the end of the sheet.

1. Did Catherine the Great make good decisions regarding internal Russian affairs (limiting empress power, serfs, law and punishment, revolt)? Explain what she did well or where she went wrong.

   Answers will vary.

2. What did you do well or poorly in these decision-making problems?

   Answers will vary.

3. What did you learn about specific decision-making skills (**P-A-G-E**) from these decisions?

   *Specific decision-making skills (**P-A-G-E**) are explained below in the section "Decision-Making Analysis."*

Handouts 3 and 4 present the problem of possible war between Russia and the Ottoman Empire from those two different points of view. Handout 3 presents the problem from the Russian point of view, while Handout 4 presents the same conflict situation from the Ottoman point of view. One option for the teacher is to have students read Handout 3 and decide what they would do as the Russians, followed by reading Handout 4 and deciding what they would do as the Ottoman Turks. In this strategy, you could ask students—after they have read through Handout 3 and decided as the Russians, but before they have read Handout 4—to imagine what the perspective of the Ottoman Turks is. A second option is to give half the students Handout 3, deciding what to do as the Russians, and the other students Handout 4, deciding what to do as the Ottoman Turks. This strategy presents the opportunity to have students discuss or even role-play the two different perspectives.

After students have decided, discussed their choices in pairs, voted, discussed the choices as a class, and voted again, distribute Handout 5 with the outcomes. Have students read Handout 5 and answer the "Questions for Analysis" at the end of the sheet.

1. Did Catherine the Great make good decisions regarding the conflict with the Ottoman Empire? Explain what she did well or where she went wrong.

   Answers will vary.

2. Did Sultan Mustafa III, the leader of the Ottoman Empire, make good decisions regarding the conflict with Russia? Explain what he did well or where he went wrong.

   Answers will vary, but going to war turned out badly for the Ottoman Empire, so most students will be looking for specific mistakes that the sultan made.

3. What did you do well or poorly in these decision-making problems?

   Answers will vary.

4. What did you learn about specific decision-making skills (**P-A-G-E**) from these decisions?

   Answers will vary, but the lesson emphasizes the skills of seeing the problem from different points of view, of asking questions, and of anticipating unintended consequences.

Option for Questions from a Menu and Suggested Answers: Another focus of the conflict situation between Russia and the Ottoman Empire (presented in Handouts 3 and 4) is the skill of asking questions. Ideally, students should ask, without prompting, insightful questions that will help them make better decisions. The reality for most students, however, is that they need guided practice to improve their skills at asking good questions. Handout 6 presents students with a menu of questions from the Russian and Turkish points of view. When students have read the Russian point of view (Handout 3), post the questions for the Russian point of view and have students vote on which two questions they would like to have answered. Read the suggested answers from Handout 7 to the two questions with the most votes. Likewise, when students have read the Turkish point of view (Handout 4), post the questions for the Turkish point of view and have students vote on which two questions they would like to have answered. Read the suggested answers from Handout 7 to the top two questions. After completing the problem and discussing the outcomes, ask students which questions in retrospect were most helpful to making a good decision.

Option for Premortem Strategy: When students have made their decision about negotiating versus war as either the Russians or Ottoman Turks, ask them to consider unintended consequences by having them engage in a premortem strategy. Tell them that it is two years later and whatever choice they have made (negotiations or war) has been a disaster. Students are to write out what the disaster is and what caused it. After students have written their scenarios, have them pair up and share them. Then bring the class together to discuss their scenarios. Follow this discussion by asking students to review their choices. Did many students change their minds as a result of this activity?

Option for Primary Sources: When students finish discussing the outcomes in Handout 2, tell them that now they are going to look at Catherine the Great's instructions to a legislative commission about government. We will look at this primary source to gain insights into Russia and to Catherine. Distribute Handout 8 and have students answer the questions.

1. According to Catherine, what is the best form of government for Russia? How well does she defend her position on this form of government?

   She declares that Russia needs a powerful monarchy, which is different from what Montesquieu and other Enlightenment thinkers argued. Student responses will differ on how effectively Catherine made her argument.

2. What is Catherine's view of how the government should prevent crime, including the use of punishment? Do you agree with her view?

   She argues that the focus should be on preventing crime, not punishing it. She thinks moderate punishment that is both swift and sure would be more effective in preventing crime than would heavy punishment. Student opinions of this view will vary.

3. What do Catherine's views on government, punishment, and slavery (serfdom) reveal about her as the empress?

   Catherine's views show her to be a reformer, but an imperfect reformer when it comes to limiting her own power. She wants to keep authoritarian power in order to accomplish other reforms.

4. How reliable is the "Instructions to the Commissioners" document as a source?

   It is a primary source, as it is the actual instructions made by Catherine. This is a public document meant to persuade people to accept Catherine's point of view, so she has a great reason to exaggerate how much these reforms are needed. In instructions, Catherine can present many lofty goals about what Russia can do. The difficulty is in carrying out the reforms. Russia made progress on reducing physical punishments, but the other reforms, such as those on serfdom, were not put into practice.

Reflecting on Decision Making

Ask students how well they did on decision making on this problem. Which decision-making skills were especially important in making these decisions about Russia and the Ottoman Empire? Which of the letters of **P-A-G-E** applied especially to this problem? (See the "Decision-Making Analysis" section below for ideas.) Ask students what they did well or poorly in terms of the **P-A-G-E** analysis of decision making. Discuss their answers.

Putting the Actual Decisions into Historical Context

Ask students whether the decisions made by Catherine the Great were the result more of historical forces or of her personal choices. Some will argue that decisions made by Catherine the Great were due to her personal choices. She was focused on keeping power, after overthrowing the czar in a coup, but also making improvements in Russia. Her desire for making Russia great led to her decision to provoke war with the Ottoman Empire. Other students will argue that Catherine the Great's decisions were shaped by the historical context. She was clearly influenced by Enlightenment thinking, for example. Her decision not to end serfdom was clearly shaped by her realization that she needed the support of the nobles. Her desire to get land on the Black Sea was influenced by geography and economics—she wanted to get an outlet for Russian trade.

Connecting to Today

Ask students what they learned from this lesson on Catherine the Great that still affects people today. For example: How much power should the executive (president) have compared to the legislature? How harsh should punishments be for those who commit crimes? Should we have the death penalty?

Troubleshooting

The geography of the conflict between Russia and the Ottoman Empire will be unfamiliar to most students. Remind students to look at the maps to get a better sense of the geographic locations of the two empires, the independent states between them, the forts, and the trade routes.

LESSON PLAN B: QUICK MOTIVATOR LESSON *(20 minutes)*

Chose only one set of problems. For example, if you choose the problem on domestic policies, give Handout 1 for homework and have students make their decisions. In class, ask for a show of hands for the various options. Discuss reasons for their choices for five minutes. Distribute Handout 2 with the outcomes, and have students write their reactions for homework. Alternatively, you could choose Handout 3 on foreign policy, skipping the other handouts in this group, except for Handout 5, with the outcomes.

TEACHER NOTES TO EXPAND DISCUSSION

(For outcomes for students, see Handouts 2 and 5.)

This lesson does not explore some facets that are well known about Catherine. It doesn't touch on her promotion of education or the arts. She opened elementary schools for the children of nobles and teachers' colleges so Russia would have trained teachers. She expanded the number of hospitals and art museums. She remodeled the Winter Palace, the Hermitage, into an architectural beauty. The lesson also doesn't address her love life, which has been the subject of great interest and some myths. According to some historians, the interest in Catherine's love life is at least partly due to her gender. They argue that kings' extramarital affairs are more accepted, and therefore less often brought up, than are queens' love affairs. The myths about Catherine having sex with animals were perpetuated by her enemies in order to discredit her. As interesting as these other areas are, they are not suitable for decision-making problems and are not part of this lesson.

The serf system was more complicated than is presented in this lesson. Russia was a very large empire in the eighteenth century, so the particulars of the serf system varied in different areas in Russia. The personal nature of serfdom made the variations even more extreme. The relationship between serfs and masters was as varied as the number of people in Russia. Few laws regulated the serf-master relationship, and where there were laws, they were not enforced in most areas. The day-to-day life of the serfs was based on local customs. (See Isabel de Madariaga [1981] for more on the complications of serfdom.) By necessity, serfdom had to be simplified in the lesson.

The Russian government under Catherine held an essay contest on serfdom. The winning essays advocated for regulations of serfs as subjects of the state rather than of landowners. As subjects of the state, serfs were entitled to social welfare, such as schools, medical care, and special courts to judge grievances against landlords. None of the winning essays advocated redistributing land or ending the serf system.

As new farming techniques and farm machinery became available, nobles shifted from exploiting their serfs to making their own land more productive. They expanded their lands (known as *demesnes*) by taking land away from serfs, making the plight of serfs even worse than it had been.

Catherine referred to herself as "Empress and Autocrat of All the Russians." In the lesson, she is referred to as empress rather than as czar or czarina.

The name Poland is used in the lesson for simplicity. The actual name at the time was the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The situation in Poland outlined in Handouts 3 and 4 was very complicated in reality. There were several groups on each side in what was essentially a civil war. One group of fighters was called *haidamaks*; these Cossack rebels revolted against the Polish government and raided towns in southern Poland. The Russians found the haidamak attacks useful in weakening the Polish government, so the Russians gave them support. It was haidamak rebels, along with some Russian soldiers, who massacred the people in Balta, mentioned in Handouts 3 and 4. In addition, there were religious conflicts in Poland among Roman Catholics, Orthodox Catholics (backed by Russians), and Jews. Each Catholic group feared mistreatment from the other Catholic group, and there were ongoing pogroms against Jews. All of these details are not necessary to the description of the situation in 1768 and the decisions students need to make, so they were simplified to Polish rebels versus Russians.

The Russian military innovations before 1762 consisted in improved artillery, increased infantry firepower, the use of wagons to move infantry quickly, the training of sharpshooters, and the deployment of elite troops to shock the enemy and break through enemy lines.

According to historian Brian Davies (2016), the main reason Sultan Mustafa III chose war was his fear that he was losing the security of his northern frontier in the Crimean Khanate, the regions of Wallachia and Moldavia, and the Caucusus. The threat in the Caucusus is not covered in this lesson, as it is quite complicated.

Historian Virginia Aksan (1993) argues that the most important factor in the Russian victory in the war was superior command structure as well as individual military leadership. She also says that the reputed numerical superiority of the Ottoman army is a myth, as outlined in the lesson.

Crimea was a vassal state to the Ottoman Empire. Since the vassal state relationship provides an added dimension of complexity, the idea of the vassal state was left out of the lesson.

Decision-Making Analysis*

P = Problem

Identify any underlying problem(s).

Consider other points of view.

What are my assumptions? Emotions?

A = Ask for information (about)

Historical context (history of this issue; context in the world)

Reliability of sources

Historical analogies

G = Goals

What are my main goals, and are they realistic?

Generate options to achieve these goals. Are they ethical?

E = Effects

Predict unintended consequences.

Play out the options. What could go wrong?

*Bold denotes topics addressed in this lesson.

- **Identify any underlying problem(s):** Catherine recognized that one underlying problem with the serf system was that nobles had overwhelming power in the country and the serfs did not. If she wanted to stay in power, she had to yield to this underlying reality and side with the nobles.
- **Consider other points of view:** Handouts 3 and 4 focus on this skill, as they present the conflict situation from two different points of view: that of the Russians and that of the Ottoman Turks. Just reading and discussing these handouts from different points of view will help students broaden the way they see the conflict situation.
- **Questions about context:** Handouts 6 and 7 focus specifically on the skill of asking insightful questions. Giving sample questions to students will prompt students to discuss which questions were most helpful.
- **Question sources:** In Handout 4, the French diplomats were encouraging the leaders of the Ottoman Empire to fight the Russians. Students should ask what the French motives were. Were they trustworthy in terms of giving reasons for the Ottoman Turks to fight? It turns out that the French wanted to occupy the Russians in a war so Russia couldn't help Britain. French leaders even stated that they didn't care if the Ottoman Turks would win the war.

The French foreign minister to the Ottoman Empire stated, "In good truth, the rottenness of the Turks in every department might make this trial of strength [the war] fatal to them; that matters little to us [the French], provided the object of an immediate explosion [Russia at war] be attained."

- **Predict unintended consequences:** The premortem option focuses specifically on this skill, as outlined in the lesson plan above. Consequences are outlined in Handouts 2 and 5.
- **Play out the options:** In Handout 3, the Russians needed to think about how they would supply their army. It was a major obstacle, but the Russians did plan ahead and eventually overcame the problem. Both sides needed to consider how they would finance the war. The decentralized system in the Ottoman Empire made it especially vulnerable to financial limitations.

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LESSON 7: CATHERINE THE GREAT AND THE ENLIGHTENMENT

VOCABULARY

- autocrat—a leader with all the power
- Catherine II—empress of Russia
- Enlightenment—an eighteenth-century philosophical movement based on the belief in the power of human reason
- Khanate—a region ruled by a Turkish tribal or military leader known as a khan
- Muslim—a follower of Islam, a monotheistic religion
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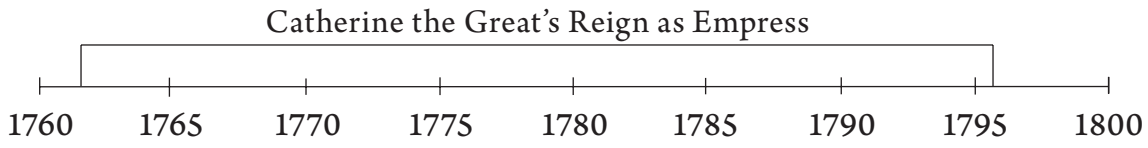
- Ottoman Empire—a Turkish empire (1299–1922) that at its height occupied parts of Western Asia, Europe, and North Africa
- rally-round-the-flag effect—the patriotic feeling of support that citizens have for their leader in times of war or other crises
- serf—an agricultural worker tied to the ruling noble's land
- Sharia law—religious law based on the holy books of Islam
- Süleyman the Magnificent—the sultan of the Ottoman Empire at its most powerful, in the mid-1500s
- Yemelyan Pugachev—the leader of a large but unsuccessful revolt in Russia

WHAT DECISIONS WILL YOU MAKE FOR RUSSIA?



A portrait of Catherine II

The year is somewhere between 1762 and 1796, and you are Catherine II, empress of Russia. Before you took over as the leader of the Russian Empire, you studied governments and how to run them. You read books on the subject by Enlightenment thinkers, including Voltaire and Montesquieu. You believe what Enlightenment thinkers believe, that governments should be run based on reason, not superstition. For example, government leaders should make decisions on whether to build a new road based on evidence of how much trade occurs in the area of the road, not on whether priests say it is the right year to build a road.

Problem 1—Divided Government

You have read Montesquieu's Enlightenment ideas that government power should be divided—no one, including the empress or czar, should have dominant power. One way to accomplish this goal is to set up a legislature, called a senate, that would have power to pass laws. Of course, that would limit your power, since you couldn't just make new laws yourself and you would have to obey the laws the senate passes. You would be sharing power with the senate.

A second option is to make the senate an advisory group. They would meet and make proposals for changes to the Russian government and economy, but the final decisions would be for you to make.

A third idea is to say that the idea of divided power is fine for other countries in Europe, but it is not right for Russia. The Russian government needs a powerful leader who can make the changes needed to modernize Russia and make it great.

A. Set up a legislature, with the power to make laws, limiting your power.

B. Set up a representative group to advise you. The people will appreciate that they have representatives, but you will still have the dominant power in government.

C. Don't set up a representative group. Keep the power over the Russian government to yourself as empress. Explain that Russia needs a powerful leader.

Image source: Portrait of Catherine II of Russia (1729–1796). By Johann Baptist von Lampi the Elder, c. 1780, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Problem 2—Serfs

The situation of serfs in Russia is very bad. They have few rights. For example, serfs can be punished by their noble landowners without any interference by judges, courts, or government officials. In a sense, the nobles have the power of government over them. Serfs are not allowed to leave the land without permission of the owner. Without freedom of movement, serfs do not have the opportunity to look for more favorable options for working or renting land. They are at the mercy of their owners. Serfs are not allowed to acquire buildings, such as a home or workshop, in their own names. (The buildings are owned by the landowning masters.) The masters decide whether serfs can own cattle, tools, furniture, and other movable property. The master also has to give permission for a serf to borrow money or to enter into a private contract.

On top of the problem with lack of rights, the serf system does not allow for modern agricultural methods that would increase the output of crops. For example, land is organized in small strips under the serf system, but large fields are needed to justify the cost of buying modern plows and other equipment. If one person owned a large farm, he would be producing more food, which would give him more money to pay for a plow, for example. It takes three or four pairs of oxen to pull a deep plow, but none of the serfs can afford that many oxen. As a result of the small fields, few modern machines are used in Russia. Because of communal methods of farming, it is difficult for anyone to try new methods. Also, there is a lack of manure. Harsh and long winters make it hard for animals to survive.

On the other hand, the serf system isn't all bad. Owners are obligated to provide for the welfare of serfs, to take care of serfs in hard times. They are also obliged to collect taxes from serfs for the government, which helps the government function.

There are a number of views on what to do about the serf system. Montesquieu argues that the system of serfdom is wrong and should be completely abolished. Former serfs would be allowed to rent or buy land and work it for themselves. The prices to be paid (in cash or in labor) to buy the land should be moderate and fixed by law. As a second option, the Russian government could go further and take the land away from the nobles and divide it among the serfs. The serfs would then own the land without even having to buy it. There would be no nobles.

Third, the government could start a policy of gradual abolition of the serf system. Every time an estate is sold, the serfs would become free. After a period of about one hundred years, all the estates would likely be sold (as owners die), so the serf system would be abolished.

Fourth, the government could oversee the situation the way government leaders did in Prussia (part of modern-day Germany today) and Austria. In those countries, the landowners were replaced by government officials, who gave a more favorable deal to serfs. There would still be serfs, but they would be ruled by the government.

Fifth, the government could reform the serf system, as they did in England. The government in England relied on nobles to run the countryside, but the government passed reforms, such as creating local courts to enforce known laws (which reduced the power of nobles and gave some rights to serfs) and enforce written leases, which would list the rights of peasants (farmers).

Which option will you choose to address the problem of the serfs? You may choose only one option.

A. Abolish the serf system, allowing serfs to rent or buy land.

B. Abolish the serf system by taking land from nobles and dividing it among the serfs.

C. Gradually abolish the serf system by making serfs free whenever estates are sold.

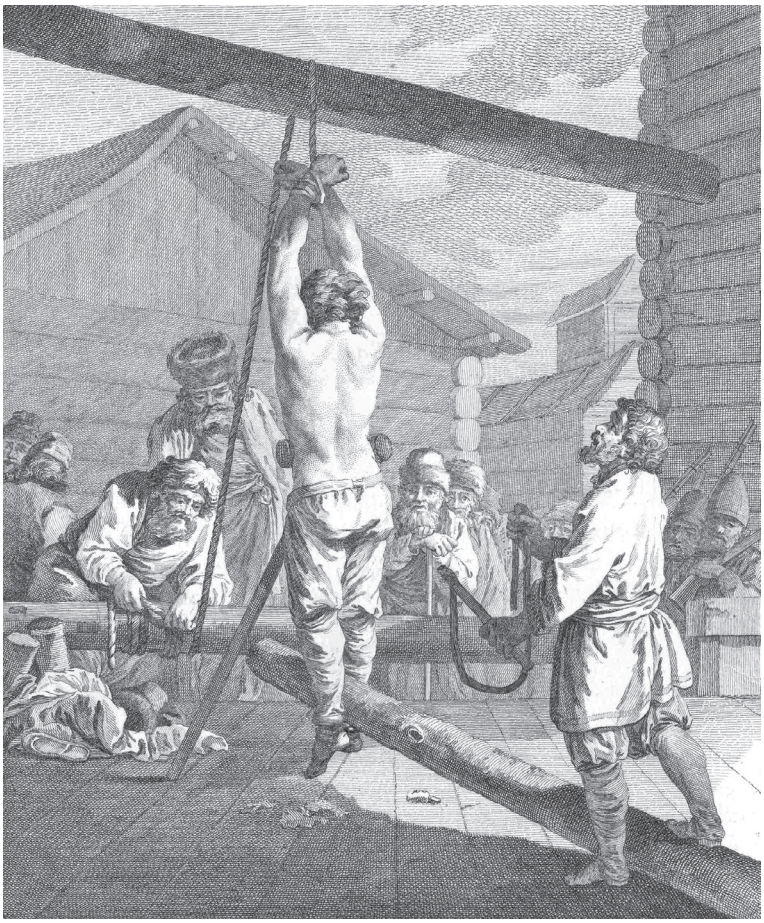
D. Replace landowners with government officials.

E. Keep the serf system, but make reforms to protect and improve the lives of serfs.

F. Don't make any changes. Keep the serf system the way it is now.

Problem 3—Law and Punishment

Laws in Russia are applied unevenly and punishments are sometimes brutal. Nobles are tried under the College of Justice or the Military Code of Justice. Nobles who break the law are fined or sent to prison. Wealthy people can pay money to get better conditions in prison. The poor are tried under local laws, which are much harsher. Poor people sometimes go to prison, but more often they are beaten, branded, or mutilated. Torture and execution are not practiced as often as they once were, but they are still used. Prisoners are often used for hard labor in mines or digging and construction for naval projects, such as building stone piers in harbors. Some wealthy prisoners are excused from hard labor.



A criminal being whipped

Image source: Illustration by Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (1765), in Jean-Baptiste Chappe d'Auteroche, *Voyage en Sibérie, fait par ordre du roi en 1761* [Journey to Siberia by order of the king in 1761], National Library of France.

Which will you do about law and punishments? You can choose as many of the options as you would like, or none of them.

A. Make one law that applies equally to everyone in Russian society, rich or poor, noble or serf.

B. Make the conditions for prison the same for everyone. No one will be allowed to pay for better conditions.

C. Abolish physical punishment, such as beatings, branding, and mutilation.

D. Abolish the death penalty (execution).

E. Eliminate hard labor for prisoners.

Problem 4—Revolt

A portrait of Pugachev, the leader of the revolt

An ordinary soldier named Yemelyan Pugachev is leading an uprising of more than twenty thousand serfs in the rural areas of southwestern Russia. Pugachev's rebellion one of the largest peasant revolts ever seen in Russia. Pugachev says he is actually the returning former czar Peter III. He is claiming that he, not you, is the rightful monarch of Russia. He has issued declarations abolishing serfdom, taxes, and military service for poor people. The rebels have killed nobles and government officials across a large area.

What will you do about the Pugachev revolt? You may choose as many as you would like, but identify the option that you would emphasize most.

A. Negotiate with Pugachev, instituting reforms to make the conditions better for poor people in Russia. If conditions were not bad, why would they be revolting?

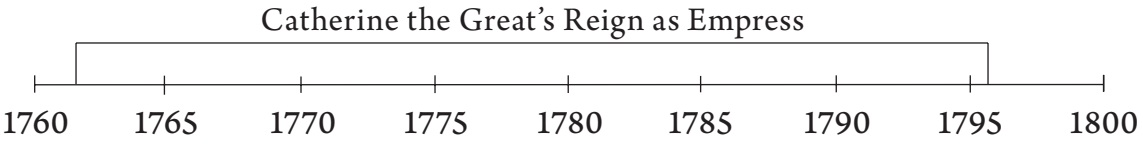
B. Set up a commission to study the causes of the revolt.

C. Send out the army to crush the revolt and punish the leaders, including Pugachev. If there are any reforms, they have to be made separately from this revolt, so poor people do not get the idea that they can revolt to get what they want from the empress.

D. Side with nobles against the peasants. Tell the nobles that you will support them against the peasants if they support you to bring stability to Russia.

Image source: Illustration, in William Coxe, *Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark* (London: T. Cadell, Jun. & W. Davies, 1802). The British Library.

OUTCOMES OF CATHERINE'S DECISIONS



At the beginning of her reign, Catherine the Great hoped to be a wise ruler who brought happiness to the people of Russia. She had a long reign as empress of Russia, so she made many decisions. Here is what she did on the five issues in Handout 1.

Problem 1—Divided Government

Catherine chose Option B, setting up a formal group to give her advice on policies and governing, but never giving it real power. She thought of herself as an autocrat. She felt she knew what was best for Russia, and she needed all the power to accomplish her goals of modernizing the country. Right from the start of her reign, she said she would rule as an autocrat (Option C), stating that she needed the power. She may have wanted to move for dividing power with a legislature (Option A), but once she began her reign, she decided she needed to keep the power.

Problem 2—Serfs

There was a debate in Russia about abolishing the serf system immediately (Options A and B) or gradually (Option C), but Empress Catherine never seriously considered those options. As someone who read Enlightenment ideas about abolishing the serf system, Catherine had sympathy for ending the system. She believed that free labor was better and produced more than unfree labor, noting that "unfree hands do not work as well as free." She did not feel that serfs should be thought of as property. They should be allowed to own possessions, serve for a limited time, be taken care of in old age, and be able to buy their freedom. She wanted to outlaw serf auctions (where serfs were sold to the highest bidders) and dividing serf families through sale. However, she felt she needed the support of the nobles to stay in power.

At first, Catherine made some reforms (Option E), which improved the conditions for some serfs. After the Pugachev Revolt, however, Catherine became more convinced that she needed the support of the nobles against the violent peasants. Yemelyan Pugachev, the leader of the peasant revolt (Problem 4), had called for ending the serf system and dividing the nobles' land among the peasants (Option B). His revolt scared Catherine and drove her to the other extreme of increasing support for the serf system. The serf system became stricter in some ways and even expanded (Option F). Catherine did support an experimental system of tenant leases on two noble estates. The idea was to see how it would go to have strict legal rights for tenants. The experiment failed,

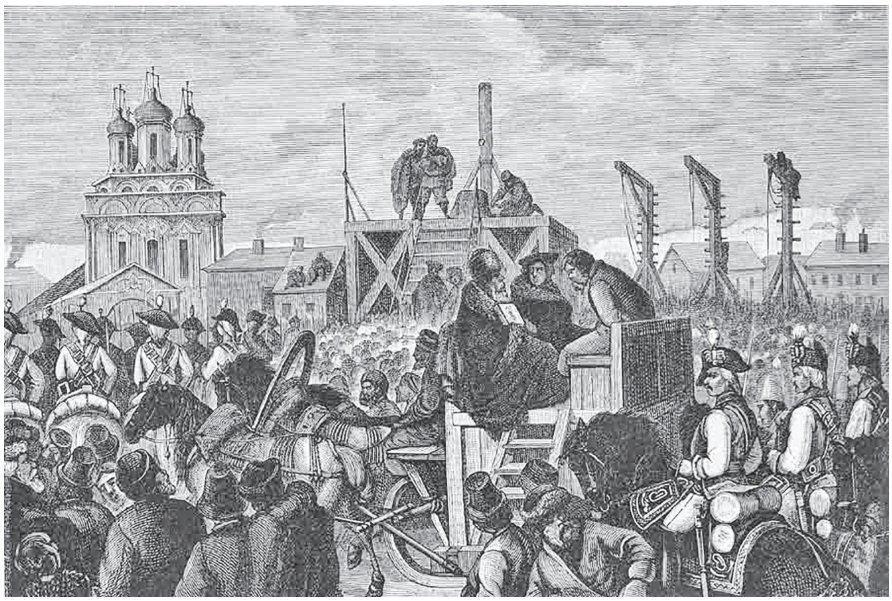
however, and was never adopted widely in Russia. Meanwhile, most other European countries had ended or weakened their systems of serfdom.

Problem 3—Law and Punishment

Catherine made progress in applying the law equally to rich and poor (Option A). Treatment of the serfs was still unequal, but the law was applied more equally than it had been previously. She also made improvements in prisons (Option B), and while she didn't eliminate torture and the death penalty (Options C and D), during her reign these punishments were less common. She also didn't eliminate hard labor for prisoners (Option E), but she reduced it.

Problem 4—Revolt

Catherine did not negotiate with Pugachev (Option A) or study the causes of the revolt (Option B). She sent the army to crush the revolt (Option C), and when the army captured Pugachev, she had him executed. The revolt frightened Catherine, leading her to side with the nobles against the poor peasants. As we saw in Problem 2, this support for nobles led to a stricter system of serfdom.



Pugachev is executed.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

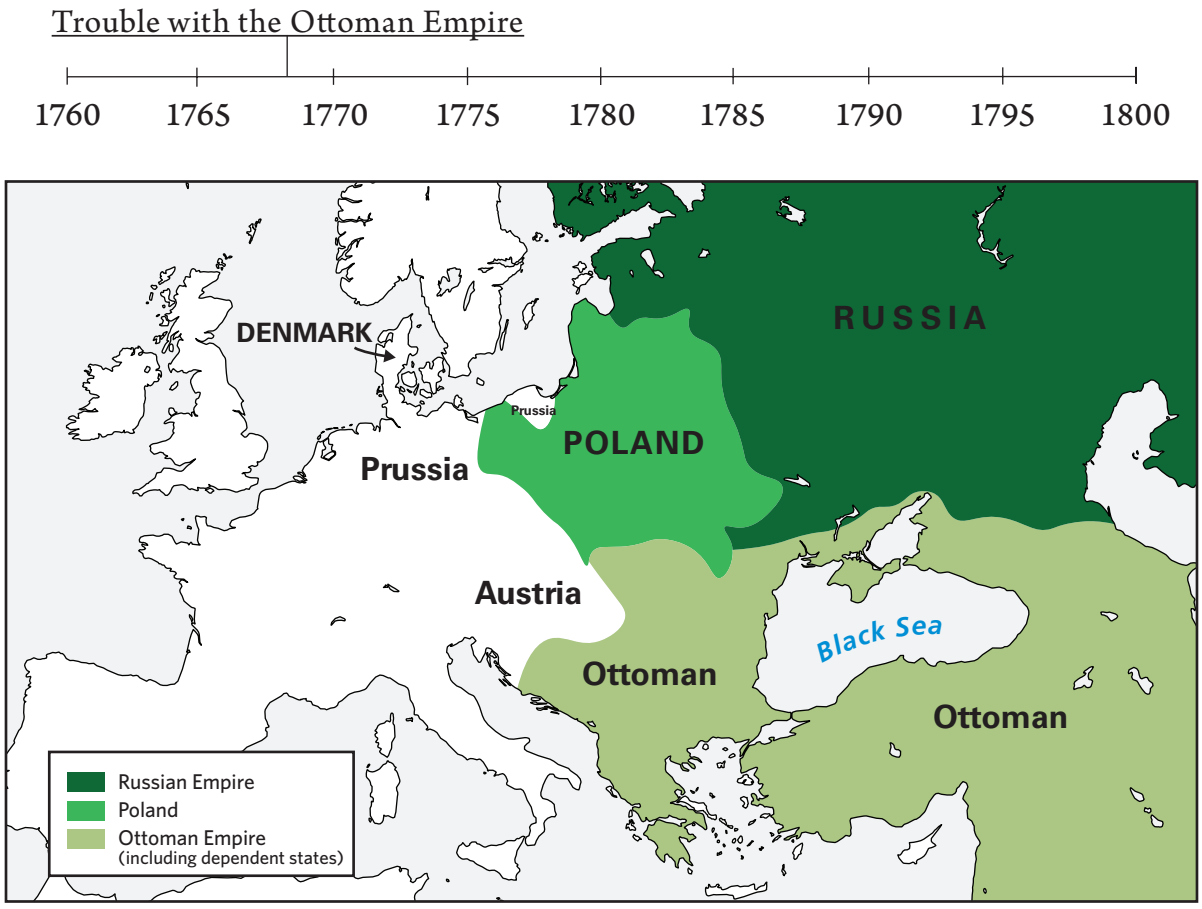
1. Did Catherine the Great make good decisions regarding internal Russian affairs (power of the empress, serfs, law and punishment, and revolt)? Explain what she did well or where she went wrong.

2. What did you do well or poorly in these decision-making problems? Remember, just because you had a positive outcome doesn't mean you decided well. Maybe you were just lucky.

3. What was the most important decision-making skill in this problem (for example, identifying assumptions or setting realistic goals)? Explain your answer.

Image source: Execution of Pugachev. By Adolf Iosifovich Charlemagne, 1855. Public Domain.

FOREIGN POLICY FROM THE RUSSIAN PERSPECTIVE

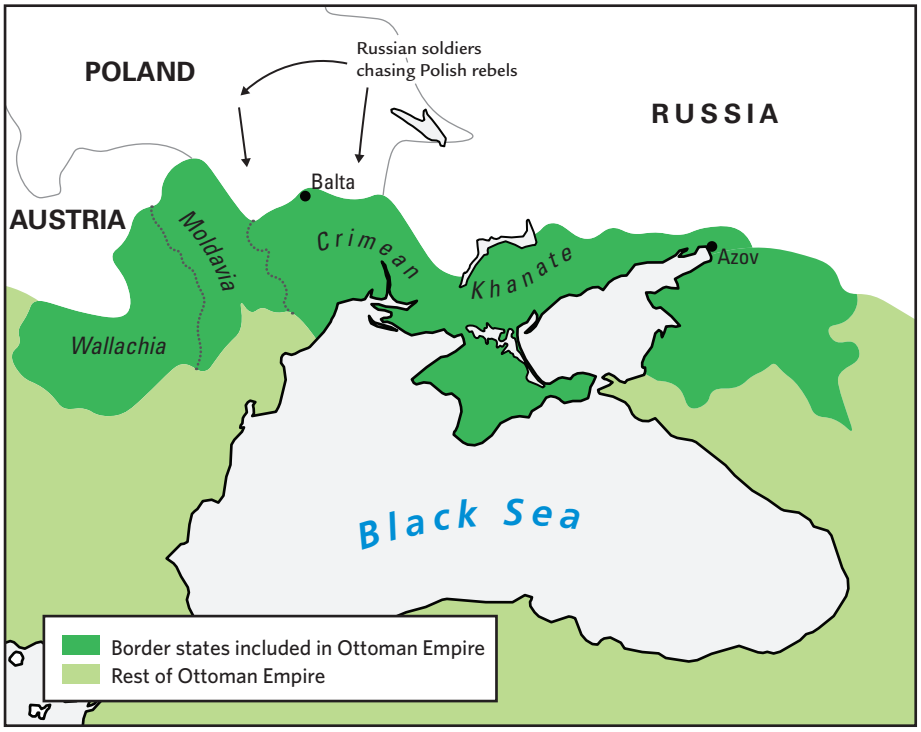


Map A: Russia and the Ottoman Empire

The year is 1768, and you are Catherine the Great, empress of Russia. When you took over as empress, you decided to negotiate with Denmark instead of fighting a war, as the previous czar had planned. Meanwhile, you worked to keep Poland friendly to Russia by getting involved in Polish governmental affairs. (See Map A.) The Russian ambassador to Poland really controls most of what the Polish government does, and that Russian control has caused resentment among many Polish people. There has been fighting and some Polish rebels have fled across the border into the Ottoman Empire, also referred to as Turkey. These rebels are telling the Ottoman Turks that Russia has been oppressive to them in Poland. Russian soldiers have been chasing the Polish rebels. But now the Ottoman Turks are threatening to fight Russia because the Russian soldiers are within ten miles of the Ottoman border, a violation of treaties agreed to by Russia and the Ottoman Empire in 1700 and 1739. (See Map B.) To make matters worse, a group of fighters, including some Russian soldiers, crossed into the town of Balta and massacred about one thousand people. The leader of the

Ottomans, the sultan, is outraged by this massacre, because Balta is on the Ottoman (Turkish) side of the border. The sultan is certainly thinking about declaring war on Russia.

You face an important decision in Russian-Ottoman relations. One option is to pull the soldiers back from the border area and negotiate a settlement with the Turks. Peace may be preferable to war. Second, you could keep the soldiers near the border to control the Polish rebels. That way, you would leave the choice for war up to the sultan of the Ottoman Empire. Third, you could declare war on the Ottoman Empire over the border disputes. A war with the Turks might lead to victories for Russia. That would help strengthen your control over the Russian government, since Russians would want to support their empress in a war. (This feeling of patriotic loyalty in the face of an external enemy is called the "rally-round-the-flag effect.") Victories may also lead to Russia taking land from the Turks around the Black Sea. If Russia can capture the Crimea, it will give the Russian fleet excellent ports on the Black Sea. There are other Black Sea ports that Russia could capture from the Turks, such as Azov, that would help Russia establish a navy as well as trade on the Black Sea. (See Map B.) Fighting and winning a war could also end the problems with the Crimean Khanate, a part of the Ottoman Empire. Raiders from the khanate pose a great danger for Russia. One of your advisers made this argument:



Map B: Russia and the Ottoman Empire

> [The Crimean Khanate] is wholly inclined to plunder and villainy, skillful in fast and unexpected military undertakings, and before the last Turkish War Russia suffered perceptible harm and offense connected with their frequent raids, their taking prisoner of many thousands of inhabitants, their rustling of cattle and their plunder of estates. . . . This comprises the chief industry and profit of these wild steppe peoples. . . . As long as the Khanate remains subject to the Turks it will always be a terror to Russia; but when it is placed under Russian rule, or no longer be dependent of anyone, then not only Russia's security would be reliably and firmly confirmed, but Azov and the Black Sea would be under her [Russia's] power, . . . which would inevitably draw their commerce to us.

The Russo-Turkish War of 1736–1739 showed that the Crimean Khanate was weak, as Russian forces occupied large parts of it. War against this weak opponent could eliminate the threat from the khanate.

Many Russian leaders think the Ottoman Empire is weak militarily, financially, and organizationally. One Russian leader said, "It is to be noted . . . that Turkish power is approaching exhaustion and decline. . . ." Russian advisers think the Turks have become soft and unmanly because they have not fought a war in decades. Even decades ago, the Turks lost most of the wars they fought. They have been repeatedly humiliated. Meanwhile, Russian soldiers are experienced, having just fought in the Seven Years' War. If the Russians defeat the Ottoman Turks, Russia will be seen as a great power in Europe. Russia will gain respect. Moreover, a victory in war against the Ottomans will push back Islam (the Ottoman Empire is a Muslim state) and protect Christianity from that threat.

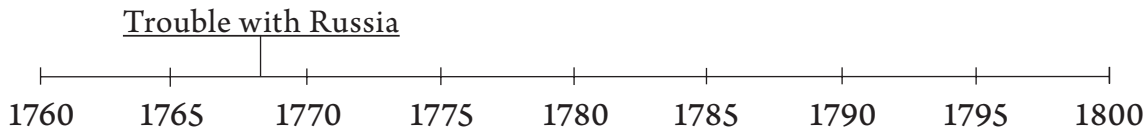
What will you do about the dangerous situation with the Ottoman Turks?

A. Negotiate a peaceful settlement on the issues. Peace is better than war.

B. Keep the soldiers near the border to control the Polish rebels. If the Ottoman Turks want to have a war, that is up to them. Russia will neither retreat nor back down from a fight.

C. Declare war and attack the Ottoman Turks. Russia can gain territory and become more powerful from a war victory.

FOREIGN POLICY FROM THE TURKISH PERSPECTIVE



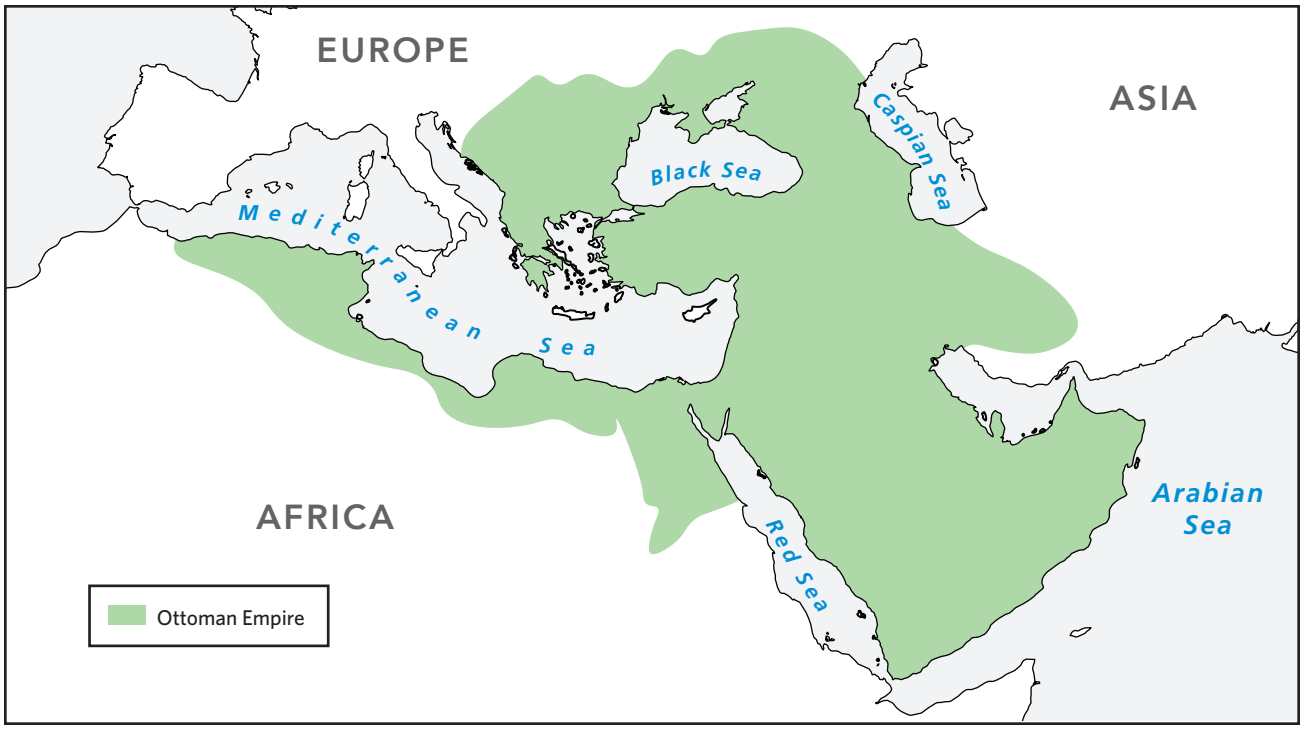
A portrait of Mustafa III

The year is 1768, and you are Mustafa III, sultan of the Ottoman Empire, an empire dominated by Sunni Muslims. The Ottomans are of Turkish origin, so they are referred to as Turks. While most laws are based on Muslim holy law (Sharia), there is religious toleration for Orthodox Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman government has been a great supporter of the arts, including the beautiful architecture of Muslim mosques. The empire has been powerful for about four hundred years, having conquered Constantinople in 1453, when it took over the Byzantine Empire. The Ottomans defeated the Safavid Empire (in present-day Iran) in battle and rule over most of North Africa.

The Ottoman Empire came to be known as a gunpowder empire because of its advanced use of explosives in warfare. The empire reached its peak under Süleyman the Magnificent in the mid-sixteenth century. Since his reign ended two hundred years ago, the Ottoman Empire has suffered significant decline. There has been an increase in corruption and neglect of basic infrastructure, such as roads. Nevertheless, the Ottoman Empire is still strong and large. (See Map C.)

As the leader of the Ottoman Empire, you face a serious issue with the Russians over their actions in Poland, near the Ottoman border. The Russian ambassador really controls most of what the Polish government does. Russian domination of Poland has caused resentment among many Polish people. There has been fighting, and some Polish rebels have fled across the border into the Ottoman Empire. Russian soldiers are very close to the border with the Ottoman Empire, which is a serious concern for the stability of the empire. Just recently, a group of fighters, including some Russian soldiers, crossed into the town of Balta and massacred about one thousand people. Balta is in Ottoman territory, making this massacre a shocking attack on Turkish authority. (See Map B in Handout 3.)

Image source: Portrait of Sultan Mustafa III (1757-1774), in John Young, *A Series of Portraits of the Emperors of Turkey* [London: William Bulmer, 1815]. Public Domain.



Map C: Russia and the Ottoman Empire

Some of the areas around the Black Sea, called khanates, are part of the Ottoman Empire but are not formed by Ottoman Turks. If Russian armies start dominating the area, these dependent states might become friendly with Russia or join the Russian Empire. If Russia takes these khanates, the Ottoman Empire will lose prestige in the eyes of other major powers, as well as land and resources.

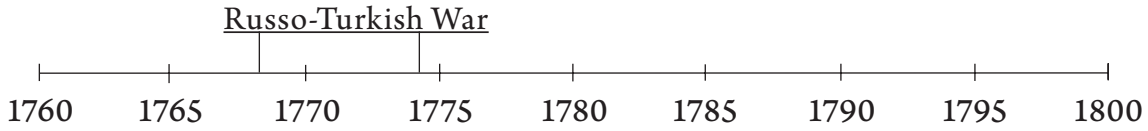
According to your advisers, the Ottoman Empire has a much larger army than Russia has, about 500,000 compared to about 165,000 for Russia. The battlefield is closer to Ottoman population centers, so it will be easy to supply your armies and to move them where needed. In addition, the Ottoman Turks have control of the Black Sea, so supplies can be delivered easily. Getting supplies to their armies could be a major problem for the Russians. The Russian leader, Catherine II, has not been involved in war, so your advisers consider her to be a weak leader. It is not clear how hard Russian soldiers will fight for Catherine, since she took over as leader of Russia by overthrowing her husband, the czar. Moreover, French diplomats have been sent by their government to encourage the Ottoman Turks to fight Russia, already giving significant financial support to the Ottoman Turks to prepare for war.

What will you do about the dangerous situation with the Russians?

A. Negotiate a peaceful settlement on the issues. Peace is better than war.

B. Declare war and attack Russia. The Ottoman Empire can gain territory and become more powerful from winning the war. The Ottoman Empire needs to stand up against the outrageous behavior of the Russians.

OUTCOMES OF FOREIGN POLICY



Russian Perspective


Catherine portrayed as a military leader

After talking with her advisers, Catherine decided to declare war against the Ottoman Turks. She was very confident that the Russians would win and would capture Turkish territory. She wanted to continue the expansion of Russia that Peter the Great had begun.

The war started badly for Russia. The Turks had the naval advantage, and its army was larger than the Russian army. Even with increased taxes and cuts in spending on areas outside the military, Russia didn't have enough to pay the high costs of the war. But Russia had better training and strategy, and eventually Russia won several great victories. (See Map D.) Catherine said, "See, the sleeping cat has been awakened!" The great Russian naval victory at Chesme in 1770 was assisted by British naval officers. The naval victory helped the Russians blockade food shipments from Egypt that the Ottoman armies needed. As planned, the war allowed Catherine to strengthen her control and power in Russia. People rallied around their leader and felt proud that Russian soldiers had won great victories on the battlefield. When Russia took over new lands won during the war, Russians felt pride that their country had become strong.


A painting of the Russian naval victory at Chesme

Russian military innovations prompted other countries to change their military tactics as well. These changes in tactics would be adapted and improved and were used by Napoleon Bonaparte two decades later in his revolutionary military doctrines.

Russia's victories over the Ottoman Turks caused other countries to take notice. Prussia (today part of Germany) and Austria were concerned that Russia might come to dominate Eastern Europe. They pressured Russia not to take too much from the Ottoman Empire. The peace treaty that ended the war was a compromise. Russia relinquished some of the territory it had conquered during the war, but it also gained land and ports on the Black Sea, including the

Image sources: Equestrian Portrait of Catherine II of Russia (1729-1796). By Vigilius Eriksen, 1762, Grand Peterhof Palace
Battle of Çesme at Night. By Ivan Constantinovich Aivazovsky, 1848, Aivazovsky National Art Gallery

Map D: Russia and the Ottoman Empire

right to navigate through the Kerch Strait. (See Map D.) In addition, the Crimean Khanate became independent of the Ottoman Empire. Years later, the Russians took over the Crimea, giving them control over more Black Sea ports. Russia had become a military and economic competitor to the Ottoman Empire in the Black Sea.

Along with Russia, Austria and Prussia divided Poland, each of the three countries taking a part of it. That way, Austria and Prussia would be sure to get some of the land, rather than Russia keeping all of it. Poland was eventually split up completely, so there was no longer a Poland, with Russia getting a great deal of its new territory from Poland. All this new land that Russia gained in the Black Sea area and in Poland made many nobles rich, which solidified their support for Catherine as empress. Indeed, the expansion made Russia in general more prosperous. With increased territory, the Russian population increased and recruiting for the army increased, making the country stronger. Russia was a greater European "power" as a result of the war.

Turkish Perspective

The decision to declare war on Russia turned out to be a major setback for the Ottoman Empire. The war started out favorably for the Ottoman Turks, but eventually Russia got the advantage and started winning most of the battles. Problems in supplying Turkish armies basically prevented the main Ottoman forces from attacking. Even from the start of the war, supply problems led to famine among the soldiers. The superior training and innovative use of modern fighting tactics by the Russians allowed the Russian forces to break through Turkish defenses. (See Map D.) In reaction, the Ottoman sultan asked for peace, because he knew that if the war continued Russia would win completely. The Ottoman Empire had to give up land in the area of the Black Sea, and it had to grant independence to the Crimean Khanate. (See Map D.) The Russians obtained ports on the Black Sea. Years later, the Russians took over Crimea, giving the Crimeans control over more Black Sea ports. Russia had become a military and economic competitor to the Ottoman Empire in the Black Sea. Meanwhile, the Ottoman Empire was exposed as much weaker than people previously had thought they were. Leaders in most countries no longer saw the Ottoman Empire as a powerful country. Eventually, the Ottoman Empire was referred to as the "sick man of Europe."

The Ottoman Empire was already getting weaker before the war with Russia in 1768, but the war made it more obvious to other countries just how weak the Ottomans were.

The sultan opted for war for several reasons. First, he feared the loss of frontier borderlands to Russian military domination. Second, he felt compelled to take a strong stand against Russia after the massacre at Balta. Third, he was encouraged to declare war by the French, who gave the Ottomans financial support. Fourth, he thought the Ottoman Turks had the military advantage and would win the war. Many of his advisers thought God (Allah) was on their side, so they would surely win the war.

If you trusted the French when they encouraged you to fight the Russians, you should have thought about their intentions. They wanted you to fight the Russians so they could tie Russia down to a war and prevent Russia from helping Britain, France's main enemy. The French foreign minister to the Ottoman Empire stated privately, "In good truth, the rottenness of the Turks in every department might make this trial of strength [war] fatal to them; that matters little to us [the French], provided the object of an immediate explosion [Russia at war] be attained."

The war was so poorly fought and supplied that one person at the time referred to it as, "The one-eyed man [Russia] defeating the blind [Turks]." Russia was more respected after the war, but neither side garnered a lot of respect from the war.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Did Catherine the Great make good decisions regarding the conflict with the Ottoman Empire? Explain what she did well or where she went wrong.
2. Did the leader of the Ottoman Empire make good decisions regarding the conflict with Russia? Explain what he did well or where he went wrong.
3. What did you do well or poorly in these decision-making problems? Remember, just because you got a good outcome doesn't mean you decided well. Maybe you were just lucky.
4. What was the most important decision-making skill in this problem (for example, identifying assumptions or setting realistic goals)? Explain your answer.

QUESTIONS ON THE RUSSIAN-TURKISH CONFLICT

Questions from the Russian Perspective

1. How large and effective is the Russian army compared to the Turkish (Ottoman Empire) army?
2. How strong is the Russian navy compared to the Turkish navy?
3. Which side has the advantage in supplying its armies?
4. What does the former Russian ambassador to Turkey think about the strengths and weaknesses of the Ottoman Empire?
5. How strong are the Russian government and economy compared to the Turkish government and economy?

Questions from the Ottoman Perspective

1. How large and effective is the Turkish (Ottoman Empire) army compared to the Russian army?
2. How strong is the Turkish navy compared to the Russian navy?
3. Which side has the advantage in supplying its armies?
4. What do the sultan's closest advisers think about the strengths and weaknesses of the Russian Empire?
5. How strong are the Turkish government and economy compared to the Russian government and economy?

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ON THE RUSSIAN-TURKISH CONFLICT

Suggested Answers to Questions from the Russian Perspective

1. **How large and effective is the Russian army compared to the Turkish (Ottoman Empire) army?**

   The Turkish army is roughly three times larger than the Russian army, but your advisers think that fact is deceptive. Many of the soldiers on the Turkish side—for example, the leader of the Crimean Khanate—are local fighters who take their orders from local leaders. It will be much more difficult for the Turks than for the Russians to coordinate their armies.

   To compound the problem, the Turkish armies are much less prepared for warfare. In the past few years, the Russian army has fought in the Seven Years' War in Europe. Some Russian soldiers and many Russian officers have experienced battle, so they are much better prepared for warfare. During these recent wars, Russian officers have learned valuable lessons in how to coordinate attacks and defenses using modern weapons and supplies. Turkish soldiers do not have this experience. Moreover, when the Turks did fight in wars, several decades ago, they usually lost. Russian leaders believe morale is low in the Turkish army, and that the Russian soldier is better prepared for war at all levels, from the lowest private all the way up to the highest general.

   Russian soldiers are part of a unified, national army of an expanding empire (for example, Russia expanded into the Baltic Sea area), while Turkish soldiers are part of several fragmented, regional armies under the command of local military officers. Turkish soldiers are loyal to the Ottoman Empire and to the Sultan, but their commitment to the empire is not as great as the Russian commitment to Holy Russia and to the empress. Russians are also motivated to defend Christianity against the Muslims. Russian soldiers receive more training than do Turkish soldiers, including training in combined arms fighting—fighting with diverse infantry formations and weapons (such as muskets, pikes, cavalry, and artillery) in close coordination within the same military units.

2. **How strong is the Russian navy compared to the Turkish navy?**

   Turkey has the advantage in the Black Sea because it has more ships and because all of its ships are available to be used in the war in the Black Sea. Most of the Russian fleet is in the Baltic Sea, far from the battlefields in the Black Sea. In addition, the Turks control all the major ports in the Black Sea, so they have the advantage in supply, repair, and coordination of their ships. It would be difficult, but the Russians could sail their fleet from St. Petersburg in the Baltic Sea around Europe into the Mediterranean Sea to fight the Turkish fleet in the Aegean Sea. In the meantime, if the Russians capture a Turkish port, they could challenge the Turks in the Black Sea. One hidden advantage for the Russians is that the British, who are experts at naval warfare, may send advisers to help the Russian navy.

3. **Which side has the advantage in supplying its armies?**

   Turkey has the advantage of geography in supplying its armies. The battlefields are closer to the Turkish centers of power in Constantinople (Istanbul) and other cities, and the supply lines run through populated areas, so there will be merchants selling supplies along the routes where soldiers will be marching. The battlefields are much more remote for the Russians, quite far from Russian centers of power in St. Petersburg and Moscow and often running through sparsely populated areas. On the other hand, Russian military supply systems are more organized than are Turkish supply methods. The Turks depend more on local supply, and their supply system contains widespread corruption. Supply won't be as much of a problem for the Turks on defense, but their backward supply methods may make it difficult to launch large-scale attacks against the Russians over long periods of time and over great areas.

4. **What does the former Russian ambassador to Turkey think about the strengths and weaknesses of the Ottoman Empire?**

   The ambassador stated the following about Turkey:

   I must bluntly if honestly report that in Turkey now there are no political leaders, no military commanders, no sound financial administrators: everything is in terrible disorder and with the slightest misfortune would be pushed to the edge of the abyss. The Turk's terror derives from one conviction: that the Turks are completely different from before. Previously, they were inspired by glory and ferocity; now they are faint-hearted and fearful, all apparently sensing the end of their lawless power. . . . There is no concern for the general welfare in Turkey, they are entirely preoccupied with private profit; the distinguished and talented people have all been ruined and destroyed, with only the mediocre surviving. . . . The Tatars [a group in the frontier area between the Ottoman Empire and Russia] know this, as everyone here can attest, and are now wavering in their loyalty to the Porte [Ottoman Empire]. As regards to the Christian subjects, the Turks fear they will all revolt as soon as the Russian army approaches the frontier [the boundary between Russia and the Ottoman Empire].

5. **How strong are the Russian government and economy compared to the Turkish government and economy?**

   According to your advisers, the Russian government and economy are much stronger than the Turkish government and economy. The Turkish government is much more decentralized than the Russian government. Local and regional leaders in the Ottoman Empire have a great deal of power. The sultan sometimes has very little power to make these regional leaders do what he wants them to do. For example, the Crimean Khanate is on the side of the Ottoman Turks, but the leader of the Khanate is very independent of the Ottoman Empire. He could change to the Russian side or remain neutral. Meanwhile, there have been rebellions in the Ottoman Empire by nobles, there are loud calls by people to stop corruption in the government, and there is fighting between the Persians and the Turks. The Ottoman Empire is divided and weakened by unrest.

   The Russian government is much more unified. While the Russian government depends on the support of the nobles to keep order in the country, Empress Catherine commands the loyalty of Russians in most areas of finance, taxes, and recruitment of soldiers. Russians have a sense of loyalty to Holy Russia and to the sacred position of the empress.

   In terms of the economies, your advisers think that Russian finances are stretched because the Russians just fought in the Seven Years' War, which made the debt skyrocket, as Russia borrowed money to fight the war. The high level of debt means that Russia is a credit risk—there is a good chance that Russia won't be able to pay back a loan. That poor credit rating will make it more difficult (and costly) for Russia to borrow money to fight this war.

   However, Turkish finances are in even worse shape than Russian finances because Turkey has a decentralized tax collection system. That weak system will make it difficult to collect the greater level of tax money needed to fight a war. Increased taxes could also lead to revolt within the Empire. Moreover, the Russian economy has been expanding, while the Turkish economy has not been growing significantly. As the Russians have expanded their empire into new areas, they have been able to add new sources of tax revenue. Meanwhile, the Ottoman Empire has been losing territory. The Ottoman Empire is not as strong as it once was.

Suggested Answers to Questions from the Ottoman Perspective

1. **How large and effective is the Turkish (Ottoman Empire) army compared to the Russian army?**

   The Turkish army is roughly three times larger than the Russian army, but that fact is deceptive. Many of the soldiers on the Turkish side—for example, the leader of the Crimean Khanate—are local fighters who take their orders from local leaders. It will be much more difficult for the Turks than for the Russians to coordinate their armies. Only about half the soldiers listed as in the army are actually serving in the national army.

To compound the problem, the Turkish armies are not as prepared for warfare. In the past few years, the Russian army fought in the Seven Years' War in Europe. Some Russian soldiers and many Russian officers have experienced battle, so they are much better prepared for warfare. Turkish soldiers do not have this experience. Morale is low in the Turkish army, but it is also low in the Russian army. The Russian government forces serfs to serve in the army. Russian peasants do not choose to be in the military, so they probably aren't as motivated to fight.

Turkish soldiers are loyal to the Ottoman Empire and to the sultan. The Ottoman Empire has a great tradition of defeating its enemies in battle and expanding its empire. Unfortunately, the last few wars have not gone well for the empire. It is time for Turkish soldiers to renew the glory of the Ottoman Empire by defeating the Russians. The Russians started the war, so Turkish soldiers know that they are justified in defending the honor of the Ottoman Empire. They also know that Allah (God) is on their side, so they will emerge victorious.

2. **How strong is the Turkish navy compared to the Russian navy?**

Turkey has the advantage in the Black Sea because it has more ships and because all of its ships are available to be used in the war in the Black Sea. Most of the Russian fleet is in the Baltic Sea, far from the battlefields in the Black Sea. In addition, the Turks control all the major ports in the Black Sea, so they have the advantage in supply, repair, and coordination of their ships. It is unlikely they would risk it, but the Russians could sail their fleet from St. Petersburg in the Baltic Sea around Europe into the Mediterranean Sea to fight the Turkish fleet in the Aegean Sea.

3. **Which side has the advantage in supplying its armies?**

Turkey has the advantage of geography in supplying its armies. The battlefields are closer to the Turkish centers of power in Constantinople (Istanbul) and other cities, and the supply lines run through populated areas, so there will be merchants selling supplies along the routes where soldiers will be marching. The battlefields are much more remote for the Russians, quite far from Russian centers of power in St. Petersburg and Moscow. Supply lines will have to run through sparsely populated areas. On the other hand, Russian military supply systems are much more organized than are the Turkish supply methods, which depend more on local supply. Supply won't be as much of a problem for the Turks on defense, but the limited supply methods may make it difficult for the Turks to launch large-scale attacks against the Russians over long periods of time and over great areas.

4. **What do the sultan's closest advisers think about the strengths and weaknesses of the Russian Empire?**

   According to the sultan's advisers, the Russian government is struggling to be seen as the legitimate authority in that empire. The empress, Catherine II, took over the government by overthrowing her husband, Czar Peter III. Peter was then murdered. So there is a question in Russia of whether Catherine has the legitimate right to rule as empress. A war with the Ottoman Empire might strengthen Catherine's hold on the Russian government, but it might also make it difficult for the Russian government to fight an effective war. Why would people fight to defend a leader who they believe is not legitimate? In addition, there is the problem that Catherine is a woman. It may not be right, but many political and military leaders might question Catherine's ability to persevere in war just because she is a woman. Some will see her as too emotional or lacking the fortitude to fight a war.

5. **How strong are the Turkish government and economy compared to the Russian government and economy?**

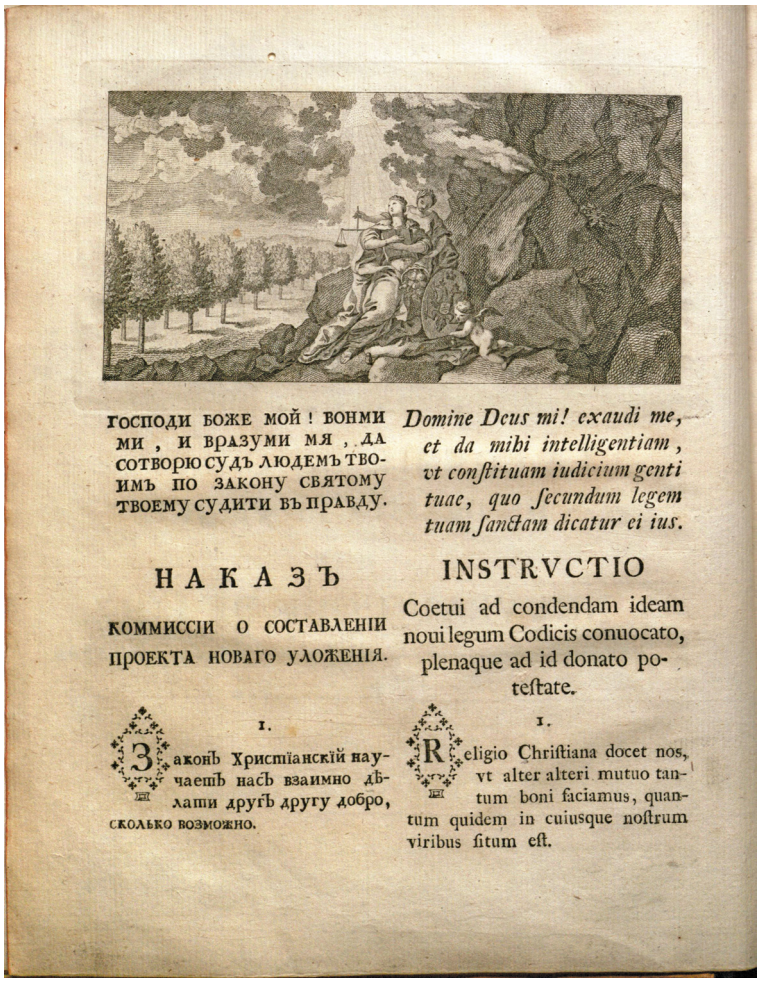
   The Turkish government is much more decentralized than the Russian government. Local and regional leaders in the Ottoman Empire have a great deal of power. The sultan sometimes has very little power to make these regional leaders do what he wants them to do. For example, the Crimean Khanate is on the side of the Ottoman Turks, but the leader of the khanate is very independent of the Ottoman Empire. He could change to the Russian side or remain neutral.

   In terms of the economies, your advisers think that Russian finances are very weak. The Russians just fought in the Seven Years' War, which surely increased their debt, as they borrowed money to fight the war. The high level of debt will make it more difficult (and costlier) for the Russians to borrow money to fight this war.

   The problem is that Turkish finances are also a mess. Tax collections have not been reliable and have been dropping, even as government debt has risen. Financial records are either inaccurate or not kept at all. Given the decentralized government and tax collection structures, it will be difficult to collect the greater level of tax money needed to fight a war. Increased taxes could also lead to revolt within the empire. Moreover, the Russian economy has been expanding, while the Turkish economy has not been growing significantly. As the Russians have expanded their empire into new areas, they have been able to add new sources of tax revenue. Meanwhile, the Ottoman Empire has been losing small amounts of territory. The Ottoman Empire is not as strong as it once was.

CATHERINE'S INSTRUCTIONS TO THE COMMISSIONERS FOR COMPOSING A NEW CODE OF LAWS, 1767

Primary Source



ГОСПОДИ БОЖЕ МОЙ ! ВОНМИ МИ , И ВРАЗУМИ МЯ , ДА СОТВОРЮ СУДЪ ЛЮДЕМЪ ТВОИМЪ ПО ЗАКОНУ СВЯТОМУ ТВОЕМУ СУДИТИ ВЪ ПРАВДУ.

Domine Deus mi! exaudi me, et da mihi intelligentiam, vt conſtituam iudicium genti tuae, quo ſecundum legem tuam ſanctam dicatur ei ius.

НАКАЗЪ

КОММИССІИ О СОСТАВЛЕНІИ ПРОЕКТА НОВАГО УЛОЖЕНІЯ.

INSTRVCTIO

Coetui ad condendam ideam noui legum Codicis conuocato, plenaque ad id donato poteſtate.

I.

Законъ Христіанскій научаетъ насъ взаимно дѣлати другъ другу добро, сколько возможно.

I.

Religio Chriſtiana docet nos, vt alter alteri mutuo tantum boni faciamus, quantum quidem in cuiusque noſtrum viribus ſitum eſt.

A visual of the original document of the instructions by Catherine to the Legislative Commission

In 1767 Catherine set forth the Nakaz, a set of legal principles that she composed herself, designed to codify Russian law and loosely based on Enlightenment thinking. It was never formally enacted, and it did not institute some of the more democratic principles put forth by French Enlightenment thinkers. In fact, Catherine used it to reinforce her autocracy. But the Nakaz was translated into many languages and was distributed throughout Europe, making Catherine famous as "the Great" leader of her country. Here are some of the more important codes from the Nakaz.

1. The Christian Law teaches us to do mutual Good to one another, as much as possibly we can.

6. Russia is a European State.

9. The Sovereign is absolute; for there is no other authority but that which centers in his single Person, that can act with a Vigor proportionate to the Extent of such a vast Dominion.

10. The Extent of the Dominion requires an absolute Power to be vested in that Person who rules over it. It is expedient so to be, that the quick Dispatch of Affairs, sent from distant Parts, might make ample Amends for the Delay occasioned by the Distance of the Places.

12. Another Reason is: That it is better to be subject to the Laws under one Master, than to be subservient to many.

13. What is the true End of Monarchy? Not to deprive People of their natural Liberty; but to correct their Actions, in order to attain the supreme Good.

34. The Equality of the Citizens consists in this; that they should all be subject to the same Laws.

35. This Equality requires Institutions so well adapted, as to prevent the Rich from oppressing those who are not so wealthy as themselves, and converting all the Charges and Employments entrusted to them as Magistrates only, to their own private Emolument.

83. In these Governments, the Legislature will apply itself more to prevent Crimes than to punish them, and should take more Care to instill Good Manners into the Minds of the Citizens, by proper Regulations, than to dispirit them by the Terror of corporal and capital Punishments.

85. Experience teaches us that, in those Countries where Punishments are mild, they operate with the same Efficacy upon the Minds of the Citizens as the most severe in other Places.

97. All Punishments by which the human Body might be maimed ought to be abolished.

120. Two Witnesses are absolutely necessary in order to form a right Judgment: For an Accuser, who affirms, and the Party accuses, who denies the Fact, make the Evidence on both Sides equal; for that Reason a Third is required in order to convict the Defendant; unless other clear collateral Proofs should fix the Credibility of the Evidence in favour of one of them.

123. The Usage of Torture is contrary to all the Dictates of Nature and Reason; even Mankind itself cries out against it, and demands loudly the total Abolition of it. We see, at this very Time, a People greatly renowned for the Excellence of their civil Polity, who reject it without any sensible Inconveniencies. It is, therefore, by no Means necessary by its Nature. . . .

220. A Punishment ought to be immediate, analogous to the Nature of the Crime and known to the Public.

222. The most certain Curb upon Crimes is not the Severity of the Punishment, but the absolute Conviction in the People that Delinquents will be inevitably punished.

253. And therefore, to shun all Occasions of reducing People to a State of Slavery, except the utmost Necessity should inevitably oblige us to do it; in that Case, it ought not to be done for our own Benefit; but for the Interest of the State: Yet even that Case is extremely uncommon.

261. A Law may be productive of public Benefit, which gives some private Property to a Slave.

522. Nothing more remains now for the Commission to do but to compare every part of the laws with the rules of this Instruction.

Source: Tatischeff, Michael, trans. *The Grand Instruction to the Commissioners Appointed to Frame a New Code of Laws for the Russian Empire: Composed by Her Imperial Majesty Catherine II, Empress of All the Russias*. London: T. Jeffreys, 1786.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. According to Catherine, what is the best form of government for Russia? How well does she defend her position on this form of government?
2. What is Catherine's view of how the government should prevent crime, including the use of punishment? Do you agree with her view?
3. What do Catherine's views on government, punishment, and slavery (serfdom) reveal about her as the empress?
4. How reliable is Catherine code of laws as a source?