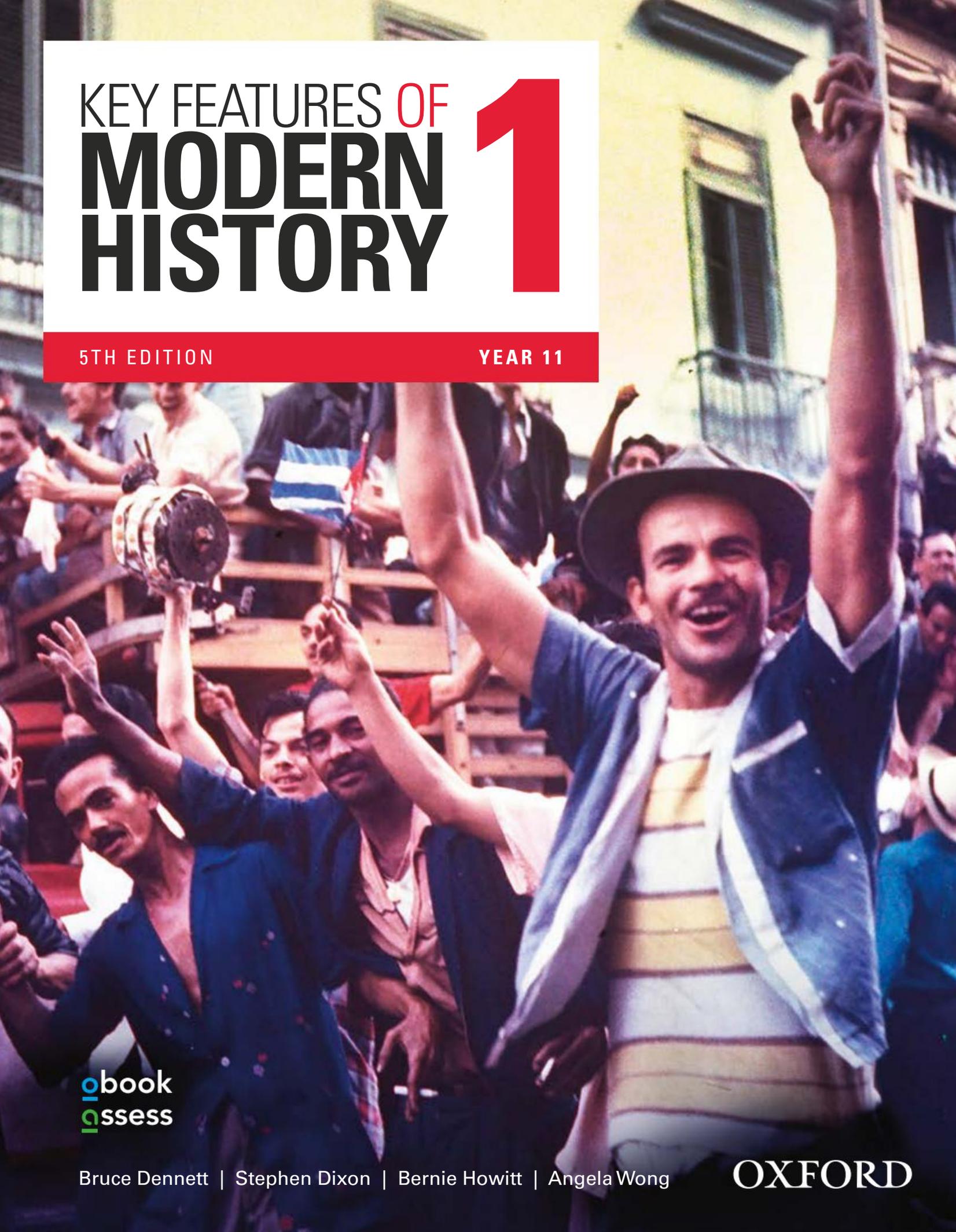


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YEAR 11

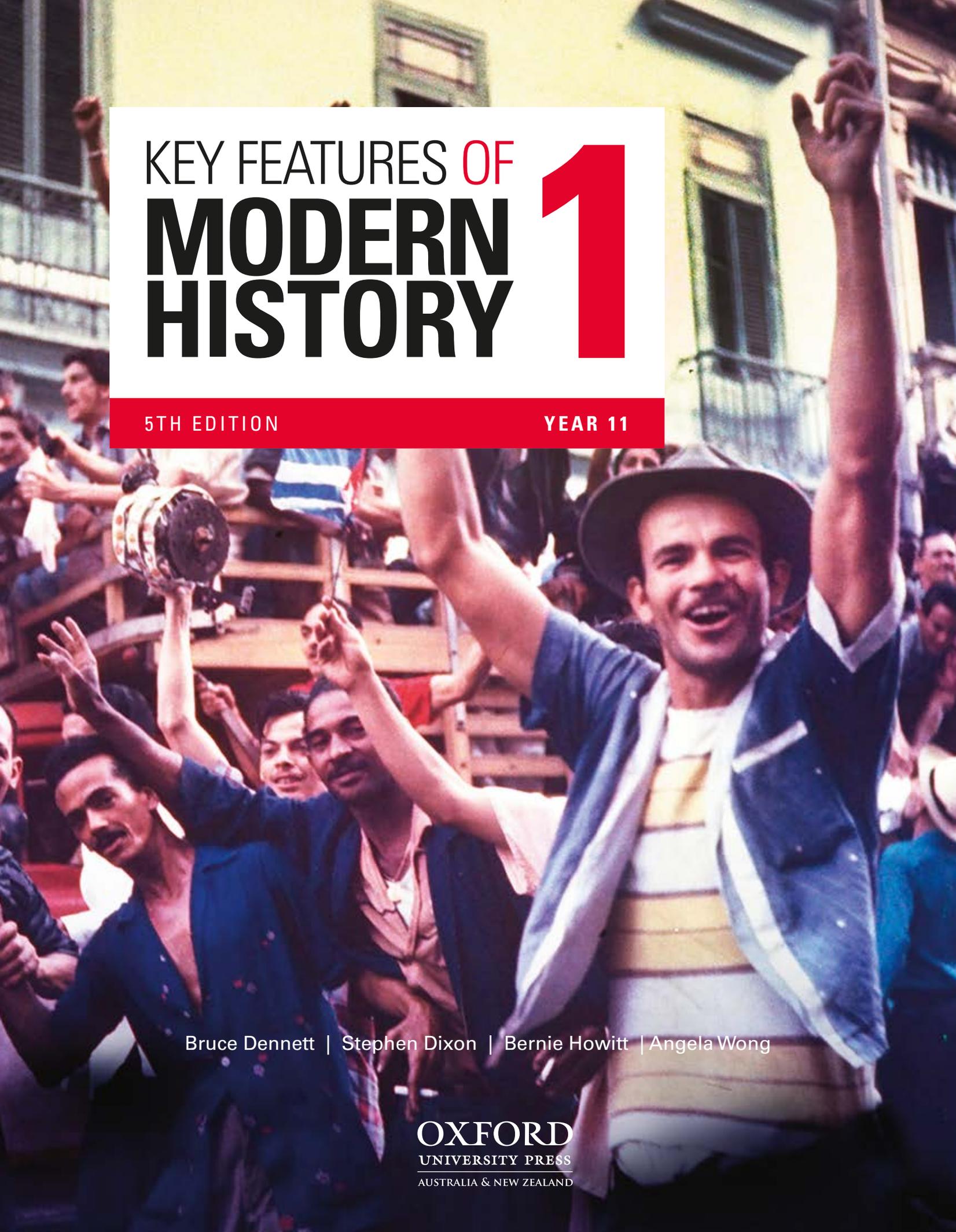


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Bruce Dennett | Stephen Dixon | Bernie Howitt | Angela Wong

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KEY FEATURES OF
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Bruce Dennett | Stephen Dixon | Bernie Howitt | Angela Wong

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USING KEY FEATURES OF MODERN HISTORY 1

New South Wales' most trusted modern history series has been updated for the new Stage 6 Modern History syllabus. The first of a two-volume series, *Key Features of Modern History 1* offers complete support for Year 11 teachers and their students, providing unparalleled depth and coverage and a range of new chapter features that will give students of all abilities the best chance of achieving success in Modern History.

Key enhancements:

- > All content has been explicitly aligned to the new Modern History Stage 6 syllabus (Year 11).
- > Subject experts Bruce Dennett, Stephen Dixon, Bernie Howitt and Angela Wong have developed comprehensive, engaging and appropriately levelled content.
- > Unambiguous language is used throughout the book, with plenty of visuals to engage students and support learning.
- > **obook assess** provides comprehensive student and teacher digital support including answers to every question in the book, class tests, videos and more.



'Focus questions', 'Key concepts and skills', and 'Learning goals' are clearly stated at the beginning of each chapter to guide teachers and students through the content.

Content includes up-to-date case studies, maps and rich visual and written source material.

Margin glossary definitions help students to quickly and easily find the meaning of unfamiliar terms, to aid understanding.

9.2 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Why was the October Manifesto introduced, according to Source 1? What changes were agreed to by Nicholas?
- 2 According to Source 2, did Trotsky view the Tsar's desire for reform as genuine? Do Trotsky's comments suggest that revolutionary activity would increase or diminish after the issuing of the October Manifesto? Explain your answer.

The following questions refer to Source 19.

- Which political parties did Lenin and Kerezhnev belong to?
- Which groups wished to retain the Tsar as head of state?
- State two policy differences that help explain why the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks disagreed with each other.

Political developments following the 1905 Revolution

Nicholas diluted the October Manifesto. He had hoped to buy peace with concessions and, feeling betrayed when strikes and protests continued, he returned to the methods of an autocrat. In the countryside, loyal troops moved through the villages with a campaign of hangings and floggings to subdue the rebellious peasants. On 16 December 1905, the St Petersburg soviet was closed and 190 of its members arrested. A general strike in Moscow led to street fighting from 21 December 1905 until 2 January 1906, resulting in deaths for the strikers and the deaths of more than 1000 workers.

Nicholas had bitterly resented having to concede to a Duma, and tried to reassert his position by issuing a series of **Fundamental Laws** on 2 May 1906. These confirmed the Tsar's right to appoint his own ministers, legislate by decree and have complete control over foreign affairs. Laws passed by the Duma would require his approval. An Imperial Council, with half of its members appointed by the Tsar, would share power with the Duma.

The decision for the first Duma in 1906 and the second Duma in 1907 produced parliaments that were critical of the government, and both were dissolved by Nicholas after only a few months. Before the third Duma, Nicholas altered the electoral law to ensure that the representation of peasants, small landowners and urban dwellers was drastically reduced. The resulting Duma was a submissive and conservative body. It was allowed to serve as full term from 1907 to 1912, as was the fourth and final Duma from 1912 to 1917.

While the Duma met, the prime minister, Peter Stolypin, carried out a policy to repress the revolutionary elements, while offering limited land concessions to the peasants. This two-pronged approach was designed to consolidate the position of the Tsar by removing his revolutionary opponents and winning the loyalty and gratitude of the peasants.

9.2b Check your learning

- 1 What do you understand by the term 'revolution'? Do the events of 1905 merit the description of 'revolution'? Why or why not?
- 2 The events of 1905 have been called a 'stress rehearsal' for the Russian Revolution of 1917. What lessons might revolutionaries have drawn from the events of 1905?

9.3 The fall of the Romanov dynasty

SOURCE 21 This map shows Russia's south-west frontier in 1914, including the location of the offensive led by Brailov in 1914 and 1917.

War was declared between Germany and Russia in August 1914, and at first it seemed that the First World War would see the Romanov throne, too, drop to political differences were put aside as Russians joined to fight the common enemy in defence of the homeland. Volunteers hastened to join the army and the Tsar blessed the troops as they left for the front. Even urban discontent – which had been expressed as an increasing number of political and economic strikes in the first half of the year – vanished. No strikes of any kind were recorded in the month of August 1914.

The role of the First World War in the collapse of the Romanov dynasty

At first, Russia's campaign on the south-west front seemed a story of unmitigated success. The Austrians were pushed back to Galicia, and the Germans were defeated at Gumbinnen. Then came the German response. As Tannenberg in August 1914, the Germans inflicted a heavy defeat on the Russians. Masses of prisoners, arms and guns were taken, and the Russian commander Vladimir Samoylov, shot himself. In September, another heavy defeat at the Masurian Lakes confirmed the end of the advance against the Germans and the beginning of a three-year struggle to hold back the German advance into Russia's western provinces. There were some campaign successes against the Austro-Hungarian Army, spearheaded by Russian General Aleksei Brusilov, but the optimistic mood that had greeted the war changed to one of increasing disillusionment.

SOURCE 22 Russian boy soldiers are guarded by German troops after their capture at the Battle of Tannenberg, 1914.

Many chapters feature a 'Profile' which allows for more in-depth learning about a historically significant person, event or phenomenon.

- 15.3 Understanding and using the sources
- 1 Analyse Source 6. What is it implying about King Leopold II's control of the Belgian Congo? Research the treatment of the indigenous peoples of the Congo under Belgian control and discuss whether the attitude shown in Source 6 is justified.
 - 2 Analyse Source 7 and explain what point it is making about the Age of Imperialism.
 - 3 Explain how steamships such as that shown in Source 8 could change international trade and increase the value of European colonies.
- 15.3 Check your learning
- 1 What percentage of the planet did European countries control by 1914?
 - 2 Create a flow chart that explains the two-way trade process that enriched imperialist countries in the nineteenth century.
 - 3 Identify a specific example of imperialism that benefited the trade of an imperialist country. Research its impact on the population of the colonised country.
 - 4 Conduct research to identify which areas of the planet had not been colonised by Europeans by 1914.



THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

Although the spreading of Christianity and 'civilised' Western ideas were used to justify imperialist expansion, these were not the core reasons behind colonisation. At the heart of imperialism was always the desire to secure profits for business owners and shareholders. Nowhere was this more evident than in the activities of the East India Company.

Known for a range of names during its years of operation, the East India Company was essentially an English private company formed to take advantage of new trading opportunities after the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. In this conflict, England broke the monopoly (total control) Spain and Portugal had enjoyed in the East Indian spice trade.

Conflict with the Dutch in what was then called the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia) saw the Company focus its attention in India in the early seventeenth century, while also pursuing interests in the Persian Gulf, South-East Asia and East Asia.

SOURCE 9 Jan, Hollander as Cator Becton, Chairman of the East India Trading Company in Port of the Caribbean. David Mear's *China* (2006). The maritime company in the film was based on the real East India Company, with the names representing freedom from imperialist powers.

The major products the Company traded in were cotton, silk, spices, tea and opium. The latter was eventually to bring it into conflict with China in the Opium Wars. The Company, displaying its inherent 'logic' of nineteenth-century imperialism, demanded to be able to sell Indian opium in China to pay for the Chinese tea it was selling in England. Twice, after China banned the sale of opium to its citizens, wars were fought to ensure the Company had the right to sell opium to the Chinese.

For around 150 years, from the 1620s, the Company transported slaves to support its economic expansion.

The Company effectively ruled India on behalf of the British crown from 1834. Resentment of the Company's imperialist actions in India eventually resulted in the Indian Mutiny of 1857. As a result of this conflict, the British Government took formal control of India in 1858, and set up the Company's Indian possessions, its administrative powers and its army.

The Company lost all its power. It was finally dissolved in 1873, after over 300 years as a spearhead of English imperialism.



SOURCE 10 An artist's view of Company riding in a proc...



SOURCE 11 A woman smokes an opium pipe in modern-day China.

15.3 PROFILE TASKS

- 1 Which event paved the way for the establishment of the East India Company?
- 2 Research the Indian Mutiny and outline why the East India Company would have been resented by Indians.
- 3 Analyse Source 10 and explain how it could be used as evidence to help a historian understand the relationship between the East India Company and the Indian population.

Whatever the final figure, 'Bloody Sunday' had a profound effect on the attitude of the people towards the Tsar. Instead of 'Little Father', he became 'Nicholas the Bloody'. The Nicholas himself liked to fast – was shamed forever.

SOURCE 14

Along the Nizhny Novgorod ... there are signs of a steady and almost fierce workers all dressed in their best clothes ... We had already reached the Alexander Garden, on the other side of which by the Winter Palace square, when we heard the sound of gunfire, the signal for the rally to change. The musicians came on ... in time, on the right, was a detachment of police, but soon they showed no signs of hostility, the phalanx began moving again. The second was aimed at the crowd ... The first volley was fired in the air, but the third, however, a discharge of deadly rifle fire ... The first volley was fired in the air, but the third, however, a discharge of deadly rifle fire ... The first volley was fired in the air, but the third, however, a discharge of deadly rifle fire ...

SOURCE 15

I have heard the assembled crowd accused of rushing water that freezing in the canals, breaking the rifles, and using language so stern that will not bear repetition, although that, in fact, is not what happened. I do know that the commanding officers of the Infantry ... were ordered them to disperse, adding that if they did not, they would be compelled to fire on them ... the officers, in fact, would go right to shooting the people and try to remove their hands, leaving to do everything in their power to persuade the people to disperse peacefully.

Robert McCormick, the US Ambassador in St Petersburg, in *Michael Bakunin and Other People*, London: Weyland, 1967.

9.2a Understanding and using the sources

Read the accounts by A. Kennedy and Robert McCormick of the Bloody Sunday march. In what ways do these accounts differ? How do you account for these differences?

9.2a Check your learning

- 1 Research the living and working conditions of industrial workers in Russia, around 1900.
 - a Use a mind map or other graphic organiser to summarise your findings.
 - b Explain the main grievances of the industrial working class.
- 2 Research the system of agriculture in Russia, around 1900.
 - a Explain the main grievances of Russia's peasants.
 - b Refer to Source 12 and find two further sources of evidence about farming methods in Russia, around 1900. Analyse these sources for their reliability.

'Understanding and using the sources' questions throughout each chapter enhance student understanding of how to use and critically analyse historical sources.

'Check your learning' questions are given for each topic.

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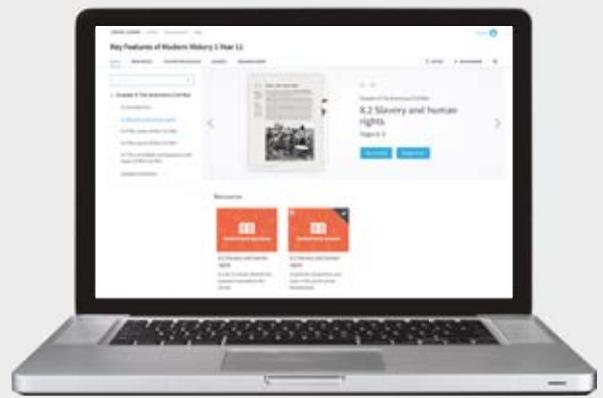
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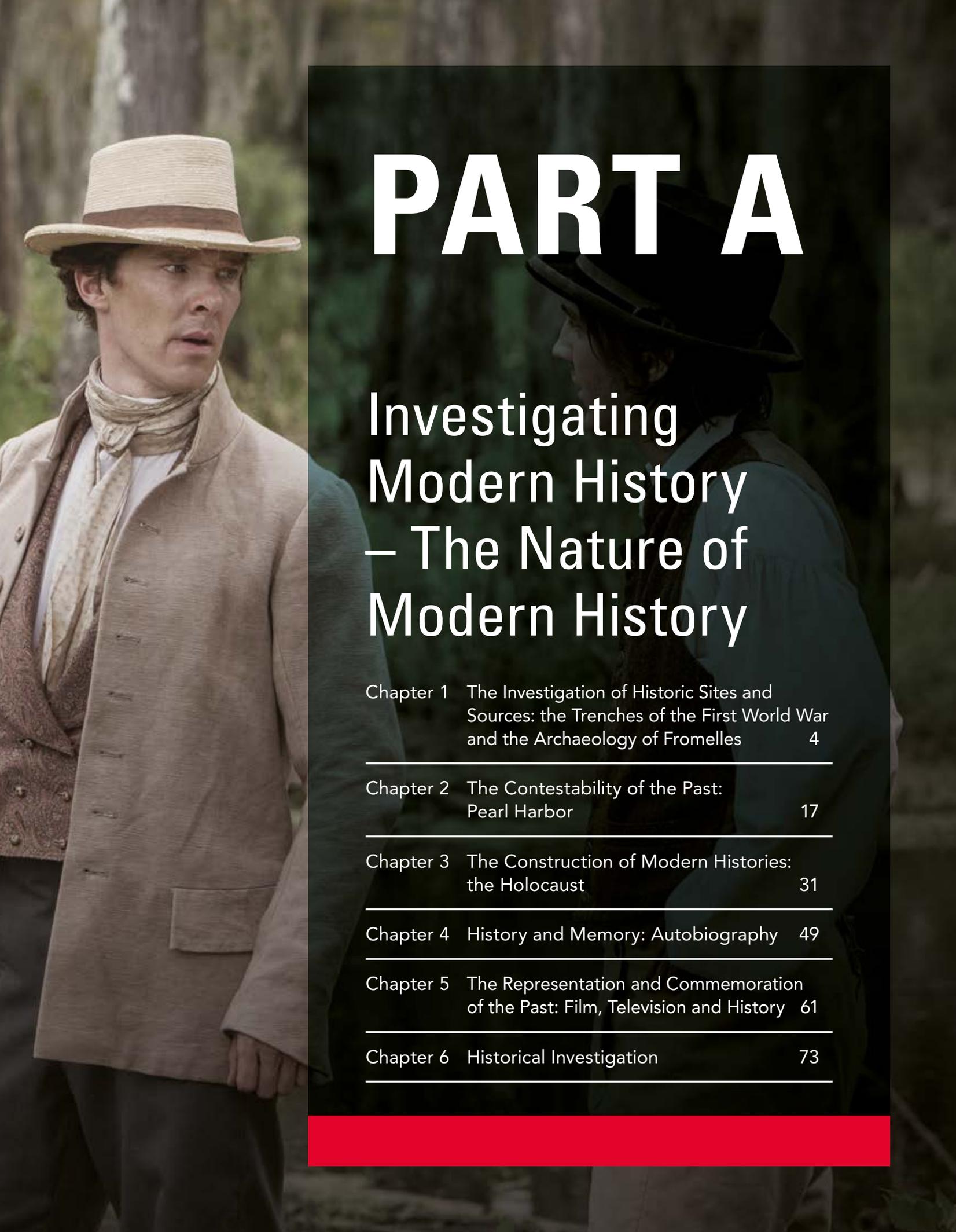
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The drama *12 Years a Slave* (2013) is based on the real life story of Solomon Northup, an African-American man who was kidnapped and sold as a slave to various plantations in the American South in the mid-1800s.



PART A

Investigating Modern History – The Nature of Modern History

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A S
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1

The Investigation of Historic Sites and Sources: the Trenches of the First World War and the Archaeology of Fromelles

War graves at the Thiepval Memorial to the Missing of the Somme, France

FOCUS QUESTIONS

- 1 What is the nature, range and importance of archives to researchers of modern history?
- 2 How valid are reconstructions of historic sites as a source of historical understanding?
- 3 How have archaeological and scientific techniques, historic sites and oral testimony contributed to our understanding of modern history?

KEY CONCEPTS AND SKILLS

Analysis and use of sources

Trench warfare was a major component of the First World War. There are a wide variety of sources that can be analysed to develop an understanding of the nature and impact of trench warfare in this war. These include written sources from participants in the war, such as letters, diaries and poems; visual sources such as photographs and drawings; and even the trenches themselves.

Historical interpretation

When you investigate a topic as large as the trenches of the First World War, you will be exposed to a variety of interpretations, as well as developing your own. Assess each interpretation for accuracy and validity by examining the sources it relies upon, and by looking at what has been excluded from the investigation.

Historical investigation and research

When you visit a museum or reconstructed historical site, you have to consider carefully the role it can play in a historical investigation. It may be a useful stimulus for developing valid historical questions, but you must always consider the validity of any museum exhibits or reconstructions as sources.

Explanation and communication

You may consider whether you could create models or reconstructions that can effectively communicate your own historical understanding.

LEARNING GOALS

- > Understand the wide range of different sources that support the study of modern history.
- > Develop an appreciation of the role of archaeology and science in the study of modern history.
- > Investigate the range of sources available to assist understanding of the nature of trench warfare in the First World War.

1.1 Introduction

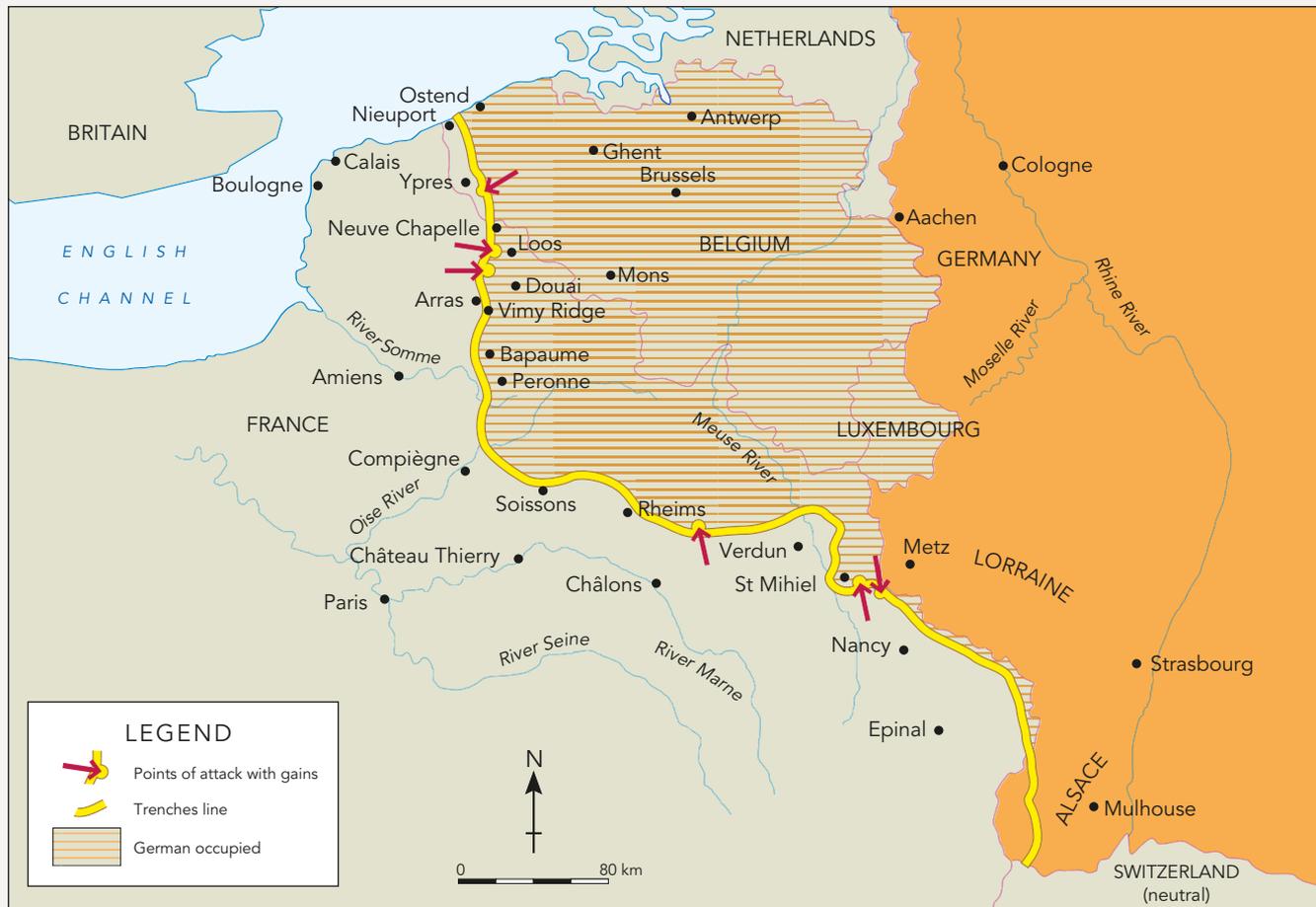
This chapter focuses on the investigation of historic sites and sources related to the trenches of the First World War (1914–18). The principal location of these trenches is known as the Western Front. The Western Front is not, however, a single site; rather, it is a series of different sites in France and Belgium. Here, the armies of France, the United States and the British Empire – which included Australia – fought bloody battles along a line of trenches that stretched from the Belgian coast to Switzerland.

The Western Front is unusual as a historic site, both because of its geographical size and because of the impact of the events that took place there.



SOURCE 1 A Muslim grave with French and Algerian flags at the National Necropolis and Ossuary in Douaumont, France. The site is a tribute to French and Algerian soldiers who died on the Verdun battlefield during the First World War.

THE WESTERN FRONT, 1915



SOURCE 2 This map of the Western Front in 1915 shows the extent of the trenches line, which stretched from the Belgian coast to Switzerland.

One hundred years after the end of the war, the scars are still visible on parts of the landscape. The trenches, war memorials, museums and military cemeteries – where row upon row of headstones stretch across the countryside – offer different versions of the story of the Great War. All the countries and all the families whose loved ones were involved in the war have their own special sites and their own special memories. Each country devotes special care to its own significant sites from the Western Front.

For the French, the Western Front was the site of the blood and sacrifice of a generation who fought to defend their home soil. For the British, it was the graveyard of the best of a generation. For many Germans in the 1920s and 1930s, it was the birthplace of their mythical ‘Front Generation’ – maimed (both mentally and physically) by war and unable to adjust to civilian life.

More than being sites of remembrance, reconstructions of sites along the Western Front seek to provide visitors with an authentic experience of the war. Throughout this chapter, you should consider how authentic a reconstruction of such a place can be.



SOURCE 3 A recreation of a First World War dressing station (first aid post) at the Romagne '14-'18 Museum in Romagne-sous-Montfaucon, Lorraine, France

1.1 Check your learning

- 1 Which countries were involved on the Western Front?
- 2 List some of the visible remains of the First World War that are still accessible.

1.1 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Identify artefacts in Source 3 that could be from the First World War. What would a historian do to assess their authenticity?
 - 2 What historical understanding can you draw from Source 2?
 - 3 As a student of modern history, how could the grave shown in Source 1 and the reconstruction in Source 3 help you understand what happened on the Western Front?
-

1.2

The nature and importance of archives to historians

Archives are places where public records and other historical documents are kept. Your school may have its own archive, celebrating the school and past student achievements. Most countries have a national archive, housing a wide range of sources that outline the history of the country through official records. Museums, such as the Australian War Memorial, have archives relating to their area of research.



SOURCE 4 'Chateau Wood' by Frank Hurley, 1917

oral history

the collection and study of historical information using sound recordings of interviews with people who remember past events

Archives are a valuable source of information for historians and, as technology has developed, archives have become increasingly digitised and made available on museum websites. Researchers and the general public have more ready access to archival material than ever before. Historians investigating the First World War spend much of their time in archives, looking at letters, diaries, maps, official reports, plans and orders. Many archives also include recorded interviews with eyewitnesses and those who served in the war. These **oral histories** were often recorded after the war ended, and were later transcribed, to become part of the written record.

Photography was well established as a means of recording events by the First World War and photographs have become important evidence in the process of reconstructing sites on the Western Front. Australian Frank Hurley became known as 'the mad photographer' for the risks he often took while photographing battles, such as Passchendaele in Belgium. Many of his photographs have become part of the Australian War Memorial's archive.

SOURCE 5

Wednesday: Rain, rain, more rain – it just poured and the mud is appalling – we slop around in gumboots with about 14 lbs [6.3 kg] of mud and straw and stuff attached to our boots ... several flashes of lightning – very bright indeed – and such heavy rain.

Staff Nurse Christine Erica Strom, Australian Army Nursing Service (AANS), taken from her diary, which is located in the Australian War Memorial's archives, Canberra

1.2 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Explain how Sources 4 and 5 can help you understand the role of archives in historical research.
 - 2 How would Source 5 help a history student who had been asked to use primary sources in explaining what it was like to serve in the First World War?
-

One of the most comprehensive archives for First World War studies is the Liddle Collection at Leeds University in the UK, founded in the 1970s by British historian Peter Liddle. Liddle had collected oral histories from First World War veterans from both the UK and Australia, including Australians who had served at Gallipoli and on the Western Front. Liddle's interest in these stories stemmed from a desire to preserve stories for future generations that, if not recorded, could be lost forever.

In 1978, British historian Denis Winter published *Death's Men: Soldiers of the Great War*, which was based on diaries and private letters from soldiers. Winter felt that 'both during and after the war the individual voices of the soldiers were lost in the collective picture'. He believed that there had been a neglect of the perspective of the individual soldier. Winter acknowledged one of the most important but often neglected truths of producing history: it is the vast variety of experiences that make up any story. From his interviews, Winter wrote what might be called a history from the 'bottom up'. Aside from a brief period just after the war, this perspective had been largely neglected, despite there being an abundance of materials that gave accounts of trench warfare from the first days of the war in 1914, until after the **armistice** in 1918.

The contribution of oral testimony to an understanding of life in the past

Many historical accounts rely heavily on oral testimony. In fact, the Liddle Collection at Leeds University is almost entirely based on oral testimony, and the Australian War Memorial's oral testimony collection is vast. These testimonies have provided historians with important insights into the times, emotions and perceptions of those with firsthand experience of life in the trenches.

Like all historical sources, however, such testimonies cannot be taken at face value. They need to be considered critically and approached first in terms of their context. This means considering who produced them, and when and why they were produced; and only then considering the content of what is being said. In other words, the key to using oral testimony is the same as using any historical source. First look at the context, and then look at the content.

The best way to understand the power and significance of oral history in understanding life in the past is to listen to recordings. The Australian War Memorial's collection is an ideal place to start. Its archives hold recordings of firsthand accounts of fighting at Gallipoli, as well as on the Western Front. These testimonies allow you to establish a sense of empathy with the soldiers of the First World War, as you hear them describe their experiences, and reflect on their survival and the changes war wrought on them. Oral history keeps memories alive long after the participants have passed on.

1.2 Check your learning

- 1 What are archives? Why are they useful for historians?
 - 2 Describe the Liddle Collection. How could its contents provide a different perspective on the First World War than other official records?
 - 3 Create a table with two columns that outlines the risks and advantages of using oral histories to develop historical understanding of a topic.
-

■ **armistice**
the agreement made by opposing sides in a war to stop fighting



SOURCE 6
Poppies adorn the Roll of Honour walls at the Australian War Memorial in Canberra. The War Memorial holds an extensive archive of First World War records.

1.3

The reconstruction of historic sites: the Western Front



SOURCE 7 The 19 240 Shrouds of the Somme exhibition, Exeter, England, on the 100th anniversary of the first day of the Battle of the Somme. Each figurine represents one British life lost in first four hours of the Battle of the Somme, 1 July 1916.

Today, some of the sites of the Western Front have been left as places of reflection, while others have seen trenches reconstructed to give visitors some understanding of what it looked like in 1916.

For young nations, such as Australia, New Zealand and Canada, key events of the First World War are often referred to as their ‘coming of age’. In relation to Australia and New Zealand, it is the 1915 campaign at Gallipoli in Turkey that has the greatest meaning. Anzac Cove in Gallipoli has become an important focus of commemoration, and plays a significant role in the history and sense of identity for both countries. The Western Front – particularly the sites of Beaumont-Hamel and Vimy Ridge – plays a similar role in Canada’s history and sense of identity. These two sites are examples of different approaches to reconstruction.

Beaumont-Hamel

In 1916, Newfoundland, Canada, was still a **dominion** of the British Empire (it would not become a Canadian province until 1949). As such, it answered Britain’s call for troops to fight in the First World War and sent a **battalion** of 800 men to Europe.

Beaumont-Hamel, 120 km south-west of the Belgian border, was the battleground of the first day of the Battle of the Somme. The Somme – which has become a symbolic representation of the Great War, particularly for the British – was in fact a series of battles that were fought between 1 July and 18 November 1916, near the Somme River, 160 km north of Paris.

■ **dominion**
a territory of a sovereign or government

■ **battalion**
a large body of troops

SOURCE 8
Soldiers leaving a trench to attack during the Battle of the Somme



The first day of fighting, 1 July 1916, was one of the worst in the history of the British Army in terms of casualties. The Somme was designed by the British to be an offensive battle to break the **stalemate** on the Western Front. It did not go according to plan. The attack was preceded by a week-long bombardment of the German trenches, in which one and a half million shells were fired. This artillery attack was intended to destroy the German barbed wire and wipe out the front-line trenches. However, this aim was not achieved. The Germans were aware of the impending attack and prepared for it by digging huge underground chambers, 12 m below the ground, to enable them to shelter from the bombardment. The result was that the battle lasted significantly longer than planned. The impact of four and a half months of intense conflict left major scars on the French landscape.

The Canadians were part of the third wave of soldiers attempting to cross **no man's land** and seize the German trenches at Beaumont-Hamel on that first day. Of the almost 800 men that left their trenches at 8.45 a.m., most would be dead or dying within the first 20 minutes of the advance. At the next morning's roll call, only 68 men could respond. A total of 324 were killed or missing, and a further 386 were wounded, many so severely that they would die shortly after.

This was a devastating blow for such a small dominion, and 1 July remains an official day of remembrance in Newfoundland. The site of the battle at Beaumont-Hamel has also become a significant memorial, and the Beaumont-Hamel Newfoundland Memorial is one of only two National Historic Sites of Canada outside of Canada itself.

Rather than try and reconstruct the trenches, the Canadian Government has left them as winding scars in the landscape (see Source 9). Visitors are able to walk through the trenches the Newfoundlanders left, and reflect on the huge sacrifice of lives that occurred on the morning of 1 July 1916.

■ **stalemate**
a situation where neither side is able to gain an advantage

■ **no man's land**
the area between the trench systems of opposing armies; soldiers were unlikely to return from this area



SOURCE 9 English school students visiting First World War trenches of the Battle of the Somme at the Beaumont-Hamel Newfoundland Memorial, France

Vimy Ridge

On 9 April 1917, at Vimy Ridge in northern France, all four divisions of the Canadian Expeditionary Force fought together for the first time, successfully driving the German forces back and capturing the high ground. Today, Vimy Ridge is the site of a memorial to the 60 000 Canadians who gave their lives in the First World War: the Canadian National Vimy Memorial.



SOURCE 10 Canada's Prime Minister Justin Trudeau walks through a trench at Vimy Ridge on 9 April 2017, the 100th anniversary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge.

In contrast to Beaumont-Hamel, the decision was made by the Canadian Government to reconstruct the trenches at Vimy Ridge, using concrete sandbags (concrete moulded to look like sandbags) to ensure the safety of the many visitors that flock to the site each year.

Historical reconstructions cannot place us back in the reality of the First World War, but, when they are built accurately and with care, they can allow for a degree of authenticity. They can give visitors the opportunity to walk through and stand in the same places that their ancestors did, and gain both insight and historical understanding of the experiences those people endured.

1.3 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 What historical understandings can be gained by the school students visiting sites such as Beaumont-Hamel, as shown in Source 9?
- 2 Compare Sources 9 and 10. Explain how they show different approaches to the preservation and reconstruction of historic sites.
- 3 To what extent could Sources 9 and 10 be regarded as sources by historians investigating the First World War?

1.3 Check your learning

- 1 How long did the Battle of the Somme last?
 - 2 Describe what happened on the first morning of the Battle of the Somme.
 - 3 Why are the battle sites of Beaumont-Hamel and Vimy Ridge so significant for Canadians?
 - 4 Discuss the value of reconstructing historical sites. Outline the arguments for and against reconstructions.
-

1.4 The contribution of archaeological and scientific techniques in the investigation of the past

Australian and British historians and archaeologists have focused on sites in the Somme region to gain a better understanding of trench life and the experiences of ordinary soldiers in the First World War. The most significant of these undertakings was the 2009 excavation of mass graves at Pheasant Wood near Fromelles, France, close to the Belgian border.

The challenges of surveying trench sites

Battlefield archaeology can add an extra dimension to our understanding of war, as it gives us a unique insight into the experiences of soldiers. However, the excavation of trenches along the Western Front has sometimes been made difficult by the postwar construction of memorials and monuments where battles were once fought. While these can be of great emotional significance for soldiers and their families, memorials alter the original military **topography** and can contribute to the destruction of significant historical artefacts.

topography
the arrangement of the natural and artificial physical features of an area

Fortunately for archaeologists, the Somme has provided a surprising number of artefacts; rather than monuments, the ongoing challenge here has been the decomposition of many of these artefacts. Archaeologists and historians have cross-referenced remains (for example shreds of uniforms, identifying badges and ammunition) with archival records (for example photographs and oral testimonies) to develop a deeper understanding of what occurred at sites such as Fromelles.



SOURCE 11 A First World War mass grave at Fromelles



SOURCE 12 An archaeologist at work, recovering human remains and historical artefacts at Pheasant Wood

■ **stratigraphic dating**
the geological method of dating objects by their position in the stratigraphy – or layering – of rocks and sediment

Interestingly, even the most well-preserved trenches can cause problems for archaeologists using **stratigraphic dating** techniques. Stratigraphy – the method of dating artefacts by their relationship with the levels at which they were found, with the oldest artefacts on the bottom and the most recent on top – is not always useful when studying trenches. In fact, in the trenches the traditional stratigraphic picture was often reversed, as troops along the Western Front would frequently dig themselves deeper underground and throw their waste up onto the surface. The stratigraphy was further confused by the massive artillery explosions that blew enormous craters in the ground and completely rearranged the topography.

Excavations of trenches have been further complicated by the fact that after the war, farmers who attempted to reclaim their farmland would simply take all the mounds of debris above ground and shovel them into the trenches to fill them in. Hence traditional stratigraphy cannot be trusted, and other means have had to be used to determine the true origins of artefacts.

Aside from the dangers of drawing false conclusions, archaeologists working in the trenches face physical dangers. Even a hundred years after the Western Front was an active battlefield, archaeologists have still come across unexploded shells and gas cylinders. For this reason, all archaeological work has had to be done with professional bomb disposal experts and other personnel on site.



SOURCE 13
Private Thomas Cosgriff, 59th Battalion, of Albert Park, Victoria, aged 20, was one of the many Australians killed at Fromelles in July 1916. His remains were positively identified through DNA testing.

■ **geophysical**
relating to the use of instruments to study the physics of the earth in inaccessible areas

■ **oste archaeologist**
a specialist in the study of human skeletal remains

Forensic examinations and DNA analysis at Fromelles

For the Australians, one of the most significant places on the Western Front is Fromelles, the site of one of the bloodiest battles of the Great War. Here, Australia suffered more than 5000 casualties in one night, between 19 and 20 July 1916, in what is sometimes called Australia's greatest military disaster. Of these casualties, hundreds of soldiers remained missing for over 90 years, until a **geophysical** survey of the area, commissioned by the Australian Government in 2007, located an unmarked mass grave at Pheasant Wood in 2008. According to the Australian War Memorial, the excavation revealed 250 bodies, of which 203 were thought by archaeologists to be Australian (due to remnants of clothing or location of the bodies etc). After teams of **oste archaeologists** removed the soldiers' remains, DNA samples were taken from their teeth and bones. These were then matched with DNA from relatives of soldiers in Australia. By mid-2015, 144 of the 250 bodies had been positively identified, and each of these was confirmed to be Australian. The lost soldiers were identified through a combination of anthropological, archaeological, historical and DNA information.

1.4 Understanding and using the sources

Analyse Sources 11, 12 and 13. Explain how each source can help you understand more about the role and value of archaeologists in developing historical understanding of modern history.

1.4 Check your learning

- 1 Who conducted the search for unidentified Australian bodies at Pheasant Wood near Fromelles in 2008?
 - 2 Outline some of the difficulties facing archaeologists excavating First World War battlefields.
 - 3 Research the Australian and British troops' aim at the Battle of Fromelles. How successful were they?
-

VILLERS-BRETONNEUX

Villers-Bretonneux, near Amiens in northern France, was the site of a significant engagement that was critical in the outcome of the First World War. In 1918, the German Army launched a carefully planned offensive in an attempt to win the war before growing numbers of American troops arriving on the Western Front could overwhelm them. This attack, known as the Ludendorff Offensive, broke through the British and French lines and was close to succeeding in its aim. Australian troops were involved in halting the German advance, and one of the key sites in this battle was the small town of Villers-Bretonneux. More than 2000 Australians were killed or wounded, while the cost to the Germans was estimated at more than 10 000.

The people of Villers-Bretonneux continue to honour the considerable effort made by the Australian troops to prevent Germany from breaking through the French lines. Today, Australians visiting the town can have a cup of coffee at Café le Anzac or Café le Kangaroo, and watch the local primary school, the Victoria School, celebrate Anzac Day. The school houses the Australian National Memorial, and has also erected a sign in its playground that reads 'Do not forget Australia'.

Sites such as Villers-Bretonneux make a major contribution not only to the historical understanding of individuals, but also to a broader national understanding of identity. They can provide a focus for historical memories and understanding that help shape a broader historical narrative. Although Gallipoli has dominated Australia's historical memory, as historical understanding of Australia's role in the First World War has expanded, Western Front sites such as Villers-Bretonneux have risen in significance.



SOURCE 14 The Australian national rugby team, the Wallabies, visits the Victoria School, following a commemorative service at the Australian National Memorial in Villers-Bretonneux.



SOURCE 15 French children tend the graves of Australians killed in battle on the Western Front, Adelaide Cemetery, Villers-Bretonneux.

1.4 PROFILE TASKS

- 1 How do sites such as the memorials at Villers-Bretonneux and Vimy Ridge contribute to historical understanding?
- 2 Investigate the role Australia played in the battle at Villers-Bretonneux. How important was it for the outcome of the war?
- 3 Discuss why Australian sporting teams such as the Wallabies would travel to Villers-Bretonneux. How could historians use Source 14 to help them understand the contribution of Villers-Bretonneux to any historical narrative of Australia and its place in the world?

Traditionally, archaeology has been seen as the domain of ancient history. As this chapter about the Western Front in the First World War has shown, however, it also has a crucial role to play in helping us understand modern history. The so-called Great War destroyed large areas of the French countryside, but the skills of archaeologists have allowed for the reconstruction of some of the trenches along the front.

Reconstruction has emerged as a popular way of accessing the past in the twenty-first century. It can take the form of preserving trenches or recreating areas, such as the dressing station shown in Source 3. In each case, the aim is to allow people from the present to experience aspects of the past.

Reconstructions contribute to our historical understanding of the past, but, like all sources, have to be analysed carefully. They may give a researcher a greater understanding of the experiences of participants, or simply allow them to ask historical questions, such as what sort of lighting would be available in a field hospital, or how surgeries could be performed there.

Science too is making a significant contribution to our understanding of the past. After the physical discoveries of archaeologists showed the way at Fromelles in France, DNA testing was used on the remains exhumed from the mass graves of Fromelles. Here, modern science allowed 144 Australians, who had been buried unnamed in unmarked graves, to be identified and buried with dignity and recognition. More than providing closure to families whose relatives had been lost to history, DNA analysis also allowed historians to gain a deeper and more complete understanding of the Battle of Fromelles. Perhaps, in time, that greater understanding will lead to enhanced recognition of the role of Fromelles and other Western Front sites in the development of Australia's national identity.



SOURCE 16 Australian soldiers stand in front of a wall bearing the names of fallen First World War soldiers at a dawn service at the Australian National Memorial in Villers-Bretonneux, France.



FOR THE TEACHER

Check your [obook](#) [assess](#) for the following additional resources for this chapter:

Answers

Answers to each *Check your learning*, *Understanding and using the sources* and *Profile* task in this chapter

Teacher notes

Useful notes and advice for teaching this chapter, including syllabus connections and relevant weblinks

Class test

Comprehensive test to review students' skills and knowledge

assess quiz

Interactive auto-correcting multiple-choice quiz to test student comprehension

2

The Contestability of the Past: Pearl Harbor

The American flag flying at the USS Arizona Memorial, Pearl Harbor

FOCUS QUESTIONS

- 1 How do the different interpretations of the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 illustrate the concept of contestability in history?
- 2 What do the sources and historians say about the bombing of Pearl Harbor?
- 3 How do the sources and evidence help historians evaluate different theories about the bombing of Pearl Harbor?

KEY CONCEPTS AND SKILLS

Historical interpretation

One of the roles of historians is to interpret events and sources. The events at Pearl Harbor have challenged historians because much of the information comes from Japanese and American perspectives. Even historians may have their interpretation of events influenced by their national origins.

Historical investigation and research

Developing a range of questions to guide an investigation is an important step towards success in history. It is critical that you develop questions that guide you towards a well-reasoned and well-supported conclusion. A good starting point here is to ask what you would like to know about the bombing of Pearl Harbor, and perhaps develop a mind map from that question.

Explanation and communication

When you are dealing with a contested topic such as the bombing of Pearl Harbor, it is critical that you provide evidence and examples to support your interpretation. When communicating your findings, it will be essential to plan a method that makes it very clear that you have conducted sufficient research to show you understand the significance of your sources.

Analysis and use of sources

It is vital that you examine carefully the origin and intent of the sources you are using to develop your own interpretation.

LEARNING GOALS

- > Understand the nature of contestability in history.
- > Identify the different historical interpretations of the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the reasons for them.
- > Discuss the contested interpretations of Pearl Harbor and assess their validity.

2.1 Introduction

■ **Allied Powers**
the coalition of countries in opposition to the Axis powers in the Second World War; they included Britain, the Commonwealth and France, which were joined by the United States and the Soviet Union in 1941

■ **Axis Powers**
the coalition of countries in opposition to the Allied powers in the Second World War; they included Germany, Italy and Japan

■ **capitalism**
an economic system in which businesses and industry are run for profit by private owners, rather than run by the government

As a student of history, you analyse and evaluate contested interpretations and representations of the past. This implies that historians will not always agree on why events occurred, or what those events mean. History is often contested, with differing historical interpretations around any given event. This is the case with the Japanese attack on the US naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, during the Second World War.

Japan's surprise attack on the US Navy's 7th Fleet on 7 December 1941 was a defining moment in twentieth-century history. The event triggered a dramatic response from the US Government and a change in the United States' view of its place and role in the world. Before Pearl Harbor, the United States had stood apart from the conflict between the **Allied Powers** and the **Axis Powers** that had been ongoing in theatres of war in Europe and North Africa since 1939. It was Pearl Harbor that led the United States into the Second World War, moving it away from a position of isolation from world affairs to the position it has held since after the war, the role of international leader of the Western, **capitalist** world.

In this chapter, we will use the bombing of the US naval base at Pearl Harbor to illustrate why it is important to examine contested interpretations, and the sources and evidence they are based on, before coming to a conclusion. As you examine the attack on Pearl Harbor, and the events that followed as a result, you will confront a range of viewpoints and interpretations. From these you will develop your own interpretation, using sources and evidence to support you through the process.



SOURCE 1 An aerial view of the USS Arizona Memorial, Pearl Harbor, with the sunken battleship just visible under the surface

Understanding the context: the background to Pearl Harbor

The Japanese economy had suffered during the **Great Depression** in the 1930s, and its industries lacked key resources, such as oil and rubber. Japan's invasion of China in 1937 was seen as an immediate solution to these problems. In 1940, Japanese Prime Minister Yosuke Matsuoka had announced the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, with the idea of creating a bloc of Japanese-occupied Asian nations that were free of Western influence. If realised, the scheme would have replaced Western imperialism with Japanese imperialism, allowing Japan to access resources from the Asian countries they would dominate.

These expansionist policies reflected the rise to power of aggressive military leaders in Japan. The most significant of these was Hideki Tojo, a general who became prime minister in October 1941. It was he who ordered the attack on Pearl Harbor. As prime minister until July 1944, Tojo led Japan through most of the Second World War.

In response to Japan's invasion of China, the United States had imposed **economic sanctions** on Japan in 1939. Britain also joined the economic blockade of Japan. If the sanctions had continued, Japan would run out of resources by 1942. Most critically for Japan, a shortage of oil was a serious threat in a world where oil had emerged as the fuel needed to drive both industry and the military.

The military leaders who dominated Japanese politics resented what they saw as Western interference in their country's right to secure their future through expansion. Against this background, a high-stakes attack on the United States seemed a realistic approach for the Japanese. The government believed that a decisive surprise attack on a key asset such as Pearl Harbor might prevent the United States from engaging in the war, and force it to drop the economic sanctions that were slowly depleting the country.

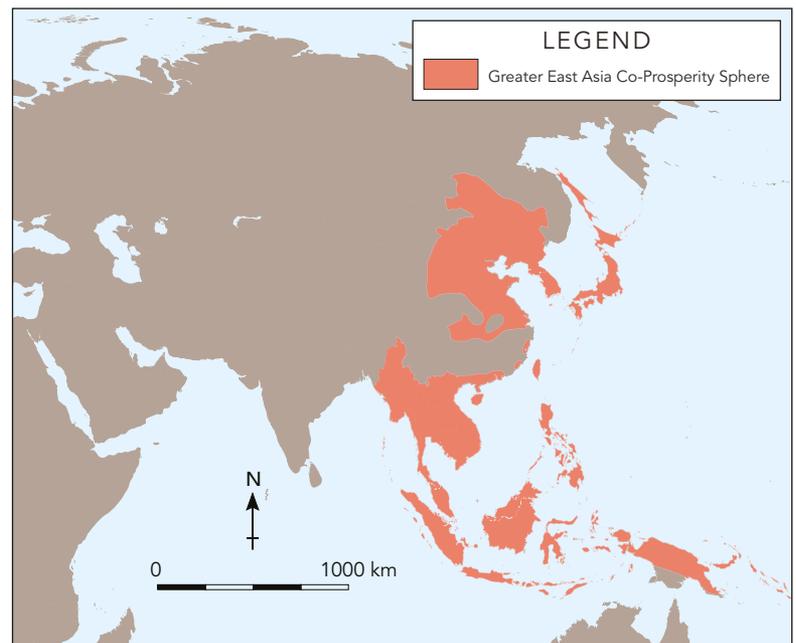
■ **Great Depression**
a period of severe economic downturn that began in the United States and quickly spread around the world during the 1930s and 1940s

■ **economic sanctions**
restrictions on trade



SOURCE 2 Hideki Tojo, Prime Minister of Japan, 1941–44

THE PROPOSED GREATER EAST ASIA CO-PROSPERITY SPHERE, 1940



SOURCE 3 This 1940 map shows the proposed nations that Japan intended would comprise its Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

But how would the United States respond to such an attack? The major risk was that Japan was unsure whether it could defeat the United States in a full-scale military confrontation. If the attack on Pearl Harbor succeeded in keeping the United States out of the war, it would be a success. If the United States chose instead to go to war, it could lead to Japan's defeat. It is unthinkable that Japan's leaders would have contemplated Pearl Harbor if they could have foreseen the catastrophic impact of the atomic bombs dropped by the United States on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. History, however, has to reject hindsight, and interpret decisions that were made at the time. Japan's decision to attack Pearl Harbor would have an impact on history throughout the Asia-Pacific region, as well as globally.

One of the many sources historians can access to help them understand the context of Pearl Harbor is the work of Ikezaki Tadataka, a Japanese civilian writer on military affairs. In 1929 he commented: 'It is well known that Japan's over-population grows more serious every year. Where should we find an outlet for these millions?' Tadataka went on to say that the Western powers had already divided up the world but the Asian mainland remained, and that Japan had a claim to the region 'written in the blood and treasure of two wars', referring to the wars that Japan had fought against China in 1894–95 and against Russia in 1904–05.

In trying to understand the historical context of Japan's decision to bomb Pearl Harbor, it can be valuable to examine its tactics in its first war with a Western power: the Russo-Japanese War. In 1904, a Japanese squadron of warships attacked the Russian naval base at Port Arthur (in Kiaodong Province, China), without warning and without any declaration of war. In December 1941, the Japanese – again without warning or declaration of war – attacked the US naval base at Pearl Harbor.

SOURCE 4

Russo-Japanese War (1904–05)

An important conflict over control of Manchuria and Korea. The Japanese launched a surprise attack on Russian warships at anchor in the naval base of Port Arthur ... without declaring war ... Port Arthur fell to the Japanese ... The Russian Baltic fleet sailed 28 000 km from its base in the East China Sea, only to be destroyed in the Tsushima Straits by the Japanese fleet ...

Edmund Wright (ed.), *The Desk Encyclopedia of World History*, 2006, p. 556

2.1 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 How can Source 3 help you understand the threat Japan presented to Australia in the period before and during the Second World War?
- 2 In what way could Source 4 be used as evidence by a historian investigating the reasons for the bombing of Pearl Harbor?

2.1 Check your learning

- 1 Explain what is meant by the concept of contestability in history.
 - 2 Name two key resources that Japan was concerned about accessing during the Great Depression.
 - 3 What was the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere?
 - 4 Who was Hideki Tojo?
 - 5 Which Japanese military action provided a precedent for the attack on Pearl Harbor?
-

2.2 The attack at Pearl Harbor

Just before eight o'clock in the morning of Sunday, 7 December 1941, Japan launched the first of two waves of attacks on the US naval base. In the first wave, 183 Imperial Japanese Navy aircraft bombed US aircraft parked in their hangars, as well as warships moored at the base. These included the battleship USS *Arizona*.

The *Arizona* exploded and sank after a bomb hit its gunpowder stores, resulting in the death of more than a thousand of its crew. It was the only ship from the attack that could not be salvaged. Today, a white memorial on the surface above where it sank is one of the most visible markers of the attack (see Source 1).



SOURCE 5 The USS *Arizona* explodes and sinks after a Japanese air strike hits its gunpowder stores.

The second wave of attacks followed 90 minutes later, with the arrival of an additional 170 Japanese planes.

When the attack on Pearl Harbor was over, 18 American warships had been damaged or sunk and 2403 Americans had lost their lives.

There was, however, resistance during the two-hour attack. The US soldiers at the base mounted counter-attacks using anti-aircraft guns, and some US airmen were able to take to the skies, even as their airfield came under direct attack. The Japanese lost 29 aircraft, and 55 Japanese airmen were killed during the attack.

SOURCE 6 The scene from the airfield as the US naval destroyer USS *Shaw* explodes during the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor



News and images of the shocking attack quickly appeared in newspapers and in film bulletins, and it seemed that American naval power in the Pacific had suffered a debilitating blow. However, the situation was not as bad as it first appeared. This was due partly to an element of chance, and partly to what proved to be poor decision-making by the commander of the Japanese attack, Admiral Chuichi Nagumo. Nagumo decided against launching a third wave of attacks because he did not know the location of the US aircraft carriers and feared a counter-attack by US carrier-based aircraft. The initial waves of Japanese invaders had also suffered more casualties than they had anticipated, because of the retaliation of the American forces. Nagumo reasoned that the strikes had done enough.

The following day, US President Franklin D. Roosevelt declared war on Japan and, as a result, the United States entered into the Second World War on the side of the Allied Powers. Within six months of the attack on Pearl Harbor, the US Navy had rebuilt its strength. The United States led the resistance to Japan's expansion in two crucial sea battles: the Battle of the Coral Sea and the Battle of Midway (both 1942). America's ability to rapidly repair, rebuild and replace vessels lost at Pearl Harbor would prove to be crucial to the outcome of the Second World War.



SOURCE 7 Smoke rises from burning buildings at Pearl Harbor after the surprise attack by the Japanese.



SOURCE 8 An aerial view of Pearl Harbor, showing the damage inflicted by the bombing

2.2 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Examine Sources 5, 6, 7 and 8. How could a historian use these sources to analyse whether the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor was successful?
- 2 What conclusions do you draw about the attack's short-term success after examining the sources?

2.2 Check your learning

- 1 Argue for or against the idea that the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor was successful.
 - 2 Research the bombing of Pearl Harbor. List the major outcomes of the attack.
-

THE PEARL HARBOR ADVANCE-KNOWLEDGE CONSPIRACY THEORY

Ever since the attack on Pearl Harbor took place, a persistent conspiracy theory has suggested that President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the US Government were forewarned about the attacks, but did nothing to alert the field commander at Pearl Harbor. The reason for this, according to the theory, is that Roosevelt wanted a reason to bring the United States into the war and end American isolationism. Some go even further to suggest that entering the Second World War had been the president's political aim all along. Considering that the country's entry into the war was a crucial step on the way to making the United States the superpower it is today, it is perhaps not surprising that this theory has had many supporters over the years.

As historians, it is crucial that we aim to find the source of the theories we study. The origin of the advance-knowledge theory can be traced back to a book published in September 1944 by John T. Flynn called *The Truth about Pearl Harbor*. Flynn was a journalist and a political opponent of Roosevelt. He was also a co-founder of the America First Committee, which wanted to keep the United States out of the Second World War.



SOURCE 9 The attack on Pearl Harbor was used for pro-war propaganda in the years that followed.



SOURCE 10 President Roosevelt, wearing a black armband, signs a declaration of war against Japan at 4.10 p.m. on 8 December 1941, the day after the attack on Pearl Harbor.

For an opposing view, historians can look to the 1996 article 'How Roosevelt attacked Japan at Pearl Harbor: Myth masquerading as history' by Robert Butow, Professor of Japanese History at the University of Washington. The article, which is available online through the American National Archives, directly challenges the conspiracy theory, relying on evidence to support its argument. It shows how historians use sources not only to arrive at reasoned interpretations, but also to challenge conspiracy theorists who develop interpretations without the critical analysis used by historians.

2.2 PROFILE TASKS

- 1 What is the main argument of the conspiracy theory regarding President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Pearl Harbor?
- 2 Research John T. Flynn. Does his background provide any evidence that could be used to challenge his theory as being biased? Discuss how his background could influence his work, using the evidence you have researched.
- 3 Read the article 'How Roosevelt attacked Japan at Pearl Harbor: Myth masquerading as history' online, and explain how it uses evidence to reach its conclusions.

2.3

How historians test hypotheses about the past

hypothesis
a proposed explanation for an event

Historians develop **hypotheses** as they search for explanations to help understand why events occur. This is called understanding causation. A hypothesis is not necessarily true, but if sufficient evidence is available to support it, it may become accepted. To assess the validity of any hypothesis, historians have to ask a range of historical questions and investigate sources and evidence in order to see whether they support the hypothesis. This process is the backbone of history as a discipline, and is something you will become increasingly familiar with in your studies.

Developing hypotheses from historical questions

Source 11 shows examples of hypotheses that could be developed from historical questions regarding the attack on Pearl Harbor. These reflect the emergence of new approaches by historians to questioning the causes and consequences of the Japanese attack.

SOURCE 11

QUESTIONS	HYPOTHESES
Why was the attack as successful as it was?	The Americans were unprepared for the attack on Pearl Harbor.
Who was to blame for the Americans being taken by surprise?	The commander of the Japanese fleet, Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, out-thought the commander of the US fleet, Admiral Husband E. Kimmel.
Was there a conspiracy?	Americans believed President Roosevelt invited the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.
Was the defeat, in fact, as bad as it first appeared?	The bombing of Pearl Harbor devastated the American fleet.
How has the attack been remembered?	Pearl Harbor is the most momentous event in American history.

Using sources to consider the advance-knowledge theory

To assess the validity of any of these hypotheses, it is essential that you conduct a close analysis of sources and evidence. As an example of how historians use primary sources to test hypotheses, consider the question of the advance-knowledge theory. Historians assessing the hypothesis that Roosevelt was inviting a Japanese attack in order to enter into the Second World War can access a collection of interviews held by the US Library of Congress.

Shortly after the attack, the Archive of American Folk Song (now the Archive of Folk Culture, American Folklife Center) asked its fieldworkers to collect ‘man on the street’ reactions of ordinary Americans to the bombing and the subsequent declaration of war by the United States. A second series of interviews, called ‘Dear Mr President’, was recorded in January and February 1942. These interviews can be accessed online, giving historians and history students evidence of how ordinary Americans reacted to Pearl Harbor. Reviewing these will enable you to draw conclusions about whether such Americans were blaming President Roosevelt in the aftermath of the attack.



SOURCE 12 A Japanese photograph taken during the attack on Pearl Harbor

Problems associated with the evaluation of sources: authenticity, reliability and usefulness

The fact that historians rely on sources to interpret history does not mean that there is always consensus regarding the role and importance of any individual source. On the contrary, a group of historians could be placed in the same room with access to the same sources, and all could come up with different interpretations. The contested nature of topics such as the reasons behind Japan's decision to attack Pearl Harbor requires students to evaluate sources carefully by asking questions about their context, origin, audience and intention.

No one source will hold a complete answer, and sources are always open to interpretation. When developing your own conclusions, it is important that you understand the contested nature of history, and the need to always support your interpretation with reference to sources and evidence.

Japanese sources and perspectives

In trying to understand Japan's decision to bomb Pearl Harbor, it is important to consider Japanese sources and perspectives. One obvious problem for historians who are unable to read documents and books written in Japanese is the need to employ translators, if there is no English edition available.

In Ikezaki Tadataka's book from 1929, called *Why Fear the United States?*, the author argued that Japan had no reason to fear the United States, and that there was no scenario in which the United States could defeat Japan in a conflict. He particularly stressed the strength of the Japanese Navy as a decisive element. This becomes a valuable source for a historian investigating reasons for Japan's actions, but it would certainly require close evaluation to understand the sources Tadataka was using to build his opinions. A historian would be able to challenge Tadataka's assertions, and it is likely that relying on it as a source would lead to highly contested conclusions.

Censorship of sources

Many Western and Japanese academic historians have been critical about how Japanese high school textbooks during the 1960s and 1970s recorded the history of the **Pacific War**. Even today the issue is contested. The most famous example was the censorship imposed by the Japanese Ministry of Education on textbooks written about the Pacific War. The details of the war were either ignored or presented in such a way that they absolved Japan of all guilt. Again, this creates problems for historians relying on those books as sources, and it also raises questions about potential bias or misunderstanding for students who were schooled using those books.

In 1953, Japanese historian Saburo Ienaga's book *New Japanese History* went against the trend of downplaying Japan's part in wartime atrocities. The book became subject to strict censorship by the government's schoolbook authorisation system. In 1978, his book *The Pacific War 1931–1945: A critical perspective on Japan's role in World War II* was met with similar criticism from the government.

To this day, the Japanese Education Ministry maintains control over what can be included in history textbooks. In 2002 the ministry approved the publishing of the book *New History Textbook*, written by a group of right-wing scholars, which sought to downplay Japanese aggression and imperialism. This book was, however, rejected by over 99 per cent of Japanese schools.

■ **Pacific War**
the theatre of the Second World War, where the Allied Powers resisted the Japanese invasion of countries through the Pacific region and South-East Asia

SOURCE 13

I wrote this book to show the Japanese people the naked realities of the Pacific War. My objective was to stimulate reflection and self-criticism about the war.

Saburo Ienaga, *The Pacific War 1931–1945: A Critical Perspective on Japan's Role in World War II*, 1978, p. xi



SOURCE 14 Did Australian Prime Minister William 'Billy' Hughes contribute to the attack on Pearl Harbor through his treatment of Japan at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919?

League of Nations an international organisation established at the end of the First World War to maintain world peace and prevent the outbreak of future wars by encouraging nations to negotiate with each other

contestation the process of disputing and debating different interpretations of sources by historians

Further historical perspectives about Pearl Harbor

Another perspective was provided by American historian John W. Dower in his 1986 book, *War Without Mercy: Race & Power in the Pacific War*. Dower argued that both the Americans and the Japanese had used their sense of racial superiority to inform their ideas about the other power, and that these views helped explain the build-up to the attack on Pearl Harbor. After evaluating his sources, Dower described the Pacific War – including Pearl Harbor – as a 'race war'.

In a 2012 article in *The Australian* newspaper, titled '1930s couldn't happen again – could they?', Australian journalist Max Suich asked a question many historians may not have considered – did Australia contribute to the events that led to Pearl Harbor? Suich suggested that Australian Prime Minister Billy Hughes' very public humiliation of the Japanese Government at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 may have helped sow the seeds that led to Pearl Harbor. Hughes was determined to resist Japan's call for racial equality to be recognised by the emerging **League of Nations**. His success left Japan distrustful of the power of the British Empire in the Asia–Pacific region, and Japan's solution was to develop the concept of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (see Section 2.1). The fact that few historians have drawn connections between Hughes' actions in Paris and Pearl Harbor doesn't mean those connections do not exist.

2.3 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Explain how Source 13 outlines the intentions of Saburo Ienaga in writing his book. Does this indicate bias?
- 2 Explain how Ienaga contests and challenges the viewpoint of Ikezaki Tadataka. Discuss how their **contestation** helps you understand the way historical interpretations change across time. Why do you think this particular interpretation has changed?
- 3 Tadataka's book *Why Fear the United States?* was written 12 years before the attack on Pearl Harbor. Discuss to what extent this might affect its validity as a source.

2.3 Check your learning

- 1 Explain how and why historians create hypotheses.
- 2 How could the 'man on the street' interviews collected by the Archive of American Folk Song assist historians to support or challenge the idea that there was a US Government conspiracy surrounding Pearl Harbor?
- 3 Outline the argument Max Suich makes regarding Australia's possible involvement in the attack on Pearl Harbor.
- 4 Explain why Ikezaki Tadataka's writings could be a useful source for historians investigating the bombing of Pearl Harbor.
- 5 Discuss why Saburo Ienaga would be regarded as a controversial figure in Japanese education. Would his views also be contested in the West?
- 6 What interpretation did John W. Dower develop to help explain Pearl Harbor?

2.4

The role of sources and evidence in the evaluation of different theories and remembrances of the past

Any historian is entitled to develop an original interpretation or theory about the past, but they must base their suggestions on sources and evidence. As a history student, it is important to train yourself to look for the sources and evidence that have been used whenever you investigate a historical opinion.

One contested area that could be investigated is the reasons why the attack on Pearl Harbor was so successful in the short term. Examination of Japanese sources might help a historian decide that Japan's planning and preparation were superior to America's. This would, however, be an unlikely conclusion for a historian relying only on American sources.

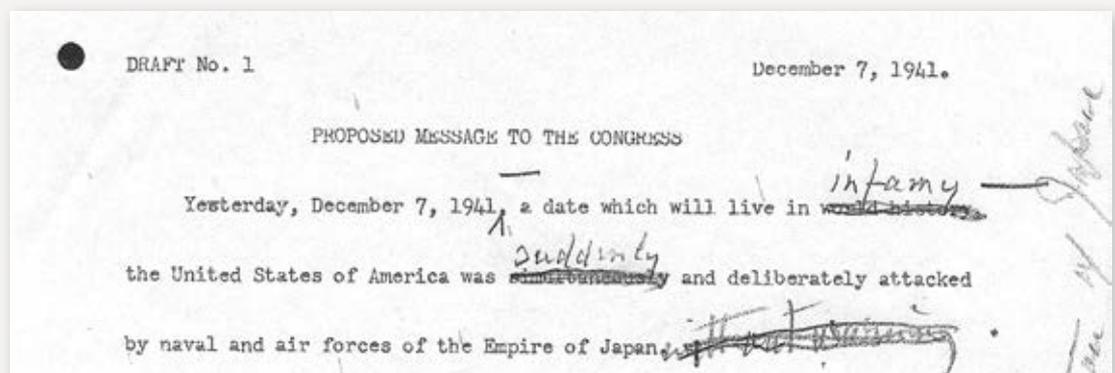
Pearl Harbor and the shaping of the American identity

Examining the draft and final copies of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's speech to the US Congress about Pearl Harbor provides an insight into the way sources can be used to help shape versions of the past. In the typed draft of the speech that had been given to the president, the text read 'December 7, 1941, a date which will live in world history'. Roosevelt took his pen and crossed out the words 'world history' and wrote in 'infamy'.



SOURCE 15 A US postage stamp commemorating the attack on Pearl Harbor, c. 1995

This was the beginning of the creation in the American public memory of the idea and image of Pearl Harbor. For generations of Americans, the legacy, myth-making and iconography associated with Pearl Harbor are similar to how Australians have viewed and represented Gallipoli and Anzac Day. This is not to deny the importance of the event, its historical implications and the tragedy of the loss of life. Nevertheless, Pearl Harbor has been used for propaganda and a range of political and nation-building purposes. Roosevelt and presidents after him have used Pearl Harbor to create a version of the American national identity. The historian's role is to use sources to evaluate this version and arrive at a valid interpretation.



SOURCE 16 An excerpt from the first draft of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's proposed message to the US Congress, with his handwritten corrections

The portrayal of Pearl Harbor in films

There have been two feature-length motion pictures made specifically about the attack on Pearl Harbor. The first, *Tora! Tora! Tora!*, was released in 1970 (in Japanese, 'tora' means 'tiger', which was the code name for the attack). This Japanese–American film, which was co-directed by one American and two Japanese directors, went to great lengths to deal with the details of the attack from both sides. The primary focus of the film was, however, the shortcomings of the US commanders at Pearl Harbor: Admiral Husband E. Kimmel and General Walter Short.

The second film about the attack was the 2001 Hollywood blockbuster *Pearl Harbor*, starring Ben Affleck, which received harsh criticism from survivors of the attack as being grossly inaccurate. One of the main historical inaccuracies is a scene in which the Japanese bombers deliberately target hospitals. In reality, this did not happen. Although a local medical centre was affected by the attack, resulting in one American casualty, there was no deliberate targeting of hospitals or medical centres by Japanese pilots.

When watching films that feature actual historic events, it is sometimes easy to forget that their main function is to entertain, and not to give a scene-by-scene accurate account. But as a student of history, it is important not only to challenge these often simplified versions of history, but also to question the intention behind them. In the case of *Pearl Harbor*, director Michael Bay clearly sets out to **vilify** the Japanese. It is up to you to consider the reasons for this, and what the impacts could be on the audience's understanding of the events.



■ **vilify**
to make abusive statements about a person or people, so that others will have a lower opinion of them



SOURCE 17 A film still from the motion picture *Tora! Tora! Tora!* (1970)



SOURCE 18 A promotional image for the motion picture *Pearl Harbor* (2001)

Pearl Harbor memorial

The famous US Pearl Harbor memorial – the World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument – is, like these feature films, an example of how history is constructed. Until 1999, the centrepiece of the site was the glistening white USS *Arizona* Memorial, above the sunken battleship. This site is the resting place of more than a thousand American servicemen who died in the attack and is an official US war grave site. As such, it is a place treated with appropriate reverence.

In 1999, the *Arizona* was joined at the site by the USS *Missouri*. The *Missouri* had served with distinction in the Second World War, the Korean War, and Operation Desert Storm in the Persian Gulf. It is arguably most famous for being the location of the formal Japanese surrender that ended the Second World War. The official explanation for bringing the *Missouri* to Pearl Harbor was that the two warships represented the beginning and the end of the war. This is true, but – as is always the case with history – there is more to it. The *Arizona* represented an American defeat, while the *Missouri* reminds visitors of American power and the ultimate American victory.

Even for historians, it is easy to accept the official story of memorials and museums. However, the key to sound historical thinking is a willingness to recognise that there are always contested versions of every historical event.



SOURCE 19 The *Missouri* arrives at Pearl Harbor to join the *Arizona* at the Pearl Harbor memorial site.

2.4 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Examine Sources 17 and 18. Explain what each seems to imply about the film interpretations of Pearl Harbor.
- 2 Analyse Source 19. Does it provide evidence to support or challenge the assertion that the *Missouri* was placed at the Pearl Harbor memorial site to convey an image of American strength, power and victory? Explain your answer.
- 3 Explain how Source 20 (next page) could be used as evidence of the ongoing significance of Pearl Harbor for Americans.

2.4 Check your learning

- 1 Discuss the significance of President Franklin D. Roosevelt changing 'world history' to 'infamy' in his speech to the US Congress.
 - 2 Research reviews and comments on the films *Tora! Tora! Tora!* (1970) and *Pearl Harbor* (2001). Discuss whether there is anything that would encourage you to rely on either film for historical understanding.
 - 3 Discuss the possible reasons behind the *Missouri* joining the *Arizona* at the Pearl Harbor memorial site. What explanation or explanations do you find most plausible?
-

As President Franklin D. Roosevelt said in his speech to the US Congress, 7 December 1941 is 'a date which will live on in infamy'. There are a range of perspectives and interpretations about what the significance of that date actually is. For some, it represents an unprovoked attack that cost the lives of innocent people; for others, it was a desperate attempt to guarantee a future for their country. Still others will argue it was the event that brought the United States firmly into a position of world leadership.

Historical interpretations are always contestable, and rely on facts, sources and evidence to support them. This chapter has introduced you to some of the views of Pearl Harbor that have been debated in the years since it occurred. You may accept some and reject others. In history, the important thing is to always rely on the evidence to help you come to a valid conclusion.



SOURCE 20 US President Barack Obama visits the USS *Arizona* Memorial at Pearl Harbor in 2011.



FOR THE TEACHER

Check your obook assess for the following additional resources for this chapter:

Answers

Answers to each *Check your learning*, *Understanding and using the sources* and *Profile* task in this chapter

Teacher notes

Useful notes and advice for teaching this chapter, including syllabus connections and relevant weblinks

Class test

Comprehensive test to review students' skills and knowledge

assess quiz

Interactive auto-correcting multiple-choice quiz to test student comprehension

3

The Construction of Modern Histories: the Holocaust

The extermination camp at Auschwitz, Poland

FOCUS QUESTIONS

- 1 How do historians construct history?
- 2 How does a study of the Holocaust reveal the way history is constructed?
- 3 What happens if sources are ignored when constructing history?

KEY CONCEPTS AND SKILLS

Analysis and use of sources

When historians are faced with a wide range of sources, they are also faced with an important decision: which are the most appropriate resources to use? Selection of sources is a critical element in the construction of history. If sources are ignored because they do not support a certain perspective, the result will be poor and biased history.

Historical interpretation

Once sources have been selected, they have to be interpreted. The meaning of sources is not absolute, and it is not unusual for historians to develop conflicting opinions from a single source. With its strong emotional impact, a history of the Holocaust is open to competing interpretations, often originating in personal connections. This is why it is important for you to always consider 'who is the historian?', as well as 'what are they saying?'

Historical investigation and research

In the digital age we have wider access to sources than at any previous time in history. A key question to consider, though, is whether this makes it easier or more difficult for historians and history students. Historical investigation and research now require an ability to rapidly sort material to establish what is relevant to your specific inquiry.

Explanation and communication

Communicating about the Holocaust raises ethical issues. These can range from the use of confronting images of human suffering and death, through to the moral dilemmas faced by many participants of this period of history. Presenting any work on the Holocaust requires ethics and empathy, without compromising the integrity of your investigation.

LEARNING GOALS

- > Understand the way history can be constructed.
- > Be able to investigate the construction of Holocaust history.
- > Recognise and analyse the nature of sources historians have used, and how these sources impact upon their construction of history.

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter you will examine the various ways that history is constructed over time. Focusing on the Holocaust, the chapter will show how historians' selection of sources – and their approach to these sources – can affect how history is written and interpreted. The chapter will help you understand not only what historians do when they investigate history, but also the skills that you need to develop to be successful in your own history studies.

What was the Holocaust?

The Holocaust refers to the systematic mass murder of Jewish people and other minorities by Germany's Nazi Government and accomplices from various countries under the command of Adolf Hitler during the Second World War (1939–45). Over the course of the Holocaust, more than half of all European Jews – more than six million people – died in Nazi-occupied territories. The word 'Holocaust' means 'sacrificed by fire' or 'burnt'. Jewish people prefer to use the Hebrew word 'Shoah' instead, meaning 'catastrophe'.

■ **genocide**
the deliberate and systematic mass killing of people based on their race, ethnicity, religion or culture

■ **Gestapo**
the secret police of Nazi Germany



SOURCE 1 Holocaust survivor Leo Bretholz points to his name in a record book of passengers on French trains bound for Nazi extermination camps. Also pictured is his yellow badge, marking him as a Jew.

Sources of evidence

Histories of the Holocaust are constructed from a range of sources, including the memories of victims. Many families around the world can draw on personal connections to the Holocaust. In 2016, however, there were fewer than 100 000 Holocaust survivors still alive. As living memories fade, their recorded accounts will become the primary sources that inform historical records.

The Holocaust was not the first time in history that race hatred, fear and prejudice led to race violence and even **genocide**. What made the Holocaust different, aside from the scale of the murders, was the level of planning and organisation by German authorities. Their documents provide telling sources of evidence for historians, such as meticulous records kept of the Holocaust victims transported to Nazi extermination camps by train. Documents show that bureaucrats at the German Rail Authority billed the **Gestapo** for transporting people to the extermination camps – one way at the third-class rate, with discounts for children, and group rates for 400 or more passengers. In this matter-of-fact way, whole communities of people were sent to their deaths.



SOURCE 2 The entrance to Auschwitz, with the ironic words 'Arbeit macht frei' – 'work sets you free'



SOURCE 3 A deportation train bringing Hungarian Jews to the Auschwitz extermination camp in Poland, c. 1942

Investigating the Holocaust

Although there is no doubt that Jews and other minorities were persecuted and murdered by the Nazis during this time, historians have used a variety of different methodologies to reconstruct the events. This, in turn, has led to a wide range of varying arguments about the nature, causes and impact of the Holocaust.

The nature of both the event and the evidence means that investigating the Holocaust can be an emotional experience. Still, the Holocaust needs to be remembered, and it needs to be understood. Remembering and attempting to understand are the first steps to ensuring that nothing like it ever happens again.

3.1 Check your learning

- 1 How would you describe the Holocaust?
- 2 Describe the types of sources available to historians investigating the Holocaust.

3.1 Understanding and using the sources

How could Sources 1 and 3 be used by historians investigating the history of the Holocaust?

3.2

Different types of histories

It is easy to say that ‘history is history’ – that historians simply select a topic, research information, analyse sources, and write down their findings. However, in practice, historians have to consider the *type* of history they will produce, or the *approach* they will use, and this choice will impact on the topics they investigate, the sources they use, and the stories they tell. Instead of thinking of history as ‘history’, it can be useful to think of it as ‘histories’.

There are many different methods of investigating the past, and each one is useful in its own way. Four examples of different types of histories are narrative history, biography, social history and cultural history.

Narrative history

A narrative history tells the story of events, normally relying on **chronology** to move the narrative forward. National histories often use a narrative approach. For example, a narrative history of Australia might describe the change from Aboriginal nations, to convict settlements, to British colonies, to an independent nation, to a multicultural nation.

Some narrative histories may divert from chronology to focus on broader trends or themes. For example, the narrative history of Australia could include sections such as occupation and use of land, development of political independence, and leisure activities as ways of moving the narrative forward.

Biography

A biography examines history through the lens of the life of a particular person (or sometimes a group). By studying an individual, a historian can give insight into their life and times. One of the challenges for biographers is trying to establish the ideas and motives of the person they are writing about, particularly if they are relying on sources that are removed from that person. Some historians use biographies to examine how an individual influenced their society, while others use biographies to examine how events affected individuals.

Social history

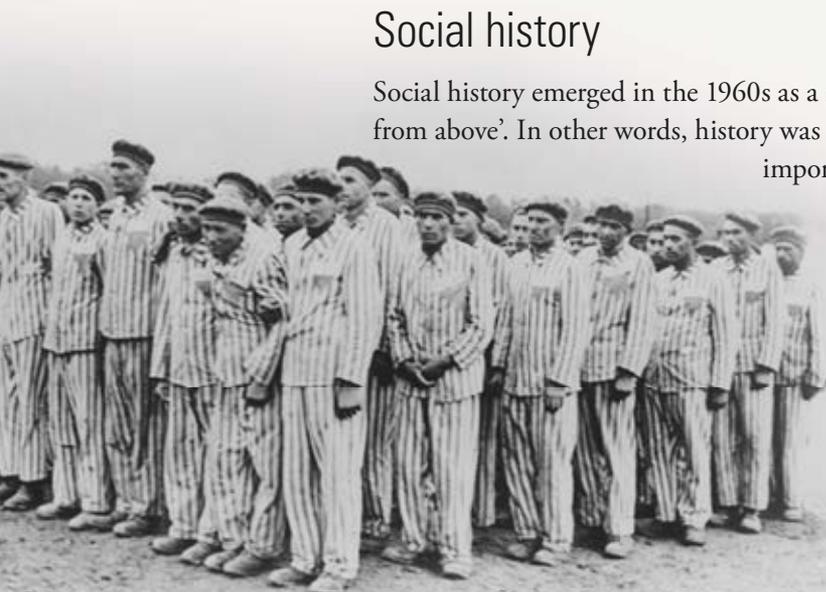
Social history emerged in the 1960s as a reaction to the mainstream focus at the time on ‘history from above’. In other words, history was seen as being too concerned with the great events and the

important and powerful individuals – particularly men – who shaped history. Social history gave a stronger focus to the experiences of the broader population, creating a ‘history from below’. It often used previously overlooked sources, such as censuses, parish records and financial records, to understand the lives of ordinary people who left few other sources behind.

By taking a more inclusive approach, it was believed that social history would give a deeper understanding of societies and the way they functioned.

■ **chronology**
a record of events in the order they took place

SOURCE 4 A roll call at Buchenwald concentration camp; two prisoners in the foreground are supporting a comrade, as fainting was frequently an excuse for the guards to murder ‘useless’ inmates.



Cultural history

Cultural history combines elements of social history, intellectual history (the history of ideas) and anthropology (the study of human societies and cultures and their development) to develop a new way of investigating the past. Cultural historians argue that all forms of human culture – from rock music and films to ceremonies and place names – are ‘texts’ that can be ‘read’ in the same way as written sources. By examining these types of sources, cultural historians have been able to develop a deeper understanding of the past. Cultural history is the most popular type of history practised today.

Multiple approaches to history

Those outlined above are not the only approaches to history. *Intellectual historians* focus on the development and impact of ideas, *economic historians* examine the role of economic factors in history, *transnational historians* examine connections between nations, and *political historians* focus on political interactions within or between societies. Historians are constantly developing new ways of investigating the past, often influenced by other disciplines such as **sociology**, **literary studies**, **cultural studies** and **anthropology**.

There is no ‘right’ approach to history. Any of these approaches can be valuable, depending on what you are researching and the type of information you require. Many historians use different approaches for different topics, or combine multiple approaches in a single study. It is important to recognise that the construction of meaning through the interpretation of sources lies at the heart of history, regardless of the approach.

■ **sociology**
the study of the development, structure and functioning of human society

■ **literary studies**
the evaluation and interpretation of literature

■ **cultural studies**
the study of the ways in which culture is constructed and organised, and the ways in which it changes over time

■ **anthropology**
the study of human societies and cultures, and their development

SOURCE 5

[T]he narrative of *A People’s Tragedy* weaves between the private and the public spheres. Wherever possible, I have tried to emphasize the human aspect of its great events by listening to the voices of individual people whose lives become caught up in the storm. Their diaries, letters and other private writings feature prominently in this book. More substantially, the personal histories of several figures have been interwoven through the narrative. Some of these figures are well known ... while others are unknown even to historians ... In following the fortune of these figures, my aim has been to convey the chaos of these years, as it must have been felt by ordinary men and women.

Orlando Figes, *A People’s Tragedy: The Russian Revolution 1891–1924*, 1996, Preface

3.2 Check your learning

- 1 Read Source 5 and discuss the approaches to history that are described there.
- 2 Consider the four different approaches to history discussed in this section: narrative, biography, social and cultural. Now for each approach, suggest one event, topic or period in modern history – apart from the Holocaust – that would be suitable for investigation using that approach.



SOURCE 6 Mother and daughter at the Berlin Holocaust Monument

3.3 The historical context of the Holocaust

■ **antisemitic**
hostile to or prejudiced against Jews

The Holocaust was a direct consequence of Nazi Party ideology and its race-based thinking. Hitler made his **antisemitic** beliefs a central feature of his book *Mein Kampf* ('My Struggle'), published in 1925. However, hostility towards Jews had its origins as far back as the ancient world and appeared throughout Europe in the Middle Ages.

The Jewish people – especially those in Poland and Eastern Europe – were the prime targets for Nazi violence, but they were not the only victims of the Nazi Party's racial policies. The Nazis also persecuted the Sinta and Romani people (often referred to as 'Gypsies'), who were also seen by the Nazis as racially inferior. An estimated 500 000 Sinta and Romani people were killed during the Holocaust. Other victims included homosexuals, people with physical or intellectual disabilities, and political **dissidents**.

■ **dissidents**
people who challenge government policies



SOURCE 7 The Hall of Names in the Yad Vashem Holocaust Museum in Jerusalem remembers some of the six million Jews murdered during the Holocaust.



SOURCE 8 This 1935 chart shows racial classifications under the Nuremberg Laws: German, *Mischlinge* (mixed blood) and Jew.

The Nuremberg Laws

In 1935, Hitler's Nazi Government passed the Nuremberg Laws, which restricted the freedom of Jews to marry non-Jews and denied them German citizenship, as well as protection and equal opportunity under the law. Further laws ancillary to the Nuremberg Laws were passed, discriminating against Jewish people. These laws sought to remove all Jews from the government, universities and the army, and limited the number of Jewish students in public schools. Businesses owned by Jews were given to non-Jewish Germans. Meanwhile, government propaganda encouraged hatred of the Jews.

Kristallnacht

On the night of 9–10 November 1938, the persecution of Jewish people intensified with a series of coordinated attacks by Nazi Party members on Jewish synagogues and businesses across Germany and Austria. This was known as *Kristallnacht* ('Crystal Night', or 'Night of Broken Glass'). Jewish people were attacked, some were murdered, and at least 1000 synagogues were burnt. Jewish shops and business were wrecked and looted and 30 000 Jewish people were arrested. While all of this took place, the police stood by and did nothing. The attacks were widely reported in the media, both in Germany and overseas; but despite the well-documented instances of murder, arson and robbery against Jews, none of the Nazis responsible were charged. Rather, the police blamed the victims.



SOURCE 9 Pedestrians glance at the broken windows of a Jewish-owned shop in Berlin after the attacks of *Kristallnacht*, November 1938.



SOURCE 10 Furnishings and ritual objects from the synagogue in Mosbach, Germany, are burnt on the town square, 10 November 1938.

Jewish ghettos

What began as an attack on Jewish people in Germany turned into the systematic, calculated mass murder of all of Europe's Jews who came under Nazi rule, as Germany overran much of Europe from 1939. Hitler's vision of the elimination of the Jews from Europe came into sharper focus in 1939 with the invasion of Poland and again in 1941 with the invasion of the Soviet Union. It was in these countries that the most significant populations of European Jews lived.

Soon after the German invasion of Poland in 1939, **ghettos** were set up in Nazi-occupied cities in Poland, Hungary and the Soviet Union. They were areas bricked off or encircled with barbed wire to stop people from escaping. Over the course of the war, many Jewish people were rounded up and forced to leave their homes and move into ghettos. The conditions inside were extremely brutal, and approximately 800 000 people died in the ghettos from malnutrition, disease and forced labour.

■ **ghetto**
a section of a town or city established by the Nazis during the Second World War to confine Jews and other 'undesirables', and isolate them from the wider population

Concentration camps

The Nazi Government used so-called **concentration camps** to contain Jews and other 'undesirables'. The exact number of concentration camps is not known, but it is generally accepted that the number is in the thousands. Even the terms used to describe the camps are open to interpretation, with historians generally breaking the camps into various categories, including prison camps, labour camps and extermination camps.

In labour camps, inmates were compelled to do hard physical labour such as mining and road building under harsh conditions. In many of these labour camps – like Buchenwald and Belsen – inmates were simply worked to death. Many prisoners also fell victim to disease and were murdered as soon as they were unable to work.

■ **concentration camp**
a camp in which civilians and political prisoners or prisoners of war are detained under extremely harsh conditions

Auschwitz–Birkenau

Extermination camps were also referred to as death camps. One of the largest of these was a complex of camps known as Auschwitz–Birkenau, which was a combined labour and extermination camp in Nazi-occupied Poland. Here, once inmates were considered unsuitable for forced labour, they were gassed and their bodies burnt in crematoria (giant ovens). Gold fillings were taken from the teeth of many of those murdered, and these were melted down and sent to the Reich Treasury, the finance authority of the Nazi Regime.

The statistics from Auschwitz (as the complex is commonly known) are staggering, and help explain why its name has become **synonymous** with the Holocaust. The exact number of victims is still debated, but according to the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Hitler's state military organisation (the SS) systematically killed at least 960 000 of the 1.1–1.3 million Jews deported to the camp. Other victims included approximately 74 000 Poles, 21 000 Romani people, 15 000 Soviet prisoners of war and at least 10 000 people of various other nationalities. More people died at Auschwitz than at any other Nazi concentration camp and, probably, more than at any other extermination camp in history. Upon liberation in 1945, about 7000 starving prisoners were found alive in the camp.

■ **synonymous**
closely associated with or suggestive of something





SOURCE 11 The only known photo of the Birkenau extermination unit at Auschwitz. The photo raises the question of why the camp was not bombed in August 1944, when this picture was taken.



SOURCE 12 German students visiting Auschwitz

3.3 Check your learning

- 1 Explain how and why historians could approach evidence that they obtain from Holocaust survivors differently from evidence obtained from other sources.
- 2 What were the Nuremberg Laws? What evidence would there be to confirm what they did?
- 3 How could you explain the fact that the exact number of concentration camps is not known?
- 4 What were concentration camps and what evidence is there that they existed?

3.3 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 In what sort of historical investigation could you use Source 7 as evidence?
- 2 Compare Sources 9 and 10. What do they reveal about *Kristallnacht*? Comment on the reliability of both sources. What interpretations can be drawn from them?
- 3 How important is the caption that accompanies Source 11 for helping you understand what it is showing you? Discuss how a different caption could change your interpretation of the source.
- 4 Examine Source 12. Why would school students be visiting Auschwitz? Discuss what you think Auschwitz represents in history. Does Source 12 support or challenge your view?

3.4 The role of evidence, interpretation and perspective in the construction of historical accounts

An area of historical study like the Holocaust brings with it a range of specific problems for historians looking to construct meanings from the available sources. There is a wide range of material, but much of it is disturbing and can elicit strong emotional responses. There is also the issue of the strong personal agendas of the people involved in creating historical records by telling their sides of the story.

In this section we explore the range of approaches and methodologies that Holocaust scholars have taken to gain an understanding of the Holocaust.

Richard Evans and a question of perspective: where to start

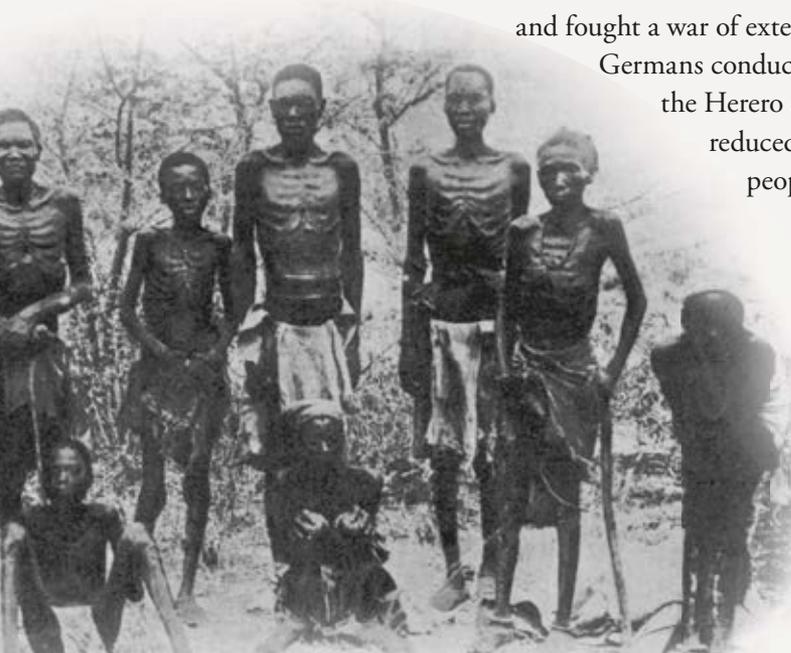
Richard Evans is one of the most respected academic historians writing about twentieth-century Germany and the Nazis. Evans is known to take a long-term view of German history. For example, much of his influential book *The Coming of the Third Reich* examines the nineteenth-century background to the rise of Hitler and the Nazi Party.

Evans adopted a similar approach in his construction of a history of the Holocaust, *The Third Reich at War*. His investigation of the nature and the causes of the Holocaust was not limited to the study of Hitler and Nazi race thinking. Instead, Evans went back to Germany's nineteenth-century and pre-First World War imperial tradition to look for clues.

Like many other European nations at the time, Germany had colonies in Africa in the nineteenth century. Among them was German South West Africa – now the country of Namibia – where the Germans arrived in 1884. When the local tribes resisted the increasing level of land seizures by the colonists, the German Government dispatched 14 000 troops under General Lothar von Trotha. Von Trotha claimed that the natives would only respond to violence and fought a war of extermination against them. Between 1904 and 1907, the Germans conducted a genocidal war against two of the local native tribes, the Herero and the Nama, resulting in the Herero population being reduced from 80 000 to 15 000, and half of the 20 000 Nama people being killed.

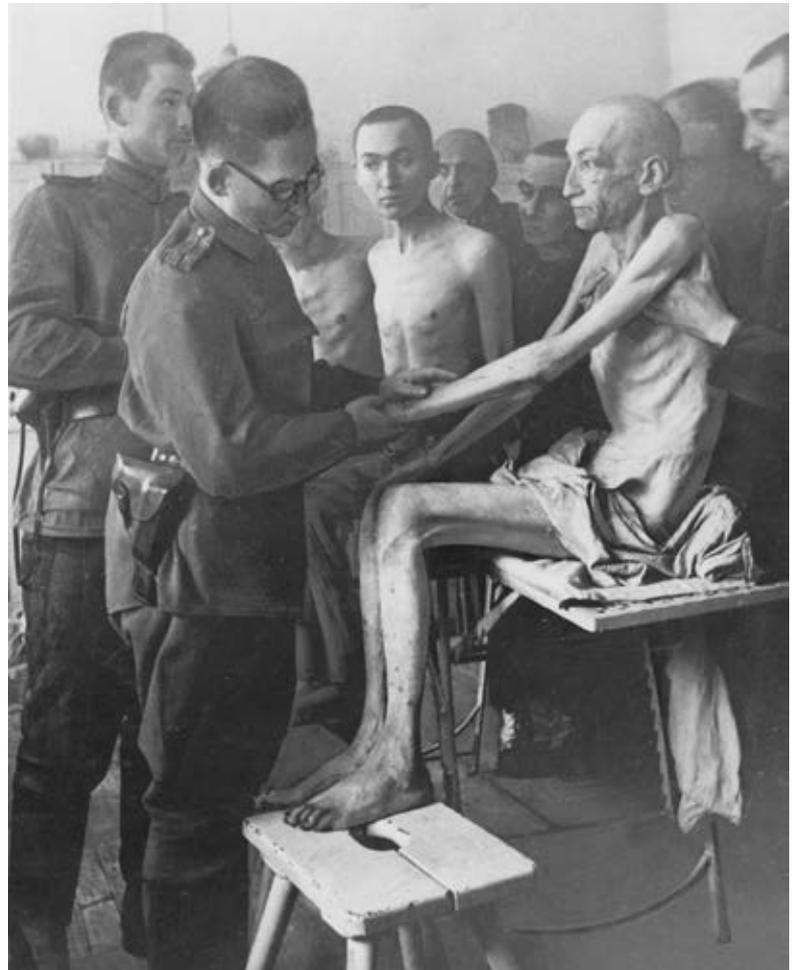
After the tribes' resistance had been crushed, the survivors were moved into special labour camps. The Germans called them 'concentration camps', the first time the Germans had used the term. The worst of these was on Shark Island on the coast of present-day Namibia. The prisoners were put to forced labour on limited rations. Part of their daily routine was to take the bodies of those who had been worked to death to the beach, where the bodies would drift out into shark-infested waters on the tide.

SOURCE 13 A group of starving Hereros, who had been driven into the desert of South West Africa by German forces in 1907



The Germans were not the only colonial power to mistreat native peoples, but they were the only ones to set up concentration camps and conduct them in a way that was designed, according to Evans, to ‘exterminate through labour’, in much the same way that the Nazis were to do some 30 years later.

As a precursor of the medical experiments that saw the Jewish inmates of the Nazi camps used as guinea pigs, the Africans were injected with experimental drugs and dangerously high doses of arsenic in the search of a cure for sleeping sickness (a serious and often fatal insect-borne disease). Death rates among the experiment subjects were exceptionally high.



SOURCE 14 A Soviet doctor examines survivors from Auschwitz after the camp was liberated on 27 January 1945.

SOURCE 15 Skulls of Herero and Nama tribespeople killed by German colonial forces were taken to Germany for medical experiments, in an attempt to demonstrate the racial superiority of Europeans over black Africans. More than 20 skulls, many of them draped with Namibian flags, were returned to Namibia in 2011.

3.4a Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Analyse Sources 13 and 15. Explain how they help you interpret the German occupation of South West Africa.
- 2 Compare and contrast Sources 13 and 14. Outline how they could assist a historian investigating continuity and change in Germany between 1870 and 1945.
- 3 Examine Source 15 and explain how it could be interpreted by:
 - a a Namibian historian constructing a history of Namibia
 - b a former member of the German occupying colonial force
 - c a German doctor working for the Nazis during the Second World War.

Another disturbing precursor of the Holocaust was the introduction in 1905 of so-called ‘racial hygiene programs’, which banned mixed-race marriages. Unlike other European powers, the German colonial administrators passed laws to ban racial intermarriage across their colonies: in German East Africa in 1906 and in the German Pacific colony of Samoa in 1912.

As part of this process, the Germans introduced the term *Rassenschande*, meaning ‘racial defilement’. It was argued that the ‘naturally superior’ European racial stock would be defiled or weakened by intermarriage with other peoples. This was the first time that the term had appeared in German legal terminology. It did not surface again until 1935, with the passing of the Nuremberg Laws.

In 1913, 20 years before Hitler came to power, a new law was passed in Germany that defined German citizenship on the basis of race and ethnic descent, rather than residence. Evans argued that this kind of ‘race thinking’ can be traced directly to the principles that Germany developed in its colonies. It was from this time that German nationalists began to speak of and write about Poles and Slavs as being racially inferior peoples. As a result, countries in Eastern Europe were increasingly viewed by German nationalists as being equivalent to Germany’s overseas colonies – as places where the people, land and resources could be exploited to serve Germany, in much the same way that the Germans had exploited their overseas colonies.



3.4a Check your learning

- 1 What evidence is there that Richard Evans takes a long-term view of causes when constructing his histories?
 - 2 Outline the similarities and differences between Germany’s policies and behaviour as a colonial power, and its policies and behaviour in the 1930s.
 - 3 Explain how Germany’s policies on race were refined by its colonial experience.
-

Christopher Browning and the narrow interpretation

Christopher Browning, a leading Holocaust scholar, was interested in the question of where to focus an investigation that sought to interpret the reasons people were willing to implement Hitler’s **Final Solution** to the Jewish Problem’.

The implementation of the ‘Final Solution’ in Poland had proven difficult for the Germans. This was partly because the Jewish population in Poland was widespread and partly because, during the most intense period of mass murder, the German Army was short on manpower due to heavy fighting against the Soviet Union. While the numbers needed to staff extermination camps like Auschwitz were relatively small, rounding up thousands of Jews across the rural areas and small towns of Poland was a different matter. Hence German reservists – older men who had initially been seen as unfit for the German Army – were used for the task. Browning investigated one such unit that served in Poland around 1942–44: Reserve Police Battalion 101.

■ **‘Final Solution’**
the Nazi Party’s plan
for the extermination
of Jews in Europe



SOURCE 16
Polish Jews are marched to an extermination camp from the Warsaw ghetto – typical of the type of work carried out by Battalion 101.

In building his interpretation, Browning carefully reviewed the testimonies of surviving Battalion members during war crimes trials held between 1962 and 1972. The testimony of these men was important because, as Browning pointed out, the Holocaust was only possible because ‘individual human beings killed other human beings in large numbers over an extended period of time’. Browning wanted to know how these seemingly ordinary men had become ‘professional killers’.

3.4b Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Discuss your personal reaction to Sources 16 and 17. How do you interpret them?
- 2 What steps could you take to establish:
 - a the validity and reliability of Sources 16 and 17?
 - b the thoughts and motivations of the reservists and soldiers involved?



SOURCE 17 German soldiers lead rural Polish women into the forest to be shot. Browning argues that this type of behaviour became routine.

Browning adopted the critical approach to evidence and sources that is the key to historical thinking. He acknowledged the limitations of the testimony of the old men who were the survivors of Battalion 101, and pointed out that the testimony of Battalion members had to be tested against other sources and the accounts of the surviving victims. Specifically, Browning noted that some of these accounts might be clouded and confused by selective memory. He also recognised that some of the men in the Battalion would be willing to lie or give a version of events that depicted themselves in the best possible light, due to fear of punishment.

Browning noted that his narrow interpretation of the actions of the members of Battalion 101 might be criticised for shifting the focus away from the atrocities of the Holocaust. In defence of his approach, Browning explained that, at the time, murderous and criminal behaviour became part of everyday life and mass murder was no longer exceptional. He asserted that his study of Battalion 101 confirmed the degree to which mass murder had become routine. Browning maintains that trying to understand is not the same as excusing or forgiving. According to Browning, the men of Battalion 101 were, for the most part, middle-aged family men from lower-middle-class backgrounds who had been drafted into the reservists.

So why did most men in Battalion 101 become killers? Browning presents a few different theories to explain their behaviours, including:

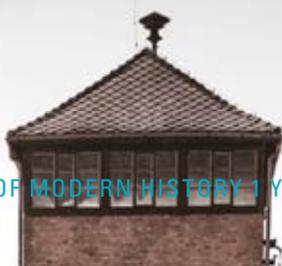
- > wartime brutalisation
- > racism
- > acceptance of authority and respect for orders
- > ideological indoctrination
- > conformity.

Browning thought that the truth might lie in a combination of all these factors. The men of Battalion 101 seem to have been brutalised ‘on the job’. In other words, the first time they killed would have been the most difficult.

Through his focused interpretation and examination of Battalion 101, Browning was able to draw wider conclusions through the critical use of a range of sources. Drawing on evidence from various testimonies, and probing the reasons why people acted the way they did, he shows how historians can sometimes stray into other fields – such as psychology – to assist their construction of history.

3.4b Check your learning

- 1 Why would Christopher Browning have to be careful in relying on the testimony of the survivors of Battalion 101 when constructing his history?
 - 2 Do you think Browning’s interpretation of his sources helps you understand aspects of the Holocaust more clearly? Support your response with examples from this section.
 - 3 Discuss what you think were the contributing factors that enabled the men of Battalion 101 to become killers.
-



The Nuremberg War Crimes Trials 1945–49: where interpretation and perspective meet

The horrors of the Holocaust increased pressure on the victors to do more than had ever been done before to ensure that those guilty of crimes against humanity and peace were brought to justice. In terms of its scale, the Holocaust had been unlike anything that had gone before. For this very reason, the Holocaust and the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials saw, for the first time, the use of the word ‘genocide’ in a trial.

Nuremberg established and redefined many principles of international law. The Nuremberg Principles – a set of guidelines for determining what constitutes a war crime – included the following:

- > It is not a defence to say ‘I was only following orders’. Everyone is responsible for their own moral decisions.
- > Murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation and other inhumane acts done against any civilian population are crimes against humanity.

An important difference between the end of the Second World War and the end of other wars was that the winners did not just punish their defeated enemies. The Nazi leaders were given public trials and the chance to offer arguments in their own defence.

The Nuremberg War Crimes Trials produced valuable sources for historians to interpret. By hearing the perspective of those accused of war crimes, it ensured that Nazi viewpoints became part of the historical record. This helped historians to consider a range of perspectives when interpreting their sources, and thus helped ensure that history would not just reflect the viewpoint of the winners.



SOURCE 18 The Nuremberg War Crimes Trials, 1946

3.4c Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Analyse Source 18. What does it reveal about the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials?
- 2 Research the career of Hermann Goering. Why was he on trial at Nuremberg? What would be the strengths and weaknesses of his testimony for a historian?

3.4c Check your learning

- 1 Discuss the problems that could be associated with conducting trials such as those in Nuremberg in 1945–49.
 - 2 Create a Venn diagram with two circles – one to contain the strengths and one the weaknesses of a historian relying on the testimonies of those charged at Nuremberg as primary sources. Is there any overlap?
-

3.5 The role of selectivity, emphasis and omission in the construction of historical accounts

Holocaust deniers people who seek to either deny the Holocaust ever took place, or argue that the numbers killed were wildly exaggerated

All historians have to make choices when they are constructing history. They choose which sources to use, how much emphasis to place on them, and which sources to ignore. Each decision has a significant impact on the history that is being constructed. Bias occurs when historians allow their personal feelings to interfere with the choices they make, rather than allowing their investigation to be objective.



SOURCE 19 The Shoes on the Danube Bank, a Holocaust memorial in Budapest, Hungary

David Irving and the construction of a case for Holocaust denial

British writer David Irving is perhaps the most famous, or infamous, of the **Holocaust deniers**. He maintains that many of the claims made about the Holocaust are exaggerated or false. In 2006, an Austrian court sentenced Irving to three years in prison after he pleaded guilty to the charge of denying the Holocaust. This followed speeches he gave in Austria where he contested the existence of gas chambers in Auschwitz and claimed that camp victims died from disease rather than execution. He was released after serving 13 months of his sentence, and banned from ever returning to Austria. He now lectures to small, ticketed audiences, and there is still a debate about whether he deserves to be described as a historian, or even as a historical writer.

Irving is not a trained academic historian, but has written extensively about the Nazi Regime and the Second World War, and claims to have discovered the ‘objective truth’ about Nazi Germany. This clearly contrasts with Christopher Browning’s more careful approach, in meticulously and critically examining a range of sources and perspectives when constructing his history of Battalion 101. It is also at odds with Richard Evans’ approach. Unlike Irving, Browning and Evans both recognise that there are different ways of looking at sources and evidence.

Irving’s basic argument is that if an event has not been documented in an archive, then it did not take place. This idea has major implications for historians. In Australia, for example, such a view would mean that Indigenous perspectives could never be considered in constructing histories, because there are no archival records reflecting their oral tradition.



SOURCE 20 David Irving under police guard at a trial in Austria in 2006, where he was found guilty of Holocaust denial and sentenced to three years in prison

Irving also interprets historical documents in a different way to trained historians. Most historians agree that documents should be read in context. But for Irving, the absence of an explicit document indicating that Hitler ordered the deliberate murder of millions means that there was no intent on Hitler's part to do so. In proving his point, Irving also leaves out many Nazi-related documents that do not support his preferred view. As an example, Irving disregarded a record from March 1942, where Joseph Goebbels discussed Hitler demanding a 'radical solution' to the Jewish question, even if it meant resorting to the most brutal methods.

3.5 Check your learning

- 1 Outline the arguments for and against regarding David Irving as a historian. What is your conclusion?
- 2 Is Irving entitled to write 'history' if he is selective in his sources, and ignores evidence that contradicts his viewpoint? Does this mean he should be banned from speaking?

HISTORY ON TRIAL

In the 1990s, David Irving's views were challenged by American historian Deborah Lipstadt, who wrote that Irving distorted the truth. He responded by suing her and her publishers, Penguin Books, for libel. Irving said Lipstadt had falsely labelled him a Holocaust denier, which affected his reputation as a historian. The defence argued that Irving had manipulated facts and evidence, and therefore should be labelled a Holocaust denier.

The case has been described as 'putting history on trial', with a court having to decide what constituted 'proper' history. Irving's use of sources was challenged by the defence's team, which included Richard Evans as the lead witness. Evans and two of his graduate students took 18 months to compile a 740-page report on Irving's works. Evans criticised Irving's scholarship and examination of sources, and Irving was



SOURCE 21 The *Irving v Penguin Books and Deborah Lipstadt* case was made into the feature film *Denial* (2016), with Rachel Weisz playing the role of Lipstadt.

unable to undermine his testimony. Several other well-known historians also appeared for the defence, and one of these, architectural historian Robert Jan van Pelt, exposed Irving's misunderstanding of the architecture of Auschwitz. The trial concluded in 2000 in favour of Penguin and Lipstadt.

3.5 PROFILE TASKS

Research the *Irving v Penguin Books and Deborah Lipstadt* case.

- 1 Discuss the types of evidence Penguin Books and Lipstadt could have used to prove their case.
- 2 Examine some of the arguments made during the case. Explain how they have helped you understand how history is constructed.

It should now be clear that history can be constructed in many different ways. However, while there is no correct way to construct a history, there are clear requirements regarding accuracy, ethical behaviour and critical examination of sources. In this chapter you have examined the approaches of Richard Evans, Christopher Browning, and David Irving to the history of the Holocaust. Their different approaches show why it is more accurate to refer to 'history' as 'histories'.

History is not a static field of study, and its dynamic approach to interpretation and construction in the digital age presents new challenges for historians. As the 'putting history on trial' court case showed, however, the demand for historians to be honest and accurate when dealing with sources ensures that well-constructed histories will be valid.



SOURCE 22 Holocaust memorial sculpture by artist Kenneth Treister at the Holocaust Memorial in Miami Beach, Florida, USA



FOR THE TEACHER

Check your obook assess for the following additional resources for this chapter:

Answers

Answers to each *Check your learning*, *Understanding and using the sources* and *Profile* task in this chapter

Teacher notes

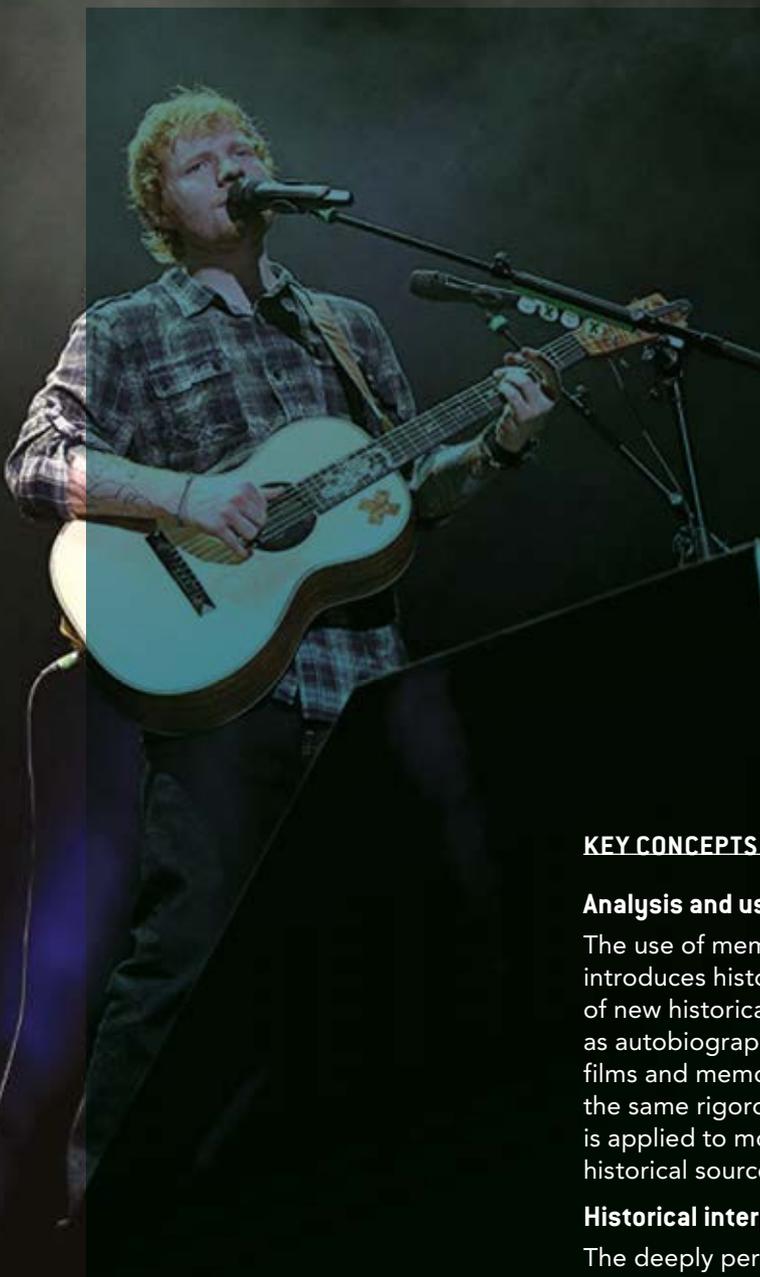
Useful notes and advice for teaching this chapter, including syllabus connections and relevant weblinks

Class test

Comprehensive test to review students' skills and knowledge

assess quiz

Interactive auto-correcting multiple-choice quiz to test student comprehension

A photograph of Ed Sheeran performing on stage. He is wearing a plaid shirt and playing a light-colored acoustic guitar. He is singing into a microphone. The background is dark with some stage lighting.

4

History and Memory: Autobiography

KEY CONCEPTS AND SKILLS

Analysis and use of sources

The use of memory in history introduces historians to a range of new historical sources, such as autobiographies, audiobooks, films and memoirs. These require the same rigorous analysis that is applied to more traditional historical sources.

Historical interpretation

The deeply personal and imperfect nature of memory makes historical interpretation critical if memory is to play any role in history. It becomes essential not only to establish the historical context of the memory, but also to corroborate any memory that is being used as evidence.

Historical investigation and research

Memory considerably expands the range of evidence available when conducting a historical investigation.

Explanation and communication

As you access different types of sources, think about how they can be effectively presented. If, for example, you are accessing the memories of a musician, a slideshow incorporating words, visual sources and music may be effective.

LEARNING GOALS

- > Gain an appreciation of the role of memory in history.
- > Develop the ability to critically analyse and use historical sources that rely on memory.
- > Extend understanding of what constitutes a historical source.
- > Critically examine the way traditional history, including history in schools, is adapting to the range of material available as historical sources.

Could a glowing review of an Ed Sheeran concert influence attendees' memories and lead them to mythologise their own experience?

FOCUS QUESTIONS

- 1 What role does memory play in history?
- 2 How can we analyse national memory in history?
- 3 How is collective memory reflected in history?

4.1

Introduction

■ **collective memory**
the memory of a group of people, passed from one generation to the next

Memory is perhaps our greatest asset as humans. It allows us to link generations and place ourselves in history. Our **collective memory** as a species has allowed humans to dominate the planet. Memory allows us to recall experiences, both trivial and life-changing, and our memories can be particularly vivid when linked to stimuli, such as sound or smell.

We have become increasingly used to accessing peoples' memories through *autobiographies*, where people write the story of their own life. Some may be famous, celebrating a life of achievement; others may simply be recording personal memories for limited distribution to family and friends. Some write everything themselves, others rely on a ghost writer; but all are using memory and creating historical sources. Their usefulness, validity and reliability as sources in historical investigations have to be tested, and this is a major focus of this chapter.

The value and significance of memory in history

In the digital age, students and historians have access to an ever-increasing array of sources based in some way upon memory. They can be valuable as primary sources from participants in an historical event. However, it is crucial that you learn to interrogate these sources with a critical eye, rather than simply accept an account because the person was involved in the event or time.

Consider the words of Robert Forster, the Australian singer and songwriter with the band The Go-Betweens. Source 1 is an extract from his autobiography, *Grant & I*, describing a memory of a day in 1972 when he was home from school sick.

SOURCE 1

I was sitting in the loungeroom chair enjoying the luxury of listening to the radio by day and not a snatched half hour at night, and the dust in the air from my mother's sweeping was creating a glittering storm effect when from the radio came, 'Didn't know what time it was the lights were low oh oh ...'

Robert Forster, *Grant & I: Inside and Outside The Go-Betweens*, 2016, p. 13

The song Forster is referring to is 'Starman' by David Bowie. The moment Forster first heard Bowie was of such significance for him that he was able to recall the light in the room when the song came on the radio. Does the fact that Forster's memory appears to be so precise make this a reliable historical source? Does the fact that he subsequently became a major figure in Australian music colour his memory and attach greater significance to the event? Is memory rendered unreliable because it often operates with **hindsight**?

Many sources you will encounter in your study of history are firsthand accounts based on memory, and these are the types of questions we have to ask when using memory as a historical source.

■ **hindsight**
understanding of a situation or event only after it has happened or developed

Source 2 is an extract from an interview with American singer Linda Ronstadt about her autobiography, *Simple Dreams* (extracted in Source 3). Around this time, Ronstadt had revealed that she was suffering from Parkinson's disease, a condition that can have an effect on memory.

SOURCE 2

I've never written anything. I never wrote a journal or a diary, and I only had one letter that my parents had saved – it was a story about the Doors that I wrote about in the book, chartering a DC-3 and what it was like. Otherwise it was from my memory, which is failing. I had to check with everybody and ask, 'Do you remember it this way?' I had a good copy editor who checked dates and stuff like that. Otherwise I'd have people dying way before they ever had children.

Jeff Tamarkin, interview with Linda Ronstadt, *Best Classic Bands* website, 2013

SOURCE 3

The next day we had a show in Boston. We went to the airport early in the morning to find that a massive snowstorm had grounded all the planes ... so we waited several hours while [manager Herb Cohen] chartered a DC-3 passenger aircraft. But we still didn't have a pilot ... Herb found someone who flew in his spare time ... We were all green faced with motion sickness, and in a propeller plane it took us two and a half hours to get to Boston.

Linda Ronstadt, *Simple Dreams*, 2013, p. 45



SOURCE 4 Linda Ronstadt receiving the 2013 National Medal of Arts from President Barack Obama in the White House

4.1 Check your learning

- 1 Think about the oldest memory you have, as well as your most precious memory.
 - a Talk to someone who can **corroborate** or challenge these memories. This may be someone you shared the memory with, someone who was an observer, or someone who is linked by time or place.
 - b Analyse the different perceptions of the memories that are revealed by your discussions.
 - c Explain what this tells you about history, and what issues it reveals about relying on memory as a historical source.
- 2 What would you call your autobiography if you wrote it at this stage of life?

■ **corroborate**
to confirm or
give support to a
statement, theory or
finding

4.1 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Analyse Source 1. Do you believe that Robert Forster's precise recalling of this situation makes his autobiography more or less reliable as a historical source?
 - 2 Read Source 2 carefully. Would a historian worry about using Linda Ronstadt's autobiography as an historical source if she only had one letter from the time to refer back to? Is Ronstadt's 'failing memory' made more valid by the techniques she talks about using to verify her memories?
 - 3 Source 3 is Ronstadt's account of the 'story about the Doors', based on the letter she refers to in Source 2. Does this make Source 3 a reliable source? Do you feel Ronstadt's memory has been corroborated in these two sources?
 - 4 Source 4 indicates that Ronstadt has achieved considerable success in her career. Does this have any impact on the value of her autobiography as a historical source?
-

4.2 History and memoir

■ memoir

a historical account or biography written from personal knowledge

Every history student has been told to ‘back up your claims with evidence’ and asked ‘where are your sources?’ Writing about a historical question is different from writing a **memoir**, because of the emphasis by historians to assess the reliability of their sources.

British journalist Ian Jack, in an article in *The Guardian* newspaper (9 February 2003), describes a memoir as wanting ‘to do more than record the past; it wants to re-create it’. He then goes on to ask a key question that needs to be considered if you are using a memoir as a historical source: ‘Who can remember with any exactness how things were with themselves and others 50, or 40 or 10 years ago?’



SOURCE 5 David Bowie: a significant influence on Robert Forster

In Source 1, Robert Forster recreates the moment he first heard David Bowie with precise detail. Jack’s question means that you have to ascertain whether that detail is the result of the significance of the moment etching the detail in Forster’s memory, or whether it is simply serving as a literary flourish. For the historian examining the contribution of Forster and *The Go-Betweens* to Australian culture, this account may be less important than other known information, such as the significance of Bowie as an influence on Forster. A primary source, such as music charts that show ‘Starman’ entering the Australian charts in November 1972, would also corroborate Forster’s recollections.

Linda Ronstadt’s battles with Parkinson’s disease, and its impact on her memory (which she alludes to in Source 2), illustrate the need for any history relying on memory to be thoroughly checked before it can be regarded as a reliable source. Ronstadt’s awareness of this has ensured that she has already taken steps to help corroborate her own memory, arguably increasing the reliability of her work.

4.2a Check your learning

- 1 How would you explain the difference between history and memoir?
 - 2 What role can memoirs and autobiographies play as sources for understanding of a historical event?
 - 3 Ian Jack asks the question: ‘Who can remember with any exactness how things were with themselves and others 50, or 40 or 10 years ago?’
 - a As a class, discuss significant historical moments that you have lived through. Develop a list and ask each other what you remember about any of those events.
 - b Discuss the results and decide as a class what you think the answer to Jack’s question is.
-

The tensions between national memory and different perspectives of the past

Certain events become deeply ingrained in a country's history, culture and sense of national identity, and the national ceremonies that celebrate or commemorate them can be regarded as 'national memoirs'. Anzac Day in Australia is one example. There is widespread acceptance of the date – 25 April – and the ceremonies associated with Anzac Day. This does not mean, however, that national ceremonies are not open to changing historical interpretations.

Consider the emerging debate over the celebration of Australia Day on 26 January. From one historical perspective, this date commemorates the official beginning of British colonisation of Australia and the start of the Australian nation. A competing perspective is that the date recognises the British invasion of the Australian continent, and the illegal seizure of Indigenous Australian lands.

Youth radio network Triple J has led the debate on this potentially divisive issue. Triple J's musical countdown on Australia Day, 'Hottest 100', has become a significant event for many Australians. In 2017, however, the network stated that it would review the timing of the 'Hottest 100', and consult widely. The issue was also brought into greater focus by 'January 26', a song by Indigenous Australian duo A.B. Original that came in at number 16 on the 2016 'Hottest 100' countdown. This song challenges the ongoing acceptance of 26 January as a national day, making the case for change.

SOURCE 7

We have to make ourselves uncomfortable to be able to make everyone else uncomfortable to initiate change, because if we're all comfortable, nothing is going to change.

Adam Briggs of A.B. Original, discussing the need to change the date of Australia Day, 7.30, ABC Radio, 26 January 2017

SOURCE 8

Mr Joyce said he was tired of people 'weeping' about Australia Day. 'Today is a day about celebration,' he said. 'I'm just sick of these people who, every time, they want to make us feel guilty about it ... They don't like Australia Day, they're just miserable ... and I wish they'd crawl under a rock and hide for a little bit.'

Padraig Collins, 'Deputy PM tells Australia Day protesters to "crawl under a rock"', *The Irish Times*, 26 January 2017



SOURCE 6 Young Australians celebrate Australia Day by the beach.

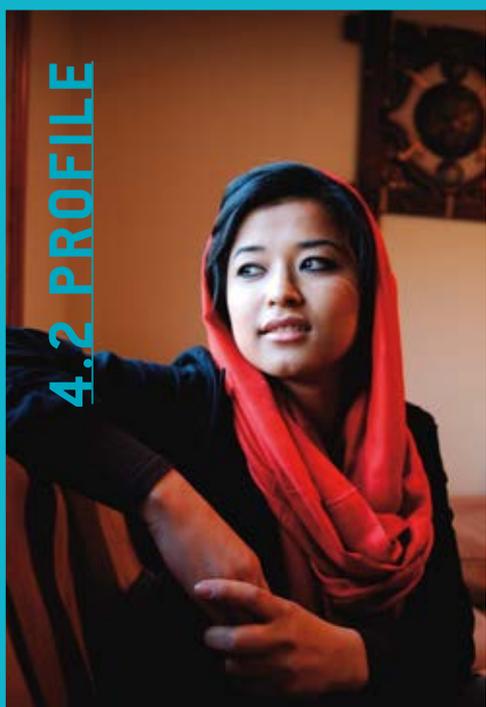


SOURCE 9 Adam Briggs performs with A.B. Original at St Jerome's Laneway Festival, Brisbane, 26 January 2017.

4.2b Check your learning

- 1 Analyse the debate over 26 January in Australian society. Outline the competing perspectives, and also the historical arguments those perspectives represent. Discuss why Australia is even considering changing the date for this national ceremony.
- 2 Analyse the different perspectives of the Australia Day issue presented in Sources 7 and 8. In pairs, write a conversation between Adam Briggs and Deputy Prime Minister Barnaby Joyce where they explain their perspectives to each other, and present it to the class. Which aspects of national memory would Briggs and Joyce be drawing from?
- 3 Create a collage of images that could all be included under the heading 'Australia Day'. Analyse them and discuss what they have in common.

4.2 PROFILE



SOURCE 10 Afghan refugee Najeeba Wazefadost

TESTIMONIES OF REFUGEES

Najeeba Wazefadost arrived in Australia in 2000. Her family escaped from Afghanistan when she was 12, and took the journey by boat from Indonesia to Australia. In 2012, Wazefadost was asked to share her story as part of a Refugee Week campaign to have Australians put faces and personalities to refugees.

As Australia's treatment of refugees becomes an increasingly controversial aspect of our history, the testimonies of people like Wazefadost will become important source material for historians. The memories of refugees will be essential in any historical investigation if a fair and valid understanding is to be established.

SOURCE 11

It was a horrifying journey to come to Australia by boat, or I should actually call it a piece of wood. We had to sit in the boat for more than a week, just hoping to survive. We risked being drowned in the Pacific Ocean.

We had no clue that we would arrive in Australia and be imprisoned in a place like Curtin detention centre. The first thing we saw was security guards with guns coming towards us. We were coming from a war-torn country where we were really traumatised. I was a child, and being detained in a jail-like environment only added to that trauma.

Najeeba Wazefadost's account, reported on <abc.net.au>

4.2 PROFILE TASKS

- 1 Explain why the memories of refugees such as Najeeba Wazefadost would 'be essential in any historical investigation if a fair and valid understanding is to be established'.
- 2 Read Source 11. Analyse the impact of Wazefadost's memories on your own perception of refugees. Explain why you accept or reject her account as a reliable source of information.

4.3

The contribution of oral history to understanding the past

■ **oral history**
the collection and study of historical information using sound recordings of interviews with people who remember past events

Oral history refers to information gathered through the recording of memories. The term ‘oral history’ is used because the information is transmitted by voice. Oral history usually refers to an interview, quite often done with the explicit purpose of gaining access to a person’s memories about a time, place or event. Frequently, oral history is most valuable in the areas of social and cultural history; collecting oral testimonies can often reveal the small details of daily life that larger-scale narratives ignore.

Many autobiographies, particularly those which nominate a co-author, are often based on hours of interviews. In this way, they often preserve valuable memories and act as a written summary of oral history. Autobiographies and interviews can help historians understand the past, and often provide unique perspectives that are overlooked in mainstream historical accounts.

Indigenous Australian oral histories

Although they have probably been part of Australia’s history for at least 60 000 years, Indigenous Australian oral histories have been largely ignored by ‘traditional history’. The emerging acceptance of the role of memory and oral history into mainstream historical studies opens exciting opportunities for a re-evaluation of Indigenous oral histories in Australian **historiography**.

■ **historiography**
the study of the construction of history

Gathering oral histories

The process of gathering oral histories needs to comply with strict ethical guidelines that concern a range of issues such as privacy, the right to use material in a public forum, confidentiality, and giving interviewees the right to review, correct and withdraw material. Even in a classroom setting, collecting any oral history has to be conducted under strict ethical protocols.

4.3 Check your learning

- 1 Analyse the value of oral history for a historian. What would be a good example of oral history aiding historical understanding?
- 2 Research the role of oral tradition in Indigenous Australian culture and history. How could a greater understanding and acceptance of this influence Australian history and historiography?
- 3 Design an oral history project that you could conduct. Consider the following:
 - > the area of investigation your oral history interview could contribute to
 - > the person you could conduct the interview with
 - > the ethical considerations necessary to conduct the interview
 - > how you will record the interview and present the information you find
 - > how conducting this project could deepen your historical understanding of your area of investigation.

The Cold War and sources based on memory

Cold War

the state of political conflict and hostility that existed between the Soviet Union and the United States from 1945 to 1990

The increasing availability of oral and autobiographical sources allows historians to broaden the scope of their historical inquiries. The **Cold War**, for example, has traditionally been observed through the prism of political history, but oral and autobiographical histories provide rich source material that allows for deeper and broader perspectives. Consider how the following sources could add depth to the historical understanding of an investigation into the Cold War.

SOURCE 12

In 1969, Czechoslovakia was part of an Eastern European Rock and Roll Festival, endorsed by the Soviets, and the festival's organizers approached the State Department and asked if The Beach Boys would participate. We were supposedly the only rock group in America that was acceptable ... We accepted the invitation, and a representative from the State Department flew into Los Angeles and swore us in as official ambassadors.

Mike Love with James S. Hirsch, *Good Vibrations: My Life as a Beach Boy*, 2016, p. 220

SOURCE 13

[In 1988] I brought my band to East Berlin ... 160 000-plus East Germans showed up. The wall still stood, but the first cracks were definitely appearing in its once impregnable façade. Conditions were not what they had been a decade ago. There in an open field stood the largest single crowd I'd ever seen or played to ... Home-stitched American flags flew in the East German wind.

Bruce Springsteen, *Born To Run*, 2016, p. 352



SOURCE 14 Fans of Bruce Springsteen gather at a concert in East Berlin, 19 July 1988.

4.3 Understanding and using the sources

The following questions refer to Sources 12, 13 and 14.

- 1 Explain how these sources contribute to your understanding of the Cold War. Why might these perspectives be valuable to historians?
- 2 Research the term 'soft power'. How could these sources contribute to an understanding of the role of soft power in the Cold War?
- 3 Explain how the memories of the East Germans shown in Source 14 could be useful and reliable sources for historians investigating the end of Communism in Eastern Europe. What other types of sources would help challenge or corroborate these memories?

4.4

Expressions of collective memory

‘Expressions of collective memory’ refers to how the memory of a community may be stored and transmitted. These can range from local histories preserving the memory and heritage of local areas, to statues commemorating past events or contributions by significant individuals.



SOURCE 15 Part of the Explorers’ Monument, Esplanade Reserve, Fremantle, Western Australia

The Explorers’ Monument in Fremantle, Western Australia, illustrates how memory can be a highly contested field for historical interpretation and the construction of histories. The monument, unveiled in 1913, is a statue of explorer and politician Maitland Brown, set on a base inset with plaques (see Source 15). The top plaque commemorates the deaths of explorers Frederick Panter, James Harding and William Goldwyer at the hands of Aboriginal Australians near La Grange Bay in Western Australia in 1864; and the career of Brown, who led a **punitive** expedition to return the remains of the three men the following year. The inscription refers to the deaths of the explorers as murder by ‘treacherous natives’. Brown is described as ‘one of the pioneer pastoralists and premier politicians of this state’. The plaque concludes with ‘Lest We Forget’.

The second plaque was added in 1994 after ongoing challenges to the collective memory displayed in the first plaque. The new plaque comments that ‘the monument describes the events at La Grange from one perspective only: the viewpoint of the white settlers’. It notes that Brown’s expedition resulted in ‘the deaths of somewhere around twenty Aboriginal people’. It also concludes with ‘Lest We Forget’ and ‘Mapa Jarriya-Nyalaku’, mirroring the traditional White perspective with an Indigenous manifestation.

■ **punitive**
intended as punishment

SOURCE 16

THIS MONUMENT WAS ERECTED BY C. J. BROCKMAN as a fellow bush wanderer’s tribute to the memories of PANTER, HARDING and GOLDWYER, earliest explorers after Grey and Gregory of this Terra Incognita, attacked at night by treacherous natives [they] were murdered at Boola Boola near [La] Grange Bay on the 13th November 1864.

Also as an appreciative token of remembrance of MAITLAND BROWN one of the pioneer pastoralists and premier politicians of this state. Intrepid leader of the government search and punitive party. His remains together with the sad relics of the ill fated three recovered with great risk and danger from lone wilds repose under a public monument in the East Perth Cemetery.

Lest We Forget.

The inscription on the plaque on the top, unveiled in 1913

SOURCE 17

This plaque was erected by people who found the monument before you offensive.

The monument described the events at La Grange from one perspective only; the viewpoint of the white ‘settlers’. No mention is made of the right of Aboriginal people to defend their land or of the history of provocation which led to the explorers’ deaths. The ‘punitive party’ mentioned here ended in the deaths of somewhere around twenty Aboriginal people. The whites were well-armed and equipped and none of their party was killed or wounded. This plaque is in memory of the Aboriginal people killed at La Grange. It also commemorates all other Aboriginal people who died during the invasion of their country.

Lest We Forget. Mapa Jarriya-Nyalaku.

The inscription on the second plaque, added in 1994



SOURCE 18 An engraving by C. Robinson for *The Illustrated London News*, 7 October 1865: 'Finding the remains of the lost explorers, Harding, Panter, and Goldwyer, near Lagrange Bay, North-West Australia'

4.4a Check your learning

Describe what you understand by the term 'collective memory'. List a range of examples that you feel qualify as collective memory, and explain why you think they do.

4.4 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Explain how Source 15 could be used as evidence in a discussion about collective memory and what comprises history.
 - 2 Identify the perspectives that are presented in Sources 16 and 17.
 - 3 Discuss the ways in which Sources 16 and 17 could be used as historical sources. How could a historian verify the information contained in these inscriptions?
 - 4 Explain how the inscriptions shown in Sources 16 and 17 help you understand and explain important historical concepts, including:
 - > different perspectives
 - > reliability of sources
 - > continuity and change
 - > significance
 - > interpretation.
 - 5 How could Indigenous Australian oral traditions balance the view given in the plaque?
-

The concert experience – where memory can become myth

Music concerts, sporting events, plays, dances and other forms of cultural interaction are a rich source of personal memories. As most occur in the public space, they are also often reviewed in public areas, such as social media and traditional media. Reviews can be a powerful influence on collective and individual memory. A positive review can lead people to start mythologising their own experience. What becomes critical when using reviews as a historical source is to consider the perspective of the reviewer, and to also research whether they have any **vested interests** in the review.

■ **vested interests**
personal interests
that may influence a
perspective

SOURCE 19 A review of Adele's concert, ANZ Stadium, Sydney, 10 March 2017

When a quite massive show – of construction, technology and staging – that really should have been done from a conventional, face-everyone-all-the-time stage, still feels human-scale (and you could almost say living room-scale) something is being done right somewhere.

And whatever other quibbles there may be, such as *When We Were Young* being preposterous, *Take It All* is a mighty song.

Every man or woman would agree.

Bernard Zuel, 'Adele review: She's all human – every man and woman would agree', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 March 2017



SOURCE 20 Adele in concert at ANZ Stadium, Sydney, 10 March 2017

4.4b Check your learning

- 1 Think of a concert or similar cultural experience that you have attended.
 - a Conduct some research to find a review of the event. Does it match your perception of the event? Does it influence the way you remember the event?
 - b Write a review of the event and swap it with a classmate. Can they correctly identify your perspective?
- 2 Does the fact that Bernard Zuel was employed by the *Sydney Morning Herald* to write reviews impact on the reliability of Source 19? Explain your answer.
- 3 To what extent does a historian need to consider the commercial considerations that may have impacted upon the area they are investigating? Discuss areas where you think this may be significant. To what extent do you think your own memory is impacted by commercial activity, such as advertising and promotion?

This chapter has explored the role that memory plays in the construction and understanding of history, and the challenges this can present for historians. As any student of history knows, societies change, and so do understandings of not only what comprises history, but also what constitutes a valid and reliable historical source. As the world undergoes a digital revolution, historians constantly have to refine their understanding of sources. Historical memory is an important part of that process.

Each generation has collective memory of historical events they have experienced. They also have accounts from the collective memory of the previous generation, of the events that generation lived through. In this way, collective memory is transferred across generations.

Many of these memories have been recorded on film (for documentaries), or in oral histories or autobiographies. The increasing availability of such sources allows historians to broaden the scope of their historical inquiries. The emergence of rock 'n' roll autobiographies and memoirs, for example, has not only shed light on the origins and influence of rock 'n' roll as a major cultural and historical change, but has also allowed for the introduction of new perspectives on significant events such as the Cold War.

Historians will always face the challenge of confronting potential distortions of understanding from faulty memory, as well as deliberate manipulations of historical record. Your challenge as a Modern History student is to recognise not only key facts, but also the sources that allow you to verify what is fact, what is distortion, what is memory, and what can be supported with evidence.



SOURCE 21 The Berlin Wall was a symbol of the Cold War, and its fall in 1989 marked the war's approaching end.



FOR THE TEACHER

Check your obook assess for the following additional resources for this chapter:

Answers

Answers to each *Check your learning*, *Understanding and using the sources* and *Profile* task in this chapter

Teacher notes

Useful notes and advice for teaching this chapter, including syllabus connections and relevant weblinks

Class test

Comprehensive test to review students' skills and knowledge

assess quiz

Interactive auto-correcting multiple-choice quiz to test student comprehension

5

The Representation and Commemoration of the Past: Film, Television and History

Michelle Dockery as Lady Mary Crawley in Downton Abbey. Watching a film or television program can be an easy way to gain historical understanding, but how reliable is it as a source for constructing our historical understanding?

FOCUS QUESTIONS

- 1 How can film and television be used to assist our historical understanding?
- 2 What are the strengths and weaknesses of using film and television to study and understand history?
- 3 Why is it important to use and understand film and television as a historical source?

KEY CONCEPTS AND SKILLS

Analysis and use of sources

Film and television introduce historians to a range of new historical sources that have been widely disregarded by 'traditional history'. These require the same rigorous analysis that is applied to the historical sources that historians and students have been using for over a century.

Historical interpretation

Complicating the role of film and television as components of historical understanding is the reality that they may often represent an artistic response, rather than a traditional historical interpretation of history and historical sources. As a student of history you must be aware of the need to interrogate not only the film or television program itself, but also its maker.

Explanation and communication

An argument will be made that film and television allow for a deeper understanding of history on an emotional level. This is because film and television are often able to convey a sense of experience in a way that establishes an emotional connection with a topic. If that understanding can be communicated to you, it raises a crucial question: can you also use the film or television program effectively as a source to communicate your own historical understanding?

Historical investigation and research

Film opens up a huge range of source material for historians in the modern world. It is important that you develop a series of questions that will enable you to assess the historical validity of a film that you may use in your investigation, to help you come to a decision about how useful it will be as a source.

LEARNING GOALS

- > Gain an appreciation of the role of film and television in history.
- > Develop the ability to critically analyse and use film and television as historical sources.
- > Extend understanding of what constitute historical sources.
- > Critically examine the way traditional history, including history in schools, is adapting to the range of material available as historical sources.

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter we investigate how the past is represented and commemorated through film and television. We examine how film and television can be critically analysed as historical sources, and consider examples of films and television programs that represent and commemorate the past.

Surveys have shown that more than 80 per cent of people have learnt about the past in the previous year by watching a film or television series based on history. In recent years, film and television have become omnipresent and powerful media in terms of their use in historical investigations.

Watching a film or television program can be an easy way to gain historical understanding, but it also raises the important question of just how reliable it is as a source for constructing our historical understanding. Consider how many creative decisions are involved in the making of films and television programs. There is input from writers, directors, producers, set designers and costume designers, each of whom bring their own understanding of an event to the screen. The skills of the historian – such as critically evaluating sources of evidence – are becoming more and more important in order to make sense of the ‘history’ that is presented on large and small screens.



SOURCE 1 Ralph Fiennes and Keira Knightley in *The Duchess* (2008) – the costume designer is just one member of the creative team, each of whom brings their own understanding of an event to the screen.

SOURCE 2 The film *Hidden Figures* (2016) examined the careers of female African American workers at NASA in the late 1950s and early 1960s. It has been praised for challenging stereotypes based on gender and race, but historians using it in their investigations would have to consider whether it is reliable as a historical source.



Think about the sources that future historians will be using to develop a historical understanding of today. One example is Donald Trump's election as the 45th President of the United States. Trump's profile was enhanced with the public because of his long-term exposure as a reality television star on *The Apprentice*. This allowed him to gain far more coverage and recognition prior to the election campaign than other candidates, and it is difficult to imagine that any future historical consideration of the Trump presidency would exclude coverage of his reality television role. In addition, when analysing Trump's inauguration ceremony in 2017 – which was the subject of debate about the size of the crowds, compared with Barack Obama's in 2009 – historians will undoubtedly be examining television footage of both ceremonies, just as earlier historians have analysed photographs, eyewitness accounts and diaries.



SOURCE 3 Donald Trump's profile as a reality television star allowed him to gain more public recognition than other political candidates.

The public nature of history and its uses

If we take time to look around us, we soon realise that we are surrounded by history. Spend some time looking around your school. How old is it? What visible indications are there of its past, such as past achievements of former students? Consider the suburb you live in. Is there a 'historic' area or building? What is the historical significance of its name?

History in the public sphere tells us about the past, but it can also be used to create identity or a sense of connection within societies or nations. Consider the concept of citizenship. People who want to be citizens of a country often have to pledge alliance to certain values, such as having respect for freedom of religion and commitment to the rule of law. This is an example of history being used by governments to unify a nation behind values and beliefs that are presented as having historical resonance with today's society. Film and television can be powerful media to convey historical representations of a country and for building a national understanding of a common past.

5.1 Check your learning

- 1 Reflect upon the films and television programs you have viewed in the past year, and identify those that could qualify as being historically based.
 - a Outline the historical understandings you have gained from these films or television programs.
 - b Discuss how historically reliable you believe they are.
 - 2 Discuss whether film and television programs qualify as valid historical sources and include examples that support your view.
 - 3 Research the film *Hidden Figures* (2016) (see Source 2) and identify the types of information that would help you to evaluate how reliable the film is as a historical source.
 - 4 Research photographs comparing the size of the crowds at the inaugurations of President Trump in 2017 and President Obama in 2009. Discuss whether television footage of the two inaugurations would be more valid and reliable sources than the photographs.
 - 5 Discuss what you can identify as public uses of history in your local area.
-

5.2

The need for critical analysis of film and television representations of the past

It is important to recognise that the same critical analysis that is applied to more traditional sources – such as diary entries, government records and newspaper articles – should be applied to film and television sources. For each new source we have to consider questions such as:

- > Who made the film or television program?
- > What was their perspective?
- > Are they biased?
- > Were there any organisations involved in funding or supporting the production?
- > What other historical sources were used in constructing understanding and interpretation of the past?
- > When was the production made? Did the context at the time influence the end product?

Above all, it is important to remember that film and television programs are reconstructions and historical interpretations. Like all historical accounts, they are manufactured products that tell only one version of a story.

The limitations of film and television as historical resources

One of the limitations of film and television programs is the limited amount of content they can contain. A typical film runs for about two hours, which limits the amount of information that can be presented when compared with, for example, a 500-page history book. A film is also unable to present information such as footnotes, which allow authors to establish the identity and reliability of their sources.

It also has to be remembered that film and television programs are made by commercial enterprises, designed to make a profit for those people who have invested money in the project. The result is a pressure to make the film or television program commercially successful. It should always be remembered that this, rather than historical accuracy, is the main drive behind film and television productions.

Finally, films and television programs are made by people with different tastes and who are influenced by aspects such as industry trends, and what is considered politically correct or socially acceptable at any given time. In other words, historical films and television programs can reflect the time they are made, as much as the time they are trying to recreate.

Consider the Vietnam War-era film *The Green Berets* (1968), which was filmed and released while the war was ongoing. Now compare this film with those made well after the war ended, such as *Apocalypse Now* (1979) or *Platoon* (1986). As a historian, you should carefully consider how the timing of a film's release would have impacted on the choices made by its producers, writers, directors and actors.

5.2 Check your learning

- 1 Explain why it is important to remember that all historical accounts are manufactured products, whether they are in the form of books, articles, documentaries, films or television programs. How does this impact on the way you approach them as historical sources?
 - 2 Identify a film or television program you have viewed that could be used as a historical source. How could you, working as a historian, ensure that you analyse the source in a way that gives it credibility and validity?
-

SOURCE 4

We may think that the content of American movies is free from government interference, but in fact, the Pentagon has been telling filmmakers what to say – and what not to say – for decades. It's Hollywood's dirtiest little secret.

David L. Robb, *Operation Hollywood: How the Pentagon shapes and censors the movies*, 2004, p. 25

SOURCE 5

Don Baruch, the longtime head of the Pentagon's film office, was worried. He'd given the OK for the Defense Department to go all out in support of the new John Wayne movie, 'The Green Berets' ... He was worried that it was perhaps too obviously ... a government sponsored propaganda film.

David L. Robb, *Operation Hollywood: How the Pentagon shapes and censors the movies*, 2004, p. 277



SOURCE 6 John Wayne on the set of his Vietnam War-era movie *The Green Berets*, released in 1968

5.2 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Explain the impact Source 4 would have on a historian's methodology when using film as a historical source.
 - 2 Don Baruch, mentioned in Source 5, was eventually successful in having the Department of Defense removed from the credits of *The Green Berets*, despite its provision of resources and support. How does Source 5 help you understand why he was so keen for that to happen?
 - 3 Examine Source 6 carefully. Can you identify anything that could have been supplied by the US Department of Defense? If there were things supplied by the government for this film, discuss how this could compromise its historical validity.
-

5.3 Investigating the ways that films represent and commemorate the past

Historical dramas have been popular with Australian audiences since the very earliest days of television. In 1960, for example, the ABC produced the miniseries *Stormy Petrel*, about the life and times of Governor William Bligh, commander of HMS *Bounty*, and it proved to be a great success. In 1978, *Against the Wind* – a miniseries set among convicts in New South Wales – was the first major Australian production to be broadcast in the United States. This was followed by a boom in historical Australian films in the 1980s, which coincided with an emerging sense of Australian identity and confidence as the Australian economy transformed and boomed.

Rabbit-Proof Fence (2002)

Phillip Noyce's film *Rabbit-Proof Fence* – based on real events and adapted from the 1996 book *Follow the Rabbit-Proof Fence* by Doris Pilkington – tells of Australia's Stolen Generation through the story of three young Aboriginal girls: sisters Molly (14) and Daisy (8), and their cousin Gracie (10). The girls are forcibly removed from their families in Jigalong, Western Australia, by the government, which wanted to integrate Indigenous children into White Australian society. The girls are taken to the Moore River Native Settlement, north of Perth, but manage to escape. They return to their families by following a rabbit-proof fence across the state for 2400 km.



SOURCE 7 A poster for the film *Rabbit-Proof Fence* (2002)

Debate surrounding this film has been an ongoing feature of Australia's so-called '**history wars**' since its release in 2002. Although commonly studied in classrooms across Australia, *Rabbit-Proof Fence* has received substantial criticism for the way it portrays history.

One of the loudest critics is Australian writer and historian Keith Windschuttle, who has used the film as an example of fabrication and invention. Windschuttle called the film 'grossly inaccurate' and even argued that it should not be shown in schools at all. Windschuttle's criticism is mainly focused on the reason for the girls' removal from their families. According to historical records, the girls had been 'running wild' with white men in the area. At the time, 'running wild' was a euphemism for having sex. Windschuttle argued that the children were not removed by a racist government, but because they were being used by older men for sex and hence needed the state's protection.

The debate around *Rabbit-Proof Fence* raises the point that in history, truth and fact – although linked – are not the same thing. For example, the film features a powerful scene where the girls are thrown into the back of a car by a police constable and driven away, leaving behind their grieving female relatives. As Windschuttle has correctly pointed out, the actual removal was far less dramatic. The girls left the Jigalong settlement on horseback and, according to Windschuttle, 'Molly was taken without a struggle and with the acquiescence of her stepfather who was present at the time'.

However, the scene in question – although at odds with some of the details of this particular removal – still conveys crucial historical truths, notably a sense of the emotional trauma and powerlessness experienced by anyone in a similar situation. It raises an important point for you to consider when analysing film – that something can be truthful, without being completely factually accurate.

■ **history wars** debate over the meaning and impact of British colonisation on Australia, and the consideration of Indigenous perspectives in understanding that meaning and impact

5.3a Check your learning

- 1 Research the Australian miniseries boom of the 1980s. What historical periods and personalities were covered in this period? Do more recent miniseries reflect continuity or change in the representation of Australia's historical past?
- 2 View the film *Rabbit-Proof Fence*.
 - a Explain how it increased your historical understanding.
 - b Discuss why you would or would not recommend it to other school students studying this period of Australian history.
- 3 Research Keith Windschuttle's criticism of *Rabbit-Proof Fence*. After your own research, do you think his criticism:
 - a is valid?
 - b establishes the film as an unreliable text for historical understanding?



SOURCE 8 This powerful scene from *Rabbit-Proof Fence* is at odds with the actual events.

5.3a Understanding and using the sources

How does Source 7 help you understand the way filmmakers can represent history and construct historical meaning?

Schindler's List (1993)

The Holocaust is an important, powerful and emotional subject (see Chapter 3). For this reason, it is no surprise that Steven Spielberg received both praise and criticism for his film *Schindler's List*, based on the 1982 book *Schindler's Ark* by Australian author Thomas Keneally. The film deals with the story of a German businessman, Oskar Schindler, who was moved to save the lives of more than a thousand Polish Jews from death in the Nazi-run concentration camps by employing them in his factories.

Some critics of the film have questioned how a catastrophe such as the Holocaust could ever be entertainment, while others point to the fact that the film was inspired by a book which – although based on real people and events – was written in the form of a novel.

Spielberg's decisions to shoot the film in black and white and to use *cinéma vérité* also resulted in criticism. *Cinéma vérité*, meaning 'truthful cinema', is a creative technique that often involves using handheld cameras to give the audience the impression that they are part of the action. The choice of filming in black and white further gives the impression of watching old documentary film or news footage.

The critics claimed that this was all Hollywood-style staging, rather than truthful representation. They also objected to the plot featuring a non-Jew as the hero and a happy ending. Finally, critics have challenged the fact that the focus and theme of the film are on survival, when the reality of the Holocaust was that millions of people died.

Despite the criticism, *Schindler's List* went on to be hugely successful and received wide public acclaim. Perhaps most importantly, it reminded people – even in an imperfect way – of the horrors of the Holocaust.

The girl in the red coat

One of the most dramatic and memorable sequences of *Schindler's List* takes place as the German soldiers clear one of the Jewish **ghettos**, while Schindler watches from a hill top. As with the rest of the film, the scene is shot in black and white – with one exception. Amid scenes of families being rounded up, to be bundled into trucks or lined up and shot, a small girl in a red coat wanders through the streets. She stands out in the scene as her coat is the only thing that is coloured. As the scene progresses, the last the audience sees of the little girl in red is her hiding from the soldiers as the director cuts the scene.

In a scene later in the film, Schindler sees dead bodies piled on carts being wheeled away to be burnt on fires. Then, on one of the carts, amid all the other corpses, he sees a small body in a red coat, again standing out against the black and white. Both Schindler and the audience understand that the girl has not survived.

Spielberg's creative choice was made in order for us to focus on, and empathise with, the little girl. It individualises the murders and it offers a tantalising but futile sense of hope.

Individualising victims in this manner is one of the ways in which Hollywood can communicate important historical truths. The huge number of Holocaust victims and their collective stories can numb the brain. The 'Hollywood-style' vignette of the small girl in the red coat makes the deaths and the Holocaust more individual and personal. In that, this sequence of the film does present a deep and valid historical truth. The Holocaust is not one story; rather, it is more than six million separate and individual stories. As in the case of the girl in the red coat, it must have contained individual elements of fear, hope and despair.

ghetto

a section of a town or city established by the Nazis during the Second World War to confine Jews and other 'undesirables', and isolate them from the wider population



SOURCE 9 The little girl in the red coat from Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List* (1993)

The image of the girl in the red coat, as a filmic device, also contributes to another element of understanding. For the people who lived through the Holocaust, it was a minute-by-minute and day-by-day reality. When we first see the little girl hiding, we are left thinking that she might survive. Through this filmic device, the audience is drawn into the time frame of the Holocaust.

5.3b Check your learning

- 1 Read reviews of *Schindler's List* and, in columns, note down positive and negative points reviewers have made about the film. Review these points, and discuss whether there is any evidence that reviewers regard the film as a reliable source of historical understanding.
- 2 Do you think Steven Spielberg's decision to film *Schindler's List* in black and white adds historical authenticity to the film? Why or why not?

5.3b Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Examine Source 9 and comment on the effectiveness of using the red coat as a film technique. Do you think that encouraging empathy by using such techniques helps with developing a historical understanding?
- 2 Why is the existence of a real 'Schindler's list', as shown in Source 10, important for historians? Does it have any impact upon the film's historical validity?

Brünnlitz /Liste d. jüdischen Häftlinge, 10.4.1945 Blatt 2

Name und Vorname	Geburtsdatum	Beruf
Hartmann Salomon	7. 5.20	Leuchtergerge.
Grün Abraham	14. 5.05	ang.Metallverarb.
Inalicht Emil	2. 3.08	Elektrikergerg.
Inakurutz Selo	24.10.13	Elektrikergerg.
Illies Jakob	20.10.11	Metallverarb.
Wechholder Beruch	29.11.08	Maurer
Liebermann Ignacy	10. 7.08	ang.Mechaniker
Liebermann Maurycy	27. 8.10	ang.Mechaniker
Hilfstein Chaim	14.11.06	ang.Metallverarb.
Gajg Samul	13. 8.20	ang.Metallverarb.
HaarFisvel	1. 7.10	Arzt
Wechholder Schula	19. 4.03	Tischlergerh.
Horewitz Bernard	23. 3.37	ang.Metallverarb.
Weinstock Josef	6. 1.17	Tischlergerg.
Erieger Chaskel	8. 6.00	Schlossergerg.
Kasstein Chaskel	14.12.08	Werkzeuggerg.
Jakubowicz Kurt	27. 7.20	Klempner u. Installat.
Lichtig Samuel	20. 3.90	Stenzer
Silberstein Max	21. 7.00	Waldarbeiter
Feldstein Wolf	8.12.23	Farbetechniker
Frankel Leon	21. 8.05	ang.Metallverarb.
Kranz Wilhelm	1. 09.05	Arzt
Lieberstein Alexander	23. 6.04	ang.Metallverarb.
Kurzer Majer	19. 8.21	Tischlergerg.
Hirsch Jacob	20. 5.17	Stenzer
Hirsch Abraham	11. 8.17	Elektriker
Hartmann Ferdinand	20.10.19	Malermeister
Fanner Henryk	2. 3.09	Tischlergerg.
Weingerger Markus	31.12.10	Schildehalter
Reisman Leon	4. 8.98	Tischlermeister
Oppenheim Saul	2. 3.08	ang.Metallarb.
Hiltschicht Alexander	30. 4.12	Schreibkraft
Schneider Israel	1. 8.10	Feldtreremeister
Sonnebaum Wilhelm	23. 3.20	Lehrling
Fenger Richard	9. 9.24	Kutscher
Feri Salomon	2. 3.07	Holzschmied
Miltzner Jeroniasz	19.10.10	Klempner
Hiltschammer Alfred	10. 7.30	Buchhalter
Fanner Baruch	17. 9.10	Maurergerg.
Roser Franziszek	31.10.19	ang.Metallverarb.
Hindelgrün Menasche	4. 9.17	Wasserl. Installat.
Munrad Alekszander	9. 9.17	Wasserl. Installat.

SOURCE 10 A carbon copy of one of 13 pages of the original Schindler's list of 801 Jews from 1945. It was found in Sydney among a collection of documents archived from material provided by Thomas Keneally, author of *Schindler's Ark*.

Saving Private Ryan (1998)

In 1998 Steven Spielberg again turned to history as the basis for a film. This time the subject matter was the invasion of Normandy in the Second World War. The film, inspired by a true story, follows Captain John Miller (Tom Hanks) as he goes behind enemy lines to retrieve paratrooper James Ryan (Matt Damon), the last survivor of four brothers.

Although the film is loosely based on the fate of the Niland brothers from New York, many of the characters and events in the film are fictionalised. Nevertheless, like other films with historical themes, *Saving Private Ryan* can contribute to our understanding of the emotions and sensations of war.



SOURCE 11 *Saving Private Ryan's* recreation of battle scenes can build historical understanding of the realities of war.

Three scenes are especially worth analysing. The opening scene of the film shows an old man, a war veteran, visiting the US military cemetery at Omaha Beach. Through a series of close-ups, it is obvious that the old man is overcome by memories and emotion. His wife and family follow at a distance. There is a powerful emotional historical truth reconstructed in the sequence. Only war veterans, or those with relatives who had been part of the trauma of war, would have seen and felt this emotional connection firsthand.

In another scene, a military car approaches an isolated rural farmhouse. The woman in the house almost immediately recognises that she may be about to receive tragic news. The power of the scene, again, lies in its emotion and potential to communicate empathy.

Anyone who received the news of the death of a loved one during this time would understand the apprehension that came with the sight of a telegram. This scene is not only historically true, but also historically important. Wars are the source of grief and trauma, for survivors and families at home as well as those in the midst of them, and words alone can never hope to depict this as well as a strongly written, acted and filmed scene.

The third scene that powerfully captures one of the historical realities of war is the sequence depicting the US landing at Omaha Beach, Normandy, one of the bloodiest parts of the US landing. One of America's greatest historians, Stephen Ambrose, wrote a powerful account of the landing and the action in Spielberg's film closely followed that account. The difference between the two modes of reconstructing the landing is that no matter how eloquent and graphic Ambrose's words are, they cannot convey the carnage in the way the film footage does.

Thus *Saving Private Ryan*, through its representation of the violence and death involved in war, allows viewers to construct a historical understanding that is based on the broader truth that war involves carnage, rather than the fact of whether Private Ryan actually existed.

5.3c Check your learning

- 1 What do you think the words 'inspired by a true story' at the start of a film mean for anybody using it for historical understanding?
 - 2 How can a film such as *Saving Private Ryan*, which is only loosely based on fact, still offer valuable historical insights?
 - 3 Discuss how useful film is for constructing 'a powerful emotional historical truth'. Is this an important part of historical understanding?
-

THE CROWN (2016)

Described as a 'biographical drama series', Netflix's *The Crown* is about the early days of the reign of Queen Elizabeth II. The first season spans the time period 1947–55 – critical years that included Elizabeth's marriage in 1947 and her elevation to Queen in 1952.

Unlike most historical dramas, because the Queen is still alive and many of the rituals and traditions we see played out on screen remain the same, the storyline of *The Crown* is, in a way, developing parallel to the series being aired. In this regard, *The Crown* is unique, as it has the power not only to change the way we view the past, but also to potentially impact on the decisions we make in the future. In Australia, the political debate on whether we should continue being a monarchy under Elizabeth II resurfaces at regular intervals. It is not far-fetched to believe that a sympathetic portrayal of the Queen – although partly fictional – could in fact influence our feelings towards the monarchy.

Although *The Crown* is believed to offer relatively accurate historical accounts of the events covered in the series, it is important to keep in mind that shows like this can only construct history while confronting the commercial reality of having to attract audiences. In the end, the watchability of the series is a higher priority to producers than historical accuracy. This is perhaps the most important aspect to remember for anyone using *The Crown* or similar dramas to build a historical understanding.



SOURCE 12 Film and television representations of the past, such as Claire Foy's portrayal of Queen Elizabeth II in *The Crown*, can alter the way we view the past and may even have an impact on how we view the present.

5.3 PROFILE TASKS

- 1 Research reviews of *The Crown* and examine what they say about the portrayal of Queen Elizabeth II. Discuss whether that portrayal could influence debate about whether Australia should become a republic.
- 2 Explain how *The Crown* encapsulates the pressure between the need for commercial success and historical accuracy. Can those two elements ever be compatible?

In addition to offering important insights into aspects of history not as easily explored by the written word, films and television have a power to emotionally engage and move audiences. However, as a student of history it is important to remember that films and television programs are produced with commercial revenue in mind, which influences their historical interpretation. Therefore, you must be rigorous in applying all the skills of historical inquiry and source analysis to your viewing of film and television as sources of historical knowledge and understanding. It is essential that you understand the implications of the words 'based on a true story', and that representations of the past on screen are simply a source of historical understanding, not *the* source.



SOURCE 13 Films such as *Schindler's List* have the power to emotionally engage and move audiences.



FOR THE TEACHER

Check your [eBook](#) [assess](#) for the following additional resources for this chapter:

Answers

Answers to each *Check your learning*, *Understanding and using the sources* and *Profile task* in this chapter

Teacher notes

Useful notes and advice for teaching this chapter, including syllabus connections and relevant weblinks

Class test

Comprehensive test to review students' skills and knowledge

assess quiz

Interactive auto-correcting multiple-choice quiz to test student comprehension

6

Historical Investigation

KEY CONCEPTS AND SKILLS

Analysis and use of sources

Being able to analyse and use sources is fundamental to the success of any historical investigation. Conducting an investigation gives you the opportunity to do exactly what a historian does and analyse sources for usefulness, validity and bias, as well as giving you the opportunity to consider different perspectives.

Historical interpretation

During a historical investigation you will be required to develop your own interpretation of the evidence to draw well-reasoned conclusions regarding areas such as cause and effect.

Historical investigation and research

This is the very heart of this unit as you develop, conduct and communicate the findings in your own historical investigation.

Explanation and communication

Ultimately, the success of your investigation will depend upon your ability to communicate your findings clearly and directly.

RMS Titanic at the docks

FOCUS QUESTIONS

- 1 What is a historical investigation?
- 2 How do I conduct a historical investigation?
- 3 How do I support my investigation with evidence?
- 4 How do I present my historical investigation?

LEARNING GOALS

- > Develop a focus for a historical investigation.
- > Conduct appropriate research to support the investigation.
- > Use a range of sources to support a historical interpretation.
- > Develop an appropriate method to communicate findings.

6.1 Introduction

A historical investigation presents you with the opportunity to ‘do’ history, rather than simply ‘learn’ history. You will become an active participant as you learn the step-by-step process used to conduct historical investigations. These steps will help you to develop critical skills: the ability to identify a topic for investigation, frame the area of research, conduct research, and communicate your findings in a clear and coherent way. These skills are not just necessary for exam success; they are also highly valued in many areas of employment.

The use of technology has greatly increased the opportunities for historical investigation. Digitised newspaper and journal articles have made information more accessible than ever before. The range of sources available for research has exploded in recent years, as libraries and universities collate and digitise collections, and make them available to researchers anywhere in the world from their websites.

Consider an investigation into the sinking of RMS (Royal Mail Ship) *Titanic*. At the click of a mouse, a researcher has access to the archived Library of Virginia’s online exhibition ‘RMS *Titanic*: 100 years later’. However, as the Library of Virginia cautions its website users in Source 1, you are still required to not only check that sources you may be using during your investigation are actually authentic, but also analyse them for usefulness, validity and bias. The ability to do this is an ongoing requirement for a successful historical investigation. It is important to remember that widespread access to the internet means that there are few checks on what is posted there.

SOURCE 1

In order to provide equal access to information on our site, we offer text transcriptions of the articles offered here. Due to the age and condition of the original documents, we cannot guarantee that the transcriptions are exact.

‘RMS *Titanic*: 100 years later’, Library of Virginia website *Building the Titanic*, in Belfast, Ireland

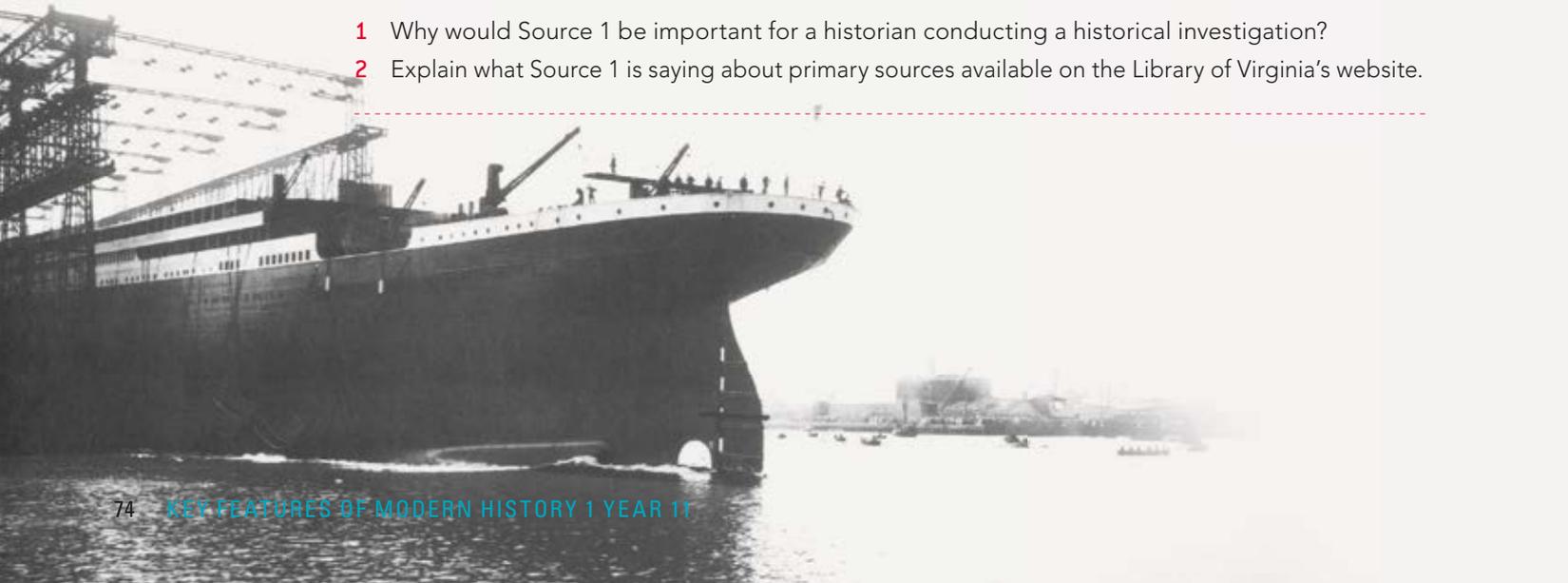
6.1 Check your learning

Explain how technology has changed historical research and investigation.

6.1 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Why would Source 1 be important for a historian conducting a historical investigation?
 - 2 Explain what Source 1 is saying about primary sources available on the Library of Virginia’s website.
-

SOURCE 2
Building the
Titanic, Belfast,
Ireland



6.2

The process of historical investigation

This chapter will guide you through a historical investigation using 11 steps. This process, or a version of it, is used by all historians when conducting an investigation. By following the steps outlined below when conducting your own investigation, you will also practise your investigative, research and presentation skills, all of which are important skills for a successful historical investigation.

Step 1 Planning and conducting historical investigations using historical concepts

The first step is to make sure that you are fully aware of specific requirements for your investigation, such as whether there are any limitations on the way it is presented. Make sure you note the final due date.

It is generally a good idea to break large tasks (like historical investigations) into manageable steps. This is called ‘chunking’. Each chunk of work you complete is another step towards completing your final investigation. Once you have identified the chunks, or steps, note the dates when each step will need to be completed in order to meet the final due date. It is also useful to note the type of resources you could use for each step.

Step 2 Formulating historical questions and hypotheses relevant to the investigation

hypothesis
a proposed explanation for an event

One of the most daunting aspects of a historical investigation is deciding what you are going to investigate. Before you begin, check the instructions you have been given, and make sure you are aware of any limits that your teacher has set on what you are able to investigate.



SOURCE 3 The Alamo, San Antonio, Texas

You should then select an area of history that interests you. To develop your ideas, construct a mind map (or similar graphic organiser), starting with a topic name. Your mind map will be a record of how far your area of interest extends, and will help you develop a historical question, which you would then attempt to answer; or a **hypothesis**, which you would then attempt to test. For example, a mind map that started with the topic name ‘American history’ could lead to the historical question: ‘Why is the Battle of the Alamo so important in the history of Texas?’; or the hypothesis: ‘The Battle of the Alamo proves that Texans have always placed national interests above personal interests’.

A historical question and a hypothesis could be combined into a single investigation. For example, the question and hypothesis above could culminate in a historical investigation into the role the Battle of the Alamo played in Texas' campaign to become part of the United States of America.

As your investigation proceeds, you could find yourself posing more and more historical questions or hypotheses to help move your research forward. For example, if the focus of your investigation was the Alamo, you could consider the types of questions that could arise from an examination of Source 3. These could include:

- > What was the original function of the building?
- > How old is it?
- > Why is it so well preserved today?
- > How much of it is left?
- > How accessible is it?

As your investigation progresses from questions and hypotheses into a completed investigation, it is important to ask the following key questions at every stage:

- > What evidence can I find?
- > Where can I access it?
- > How do I know if it is reliable?



SOURCE 4 How reliable a source do you think this painting of the Battle of the Alamo is?

Step 3 Locating and interrogating a range of sources

For many people, the answer to almost any question has become ‘Google it’. A search engine can be a useful starting point, but does have problems. For example, asking the question ‘Why is the Vietnam War often referred to as the first television war?’ brings up over a million search results. Although this is a very quick way to locate possible sources, a lot of time can be wasted looking through the sites offered. It is important that you are clear about what you are looking for, and that you check any potential source for relevancy. Ask yourself this simple question: ‘Does this source tell me anything about my topic?’

Once you have established a range of relevant sources to assist you with your investigation, you have to interrogate them. Effectively this means asking questions of each source to determine whether it is useful, reliable and/or biased.

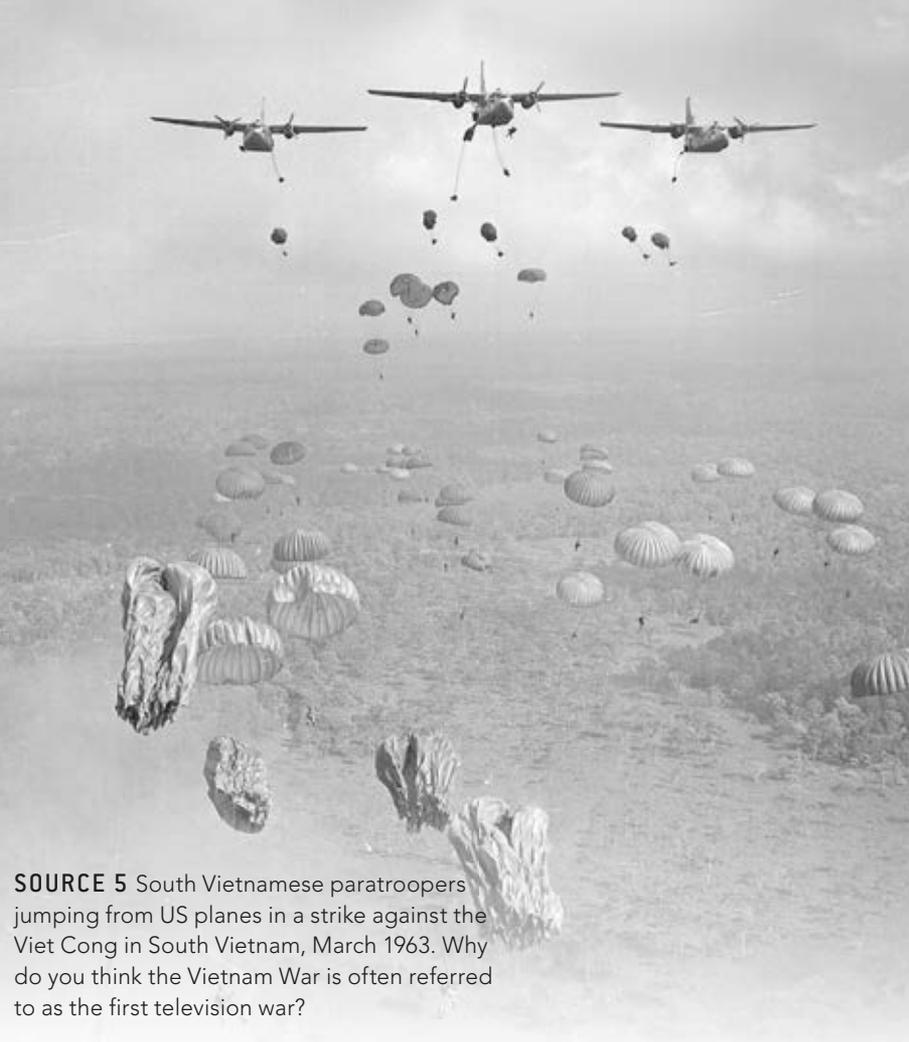
Consider the difficulties that historians may face in the future when analysing the Donald Trump presidency in the United States. They will be searching through thousands of tweets as primary sources, and will have to interrogate sources such as that described in Source 6.

SOURCE 6

After Trump’s inauguration in January, [Sean] Spicer inspired the hashtag #SpicerFacts after reiterating his claim that the ceremony had the biggest audience in history, despite evidence from photos, crowd experts, TV ratings and the Washington Metro network. ‘This was the largest audience to ever witness an inauguration, period!’ Spicer said.

In the face of mounting evidence to the contrary, Spicer declared: ‘Sometimes we can disagree with the facts.’

Alexandra Topping, ‘A history of Sean Spicer’s gaffes as White House Press Secretary’, *The Guardian* online, 12 April 2017



SOURCE 5 South Vietnamese paratroopers jumping from US planes in a strike against the Viet Cong in South Vietnam, March 1963. Why do you think the Vietnam War is often referred to as the first television war?



SOURCE 7 Former White House press secretary Sean Spicer

Step 4 Identifying different perspectives evident in sources

It is essential that you recognise any perspectives in a source if you are going to use it effectively. In an age when terms such as ‘fake news’ and ‘alternative facts’ have come into popular usage, it is important to accept that anyone can have a perspective on an event. Your job is to ensure that there is evidence to support a perspective if it is to be regarded as valid.

If you have found two different perspectives of the same event, you should compare the two accounts and identify where they are similar, and where they are dissimilar. A useful technique is to construct a Venn diagram to note the commonalities and differences.

You may need to conduct further research on the background of the sources before you conclude whether you should only rely on the commonalities found, or how you could explain the differences.

Examine Sources 8 and 9. Both are accounts of an incident that occurred in Helena, Arkansas, in 1965, involving members of the rock group The Band who were having a meal in a ‘Black’ part of town when the police arrived.

SOURCE 8

I said ‘Good evening officers, is there a problem?’

‘Oh there ain’t no problem, not as long as you don’t mind sitting here eating with a bunch of niggers, there ain’t no problem ... You all are gonna get in that new car of yours ... and we don’t wanna see you around here no more ...’

We mumbled around and finally got out of there, since the next step was to get the shit beat out of us by a bunch of cops.

Levon Helm, *This Wheel’s On Fire*, 1993/2013, pp. 119–20

SOURCE 9

The cops looked at us with blood in their eyes. ‘What do you think you’re doing?’ [the police said]. Levon stood up and introduced himself ... [The police continued] ‘your uncle’d be real proud of you, eatin’ with niggers. What in the goddamn hell are you thinkin’?’

‘What I want you boys to do is get in that car and drive as fast as you can outta here ... we’re all gonna follow you outta town.’

Robbie Robertson, *Testimony*, 2016, p. 157

6.2a Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Read Source 6 about Sean Spicer, former White House press secretary.
 - a What implications does Spicer’s comment ‘[s]ometimes we can disagree with the facts’ have for historians?
 - b How would this source impact on you using official White House press reports as historical sources? What questions would you ask of those sources?
- 2 Use a Venn diagram to note the differences and commonalities in Sources 8 and 9.



Step 5 Analysing sources for their usefulness and reliability in relation to the question(s) asked

The key to conducting this step is making sure that you are clear about the question(s) you are asking, because this has a major impact on the usefulness of a source. It is the question being asked that influences the usefulness of the source, not the other way round.

Source 10 is one of the most famous photos of the twentieth century. Taken by Nick Ut, it shows Phan Thi Kim Phuc and other children running, after their village had been hit with a napalm bomb during the Vietnam War. It is a very useful source for historians investigating the impact of chemical weapons during the war, but of limited use for historians investigating the causes of the war.

It is also possible to digitally alter images, so you also have to consider what makes an image source reliable. Does the fact that Source 10 is one of the most recognisable images of the twentieth century make it more or less reliable?

You should also ask yourself whether you trust written, visual or aural sources more. Does your opinion make it easier or more difficult to trust certain sources? What would it take for you to accept a source as reliable?

Another consideration is whether a source is biased. For example, the two members of the rock group The Band, who related the accounts in Sources 8 and 9, had a major disagreement leading to a decades-long feud. How important is that information when considering the reliability of the sources? Could their feelings about each other lead to conscious or unconscious bias in their recollections of events? Is there any evidence that this is the case?

SOURCE 10 Children fleeing after South Vietnamese planes accidentally dropped a napalm bomb on their village of Trang Bang in South Vietnam



Step 6 Developing and/or examining historical interpretations

As you interrogate sources that are relevant to your research, you will develop your own interpretation of that evidence. You should also consider the interpretations of other writers who have considered the same sources as you. You do not have to agree with their interpretations, but if you reject them, you need to provide evidence to support your view.

You may encounter evidence that requires you to change your interpretation, and this is a normal part of a historical investigation. The evidence should drive the research, rather than the other way round. One of the features of a poor investigation is that it ignores evidence that does not fit a predetermined outcome.

Step 7 Using sources to develop a view about a historical issue

If the evidence is driving your research, then your sources will lead you to develop a viewpoint about the historical issues involved in your investigation. As more and more sources become available, it is important to consider how to use sources to develop your view on historical issues. Part of this processing is making sure that you reject sources only because you question their reliability, and not because they don't support your opinion.

It is also useful to think about the ways you can access a particular source, and consider how different versions of a source may impact on the way you develop your historical understanding. For example, Martin Luther King's 'I have a dream' speech is a primary source

that provides evidence of the significance of Martin Luther King's role in the US civil rights movement.

Through digital archiving and sharing, you are able to watch King's speech, and see the size of the crowd he was addressing in Washington DC on 28 August 1963. You are also able to see the impact his words had on the crowd. Or you could simply listen to King's speech, or read it in text form. You would also have to research how others have interpreted this speech, and why it is regarded as such a famous and historical moment. All these things have an impact on the way you develop your view about King's significance and impact.



SOURCE 11 Martin Luther King delivering his 'I have a dream' speech, Washington DC, 28 August 1963

6.2b Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Read the text of Martin Luther King's 'I have a dream' speech, and then view footage of the speech. Explain whether viewing the speech affects your understanding of this source. To what extent does the delivery of the speech influence the way you remember the content?
 - 2 If you were using King's speech as evidence to support your viewpoint on the civil rights movement, how valuable would Sources 8 and 9 also be? Would you treat these written sources any differently from the way you approached King's speech?
-

Step 8 Selecting and organising relevant information

It is important to make sure that your resources are well organised. You could organise source folders (digital or physical) that reflect different aspects of your investigation. For example, if your investigation was examining the difference between the experiences of ‘**Ten Pound Poms**’ and ‘Vietnamese boat people’ as migrants to Australia, you could organise your sources into folders such as:

- > The context of the Ten Pound Poms
- > The experiences of the Ten Pound Poms
- > The context of the Vietnamese boat people
- > The experiences of the Vietnamese boat people

These folders could be further subdivided into primary and secondary sources.

Having well-organised sources will help you when you are ready to interrogate your sources and write up your findings. This step is also another opportunity to reflect on the sources you are selecting and the sources you are rejecting as your investigation progresses. Always ask yourself if your personal bias is playing any role in this process.

Step 9 Synthesising evidence from a range of sources to develop and support a reasoned historical account or argument

One of the important skills you must have when you are working towards finalising your investigation is the ability to **synthesise** a range of sources into a coherent and reasoned historical argument. It is important that you have worked from a range of sources, if it is to be a successful investigation. Relying on a single source means that you won’t have been able to develop a clear view of your topic, and won’t have displayed your ability to assess a range of sources.

You may well come to exactly the same conclusion after examining one or many sources. However, by accessing a wider range of sources and opinions you will be able to cite a much stronger range of evidence to support that conclusion.

■ **‘Ten Pound Pom’**
a colloquial term for British immigrants to Australia who were charged just £10 for the voyage by the Australian Government, which subsidised the cost

■ **synthesise**
to form a whole by combining different parts



SOURCE 12 Photos – such as this one of Vietnamese boat people on the South China Sea in 1982 – can offer unique insights, but they should not be relied upon as your only sources.

Step 10 Using historical terms and concepts appropriately

Before you start writing up your investigation, reflect on how the following historical concepts can help you to develop it. Start by outlining the main points you will be covering, and the evidence you will use to support your interpretation. To help you understand the historical concepts that will be relevant to your final presentation, highlight your work using different colours for each one:

- > Causation – is there any evidence of cause and effect in your work? Can you identify the cause of the topic of your investigation?
- > Continuity and change – what evidence is there to show that your topic has changed anything, or been a force for continuity?
- > Perspectives – can you identify the perspectives that are present in the sources you are using?
- > Significance – what is the significance of your topic? Does every perspective agree about that significance?
- > Contestability – to what extent is your view of your topic contested? What evidence do other sources use to support their views? How can you justify rejecting their evidence and accepting your own?

It is important to review your work and check that you have used historical terms relevant to your topic. For example, if you are writing about colonial Australia, have you included terms such as ‘colonisation’, ‘imperialism’ and ‘dispossession’?

Step 11 Presenting and communicating the findings of a historical investigation using appropriate and well-structured oral, written and/or multimedia forms, including ICT

Before you present your investigation in its final format, it is important that you give yourself sufficient time to produce a satisfactory draft of your work. Common sense will tell you that the first draft of a piece of work is never as good as the second draft, where you have had an opportunity to correct errors, check sources and ensure you have met all the marking criteria.

Once you are satisfied with your draft, you need to decide on the most effective and appropriate method of presentation. To help you do this:

- > Make sure that you check the instructions you have been given about the task. For example, does it specify a certain type of presentation?
- > Consider which format will allow you to show most clearly that you have conducted quality research and used a range of sources effectively to support your interpretation. For example, does your presentation rely on a wide array of visual sources that might benefit from an ICT-style presentation? Have you accessed an impressive range of resources that could be effectively presented in an extensive annotated bibliography?

Communication is a vital component of any investigation. Regardless of the format chosen, you have to be able to communicate your findings clearly and directly. A useful technique is to ask someone who is unfamiliar with the topic to review your work. If they can understand your argument and evidence, you can be sure that your ideas have been communicated effectively.

6.2 Check your learning

Use a mind map or other graphic organiser to summarise your understanding of the 11 steps in the process of historical investigation.

6.3

Historical investigation: the sinking of the *Titanic*

This section explores how the 11 steps in the process of historical investigation could be conducted, using the sinking of the *Titanic* as a focus.

Step 1 Planning and conducting historical investigations using historical concepts

As always, the best starting point of an investigation is personal interest. A mind map starting with '*Titanic*' could lead to 'passengers', and develop into 'who were the passengers?' Alternatively, '*Titanic*' could lead to 'what was life on the ship like?', which could develop into 'what was it like for the different classes of passenger?'

A list of potential concepts could underpin the investigation, for example:

- > Causation – what caused the *Titanic* to have passengers divided into first, second and third class?
- > Continuity and change – did the division of passengers on the *Titanic* represent continuity or change in regard to the social structure of the time?
- > Perspectives – is there a difference between the perspectives of the different classes of passengers that survived the *Titanic*?
- > Significance – what was the significance of the sinking of the *Titanic* for historians?
- > Contestability – is there agreement on the treatment of and opportunities available to the different classes of passenger when the *Titanic* sank?

Step 2 Formulating historical questions and hypotheses relevant to the investigation

Either one of the starting points above could lead to the topic that we will use in this example investigation: 'What does a study of the *Titanic* reveal about aspects of the society at that time?'

This topic raises a range of historical questions that could help frame an investigation, for example:

- > Why is the *Titanic* so famous?
- > Where and when was it built?
- > Who travelled on it?
- > How were the classes divided on the ship?
- > Did the classes meet and mingle on board?
- > Why did the *Titanic* sink?
- > What classes were represented in society in countries such as Ireland, Great Britain and the United States at this time?
- > Did you have a better chance of survival if you were located in any particular class on the ship?

You may prefer to test hypotheses rather than ask questions. These hypotheses could include:

- > The *Titanic* reflected social divisions in society at that time.
- > If you wanted to survive the sinking of the *Titanic*, you should have travelled in first class.
- > The crew of the *Titanic* preferred to save first- and second-class passengers, rather than third-class passengers.
- > The saying ‘women and children first’ was applied on the *Titanic* regardless of class.

Quite often, the further you research, the more questions you develop, as your inquiry uncovers more evidence. Source 13 is an extract from a student’s historical investigation on aspects of the *Titanic*’s sinking, and society at the time. This is an example of how research drives you deeper into the material, raising more questions that will propel your investigation to a higher standard.

SOURCE 13

There is definitive evidence to suggest, but not conclusively prove, that at least some of the third-class gates were left locked the night the *Titanic* sank.

If this finding is accurate, and I believe on the evidence presented that it is, then more questions must be asked. Why were the third-class passengers not given a chance to survive? On whose orders were the gates locked? Whose responsibility was it to unlock the gates? Why didn’t they perform their duty? Why did the inquiries cover up the actions and not hold the White Star line [owners of the *Titanic*] accountable?

Extract from a student historical investigation exploration of the hypothesis that the third-class passengers were kept below decks by locked gates as the *Titanic* sank

Step 3 Locating and interrogating a range of sources

A simple Google search asking ‘How many people died on the *Titanic*?’ will access basic information to help start you off; for example: the *Titanic* had 2223 people on board when it sank, while the capacity of the lifeboats was 1178; of the passengers who died, 130 were first-class passengers, 166 were second-class passengers, and 536 were third-class passengers.

To make this information more valid, it is important to find out how many people were in each class. So the next step would be to find a site that gives you access to the complete passenger lists, such as <www.titanicfacts.net/titanic-passenger-list.html>. Here you can find the name, age and fate of every passenger. Interrogating this source will require patience and organisational skills in order to sort and organise information.

Step 4 Identifying different perspectives evident in sources

For the historical question ‘What does a study of the *Titanic* reveal about aspects of the society at that time?’, it is important to access a range of perspectives based around class, as this was a clear division on the *Titanic* itself. The sea-going tradition of ‘women and children first’ in a maritime disaster also raises the issue of gender perspectives. First-class women and children had the greatest chances of survival, and therefore their perspective will be more strongly represented in survivor accounts.

One advantage of having the names of the survivors is that this allows for more detailed and specific searches – to find accounts of the sinking that will help establish a range of perspectives.

The **centenary** of the sinking of the *Titanic* in 2012 was marked by an increase in scholarly articles and other publications commemorating the event. One example of the new publications was Deborah Hopkinson's book *Titanic: Voices From the Disaster*. It explored survivor stories from all three classes of the ship, and allows you to compare accounts easily. The Profile below gives a sample of some of these stories.

■ centenary
hundredth
anniversary

PERSPECTIVES OF *TITANIC* SURVIVORS

First class

Jack Thayer was 17, and returning to the United States from a trip to Europe with his parents. His mother escaped in a lifeboat, and he jumped from the ship in desperation as it was sinking. He became one of the few to be rescued from the water, when he was dragged onto a lifeboat. He wrote down his recollections in 1940 in a privately published book that was reprinted in 2012. His account has to be interrogated while recognising that his perspective is from the experience of a first-class passenger.

Second class

Eight-year-old Marjorie Collyer was thrown into a lifeboat by a member of the crew, and her mother Charlotte was dragged from her husband and also placed in the lifeboat. The family was emigrating from England to start a new life farming in Idaho.

Third class

Rhoda Abbott was returning to the United States from England with her two sons, aged 16 and 13. As third-class passengers, they were among the last to reach the deck. At this point, the *Titanic* was listing badly. Abbott stayed with her sons, who were considered too old to go aboard Collapsible Lifeboat C, which was being loaded as the *Titanic* sank. (The collapsible lifeboats were boat-shaped rafts with canvas sides, which could be raised up.) Abbott jumped from the ship with her sons, who were never seen again. She was hauled into Collapsible Lifeboat A, where she was the only woman.



6.3 PROFILE

SOURCE 14 Second-class survivors of the sinking of the *Titanic*, Charlotte Collyer and her daughter Marjorie

United States Library of Congress
[Public domain], via Wikimedia



SOURCE 15 Collapsible Lifeboat D being towed to RMS *Carpathia*

6.3 PROFILE TASK

Research sources relating to the *Titanic* survivors profiled above, and assess them for their reliability and their relevance to the question 'What does a study of the *Titanic* reveal about aspects of the society at that time?'

Step 5 Analysing sources for their usefulness and reliability for the question(s) asked

The newspaper front page shown in Source 16 was published two days after the sinking of the *Titanic*. It is a good example of a primary source that could be analysed for its usefulness and reliability in relation to an investigation into what the sinking of the *Titanic* revealed about the society of the time.

In terms of usefulness, an analysis could focus on the following:

- > How long after the event was the newspaper published?
- > Does it contain eyewitness accounts?
- > What is the significance of the following phrases in the headline: ‘women and children saved’ and ‘scores of notables not accounted for’?
- > What does the smaller headline ‘Hope that many may be found on wreckage’ reveal about the knowledge of the sinking at the time of printing?
- > Does the source give any indication about attitudes towards class at the time?

The question of reliability could be assessed by:

- > researching the background of *The World* newspaper – did it have a reputation for reliability?
- > researching whether the newspaper was written before there was access to eyewitness accounts. If it was, what would the reports be based on?
- > analysing the perspective of the articles to see if there was any indication of the newspaper reflecting the experiences of one social group or gender above others.



SOURCE 16 Front page of *The World* newspaper from New York, published 16 April 1912

Step 6 Developing and/or examining historical interpretations

Assessing the reliability of sources is critical at every stage of an investigation. Although this can be time-consuming, it is an important part of developing a strong investigation.

Source 17 is an account from a *Titanic* survivor, relating that *Titanic* officers shot third-class passengers who were trying to escape. This accusation is sensational and, if true, would certainly cast White Star Line, owners of the *Titanic*, in a poor light. It is an account that has to be analysed very carefully before developing an interpretation of your own.

It would be worth investigating the question of shootings on the *Titanic* in detail. An article by Earl Chapman on the *Encyclopedia Titanica* website <www.encyclopedia-titanica.org> would be a useful starting point in assessing the available evidence before arriving at your interpretation.

SOURCE 17

When the steerage passengers came up many of them had knives, revolvers and clubs and sought to fight their way to the two unlaunched, collapsible boats. Many of these were shot by the officers.

Dr Washington Dodge [first-class passenger from San Francisco],
'Dr Dodge gives story of rescue', *San Francisco Bulletin*, 20 April 1912



SOURCE 18 A *Titanic* grave site, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada. Four Canadian ships were sent from Halifax to retrieve bodies. Of the 1514 victims of the tragedy, only 333 bodies were recovered in total. One hundred and fifty of those were buried in three Halifax cemeteries.

Step 7 Using sources to develop a view about a historical issue

By this stage of the investigation, you should be developing some clear views about the historical question. Sources such as 19 and 20 could be used to compare the facilities available to first- and third-class passengers on board. Research would be needed for the Source 20 photograph of the third-class dining saloon on RMS *Olympic* – the *Titanic*'s **sister ship** – to assess its validity. If it is judged to be valid, these two sources would help to develop a view about social division and opportunities in the Western society of 1912.

sister ship

a ship of the same class and/or of virtually identical design to another ship made by the same company



SOURCE 19 A staircase leading to the first-class restaurant on the *Titanic*



SOURCE 20 The third-class dining saloon on the *Titanic*'s sister ship, the *Olympic*

Step 8 Selecting and organising relevant information

At this point, you should have well-established folders for your evidence. Your investigation should be well advanced, and your folders could include:

- > evidence of class division on board the *Titanic*
- > first-class passenger accounts
- > second-class passenger accounts
- > third-class passenger accounts
- > uncorroborated accounts
- > secondary sources
- > evidence from official inquiries
- > visual sources
- > passenger lists.

Step 9 Synthesising evidence from a range of sources to develop and support a reasoned historical account or argument

By now, you have consulted a wide range of sources to establish a clear understanding of what happened on the *Titanic*, what the opportunities were for the different classes of people on board, and how that information helps you understand the society of 1912.

You might now be prepared to argue that the result of your investigation was that the composition of the passengers on board the *Titanic* reflected the prevailing social structure of the time. You may feel you have sufficient evidence to go further and argue that your social class – and/or your gender – reflected your life opportunities, and, in the case of the *Titanic*, your chances of survival.



SOURCE 21
A Canadian stamp commemorating the *Titanic* centenary, 2012

The key to a successful investigation is to now gather together the evidence that supports your argument and allows you to ensure that your viewpoint is historically valid. Your evidence folders should help make this task achievable. If, for example, you wanted to show that there was clear social division on board the *Titanic*, you could draw on evidence from your visual sources folder, and synthesise that with accounts drawn from first-, second- and third-class passengers.

Take some time to check that the evidence you use is indeed supporting your argument, and not merely a distraction. For example, in an investigation of the *Titanic*, it would be easy to be side-tracked by the debate over the proximity of SS *Californian*, a ship that was accused of not going to the *Titanic*'s aid. The debate over the *Californian* would, however, be largely irrelevant to an investigation into what a study of the *Titanic* reveals about the society of the time. You could discover both interesting and valid sources on the *Californian* and its role in the *Titanic* tragedy, but they would not be useful for your investigation.

Step 10 Using historical terms and concepts appropriately

As you move towards your final presentation, it will be important for you to revisit the list of concepts you constructed at the beginning of the process, and review their appropriateness. You may also develop a list of historical terms that would be relevant to your examination of the *Titanic*. These could include:

> social class > social division > hierarchy > gender > industrialisation.

Step 11 Presenting and communicating the findings of a historical investigation using appropriate and well-structured oral, written and/or multimedia forms, including ICT

You will by now have established the steps that unpack your investigation, with each step adding more evidence to support your argument. As you select the format with which to present your investigation, review the information you have and consider the nature of the sources you have used.

Your research may have used video-sharing sites such as YouTube (where you can find footage of the *Titanic* as it left on its only voyage, as well as footage of survivors recalling the events). If this is the case, then it may be that an ICT format is the best option for your presentation, so that footage can be embedded in it. Reliance on written testimonies, on the other hand, may lead you to prefer a written format, with images only used when they add clarity to a point you are making. The bottom line is that you have to be absolutely clear in what it is that you are communicating as the result of your investigation.

SOURCE 22 The *Titanic* leaving for its maiden voyage from Southampton, Great Britain, 10 April 1912



A historical investigation is your opportunity to ‘do’ rather than simply ‘learn’ history. It allows you to develop the critical historical skills of:

- > analysing and using sources
- > developing your own historical interpretation, as well as recognising others
- > developing and researching a historical inquiry
- > explaining and communicating the results of that inquiry.

If you break your investigation into clear and achievable chunks, you will find that a successful investigation is achievable. The keys to success are:

- > giving yourself time
- > being prepared to research extensively and effectively
- > allowing the evidence to drive your research
- > using a range of evidence to support your argument
- > communicating that argument clearly and effectively.



SOURCE 23 Survivors of the *Titanic* being rescued from their lifeboat, photographed from RMS *Carpathia*



FOR THE TEACHER

Check your [eBook](#) [assess](#) for the following additional resources for this chapter:

Answers

Answers to each *Check your learning*, *Understanding and using the sources* and *Profile task* in this chapter

Teacher notes

Useful notes and advice for teaching this chapter, including syllabus connections and relevant weblinks

Class test

Comprehensive test to review students' skills and knowledge

assess quiz

Interactive auto-correcting multiple-choice quiz to test student comprehension

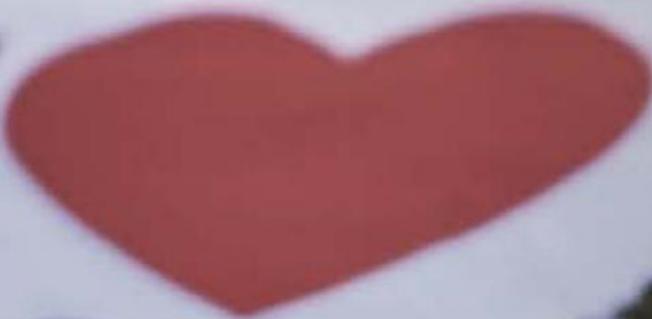


An Orthodox Jew praying at the Western Wall in Jerusalem, one of the most contested places on earth and sacred to Jews, Christians and Muslims alike

PART B

Investigating Modern History – Case Studies

Chapter 7	Terrorism	94
Chapter 8	The American Civil War	113
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I  MCR

City of Manchester

stands United

WILL ALWAYS
REVAI

STAY STRONG
OUR KID



7

Terrorism

Tributes for the victims of the suicide bomber who struck the crowds at Ariana Grande's concert in Manchester, England, 22 May 2017

FOCUS QUESTIONS

- 1 What is terrorism?
- 2 Who is a terrorist?
- 3 How has terrorism been justified by individuals and states historically?
- 4 What are the different historical 'waves' of terrorism?

KEY CONCEPTS AND SKILLS

Analysis and use of sources

Terrorism is a highly emotive topic, involving different perspectives that often clash over the meaning of sources. In this chapter you will be synthesising information from a variety of sources, and carefully analysing the motives of those providing them.

Historical interpretation

As you form a judgment about the significance of sources, it will become apparent that even that judgment is contributing to your interpretation. It is vital that you approach your sources in a critical and unbiased way as you develop historical interpretations.

Historical investigation and research

It is important for you to develop a relevant set of questions to develop a meaningful investigation into the causes and nature of terrorism. Establishing a historical context will be a key part of this process, helping you trace the stages that terrorism has undergone since the French Revolution.

Explanation and communication

In an area that is as contested as terrorism, the ability to communicate a critical analysis of your sources will be vital to ensure that any conclusions you draw are valid.

LEARNING GOALS

- > Understand the nature of terrorism and its causes.
- > Analyse the history of terrorism.
- > Explain the role of terrorism in the world today.

7.1

Introduction

Hardly a day goes by without some reference to terrorism in the media. Across the world, there are stories of bombings, shootings, kidnappings, assassinations, suicide attacks, and vehicles being used as deadly weapons. Media reports of terrorism often include the reactions of political leaders to terrorism, and the issue is reflected in politicians' policies. In January 2017, US President Donald Trump signed an order to ban people from entering the United States if they came from selected Muslim-majority countries, due to fear of terrorism. The current political climate shows that fear can sometimes be too powerful to be combated by reason and understanding.

In this chapter, the political and religious origins of terrorism will be considered as we trace the history of terrorism to the present day. Gaining a historical understanding of terrorism allows us to see beyond sensational news reports. Instead of relying on emotion to form an opinion, we can use the skills of historical inquiry, using a range of sources to support a reasoned viewpoint.

9/11 and historical perspective

During the dramatic events of 9/11 – September 11, 2001 – members of the extremist Islamic group al-Qaeda hijacked four American domestic aircraft and crashed two of them into the towers of the World Trade Center in New York City. The third hijacked plane was deliberately crashed into the Pentagon, the headquarters of the US military in Washington DC. The fourth aircraft, United Airlines Flight 93, did not reach its target due to the efforts of the passengers, who were able to retake control of the aircraft. It crashed into a field in Pennsylvania, with no survivors.

For many people in the West, the televised images of planes crashing into the World Trade Center towers, and the subsequent devastation, came to redefine how we think about terrorists and terrorism today. Expressions such as '9/11' and 'War on Terror' – the term used by the US Government for the international campaign to fight al-Qaeda and its supporters – have become part of our everyday language and reality.

This relatively recent event offers lessons for our understanding of terrorism, but it also has the capacity to distort. It is fair to say that 9/11 brought terrorism to the forefront of public thinking, especially in the United States and other Western countries. However, 9/11 is just one part of a very long history. When then US President George W. Bush urged the world to join the United States in a War on Terror, he was not the first president to make such a call to action. In 1901, exactly 100 years earlier, US President Theodore Roosevelt called for an international crusade against terrorism following the assassination of his predecessor, President William McKinley. The anti-terrorist crusade of 1901 eventually failed due to a lack of international cooperation. The current War on Terror is facing some of the same challenges.

There is more to terrorism than either 9/11 or the latest terrorist attack mentioned in the media. It can be difficult to look past the most recent dramatic attacks and the personal suffering of the victims; but – while acknowledging these tragedies – as students of history, we need to take a longer-term view.



SOURCE 1 Police respond to a terrorist incident near the Houses of Parliament in London, 22 March 2017.

7.1 Check your learning

- 1 List recent events that have been described as terrorism. Combine the lists of each member of the class. How many events have been mentioned?
- 2 Explain how you believe a study of history can help you understand terrorism.
- 3 Research the incident that occurred in London on 22 March 2017. Do you think this event would qualify as an act of terrorism? Why or why not?
- 4 Discuss the reasons why 9/11 has become such a significant historical date.
- 5 Research an earlier attack on the World Trade Center, which took place in 1993. Create a Venn diagram that compares and contrasts the 1993 and 2001 attacks.
- 6 Research the assassination of William McKinley. Do you think this should be regarded as a terrorist act? Why or why not?



SOURCE 2 New York City on 9/11. Shortly after this photograph was taken, both towers of the World Trade Center collapsed.

7.1 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Examine Source 1, which shows a car that was used as a weapon in a terrorist attack. What difficulties do the use of cars and trucks in terrorist attacks create for security forces?
- 2 Examine Source 2 and explain what it reveals about twenty-first-century terrorism.

7.2

What is terrorism?

■ terrorism

the unofficial or unauthorised use of violence and intimidation in the pursuit of political or religious aims

The words ‘terror’ and ‘terrorism’ are often used without a clear idea of exactly what they mean. Governments, academics and authors offer an assortment of definitions. For the purposes of this chapter, we use the definition of **terrorism** provided in the margin note. You are encouraged to research other definitions, and find the ones that make the most sense to you.

Terrorists can act as individuals or as members of a group. Furthermore, unlike other criminals who commit acts of violence, terrorists do not consider money or personal gain as their primary objective. Their goal is to spread a particular set of political or religious ideas, or to protect political and religious principles that they value. While not all terrorist attacks are necessarily well planned, there is an element of calculation and thought that goes into the decision to resort to terrorism. Terrorists are generally willing to accept that innocent people will die or be injured as a result of their actions. Many terrorists are also willing to sacrifice their own lives in suicide attacks. Terrorists see these deaths and injuries as justified and as part of the struggle.

State-sponsored terror

There is another dimension to the concept of terror; that is when terror – in the form of violence or the threat of violence – is used by a state or government in order to control its own people. Perhaps the best examples of this in Western history are the use of state-sponsored terror in Adolf Hitler’s Germany or Joseph Stalin’s Russia. Both Hitler and Stalin used secret police, torture, imprisonment and brutal punishment to help ensure control of their people. Today, Syrian President Bashar al-Assad’s alleged use of chemical weapons on his own people is an example of terror tactics of a modern-day dictator.



SOURCE 3 A Syrian child receives treatment following a suspected toxic gas attack in Syria’s north-western Idlib province, 2017. The Syrian Government has been accused of carrying out the attacks.

The French Revolution’s ‘Reign of Terror’

The word ‘terror’ came into popular use in the English language around the time of the French Revolution (1789–99); in particular, the period 1793–94. This was during a phase of the revolution known as the ‘Reign of Terror’, when the post-revolutionary French leader Maximilien Robespierre took the view that the revolution had to be protected from potential enemies. To that end, a campaign was launched to seek out and execute those thought to be enemies of the revolution and of the new government.

This campaign gave rise to a series of famous public executions involving the **guillotine**, where victims were beheaded in front of large audiences. British statesman and philosopher Edmund Burke at the time condemned the use of terror and wrote that Robespierre and the Committee of Public Safety (the arm of government in charge) were ‘hell-hounds called terrorists ... let loose on the people’.

Considering the definition given earlier, we can recognise the French Revolution – and its Reign of Terror – as terrorism, because it was planned, calculated and systematic, and aimed at achieving a specific political goal.

■ **guillotine**
a machine for beheading people, consisting of a wooden frame with a heavy blade that slides down when released by the executioner



SOURCE 4 An artist's impression of the last victims of the Reign of Terror being taken to the guillotine in a tumbril (open cart), from 1794

7.2 Check your learning

- 1 Define terrorism in your own words. Do you think the definition of terrorism has changed over time? Explain your answer.
- 2 Select three examples of historical events that could be regarded as terrorism, and explain how they conform to your definition.
- 3 Research the methods either Adolf Hitler or Joseph Stalin used to secure and maintain power, and explain how they can be defined as state-sponsored terrorism.
- 4 Research the career of Maximilien Robespierre and analyse the role he played in establishing what we have come to know as terrorism.

7.2 Understanding and using the sources

The following questions relate to Source 4.

- 1 What is the significance of the origin of this source for a historian?
- 2 How does the fact that this is an artist's impression of the events impact on the validity of the source?
- 3 What steps could you take to establish whether this illustration is reliable as a source of evidence?

7.3

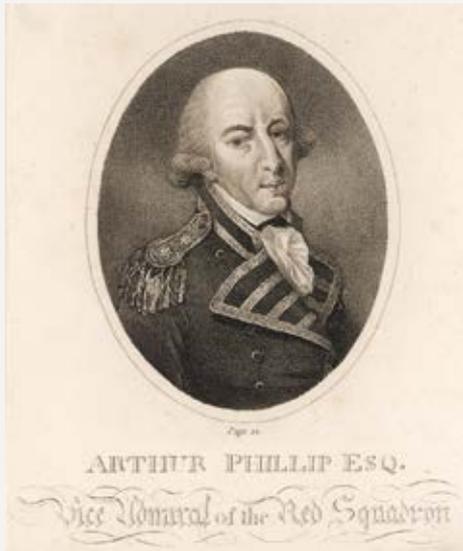
Have they acted as terrorists?

subjective
based on personal
feelings or beliefs

Many in the general population may not have a clear definition of terrorism in their own minds, but they ‘know it when they see it’. Perspectives of what constitutes terrorism can be **subjective** and based simply on emotion. The purpose of this unit is to encourage you to examine the evidence, and think critically to make up your own mind about the types of actions that could be considered as terrorism. We will examine the actions of those listed below:

- > Governor Arthur Phillip
- > Pemulwuy
- > Ned Kelly
- > the Ku Klux Klan.

None of these are typically viewed as ‘terrorists’ and may challenge some of your assumptions as we consider: have they acted as terrorists?



SOURCE 5 Arthur Phillip, commander of the First Fleet. Could he be considered a terrorist?

punitive
intended as
punishment

Governor Arthur Phillip: terror to maintain order

Arthur Phillip, the first Governor of New South Wales, is an icon of Australian history and is generally viewed in positive terms. There are schools, streets and suburbs named in his honour. As a captain of the First Fleet, Phillip was a man of many talents, who faced the demanding job of establishing a settlement far from home. For the most part, the convicts were unwilling settlers, and for the British, Australia was a strange and sometimes hostile land. At the time, the European population of the colony was small and Phillip was uncertain what danger the local Indigenous population posed to the settlers. He therefore decided to make a show of force to intimidate and terrorise the locals. He hoped that this would instil fear, and make the colony and Europeans safe from attacks.

In December 1790, Phillip’s gamekeeper John McIntyre died after he was speared by an Indigenous Australian warrior, almost certainly a man named Pemulwuy (see next page). Phillip responded by ordering a **punitive** expedition: a military action to punish the Indigenous peoples who lived in the area. He ordered his troops to capture two Indigenous Australian men and take the heads of 10 more, seeming to imply that one European life was worth as many as 10 or more Aboriginal lives.

The expedition members were equipped with axes for the purpose of decapitating the enemy, and bags to carry the heads back to the settlement. Two of the officers who were ordered to take part in the expedition objected. Marine officer Watkin Tench argued that the punishment was too harsh, and managed to convince Phillip to settle for six men, either captured or shot. Another officer, William Dawes, felt that Phillip’s orders were not lawful and not just. Dawes opposed the idea that people who had not been part of the attack on McIntyre should be punished.

In the end, Tench led the expedition with 50 marines, including Dawes. The troops marched overland from Sydney Harbour towards Botany Bay in search of Indigenous Australians. They returned to the settlement after a long march and reported that they had only seen five of the locals at a distance on a beach, and had not been able to get close to them.

At this point, the historian can only speculate about what occurred that day, and remember that historical investigations start by asking questions or stating a hypothesis. Did Tench make a real attempt to find some Indigenous Australians and terrorise them as ordered? Or was he ‘going through the motions’ to keep the governor happy? Perhaps the locals were skilful enough to avoid Tench and his men in their bright red coats as they bashed their way through the bush with their heavy equipment?

SOURCE 6

Phillip was in general so humane in his treatment of the Aborigines that it is surprising that Dawes could not agree with him that this particular attack [on McIntyre] was unprovoked and that harsh measures were justified ... He [Dawes] reconciled his conscience to accompanying the party only after discussion with Rev. Richard Johnson, and later incensed Phillip by stating publicly that he ‘was sorry he had been persuaded to comply with the order’.

Phyllis Mander-Jones, ‘William Dawes’,
Australian Dictionary of Biography

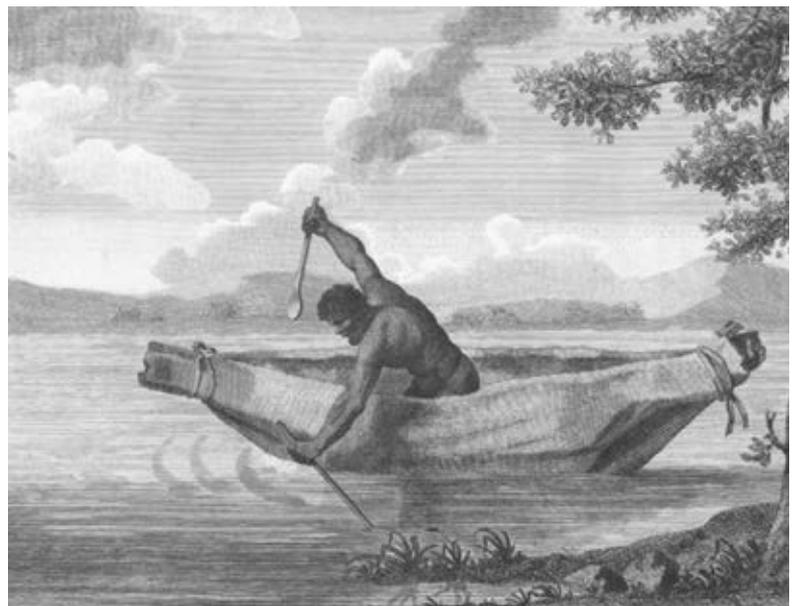
Pemulwuy: terror in defence of home and values

Pemulwuy was a freedom fighter and a leader of the Indigenous Australian resistance to the European invaders. From 1792, Pemulwuy conducted an ongoing, terrorist-style **guerrilla** war against the Europeans for over a decade. David Collins, one of the officers with the First Fleet, described him as a ‘riotous and troublesome savage’. By 1802, however, his attacks against European settlements around Parramatta and the Georges River saw Governor Philip Gidley King describe Pemulwuy in letters as ‘an active and daring leader’.

Pemulwuy resorted to typical terrorist tactics, including assassination, for example in the case of his probable spearing of Governor Phillip’s gamekeeper, McIntyre. He raided isolated homesteads and attacked civilians, successfully avoiding the British military. When special detachments of troops were sent out looking for him, he would disappear into the bush and then appear in a different part of Sydney and raid another settlement.

■ guerrilla

a style of warfare where small groups confront a much larger enemy with surprise attacks and ongoing harassment



SOURCE 7 This engraving by Samuel John Neele (1758–1824) from 1804 is the only known image that possibly represents Pemulwuy.

For Pemulwuy and other members of the communities of the **Eora nation**, the British settlement in 1788 was an invasion of their homeland and they were fighting to protect their way of life. As an example of cultural understanding, Pemulwuy was a warrior by temperament and training, and in his mind the act of invasion justified terrorist tactics. According to the British, however, Pemulwuy was a criminal. They treated him in the same way that modern governments view and treat terrorists. Rewards were offered for his capture or death, and in 1802 Pemulwuy was shot and killed. His head was chopped off and sent to naturalist Sir Joseph Banks in Britain.

Examining the social and political context of Phillip and Pemulwuy

The two Australian examples presented here, Governor Arthur Phillip and Pemulwuy, offer valuable insights for a terrorist case study. Modern academics and terrorism experts talk about a ‘rational’ or ‘political’ analysis of terrorism. This means looking at the social and political context of the person committing a terrorist act, and the situation in which that act takes place. Using a modern analysis like this, we can see that both Phillip and Pemulwuy were rational in their decisions to use terrorism.

Phillip’s actions were an example of a government or a group in power resorting to terror to protect that power and keep what they see as public order. Pemulwuy behaved like a terrorist, using assassination and arson to defend a way of life and a set of values that he thought were under attack. Pemulwuy accepted that the enemy had better weapons and more resources, and that they could not be defeated in a conventional war. He therefore used terrorist tactics as the best means at his disposal.

7.3a Check your learning

- 1 Research Governor Arthur Phillip’s approach to the Indigenous communities around Sydney. To what extent do you think his reaction to the murder of John McIntyre was typical of this approach?
- 2 Outline two different perspectives of Pemulwuy: those of the Eora nation and those of the White settlers. Can these competing viewpoints ever be reconciled in an accepted historical interpretation of Pemulwuy?
- 3 Examine the actions and behaviours of Arthur Phillip, Watkin Tench and William Dawes on one side, and Pemulwuy on the other, outlined above. What were the social and historical circumstances behind the actions and behaviours of each?

7.3a Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Analyse Source 6 carefully. What perspective does it give about Phillip and Dawes? What interpretation do the words ‘it is surprising that Dawes could not agree with him that this particular attack [on McIntyre] was unprovoked’ impose on the reader? Is this a fact or an opinion?
 - 2 Why would there be doubts about whether Source 7 represents Pemulwuy? Discuss how this impacts upon its usefulness and reliability as a historical source.
-

Ned Kelly: bushranger or politically motivated terrorist?

Ned Kelly is one of the most familiar, but least understood, figures of Australian history. Was he a common criminal? Or did he, at times, behave like a revolutionary, using terrorism to fight for what he believed in? All of his actions immediately before his capture in the Victorian town of Glenrowan in 1880 are more typical of a terrorist than a thief and murderer, including an attempt by his gang to derail and ambush a train carrying police reinforcements to Glenrowan.

After three policemen were shot dead by the Kelly gang at Stringybark Creek in October 1878, the Victorian Government declared Kelly, his brother Dan, and fellow gang members Steve Hart and Joe Byrne outlaws. This meant they could be shot on sight by anyone. For nearly two years they evaded capture and fostered an image of rebellion, letting it be known that they were standing up for ordinary Australians against the oppression of **squatters** and government.

The most compelling argument for viewing Kelly as a terrorist can be found in the motivations and actions that were part of his famous ‘last stand’ at Glenrowan in June 1880. Bushrangers regularly stole the best and fastest thoroughbred horses so that they could outrun the police. Why would Kelly do the opposite at Glenrowan, and weigh himself and the members of his gang down in their now famous heavy armour? The most obvious conclusion is that he planned to stand and fight.

At the time of the stand at Glenrowan, people around the state had already come to admire Kelly as a rebel who fought their battle against politicians and wealthy landowners. A year before the incident at Glenrowan, Kelly had dictated his confessional *Jerilderie Letter*, an 8000-word manifesto (public declaration) in which he attempts to justify his bushranging actions and describes his hatred of the police. The letter talks of police corruption and calls for justice for poor Irish families like his own.



SOURCE 8

Ned Kelly, photographed the day before his hanging at Old Melbourne Gaol in 1880. He was 25 years old.



SOURCE 9 This giant statue of Kelly in Glenrowan gives an indication of the heavy armour he wore

■ squatters

in colonial Australian history, a person who occupied land for cattle or sheep grazing, without initially having any legal right to that land; many squatters were extremely wealthy and of high social status

SOURCE 10

... I have spent and will again spend many happy days fearless free and bold as it only aids the police to procure false witnesses to lag [arrest] innocent men I would advise them to subscribe a sum and give it to the poor of their district as no man could steal their horse or cattle without the knowledge of the poor ...

Ned Kelly, *Jerilderie Letter*, February 1879

7.3b Check your learning

- 1 To what extent do you think that Ned Kelly's words and actions represent a terrorist rather than a common outlaw?
- 2 Locate and read the entire *Jerilderie Letter*.
 - a To what extent do you think it provides evidence that Kelly was following a political agenda?
 - b Does this strengthen or weaken the case for arguing that Kelly was a terrorist? Explain your answer.

The Ku Klux Klan: racially motivated terror

The Ku Klux Klan is the name of three extremist movements active during three periods of American history. The first iteration of the KKK or Klan (as they are commonly known) was founded in the 1860s in the American South. Its aim was to promote White supremacy and resistance during the Reconstruction Era (1863–87), the period of rebuilding following the official ending of slavery in the South through President Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 (see Chapter 8). The KKK's focus was on hindering the progression towards equality between Blacks and Whites, and their terror tactics included threats of violence towards – and even assassinations of – Black politicians. These tactics proved successful in intimidating many civil rights leaders at this time, but the first iteration of the KKK didn't last. By the 1870s, the group's actions had caused a political backlash that saw them lose political support. The Civil Rights Act of 1871 was also known as the 'Ku Klux Klan Act', and was designed to stop the group's violence, which frequently included **lynchings**.

lynching

where a group of people kills someone for an alleged offence without a legal trial, often by hanging

morality

principles concerning the distinction between right and wrong or good and bad behaviour

It was during its second iteration, in the 1920s, that the KKK adopted the business-like structure that would see its membership exceed four million American men. The members at this time were primarily attracted to the group's stand to protect American values of **morality** against aspects of society such as divorce, adultery, drinking and criminality. During this period, which lasted until the 1940s, the KKK focused its opposition on Blacks, Jews and the Catholic Church. It was also around this time that the burning cross was introduced as a symbol of intimidation. Although the criminal behaviour of the Klan's leaders and growing political opposition saw membership numbers fall rapidly – to about 30 000 by 1930 – the group still kept its most extreme members, who continued to carry out lynchings of African Americans across Southern states, such as Mississippi and Georgia.



SOURCE 11 Lynching victims in the Southern United States, 1930. This image was the inspiration for the poem 'Bitter Fruit' by Abel Meeropol, which later became the song 'Strange Fruit', famously performed by Billie Holiday.



SOURCE 12 A KKK meeting, complete with symbolic burning cross, held during the group's second iteration in the 1920s



SOURCE 13 Members of the KKK participate in a march on 11 July 2009, in Pulaski, Tennessee

Since the first movement, the KKK has argued that its actions – including bombings, beatings and murders – have been justifiable, as Klan members claim to be representing a White, Christian God and a White, Christian nation that they see as being under threat. In other words, Klan members, like many other terrorists, claim to be defending a traditional way of life.

The current manifestation of the KKK emerged after 1950, in the shape of local, independent groups with various nationalist, **neo-fascist** and **neo-Nazi** agendas. It is estimated that these groups have between 5000 and 8000 members.

7.3c Check your learning

Research the stated aims of the KKK, as well as the history of its actions. Explain whether this group should be regarded as a Christian organisation or a terrorist organisation.

7.3b Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Analyse Sources 11, 12 and 13, and write down your personal reaction to them. Why do images like these present difficulties for historians? Do they provide evidence that the KKK was a terrorist organisation? Explain your answer.
- 2 What do Sources 12 and 13 tell us about continuity and change in the history of the KKK?

■ **neo-fascism, neo-Nazism**
political movements inspired by fascism – more specifically by the Nazi leader Adolf Hitler – with ideals of extreme nationalism, including beliefs in racial purity and anti-immigration, and sometimes using violence to pursue their aims

7.4 The four waves of terrorism

David Rapoport, a professor at the University of California Los Angeles, is a pioneer of terrorism studies. He suggests that modern terrorism can be viewed as a series of phases, or 'waves'. According to Rapoport, there have been four distinctive waves of global terrorism between the 1880s and the present day, each with its own clearly identifiable causes and characteristics, and each lasting about a generation.



SOURCE 14 Helsinki Cathedral looms over a statue of Tsar Alexander II (who was also Grand Duke of Finland).

anarchist
a person who believes in the absolute freedom of the individual and the idea of a society without government or law



SOURCE 15 Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand and Sophie, Duchess of Hohenberg (back row) depart for Sarajevo, where they were assassinated by a member of the Serbian terrorist group, the Black Hand.

The Anarchist Wave: 1880s to early 1900s

The **anarchists** came to prominence in Russia in the 1880s, and the best known of the early anarchist terrorist groups was the People's Will (*Narodnaya Volya*). This group introduced what some scholars have called a 'Golden Age of Assassination'. The Anarchist Wave spread and other groups copied the tactics of the early terrorist groups. The result was that the world saw some of the most famous and influential political assassinations in modern history, including those of Tsar Alexander II in Russia in 1881, US President William McKinley in 1901 (the event that launched the first modern War on Terror), and Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand on 28 July 1914.

The assassination of the Archduke was carried out by a member of the Black Hand, a Serbian terrorist group that followed the example of the early anarchists. This assassination set in motion a dramatic chain of events known as the ‘July Crisis’, which eventually led to the First World War – a key event in changing and shaping the modern world.

The Anarchist Wave was partly inspired by influential Russian political writers, including **Nihilist movement** figure Sergei Nechayev. In 1869 Nechayev published *The Revolutionary Catechism*, which soon became a manual for radicals who wanted to achieve their goals through terror.

SOURCE 16

The revolutionary despises all doctrines and refuses to accept the mundane sciences, leaving them for future generations. He knows only one science: the science of destruction. For this reason, but only for this reason, he will study mechanics, physics, chemistry, and perhaps medicine. But all day and all night he studies the vital science of human beings, their characteristics and circumstances, and all the phenomena of the present social order. The object is perpetually the same: the surest and quickest way of destroying the whole filthy order.

Sergei Nechayev, *The Revolutionary Catechism*, 1869, Point 3

■ **Nihilist movement**
a Russian movement in the 1860s that rejected all authorities, becoming associated with the use of violence to bring about political change

7.4a Understanding and using the sources

Analyse Source 16. Although it was published in 1869, does it still have any relevance for the modern world? Explain your answer.

The Anti-colonial Wave: 1920s to 1960s

One of the most striking consequences of the First and Second World Wars was the decline in the power of European nations and the rise of national **self-determination** and anti-colonial, nationalist movements across Africa, South America, Asia and the Middle East.

One of the key principles of the **Treaty of Versailles** (1919) was the idea of national self-determination – that people who shared a common language and culture had the right to govern themselves. In the period after the First World War, nationalist and anti-colonial movements became increasingly active in various countries, including Ireland, India, Burma, Egypt, Morocco, the Philippines and Nigeria.

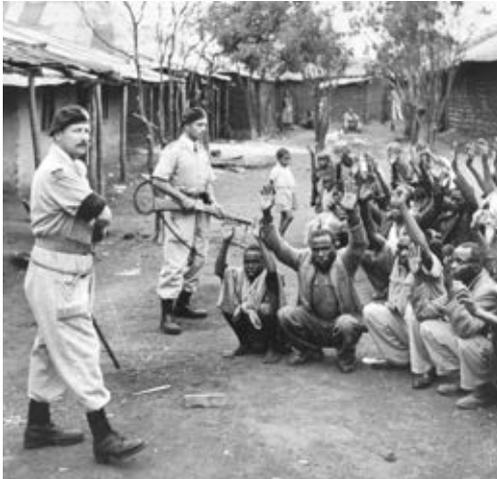
In 1963, Kenya became the last of Britain’s East African colonies to gain independence. But, as with many colonies, independence did not come without bloodshed. Prior to Kenyan independence, a group known as the Mau Mau staged a military uprising against the British Army that lasted for eight years.

Throughout the conflict, the Mau Mau employed what would be regarded as terror tactics typical of Rapoport’s Anti-colonial Wave. These tactics saw terrorists moving away from the assassinations that were such a feature of the Anarchist Wave. Instead, a type of guerrilla warfare using ‘hit and run’ tactics – including bombings and sabotage – became more common. These attacks created the pressure that would ultimately lead to Kenyan independence.

The gradual weakening in the economic and military power of European nations and the decline of the old nineteenth-century empires saw the Anti-colonial Wave fade, as more and more nationalist movements across Africa and Asia achieved their goal of independence.

■ **self-determination**
the right of a people or nation to form their own government

■ **Treaty of Versailles**
the peace treaty that officially ended the First World War



SOURCE 17 Members of the British Devonshire Regiment search a Kenyan village for Mau Mau terrorists in 1954.

7.4b Understanding and using the sources

Examine Source 17. To what extent does it help to explain why the native populations of colonies felt they had to resort to violence to achieve their aims?

The New Left Wave: 1960s to 1990s

Part of the motivation behind the third wave of terrorism – the New Left Wave – was the Vietnam War. The success of the **Viet Cong** in defying the might of the United States appeared to encourage other groups, especially in the **Developing World**. These groups were typically enthused by left wing, communist and socialist ideas. Examples include the Tupamaros of Uruguay and the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement in Peru. This wave also included some notable left wing, anti-**capitalist** radicals in the West.

■ **Viet Cong**
the communist guerrilla movement in Vietnam that fought against South Vietnam and US forces in the Vietnam War

■ **Developing World**
the countries of Africa, Asia and South America that are less economically and technologically advanced; also known as 'Third World'

■ **capitalism**
an economic system in which businesses and industry are run for profit by private owners, rather than run by the government

United States

One of the most influential and militant of the American New Left groups was the Weather Underground Organization. This group started in Ann Arbor, on the campus of the University of Michigan in 1969 – a time when the Vietnam War had divided the United States. It took its name from Bob Dylan's 1965 song 'Subterranean Homesick Blues', which included the line: 'You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows.' The Weather Underground Organization grew out of the Students for a

Democratic Society activist group, and its key positions were militant support for Black Power as part of the civil rights struggle, as well as opposition to the Vietnam War. Its goal was to overthrow the US Government and its tactics included a campaign of targeted bombings in the 1970s. These bombings were mostly aimed at government buildings, including the United States Capitol in 1971 and the Pentagon in 1972.



SOURCE 18 A protest by the Weather Underground Organization

Another prominent New Left group at this time was the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA), which was active in California between 1973 and 1975. Inspired by the New Left ideology of overturning what it saw as a corrupt capitalist system based on inequality, the SLA conducted bank robberies and orchestrated two murders.

The SLA's most successful public act was the kidnapping in February 1974 of Patty Hearst, the 19-year-old granddaughter of American publishing magnate William Randolph Hearst. Hearst spent over 18 months with the SLA, and even participated in a bank robbery with group members. Once caught, she served 21 months of a seven-year sentence for her role in the bank robbery, before her sentence was commuted by President Jimmy Carter. She was finally pardoned by President Bill Clinton, as it was accepted that she had been tortured and drugged during her time as a prisoner, and was suffering from **Stockholm syndrome**.

Europe

In Europe, the West German Red Army Faction (RAF, often referred to as the Baader-Meinhof Group), the Italian Red Brigades and the French Action Directe were representative of the New Left Wave of the 1970s. All of these groups received support and training from the Soviet Union and other communist groups around the world. When the Vietnam War ended in 1975, many of the New Left groups took the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as their inspiration and model, because of that group's willingness to confront major powers. Aside from bombings, the activities of the New Left Wave groups featured kidnapping and aircraft hijacking as their preferred tactics of terror.

Despite its often violent methods, the RAF's image as an anti-American group fighting an anti-imperial struggle on the side of the world's oppressed saw it gain considerable support from young people in West Germany. By the mid-1970s, however, the majority of its members had been arrested, including founders Andreas Baade and Ulrike Meinhof, who both committed suicide in prison. In 1998, the remaining members of the RAF declared that their 'urban guerrilla project' was over. There was a postscript to the group's story in 2016, when three members were suspected of having come out of hiding to commit robberies and hold-ups of security vans and supermarkets in Germany.

The third wave began to decline in the 1980s, in part as a result of decisive anti-terrorist action in a number of countries, but also due to work by the United Nations that saw countries from around the world come together to fight terrorist groups.

The Religious Wave: 1990s to present day

According to Rapoport, the world is currently living through what he calls the Religious Wave of terrorism. This describes a phase where support for – or opposition to – religious beliefs is linked to other aims, such as political aims, in an attempt to bring about change. Many religions have been implicated in terrorist acts where religious and political aims have often become blurred. Protestants and Catholics have resorted to murder and intimidation in Ireland (see Source 20). In India, Sikhs have carried out attacks in the fight for a homeland in the Punjab. In the Middle East, both Muslims and Jews have resorted to terror; in 1994, an American-Israeli activist murdered 29 Muslim worshippers in the Cave of the Patriarchs massacre in Hebron, **West Bank** (see Source 22), while Palestinians have carried out attacks against Jewish settlements since the early 1990s.



SOURCE 19 Patty Hearst participating in a bank robbery with the SLA, April 1974

■ **Stockholm syndrome**
feelings of trust and affection that some kidnapping or hostage victims develop toward their captors as a way of coping with their traumatic situation

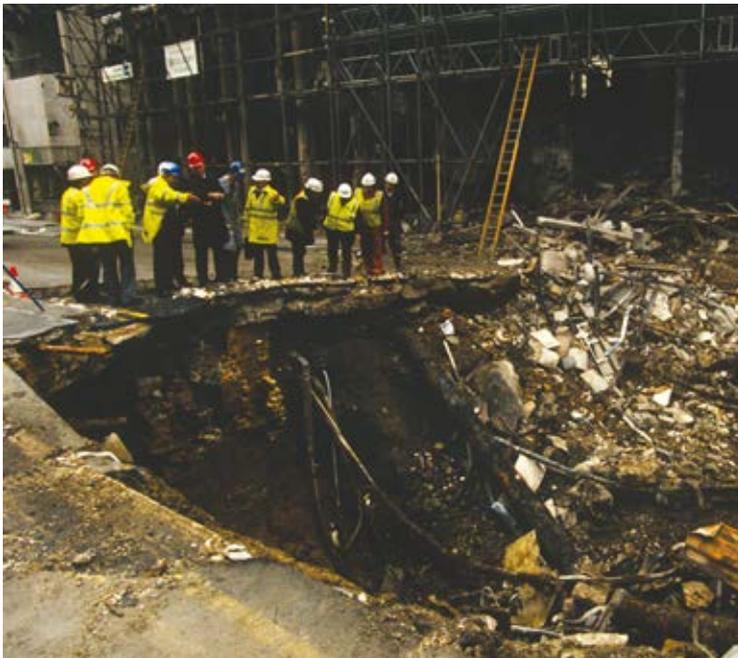
■ **West Bank**
a contested area of land on the west side of the Jordan River; it is currently controlled by Israel, which seized it from Jordan in 1967

Nonetheless the dramatic impact of 9/11 (see Section 7.1) and the surge in terrorist attacks carried out by supporters of the so-called Islamic State – notably in European capitals such as London, Paris, Brussels and Berlin – has meant that Islamic terrorism has received the vast majority of media attention in the West in the past decade.

The future of terrorism

Throughout history, the drama and sensations surrounding terrorist attacks have often caused people to get caught in the moment, focusing on the individual circumstances of an attack while losing sight of the broader patterns evident in modern terrorism. As historians, we have to take a more considered approach if we are to understand the role that terrorism has played in shaping our history and the way it is likely to affect us in the future.

Lessons that emerge from looking back at the four waves of terrorism include:



SOURCE 20 The destruction caused by a truck bomb planted by the Provisional IRA (Irish Republican Army) in Bishopsgate, London, on 24 April 1993. The attack killed one person and injured 44.

- > Terrorism is not new, nor is it simply the result of the actions of a few psychologically disturbed individuals.
- > Terrorism is inseparable from the political process and the pursuit of power. In other words, revolutionaries have repeatedly used terror to gain power and governments have repeatedly used it to retain power.
- > All of those who have used terror as a tactic throughout history have believed that the ends justified the means.
- > It is likely that terrorist tactics will become even more dangerous. In the 1880s, the most destructive weapons available to terrorists were explosives (following the invention of dynamite). Since then, new and deadly weapons have been developed, including those related to chemical and biological warfare. Ultimately, who can say that a nuclear device will never become available to a terrorist?

7.4 Check your learning

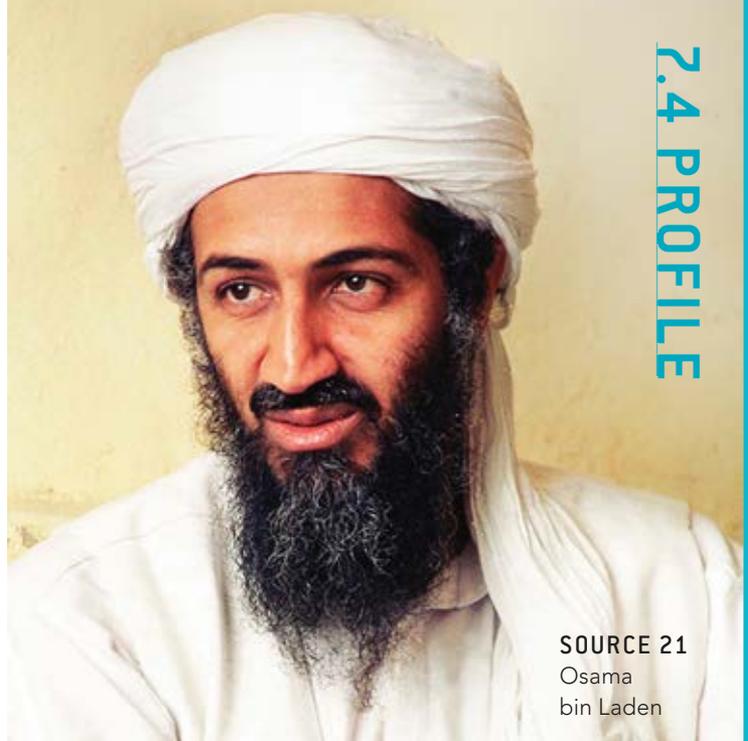
- 1 Use a graphic organiser, such as a mind map or timeline, to summarise the four waves of modern terrorism according to Professor David Rapoport, including an example of an event during each wave.
 - 2 Research one example of an assassination from the Anarchist Wave. What did it achieve?
 - 3 Research one example of a movement from the Anti-colonial Wave that used terror to try and achieve its aims. How effective was the use of terror?
 - 4 Research one example of terrorism by a Christian group and one by an Islamic group. Create a Venn diagram that allows you to compare and contrast the groups' objectives and methods.
 - 5 How would you support or challenge the assertion that terrorism has been the most successful method of promoting political and social change since the 1880s?
-

OSAMA BIN LADEN

Osama bin Laden was born into a wealthy family in Saudi Arabia in 1957 or 1958. The family had made their money in the construction business and had close relationships with powerful leaders around the region. At university, bin Laden came under the influence of the Palestinian-born scholar Abdullah Azzam, who **propagated** the idea of a Pan-Islamist state; that is, a single state governed by the rules of the Islamic faith. Azzam has often been called the 'father of global Islamic terrorism'.

The fundamentalist Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979 and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1980 helped to advance the idea of violent struggle and war against the West for Azzam and his followers, including bin Laden. It was Azzam who convinced bin Laden to travel to Afghanistan and finance the training of the **Mujahideen**, who were fighting against the Soviets. By 1988, bin Laden had formed al-Qaeda, with support from the United States (which provided money and weapons) and Pakistan (which provided training). The group quickly became known as one of the world's foremost terror groups.

Bin Laden spent time establishing terrorist training camps in Sudan before returning to Afghanistan in 1996. This was the year he declared war against America, accusing the United States of trying to colonise the Middle East by supporting Israeli interests over Arab ones. The 9/11 attacks on the United States (see Section 7.1) were the culmination of a series of escalating al-Qaeda terrorist acts. Ultimately, al-Qaeda's success in instilling fear in the United States led then President George W. Bush to declare a global War on Terror. At this point, bin Laden became the world's most wanted terrorist.



SOURCE 21
Osama
bin Laden

Bin Laden died in Abbottabad, Pakistan, on 2 May 2011, after being located and assassinated by US military. In addition to his reputation as one of the world's most prolific terrorists, he left behind the legacy of another terror group, ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria), which was founded as an offshoot of al-Qaeda in Iraq in 2004.

Bin Laden's death reveals many of the difficulties historians face trying to construct historical understanding from recent events. The Obama administration provided one narrative of events, but journalists produced articles that questioned elements such as whether the Pakistani military knew about the American raid in advance, and how the US actually discovered bin Laden's location. The competing versions of bin Laden's death serve to remind us that journalism is not history, but does become sources for later historical understanding.

■ **propagate**
to spread
or promote
ideas widely

■ **Mujahideen**
guerrilla fighters
in Islamic
countries
fighting
against non-
Muslim forces

7.4 PROFILE TASKS

- 1 Research the life of Osama bin Laden and create a timeline highlighting the key events that led to him becoming the world's most wanted man.
- 2 Create two obituaries for bin Laden – one written from a Western perspective, and one from the perspective of an al-Qaeda supporter.

The causes of terrorism are complex and have reflected changes as the modern world emerged from an era of colonisation. As this chapter has shown, terrorism has been part of world politics throughout modern history. Historians are now engaged in a serious study of the phenomenon of terrorism in an attempt to not only understand it, but also to explain its causes and consequences. It is a topic that covers a range of interpretations and perspectives, and requires reliance on evidence if genuine historical understanding is to be achieved.

Terrorism is a constant topic for both the media and politicians in the contemporary world and if Professor David Rapoport's 'waves of terrorism' model is accepted, we are currently living through the Religious Wave. This leads to a range of highly contested viewpoints on causes and effects, and as a history student it is important that you always demand evidence and reliability – in regard to both yourself and your sources – and carefully assess your sources of information for bias.



SOURCE 22 Palestinians evacuate an injured victim after the Cave of the Patriarchs massacre in Hebron, West Bank, 25 February 1994.



FOR THE TEACHER

Check your [obook](#) [assess](#) for the following additional resources for this chapter:

Answers

Answers to each *Check your learning*, *Understanding and using the sources* and *Profile* task in this chapter

Teacher notes

Useful notes and advice for teaching this chapter, including syllabus connections and relevant weblinks

Class test

Comprehensive test to review students' skills and knowledge

assess quiz

Interactive auto-correcting multiple-choice quiz to test student comprehension

8

The American Civil War

KEY CONCEPTS AND SKILLS

Analysis and use of sources

The American Civil War was the first war where photographs emerged as historical sources, enabling a visual record of the war. However, photography was in its infancy and struggled to record movement. Therefore it is vital that you investigate whether any photographs you are interpreting have been posed.

Historical interpretation

A civil war – that is, a war between differing factions in the same country – can be particularly brutal. Such a war can split families, and many people will have a strong emotional investment in the war and its outcome. Therefore it is important that you consider the origin of any sources you use, and that you are aware of potential bias in sources.

Historical investigation and research

Any investigation into the Civil War will require you to research competing views so that you can arrive at a balanced and valid conclusion.

Explanation and communication

As this is the first war where photographs can be part of the evidence you use to support an investigation, it is important that you reflect on how this may impact on the format you choose for your presentations. It is also important to realise that some images from the Civil War are quite graphic, so the appropriate and respectful use of these images becomes an important consideration.

LEARNING GOALS

- > Understand the nature of the differences between the North and the South.
- > Discuss the effects of slavery on the South and the rights of slaves.
- > Outline the key battles of the war and reasons for Union victory.
- > Understand the legacy of the Civil War in US history.

A soldier holding up the torn flag of the 8th Pennsylvania Reserve Colour Guard during the American Civil War

FOCUS QUESTIONS

- 1 What were the main causes of the American Civil War?
- 2 What were the reasons for Union victory?
- 3 What is the legacy of the Civil War?

8.1 Introduction

■ **factions**
interest groups or politically based groups competing for power within an organisation or country

■ **Union**
the states that stayed loyal to the United States and fought to retain a united single country

■ **Confederates/ Confederacy/ Confederate States of America (CSA)**
the states that joined together to secede from (leave) the United States

In this chapter you will investigate the causes and consequences of the American Civil War, one of the most critical episodes in the history of the United States of America. The Civil War was fought between two **factions**: the **Union** in the North (the Yankees) and the **Confederates** in the South (the Southerners), who sought to leave the Union and establish a separate country.

The Civil War almost destroyed the United States – if the South had won, there would be two countries occupying the area that is now the United States. It was also the bloodiest war in American history. During the Civil War years (1861–65), more than 600 000 Americans died. More Americans were killed in the Civil War than in the First World War (115 000) and the Second World War (318 000) combined. The leadership of the North, provided by the Republican President Abraham Lincoln, was one of the key reasons for the survival of the Union.

The Civil War remains the most widely studied and discussed historical issue in the United States. Books, films, television programs and re-enactments about the war remain popular, and for academic historians, this period redefined the American nation.

8.1a Check your learning

Refer to Chapter 5 ('The Representation and Commemoration of the Past: Film, Television and History') to better understand the power of memory and the influence of films in the study of history. View one of the film and television programs dealing with aspects of the Civil War, such as Ken Burns' mini-series *The Civil War* (1990) or the films *Gettysburg* (1993) or *Glory* (1989). Explain whether you think such representations of the Civil War are valid as sources of historical information. Discuss how a historian could use them.



SOURCE 1 Civil War enthusiasts taking part in a re-enactment of the Battle of Gettysburg on its 150th anniversary, 28 June 2013

The economic and social differences between North and South

The Northern states and the Southern states were not alike. The North was more industrialised and urbanised. In contrast, the South had fewer large cities and its economy depended more on agriculture. In 1860, about 80 per cent of the labour force in the South was involved in agriculture, compared with 40 per cent in the North.

The North favoured high **tariffs**, while the South wanted lower tariffs. Tariffs on manufactured goods imported from other countries meant that the South had to pay more for such goods; but tariffs did not affect the North, as it produced these goods itself. It was often cheaper for the South to pay a tariff on imported goods than to ship products from the North.

The South did not like the fact that most of the big banks were in the North; if Southerners needed to borrow money, they generally needed to do so from Northern banks, and so many felt controlled by the North. The North received more migrants from Europe – people with new ideas and dreams of a new way of life. Southerners were more conservative and preferred the old, **agrarian** ways. They feared that the more populous North, growing rich on trade and industry, would threaten their independence and their way of life.

The way of life for the White population in the South, and in particular for Southern landowners, depended on slavery. The issue of slavery, along with that of **states' rights** (see Section 8.3), was central to the causes of the Civil War.

After decades of increasing tensions and compromises between the **Federal Government** and the Southern states, the state of South Carolina **seceded** from the Union in December 1860. Other Southern states seceded in the following months, and war between the Union and the Confederates began in April 1861. Less than a century after the formation of the United States in 1776, it had started to split into two countries.

■ **tariff**
a tax put on imported goods to make them more expensive, so that people would buy US-made goods instead

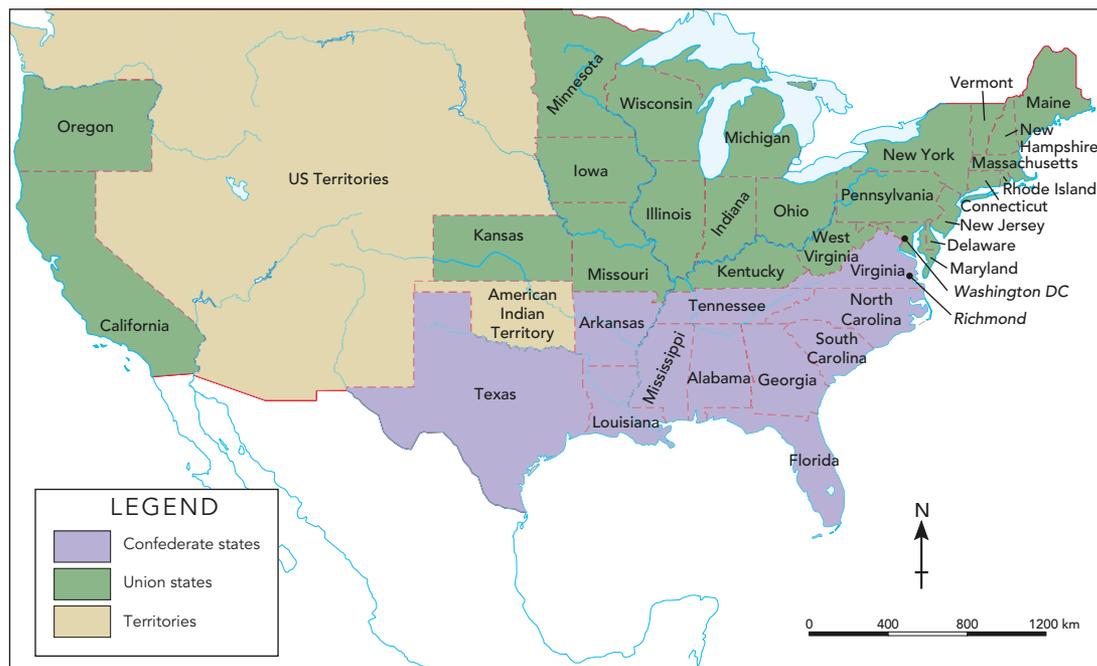
■ **agrarian**
related to the use of land for farming

■ **states' rights**
the rights that individual states believed they still held, despite the existence of a Federal Government

■ **Federal Government**
the central (national) government of the United States, formed in 1789, after the individual states federated to become a single country

■ **secede**
to leave or separate from the Union

UNION STATES AND CONFEDERATE STATES, 1863



SOURCE 2 This map shows the Union states and the Confederate states in 1863. Note that 'territories' refer to areas that had not gained a large enough population to become states.

Key events of the Civil War

1820

The Missouri Compromise: The pro-slave territory of Missouri applies to join the Union as a state in 1819. Until this time, pro-slavery and anti-slavery states had joined the Union in pairs to keep the balance in the US Senate. Missouri spoils the balance. The dispute is settled by letting the Northern 'free' state of Maine into the Union at the same time. The Missouri Compromise does not solve the problem; it simply postpones it for forty years.

1831



The Nat Turner slave rebellion in Virginia: Turner (an enslaved African American) and a group of followers kill 60 Whites. After the rebellion is put down, Turner and a hundred others are executed. The state government in Virginia starts to talk about abolishing slavery.

An engraving depicting the 'horrid massacre in Virginia' during the Nat Turner rebellion

1832

South Carolina defies the Federal Government over a national tariff law citing states' rights. President Andrew Jackson threatens to use the army to force South Carolina to accept the law, and the state backs down. This illustrates the views held by Southern states about their rights in relation to the Federal Government.

1846

The United States goes to war with Mexico and gains land in the south-west.

1850

The compromise of 1850: Land taken from Mexico creates new problems – should people in the new land be allowed to have slaves? The result is another compromise. California joins the Union as a 'free state', while the rest become territories and decide for themselves whether they will allow slavery. Again, the problem is put off until another time.

1852

Harriet Beecher Stowe writes the novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, attacking slavery. It has great influence in the North and causes resentment in the South.

A poster for *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 1859



1854

The Kansas–Nebraska Act: As people move west, arguments increase about whether slavery should go with them. The new territories of Kansas and Nebraska attract a great deal of attention. Stephen Douglas, a Northern Democrat who wants to be president, argues that the new territories should make the decision for themselves. This is called 'popular sovereignty'. Pro- and anti-slavery groups flood the new territories with their supporters and this leads to violence.

The Republican Party is formed. The Republicans are outraged by the Kansas–Nebraska Act and oppose the idea of extending slavery any further. Abraham Lincoln becomes one of the early leaders of the new party.

1857

The Dred Scott case: This case, heard by the US Supreme Court, holds that slaves are always the property of their masters, even if they are taken into 'free states' or territories. This decision is greeted with approval in the South, but with increased calls from the North to make slavery illegal.

1859

John Brown's Raid: Brown, an anti-slavery campaigner, raids the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, to steal guns and start a slave rebellion. The Union army stops him and Brown is hanged.



John Brown (played by Sterling Hayden) on the gallows in the 1982 mini-series *The Blue and the Gray*

1860

The Democratic Party splits over slavery into Northern and Southern Democrats. This ensures the election of Abraham Lincoln, the Republican candidate, to the sixteenth presidency of the United States. When Lincoln is elected, South Carolina becomes the first of the Southern states to leave the Union.

1861

The South forms the Confederate States of America (also known as the CSA or the Confederacy) and leaves the Union.

Jefferson Davis becomes President of the Confederacy.

The Confederates fire upon Fort Sumter, the Union fort in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina, and the Civil War begins.

The Battle of Bull Run is the first battle of the Civil War and the South wins. The North realises it will be a long war.



Slaves working on the fortifications of Savannah, Georgia, during the Civil War, 1863

1862

Robert E. Lee is given command of the army of Northern Virginia.

The Battle of Antietam, repelling an invasion of the North by Lee, is called a Union victory, but at a great cost of lives.

At the Battle of Fredericksburg, the Union attacks at the strongest point of the Southern line, suffers heavy losses and is forced to withdraw.

1863

Lincoln announces the Emancipation Proclamation, which frees all slaves.

The Battle of Gettysburg is perhaps the last real chance of success that the South has in the war. Gettysburg is a Union victory.

1864

Lincoln appoints Ulysses Grant as general-in-chief of the Union Army.

Lincoln is re-elected President.

1865

The Civil War ends.

Lincoln is assassinated. Vice-President Andrew Johnson becomes President.

The 13th Amendment to the US Constitution makes the abolition of slavery official.

1868

Ulysses Grant, the most successful Union general of the war, is elected as the eighteenth President of the United States.

The Confederate cemetery, Vicksburg, Mississippi



8.1b Check your learning

Research two sources that provide evidence about the economic and social differences between the North and the South around the mid-nineteenth century. Evaluate the reliability and usefulness of each source in explaining why the Civil War occurred.

8.2

Slavery and human rights

Declaration of Independence

the official document in which the United States declared its independence from Great Britain

plantations

large farms where slave labour was used to produce crops such as cotton, tobacco and sugar

peculiar institution

the term used by Southerners for the system of slavery

The noble statement made by Thomas Jefferson in the **Declaration of Independence** about all people being equal was contradicted by the fact that slavery was legal in the United States. Many American politicians struggled with this contradiction – that their society was meant to be free and fair, but at the same time it allowed slavery.

The first Black slaves arrived in the United States around 1619. Slavery expanded as the **plantation** economy of the South developed. An estimated three million slaves were brought into the United States between 1619 and 1865 to provide cheap labour for the tobacco, sugar cane and cotton plantations. As the number of slaves grew into millions in the South, laws were adjusted to control slavery. By 1740 slaves had become ‘chattels’; that is, they were regarded as property that could be bought, sold and used as the owner pleased. The changes to the law produced what has been called the ‘**peculiar institution**’ of slavery in the Southern states.

Cotton production was the main reason why slavery flourished in the Southern states. A huge demand for raw cotton to feed the textile mills in Great Britain made cotton growing very profitable, and by the 1830s cotton was the most important crop in the Southern economy. Cotton farming was extremely labour intensive, and Southern planters came to rely on slave labour. The Yankees in the North had less need for slaves in their industries and farms, and slavery may have declined gradually in the South, as it had in the North, had it not been for cotton. This fundamental difference was one of the key causes of the American Civil War.

SOURCE 4 A

slave family in a cotton field near Savannah, Georgia, 1860s



The effects of slavery on the South

Not everyone in the South owned slaves. Out of eight million Whites, about 380 000 owned slaves in 1860. Nevertheless, the class of rich landowners with slaves, known as **planters**, controlled the South. Slavery might have helped the Southern economy in the short term, but some historians argued that it discouraged the development of new industry and new ideas.

Slavery was seen by many Southerners as the means to keep all Whites more or less equal. Without slavery, they argued, Whites would have to perform menial jobs; with slavery, the Blacks performed such tasks, keeping the Whites in a class above. Southerners were critical of developments in the North, where Whites did manual work in harsh conditions in factories, claiming this created inequality among Whites and was, therefore, contrary to American ideals.

Life for slaves

In the 1800s, slaves suffered the following conditions:

- > They were regarded as ‘chattels’.
- > They could be separated from their families and sold to different ‘masters’.
- > The Whites tried to eliminate memories of their past and culture.
- > By law, slaves could not own property, leave their master’s land without permission, be out after dark, join groups of other slaves (except on work gangs or in church), carry guns, ever hit a White person (even in self-defence), or learn to read or write.
- > Whites could kill slaves without penalty.

There were, however, differences in how slaves were treated, depending on their age, gender, skills, location and luck. Some masters could be kind and thoughtful; others could be extremely cruel.

Occasionally, slaves did gain their freedom. Some managed to get extra work and save money to ‘buy themselves’ from their owners. Some slaves were set free in thanks when their owner died. For the most part, however, slaves gained their freedom by running away. Free Blacks and ex-slaves played an important part in the Civil War; for example, they made up 10 per cent of the Union Army. One of the most famous Black units was the 54th Massachusetts Infantry that was featured in the 1989 film *Glory*.

Slave-owners claimed ‘their Blacks’ were ‘happy’; however, this was not supported by the facts that slaves saw Abraham Lincoln as a hero, and that Whites were always on the alert for slave revolts or runaway slaves.

■ **planter**
a landowner in the South owning 20 or more slaves



8.2 Check your learning

- 1 When did the first slaves arrive in the United States?
- 2 Why did slavery become important to the South?
- 3 To what does the phrase the ‘peculiar institution’ refer?
- 4 How many slaves were brought into the United States between 1619 and 1865?
- 5 How many Southern Whites owned slaves?
- 6 How was slavery meant to avoid inequality among Whites?

8.2 Understanding and using the sources

What insight does Source 4 give you into the condition and lifestyle of slaves in the South?

8.3

The causes of the Civil War

The debate among historians and writers about the causes of the Civil War has been going on for a long time. There is, however, general agreement about some of the causes:

- > the different views of politicians in the North and South about states' rights under the **US Constitution**
- > the fear in Southern states that slavery would be abolished by the government
- > the westward expansion of US settlement; as more territories became states, this created increasing tensions about the balance of states for and against slavery
- > the catalyst, finally, was the election of Abraham Lincoln as president in the 1860 election.

■ **constitution**
a set of rules by which a country is governed

The South and states' rights

The differences between North and South, and the fear in Southern states that a powerful North threatened their independence and way of life, became evident in the differing views of each about the powers of the Federal Government. The Northern view was that the Federal Government was dominant and its authority was greater than that of the states. In the South, there was a strong belief in 'states' rights': the idea that the rights of individual states were more important than the Federal Government. Southern politicians argued that if they disapproved of the Federal Government, they could leave the Union, because the states had joined the Union of their own free will and were therefore entitled to leave whenever they wanted.

States' rights crisis in 1832

A clash between the state of South Carolina and the Federal Government about states' rights erupted in 1832. The president at the time was Andrew Jackson, who believed that the interests of the people were best served by a strong Federal Government. Jackson made this clear during a dispute over a new tariff law.

South Carolina was against the new law; it did not have manufacturing industries and wanted to buy goods more cheaply from Great Britain. South Carolina claimed that the law favoured the Yankee Northern states, where most of America's industries were located, but disadvantaged the Southern states. Political leaders in South Carolina argued that any federal laws that were not in their interests could be declared void or nullified by the state. South Carolina accepted the tariffs only after President Jackson authorised the use of armed forces against it if the tariff law was not enforced.

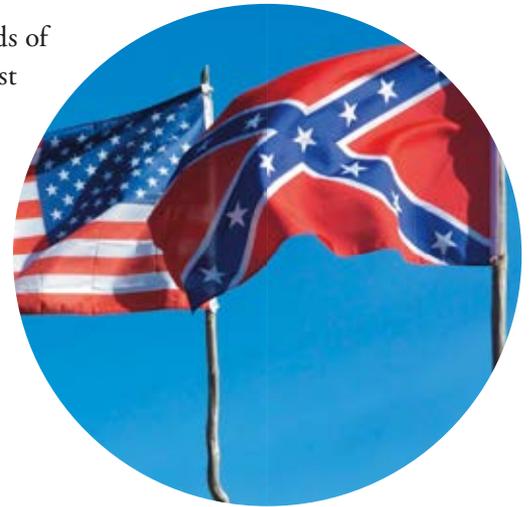
Slavery and the growth of the abolitionist movement

The argument about the significance of slavery as a cause of the Civil War has been ongoing since the 1860s. At times, historians have believed that slavery was the only real cause of the war, while at other times, they have felt it wasn't really that important. In fact, slavery was a vital cause as it became the symbol of the differences between North and South.

The **abolitionist movement** had gained strength in the North during the 1830s. In the 1850s, the issue resulted in a split within the Democratic party into Northern and Southern Democrats and the emergence of a new political party, the Republicans. Clearly, the issue of slavery had a great deal of influence on events.

The South believed that slaves were needed to work their plantations. To Southerners, slavery was part of their way of life – it had existed for hundreds of years and it was legal. When people in the North started to speak out against slavery and demand that it be made illegal, Southerners saw this as another example of the North trying to tell them what to do.

The continuing tension between North and South was stirred up by events such as John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry, Virginia, in 1859. Brown was a radical Northerner who believed that slavery was against the will of God. He staged an unsuccessful raid of the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, with the aim of stealing guns to arm the slaves for a massive slave revolt.



■ **abolitionist movement**
the campaign to end slavery in the United States

Westward expansion

When the United States was formed, it was made up of only 13 states, all on the east coast. The men who wrote the Constitution hoped that the problems of slavery would just go away with time, but as the United States grew, westward expansion kept the nation's attention on slavery. People in the North did not want slavery to expand, while people in the South felt that since slavery was legal, they should be able to have slaves wherever they wanted and wherever they went. As the **frontier** moved west, there were arguments about whether slaves should be allowed in the new territories.

The problem was that the newly opened territories would eventually become states. Under the Constitution, each state had two senators. The Senate was the most important law-making and decision-making body in America. If the anti-slavery groups from the North acquired more senators, they could pass laws to make slavery illegal. If the pro-slavery South acquired more senators, they could maintain the status quo. Neither side wanted the other to gain the advantage. The result was a series of compromises that kept the balance between 'slave states' and 'free states', and therefore a balance between 'slave senators' and 'free senators'.

First came the Missouri Compromise of 1820, when Missouri wanted to be let into the Union. Missouri would have been a 'slave state', giving the South two extra senators. The problem was solved by allowing Maine to enter the Union at the same time. Maine was a 'free state' in the far North. This compromise lasted until 1850, when another set of compromises was needed over the land that had just been won from Mexico. These held until Kansas and Nebraska wanted to join the Union and yet another compromise, the Kansas–Nebraska Act, was passed in 1854.

■ **frontier**
the outer limit of settled land

■ **'slave state'**
a state that allowed slave labour

Lincoln's election and the start of the Civil War

The Republican candidate for the presidency in 1860 was Abraham Lincoln. His main opposition, the Democratic Party, had become so badly divided over slavery that they put up two candidates, one from the North (Stephen Douglas) and one from the South (John Breckinridge). Lincoln won the election with strong support from the North, even though he was hated in the South, where people feared that he would ban slavery.



SOURCE 5 The Lincoln Memorial, Washington DC

The new president made it as clear as he could that he would not force the South to give up slavery, but the Southerners were in no mood to listen. As soon as Lincoln was elected, Southern states began to leave the Union. The first state to leave the Union was South Carolina, quickly followed by Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas. They became the Confederate States of America on 4 February 1861, with Jefferson Davis of Mississippi as their president.

Lincoln took the view that although slavery was legal, breaking away from the Union was illegal and constituted a rebellion. He publicly stated that he would not abolish slavery, but would fight to keep the Union together; in other words, it was a matter of national unity.

When Southern forces, also known as rebels or Confederates, fired on the Union's Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina, the Civil War began. At this point, four more states – Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee and North Carolina – also broke away from the Union to join the Confederate states, bringing the total to 11.

SOURCE 6

Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican Administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension ...

... I declare that – I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.

... In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect, and defend it.'

Excerpts from President Lincoln's inauguration speech, 4 March 1861

SOURCE 7

[From the date of the adoption of the Constitution to 1860] the productions of the South in cotton, rice, sugar, and tobacco, for the full development and continuance of which the labor of African slaves was and is indispensable, had swollen to an amount which formed nearly three-fourths of the exports of the whole United States and had become absolutely necessary to the wants of civilized man. With interests of such overwhelming magnitude imperiled, the people of the Southern States were driven by the conduct of the North to the adoption of some course of action to avert the danger with which they were openly menaced.

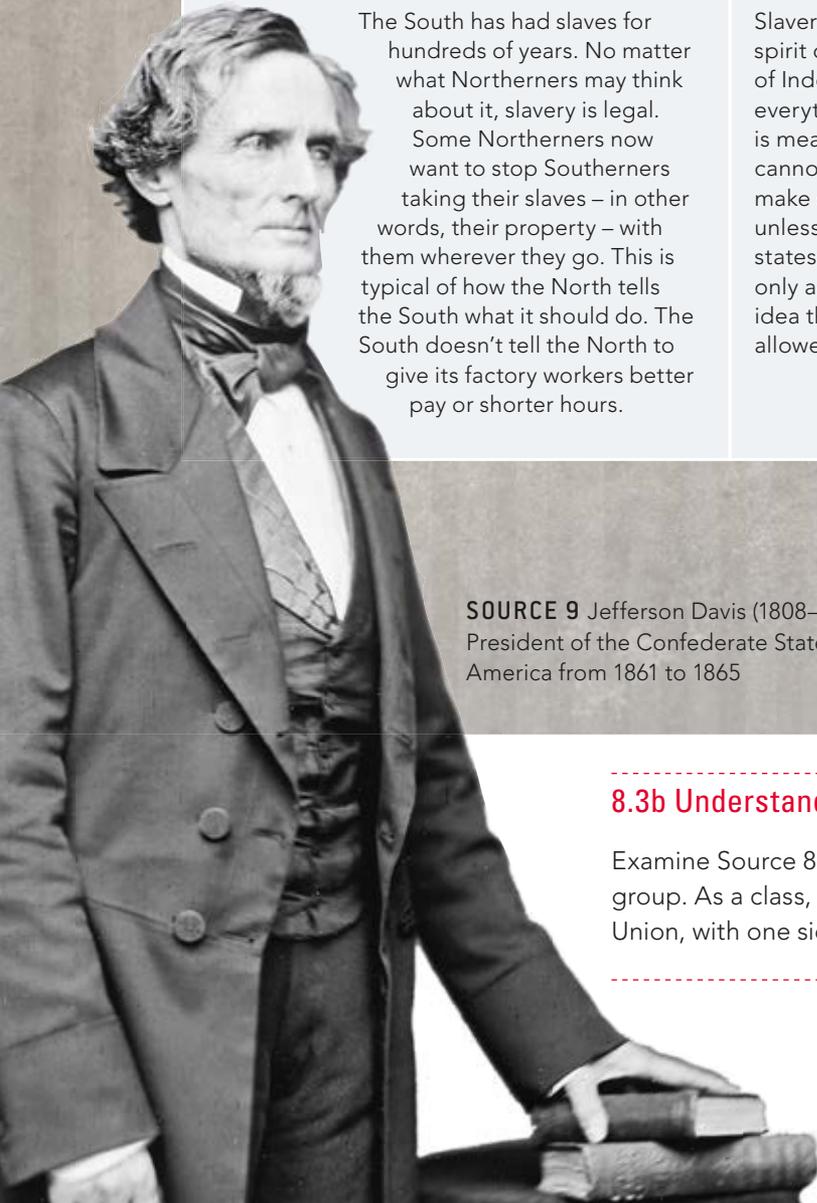
Excerpt from Jefferson Davis' address to the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 29 April 1861

8.3a Understanding and using the sources

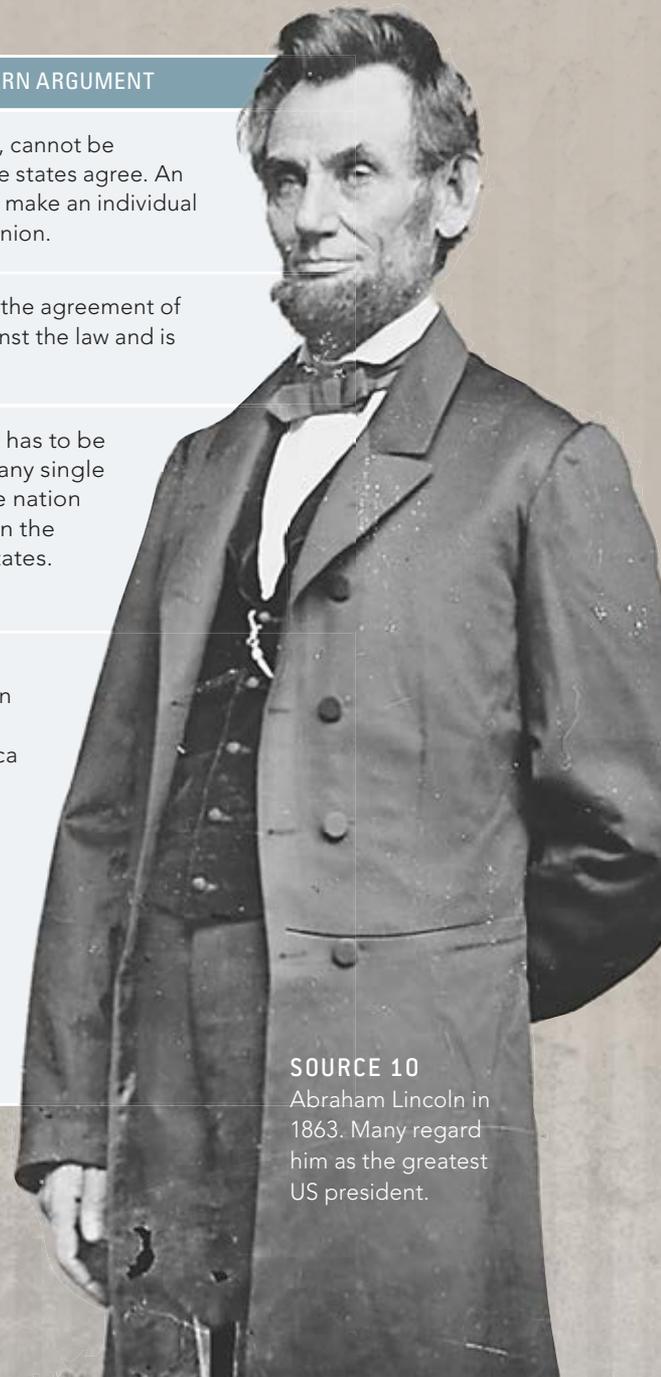
- 1** Identify Abraham Lincoln's view on slavery, according to Source 6.
 - 2** Discuss why Jefferson Davis considers slavery to be indispensable, according to Source 7.
 - 3** Explain how Sources 6 and 7 are useful for a historian investigating why the Southern states decided to leave the Union.
-

SOURCE 8 Arguments for and against the right of the Southern states to leave the Union, dealing with the themes of states' rights and national unity. The arguments 'for' are like those presented by Confederate President Jefferson Davis. The arguments 'against' are similar to those used by US President Abraham Lincoln.

'FOR': THE SOUTHERN ARGUMENT	'AGAINST': THE NORTHERN ARGUMENT
The states joined the Union of their own free will. If they change their mind and want to leave, they must be allowed to do so.	The Union, once made, cannot be broken up unless all the states agree. An individual state cannot make an individual decision to leave the Union.
The states existed before the Union and are the real basis of the government of the people. They are therefore more important than the Union.	To break away without the agreement of the other states is against the law and is therefore rebellion.
The government in Washington is too far away and doesn't know what the people in each state want. State governments are closer to their people and have a better idea of what the people want, and the people want to leave the Union.	The nation as a whole has to be more important than any single state. The good of the nation is more important than the wishes of individual states.
<p>The South has had slaves for hundreds of years. No matter what Northerners may think about it, slavery is legal. Some Northerners now want to stop Southerners taking their slaves – in other words, their property – with them wherever they go. This is typical of how the North tells the South what it should do. The South doesn't tell the North to give its factory workers better pay or shorter hours.</p>	Slavery is against the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and everything that America is meant to be. Lincoln cannot and will not make slavery illegal unless the Southern states agree. He is only against the idea that slavery be allowed to spread.



SOURCE 9 Jefferson Davis (1808–89) – President of the Confederate States of America from 1861 to 1865



SOURCE 10 Abraham Lincoln in 1863. Many regard him as the greatest US president.

8.3b Understanding and using the sources

Examine Source 8. Think about the arguments presented and discuss them in a group. As a class, conduct a debate about whether the South should leave the Union, with one side arguing for and one against the proposal.

8.4

The course of the Civil War

At the start of the war in 1861, both sides were confident that the conflict would be over quickly.

- > Many in the South believed all that was needed was a strong show of force to convince the North to leave them alone. Southerners also believed that European powers would intervene to help them. Southerners supplied much of the world's cotton, and they thought that any attempt by the North to stop the export of this key material to Europe would result in Great Britain and other European nations joining the war.
- > Northerners were confident of a quick victory because the North was more populous, had more industry and greater wealth, and controlled almost all the US Navy.

Both sides were wrong. The war turned into a long and bitter struggle that did not end until 1865. The American Civil War was the first industrial war, and was also one of the first wars that could be called a **total war**. Civilians on both sides felt its effects.

■ total war

a war in which all aspects of society are involved

The key battles

Many vital battles determined the outcome of the war and each side had real chances to win.

The First Battle of Bull Run (1861)

This was the first major battle of the Civil War and was a setback for the North. It was fought in northern Virginia, not far from the Union capital, Washington DC. A Union army of 30 000, under the command of General Irvin McDowell, faced a Confederate force of 20 000, led by General Beauregard. Both sides were equally inexperienced and the battle could have gone either way. However, in the end the South won and the Union troops ran all the way back to Washington. This proved to be a great surprise to the civilians who had driven out from the Union capital with picnic baskets in order to watch. They were forced to flee with the Union army, and a few lucky members of the rebel army enjoyed the lunches that were left behind.

The Battle of Antietam (1862)

McDowell was immediately replaced as Commander of the Union Army by General George McClellan. In September 1862, McClellan's army of 87 000 faced the invading Confederate army of 50 000, led by General Robert E. Lee, across Antietam Creek in Maryland. This was the bloodiest single day of the war – 24 000 men died, and it was possible to walk all the way across the battlefield on a carpet of corpses. During the battle, some of the wounded from both sides had crawled into haystacks to wait for help. As the battle raged, shells fired by the cannons started fires; these raced through the haystacks, and the wounded men – too weak to move – were burnt alive. The Confederate army withdrew, so the battle was technically a Union victory, but at enormous cost.

The next two commanders of the Union Army were General Ambrose Burnside and General Joseph Hooker. They were in turn replaced by General George Meade, as President Lincoln tried to find a general who might match the leadership of the South's General Lee.

The capture of Vicksburg (July 1863)

In the west, the important Confederate town of Vicksburg on the Mississippi River fell to the Union after a long siege. Control of Vicksburg and a later Union success at Port Hudson in Louisiana gave the North command of the entire Mississippi River, cut Texas off from the rest of the Confederacy, and badly weakened the South's already poor supply and transport system. Along with other successes in the west, the capture of Vicksburg brought General Ulysses Grant to national attention.

The Battle of Gettysburg (July 1863)

This battle was fought just before the surrender of Vicksburg. The Southern commander, General Lee, moved north into Pennsylvania; he hoped that, by doing so, he might force the Union to take some of the pressure off Vicksburg.

Gettysburg was the bloodiest battle of a war filled with bloody battles, with more than 50 000 men killed or wounded during three days of fighting.

Gettysburg was also one of the key battles of the Civil War and probably the last real chance the South had to win. It was also perhaps the worst battle that General Lee fought. His decision on the last day of the battle, to order troops to charge across open ground in the middle of the Union line, proved to be a disaster. Known as 'Pickett's Charge', after one of the generals who led it, this assault resulted in 50 per cent casualties for the Confederates. Lee's army retreated and was on the defensive for the rest of the war.

SOURCE 11 Casualties on the field at Gettysburg – artillery and the new Minié ball bullets (whose design dramatically increased range, accuracy and speed of loading) made the open battlefield a lethal place.



The campaigns of 1864–65

home front

those citizens who remain at home during a war; the home front typically includes women, children and the elderly

By 1864, Lincoln had found the general he needed. Ulysses Grant was put in charge of all the Union armies. Some historians argue that Grant's understanding of modern industrial war made him as good a general as – if not better than – Robert E. Lee. Grant believed that the key to winning was to wage war in a way that would hurt the Southern **home front** – Grant's campaign in Virginia and General William Sherman's campaign in Georgia were clear examples of this plan.



SOURCE 12 A dramatic Civil War battle re-enactment

war of attrition

a strategy to wear down the enemy with continuous actions to reduce their resources

Grant's campaign in Virginia

Grant led the Union Army south into Virginia. He fought a series of bitter battles in May and June of 1864: the Wilderness, Spotsylvania, North Anna and Cold Harbor. Of these four battles, only Spotsylvania could be called a Union victory. However, Grant kept moving south, putting Lee under continual pressure.

Grant was in fact fighting a **war of attrition**. He knew that the North had more men and more resources, and therefore would ultimately win such a war. This is supported by the fact that when the war ended, the North had lost 359 000 men and the South had lost 258 000. The North won because it could afford more losses.



SOURCE 13 The ruined city of Richmond, Virginia – the Confederate capital – after suffering a Union siege

Sherman's campaign in Georgia

Meanwhile, another Union general, William Sherman, was moving south into Georgia with a ruthlessness to match Grant's. A defeat at Kennesaw Mountain did not stop him. Sherman moved on. He captured the city of Atlanta in September 1864 and then set about destroying the economy of Georgia to diminish the provision of supplies to Confederate troops. Railway lines were torn up, crops and houses were burnt and livestock were killed. Sometimes, the Union troops got out of control, robbing and bashing civilians.

Sherman's 'march to the sea' from Atlanta to the coast at Savannah was an example of total war. The purpose was to make war on the Southern home front. Sherman did not apologise for this. He blamed the Southerners for starting the war and felt they were simply being punished, saying 'war is cruelty'.

Confederate surrender

As the war moved into 1865, Grant set up another siege, this time around Petersburg, Virginia. When Lee could no longer defend the town, he moved west. By this time, however, Lee's army was reduced to only 25 000 men, and on 9 April 1865 he surrendered to Grant at Appomattox, Virginia.

8.4a Understanding and using the sources

- 1 What evidence do Sources 12 and 13 provide about the nature of warfare in the Civil War?
 - 2 What evidence does Source 13 provide about Grant's beliefs in regard to the way that the war would be won?
-

The roles and experiences of different groups during the Civil War

The roles of different groups and the impact of the war upon them varied according to the location, class, age and gender of the people involved. Poor and working-class men, as is the case with most modern wars, did most of the fighting. Many industrialists in the North grew rich. Civilians in the South suffered more, with homes, crops and towns destroyed by advancing Union forces and retreating Confederate armies. Civilians in the South also suffered more in terms of food shortages and rationing due to the **blockade** imposed by the Union Navy on Southern ports.

■ **blockade**
the act of stopping ships from leaving or entering ports

The role of African Americans during the Civil War

African American men were given the chance to fight for the North and against slavery. More than 30 000 free Black men joined Union armies, and reports of Black regiments that fought well helped to change racial attitudes and opinions about the **emancipation** of slaves.

■ **emancipation**
the freeing of people from slavery

In September 1862, Lincoln's government issued the Emancipation Proclamation, which stated that slavery would not be affected in states that returned to the Union before 1 January 1863, but that any slaves in Confederate territories won by Union armies would be freed. The proclamation encouraged slaves to flee to Union lines, adding to the strength of the Union Army and reducing the manpower that slaves provided for the Confederate cause as farm workers and military labourers. By the end of the war, almost 200 000 Black men, mostly ex-slaves, had enlisted in the Union Army or Navy.

The role of women during the Civil War

In the South, a significant portion of the male population of fighting age left their homes to join the Confederate Army. This meant that women took on numerous tasks, both to feed their families and to support the war effort. They worked long hours as farm labourers and assumed new roles supervising slaves and managing plantations.

In towns in both the South and the North, women took on jobs normally done by men, such as secretarial and clerical work. More women also went to work in factories; in the North, an estimated one-third of factory workers were female, working mainly in the textiles and shoe-making industries.

Women took on nursing roles in large numbers for the first time during the Civil War. Nursing in hospitals was previously a role for men, as it was not seen as appropriate for women to nurse males outside of their families. However, with so many sick and wounded soldiers requiring care, thousands of women worked as paid or volunteer nurses in camps and field hospitals. Stories of wartime nursing changed society's ideas about women in nursing, and after the war, formal nursing training developed and nursing came to be seen as a 'women's profession'.

SOURCE 14

A nurse caring for soldiers in a Union barrack in Pennsylvania, 1861



SOURCE 15 On the home front, women went to work in factories.

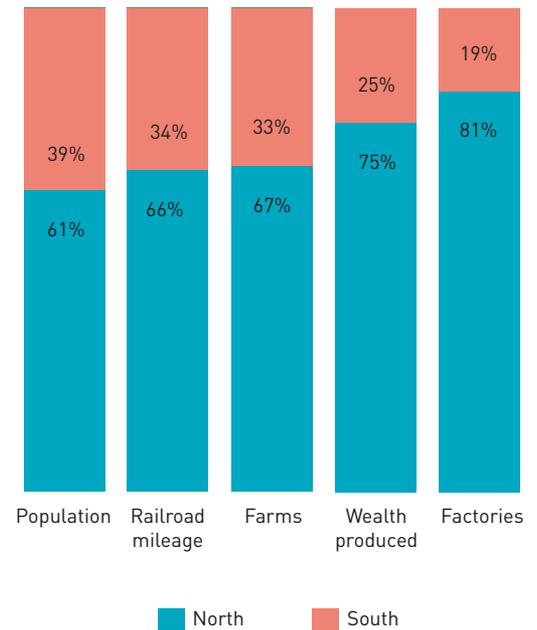


The reasons for Union victory

The primary reason for the Union victory was that the North had more men and more resources. It had a much larger population, and was able to field more than two million soldiers during the course of the war; more than double the number of Confederate soldiers. Its industries were able to manufacture weapons, clothing and other materials in much larger quantities than the South. The North also controlled almost all the navy vessels. The South could not compete in any of these areas because it was primarily agricultural. The steady, calculated and at times inspirational leadership of Abraham Lincoln was also an important contributing factor.



SOURCE 16 Men, cannon and mortar awaiting transportation to battle by Union navy ships, Yorktown, Virginia, 1862



SOURCE 17 A comparison of Union and Confederate resources in the Civil War

8.4b Understanding and using the sources

Discuss how Sources 16 and 17 can be used to help explain why the Union won the Civil War.

8.4 Check your learning

- 1 Outline the role of slaves in the Civil War.
- 2 Explain the consequences of the Emancipation Proclamation for the South and the North.
- 3 Identify ways the role of women changed during the Civil War.
- 4 Research three sources that provide evidence about the roles of women during the war. Evaluate the reliability and usefulness of each source in explaining the way women's roles changed.

8.5

The immediate consequences and legacy of the Civil War

The immediate consequences of the war were the preservation of the Union and the emancipation of four million slaves. More than 600 000 men had died during the war, with hundreds of thousands more left wounded or disabled.

Immediate consequences for the South

When the war ended, Confederate soldiers returned to their home states, and women returned to their roles in the home. The South now faced a massive task of rebuilding, as the occupation of Southern land had left cities ruined, railways damaged and crops destroyed. However, the Federal Government did not treat the Southern rebels harshly. The President pardoned Southern leaders, and returned land that had been confiscated during the war.

The end of slavery

In January 1864, the US Congress passed the 13th Amendment to the Constitution, abolishing slavery. However, the abolition of slavery did not ensure equal civil rights or an improvement in social status for Black Americans.

The 15th Amendment to the Constitution, introduced in 1869, gave Black males the right to vote. It declared that the right to vote could not be denied based on 'race, colour or previous condition of servitude', but this was not always enforced in the Southern states.

After the war, some ex-slaves moved north, but most remained in the South and became 'sharecroppers'. They lived and worked on plots of plantation lands as tenants, paying their landlords a share of the crops they produced. Their day-to-day lives were free from White supervision, but in reality, debts to their landlords meant they were not economically independent. Cotton prices fell in the 1870s, so many sharecroppers were perpetually in debt.

Segregation of Black and White communities in the South continued, with separate churches, schools and hospitals, and Black people were still treated as second-class citizens. It was not until the mid-twentieth century that African Americans achieved basic **civil rights**.

A united nation

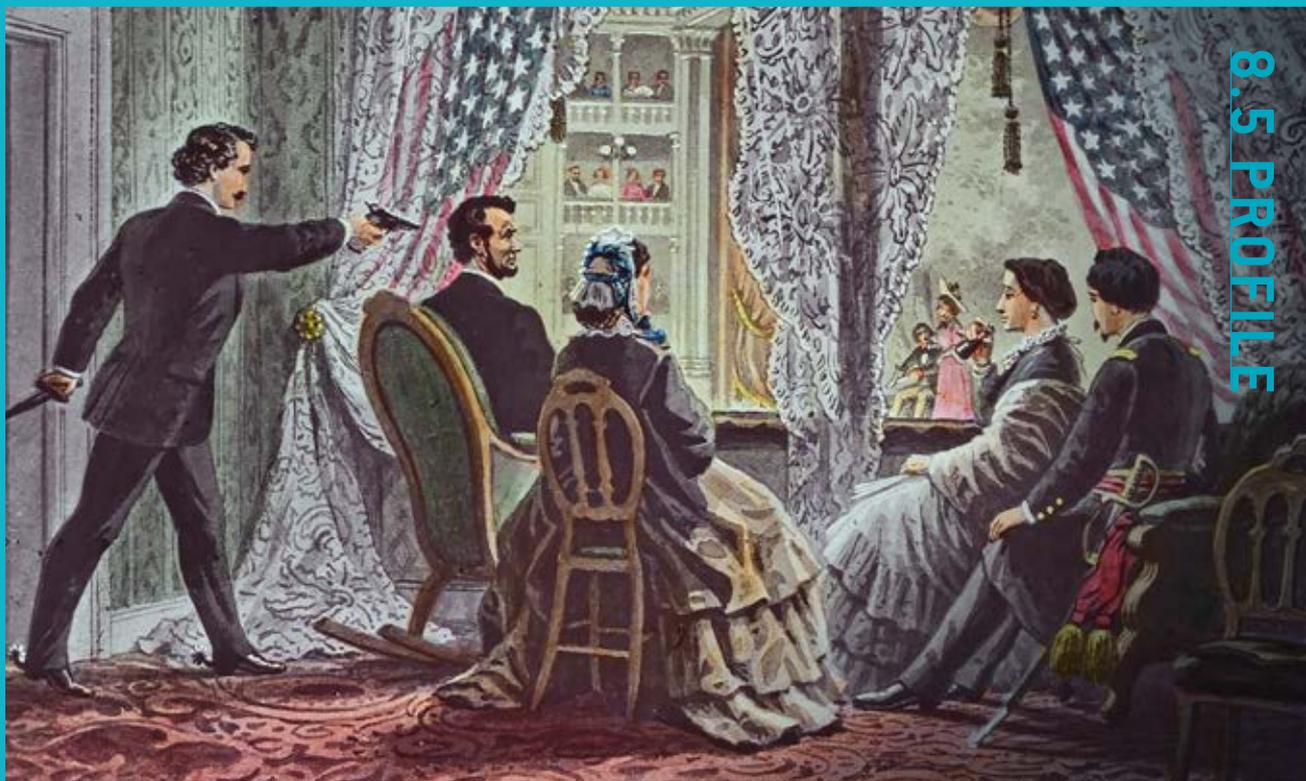
Before the war, 'the United States' was a plural noun, meaning separate states that had chosen to 'unite'. After the war, 'the United States' became a singular noun, with the emphasis on the 'union' of 'states'. The shift of power to the Federal Government, and dominance of Northern values of innovation and equality, accelerated the nation's development towards an urbanised and industrialised society, which would become a world power in the twentieth century.

8.5 Check your learning

- 1 Explain why the system of sharecropping has been described as 'slavery by another name'.
 - 2 Use a graphic organiser to summarise the legacy of the Civil War.
-

■ **segregation**
the practice of separating people in a community on the basis of race

■ **civil rights**
the rights of individuals to equal treatment and equal opportunities



SOURCE 18 An illustration depicting the assassination of President Lincoln, 1865

THE ASSASSINATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Due to his leadership during the most critical domestic crisis in America's history, Lincoln is widely regarded as one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of the US presidents. His death at the hands of an assassin, on 15 April 1865, only six days after the end of the war, helped reinforce his status. He had won the Civil War and ended slavery. By dying in office, his reputation would never be tainted by the difficulties of reconstructing a divided nation.

Lincoln was shot in the head at close range as he sat with his wife and two guests in the presidential box at Ford's Theatre in Washington. He died the next morning. The assassin was John Wilkes Booth, an actor who sympathised with the Confederates. Booth and his fellow conspirators planned to kill not only the President, but also the Vice-President Andrew Johnson, and the Secretary of State William Seward.

Following the shooting, Booth suffered a broken leg jumping down to the stage, but he managed to escape capture in the theatre. On 26 April 1865, however, federal troops tracked him down and cornered him in a barn, where he was shot and killed.

8.5 PROFILE TASKS

Research the circumstances of Lincoln's assassination:

- 1 What motivated Booth and his co-conspirators and what were they trying to achieve?
- 2 The plot also involved killing the US Vice-President Andrew Johnson and Secretary of State William Seward on the same night. Write a news article based on your knowledge of the Lincoln assassination and the events that followed.

The Civil War dominates America's history. Historians continue to debate both the causes and the legacy of the war that cost the United States more lives than any other war, before or since. What isn't mentioned as often is how close the country came to dividing into two. It is an unanswerable question, but historians can pose the hypothetical question 'What if the South had won?' and create endless debates about what the world would look like today.

Many of the issues that divided Americans in the Civil War have continued to bubble away throughout the past 150 years. Consider ongoing tensions and movements concerning inequality, class and race in America today. It is up to you to consider just how much the Civil War solved and achieved in American history.



SOURCE 19 The Confederate Memorial Carving in Stone Mountain, Georgia, depicts three Confederate heroes of the Civil War: President Jefferson Davis and Generals Robert E. Lee and Thomas J. 'Stonewall' Jackson. The carved surface is larger than a football field.



FOR THE TEACHER

Check your [obook](#) [assess](#) for the following additional resources for this chapter:

Answers

Answers to each *Check your learning*, *Understanding and using the sources* and *Profile task* in this chapter

Teacher notes

Useful notes and advice for teaching this chapter, including syllabus connections and relevant weblinks

Class test

Comprehensive test to review students' skills and knowledge

assess quiz

Interactive auto-correcting multiple-choice quiz to test student comprehension

9

The Decline and Fall of the Romanov Dynasty

Grand Duchess Anastasia, c. 1908–10

FOCUS QUESTIONS

- 1 Who were the Romanovs and what was their impact on Russia?
- 2 How and why was the Romanov dynasty overthrown?
- 3 How reliable are the sources from this period?

KEY CONCEPTS AND SKILLS

Analysis and use of sources

One of the key skills in analysing and using sources is understanding and taking into account the varying perspectives contained in them. A study of the decline and fall of the Romanovs is the perfect opportunity to develop the skill of identifying different perspectives in sources, and making sure your interpretation reflects those perspectives.

Historical interpretation

An event as dramatic and decisive as the fall of the Romanovs and their replacement with a completely different form of government will always generate a range of interpretations. Considering the array of contested interpretations of this specific event will help you understand how historians interpret evidence to develop their own viewpoint.

Explanation and communication

As your understanding of the fall of the Romanovs develops, you will be communicating your understanding of that crucial historical question: 'Why?' It is vital that your communications contain a range of relevant sources to support your explanation.

Historical investigation and research

Investigating the decline and fall of the Romanovs means you are confronting direct and decisive change. This requires the development of a range of historical questions to help you unpack the reasons for and consequences of change.

LEARNING GOALS

- > Understand the reasons for the decline and fall of the Romanovs.
- > Access and apply a range of relevant sources that help explain the decline and fall of the Romanovs.
- > Understand the implications of the fall of the Romanovs on shaping Europe in the twentieth century.

9.1 Introduction

■ **agrarian**
related to the use of land for farming

■ **Industrial Revolution**
the rapid development of industry, beginning in Britain in the mid-eighteenth century, in which advances in technology fundamentally changed the agricultural and manufacturing industries, as well as transport and communications

■ **intelligentsia**
highly educated people with political influence, such as writers, journalists and academics

This chapter will investigate the decline and fall of the Romanov dynasty. Romanov tsars ruled Russia from 1613 to 1917. During this time, there had been good and bad, great and cruel rulers. By the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the rule of the Romanovs had become corrupt and inefficient; Russia's system of government had outlived its time.

When Tsar Alexander III died suddenly in 1894, aged only 49 years, his son succeeded him as Nicholas II. Nicholas was ill-prepared for the task of governing the extensive Russian Empire. He once complained to his brother-in-law: 'I am not prepared to be a tsar. I never wanted to become one. I know nothing of the business of ruling.'



SOURCE 1 Michael I (1596–1645), the first Romanov tsar of Russia, ruled 1613–45.

The Russian Empire in the time of Nicholas II

Nicholas II ruled a vast empire, stretching across one-sixth of the world's land surface, from eastern Europe to the Asian continent. The Russian Empire had expanded through centuries of conquest, and its population of more than 122 million was diverse, including Slavs, Germans and Poles. Less than half of Nicholas' subjects were ethnically Russian.

The Russian Empire was recognised as a European power; however, it was socially, economically and politically backwards compared with Western Europe. Its economy was primarily **agrarian**: in 1897, an official census showed that 82 per cent of the population were peasant farmers, many living in small and often isolated rural settlements. In countries such as Britain and Germany, industries had grown rapidly during the **Industrial Revolution**, while Russia's industrial and economic development had been much slower. A worldwide industrial boom in the 1890s, together with economic reforms such as the expansion of the Russian railway system, led to a spurt of economic growth in Russia during this decade; but even so, the 1897 census showed that those classified as the industrial working class made up only 4 per cent of the population. The upper class – including the nobility, high-ranking military officers and church officials – accounted for 12 per cent of the population. The still-emerging middle class – the merchants, factory owners, white-collar workers and the **intelligentsia** – accounted for 1.5 per cent of the population. At the top of Russia's social structure, the tsar and his court who ruled this vast empire made up 0.5 per cent of the population.



SOURCE 2 Nicholas II (1868–1918), the last Romanov tsar of Russia, ruled 1894–1917.

9.1 Understanding and using the sources

The following questions relate to Source 3.

- 1 What comment is the cartoon making about the tsar's position in society?
- 2 What is the cartoon suggesting about conditions in Russia?
- 3 There are two figures on the 'surface' of the ground (one to the left and one to the right). What group of society do you think these figures represent?

9.1a Check your learning

- 1 Research the Romanov dynasty and choose a significant individual. What were their key achievements and what was their impact on the Russian Empire?
- 2 Research the extent of the Russian Empire, around 1900.
 - a List the ethnic groups or nationalities that were part of the empire's population.
 - b List countries that were the empire's neighbours.
- 3 Research the Trans-Siberian Railway. Why was it built and what was its significance to Russian trade and economy?
- 4 Use a pie chart or pyramid chart to show Russia's social structure, based on the 1897 census.

Nicholas' rule as an autocrat

Russia had not advanced politically compared with other nations in Western Europe, many of which had developed forms of **representative government** by this time. Nicholas, like his father before him, was determined to rule Russia as an **autocrat**; that is, without any limitations to his power. In an autocracy, no consultation is necessary: the ruler's will is law. In tsarist Russia, there was no parliament, and the empire was run by ministers and civil service officials who were appointed by the tsar. Censorship and the tsar's secret police were used to prevent ideas for political reform from being expressed.

During his reign, Nicholas would not willingly grant any concessions to those who wanted political reform, and in this lay the seeds of destruction – both for Russia as a monarchy and for Nicholas as an individual. British historian Orlando Figes argued that Nicholas not only ignored the realities of the twentieth century, but also tried to take Russia back to the seventeenth.

SOURCE 4 Livadia Palace in Crimea, the tsar's summer retreat, which was built in 1911



SOURCE 3 Underground Russia – a foreign artist's view

■ **representative government**
a system of government where citizens elect people to represent their interests and concerns

■ **autocrat**
a ruler who has absolute power



Key events in the life of Nicholas II and the fall of the Romanov dynasty

1868

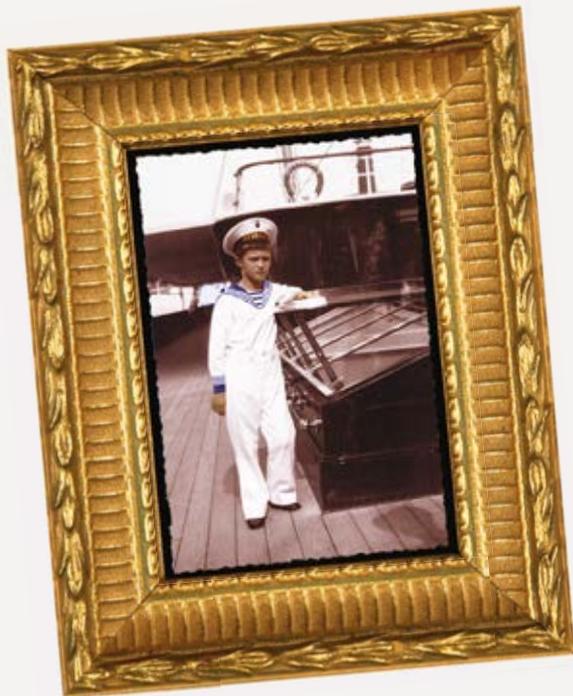
Nicholas Romanov is born on 18 May as one of six children of Alexander III and Maria Feodorovna.

1894

Aged 26, Nicholas marries Princess Alix (Alexandra) of Hesse-Darmstadt and becomes Tsar Nicholas II following the death of his father Alexander III.

1895–1904

The royal children are born: Olga (1895), Tatiana (1897), Marie (1899), Anastasia (1901) and Alexis (1904). Alexis suffers from the potentially fatal disease haemophilia, in which the blood fails to clot.



Alexis Romanov was just 13 years old when he was executed.

1905

Russia's war with Japan over disputed territories in Manchuria ends in a humiliating defeat for Russia. The 1905 Revolution, a year of riots and disturbances, leads to the October Manifesto, a concession issued by Nicholas that helps to stop the unrest by promising political reform and the country's first constitution.

1906

The first Russian Duma (parliament) meets, but is dissolved after 10 weeks because it questions the tsar's powers. The key to the failure of the 1905 Revolution is the inability of the anti-tsarist forces to unify and agree after they had gained a degree of power.

1914

The First World War breaks out, temporarily uniting the country behind Nicholas. Russia is not, however, economically capable of fighting a large-scale modern war and the economy quickly collapses. The greatest burden of the fighting falls on the peasants. When the army takes many of the young men from the villages, the families left behind struggle to make their small farms work.

1915

Nicholas becomes commander-in-chief of the Russian Army, thus identifying himself with Russia's military failures in the war. As was the case with so much of his reign, Nicholas is ill-equipped to be a commander-in-chief.

1916

In the middle of the year, the Russians launch a major, costly and unsuccessful offensive against Austria-Hungary in the south. In December, Gregory Rasputin, the 'Mad Monk' – whose influence over the Tsarina Alexandra has attracted widespread criticism – is murdered.



Russian imperial soldiers ride on the running boards of a car with red flags hanging from their bayonets to show their support for the revolution, following the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II in 1917.

1917

Nicholas abdicates in the face of revolution. Russia becomes a republic. A Provisional Government is formed, made up of a number of different political parties, but on Lenin's orders, the Bolsheviks refuse to join.

1918

Nicholas, Alexandra and their children are executed at Ekaterinburg on 17 July. The Romanov dynasty has ended after more than 300 years of rule.

The bullet-riddled skull of Tsar Nicholas II



Russia's relationships with foreign powers

The Russian Empire had always been on the fringes of Europe. The vast distances had been a key factor in Russia's defeat of Napoleon's invading armies in 1812, and the revolutionary ideas that had inspired the French Revolution of 1789 (which established France as a republic) and the later **1848 revolutions** had had little impact on Russia. The Russians had gone to war against an alliance between Britain, France and Turkey in the Crimean War, 1853–56. Their defeat by this alliance prompted some reforms inside Russia, but the Romanovs remained firmly in power.

In 1904–05 the Romanovs went to war against Japan in the Russo-Japanese War. This war was one of the defining moments of world history in the early twentieth century, and it marked the first occasion when an Asian power defeated a modern European power. It was covered extensively in the media, with daily reports in newspapers made possible by the telegraph. In terms of international relations, the war was a disaster for the Russians and exposed the weaknesses and corruption of their regime. It marked the decline of Russian power and the rise of Japan.

The Russo-Japanese War and the subsequent disaster of the First World War saw Russia turn inward and become more focused on domestic affairs.

9.1b Check your learning

Research the Russo-Japanese War, 1904–05.

- 1 What were the causes of the conflict?
- 2 Outline key events during this conflict and explain why the Russians were defeated.
- 3 What was the impact of this defeat on the Russian people?

■ **1848 revolutions** a wave of revolts across Europe in 1848 demanding social and political reforms; these popular uprisings achieved some initial reforms, but generally failed after Europe's monarchies suppressed the revolts and regained their hold on power

**SOURCE 6**

Tsar Nicholas II and the Tsarina Alexandra, with their children

THE CHARACTER OF NICHOLAS II

Sources 7–10 provide different perspectives of Nicholas.

SOURCE 7

At his desk, he wore a simple Russian peasant blouse, baggy breeches and soft leather boots ... Although Nicholas's English, French and German were excellent, he preferred to speak Russian.

R.K. Massie, *Nicholas and Alexandra*, 1972, p. 61

SOURCE 8

Nicholas was not only unstable, but treacherous. Flatterers called him a charmer ... because of his gentle way with courtiers. But the Tsar reserved his special caresses for just those officials he had decided to dismiss. Charmed beyond measure at a reception, the minister would go home and find a letter requesting his resignation.

Nicholas recoiled in hostility from anything gifted and significant. He felt at ease only among completely mediocre and brainless people.

Leon Trotsky, *The History of the Russian Revolution*, 1932, p. 52

SOURCE 9

He was a devoted husband and father, loved the country and the wildlife, and was a good landlord. Of constitutional, social and economic problems he understood little.

Hugh Seton-Watson, *The Decline of Imperial Russia 1855–1914*, 1964, p. 136

SOURCE 10

A quick intelligence, a cultivated mind, method and industry in his work, and an extraordinary charm that attracted all who came near him – the Emperor Nicholas had not inherited his father's commanding personality nor the strong character and prompt decision which are so essential to an autocratic ruler ...

Sir George Buchanan, British Ambassador to Russia from 1910, in Hugh Seton-Watson, *The Decline of Imperial Russia 1855–1914*, 1964, p. 108

9.1 PROFILE TASKS

- 1 List the positive and negative features of Tsar Nicholas II mentioned in Sources 7–10, and make an assessment of his character, as revealed in these sources.
- 2 Why was Nicholas' desire to rule as an autocrat likely to end in failure?
- 3 Overall, did Nicholas possess the qualities to be a good ruler of a country on the brink of the twentieth century? Explain your answer.
- 4 Discuss why there would be different perspectives of Nicholas. Of Sources 7–10, how many are based on personal knowledge?

9.2

The development of opposition to the Romanovs

■ **liberalism**
a political philosophy that supports the rights and freedoms of the individual

■ **socialism**
a political and economic theory that promotes the public ownership of a nation's resources and means of production (for example factories, farms and machinery), as opposed to privately owned and controlled ownership in a capitalist system

■ **intransigence**
unwillingness or refusal to change one's views or agree about something

■ **1905 revolution**
a revolution that sent a wave of political and social unrest throughout the Russian Empire

■ **mobilisation**
the preparation and movement of troops for military service

In the nineteenth century, improved transport and communication meant that modern revolutionary and reformist ideas, such as **liberalism** and **socialism**, began to filter into Russia. As Russia slowly started to modernise, literacy rates were rising, even in the countryside. The growing middle class and industrial working class proved responsive to these ideas, and agitated for change. This newly literate generation was to provide many of the local activists who, when faced with the **intransigence** of an autocratic regime, became more revolutionary as discontent increased. Military defeats in the Russo-Japanese War added to the grievances of the peasants, workers and reformist groups, leading to the events known as the **1905 Revolution**.

The 1905 Revolution

The new century had started badly for the autocracy. A poor harvest in 1902 intensified the poverty of the peasants, who seized land from the landowners and destroyed property. Disorder spread to the cities, and by the middle of 1903 a wave of strikes in the oil industry, engineering works and the railways threatened to paralyse the economy. The war with Japan, which began in 1904 with the expectation that Russia would enjoy a quick victory over an 'inferior' rival, had brought unexpected difficulties. The **mobilisation** of peasants' sons disrupted agriculture and food supplies, driving up food prices. Added to the economic hardships were general discontent with the conduct of the war and alarm at a series of defeats.



SOURCE 11 Workers in their lodging house in Moscow, 1911. Those workers who were too poor to hire beds slept on the floor underneath the beds.

SOURCE 12
A peasant women tilling the soil in Russia, 1900



The 1905 Revolution was triggered by a strike in the Putilov steelworks in St Petersburg, Russia's capital, on 16 January. The strike was caused by the dismissal of men belonging to the Assembly of Russian Workers, a union founded by Father George Gapon, who was a priest of the Russian Orthodox Church. Gapon has been described as a young and popular priest with a genuine interest in the welfare of his people in the working-class districts of St Petersburg. Others saw him differently. A contemporary observer alleged that Gapon was a revolutionary socialist, whose purpose was to secure concessions on working conditions from employers, under the respectable cloak of the priesthood.

Bloody Sunday

Gapon organised a protest march and petition that would be presented to the tsar at his official residence, the Winter Palace in St Petersburg, on Sunday, 22 January 1905. About 150 000 people marched from all parts of the city, many of them carrying religious **icons** and portraits of the tsar. The petition was written in respectful terms, addressing the tsar as 'Sire' and 'O Emperor', and called for:

- > a guarantee of civil liberties, for example freedom of speech
- > measures to alleviate poverty, including the introduction of an income tax
- > better working conditions, such as an eight-hour day.

To many of the marchers, and to others of the poorer classes throughout Russia, Nicholas was a father figure – affectionately known as 'Little Father' – who had their best interests at heart, but was prevented from understanding their plight by a barrier of officialdom. If they could only meet the tsar face to face, so the argument ran, he would realise the true situation and put in place measures to remedy it. However, Nicholas was not in the Winter Palace that weekend; he had gone to Tsarskoe Selo, another palace on the outskirts of the city.

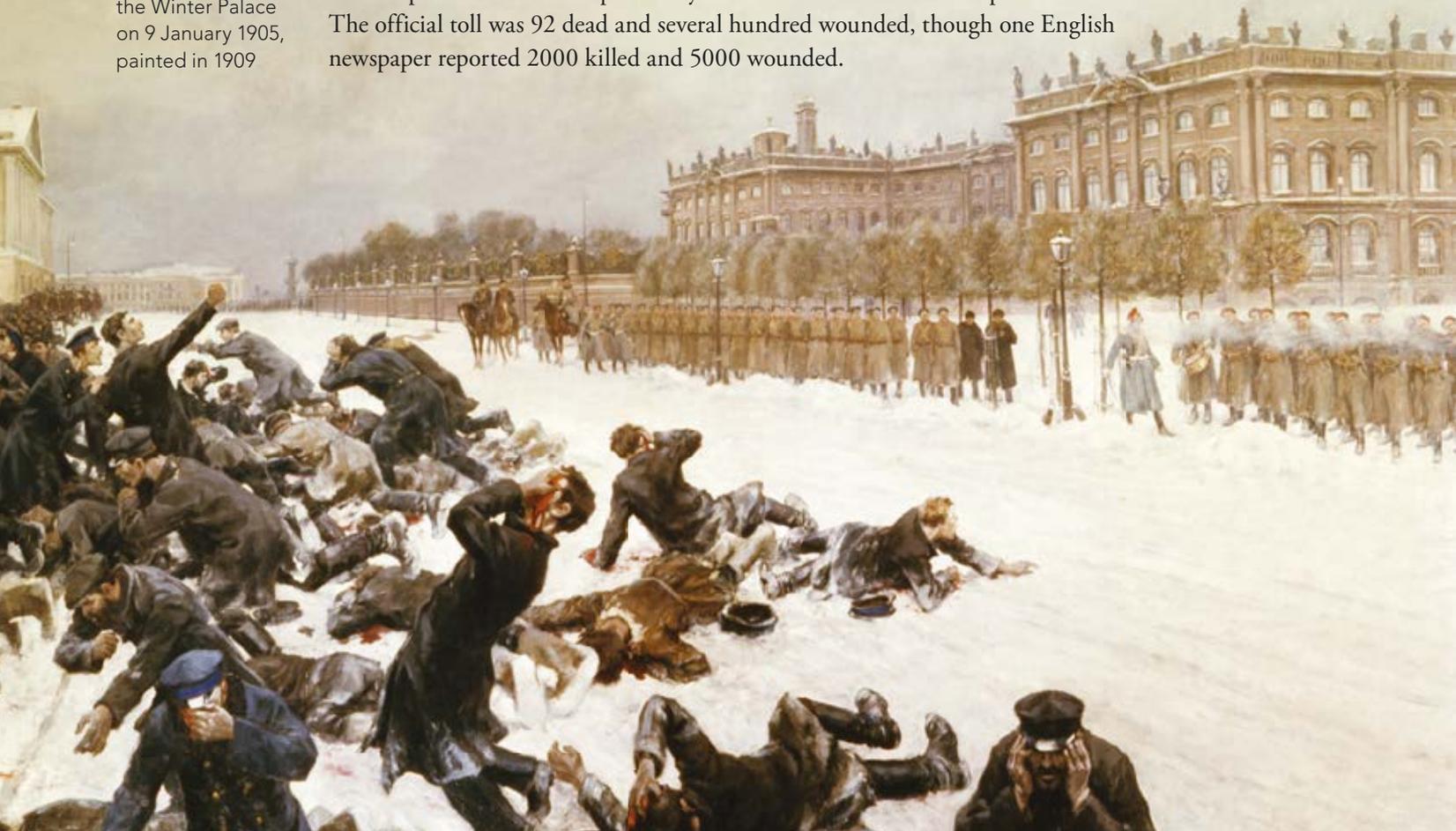
The protest that started peacefully became violent as tsarist troops attacked the marchers. The official toll was 92 dead and several hundred wounded, though one English newspaper reported 2000 killed and 5000 wounded.

icons

paintings of Christ or another holy figure

SOURCE 13

An artist's impression of the shooting of workers in front of the Winter Palace on 9 January 1905, painted in 1909



Whatever the final figure, 'Bloody Sunday' had a profound effect on the attitude of the people towards the tsar. Instead of 'Little Father', he became 'Nicholas the Bloody'. The traditional belief that the tsar and the people were linked in a common bond – a view that Nicholas himself liked to foster – was shattered forever.

SOURCE 14

Along the Nevsky Prospect ... came row upon row of orderly and solemn faced workers all dressed in their best clothes ... We had already reached the Alexander Gardens, on the other side of which lay the Winter Palace square, when we heard the sound of bugles, the signal for the cavalry to charge. The marchers came to a halt ... in front, on the right, was a detachment of police, but since they showed no sign of hostility, the procession began moving again. Just then, however, a detachment of cavalry rode out ... The first volley was fired in the air, but the second was aimed at the crowd ... Panic stricken, the crowd turned and began running in every direction ... It was quite clear that the authorities had made a terrible mistake; they had totally misunderstood the intentions of the crowd ... the workers went to the palace without any evil intent. They sincerely believed that when they got there they would kneel down and the Tsar would come out to meet them or at least appear on the balcony.

A. Kerensky, *The Kerensky Memoirs: Russia and History's Turning Point*, 1965

SOURCE 15

I have heard the assembled crowd accused of nothing worse than jeering at the troops, hustling the officers, and using language to them that will not bear repetition, although they came, it is said, armed with knives, pieces of piping, sticks, and some even with revolvers.

I do know that the commanding officer of the infantry ... twice warned them to disperse, adding that if they did not, he would be compelled to fire on them ... the officers, on foot, would go right in among the people and try to reason with them, seeming to do everything in their power to persuade the people to disperse peaceably.

Robert McCormick, the US Ambassador in St Petersburg, in Michael Bucklow and Glenn Russell, *Russia: Why Revolution?*, 1987

9.2a Understanding and using the sources

Read the accounts by A. Kerensky and Robert McCormick of the Bloody Sunday march in Sources 14 and 15. In what ways do these accounts differ? How do you account for these differences?

9.2a Check your learning

- 1 Research the living and working conditions of industrial workers in Russia, around 1900. Explain the main grievances of the industrial working class.
- 2 Research the system of agriculture in Russia, around 1900.
 - a Explain the main grievances of Russia's peasants.
 - b Refer to Source 12, and find two further sources of evidence about farming methods in Russia, around 1900. Analyse these sources for their reliability.



The aftermath of Bloody Sunday

Following the events of 22 January, Gapon escaped into hiding, and issued a public letter denouncing the tsar for the bloodshed. Just over a year later, in April 1906, his body was found hanging in an abandoned cottage in Finland. Other leaders of the march were arrested and sent into **internal exile**. This only succeeded in helping to spread the news of the massacre across the country. On 17 February 1905, Grand Duke Sergei – Nicholas’ uncle and the Governor-General of Moscow – was killed by a bomb thrown by a socialist revolutionary. Peasant revolts had begun in early February 1905 and these intensified as the year progressed. In one district after another, the landowners were forcibly removed and their land seized. In June, a national Peasants’ Union was formed, as the peasants took up the socialist revolutionary cry of ‘Land for the peasants!’

By the end of January 1905, nearly half a million workers were on strike in the cities, and unions for all classes blossomed – doctors, lawyers and teachers formed organisations, alongside factory workers, waiters and engineers. In May, the **Union of Unions** was formed, and at the end of June a congress of representatives from 86 city councils across Russia met in Moscow to demand civil liberties and the formation of a legislative assembly elected by **universal suffrage**.

News of a series of embarrassing defeats in the war with Japan worsened the situation. In February 1905, the Russian Army was defeated by the Japanese at Mukden, and on 27 May the Russian fleet was destroyed in the Straits of Tsushima. With morale in the armed forces low, the sailors aboard the battleship *Potemkin* in the Black Sea mutinied in June.

By August 1905, the increasing discontent led Nicholas to promise that an assembly or Duma would be called; Nicholas would seek its opinion when he chose, but it would have no authority to make laws against his wishes. The promise of a Duma on such limited terms failed to satisfy the opponents of the regime. Strikes and protest meetings intensified. On 21 October, a railway strike was declared in Moscow and spread across the nation. On 26 October, the first St Petersburg **soviet** was formed, with Leon Trotsky as one of its leaders.

The October Manifesto

Nicholas turned to Prime Minister Sergei Witte for advice, and was told that the regime could only be saved by granting the people a constitution. Nicholas issued a document known as the October Manifesto, which promised political reform, and this marked a watershed in the events of 1905. Ultimately, however, it solved little and pleased very few. The soviets, with their concerns for working conditions such as the eight-hour day, condemned the Manifesto as it did little to address the everyday needs of the working people; but they found that their alliance with the more liberal middle-class elements was crumbling, as the latter seemed to be willing to settle for the political concessions offered. In November 1905, the St Petersburg soviet called a general strike in support of the eight-hour day, but was forced to abandon the protest as there was little support from the middle classes.

It had been a troubled year for Nicholas. However, the secret police were as powerful as ever, the army had remained loyal, the bureaucracy remained intact, and the soviets had been defeated. As Trotsky said, ‘Although with a few broken ribs, Tsarism came out of the experience of 1905 alive and strong enough.’

internal exile

forced settlement to another part of a country as punishment; in Russia, this was usually in the isolated region of Siberia

Union of Unions

an alliance of professional Russian unions, formed to place pressure on the government to reform

universal suffrage

a form of voting rights, where all adults have the right to vote in political elections

soviet

a district-level political organisation, associated with revolutionary Russia

SOURCE 16

We, Nicholas the Second ... declare to all our loyal subjects:

The rioting and agitation in the capitals and in many localities of our Empire fills our heart with great and deep grief. The welfare of the Russian Emperor is bound up with the welfare of the people, and its sorrows are his sorrows. The turbulence which has broken out may confound the people and threaten the integrity and unity of our empire.

[The Tsar decided the following:]

- 1 To grant to the population the inviolable right of free citizenship, based on the principles of freedom of the person, conscience, speech, assembly, and union.
- 2 Without postponing the intended elections for the State Duma ... to include in the participation of the work of the Duma those classes of the population that have been until now entirely deprived of the right to vote ...
- 3 To establish as an unbreakable rule that no law shall go into force without its confirmation by the State Duma ...

The October Manifesto, issued by Tsar Nicholas II, 1905



SOURCE 17 The mutiny on the *Potemkin* and the events leading up to it were dramatised in the classic 1925 Soviet film *Battleship Potemkin*.

SOURCE 18

So a Constitution is granted. Freedom of assembly is granted; but the assemblies are surrounded by the military. Freedom of speech is granted, but censorship exists exactly as before. Freedom of knowledge is granted, but the universities are occupied by troops. Inviolability of person is granted, but the prisons are overflowing with the incarcerated ... A constitution is given, but the autocracy remains. Everything is given and nothing is given.

A comment by Leon Trotsky after the October Manifesto, in Bertram Wolfe, *Three Who Made a Revolution: A Biographical History*, 1964

	LEFT WING (radical revolutionaries)		REVOLUTIONARY PARTIES	RIGHT WING (moderate revolutionaries)	
SOCIAL DEMOCRATS split in 1903 into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks					
NAME	BOLSHEVIKS	MENSHEVIKS	SOCIALIST REVOLUTIONARIES	CADETS	OCTOBRISTS
SUPPORT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Urban working class Soldiers in the army during WWI 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Urban working class Some lawyers and other professionals Cautious socialists 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Peasants Some moderate urban socialists 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Progressive landlords and industrialists Many lawyers and other professionals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Wealthy land- and Factory-owners Monarchists
PERSONALITIES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Vladimir Lenin Leon Trotsky 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Julius Martov Fedor Dan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Alexander Kerensky 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Paul Miliukov Prince Luov 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Alexander Guchkov Mikhael Rodzianko
POLICIES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Alliance between working class and peasants Rapid overthrow of the Tsar and the middle class to attain socialism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cooperation with the middle class to overthrow the tsar, followed by steady progress to socialism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Land reform to benefit the peasants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A constitutional monarchy, like the English model 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Supporter of the 1905 October Manifesto A Duma, but with the tsar retaining most power

SOURCE 19 Groups opposed to the reign of Nicholas II at the time of the 1905 Revolution



SOURCE 20 Moscow residents celebrate the October Manifesto.

9.2b Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Why was the October Manifesto introduced, according to Source 16? What changes were agreed to by Nicholas?
- 2 According to Source 18, did Leon Trotsky view the tsar's desire for reform as genuine? Do Trotsky's comments suggest that revolutionary activity would increase or diminish after the issuing of the October Manifesto? Explain your answer.
- 3 The following questions refer to Source 19.
 - a Which political parties did Vladimir Lenin and Alexander Kerensky belong to?
 - b Which groups wished to retain the tsar as head of state?
 - c State two policy differences that help explain why the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks disagreed with each other.

Political developments following the 1905 Revolution

Nicholas disliked the October Manifesto. He had hoped to buy peace with concessions and, feeling betrayed when strikes and protests continued, he returned to the methods of an autocrat. In the countryside, loyal troops moved through the villages with a campaign of hangings and floggings to subdue the rebellious peasants. On 16 December 1905, the St Petersburg soviet was closed and 190 of its members arrested. A general strike in Moscow led to street fighting from 21 December 1905 until 2 January 1906, resulting in defeat for the strikers and the deaths of more than 1000 workers.

Nicholas had bitterly resented having to concede to a Duma, and tried to reassert his position by issuing a series of **Fundamental Laws** on 2 May 1906. These confirmed the tsar's right to appoint his own ministers, legislate by decree and have complete control over foreign affairs. Laws passed by the Duma would require his approval. An Imperial Council, with half of its members appointed by the tsar, would share power with the Duma.

The elections for the first Duma in 1906 and the second Duma in 1907 produced parliaments that were critical of the government, and both were dissolved by Nicholas after only a few months. Before the third Duma, Nicholas altered the electoral law to ensure that the representation of peasants, small landowners and urban dwellers was drastically reduced. The resulting Duma was a submissive and conservative body. It was allowed to serve its full term from 1907 to 1912, as was the fourth and final Duma from 1912 to 1917.

While the Dumas met, the prime minister, Peter Stolypin, carried out a policy to repress the revolutionary elements, while offering limited land concessions to the peasants. This two-pronged approach was designed to consolidate the position of the tsar by removing his revolutionary opponents and winning the loyalty and gratitude of the peasants.

9.2b Check your learning

- 1 What do you understand by the term 'revolution'? Do the events of 1905 merit the description of 'revolution'? Why or why not?
- 2 The events of 1905 have been called a 'dress rehearsal' for the Russian Revolution of 1917. What lessons might revolutionaries have drawn from the events of 1905?

■ **Fundamental Laws** a decree from the tsar in 1906 that ostensibly confirmed the October Manifesto, but also asserted his power over the Duma

9.3 The fall of the Romanov dynasty

RUSSIA'S SOUTH-WEST FRONT LINE, 1916



SOURCE 21 This map shows Russia's south-west frontline in 1916, including the location of the offensives led by Brusilov in 1916 and 1917.



SOURCE 22 Russian boy soldiers are guarded by German troops after their capture at the Battle of Tannenberg, 1914.

War was declared between Germany and Russia in August 1914, and at first it seemed that the First World War would save the Romanov throne, not destroy it. Political differences were put aside as Russians joined to fight the common enemy in defence of the homeland. Volunteers hastened to join the army, and the tsar blessed the troops as they left for the front. Even urban discontent – which had been expressed in an increasing number of political and economic strikes in the first half of the year – vanished. No strikes of any kind were recorded in the month of August 1914.

The role of the First World War in the collapse of the Romanov dynasty

At first, Russia's campaign on the south-west front seemed a story of unstoppable success. The Austrians were pushed back in Galicia, and the Germans were defeated at Gumbinnen. Then came the German response. At Tannenberg in August 1914, the Germans inflicted a heavy defeat on the Russians. Masses of prisoners, stores and guns were taken, and the Russian commander, Vladimir Samsonov, shot himself. In September, another heavy defeat at the Masurian Lakes confirmed the end of the advance against the Germans and the beginning of a three-year attempt to hold back the German advance into Russia's western provinces. There were some campaign successes against the Austro-Hungarian Army, spearheaded by Russian General Aleksei Brusilov, but the optimistic mood that had greeted the war changed to one of increasing disillusionment.

Russia had been inadequately prepared for a modern war. Vladimir Sukhomlinov, the war minister, had severely underestimated the needs of the army. Factories could not produce enough ammunition, and army commanders were forced to plan manoeuvres using maps as much as 18 years out of date. Soldiers were fighting barefoot because of a shortage of boots, and only one in three had a rifle. Artillery commanders were rationed to three to five shells per gun per day. The wounded were often left unattended on station platforms for days, and were then transported in freight cars – lying on the bare boards and often without adequate clothes or food. By the end of the 1915 summer campaign, Russia had suffered 3.5 million casualties.

The impact of the war

The economy soon began to feel the strains of war. The normal trade routes through the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea were virtually cut off. Exports fell by 86.7 per cent in the first full year of the war, while budget expenditure rose from 3.5 billion roubles in 1914 to 15.3 billion roubles in 1916. The government tried to fill the gap by borrowing from the **Allies** and by printing more money. The result was inflation, which saw the price of flour double and the price of meat triple between 1914 and 1916. Speculators flourished, and a third of the grain stocks were held by banks, in anticipation of price increases.

The war hit rural areas particularly hard. Most of the 15 million men mobilised during the war were from the countryside. The loss of fathers and sons and even horses to the war effort meant fewer people and animals to work the soil. Though the 1916 harvest was good, the army took most of the supplies, and the peasants were reluctant to sell grain for devalued money that bought little. There was, in fact, little to buy. With manufacturing focused on the war effort, the production of agricultural implements dropped to 15 per cent of the pre-war level.

In the cities, the situation was no better. Food was hard to come by, as the overloaded rail network had trouble transporting grain from the farming areas to the cities. Wages remained low and as prices rose, discontent showed itself in strike activity. There were 268 strikes in January and February 1917, resulting in 403 295 lost working days.

As long as the state's main priority was feeding and equipping millions of **conscripts**, there could be no improvement in the overall economic picture. Increasingly, thoughts turned towards ending the war. A soldier named Pireiko wrote:

SOURCE 23

Everyone, to the last man, was interested in nothing but peace ... who should win and what kind of peace it would be, that was of small interest to the army. It wanted peace at any cost, for it was weary of war.

In Leon Trotsky, *The History of the Russian Revolution*, 1932, p. 16

If the war showed up Russia's economic weaknesses, it also confirmed the view that the corruption and ignorance of key individuals were leading the country to ruin. The principal objects of gossip and rumour were Tsarina Alexandra and her friendship with a man named Gregory Rasputin.

9.3 Check your learning

- 1 Use a mind map to summarise the impact of the war on Russia's economy and its people.
 - 2 Write a letter from the perspective of a peasant soldier after serving three years in the army.
-

Allies

the coalition of countries in opposition to the Central Powers in the First World War; they included Britain, the Commonwealth, France and Russia, which were joined by the United States in 1917

conscript

a person who is compulsorily enlisted in the armed forces

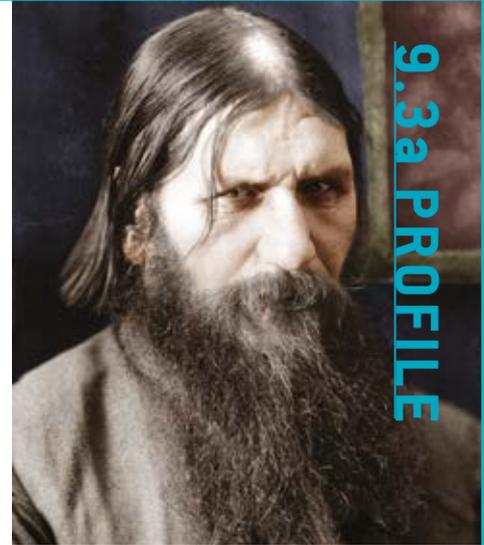
RASPUTIN – THE ‘MAD MONK’

Gregory Rasputin was born in Pokrovskoe, Siberia, in 1872. His drinking and sexual activities earned him his acquired name ('Rasputin' is Russian for womaniser). Rasputin claimed to have had a deep religious experience as a young man, and he was brought to the attention of Nicholas and Alexandra in November 1905 as a *staretz*, a wandering holy man.

Rasputin's physical appearance was in stark contrast to others at the Russian court. Dressed in a peasant's smock, his unkempt, matted hair hung to his shoulders. His eyes were bright and piercing, and many described how they felt hypnotised by his gaze. Despite the 'Mad Monk' label that his enemies later gave him, he was neither mad, nor a monk; he had a wife and three children in Pokrovskoe.

Alexandra had worried constantly about the health of her son, Alexis. His haemophilia meant that he was often ill and in great pain, and only Rasputin seemed to be able to help him. As Rasputin's influence at the court grew, so did the stories about his womanising and drunken exploits. However, Alexandra's belief in 'Our Friend' (her name for Rasputin) as a healer had earned him her unquestioning support.

By late 1916, criticism of Rasputin's influence over the Romanovs and his corruption of the government was constant. Eventually, the rumours that Rasputin held the real power in the court led two young members of the extended royal family, Prince Felix Yusupov and Grand Duke Dimitry Pavlovich, to murder Rasputin in December 1916. After he had been poisoned, shot and clubbed to death, Rasputin's body was wrapped in canvas and dropped through a hole in the ice in the River Neva.



SOURCE 24 Rasputin in 1908

9.3a PROFILE

9.3a PROFILE TASKS

- 1 Research Rasputin's influence in the Romanov court and explain how this affected the public perception of Nicholas and Alexandra.
- 2 Write an article announcing Rasputin's death, including reactions to the news from a palace spokesperson representing the Tsarina Alexandra, and the 'people in the street'.

The declining legitimacy of Nicholas' rule

In August 1915 Nicholas appointed himself commander-in-chief of the army, and consequently Russia's continuing military failures were now directly blamed on him. Nicholas spent much of his time in his military headquarters at Mogilev, isolating himself from the capital **Petrograd**, more than 600 km away. Control of government business was left in the hands of Alexandra, and Rasputin began to meddle in political and military matters. He promoted the appointment of friends and admirers to positions of power, regardless of ability. Able ministers were dismissed if they spoke out against the growing corruption. In this way, Russia went through five interior ministers and three foreign ministers within 10 months. Open corruption in political appointments, and the inability of Nicholas to overrule the influence of the 'Mad Monk' and the 'German woman' (as the German-born Alexandra became known), made it clear to many that a change was needed at the top.

■ **Petrograd**
the capital of the Russian Empire; it was renamed from St Petersburg to Petrograd in 1914, at the beginning of the First World War, because the original name sounded too German

■ **regent**
a person who administers a state for an underage monarch

The death of Rasputin in December 1916 could not undo the effect of his years of influence. As the new year began, even members of the Duma and several of the grand dukes of the imperial family talked of removing Nicholas. Their hope was to put his son, Alexis, on the throne, with the experienced and popular Grand Duke Nicholas (a cousin of Nicholas II and a former commander-in-chief of the Russian Army) as **regent** and effective leader.

The Russian Revolution

The last chapter of the Romanov dynasty began in February 1917. During a savage Russian winter, riots and demonstrations broke out over the shortage of bread in Petrograd. Striking workers from the factories swelled the numbers of protestors. The president of the Duma, Michael Rodzianko, sent telegrams to Nicholas II, advising him that it was ‘essential immediately to order persons having the confidence of the country to form a new government’. Nicholas ignored these warnings.

On 25 February, the city virtually came to a standstill as crowds once again marched to demonstrate against the government, with placards demanding bread, and calling for the overthrow of the tsar and the ending of the war. In parts of Petrograd, the police fired on the crowds but, in an ominous sign for the authorities, patrols of mounted **Cossack** troops refused to fire on the people. On 26 February, Nicholas, with a poor understanding of what was happening, ordered the military commander in Petrograd to end the disorder. A turning point in the revolution came as soldiers who sympathised with the protestors refused to fire against the crowds. This defiance against their commanding officers became a full-scale mutiny of the Petrograd garrison. Nicholas had given orders to suspend the Duma, but its members continued to meet. This in itself was an act of rebellion. Some ministry buildings and government offices had been occupied by revolutionaries. The headquarters of the secret police, police stations and the law courts had been set on fire. No one gave orders or directed events. According to one observer, it was as if the revolution had its own momentum. The Duma members formed a provisional committee to try to control the developing situation. Yet even as they were taking this step, a rival source of authority had arisen in the form of the workers’ soviet establishing a Provisional Government.

■ **Cossacks**
an Eastern Slavic-speaking ethnic Russian group with a strong military tradition

Abdication and the transfer of power to the Provisional Government

Finally grasping the seriousness of the situation, Nicholas began the rail journey home. Receiving word that the rail lines into Petrograd were in the hands of the revolutionaries, his train was forced to turn aside to Pskov. There, he heard that his generals had deserted him and received messages from the newly formed Provisional Government urging him to abdicate.

At first, Nicholas intended to abdicate in favour of his son, Alexis. Then, after talking to his personal physician – who reminded him of the seriousness of Alexis’ illness, and the likelihood that Nicholas and Alexandra would be separated from him by exile – he decided to include Alexis in the abdication document, which was signed on 2 March 1917. The throne passed to Nicholas’ brother, Michael, but he too was persuaded that the public would not accept him as tsar, and he abdicated. Russia was now a republic and the Romanov dynasty had ended after 300 years of rule. The Provisional Government did not last long. In November 1917, it was replaced by Lenin and the **Bolsheviks**.

■ **Bolsheviks**
a revolutionary political party led by Lenin that seized power from Russia’s Provisional Government in November 1917



SOURCE 25 A Russian bread queue guarded by the Imperial Police, March 1917



SOURCE 26 Striking workers at the Putilov steelworks, on the first day of the February 1917 revolution

SOURCE 27

At ten o'clock I went to Mass. The reports were on time. There were many people at breakfast, including all the foreigners. Wrote to Alix [Tsarina Alexandra] and went for a walk near the chapel by the Brobrisky road. The weather was fine and frosty. After tea I read and talked with Senator Tregubov until dinner. Played dominoes in the evening.

From the diary of Nicholas II, 26 February 1917, in Orlando Figes, *A People's Tragedy, The Russian Revolution 1891–1924*, 1997

9.3 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 What evidence does Source 25 provide about the impact of the war on the Russian people?
 - 2 Describe the scene shown in Source 26. What evidence does the source provide about the nature of the protests on the first day of the revolution?
 - 3 What evidence does Source 27 provide about the tsar's understanding of the protests in Petrograd on 26 February 1917?
-

The fate of the royal family

Nicholas had hoped that while the political turmoil of the revolution played itself out in Russia, he and his family would be allowed to retire to Livadia, their palace on the Black Sea coast. This was not to be. The new government could not let Nicholas stay at liberty. On the one hand, revolutionaries might try to kill him; on the other, supporters might try to restore him to the throne. Efforts to find the family a refuge abroad brought no results. The most obvious solution was to send them to Britain, where Nicholas's cousin George was king. However, British public opinion was against giving refuge to a man with such a reputation as a harsh ruler.

The royal family were at first confined to the palace at Tsarskoe Selo, outside Petrograd, then later moved to Ekaterinburg, a town far from the capital where the local soviet was loyal to the Bolshevik revolutionary cause. The family remained under guard, an afternoon's walk in the garden being the only break from the confinement in their rooms.

Beyond the walls of their prison, Russia was in the grip of a civil war. Supporters of the revolutionary Bolshevik Government (the Reds) were opposed by a collection of anti-Bolshevik forces (the Whites). As the fighting spread, Ekaterinburg, which was held by Red forces, came under threat from the approaching Whites. The decision was taken to kill the entire Romanov family to prevent their being rescued by the Whites and the possibility of Nicholas being restored to the throne.

Around midnight on 17 July 1918 the family were awoken and told to get dressed and be ready to leave. When they made their way downstairs, they were shown into a basement, and chairs were brought for the Tsarina Alexandra and Alexis. Then a firing squad entered the room.

All seven members of the family were shot, along with their servants and the family physician. Their bodies were placed in a truck and transported to an abandoned mine, where they were doused in sulphuric acid, burnt, and tossed down the mine shaft. This was not their last resting place. The Romanovs' head jailer, Yakov Yurovsky, was appalled to find upon his return to Ekaterinburg that the 'secret' burial place was being talked about all over town. The Bolsheviks did not want the grave of the last tsar to become a shrine for future generations of monarchists, and so it was necessary to move the bodies to a new hiding place. Yurovsky led another group of soldiers back to the mine. Once again, the bodies were placed in the back of a truck, which set off into the forest. There, the bodies were again doused with acid and reburied.

For almost 70 years, their whereabouts remained a mystery. The Soviet Union, under a communist government, kept its state files secret and showed no interest in the 'Romanov mystery'. With the collapse of communist government in 1991 came a new openness and the opportunity to unravel the puzzle. In 1979, three geologists and a writer investigating how the Romanovs had 'disappeared' had discovered the forest location and dug up three skulls. After making casts, the skulls were reburied. Fearful of the reaction from the authorities, they did not tell their story to the press until a decade later. In 1991, the grave was reopened and the bones of nine corpses removed. Modern techniques of forensic science established one of the skulls as that of the tsar. The grave of Nicholas Romanov had been found.

Yet there remained a further mystery. Of the 11 people shot, only nine skeletons were found in the grave. The remains of Alexis and one of the younger females were missing.

9.3b PROFILE



SOURCE 28
Anastasia in 1915

HISTORICAL DEBATE: DID ANASTASIA SURVIVE?

In 1920, a young woman was pulled from a canal in Berlin. It was presumed that she had attempted suicide, and for several months she was kept in a clinic while attempts were made to find her identity. Gradually, it emerged that this young woman claimed to be the tsar's youngest daughter, Anastasia. After she left the clinic and began a life that would take her from Europe to the United States, she became best known as Anna Anderson.

For years, her claim intrigued historians and surviving members of the Russian nobility. She fought several court cases to establish her identity, but they were inconclusive. During her lifetime, many people who claimed to know the Romanov family, including surviving relatives,

met Anna Anderson in a bid to establish the truth. Some, such as Pierre Gilliard, who had been tutor to Anastasia and her sisters, declared her to be a fraud. Others, such as the son and daughter of Dr Eugene Botkin, the Romanov physician who had died with the tsar, declared her to be genuine. In 1984 she died in Charlottesville, Virginia, United States, where she had settled.

If this was Anastasia, how did she survive? Her story was that she had been badly wounded and lapsed into unconsciousness. When she next opened her eyes, she saw stars above her. Seeing that she was still alive, a guard, Alexander Tschaikowsky, took pity on her and helped her to escape in the confusion and darkness that surrounded the disposal of the bodies. Eventually she made her way as a refugee to Romania, where she had Tschaikowsky's child and married him. After Tschaikowsky was killed in 1919, his young widow left the child with her late husband's family and made her way to the German capital, Berlin, in the hope that her mother's family would help her. However, when she approached the Netherlands Palace in Berlin she was overcome with doubts. Would she be admitted to the palace? Would any of the royal family be in residence? Would anybody recognise her after all the ordeals she had been through? Filled with despondency, she turned to the Landwehr Canal.

Attempts to prove or disprove the identity of Anna Anderson gave rise to a stream of books, films and documentaries. In the early 1990s, a British forensic team was commissioned to perform DNA tests to finally establish the identity of this mysterious woman. A television documentary based on this investigation showed various tests that had been carried out. These included comparison of her handwriting to Anastasia's, from surviving schoolbooks, and speech patterns compared with accents from eastern Europe. Ear patterns, like fingerprints, are distinctive and can be used as a means of identification. Measurements taken from Anna Anderson were compared with a photograph of Anastasia's ear, and found to be virtually identical. Anna Anderson and Anastasia appeared to be the same person.

However, the findings from the DNA sample were to upset this conclusion. Mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) is passed down through the generations from women to their children. Thus, mtDNA patterns can link people to their mothers and grandmothers, and even to ancestors who are separated by many generations. Using DNA obtained from the Duke of Edinburgh, a grand-nephew of the Tsarina Alexandra, it was found that Anna Anderson could not have been related to Alexandra and therefore could not have been Anastasia. Furthermore, a link was made, through the mtDNA, between Anna Anderson and the family of Franziska Schanzkowska. Schanzkowska was a Polish wartime factory munitions worker, and it had long been suggested that she and Anna Anderson were one and the same.

In August 2007, it was announced that the two missing bodies from the Romanov mass grave had been found by a team of Russian amateur historians searching in the forests around Ekaterinburg (now Yekaterinburg). Russian archaeologists asserted they had discovered the remains of a 10–13-year-old boy and an 18–23-year-old woman. In May 2008, a US genetic science laboratory confirmed the royal identities of the bones. Many would now be satisfied that the Anastasia mystery has been answered beyond a reasonable doubt.

Do you agree?



SOURCE 29 Anna Anderson in 1926

9.3b PROFILE TASK

Conduct some research to find three sources relating to the execution or survival of Anastasia from the firing squad in 1918. Assess the reliability and usefulness of these sources.

The fall of the Romanov dynasty can now be seen as a major event that helped shape the twentieth century and beyond. The Soviet Union, which emerged from the destruction of tsarist rule in 1922, would be a dominant world power for much of the century. It joined with Western allies such as Great Britain and the United States to resist Germany in the Second World War, and opposed them in the Cold War that followed. The rapid chain of events that led to the dissolution of the Soviet Union between 1989 and 1991 in some ways mirror the end of the Romanov dynasty. Some Western media sources refer to Vladimir Putin as a 'new tsar', indicating that in the world's understanding of Russia, the idea of a tsarist regime endures.

The Romanov dynasty exhibits many of the key features of modern history. There are both written and visual sources available that enable students and historians to analyse and assess competing perspectives. There are the memories of participants that express perspectives and bias that needs to be recognised. There are the clashes of forces of continuity (represented by the Romanovs) with the forces of change (represented by the political parties of the workers and the emerging middle class). There is the opportunity to examine the impact of the individual on history, with Rasputin, Nicholas II and Lenin all being worthy of further study. Finally, there is the drama of the Anastasia mystery. Could she have survived the assassination? Ultimately, as with many historical mysteries, emerging scientific techniques appear to have enabled the story of Anna Anderson to be fully explained.



SOURCE 30 Tsar Nicholas II with three of his daughters



FOR THE TEACHER

Check your [obook](#) [assess](#) for the following additional resources for this chapter:

Answers

Answers to each *Check your learning*, *Understanding and using the sources* and *Profile task* in this chapter

Teacher notes

Useful notes and advice for teaching this chapter, including syllabus connections and relevant weblinks

Class test

Comprehensive test to review students' skills and knowledge

assess quiz

Interactive auto-correcting multiple-choice quiz to test student comprehension

10

The Cuban Revolution

KEY CONCEPTS AND SKILLS

Analysis and use of sources

A revolution such as that experienced by Cuba in 1959 is often characterised by quick and often violent change. Individuals cope with change differently, and it is to be expected that you will confront a range of very different perspectives in the sources you consult in the course of your investigation of the Cuban Revolution.

Historical interpretation

How significant was the Cuban Revolution? Does its significance vary, depending upon the perspective of the person conducting the analysis? Is it possible to be free of bias when analysing such an event? All these questions must be considered as you investigate the Cuban Revolution.

Historical investigation and research

It is important to ensure that you engage with a variety of perspectives. Each perspective will challenge or support the argument you are developing, and, by engaging with it, you will be able to refine your own understanding.

Explanation and communication

Make sure you become familiar with important concepts that could help you communicate your historical understanding. Examine the words that are bolded and defined in this chapter and consider whether any of them could be useful as you communicate what you understand about the Cuban Revolution.

LEARNING GOALS

- > Understand the context, conduct and legacy of the Cuban Revolution.
- > Analyse sources relevant to an investigation into the Cuban Revolution.
- > Consider the significance of the Cuban Revolution in the post-Second World War world.

Fidel Castro speaks to the people of Santa Clara, c. 1959.

FOCUS QUESTIONS

- 1 What was the Cuban Revolution and why did it occur?
- 2 Who was Fidel Castro and why is he a significant historical figure?
- 3 How did the Cuban Revolution succeed?
- 4 What is the legacy of the Cuban Revolution?

10.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the causes, course and nature of the Cuban Revolution of 1959, and the impact it has had on Cuba and the world over the past 60 years. The Cuban Revolution saw the overthrowing of the US-backed military dictator Fulgencio Batista by Fidel Castro and his supporters. This was the most recent in a number of revolutions and uprisings in Cuba's history, which took place both during its time as a Spanish colony (1492–1898) and during the years when it was a **protectorate** of the United States (1902–59). After more than 400 years of occupation, Castro and his rebels succeeded in making Cuba a sovereign state. This has given Castro and his fellow revolutionary, Ernesto 'Che' Guevara, legendary status – not only in Cuba, but also among their ideological followers throughout Latin America and the world.

■ **protectorate**
a country that is controlled and protected by a more powerful country

The lens of historiography

Historiography is the study of the construction of history – how accounts of the past have been created, and how and why versions of the past have changed over time. The causes and nature of the Cuban Revolution, and the personalities and motivations of its leaders, have been the subject of ongoing historical research since 1959.

Since the 1990s, new evidence has stimulated reassessments by historians and political scientists about the revolution. In that decade, the US Government released previously classified documents held in its Cuba archives. Around the same time, **Communist** Party documents that had been held in the archives of the former Soviet Union became available to historians for the first time.

An increasing number of personal narratives and biographical accounts published in Cuba have also added to our understanding of the Cuban point of view. In 2016, British academic Steve Cushion examined a range of previously ignored Cuban documents, and developed an argument that the Cuban working class played a much larger and more significant role in the revolution than previously acknowledged.

These developments highlight one of the most important elements of historical investigation; namely that historical discourse constantly involves reassessment and revision of earlier ideas and perspectives.

■ **communism**
an economic system in which the means of production (for example factories, farms and machinery) are publicly owned by the state, and goods are distributed equally according to need, as opposed to privately owned and controlled systems such as capitalism

SOURCE 1 Fidel Castro and Che Guevara. These two revolutionary leaders gained legendary status in Cuba and around the world after the 1959 Cuban Revolution.

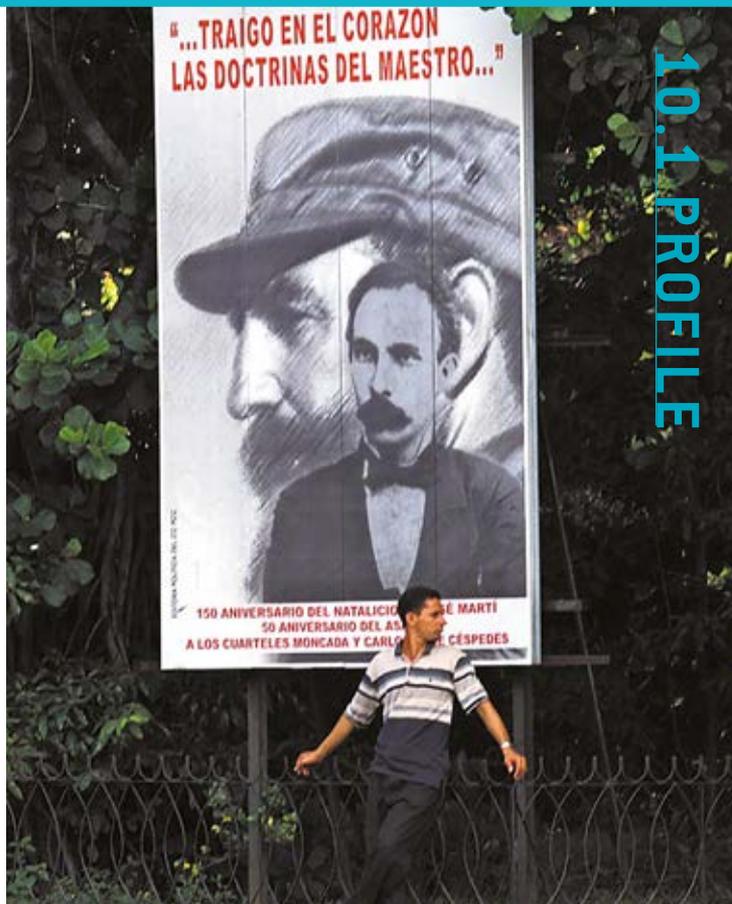


JOSÉ MARTÍ (1853–95)

José Julián Martí Pérez was born in the Cuban capital of Havana in 1853, during Spanish colonial rule. Originally planning to make a living as an artist, Martí left his art studies to join the **nationalists'** war for Cuban independence. During the war, he developed resentment towards the Spanish and slavery, which was still present in Cuba for years after its official abolition. In 1869 Martí was arrested and deported to Spain, where he continued to criticise the Spanish Government, publishing many articles that told of the atrocities carried out by the Spanish in the Caribbean.

Martí returned to the Americas after completing his law studies, moving between Mexico, Venezuela and Guatemala, and visiting a number of other Latin American counties. He gained a following of intellectuals and artists – many of them Cubans in exile – through his published essays, poems, books and articles. In 1893, Martí visited Cuban clubs throughout the United States and the Caribbean to raise funds for his return to Cuba, with the aim of starting a revolution against the Spanish. He finally entered Cuba in April 1895, but it soon became clear that he was not a skilled soldier. Martí was killed in a battle against Spanish troops on 19 May 1895, just over a month later.

Despite his military defeat, Martí's return to Cuba is regarded as having boosted the independence movement, and to this day he is regarded a national hero in Cuba. Castro often claimed that



SOURCE 2 A poster with images of Cuban national hero José Martí and Fidel Castro, in 2003. The text on the poster reads 'I have the master's teachings in my heart', in reference to Martí.

his movement was heavily inspired by Martí's fight for independence.

Stanzas of Martí's poetry were used as the lyrics of Cuba's most famous song, 'Guantanamera'. The song was not only an international hit in the 1960s, but has ensured that Martí's poetry has continued to live on through popular culture in films as diverse as *Godfather II* and *Antz*.

■ **nationalism**
a sense of pride in, and love of, one's country; advocacy of political independence for a particular country

10.1 PROFILE TASKS

- 1 Assess Martí's achievements. To what extent do you think he contributed to the 1959 Cuban Revolution? Explain your answer.
- 2 Investigate the history of the song 'Guantanamera'. Explain how its history and use can be explained by the concepts of continuity and change.

Key events in Cuba's history

1492

The Caribbean Island of Cuba is colonised by Spain.

1700s–1867

More than a million slaves are brought from Africa to Cuba to work in the sugar plantations.

1868–98

Cuban revolutionaries wage a 30-year war against the colonial power of Spain, influenced by the populist and nationalist ideas of poet and revolutionary José Martí.

1898

The United States increases its military presence around Cuba. On 15 February, the American battleship USS *Maine* explodes in Havana harbour and, soon after, the United States declares war on Spain. After the US victory, Cuba is made a protectorate of the United States.



A statue of Cuban national hero José Martí, Cienfuegos, Cuba



An American stamp, c. 1998, remembers USS *Maine*.

1901

The Platt Amendment is added to the Cuban Constitution, granting the United States the right to intervene in Cuban affairs.

1902

Cuba officially becomes independent. However, the Platt Amendment remains, limiting Cuban sovereignty.

1903

The United States and Cuba sign a reciprocal trade agreement. Cuba's economy is now controlled by the United States, and US companies own most of the sugar and tobacco plantations.

1906

Unrest in Cuba causes US President Theodore Roosevelt to call on the rights stated in the Platt Agreement and invade Cuba.

1914–18

The First World War rages in Europe, and sugar production there comes to a standstill. Cuba's economy booms with the high demand for Cuban sugar in the United States.

1925–33

Gerardo Machado, a war hero from the War of Independence against Spain, is elected president. Machado rules as a dictator and installs himself for a second term, causing major political unrest.

1933

The 1933 Revolution overthrows Machado on 12 August, and Ramón Grau San Martín becomes provisional president. The new government is not recognised by the United States.

1934

With US support, military leader Fulgencio Batista removes Grau's nationalist government. The Platt Amendment is officially abolished, but the United States retains its naval base in Guantánamo Bay. Cuba and the United States sign a new reciprocal trade agreement.



Colonel Fulgencio Batista (left), with a US general on a visit to Washington DC, 1938

1940

Batista is elected president. A new Cuban Constitution is adopted and Batista makes several social reforms, including labour rights and women's rights.

1944–52

Grau is elected president in 1944 and takes the presidency back from Batista. He serves until 1948, when he is succeeded by Carlos Prío Socarrás. In March 1952 Batista overthrows Prío in a military coup d'état and suspends the Cuban Constitution, enabling him to make decisions without reference to any elected body.

1953

Fidel Castro and his supporters stage a failed attack on the Moncada military barracks, and are imprisoned.

1955

Batista declares a political amnesty, releasing Castro and other political prisoners. Castro and his supporters relocate to Mexico. There they meet Ernesto 'Che' Guevara, who joins their group.

1956

Castro and his rebels return to Cuba. Their base is the jungle in the Sierra Maestra area, where they stay and grow their movement for the next two years.

1958

Batista has grown increasingly unpopular among the poor in Cuba, who stage revolts and strikes. Castro's rebels leave the Sierra Maestra and launch a popular insurrection. Batista orders army offensives against the rebels, but is not able to subdue them. On 31 December, Batista steps down and flees the country along with his family, the political elite and many US officials.

1959

Fidel Castro is sworn in as prime minister on 16 February 1959.



Fidel Castro speaking to the media shortly after the rebel victory in 1959

1960

Castro's close relationship with the Soviet Union and his adoption of communist ideals, such as his control of the economy, is met with hostility by the US Government. After US-owned oil companies refuse to process Soviet oil, Castro seizes all US-owned property in Cuba. The United States imposes a full-scale economic blockade of Cuba.

1961

The 'Bay of Pigs Invasion', a US-funded invasion of Cuba, fails to overthrow Castro.

1962

The Cuban Missile Crisis brings the world to a nuclear flashpoint when the Soviets place missiles on Cuba, at Cuba's request. After a two-week confrontation, the Soviets agree to withdraw the missiles under the condition that the United States will never invade Cuba again.

A US Navy Patrol plane flying over the missile-carrying Soviet ship *Potzunov* as it leaves Cuba in 1962



1962–2016

Castro rules Cuba as a dictator until his death on 25 November 2016, after which his brother Raúl takes over as president.

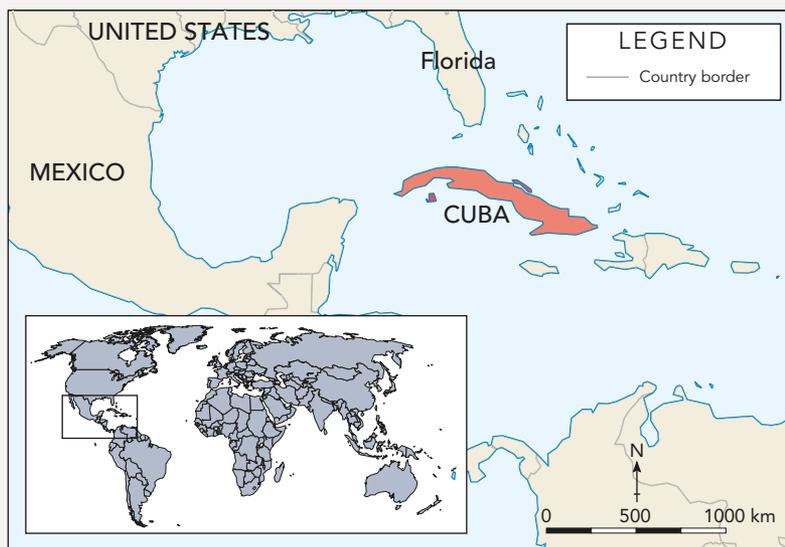
10.1 Check your learning

- 1 In your own words, write a definition of what you understand the term 'historiography' to mean.
- 2 What was the basis of Steve Cushion's new interpretation of the Cuban Revolution?
- 3 What changes in the 1990s helped historians develop new interpretations of the Cuban Revolution?

10.2 The historical context of the Cuban Revolution

In your investigation of the Cuban Revolution of 1959, it is crucial to understand that this turbulent time was only one of many uprisings and revolutions in the country's 450-year colonial history. What sets the revolution in 1959 apart is that it was the first one to result in a lasting, peaceful period in Cuba since the country was first occupied by Spain in 1492. It was also the first revolution to see Cuba emerge as a sovereign state, free from economic and political control by colonial powers.

CUBA



SOURCE 4 Cuba, located less than 170 km from the coast of the United States, is the largest island in the Caribbean.

Cuba as a Spanish colony

Cuba is the largest island in the Caribbean. It became a Spanish colony following the arrival of Christopher Columbus in 1492. Typical of colonial powers, Spain exploited Cuban resources for the benefit of Spain's domestic economy. Cuba's main agricultural products during this time were tobacco and sugar and, towards the late 1700s, it was completely dependent on the export of these products. By the 1860s, Cuba was one of the world's leading producers of sugar, and much of the export was going to Cuba's neighbour to the north, the United States.

Slavery and civil war

In order to meet the very high demand for Cuban sugar, the Spanish Government brought over millions of African slaves to work on the sugar plantations. Despite the Abolition of Slave Trade Act 1807, which saw British colonies abolish the slave trade, and the **emancipation** of slaves in the United States in 1865, the Spanish continued to profit from the slave trade until officially abolishing it in 1867. It has been estimated that, at one point, there were more slaves in Cuba than white Spanish colonists.

emancipation
the freeing of people from slavery



SOURCE 5 A woodcut from 1849 shows workers, probably slaves, working on a Cuban tobacco plantation.

Following a successful slave rebellion in neighbouring Haiti in 1791, the colonial government in Cuba became more **despotic**. The wealth that the export of sugar brought to the island did not benefit the people of Cuba, and even the plantation owners soon began to show their dissatisfaction. By the mid-1800s, Cuba was in a state of intense political unrest leading to a series of protests and uprisings, with intellectuals and political activists such as José Martí leading the struggle for an independent Cuba. In the 30-year period from 1868 to 1898, Cuba fought three wars of liberation against Spain, culminating in the Cuban War of Independence, 1895–98. These uprisings ultimately failed to end Spanish rule. It would take the intervention of the United States to do so.

■ **despotic**
governing with
threats or the use
of force

Cuba as an American protectorate

By the end of the 1890s, the US public had grown increasingly supportive of the Cuban cause, and many Americans regarded the Spanish as oppressive tyrants. Due to their own history as a British colony, Americans identified with the Cuban people's struggle to be free of European power. Many also regarded the Spanish use of slavery as barbaric and outdated.

The US Government was wary of the ongoing political instability taking place so close to its shores. After much public agitation by New York newspapers, the naval vassal USS *Maine* was sent to Havana in 1898 to observe the situation. On the night of 15 February, the *Maine* exploded in Havana harbour. To this day, historians are divided about who was responsible.

The newspapers published increasingly sensationalist headlines calling for revenge for the destruction of the *Maine* and the deaths of its 163 crewmen. The public outcry this created ensured that the United States declared war on Spain in April 1898. The Spanish–American War lasted for four months before Spain's defeat. The peace treaty that followed resulted in Cuba being declared an American protectorate.



SOURCE 6 A 1868 political cartoon depicting Uncle Sam and William H. Seward, the secretary of state in the Lincoln and Johnson administrations, discussing the annexation of Cuba under the allegory of a giant pear (Cuba) hanging over a garden wall from a tree on the other side (Spain).

The Platt Amendment

On 2 March 1901, US President William McKinley signed the Platt Amendment, a set of conditions to which Cuba had to agree in order for the US to withdraw from the island. The amendment gave the United States control over Cuba's economy; the right to intervene in Cuba, both politically and militarily; and the right to retain naval bases on Cuba, including the established base at Guantánamo Bay.

In practical terms, Cuba had replaced one colonial ruler, Spain, with another, the United States. For the Americans, the Platt Amendment consolidated their interest and control over a neighbour they believed was crucial to their long-term safety as a nation. It would take until the revolution of 1959 for Cuba to finally free itself from its new masters.

10.2a Understanding and using the sources

- 1 How does Source 5 help you understand the long-term causes of the Cuban Revolution?
- 2 Analyse Source 6 carefully. What point is it trying to make?

10.2a Check your learning

- 1 What were Cuba's main agricultural products, which brought wealth to its colonisers?
 - 2 What were Cubans such as José Martí fighting for in the nineteenth century?
 - 3 Sensationalist reporting of the unrest in Cuba was described as **yellow journalism**. Do you believe that the newspaper publishers bear any responsibility for the events in Cuba in 1898?
 - 4 Outline the main terms of the Platt Amendment.
-

■ **yellow journalism**
news reports based on sensationalism, to shock and attract readers

■ **coup d'état**
a swift, decisive and frequently violent seizure of power, often by the military

■ **puppet government**
a government where the person who wields effective power is not holding office

■ **populism**
a type of politics that claims to represent the opinions and interests of ordinary people

■ **agrarian reforms**
changes to the law relating to land ownership

Political, economic and social conditions under President Batista

Relying on the Platt Amendment for legal authority, the United States kept a close eye on the political situation in Cuba during the early 1900s and intervened when it found it necessary. In 1933, Fulgencio Batista became a military hero when he overthrew the US-backed dictator Machado in a **coup d'état** that had wide support among the Cuban people. Although not elected president until 1940, Batista held the real power in Cuba from this point, and ruled behind the scenes of several **puppet governments**.

In the first year after the coup, Cuba experienced a period of rapid social change. A range of **populist** reforms were introduced reflecting Western, democratic values, including women's voting rights, minimum wage for sugar-cane cutters and eight-hour work days. The new regime – led by Batista's approved president, Ramón Grau – also began to bring about **agrarian reforms**, which would give Cuba's peasants legal rights to their land. There is a strong argument that this period in Cuba's history was crucial to forming the basis upon which Castro and his followers would build their socialist reforms after the 1959 revolution.

The base for Batista's power in the 1930s was his position as the self-appointed chief of the armed forces. As the US Government became increasingly suspicious of the Cuban reforms, Batista became the Americans' favoured Cuban politician, and he received substantial support from them in exchange for his loyalty to the US government. This led to Batista leaving behind his progressive ways to rule as a dictator, from the moment he seized power again in 1952 and suspended the Cuban Constitution.



SOURCE 7 Cuban President Fulgencio Batista with US President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1942

Growing social and economic inequalities: 1940s–50s

Even though Cuba was more economically developed than many of the other countries in Latin America at this time, there was a vast gap between the lifestyles of the rich and the poor. During the 1940s–50s, the benefits of modernisation and capitalism continued to be unevenly shared.

Three of the reasons for the uneven nature of Cuba's economic development were:

- > The Cuban economy was still based heavily on primary production, mainly on its sugar industry. When world prices for sugar were high, the Cuban economy prospered, but when they fell, the Cubans suffered.
- > The sugar industry, 60 per cent of the land and most of Cuba's big businesses were all owned or controlled by US companies.
- > American investors controlled 90 per cent of Cuba's tobacco industry, and its iron ore, copper and nickel mines. They also controlled the railways, electricity and telephone system.

The result of these factors was that few Cubans had the chance to share in the wealth that their work created. Corruption was rife and most of the profits went to companies in the United States. Only a small fraction was spent on public works, schools, hospitals or improved wages for Cubans.

The contrast between rich and poor

During the 1950s, Cuba could be roughly divided into three separate societies.

The first Cuba was made up of the 1.5 million people who were part of the rural poor, or who suffered from high unemployment. Many were living on the brink of starvation, and the sight of malnourished, poorly dressed children in the streets was common.

The second Cuba comprised the 3.5 million people who struggled to get by. Economic dependence on the United States meant that the cost of living was high for the everyday working Cuban. Almost all manufactured goods were imported from the United States and sold at higher prices.

The third Cuba was the 900 000 people who benefited from 43 per cent of the national income. This group had so much money that they struggled to spend it. Many of them owned more than one luxury home, both in Cuba and in the United States. Some of them were so extravagant that they built luxury family tombs. These multi-storeyed mausoleums had lifts, telephones and air-conditioning. Even in death they were better housed than the majority of their fellow Cubans.

During Batista's dictatorship, Cuba's capital Havana was a playground for the wealthy. Cuba's tourism and casino industries were dominated by the American mafia. The staggering difference in wealth and opportunity was met with frequent revolts and demonstrations, which were repressed by Batista's armed forces. Cuba had become a **police state** – ruled by a dictator and run largely as a profit-making enterprise for dubious American companies.



SOURCE 8 Inequalities led to dissatisfaction among Cuba's many sugar plantation owners and workers who felt that President Batista had not followed through on his promise of land rights.



SOURCE 9 American tourists gambling at the Cuban casino at the Nacional Hotel in Havana, Cuba, 1957. At this time, 1.5 million Cubans were living in severe poverty.

■ **police state**
a state where the police, usually the secret police, detect and suppress opposition to the government

What caused the 1959 Cuban Revolution?

Prior to 1959, Cuba displayed many of the pre-conditions that the famous American historian and revolutionary theorist, Crane Brinton, suggests makes a revolution possible. Brinton differentiates between ‘pre-conditions’ – the environment that might make revolution possible; and ‘causes’ – the specific elements that lead to revolution. The relevant pre-conditions that were present in Cuba for decades before Castro took power in 1959 were as follows:

- 1 *an economically advancing society* – conditions where industrialisation, modern transport and communication create conflicts, opportunities and pressures for a new kind of government
- 2 *growing class conflict* – an environment where, although society has advanced and grown richer overall, wealth is not evenly shared; some people become exceptionally rich, while others remain exceptionally poor
- 3 *an alienated intelligentsia* – a growing class of better-educated people, teachers, doctors and lawyers, who begin to question the way that the society is governed and why wealth is unevenly shared
- 4 *government intransigence* – a government that is unwilling to listen to the complaints of the people and refuses to reform or change the system
- 5 *a corrupt and inefficient government* – which is easier to challenge
- 6 *financial crisis* – in this case, the **Great Depression**, which made life worse for the middle and lower classes, and posed an immediate challenge to the government, exposing its inefficiency.

■ **intelligentsia**
highly educated people with political influence, such as writers, journalists and academics

■ **intransigence**
unwillingness or refusal to change one's views or agree about something

■ **Great Depression**
a period of severe economic downturn that began in the United States and quickly spread around the world during the 1930s and 40s



SOURCE 10 Living conditions for the poor in Cuba, c. 1950

10.2b Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Explain what the two people shown in Source 7 would have to gain from their relationship with one another.
- 2 What evidence do Sources 8, 9 and 10 provide to a historian studying the causes of the Cuban Revolution?

10.2b Check your learning

- 1 Create a timeline of Fulgencio Batista's career.
- 2 Explain why inequalities between classes developed in Cuba from the 1930s onwards.
- 3 Compare life between the classes in Cuba under Batista.

10.3 The nature and course of the Cuban Revolution

Massive inequality, dependence on the United States, the Cuban Government's refusal to reform, and government corruption combined to create a growing sense of dissatisfaction among the majority of Cuba's population. This dissatisfaction made them likely to accept radical solutions. It was against this background that Castro developed his political and revolutionary ideas.

Castro's rise to power

Castro became politically active at the University of Havana, where he studied law. There, he became involved with student activism and joined the Partido Ortodoxo, a left-wing people's political party. After completing his studies, Castro opened a small law practice in Havana where most of his clients were poor Cubans, many of whom he represented free of charge.

With Batista controlling the courts and no chance of fair elections, Castro decided that an armed revolution was the only way to put an end to the regime. Castro and his brother Raúl recruited supporters for an attack on the Moncada army barracks on 26 July 1953. The assault failed and Castro was arrested. During his trial, Castro made a four-hour speech that was later published as *History Will Absolve Me*, a **manifesto** justifying his actions and setting out his complaints about the Batista Government.

■ **manifesto**
a public declaration to express beliefs and intentions



SOURCE 11 Posters of Fidel Castro in Santiago de Cuba, 2016, which is often referred to as birthplace of the Cuban Revolution

The central points of Castro's manifesto were:

- > Land reform is required to support the 85 per cent of Cuba's small farmers who live in constant fear of being thrown off their land.
- > Cuba needs to be industrialised and infrastructure must be improved to serve the more than two million people living without electricity.
- > The housing shortage must be addressed and the hundreds of thousands of people living in huts without proper sanitation must have their living standards raised.
- > Opportunities for education in rural areas are limited; this must change.
- > Quality medical care should be available to everyone, not only to the rich.

SOURCE 12

amnesty

a general pardon for crimes against the government, or under an earlier regime

Only death can liberate one from so much misery. In this respect, however, the State is most helpful – in providing early death for the people. Ninety per cent of the children in the countryside are consumed by parasites which filter through their bare feet from the ground they walk on. Society is moved to compassion when it hears of the kidnapping or murder of one child, but it is indifferent to the mass murder of so many thousands of children who die every year from lack of facilities, agonizing with pain ... They will grow up with rickets, with not a single good tooth in their mouths by the time they reach thirty; they will have heard ten million speeches and will finally die of misery and deception.

Fidel Castro, *History Will Absolve Me*, 1953



SOURCE 13 Castro is questioned by Cuban military and intelligence officials following the attack on the Moncada army barracks, 26 July 1953.

At his trial, Castro was sentenced to 15 years in prison and his brother Raúl to 13 years; but following an **amnesty** by Batista, both were released after only serving 18 months. Releasing the Castro brothers proved to be a major mistake by the government. Soon after their release, the Castros left Cuba for Mexico, where they spent two years building support and developing a plan for their revolution. This is where Castro met the Argentinian doctor and **guerrilla** leader Che Guevara, who joined the revolutionary cause. Under the cover of darkness, Castro and his followers arrived back in Cuba on a small yacht, the *Granma*, landing on a beach in Cuba's south-east on 2 December 1956. The rebels moved inland and took refuge from Batista's police and military forces in the remote Sierra Maestra mountains.

guerrilla

a style of warfare where small groups confront a much larger enemy with surprise attacks and ongoing harassment

The nature of guerrilla warfare and the activities of revolutionaries

The Moncada attack had given Castro a loyal following – both in Cuba and among Cubans in exile. His return to Cuba resulted in great media interest and Castro proved to be a master of communicating to the world, even when operating from his jungle headquarters in the Sierra Maestra. He named his guerrillas the '26th of July' movement, after the date of their attack on Moncada.

Castro's revolutionaries worked hard to win over the poor local farming population. They treated the farmers fairly, and helped build schools and educate the population about the rights they should have. Throughout their time in the jungle, the group's members rarely numbered more than 200. Despite this, they manage to evade arrest by avoiding major battles, specialising instead in guerrilla 'hit and run' tactics. Batista had more than 30 000 soldiers and police officers, but Castro recognised that many of them were not committed to the fight. They were **conscripts**, or else they had joined the army only because it provided an income, clothes and food. Castro adopted a strategy of releasing captured government troops after they surrendered and gave up their weapons. This move won the sympathy of some of Batista's soldiers and also helped arm the rebels.

conscript

a person who is compulsorily enlisted in the armed forces



SOURCE 14 During his time in hiding in the Sierra Maestra, Fidel Castro won the support of local farmers by supporting social projects and instilling hope that his revolution would see the end of Batista's brutal rule.



SOURCE 15 Castro (left) and Che Guevara in the woods of the Sierra Maestra, 8 October 1957



SOURCE 16 A huge crowd gathers in Revolution Square in Havana, July 1959, to hear Castro deliver one of his soon-to-be-infamous lengthy speeches.

Batista's attempt to crush Castro's forces through heavy-handed military tactics, random arrests of possible rebels and the raiding of towns in the region only served to create stronger opposition against his regime. By the end of 1958, Castro had cultivated a 'Robin Hood' image in America, and the US Government had called for Batista to step down. The United States, which up until this point had armed Batista's military, stopped supplying weapons. Left to fend for himself and confronted by growing resistance from the public and his own army, Batista realised that his time was up. On New Year's Eve 1958, Batista and his aides fled Cuba.

After Batista's escape from Cuba, his police and military did nothing to stop Castro's rebels as they entered Havana on 1 January 1959, allowing Castro to claim victory in the revolution.



SOURCE 17 Castro's rebel soldiers wave from a tank upon their arrival in Havana, Cuba, 1959.

Women and the Cuban Revolution

Although women's rights in Cuba started to improve after Batista's 1933 coup, the role of women in Cuban society was still mainly limited to taking care of the home. Castro's movement offered an alternative, and attracted women who contributed to everything – from helping to spread propaganda, to sewing uniforms, smuggling weapons and participating in the fighting. The most influential woman during the revolution was Celia Sánchez, a friend and secretary of Castro's, who had been part of the 26th of July movement since the Moncada barracks attack. Sánchez had also been present in Mexico, and was one of the organisers of the *Granma* landing in 1956. After the victory in 1959, Sánchez was given the title of Secretary to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers.



SOURCE 18 Celia Sánchez with Fidel Castro, c. 1960

10.3 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Analyse Sources 12–18, and explain how they would assist a historian investigating the motivation for and conduct of the Cuban Revolution.
- 2 What argument is Fidel Castro making in Source 12?
- 3 Explain how Sources 17 and 18 provide evidence to support the suggestion that the Cuban Revolution expanded the roles available to women in Cuban society.

10.3 Check your learning

- 1 Identify how Castro's early career as a lawyer could have helped to shape his political views.
- 2 Explain why the attack on the Moncada army barracks was significant for the Cuban Revolution.
- 3 Describe the ideology that Castro's manifesto represents.
- 4 Describe Castro's tactics and campaign, from his arrival in Cuba in December 1956, through to Batista's departure from Cuba on New Year's Eve 1958.

10.4 The aftermath of the revolution

Cold War

a state of political conflict and hostility that existed between the Soviet Union and the United States from 1945 to 1990, characterised by threats and propaganda, but not resulting in direct fighting or military conflict

Marxist

a supporter of the political and economic theories of the nineteenth-century Prussian-born philosopher Karl Marx, whose theories formed the basis of communism

SOURCE 19 A wall painting in Havana features the iconic image of Che Guevara

After taking over power, Castro promised to tear down the old corrupt Cuba and introduce a fairer and more equitable system. At first, Castro's government was made up of intellectuals, but they were soon replaced by those closest to him, including his brother Raúl and Guevara, both of whom had ministerial positions.

In the first few months after forming government, Castro signed his first agrarian reform, blocked foreigners from owning Cuban land, gave land title deeds to thousands of peasants, lowered rents, and forced American companies to leave the island. However, this was also a time of brutal measures against those who had resisted the revolution. The regime imprisoned those opposing the new government, often without trial, and many people were executed or fled into exile to the United States.

Nationalism, populism and communism

It is easy to label the Cuban Revolution as a communist revolution. However, while Castro's government did follow a communist path after 1959, that does not mean that the nature of the revolution can only be interpreted as a communist one. The Cuban Revolution of 1959 – like the nineteenth-century war against Spain and Jose Martí's fight for independence – is better understood as a war of national liberation. For a country that had not been in control of its own destiny for more than 450 years, freedom from colonial oppression was a far more powerful motivation to the everyday Cuban than where their government stood on the political spectrum. This is now being acknowledged by a growing number of American historians.

The Cuban Revolution consisted of several elements: nationalism, populism and communism. Each of these elements combined to define the nature of the Revolution. The Communist element became dominant after 1959 due to the circumstances of the revolution, opposition from the United States, and the broader historical context of the **Cold War**.

The ideology of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara

Guevara and Raúl Castro were both staunch **Marxists** and great admirers of the political developments in the Soviet Union. In expressing his belief in communism, Guevara once said that the communist ideas expressed by Karl Marx in the nineteenth century must be seen to be as obvious as the laws of gravity. After the revolution, Guevara expanded on his Marxist philosophy. In his role as finance minister in Castro's government, he was responsible for some of Cuba's boldest experiments in social justice. He was, however, idealistic, and was often criticised for lacking an understanding of economics.

While Fidel Castro would soon abandon some of his pre-1959 ideals in order to create stronger bonds with the powerful Soviet Union, Guevara did not back down from denouncing the Soviet Government for what he thought was failed communism, which he saw as being almost as imperialistic in nature as America's capitalism. Castro soon realised that Guevara's devotion to Marxism could be a threat to the Cuban–Soviet relationship.

By 1965 Guevara had been fired from his government post, renounced his honorary Cuban citizenship and left Cuba. He remained committed to spreading the communist revolution, and advocated support for revolutionary movements across Latin America and in Africa. He was executed by officials in Bolivia while trying to organise a guerrilla army there in 1967.

In many ways, Guevara came to represent the idealistic and **utopian** potential of the revolution. By contrast, Castro was a populist and a tactical genius, having claimed on various occasions prior to 1959 that his revolution was neither left, nor right, but 'one step forward'. The strongest communist or Marxist influence on Castro's ideology came after he took power.



SOURCE 20 Fidel Castro (right) and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, United Nations General Assembly, New York, September 1960

The impact of the Cold War

The Revolution cannot be fully understood without recognising that it took place in the height of the Cold War. Information recently made available from the former Soviet Union's archives revealed that initially the Soviets did not prioritise links with Cuba after Castro came to power. They regarded Cuba and the Latin American region as part of the US **sphere of influence**. This approach changed as China started to threaten the Soviet Union's position as the leader of the international communist movement. An alliance with a country strategically placed only a few hundred kilometres from the American coast became a great asset to the Soviets in the early 1960s.

The creation of a communist state

The hostility of the United States and the need for economic aid from the Soviet Union encouraged Castro to embrace communist ideas of a centralised, planned economy and government ownership of key industries. In October 1959, an unofficial Soviet representative arrived in Cuba to establish a direct link between the Soviet and Cuban Governments. The following year, the Cuban Government signed a trade treaty and resumed full diplomatic relations with the Soviets. The US Government responded to this development by establishing a series of secret action plans to overthrow the Cuban Government, and by imposing a full-scale **economic blockade** of Cuba.

The Bay of Pigs Invasion and the Cuban Missile Crisis

In April 1961, anti-Castro Cubans living in exile in the United States invaded Cuba. More than a thousand exiles – who had been funded, trained and armed by the **CIA** – landed on Cuba's southern coast at the Bay of Pigs. However, they were overwhelmed by counter-attacks from Castro's military forces within just three days, and almost all were captured. This invasion attempt convinced the Cuban Government that it was in constant danger of being overthrown by the US Government.

In 1962, the Cold War Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev made a deal with Castro to place Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba, pointed at the United States. In exchange, Cuba would receive continuous economic support and political protection.

■ **utopian**
aiming for a state in which everything is perfect

■ **sphere of influence**
an area in which a foreign power has significant military, political and economic influence or control

■ **economic blockade**
restrictions on trade

■ **CIA**
Central Intelligence Agency; a department of the US Government that collects information about other countries, often secretly

This decision resulted in the Cuban Missile Crisis, a tense 13-day confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union that took the world to the brink of a nuclear conflict. The crisis ended after the Soviets agreed to withdraw the missiles, under the condition that the United States would never again invade Cuba.

Cuba after the Cold War

Like the revolutionaries who had come before him, Castro soon lost much of the support he had at the time of the revolution. Despite the fact that Castro had introduced popular reforms, such as free education and healthcare, the people of Cuba grew frustrated with the **totalitarian** government and their isolation from the rest of the world.

When the Cold War ended with the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, it was a devastating blow for the Cuban regime. Cuba was now ideologically isolated, and it had also lost the economic support from the Soviets it had enjoyed for decades. Cuba lost valuable aid and trading privileges, and was left with billions of dollars of debt. The financial crisis hit the population hard. For the first time since the revolution of 1959, Cubans took to the street to protest against the government.

Castro answered by cracking down on protesters and urging those not satisfied with the regime to leave for the United States. Thousands left the country, and the US Government responded by opening its borders to Cuban immigrants. This, however, inadvertently helped Castro consolidate his power. By welcoming Cuban dissidents, the United States provided a kind of ‘safety valve’ that removed any powerful people who might have been able to oppose Castro’s regime.

The fall of the Soviet Union allowed for glacially slow movement towards increased engagement between Cuba and the United States. This reached its strongest point under US President Barack Obama, who moved towards warmer relations between the two countries.

When Castro died on 25 November 2016, Raúl had already been the acting president for almost 10 years, due to his brother’s illness. During this period, Cuba’s relations with the international community improved, the normalising of Cuba’s relationship with the United States being the most significant development. In 2012, Cuba received the first shipment of American aid in over 50 years, and in 2015, Obama reopened the US Embassy in Havana.

■ **totalitarian**
a form of government where a single party controls the country’s administration and most other areas of life, requiring complete subservience and suppressing opposition



SOURCE 21 Che Guevara, Raúl Castro and Vilma Espín (Raúl’s wife and fellow revolutionary), 1964

10.4 Understanding and using the sources

Compare Source 20 with Source 7. Explain the continuities and changes in Cuban–American relations represented by these two photographs.

10.4 Check your learning

- 1 Explain how Castro’s actions and agenda after the revolution represented elements of nationalism, populism and communism.
- 2 Identify the reasons why Che Guevara left Cuba after the revolution.
- 3 Outline the impact of the Cold War on the Cuban Revolution after Castro came to power.
- 4 What did Castro gain by allowing political dissidents to flee to the United States?

10.5 Historical debate: what is the legacy of the Cuban Revolution?

For many people around the world, the Cuban Revolution of 1959 came to represent what was possible in terms of both national independence and social reform. Those who supported the fight for socialist reforms viewed Fidel Castro and Che Guevara as heroic defenders of the poor. Those on the other end of the political spectrum, as well as many exiled Cubans, view them as cold-blooded tyrants who used terror and executions to control their people. As with any historical debate, the reality is more complex.

The Cuban Revolution also had direct political implications for other countries in the Latin and South American region. While many South American countries looked to Cuba for inspiration and support for their own socialist revolutions in the mid to late 1900s, a number also suffered consequences due to their relationship with Cuba. Following the 1959 revolution, the US Government was wary of similar revolutions breaking out in the region. In order to stop what it saw as the threat of spreading communism, the United States helped to overthrow democratically elected socialist governments and install military dictatorships in Guatemala (1954), Brazil (1964) and Chile (1973) during the Cold War.

Almost 60 years after the Cuban Revolution, it is hard to say whether it was ultimately successful. On the one hand, Castro and the 26th of July movement met their promises to the Cuban people in terms of making Cuba a sovereign state, free from colonial masters. The Castro regime also successfully produced social reforms that saw millions of Cubans receiving developed-world education and healthcare. Perhaps the most significant legacy of the revolution, however, is the nearly six decades of relative peace that Cubans have enjoyed for the first time since the arrival of the Spanish in 1492.



SOURCE 22 In Nicaragua, supporters of the socialist President Daniel Ortega celebrate his re-election in 2011 by waving Che Guevara flags.



SOURCE 23 Cuban President Raúl Castro and US President Barack Obama meet for talks in Havana, Cuba in March 2016. This was the first visit to Cuba by a US president since 1928.

On the other hand, Cuba did not become the free socialist utopia that many Castro supporters had dreamt of. Like so many before him, Castro grew to become a dictator who demanded loyalty from his people, limited free speech, and harassed and imprisoned those who questioned him, including journalists and bloggers. The isolationist politics of the Castro regime have left Cuba lagging decades behind other countries in the region.

The next few years will likely see further changes to Cuba's politics, both domestic and international. The current president, Raúl Castro, has indicated that he will step down in 2018. By then, few living Cubans will remember a time before the 1959 revolution.

10.5 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Analyse Source 22 and explain the evidence it provides about the legacy of the Cuban Revolution.
- 2 Explain the significance of the event shown in Source 23.

10.5 Check your learning

- 1 Identify two different perspectives that Fidel Castro represents, and explain why people would hold each viewpoint.
 - 2 Was the Cuban Revolution a success? Create a table with two columns, headed 'For' and 'Against', and list the relevant arguments on each side.
 - 3 Discuss what the future may hold for Cuba if Raúl Castro steps down from the presidency of Cuba in 2018.
-

In the nearly 60 years since Fidel Castro forced President Fulgencio Batista to flee from Cuba and ushered in a revolution, the country has undergone great change, while maintaining many continuities. The revolution threw off the chains of foreign control that had been in place since 1492. On the other hand, independent Cuba found itself alienated from its nearest neighbour, the United States, because of its adoption of a communist-inspired ideology.

Castro ensured that Cubans had access to healthcare and education, but the continuity of US economic sanctions ensured difficulties for the Cuban economy, particularly after the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991. The socialist reforms also came at the cost of freedom of speech and lack of democracy.

The future of Cuba can really only be understood with knowledge of the Cuban Revolution. Fidel Castro is dead, and his brother Raúl has planned to step down from the presidency in 2018. This will end 60 years of Castro rule. Despite Cuba's warmer relationship with the international community, the wounds of the revolution have not completely healed and it will continue to shape Cuba's destiny for decades to come.



SOURCE 24 Cubans pay tribute to Fidel Castro in the midst of a nine-day mourning period following his death on 19 November 2016.



FOR THE TEACHER

Check your [eBook](#) [assess](#) for the following additional resources for this chapter:

Answers

Answers to each *Check your learning*, *Understanding and using the sources* and *Profile* task in this chapter

Teacher notes

Useful notes and advice for teaching this chapter, including syllabus connections and relevant weblinks

Class test

Comprehensive test to review students' skills and knowledge

assess quiz

Interactive auto-correcting multiple-choice quiz to test student comprehension

11

The Boxer Rebellion in China

KEY CONCEPTS AND SKILLS

Analysis and use of sources

The introduction of photography opened the way for a new type of source to be available to historians. Consider what photographs of the Boxer Rebellion reveal, and whether the type of technology available at the time limits their validity as historical sources.

Historical interpretation

One of the challenges of the Boxer Rebellion for historians is deciding why it happened. It is critical that any interpretation you develop is based on sources. If you reject some sources, it is important that you do so with valid reasons, not simply because they do not fit the argument you are trying to make.

Historical investigation and research

Try and consult a range of sources as you investigate the Boxer Rebellion. For example if you use a photograph as a source, is there a written source that can add further insight or explanation? By doing this, you will strengthen the interpretation you develop during your investigation.

Explanation and communication

How are you going to communicate your findings? Consider whether the sources you are using make one type of communication method more suitable than another.

LEARNING GOALS

- > Understand the causes, nature and outcome of the Boxer Rebellion.
- > Access and utilise a range of sources to support a historical interpretation of the Boxer Rebellion.

Imprisoned Boxers in their compound, c. 1900

FOCUS QUESTIONS

- 1 What was the Boxer Rebellion and why did it occur?
- 2 Who were the Boxers and what did they believe?
- 3 What was the outcome and legacy of the Boxer Rebellion?

11.1 Introduction

This chapter will investigate the Boxer Rebellion in China (1898–1900). The Boxer Rebellion is one of the best-known but perhaps least-understood aspects of Chinese history. As such, it is an excellent introduction to the historian’s craft.

dowager
a widow with a title or property derived from her late husband

The Boxers were not in fact ‘boxers’; they were a semi-religious peasant group known as the ‘Righteous and Harmonious Fists’. They became known as ‘Boxers’ by foreigners because of their ritual of performing gymnastic-like movements before going into battle. The Boxers believed such rituals made them invulnerable to bullet or sword. Further, the Boxer uprising

was not actually a rebellion. The term ‘rebellion’ implies that the Boxers wanted to overthrow the ruler of the Qing dynasty of China, the Empress **Dowager** Cixi. In fact, the Boxers supported the Qing, but they were opposed to foreign influence in all its forms; they wanted to drive out all foreigners, their works and their Christian religion. Thus the Boxer Rebellion could be more accurately described as an anti-foreign uprising or movement.

The Boxer movement gained support in northern China at a time when peasants had suffered decades of poverty and famine. Their protest took the form of violent attacks on foreign traders, and on Christian missionaries and their Chinese converts.

Background to the Boxer Rebellion

During the nineteenth century, China fought four wars, all ending in defeat. The first of these was the First Opium War (1839–42), which broke out when the Chinese Emperor wanted to stop the British from selling opium to the Chinese. The opium trade was very profitable for the British, and they refused. Tensions between the countries grew further as the British Government demanded that the principle of extraterritoriality be followed in China, meaning that British citizens in China followed British law, not Chinese law.

SPHERES OF INFLUENCE IN CHINA, EARLY 1900s



SOURCE 1 This map shows the spheres of influence held by European and Japanese powers in China in the early 1900s.

The increasing enmity between the two nations led to armed conflict between British and Chinese naval forces in 1840. The British Navy was superior and easily defeated the Chinese. The war ended with the signing of the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842, which further extended British political and economic control in China, forced China to pay significant money in **indemnity** and made Hong Kong a British colony.

The Treaty of Nanjing failed to resolve the tensions between the two nations and the Second Opium War (1856–60) broke out. This time, the British forces were backed up by French, Russian and US troops, which helped bring China to another crushing defeat. As a result of the treaty that ended the first phase of the war – the Treaty of Tianjin of 1858 – Russia, France and the United States all gained trading rights in China, and China was obliged to pay still more in indemnity, this time to both Britain and France.

In summary, the peace treaties following China's defeats in the Opium Wars, the Sino (Chinese)-French War (1884–85) and the Sino-Japanese War (1894–95) forced China to pay millions in indemnity, open up more ports to foreign trade, and grant territories to foreigners as **spheres of influence** (see Source 1).

While the involvement of the Chinese Government in the origins of the Boxer movement is debated, it was clear by 1900 that Cixi openly supported the Boxers in their 'war' against the foreigners in China and that she used the Imperial Army to fight on their side.

The event that gained worldwide attention during the Boxer Rebellion was the siege of the foreign **legations** in the nation's capital, Beijing (formerly Peking), from June to August of 1900, during which the Boxers and the Imperial Army held foreigners and Chinese Christians captive. Armed forces from eight foreign nations combined to lift the siege.

Although the Boxers failed to drive out the foreigners, their uprising was significant in China's history.

■ **indemnity**
money paid by one country to another country after military defeat, as a condition of peace

■ **sphere of influence**
an area in which a foreign power has significant military, political and economic influence or control

■ **legations**
buildings in which foreign government officials work and reside



SOURCE 2 Chinese Christians take refuge in a Christian mission during the Boxer Rebellion. The Boxer Rebellion was largely aimed at foreigners, but most of the victims were Chinese.

Key events in China's relationship with European powers and the Boxer Rebellion

1793

The Chinese Emperor Qianlong informs the British representative Lord Macartney that the Chinese possess 'all things', and therefore have no need of the goods offered by the British in trade. Qianlong has little knowledge of the outside world, or of the growing economic and industrial power of the West. He shares this quality with many of China's rulers and it continues to be a factor in the relationship between China and the outside world, up to the time of the Boxer Rebellion.

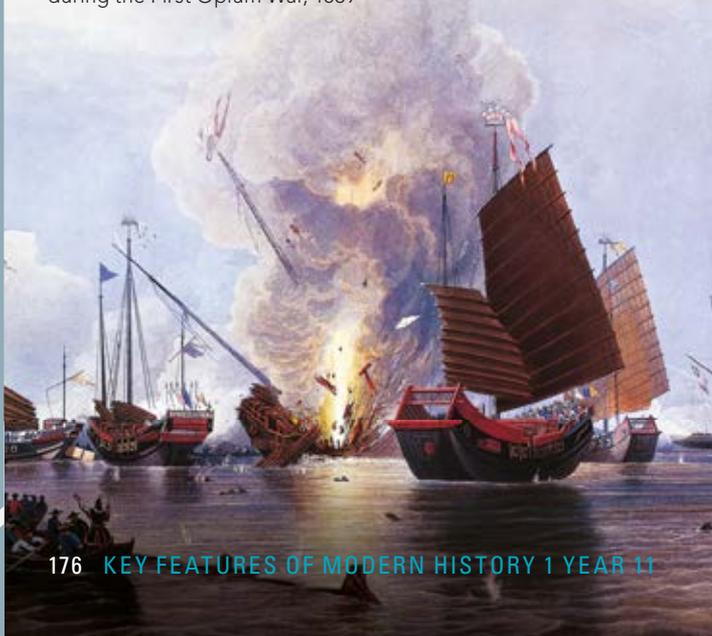


An ancient Chinese painting of the Emperor Qianlong

1839–42

The First Opium War – this war is used by Britain to open China up to trade. The issue is the right of the Chinese Government to stop the British transporting opium (grown in India) into China, in exchange for silver. The quick British victory reflects the level of corruption and military backwardness in China. The war ends in 1842 with the Treaty of Nanjing (formerly Nanking).

A painting shows British ships destroying Chinese vessels during the First Opium War, 1839



1842

The Treaty of Nanjing provides foreigners with extra territorial rights, meaning foreigners are not subject to Chinese laws.

1856–60

The Second Opium War – the cause of the second conflict is similar to the first. Westerners want to exploit the markets and raw materials of China, and the Chinese Government is powerless to stop them. The first phase of the war ends in 1858, when China signs separate treaties with Britain, France, Russia and the United States. Collectively, these are known as the Treaties of Tianjin. The treaties were ratified in 1860, and the war came to an end.

1884–85

The Sino-French War – this war is another typically one-sided affair. The French use the war to secure control of the area known as Indo-China.

1894–95

The Sino-Japanese War – Unlike its larger neighbour, Japan has recognised the technological superiority of the West by this time and has adopted modern, Western technologies in warfare and industry. The result is a crushing defeat for Chinese forces as the Japanese take control of Korea and look for the same trading privileges in China as the Western powers.

1897

Two German missionaries are killed in China. The German Government uses this as an excuse to occupy part of the Shandong province. Britain and Russia demand more territory as well.

1898

The '100 Days of Reform' movement begins in January. Following the defeat in the Sino-Japanese War and the growing territorial demands of the Western powers, Kang Youwei, a minor court official, convinces Emperor Guangxu of the need to reform and modernise China. The movement is short-lived; it challenges the existing social and military order too much. The Emperor's aunt, the powerful Empress Dowager Cixi, stages a coup and takes over with the support of conservative nobles and generals. From this point on, she holds the power in China.

1898

May: The first mention of the Boxers in an official government report – the report makes reference to anti-Christian violence in the Shandong province. This violence is directed toward churches, European missionaries and Chinese converts.

1899

The local governor of Shandong recruits Boxers as militia to oppose more German expansion in his province.

1900

June: Boxer violence increases. The Empress Dowager Cixi declares war on the foreign alliance – the United Kingdom, Russia, Japan, the United States, Germany, Italy, France and Austria-Hungary – and prevents the Imperial Army from controlling the Boxers as they attack any foreign outpost, foreigner or Christian. Large numbers of Boxers attack Western homes and businesses in Beijing and Tianjin.

More than 475 foreign civilians, 3000 Chinese Christians and 450 foreign troops are besieged inside the legations in Beijing. By this time, Imperial troops have sided with the Boxers. The Western powers respond by sending in troops to crush the Boxers and the Imperial Army.

A scene from the 1963 film *55 Days at Peking*, which was based on events during the Boxer Rebellion



The public execution of a Boxer leader, 1900

1901

September: The Western powers defeat the Imperial Army and the Boxers, and impose the settlement known as the 'Boxer Protocol'. The Qing call the attacks a rebellion to limit the penalty imposed by the West. They manage to keep the foreign troops out of southern and central China, but a harsh peace treaty further expands Western power and influence in China.

1908

Emperor Guangxu dies from acute arsenic poisoning on 14 November. Historians have suspected that the Empress Dowager Cixi ordered the poisoning. She died less than 24 hours later, on 15 November, aged 72. Three years later China would become a republic.

11.1 Check your learning

- 1 How did the Boxers get their name?
- 2 In what period did the Boxer Rebellion occur?
- 3 Why is the Boxer Rebellion better described as an 'uprising' rather than a 'rebellion'?

11.2

The aims and membership of the 'Righteous and Harmonious Fists'

peddler
a person who goes from place to place selling goods

China has a long history of peasant rebellion and a tradition of secret societies. The Boxers are part of both. Their background is obscure, but a historical reference to them can be found as early as 1808. They had links to other secret societies, including the 'White Lotus' and the 'Big Sword Society' (an anti-Christian group that had similar rituals to the Boxers).



SOURCE 4 Many of the Boxers were very young.

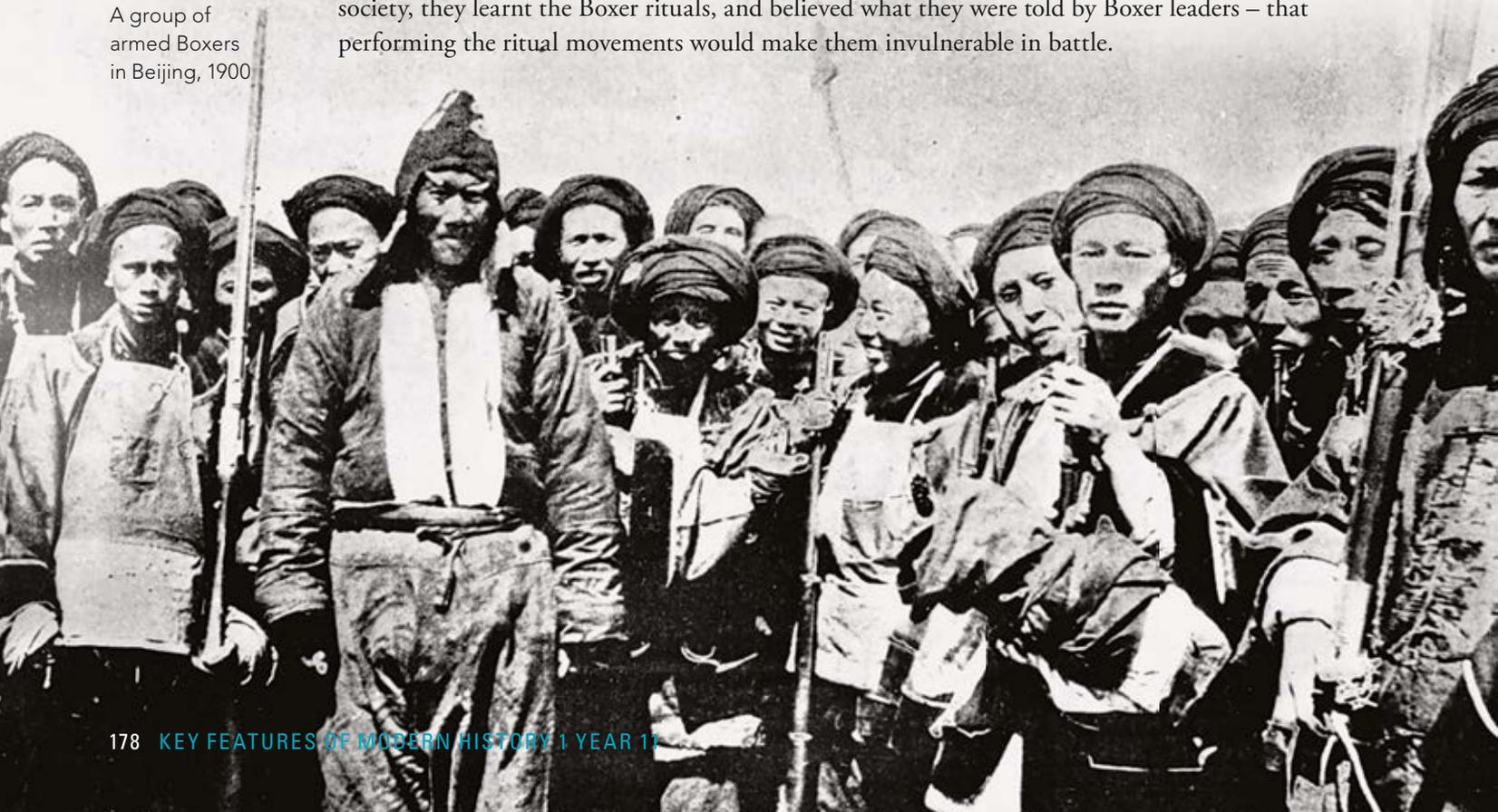
Who were the Boxers?

The Boxers were mostly peasants from Shandong and Zhili in northern China. Historian Joseph Esherick described the Boxer homeland as 'a poor agricultural region, densely populated, but particularly prone to both natural and human disasters'. Almost all the Boxers were adolescents, with local leadership provided by Chinese monks and **peddlers**, many from the class that had led local peasant uprisings in the past. Female Boxers were known as Shining Red Lanterns.

The Boxers were either illiterate or semi-literate. Some of their ideas appeared

to be inspired by travelling operas and sensational stories. In their induction to the secret society, they learnt the Boxer rituals, and believed what they were told by Boxer leaders – that performing the ritual movements would make them invulnerable in battle.

SOURCE 5
A group of armed Boxers in Beijing, 1900



The origins and aims of the Boxer movement

There is a range of opinions among historians about the origins and aims of the Boxer movement. The two main points of view relate to whether the Boxers were originally formed to oppose the Qing dynasty or to support it.

The most widely held view is that the Boxers began as an anti-Qing movement; in other words, they were opposed to the existing government of China. By the 1890s they had changed from opposing the Qing to supporting them, but they retained their opposition to foreigners. The alternative view is that the Boxers were recruited by the Qing as a **militia** to help oppose foreigners. Events in Shandong in 1899 – when the local governor recruited Boxers to oppose German expansion – seem to support this view.

The difficulty in deciding between these two quite different points of view arises because of the sources available to historians. Many of the sources we have about the Boxers come from Chinese officials. Some were hostile to the movement, while others were sympathetic to it. Other information comes from European missionaries, who were among the Boxers' prime targets. Still more information has been gained from oral histories taken from the peasants of Shandong. Historians studying the Boxers need to be aware of the biases of each of these groups.

■ **militia**
a military force raised from members of the civil population (not professional soldiers) that can be used to support an army

Reasons for the emergence of the Boxers

A range of factors contributed to the emergence of the Boxers, including the following:

- 1 *China had suffered over 50 years of foreign exploitation and humiliation* – by 1898, foreign countries had 'sliced off' bits of China and there appeared to be a real risk that China might be broken up and shared out as colonies among the foreign powers.
- 2 *Strong anti-Christian feeling* – the Western missionaries and their Chinese converts seemed to challenge the old traditions. Missionaries were usually the only foreigners who settled in regions further away from the trading ports, and they became the targets of anti-foreign sentiment. Their Chinese converts were seen as traitors to their culture and their country.
- 3 *Foreign advancements caused economic difficulties* – imported foreign cotton was cheaper than the Chinese product, which suffered as a result. Local handicrafts were also affected, which led to growing unemployment. According to historian Immanuel C.Y. Hsu:

SOURCE 6

By the end of the 19th century, the country was beset by bankruptcy of village industries, decline of domestic commerce, rising unemployment, and a general hardship of livelihood.

Immanuel C.Y. Hsu, in Thomas D. Schoonover, *Uncle Sam's War of 1898 and the Origins of Globalization*, 2013, p. 40

The foreigners were blamed for many of China's ills.

- 4 *China's history of secret societies and traditional beliefs* – to understand the emergence of the Boxers and the way they were viewed by society, one must acknowledge China's long history of secret societies, as well as the widespread beliefs in traditional Chinese folk religion, which was at odds with Christianity.



SOURCE 7 The vast Yellow River, northern China. The Boxers blamed the foreigners for the devastating Yellow River flood in 1897, one of the deadliest natural disasters ever recorded.

■ **I-ho magic boxing**
the practice of spiritual and martial arts that the Boxers believed would make them invulnerable to bullets

5 *Natural disasters* – the Yellow River dominated the vast plains in northern China. It had shifted its course in 1852 and flooded regularly from 1882. A major flood in 1897 affected more than a million people. This was followed by a severe drought in 1900. The Boxers blamed the foreigners, saying that Western technology and the construction of Christian churches had angered the traditional spirits.

SOURCE 8

Attention: all people in markets and villages of all provinces in China – now, owing to the fact that Catholics and Protestants have vilified our gods and sages, have deceived our emperors and ministers above, and oppressed the Chinese people below, both our gods and people are angry at them, yet we

have to keep silent. This forces us to practise the **I-ho magic boxing** so as to protect our country, expel the foreign bandits and kill Christian converts, in order to save our people from miserable suffering. After this notice is issued to instruct you villagers, no matter which village you are living in, if there are Christian converts, you ought to get rid of them quickly. The churches which belong to them should be unreservedly burned down. Everyone who intends to spare someone, or to disobey our order by concealing Christian converts, will be punished according to the regulation when we come to his place, and he will be burned to death to prevent his impeding our program. We especially do not want to punish anyone by death without warning him first. We cannot bear to see you suffer innocently. Don't disobey this special notice!

A Boxer notice, 1900, in S. Teng and J. Fairbank, *China's Response to the West*, 1968, p. 190

SOURCE 9

Girls who joined the Boxers were called 'Shining Red Lanterns'. They dressed all in red, in one hand they had a little red lantern and in the other a little red fan. They carried a basket in the crook of their arm. When bullets were shot at them they waved their fans and the bullets were caught in the basket. You couldn't hit them! Some were possessed by spirits and say they were Ma Guiying or Hu Jinchan [heroines in Chinese legend].

In every village there were girls who studied the Shining Red Lantern ... They'd wave their fans and go up into the sky. They didn't want people to watch so they'd practice at night when it was dark. There was a song then that went:

Learn to be a Boxer, study the Red Lantern, Kill all the foreign devils and make the churches burn.

From the recollections of eyewitnesses, in Pai-kai Cheng and Michael Lestz, *The Search for Modern China*, 1999, pp.185–6

11.2 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 What was the purpose of the notice in Source 8?
- 2 How can Sources 8 and 9 help historians investigating spiritual beliefs in China at the time of the Boxer Rebellion?
- 3 According to Source 9, what did the Shining Red Lanterns believe and what were their aims?

11.2 Check your learning

Summarise the two conflicting theories about the Boxers' origins.

11.3 The nature and extent of the Boxer Rebellion

The Boxer Rebellion was almost entirely limited to northern China, where the uprising began with attacks on Christians in the rural province of Shandong. Source 12 shows the types of incidents and numbers of attacks in Shandong from May 1899 to January 1900.

Territories in Shandong were part of the German sphere of influence in China, and in 1897, two German Catholic missionaries were killed in an attack on a Christian mission in the Shandong town of Juye. The attack was used as a pretext by the German Government to increase its influence in the province; it sent two gunboats and seized control of Jiaozhou Bay.

Germany demanded that the Qing Government pay compensation to the mission that had been attacked and also forced the removal of Shandong's governor and other officials. Further, Germany ordered that three Catholic churches be built, as well as fortified residences for German missionaries.

The increasing missionary activity in Shandong in the following years led to a growing number of Boxer attacks. In 1898, such attacks were mentioned for the first time in official Qing Government reports.

In 1899, the Governor of Shandong, who was one of the Empress Dowager Cixi's conservative allies, recruited Boxers as militia to oppose more German expansion in his province. This action is seen by historians as evidence of the Qing Government using the Boxers to drive out foreigners. When the Western powers protested, however, the Qing Government appeared to act against the Boxers and the Governor was replaced; but the Boxers simply moved to the neighbouring province of Zhili.

THE AREAS AFFECTED BY THE BOXER REBELLION, 1898–1900



SOURCE 10 The Boxer Rebellion started in northern China and the Boxers soon entered Beijing.

SOURCE 11

Officers of the eight-nation alliance at the gates of the Forbidden City, the Chinese Imperial palace in Beijing, during the Boxer Rebellion, c. 1900



SOURCE 12 Boxer attacks in Shandong, May 1899 – January 1900

TYPE OF INCIDENT	THOSE AFFECTED	5 MAY – 4 OCT (148 DAYS)	5–18 OCT (14 DAYS)	19 OCT – 2 NOV (15 DAYS)	3–14 NOV (12 DAYS)	15–27 NOV (13 DAYS)	28 NOV – 7 DEC (10 DAYS)	8 DEC – 5 JAN (29 DAYS)	TOTALS
Vandalism	Christians	4	0	0	1	2	1	19	27
	Non-Christians	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Theft	Christians	10	48	0	90	53	37	80	318
	Non-Christians	8	2	0	0	4	1	9	24
Extortion	Christians	4	0	2	12	47	5	12	82
	Non-Christians	0	0	0	0	9	0	4	13
Kidnapping	Christians	0	0	0	6	4	0	3	13
	Non-Christians	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	4
Arson	Christians	0	0	0	20	92	0	9	121
	Non-Christians	0	0	0	1	9	0	1	11
Injury	Christians	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	3
	Non-Christians	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	6
Deaths	Christians	0	0	0	1	2	1	1	5
	Non-Christians	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	3
All incidents	Christians	18	48	2	130	203	44	124	569
	Non-Christians	8	2	0	2	23	3	23	61

Source: J.W. Esherick, *Origins of the Boxer Uprising*, 1987

The international response to the rebellion

From May 1900, Boxer raids increased and spread to the area around Beijing and Tianjin, with Western missions and churches as their main targets. In response, eight countries – Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Britain, Italy, Japan, Russia and the United States – sent troops to protect their citizens, who were finding themselves under mounting threat in Beijing. A large contingent of 2000 foreign troops under the leadership of British Admiral Edward Seymour moved towards Beijing from Tianjin by rail. However, they came under attack by Boxers halfway into the journey and were forced to fight their way back to Tianjin. On 13 and 14 June 1900, the Boxers attacked Christians and foreigners in Beijing and Tianjin, while the Qing Government attempted to calm the Western powers by telling them that their diplomats in Beijing were well defended by the Imperial Army and that there was no need for them to send troops.

On 20 June 1900, Clemens von Ketteler, a German diplomat in Beijing, was killed by Boxers. The Qing Government had promised to keep foreigners safe; but rather than following through on those promises, the Empress Dowager reacted by declaring war on all the foreign powers.

According to British historian Vincent Purcell, it was the Imperial Court that authorised the Boxer attack on the foreign diplomats in Beijing. He suggests four possible motives for this action – that the court wanted to:

- > vent anger against the foreigners
- > stir up patriotic feeling among the Chinese people
- > remove the foreign military presence from the Qing capital
- > eliminate foreigners as possible witnesses to Imperial involvement in the fighting.

■ **besiege**
the act of surrounding an area with armed forces in order to capture it or force its surrender

Siege of the foreign legations in Beijing

Foreign diplomats, missionaries and Chinese Christians in Beijing fled to the foreign legations, where they were **besieged** by Boxers and Qing Imperial troops from 20 June to 14 August 1900. Reinforcements were sent to Beijing by the eight-nation alliance, and a force of 19 000 soldiers and marines attacked and gained control of Beijing. The siege was finally ended when Indian troops, part of the British Army, broke through. Trapped inside the diplomatic compound, along with the 475 foreign civilians and 3000 Chinese Christians, were 450 troops from the allied nations.

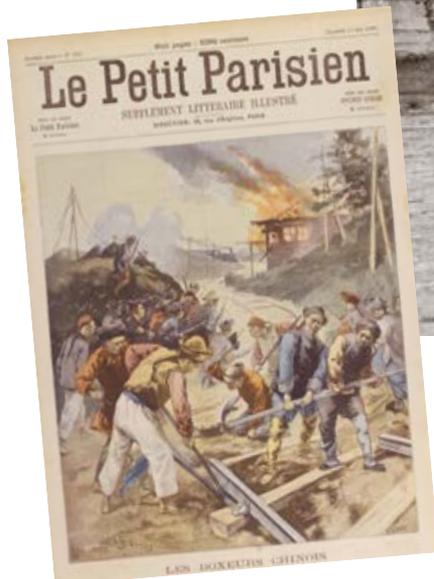
During the siege, 66 foreigners were killed and 150 wounded. But as was the case with China's earlier clashes with Western powers, the Boxer Rebellion was eventually crushed by superior foreign weaponry and technology. The Boxers, despite all their rituals, were not invulnerable to bullets.



SOURCE 13 Japanese troops, part of the international force that crushed the Boxer Rebellion, with bodies of victims of the Boxers

SOURCE 14

American troops march in the Forbidden City after the lifting of the Boxer siege in Beijing



SOURCE 15 The front page of a French newspaper, 17 June 1900, shows Boxers destroying railroad tracks between Beijing and Hong Kong

Federation the process by which the separate self-governing colonies came together to form the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901

Australia's involvement in the Boxer Rebellion

The foreign troops in China included a small contingent from Australia. These men left home as Victorians and New South Welshmen supporting the British Empire, but by the time they returned home from China in March 1901, they were Australians.

Federation had been proclaimed while they were away in the service of Britain.

The Australian contingent was mainly naval, and was small because the colonies had already committed forces to support another of Britain's wars, in South Africa. Those from New South Wales travelled to Pei Tang to capture the Chinese forts there, along with troops from Russia, Germany, Austria and India. However, they arrived too late to take part in the attack. A short time later, the Victorians made their way to Pao-ting Fu, but by the time they arrived the fort had already surrendered.

Although they missed the fighting, the Australians remained for nine months, as foreign troops became a kind of international police force in Beijing. Six Australian soldiers died from sickness or injury during this time.

11.3 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Look carefully at Source 12, which records Boxer attacks between 5 May 1899 and 5 January 1900 in the rural province of Shandong.
 - a Who were the most common victims of Boxer attacks?
 - b What conclusions can you draw about the Boxers from this source?
- 2 What evidence do Sources 13 and 14 provide about China's relationship with foreign powers at the time of the Boxer Rebellion?

11.3 Check your learning

- 1 What key events led to the siege of the foreign legations in Beijing?
- 2 What are the suggested motives behind the decision of the Imperial Court to wage war on the foreign diplomats?

THE EMPRESS DOWAGER CIXI: HER ROLE AND MOTIVATION IN ENCOURAGING THE BOXER REBELLION

Cixi first arrived at the Imperial Palace as a 16-year-old concubine (mistress) to Emperor Xianfeng. After five years in the Imperial Court, Cixi gave birth to a son, who succeeded his father and became Emperor Tongzhi at the age of five, after Xianfeng's death in 1861. At the time of his death, Xianfeng had a wife, the Empress Dowager Ci'an. As Cixi was the mother of the young Tongzhi but Ci'an was the Empress Dowager, tensions soon grew between the two women.

Although Ci'an's official title was Empress Dowager, she became known as the 'East Empress Dowager', while Cixi was called the 'West Empress Dowager', based on the locations of the palaces where they lived. It soon became clear that Cixi had greater political aspirations than Ci'an, and she had great influence over the politics of China during Tongzhi's reign.

That reign, however, was to be short. Tongzhi died in 1875, aged only 19, without leaving any male heirs to the throne. This created a crisis in the courts. It was eventually decided that Cixi's nephew, whom she had adopted, would become emperor. Like Cixi's own son, the nephew was only a young child when he took over the throne and became Emperor Guangxu, which meant that Cixi was again the de facto ruler of the Qing dynasty.

The sudden death of Ci'an in April 1881 saw Cixi strengthen her grip on power over the empire. By this point, Cixi had become a talented political strategist who employed



a variety of techniques – including plots, lies, sexual favours and even murder – to influence her ministers and other powerful people in and around the courts.

In 1898, Cixi led a coup that deposed her nephew from the throne and placed him into palace confinement, as part of a reaction against the reforms that he attempted to make during the famous but short-lived '100 Days of Reform' movement. There was no longer any doubt that Empress Dowager Cixi was the ruler of the Qing Empire.

Although the Boxer Rebellion was a peasant movement, the entire affair would have been different had it not been for Cixi, who used the Boxers to force the foreigners to reduce their influence in China. In her decision to use the Boxers in this way, Cixi was influenced by several hard-line, anti-foreign conservatives at court, notably Prince Tuan. In hindsight, it was the greatest single political miscalculation of Cixi's life. Nevertheless, it proved to be a typically devious tactic; and even though the Boxers failed, she survived. In the end, Cixi's relationship with the Boxers was paradoxical. If the Boxers succeeded, she would take the credit; if the Boxers failed, they would take the blame.

SOURCE 16

The Empress Dowager Cixi, seated, receives the wives of foreign diplomats in 1903. Cixi is holding hands with Mrs Sarah Pike Conger, one of the survivors of the Boxer siege of the Beijing legations.

11.3 PROFILE TASKS

- 1 Research the life of Cixi. Write an account of her rise to power in the Imperial Court and include sources of evidence that support your account.
- 2 Research sources that either corroborate or challenge the view that Cixi supported the Boxer Rebellion. Evaluate your sources for their reliability and usefulness.

11.4

The implications of the rebellion for China and the Qing dynasty

■ propaganda

information, especially of a biased or misleading nature, used to promote a political cause or point of view

When the foreign troops arrived in Beijing, the Empress Dowager Cixi was smuggled to safety. After peace terms were arranged, she returned to the capital some 18 months later. Qing officials promoted the myth that the uprising had been a rebellion, with the hope of limiting the penalty the Western powers might impose on China. The Qing **propaganda** was only partly successful. The terms of the settlement, known as the 'Boxer Protocol', included the execution of 10 high-ranking Qing officials and the punishment of 100 others. The area of the legations in Beijing was enlarged and more troops were brought in to defend it. The Protocol also stated that an indemnity of \$333 million was to be paid by China to the European powers over a period of 40 years.

The effect on the Qing Empire could, however, have been worse. The Boxer Rebellion was limited to northern China, and government officials in other parts of the country had managed to ignore Cixi's call for war with the West. Although the peace treaty required China to accept foreign troops being stationed in northern China, these troops were out of key regions in central and southern parts of the country.

Historical debate: was the Boxer Rebellion a complete failure?

The Boxer Rebellion has often been described as a catastrophe. The uprising seemed to be a desperate and fanatical response by peasants to forces beyond their comprehension or control, and in the short term, it was indeed a catastrophe. In particular, it resulted in the Chinese people facing an enormous tax burden, as the Imperial Government raised the money to pay the massive indemnities imposed by the foreign powers. In the longer term, however, the Boxer Rebellion triggered some major historical changes, and the Boxers did in fact have a victory of sorts. Their action prevented the foreign powers from taking further control over China and dividing the Empire up between the European powers as colonies, as was happening throughout Africa and other parts of Asia at the time.

The Boxer Rebellion was also a clear reflection of an emerging **nationalist** movement, which was to transform China in the twentieth century. But this new century was not going to be defined by dynasties. The decisions made by Cixi and her court during the uprising indicated that the Qing dynasty was incapable of ruling China. As a result, the



■ nationalism

a sense of pride in, and love of, one's country; advocacy of political independence for a particular country



SOURCE 17 A propaganda poster from the 1960s shows Chairman of the Communist Party Mao Zedong, who launched the Cultural Revolution. The Communist Party publicly glorified the Boxers as national heroes.

Boxer Rebellion accelerated demands for reform and revolution, and the eventual overthrowing of Qing rule in 1911 can be traced back to the Boxer Rebellion of 1898–1900.

It is now more than a century since the Boxer Rebellion. With the advantages bestowed by time and a new perspective, it is possible to see the status and significance of the event more clearly. Looking back on the Boxer Rebellion today, it is clear that the events that took place in the late 1800s and early 1900s in China offer insights into aspects of imperialism, nationalism, globalism, power balance and authority.

As a historian, it is crucial to look at these events in the cultural context in which they took place. This includes understanding the commonly held beliefs that there were racial differences between the Westerners and the Chinese. Racially superior ideals were held on both sides, and it is fair to say that neither side fully understood the other.

Over the past hundred years, the Boxer Rebellion has been repeatedly used and reused to champion a range of views and causes. From 1903, Dr Sun Yatsen and the Republicans employed the rebellion as an example of Chinese nationalism and the struggle against oppression. During the 1920s, the emerging Chinese Communist Party referred to the Boxers as anti-imperialists. From 1949, following the Communist takeover, the Chinese Government recorded the stories of the aging, surviving Boxers and used them in party propaganda, where they were turned into Communist heroes. In 1967, during the period of the radical social and political movement known as the Cultural Revolution, members of the

Red Guard (a student paramilitary force) claimed to follow the Boxers' example in their opposition to corrupt government officials and foreign interference. Finally, in 1989 during the famous anti-Communist Government protests in Tiananmen Square, Beijing, some of the protesters compared themselves with the Boxers.

11.4 Check your learning

- 1 What were the key terms of the Boxer Protocol?
 - 2 Why have some historians described the Boxer Rebellion as a catastrophe?
 - 3 What were some of the long-term outcomes of the Boxer Rebellion for China?
-

Historians still debate elements of the Boxer Rebellion in China. As China has tried to distance itself from the West, reliable historical sources remain difficult to access. As the sources used in this chapter reveal, however, the camera had become a vital method of recording history, and photographs provided a greater range of primary sources for historians to interpret.

The Boxer Rebellion sought to expel foreigners from China, and restore more traditional values and beliefs to the country. In this way, it was a very conservative uprising – seeking to maintain continuity rather than impose change. The role of the Empress Dowager Cixi adds an extra element of complexity for historians to unravel, and should allow you to reflect on the impact individuals can have on history. Ultimately the uprising failed, but it would echo through twentieth-century Chinese history as the country sought to rebuild its power and influence, without kowtowing to the West.



SOURCE 18 Representatives of the German, British, French, Italian, American and Russian military forces that combined with Austria-Hungary and Japan and defeated the Boxer Rebellion, 1900



FOR THE TEACHER

Check your [obook](#) [assess](#) for the following additional resources for this chapter:

Answers

Answers to each *Check your learning*, *Understanding and using the sources* and *Profile* task in this chapter

Teacher notes

Useful notes and advice for teaching this chapter, including syllabus connections and relevant weblinks

Class test

Comprehensive test to review students' skills and knowledge

assess quiz

Interactive auto-correcting multiple-choice quiz to test student comprehension

12

The Origins of the Arab–Israeli Conflict



Three Jewish children on their way to Palestine after being released from the Buchenwald Concentration Camp at the end of the Second World War

FOCUS QUESTIONS

- 1 What is the historical origin and significance of Palestine?
- 2 What is the historical basis of the conflict between Arabs and Jews in the Middle East?
- 3 What role has Britain played in the Arab–Israeli conflict?

KEY CONCEPTS AND SKILLS

Analysis and use of sources

Due to the lengthy historical background to the Arab–Israeli conflict, you will come in contact with a wide range of sources in your studies. It is essential that you not only utilise a range of sources, as you would in any historical study, but also analyse those sources to ensure you recognise their perspective and any potential bias.

Explanation and communication

When dealing with controversial topics, it is important to make sure that you can clearly communicate the fact that you have developed a historical understanding that is based on a range of factual material. Take the time to explain not only your view, but also why it is valid.

Historical interpretation

This chapter brings into sharp focus the question of how historians arrive at balanced interpretations of events. As you explore aspects of this topic, you will be accessing the viewpoints of those who may be promoting personal agendas. You will need to examine personal perspectives and assess their validity through corroboration and depth of research.

Historical investigation and research

Researching the origins of the Arab–Israeli conflict will involve you having to cover a significant period of time in your investigation. You have to be prepared for your research to stretch further back in time than you might have originally planned.

LEARNING GOALS

- > Analyse a range of sources to recognise perspective and bias.
- > Understand the origins of the Arab–Israeli conflict.
- > Understand how historical events and forces can impact on the present.

12.1 Introduction

A study of the Arab–Israeli conflict, by necessity, begins with the Old Testament. It is a conflict that has its roots in mythology and conflicting sources, spanning up to 3000 years of history. It involves conflicting and biased perspectives, and has led to the modern city of Jerusalem being one of the most contested sites in the world today. It links religion and history, and requires acceptance and acknowledgment of faith and fact. The timeline in Source 3 shows key events in the Arab–Israeli conflict from the more recent past, 1897–1948.

This long-running conflict has helped shape the world you are living in now. In examining and understanding the roots of the Arab–Israeli conflict, you will be moving towards a greater understanding of the contemporary world. This is an opportunity to see how history shapes the present and future.

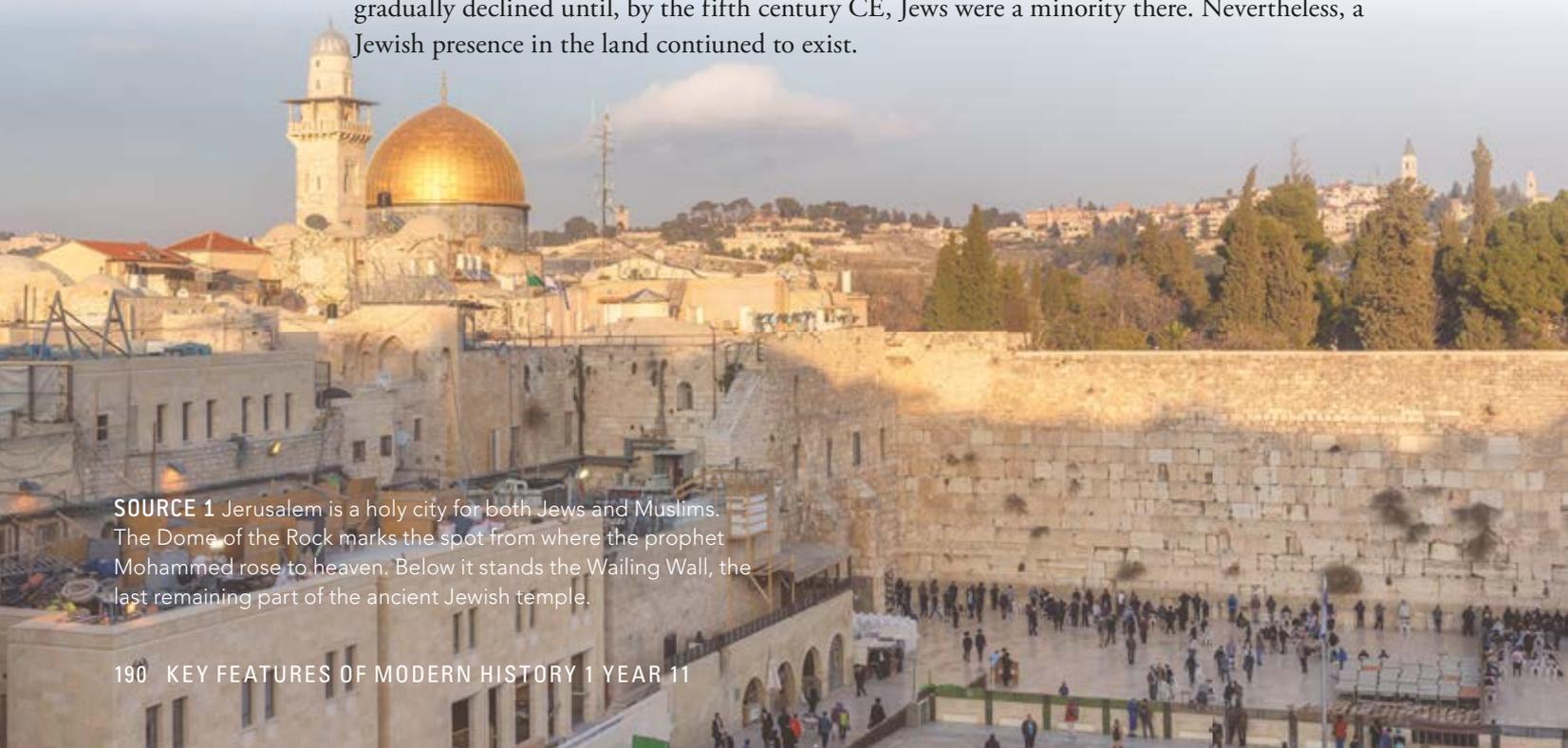
The historical context of the Arab–Israeli conflict

The Old Testament tells the story of how Abraham was guided by God to settle in the land of Israel, once called Canaan and later Palestine. The Jews often referred to Israel as ‘the Promised Land’ because of their belief that God had promised it to Abraham and his descendants. Despite the differences that were later to emerge between them, Arabs and Jews by tradition share a common ancestor in Abraham, who was in turn descended from Shem, the son of the biblical character Noah. The term ‘Semite’ is given to any one of a variety of ancient peoples who claim descent from Shem, though for practical purposes the term **antisemitic** has come to mean anti-Jewish.

In CE 70, the Romans conquered the city of Jerusalem and the Jewish temple there was destroyed, except for the western wall, which remains to this day and is known as the Wailing Wall (see Source 1). Many Jews fled or were driven out of Palestine, and became known as Jews of the **Diaspora**, or Dispersion. They never gave up hope of one day returning to the Promised Land, but for many centuries this seemed impossible. The Jewish population of Palestine gradually declined until, by the fifth century CE, Jews were a minority there. Nevertheless, a Jewish presence in the land continued to exist.

■ **antisemitic**
hostile to or
prejudiced
against Jews

■ **Diaspora**
the dispersion of the
Jews beyond Israel



SOURCE 1 Jerusalem is a holy city for both Jews and Muslims. The Dome of the Rock marks the spot from where the prophet Mohammed rose to heaven. Below it stands the Wailing Wall, the last remaining part of the ancient Jewish temple.

Arab peoples began to move into Palestine in the seventh century CE. Most Arabs adopted the Muslim faith and spoke their own language, Arabic. Like the Jews before them, the Arabs had to endure invasion from foreign powers. The Ottoman Turks ruled the area from 1516 to 1920, during which time Palestine was an area without fixed boundaries within the Turkish Empire. For centuries, Jews and Arabs lived in relative harmony under their Turkish rulers.

Developments at the end of the nineteenth century

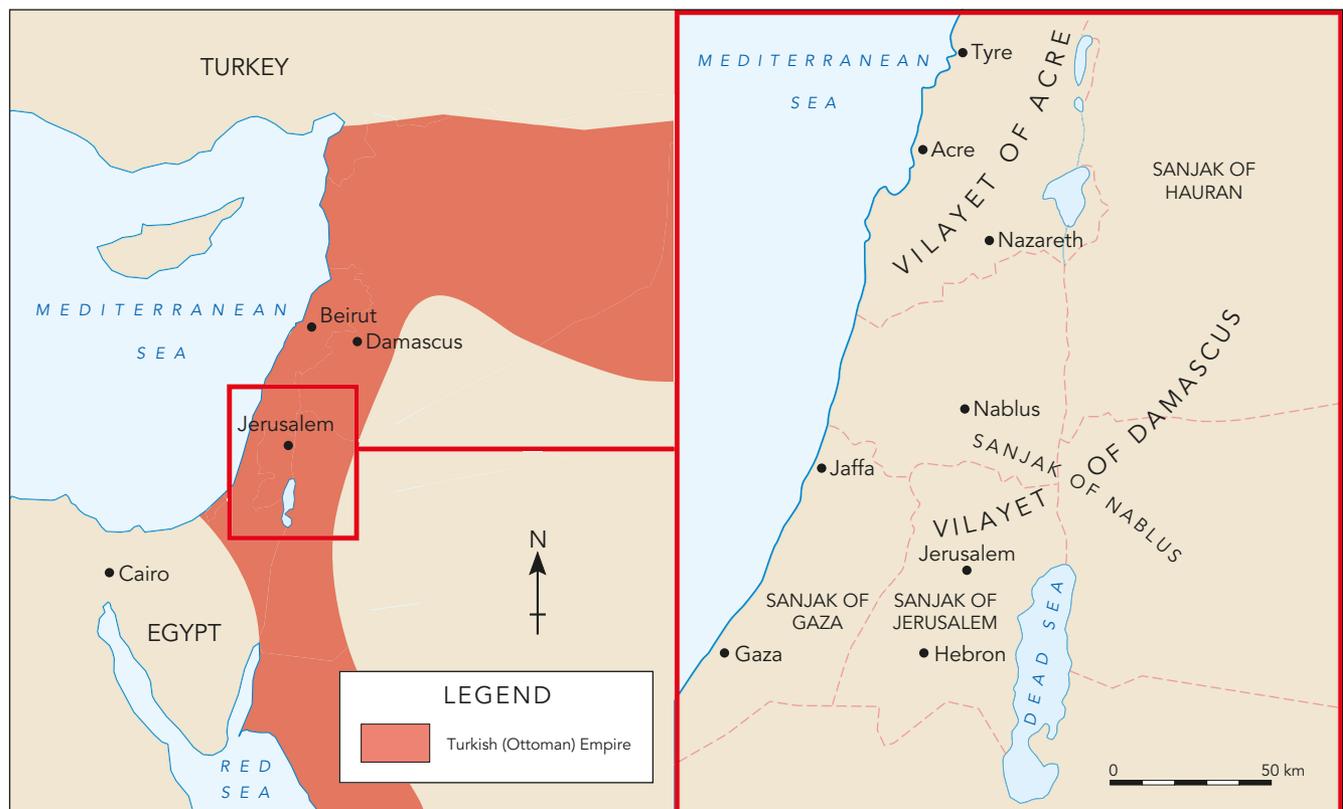
For many centuries, Jews were persecuted in Europe. With their different culture and religion, they stood out from the rest of the population. Labelled as ‘the killers of Christ’, they were often made the scapegoats for problems such as famine and plague. Some of the worst persecution took place in Eastern Europe in the Russian Empire, where about five million Jews were forced to live in an area called the Pale of Settlement (parts of modern Poland and western Russia). In other areas, Jews were forced to live in the poorer sections of towns in areas known as ghettos. Acts of organised state-approved violence called **pogroms** were launched against the Jews, notably in 1881, when the Jewish community was blamed for the assassination of the Russian **Tsar** Alexander II. Some 200 Jewish communities were looted and burnt.

- **pogrom**
an organised massacre of a particular ethnic group; in particular, that of Jews in Russia and Eastern Europe
- **tsars**
the rulers of Russia until 1917

12.1 Understanding and using the sources

Using Sources 1 and 2 and your own research, explain why Jerusalem has become such a contested area.

THE TURKISH (OTTOMAN) EMPIRE, C. 1900



SOURCE 2 Palestine did not exist as a separate territory during the period of Turkish occupation, but was part of the vilayet (district) of Damascus, which was divided into several smaller regions called sanjaks.

Key events in the origins of the Arab-Israeli conflict

1897

The First Zionist Congress in Basle, Switzerland, led by Theodor Herzl (the founder of the modern Zionist movement), calls for a homeland for the Jews.

1915

The McMahon–Hussein Correspondence supports Arab independence in Palestine if the Arabs help Britain to fight the Turks.

1916

The Sykes–Picot Agreement is signed in secret. It seeks to divide the Middle East between Britain, France and, to a lesser extent, Russia.

1917

The Balfour Declaration promises a Jewish 'national home' in Palestine.

1919

Britain takes control over Palestine as a result of the League of Nations mandate system laid down at the Versailles Peace Conference.

1929

Riots in Jerusalem kill over 200 Arabs and Jews.

A French magazine illustration shows Arabs attacking Jews in Jerusalem during the 1929 riots.

1936

A general Arab strike in Palestine is followed by an Arab revolt in protest against Jewish immigration.

1939

Britain's controversial White Paper calls for the end of Jewish immigration and an independent Palestine with an Arab majority, but is strongly rejected by the Jewish population who view it as a provocation.



1942–45

The Holocaust kills six million Jews. Many survivors want to make a new life in Palestine.

Jewish survivors of the Holocaust enter the port of Haifa, Palestine, 1945.

1946

Jewish terrorists carry out an attack at the King David Hotel, Palestine, where the British have their headquarters.

1947

United Nations Resolution 181 approves the partition of Palestine into a Jewish state and an Arab state.

1948

The state of Israel is proclaimed on 14 May. One day later it is invaded by neighbouring Arab states.

12.1 Check your learning

- 1 Briefly research the time period covered by the Old Testament. Then create a timeline of the history of Palestine from the time of the Old Testament through to 1900.
- 2 Why did the Jews refer to Israel as 'the Promised Land'?
- 3 Explain how the Palestine region changed in the seventh century CE. What implications has this change had for subsequent history?
- 4 Explain the significance of Abraham in the background to the Arab–Israeli conflict.
- 5 Research the experience of the Jewish people, from the Diaspora to the twentieth century. How does this help you understand the Jewish commitment to a homeland in modern Israel?

12.2

Arab nationalism and Zionism: origins and aspirations

■ **nationalism**
a sense of pride in, and love of, one's country; advocacy of political independence for a particular country

■ **pan-Arabism**
the idea of a unified Arab world

By the middle of the nineteenth century, there were approximately 10 000 Jews and 500 000 Arabs in Palestine. It was at this time that the first stirrings of Arab **nationalism** were noted. A Lebanese Christian philosopher named Ibrahim al-Yazigi started calling for Arabs to 'throw off the yoke of the Turks'. By the 1870s, secret societies were being formed among Arabs wanting to see a revitalisation of Arab culture. The key question Arab nationalists tussled with was whether to push for a **pan-Arab** society that could arise from the Ottoman-controlled areas, or whether to satisfy nationalist yearnings for individual nations. The British were keen to exploit any anti-Ottoman sentiment among the Arabs during the First World War, but their eventual betrayal of the Arabs would come to play a key role in the emergence of the modern Arab–Israeli conflict.

The first wave of modern immigration to Palestine

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, a small trickle of Jewish immigrants entered Palestine, primarily for religious reasons. During this first wave of modern immigration to Palestine, called the First Aliyah (ascent), some 10 000 Jewish settlers entered the region and established about 20 agricultural settlements. Finance to assist the settlers was provided by benefactors such as Baron Edmond James de Rothschild, a member of a prominent Jewish banking family in France.

It was at this time that the first tensions between Arabs and Jews begin to arise. Soon after the first Jewish settlers arrived in the 1880s, quarrels broke out with neighbouring Arab villagers over grazing, crops and other land issues. Disputes also arose when Jews purchased land from absentee Arab landowners, leading to the dispossession of the peasants who farmed the land. As the number of Jewish settlements increased, and Arabs became aware of the **Zionist** intention to establish a Jewish homeland, opposition to the new immigrants spread through the Arab community. Jews in the wider Diaspora were largely unaware of the situation in Palestine. Many regarded Palestine as 'a land without a people awaiting a people without a land'.

■ **Zionist**
a supporter of Zionism; a person who believes in self-determination for the Jewish people and the development and protection of a Jewish nation ('Zion')



SOURCE 4 Theodor Herzl (1860–1904), the Jewish Austrian writer and journalist who founded Zionism in 1896

Herzl and the First Zionist Congress, 1897

In 1896 an Austrian Jew, Theodor Herzl, published a pamphlet titled *The Jewish State*, in which he argued that Jews were alienated from society, and destined to be universally hated. Because the Jews were 'a people without a land', Herzl believed that world powers should grant a territory to fulfil the need for a Jewish nation. Herzl travelled throughout Europe meeting national leaders, but failed to convince them to support his scheme. However, he was acclaimed among Eastern European Jews and, on the strength of this, was able to convene the First Zionist Congress in Basel, Switzerland, in 1897.

■ **assimilation**
the absorption
and integration of
people, ideas or
culture into a wider
society or culture

Delegates at the First Zionist Congress agreed to promote the settlement of Palestine by Jewish farmers and artisans, attempt to strengthen the national consciousness of all Jews, and seek approval from whatever governments were necessary to achieve the goals of Zionism. Not all Jews were in favour of these aims, however. Opponents argued that for men to create a new state was a blasphemy, forcing the hand of God. Others advocated **assimilation** rather than separation as the way for Jews to become better accepted in society. Nonetheless, the congress was a significant step towards the establishment of a Jewish homeland.

Because Herzl did not have the deep emotional and religious ties to the Old Testament of many Eastern European Jews, he was willing to consider sites other than Palestine for the new Jewish homeland. Consequently, when in 1903 the British Government offered a territory in Uganda, East Africa, Herzl was eager to accept. His advocacy for Uganda split the Zionist movement, but his death in July 1904 effectively killed off the Uganda scheme.

SOURCE 5

The poorest will go first [to Palestine] to cultivate the soil. In accordance with a preconceived plan they will construct roads, bridges, railways and telegraph installations, regulate rivers, and build their own dwellings; their labour will create trade, trade will create markets and markets will attract new settlers.

Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State*, 1896

SOURCE 6

They own the Anglo-Palestine bank which makes loans to them at a rate not exceeding one per cent per annum ... They have a blue flag in the middle of which is a 'Star of David' ... They have deceived the government with lying and falsehoods when they enrol themselves as Ottoman subjects ... for they continue to carry foreign passports which protect them ... you see their houses crammed with weapons ... They have a special postal service, special stamps etc, which proves they have begun setting up their political aims ... no time will pass before you see that Palestine has become the property of the Zionist organisation.

An extract from a newspaper in Haifa, Palestine, 1910,
in S.J. Houston, *The Arab–Israeli Conflict*, 1989, p. 11

12.2 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 What evidence is there in Source 5 that the Zionists might not be willing to live side by side with the Arabs in Palestine? Does this explain why Arabs are not mentioned in Source 5?
- 2 What is the main fear expressed in Source 6?
- 3 From the tone of the article in Source 6, who do you think are the main readers of this newspaper?

12.2 Check your learning

Explain why some historians argue that the establishment of Jewish settlements in Palestine during the 1880s and 1890s was a long-term cause of the modern Arab–Israeli conflict.

12.3 The nature of Arab–Israeli tensions: the First and Second World Wars

Inspired by the idea of settling in the Promised Land, a second wave of immigration – the Second Aliyah – began in 1904 and continued until the outbreak of the First World War. By 1914, the Jewish population of Palestine had reached between 50 000 and 90 000 people.

In November 1914, the Ottoman Empire (Turkey) entered the First World War on the side of Germany, and in opposition to Britain and France. Although the main battlegrounds were in Europe, the **Allies** – including Britain – were keen to encourage the Arabs to revolt against their Turkish masters, as this would give support to the Allies.

Allies

the coalition of countries in opposition to the Central Powers in the First World War; they included Britain, the Commonwealth, France and Russia, which were joined by the United States in 1917

Sharif

an Arabic term to describe someone who is of noble birth; often a leader of a society

The McMahon–Hussein Correspondence, October 1915

One year into the First World War, the British High Commissioner in Cairo, Egypt, Sir Henry McMahon, exchanged letters with the **Sharif** of Mecca, Amir Hussein. Hussein's family was the traditional guardian of the Holy Places of Islam – Mecca and Medina – and had a large following among the Arab peoples. The result of the correspondence was an agreement that appeared to promise British support for Arab independence in the Middle East, if the Arabs assisted in the overthrow of the Turks. Hussein accepted the deal, and in 1916 he declared war on Turkey. Prince Feisal, his son, led the Arab Army. Assisting Feisal was a British officer, T.E. Lawrence, who became famous under his nickname – Lawrence of Arabia.

The Sykes–Picot Agreement, October 1916

While seemingly promising to support Arab independence, the British were also in close consultation with their allies, France and Russia, about the possible future division of the Ottoman Empire between the European powers at the end of the war. British diplomat Sir Mark Sykes and his French counterpart, François Georges-Picot, drew up an agreement that divided up much of the Middle East, placing it under the control of either Britain or France. Arabia was to be an independent Arab state, while Palestine was to be under the joint control of Britain, France and Russia. This was at first a secret agreement. However, in November 1917, the new revolutionary government in Russia published the terms, to the embarrassment of the British and the annoyance of the Arabs. The Arabs felt they had been betrayed in their hopes of obtaining much more of the region, including Palestine, as independent Arab territory.



SOURCE 7 Muslim devotees at the feast of Ramadan in Mecca, one of the Holy Places of Islam, 2017

12.3 PROFILE



SOURCE 8 T.E. Lawrence (1888–1935), also known as Lawrence of Arabia, was a British army officer who fought on the side of the Arabs in the Arab Revolt, which aimed to secure independence from the ruling Ottoman Turks and create a single unified Arab state.

SOURCE 9 Peter O’Toole played Lawrence in the 1962 film *Lawrence of Arabia*, which won seven Academy Awards. This filmed portrayal of Lawrence cemented his legend as the British soldier who campaigned for Arab rights and supported Arab nationalism.

LAWRENCE OF ARABIA

T.E. Lawrence was born out of wedlock in 1888. In Victorian times, being illegitimate at birth was regarded as a major setback in society, but Lawrence overcame his birth to attend Jesus College at Oxford University, where he studied history between 1907 and 1910. From there he became an archaeologist in Syria, working at Carchemish with the esteemed archaeological pioneer Leonard Woolley up until the outbreak of the First World War.

Lawrence volunteered to join the British Army, and his knowledge of the Arabian world saw him placed in Cairo, in the Arab Bureau of the British Foreign Office. As the McMahon–Hussein Correspondence worked to encourage the Arabs to overthrow the Ottomans, Lawrence became involved in the Arab Revolt. He worked in both political and military areas, and became known as Lawrence of Arabia. He later wrote an autobiographical book of his experiences called *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, which some later historians have complained placed too great an emphasis on his own achievements.

Lawrence spent most of his postwar career in the British Air Force, and the popularity of his book saw him emerge as a wartime hero in Britain. He died in a motorcycle accident in 1935 at the age of 46.



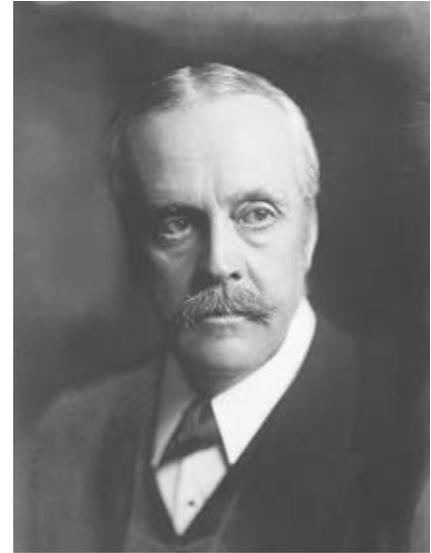
12.3 PROFILE TASKS

- 1 Research the life of T.E. Lawrence and create a timeline of the major events. How much of his life was spent in Arab regions?
- 2 How much did Lawrence actually achieve for Arab nationalism?
- 3 Assess Lawrence’s place in history.

The Balfour Declaration, November 1917

Only a few days before the publication of the Sykes–Picot Agreement, the British Foreign Secretary, Arthur Balfour, had further confused the situation by writing a letter to Walter Rothschild, a prominent British Zionist, in which the British Government promised support for the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine (see Source 11).

There were several motives for the issuing of what became known as the Balfour Declaration. First, the British were eager to pre-empt any attempt by the Germans to win the support of the Jewish community for their war effort. The British were also hoping that if they created favourable feelings towards Britain from Jews in the United States and Russia, the Jews would in turn encourage their governments to increase the war effort on behalf of the Allies. Finally, the establishment of a friendly Jewish presence in Palestine would safeguard the **Suez Canal** and Britain's route to India.

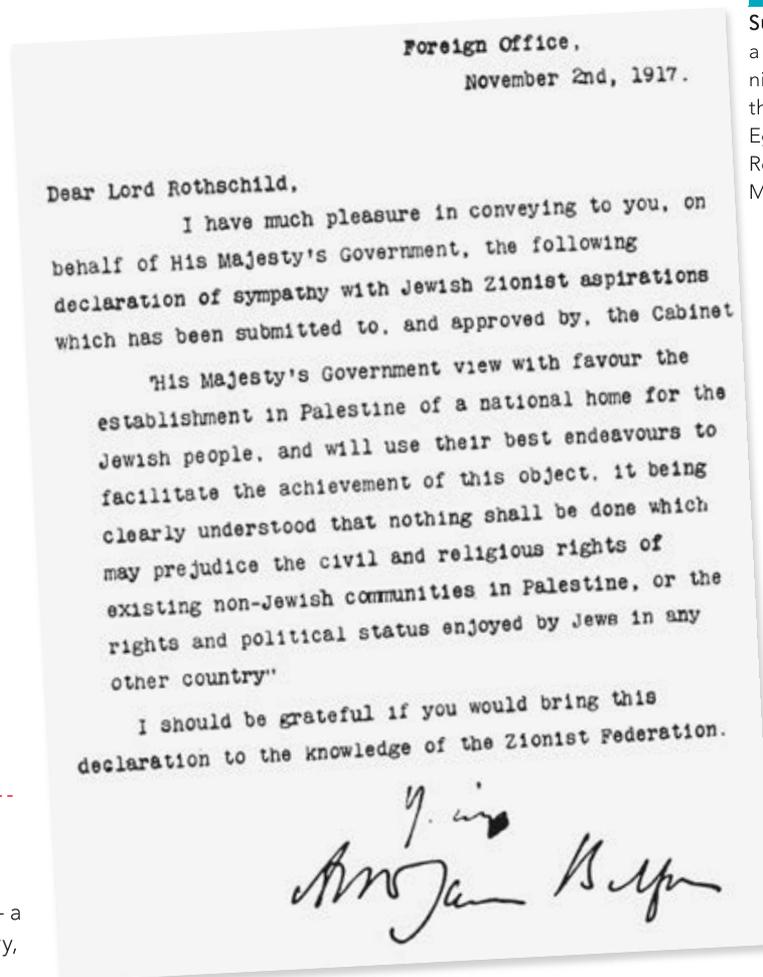


SOURCE 10
Arthur Balfour, 1st Earl of Balfour
(1848–1930)

12.3a Understanding and using the sources

- 1 What was the promise made by Arthur Balfour to Walter Rothschild in Source 11?
- 2 The Balfour Declaration speaks of 'a' national home, not 'the' national home. What difference does this word make?
- 3 Around the time of the First World War, the Arabs represented over 90 per cent of the population of Palestine. How are they referred to in the Balfour Declaration? Why might this reference be taken as an insult by Arabs?
- 4 Analyse Source 11 and explain why it is such a crucial source when trying to understand the origins of the Arab–Israeli conflict.

SOURCE 11 The Balfour Declaration – a letter from the British Foreign Secretary, Arthur Balfour, to Walter Rothschild, leader of the British Jewish Community



■ **Suez Canal**
a canal, built in the nineteenth century, that runs through Egypt, linking the Red Sea with the Mediterranean Sea

Arab and Jewish responses to the Balfour Declaration

There is a strong argument suggesting that the Balfour Declaration laid the foundations for the current Arab–Israeli conflict. The Arabs had helped the British defeat the Turks in the First World War, and saw the Declaration as a clear betrayal of the McMahon–Hussein Correspondence; this view has influenced a level of distrust of the West from the Arabs ever since. In the eye of the Arabs, Britain was now encouraging occupation of Arab land by people they believed had no right to it.

For the Zionist movement, the Balfour Declaration was interpreted as the green light for the occupation of Palestine. It was the start of the process that culminated in the mass migration of Jews to the area, and the creation of the nation of Israel.

Historians debate the meaning of the Balfour Declaration, and there are areas that are certainly vague. No mention is made of a specific state being created, and it does state that the civil and religious rights of the non-Jewish population were to be protected. What is not contested is that the Balfour Declaration represented a victory for the Zionist view, and started a historical process that disenfranchised the Arab population of the area in favour of Jewish migrants.

Palestine in the interwar period

When the First World War ended in 1918, the future of the Middle East was determined at the Versailles Peace Conference of 1919. US President Woodrow Wilson was anxious to avoid

a return to the old pre-war habits of colonialism, but was forced to acknowledge the interests of Britain and France in the former territories of the Ottoman Empire. The resulting compromise was the **League of Nations mandate** system, whereby the victorious powers would administer the regions of the former empire until they were ready for self-government.

Under this system, Syria and Lebanon became mandates of France, while Britain became responsible for Iraq and Greater Palestine. The British divided the mandate of Greater Palestine into two portions. The land to the east of the Jordan River was renamed Trans-Jordan. The area between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River now became known as the British Mandate of Palestine. For the first time Palestine had defined frontiers.

The intractable problem that now confronted the British as administrators of Palestine was that if they allowed any Jewish immigration, they would offend the Arab residents who feared being overrun by Jews; yet if they stopped or slowed Jewish immigration, there would be an outcry from Jews and their supporters worldwide.

League of Nations

an international organisation established at the end of the First World War to maintain world peace and prevent the outbreak of future wars by encouraging nations to negotiate with each other

mandate

a commission given to one nation by others (for example through the League of Nations) to control a country or geographical area

MIDDLE EAST MANDATES AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR



SOURCE 12 The French and British mandates in the Middle East after the First World War

Antisemitism in Europe and growing Jewish migration

The third wave of Jewish immigration to Palestine (the Third Aliyah) commenced soon after the establishment of the British mandate. In September 1923, the mandate authority limited Jewish immigration to a maximum of 16 500 a year, though this number was rarely reached during the next decade.

Those who did arrive in Palestine in the 1920s were mainly poor, uneducated immigrants from the Ukraine or Poland, who had been forced to leave by antisemitic violence or legislation. By the late 1920s, the Zionist hope of a national home built on a steady influx of immigrants appeared to be in crisis. The costs of establishing new settlements were increasing, and unemployment was growing. In 1927, as economic conditions worsened, twice as many Jews left Palestine as reached it.

The situation changed with the advent of Nazism in Germany. In 1932, there were 9553 Jewish immigrants to Palestine; in 1933, there were more than 30 000, many of these from Germany, where Adolf Hitler had come to power. Hitler regarded Jews as an inferior race and was determined to remove them from German life. Jews in countries surrounding Germany also felt threatened, and an **exodus** from Europe began. Many countries were unwilling to accept Jewish migrants, or imposed strict quotas on their intake. For large numbers of migrants, Palestine became their only hope.

By 1940, Jews made up 40 per cent of the population of Palestine, and the new wave of immigrants from central Europe tended to be better educated and wealthier than those of the 1920s. However, the uneven but continual growth of the Jewish population had caused mutual distrust and antagonism between the Jews and the Arabs, and suspicion by both towards the 'neutral' mandatory power of Britain.

■ **exodus**
the departure, often forced, of a large number of people



SOURCE 13 A sign at the ticket office of a public swimming pool reading 'No admittance to Jews', Nazi Germany, c. 1938. The persecution of Jews in Germany under Hitler saw a huge increase in the number of Jews who sought refuge in Palestine.

12.3b Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Examine Source 12. Discuss what it reveals about British and French attitudes towards Arab nationalism and the Middle East. What does the source reveal about possible causes of the current Arab–Israeli conflict?
- 2 Analyse Source 13. What implications does this sign on a German swimming pool in 1938 have for current Arab–Israeli relations?

12.3a Check your learning

- 1 What do the terms laid out in the McMahon–Hussein Correspondence of 1915 suggest about the extent of Arab independence and the British position in the Middle East?
 - 2 How does the Balfour Declaration compare with the McMahon–Hussein Correspondence and the Sykes–Picot Agreement?
 - 3 Prepare a letter to a newspaper (about 200 words) entitled ‘Betrayed by the British’, written from the point of view of an Arab nationalist in 1920. Then prepare a response to justify British policy entitled ‘Britain defended’.
 - 4 Which countries were involved in making decisions regarding the future of the Middle East after the First World War?
 - 5 Explain the impact of the rise of Adolf Hitler on the Middle East in the 1930s.
-

British response to increasing tensions in the lead-up to the Second World War



SOURCE 14 Haj Amin al-Husseini, Mufti of Jerusalem

Outbreaks of violence between Arabs and Jews had been frequent since the beginning of the mandate period. In 1920, Arabs attacked Jewish settlements in the north of Palestine, causing four of these settlements to be abandoned. This resulted in the establishment, in March 1921, of the Haganah, or Jewish Defence Force, a secret organisation operating without the approval of the British, dedicated to maintaining the security of the settlements. As the violence mounted, the British would eventually fail to subdue the Arab resistance.

In April 1921, mob violence broke out in Jerusalem when Arabs attacked the Jewish quarter of the Old City. In four days of bloodshed, nine people were killed and 244 wounded. This was followed in May by further riots in Jaffa, leading to the deaths of almost a hundred Arabs and Jews. The authorities reacted by temporarily suspending Jewish immigration, but following protests from Jews abroad, the suspension was lifted.

In 1921, the British also appointed Haj Amin al-Husseini as Mufti (chief judge) of Jerusalem. Al-Husseini had been prominently involved in the anti-Jewish riots of the previous months. If the British hoped to curb his anti-Jewish actions by appointing him to responsible office, they miscalculated.

The Arab riots, 1929

In the early months of 1929, Jewish religious observances at the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem became a focus for Arab protests. Tensions grew over the following months, until matters came to a head in August 1929. Arab mobs attacked Jews in Jerusalem and other settlements, killing 60 Jews in Hebron and driving the ancient Jewish community out of the city. By the time British troops were able to bring the riots under control, 116 Arabs had been killed, mostly by the British police, and 133 Jews had died at the hands of the Arabs.

One result of the 1929 riots was the increasing division between Zionists who still sought compromise with the Arabs, and those who believed that military confrontation was the only option. In 1931, the militant ultra-nationalist Zionist group Irgun was founded as a result of growing dissatisfaction among members of the Haganah, who felt that their interests were not being defended. Many observers also see the riots of 1929 as marking the emergence of a particular Palestinian nationalism, which expressed itself from April 1936 through the workings of the Arab Higher Committee under the leadership of the Mufti, which worked to mobilise all sections of the Arab community to halt Jewish migration and land purchase.

Arab strikes and protests, 1930s

In 1936, the Arab leadership, under the direction of the Mufti, organised a **general strike** where Arabs refused to pay taxes and businesses were closed. The strike lasted six months, during which time more than 300 people were killed, mostly Arabs. This was followed by the Arab Revolt of 1937–39, which involved attacks on Jewish settlements and individuals. In response, the Jews established more than 50 so-called ‘tower and stockade’ settlements in strategic areas (incorporating guard towers surrounded by fencing).



SOURCE 15 British police attempt to contain Arab protestors against Jewish immigration during the 1930s.

■ **general strike**
a mass strike by a large sector of the workforce, covering a range of industries

The region was engulfed in violence until the beginning of the Second World War. The Arab Revolt was eventually put down by British troops after the death of more than 500 Jews and 3000 Arabs, and the arrest or imprisonment of the major Arab leaders. Haj Amin fled to Damascus and later made his way to Germany, where he sought support for his antisemitism from Hitler.

SOURCE 16

Wingate reached down and took some sand and grit from the ground. He thrust it into the mouth of the first Arab and pushed it down his throat until he choked and puked. 'Now', he said, 'Where have you hidden the arms?' Still they shook their heads. Wingate turned to one of the Jews and, pointing to the coughing and spluttering Arab, said 'Shoot this man.' The Jew looked at him questioningly and hesitated. Wingate said in a tense voice: 'Did you hear? Shoot him.' The Jew shot the Arab.

An account of an interrogation by Orde Wingate, a British officer, of Arab villagers, by L. Mosley, in S.J. Houston, *The Arab–Israeli Conflict*, p. 24

SOURCE 17

I was arrested along with scores of others from my village. They took us in lorries to one of the concentration camps ... in a place called Akrit. There we had to pass between two lines of soldiers who beat us as we entered the camp. They used their guns as sticks ... Then we had to crawl through barbed wire while they hit us all the time. We were herded into a compound. Day after day we sat in the open under the sun, and in the night we had to endure the extreme cold. We had no blankets.

A Palestinian's account of his treatment by the British, in Jonathan Dimbleby, *The Palestinians*, 1980, p. 76

SOURCE 18

For the Jews it was galling to see what little effect the British protection could have. Jews were killed while travelling in buses, or even sitting in their homes. Whole Jewish communities fled, among them the 94 Jews ... whose families had lived in the predominantly Bedouin town of Beisan since the beginning of the century ... and all but one Jewish family of the ten families who had lived in the Arab village of Peki'in, where, according to tradition, their ancestors had lived since Roman times.

Martin Gilbert, *Israel: A History*, 1998, p. 80

12.3c Understanding and using the sources

- 1 From information in Sources 16 and 17, describe the different methods used by the British to subdue the Arab resistance to the mandate authority.
 - 2 How would you describe the actions of Orde Wingate in Source 16? Does a reading of Source 18 help to make his actions more understandable or acceptable? Why or why not?
 - 3 Why do you think Martin Gilbert uses the example of the families from Peki'in in Source 18?
 - 4 According to the sources, how effective were the British policies in:
 - a reassuring the members of the Jewish community that they would be protected?
 - b persuading the Arabs to abandon violence?
-

The White Paper, 1939

By 1939, British attempts to maintain peace in Palestine had proven unsuccessful, drawing criticism from Arabs and Jews alike. The approach of the Second World War caused a shift in British attitude and policy. Throughout the 1920s, the British Government had firmly adhered to the principles of the Balfour Declaration. However, the need to maintain Britain's position in the Arab world in the face of mounting German and Italian challenges led the British Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, to issue a **White Paper** outlining the future of Palestine. The main points of the White Paper were that Britain wished to establish an independent Palestine within 10 years, with Arabs and Jews combined in government. Jewish immigration was to be restricted to 75 000 over five years, and then no further Jewish immigration would be permitted unless the Arabs agreed.

Not surprisingly, the Jews were furious at this betrayal of the Balfour Declaration. The Zionist leader, David Ben-Gurion, expressed Jewish policy as follows: 'We shall fight the war as if there was no White Paper; and we shall fight the White Paper as if there was no war.'

■ **White Paper**
an official and authoritative report on a topic, usually commissioned by a government

Developments during the Second World War

In 1942, the British army formed a military group called the Jewish Brigade to fight with the Allies. The political climate was calmer than it had been in decades, with most of the Arab leaders in prison or exile after the Arab Revolt, and the majority of the Jewish population content to suspend its anti-British actions during the war. One exception to this was a **terrorist** group called the Lehi, or Stern Gang, which broke away from the Irgun when it suspended operations in 1940. The Lehi continued to attack British installations and carry out assassinations, notably the murder of Lord Moyne, the British Minister in Palestine, on 6 November 1944.

■ **terrorism**
the unofficial or unauthorised use of violence and intimidation in the pursuit of political or religious aims

One widely supported form of Jewish resistance was attempts to undermine the immigration restrictions maintained by the British in accordance with the terms of the 1939 White Paper. Illegal Jewish immigration into Palestine persisted until 1948. During the war, Jews fleeing from German-occupied countries in Europe sailed to Palestine on whatever ship they could. Some landed illegally, while others were intercepted by the British Navy and still others died when their ships sank on the way. The *Patria* sank in Haifa Harbour with 250 deaths in 1940. The *Struma*, with 769 refugees aboard, sank in the Black Sea in 1941.



SOURCE 19 Members of the Jewish Brigade march in Tripoli, Libya, in 1943.

12.3b Check your learning

- 1 Create a table with two columns headed 'Strengths' and 'Weaknesses', and fill in examples under each column that show the strengths and weaknesses of Britain's rule of its Middle Eastern mandates between the First and Second World Wars.
- 2 What was the significance of the Arab riots of 1929?
- 3 How was the Arab Revolt finally resolved?
- 4 What led to the British White Paper of 1939? What did it propose? How effective was it?
- 5 Who were the Lehi? Outline their activities during the Second World War.

12.4 Responses to the question of a Jewish homeland post-Second World War

concentration camp
a camp in which civilians and political prisoners or prisoners of war are detained under extremely harsh conditions

When the Second World War ended in 1945, the terrible truth about the Holocaust was revealed. Six million Jews had been murdered, and hundreds of thousands of survivors of the Nazi **concentration camps** found themselves living in refugee camps. By 1946, there were 250 000 Jewish displaced persons in Europe. With much international support, Jewish people argued that Jewish refugees from Europe should be allowed to enter Palestine for humanitarian reasons.

American opinion at the time supported the Zionist cause. Many Jews had settled in the United States, and held significant financial and voting power. An Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry was established, and in 1946 recommended that 100 000 Jews be allowed into Palestine. The US President, Harry Truman, supported this recommendation.

Britain's response to Jewish refugees

The British Government, however, was not ready to open the borders of Palestine to the Jewish refugees. This was made clear by the fate of the SS *Exodus*, a ship used to transport 4550 survivors of the Nazi concentration camps to Palestine. The vessel was intercepted, rammed and boarded by the British Navy. At Haifa, the passengers – including at least 143 wounded – were disembarked and immediately placed on board ships to take them back to Europe. When the passengers refused to go ashore in France, their starting point, the British Government sent them back to Germany. This had a profound effect on world public opinion, which condemned Britain for these actions. Despite this setback, approximately 40 000 Jews entered Palestine illegally between August 1945 and May 1948.

SOURCE 20

Jewish refugees crowd the deck of the illegal immigration ship SS *Exodus* at the port of Haifa in the British Mandate of Palestine, 18 July 1947



Mounting violence leading to the 1948 Arab–Israeli War

Arabs continued to oppose increased Jewish immigration into Palestine after the Second World War and argued that as they had not been responsible for the recent persecution of the Jews, they should not be the ones to bear the brunt of Jewish resettlement. The armed struggle between Jewish groups and the British authorities in Palestine intensified. While the Haganah attacked installations and deliberately avoided endangering lives, the Jewish militant group Irgun and its breakout group, the Lehi, had no such reservations. They attacked British soldiers and government workers, mined roads, blew up facilities and captured weapons from the British.

On 22 July 1946, Irgun fighters mounted an attack, in retaliation to a British security blitz that had seen 4000 suspected Jewish terrorists swept into detention camps. Dressed as Arabs, they delivered milk churns packed with explosives to the basement of the King David Hotel, which was used as the headquarters of the British administration of Palestine. When the churns exploded, much of the hotel was destroyed and nearly a hundred people were killed, among them top civil servants and military officials. One of the five Irgun terrorists involved was shot dead; the others escaped.

SOURCE 22 A wing of the King David Hotel lies in ruins. The Irgun claimed that it had telephoned a warning to allow the building to be evacuated; the British said no warning was received.



SOURCE 21 Two Jewish terrorists captured by the British in 1946. They were sentenced to execution by hanging, but committed suicide by blowing themselves up with a grenade that had been smuggled to them in prison.



THE UNITED NATIONS PARTITION PLAN



SOURCE 23 The UN Partition Plan, according to Resolution 181; of the 26 000 square kilometres of Palestine, the Arabs retained 44 per cent, although they had 67 per cent of the population.

■ abstention
a deliberate refusal to take part in a vote

The United Nations and the partition of Palestine

The actions of the Jewish resistance groups tied up 100 000 British troops in Palestine, at a time when Britain was hoping to reduce the numbers in its armed forces after the end of the war. The search for a compromise between Arabs and Jews had only antagonised both sides at Britain's expense. In February 1947, Britain decided to hand over the Palestine issue to the United Nations.

In September 1947, the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) presented Resolution 181, a plan that recommended Palestine be partitioned into a Jewish state and an Arab state, with Jerusalem administered as an international zone. The Arabs objected to the proposed Partition Plan; the Jews accepted it, although they made it clear that in their opinion, Jerusalem should be part of the Jewish state.

The Partition Plan gave the Jews 56 per cent of the land area of Palestine, although they constituted only 33 per cent of the population. The Partition Plan originally envisaged that the new Jewish territory would include 510 000 Arabs and 500 000 Jews. This was amended in May 1948 to 397 000 Arabs and 538 000 Jews.

The United Nations voted on the Partition Plan on 29 November 1947. Thirty-three nations supported the plan, including the United States, France, Australia and the Soviet Union. Thirteen nations opposed the plan, including nine Muslim countries in the Middle East, as well as India and Greece. There were 10 **abstentions**, including Britain. Resolution 181 was passed, and it appeared that the Jewish people had finally turned the 'national home' of the Balfour Declaration into a state, alongside the proposed new Arab state.

12.4a Understanding and using the sources

- 1 How does Source 20 help you understand the situation many Jews found themselves in after the Second World War?
- 2 Examine Sources 21 and 22, and explain what they reveal about Jewish tactics in the period leading up to the establishment of the state of Israel.
- 3 What criticisms could you make about the boundaries of the two proposed states, as shown in Source 23?

The failure of the United Nations Partition Plan and the establishment of the state of Israel

Uncertainties about the responsibilities of the implementation, as well as ongoing hostilities between Jews and Arabs, saw the United Nations Partition Plan fail before it was implemented. In the Partition Plan, the British had made it clear that they would withdraw from their mandate and end their 30 years of control of Palestine no later than 1 August 1948. According to the plan, the new states would come into existence no later than 1 October 1948. The date for British withdrawal was later set to 14 May.

Despite the rejection of the Partition Plan from Arabs both within Palestine and in surrounding states, the Jewish Agency for Israel, led by David Ben-Gurion, set up a provisional government and proclaimed the establishment of the state of Israel on 14 May 1948. With the British gone and no neutral power monitoring the situation, it was only one day before the young state was invaded. On 15 May 1948, the neighbouring Arab states of Egypt, Jordan, Iraq and Syria invaded Israel, effectively turning what had been an ongoing civil war into an international conflict.



SOURCE 24 David Ben-Gurion reads Israel's proclamation of nationhood as members of the provisional government look on, 14 May 1948. Behind him hangs a portrait of Theodor Herzl and the Israeli flag. Three days later, Ben-Gurion would become Israel's first prime minister.

12.4b Understanding and using the sources

Examine Source 24. Explain why a portrait of Theodor Herzl would be placed in such a position of prominence.

12.4 Check your learning

- 1 How did the British handling of the SS *Exodus* incident impact on the situation in the Middle East?
 - 2 Discuss the Arab argument that 'as they had not been responsible for the recent persecution of the Jews, they should not be the ones to bear the brunt of Jewish resettlement'.
 - 3 Do you consider the Irgun a terrorist group? Explain your answer.
 - 4 Why did Britain hand control of the Palestine region to the United Nations in 1947?
 - 5 Explain the United Nations Partition Plan. Why did Jews accept it and Arabs reject it?
-

Historical debate: what is Britain's responsibility?

A historical debate means examining two sides of an issue, and coming to a level of understanding based on the evidence. Debating the causes of the Arab–Israeli conflict is especially difficult because there are so many arguments and perspectives to be considered. In order to conduct an effective debate, there has to be a clear focus.

Today, the Arab–Israeli conflict is usually blamed on the actions of the Arabs and the Jews, and the role of Britain and its imperialism in the region has been pushed into the background. Considering that Britain was controlling Palestine for decades – and made promises to support the sides of both the Jews and the Arabs, while secretly making plans to split the area between themselves, France and Russia – it is reasonable to ask: is the Arab–Israeli conflict a result of British imperialism?

As a history student, your job is to go back and review the sources presented throughout this chapter before making up your mind.

SOURCE 25 The last British troops leave Palestine, following the end of the British mandate and the establishment of the state of Israel.



Although the United Nations believed it had created a solution to the situation in the Middle East in 1948 when it sought to partition Palestine, peace has continued to be elusive. Conflicts over the territory go back thousands of years, and three different major religions claim the area as significant to their beliefs.

History brings clarity to complex issues by accessing sources, examining evidence and allowing for the development of well-supported opinions based on facts rather than faith. The Arab–Israeli conflict has resisted attempted solutions throughout the twentieth century, and in the twenty-first century is still the source of much instability. By examining its origins in a reasoned way, you will be able to understand a little more clearly why Palestine is a major trouble spot to this day.

You have been given the opportunity to examine sources, consider perspectives, reflect upon where responsibility lies, and ultimately come to your own decision. By understanding this aspect of history, you are taking a step towards understanding your own world.



SOURCE 26 Palestinian school students demonstrate in support of refugees on the 58th anniversary of the establishment of the state of Israel, 14 May 2006.



FOR THE TEACHER

Check your [obook](#) [assess](#) for the following additional resources for this chapter:

Answers

Answers to each *Check your learning*, *Understanding and using the sources* and *Profile task* in this chapter

Teacher notes

Useful notes and advice for teaching this chapter, including syllabus connections and relevant weblinks

Class test

Comprehensive test to review students' skills and knowledge

assess quiz

Interactive auto-correcting multiple-choice quiz to test student comprehension



The iconic painting *Liberty Leading the People* (1830) by Eugène Delacroix shows a woman personifying the concept of freedom by holding up the tricolour flag, a symbol of the French Revolution.

The background of the page is a historical painting. On the left, a woman representing Liberty stands with her right arm raised, holding a tricolor flag. She is dressed in a yellow and white gown. In the center, a man in a dark coat and light trousers, representing a revolutionary soldier, holds a rifle and a pistol. The scene is set against a backdrop of a city and a cloudy sky. A solid red horizontal bar is located at the bottom of the page.

PART C

The Shaping of the Modern World

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Chapter 15 The Age of Imperialism 263



13

The First World War

British troops heading into no man's land, Battle of the Somme, 1916

FOCUS QUESTIONS

- 1 What was the historical context of the First World War?
- 2 What are some of the key features of the First World War?
- 3 How has the First World War helped shape the modern world?

KEY CONCEPTS AND SKILLS

Analysis and use of sources

You will be exposed to a range of sources in this chapter. As a history student, one of your challenges is to analyse sources and bring together the evidence drawn from those sources to develop a reasoned historical argument. Those sources and the evidence you draw from them are crucial in establishing the validity of any claims you wish to make.

Historical interpretation

You are required to form judgments about historical significance. This is particularly important in the current chapter where, in dealing with the First World War, you are investigating a major historical event that is still impacting on the world. If you are going to argue for the significance of an event, it is vital that you produce evidence to support your claims.

Historical investigation and research

As you investigate the impact of the First World War on the modern world, it is important that you access a range of sources to inform your investigation. In this chapter, you will have access to sources such as maps, images and poetry from the time, and the opinions of historians. Use these to shape the questions that will frame your research.

Explanation and communication

In order to succeed in effective communication, it is important that you know what you are trying to communicate. Investigating the impact of the First World War on your world requires the ability to explain continuity and change, and it may be useful to consider methods of communication such as comparative charts or flow charts for this purpose.

LEARNING GOALS

- > Display an understanding of the context and course of the First World War.
- > Investigate and use a range of sources to enhance and communicate understanding of the First World War and its impact.

13.1 Introduction

■ League of Nations

an international organisation established at the end of the First World War to maintain world peace and prevent the outbreak of future wars by encouraging nations to negotiate with each other

■ Industrial Revolution

the rapid development of industry, beginning in Britain in the mid-eighteenth century, in which advances in technology fundamentally changed the agricultural and manufacturing industries, as well as transport and communications

■ Balkan states

the countries on the Balkan peninsula in southern Europe

■ socialism

a political and economic theory that promotes the public ownership of a nation's resources and means of production

■ 1905 Revolution

a revolution that sent a wave of political and social unrest throughout the Russian Empire

On 4 August 1914, after weeks of tension, hesitation and uncertainty, Europe plunged into war. The conflict was welcomed on all sides as an opportunity for glory, patriotism and adventure. Soldiers rushed to be in 'the show', in the firm belief that it would be 'over by Christmas'. It was in fact four years before the guns finally fell silent. More than 9.5 million people lay dead, and the initial enthusiasm for the 'Great War' (as the First World War had become known) had been replaced by disillusionment and the conviction that there must be no more such wars. The **League of Nations** was created in the hope of ensuring that discussion and 'right' replaced warfare and 'might'. Yet the seeds for the next war had already been sown.

The emphasis of this chapter is on enabling you to come to a clear and well-supported judgment about the role of the First World War in shaping the modern world. You will access a range of sources that will help guide your understanding of what occurred during the war, why it occurred, and how it has influenced the world that you live in today. It will encourage you to reflect on the continuities and changes set in progress by the 'war to end all wars'.

Historical context: Europe in the lead-up to the First World War

At the start of twentieth century, life for many in Europe was a prosperous and peaceful time. The **Industrial Revolution** had many positive impacts. Technological advances in agriculture and manufacturing meant that food and mass-produced goods were more affordable. Governments made improvements in housing, sanitation and healthcare, and new railways, canals and roads made transport easier. People could use telegraphs and telephones to communicate with each other immediately, and to receive news reports from around the world.

These improvements, however, were not enjoyed by all in Europe. The Industrial Revolution had less impact in Eastern European countries: Austria-Hungary, the **Balkan states** and the Russian Empire. In addition, there was still a huge gap between rich and poor, even in industrialised countries in Western Europe, such as Britain and Germany.

The century before the First World War had also been a time of new ideas. **Socialist** movements increasingly demanded political reform of Europe's rule by monarchies, and the uprisings of the 1848 revolutions swept through many countries in Europe, demanding social and political reforms. In Russia, the violent reaction of imperial troops to protesters in the **1905 Revolution** would change the way the tsar (Russian ruler) was viewed by his people.



SOURCE 1 Soldiers leaving Paris for the battlefield, August 1914



EUROPE BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR



SOURCE 2 This map shows the countries of Europe and their territories before the First World War.

13.1a Understanding and using the sources

Compare Source 2 with a modern map of Europe. Create a list of continuities and changes that this comparison shows you.

The influence of nationalism, imperialism, militarism and alliances

Nationalism came to dominate international relations in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and was one of the key factors that brought Europe to the outbreak of hostilities in 1914. The national rivalries between the leading European powers were played out in the rapid growth of **imperialism** in the nineteenth century, as nations competed to increase their colonial territories. Another key factor that led nations into war was militarism, the race to build up their armies and navies, despite claims that they were not preparing for a war. European nations had also become involved in a complex system of alliances by the end of the nineteenth century. The alliances were meant to create a ‘balance of power’ and deter any conflict. Instead, when an assassin’s bullet provided the trigger for war, they would pull nations one by one into the ‘war to end all wars’.

■ **nationalism**
a sense of pride in, and love of, one’s country; advocacy of political independence for a particular country

■ **imperialism**
the practice of extending the power of a nation, especially by acquiring territory of another nation

Nationalism

Feelings of nationalism can unite a people who share a common language, culture and history. In Europe's history, however, nationalism often involved a form of patriotism whereby people believed that their own nation was superior to others, and this led to intense rivalries between countries over territories.

In the Balkans, nationalism also led to division within countries along ethnic and cultural lines. The Balkan province of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which had become part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the years before the First World War, comprised different ethnic groups: Bosnians, Serbs and Croats. Serbian nationalists became passionate about freeing Serbs from foreign rule to create a new Serbian nation. Some were moved to join secret societies that were willing to use terrorist actions to achieve this aim.

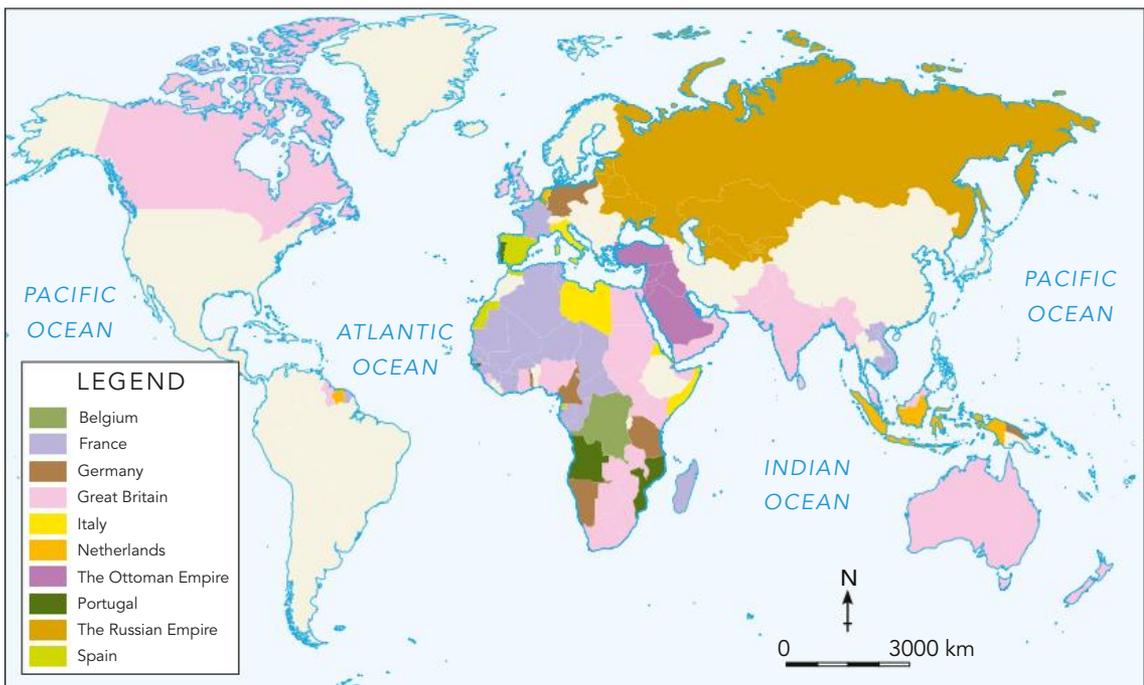
Imperialism

The European powers had been great rivals in their imperialist ambitions, as they raced to increase their power, status and wealth. Britain, Spain, France and Portugal had colonised much of the world between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries, and by the late nineteenth century, European powers were engaged in a new wave of imperialism.

One of the impacts of the Industrial Revolution was the need to find new sources of raw materials – such as timber, cotton and oil – to feed rapidly growing industries. European economies also needed new markets for all the goods that were now mass-produced in their factories and textile mills.

The main rivals in this period were Britain, France and Germany. Germany had only become a unified nation in 1871, and its leaders were eager to build a colonial empire. In the years before the First World War, Germany unsuccessfully attempted to take control of French colonies in North Africa – German troops sent to Africa were twice defeated by French forces, with the support of Britain.

EUROPEAN EMPIRES, 1914



SOURCE 3 This map shows the extent of the European empires by 1914.

Militarism

As well as competing with each other over the size of their empires, the European powers became engaged in an **arms race**. Despite claims that they were not preparing for war, they were training armies and building up their stores of armaments. Between 1870 and 1914, military spending in many European countries increased on average by 300 per cent. All the major nations in Europe except Britain had introduced conscription (compulsory military service).

Britain relied on its naval supremacy to protect its vast overseas empire. When Germany started to build up its navy, Britain was compelled to increase its own naval power and the two countries competed to build new submarines and increase their fleets of dreadnoughts, fast and powerful armoured battleships that could control the seas.

13.1b Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Examine Source 3. Is there any evidence to support the argument that Germany was resentful of the imperial power of the older European countries?
- 2 Analyse Source 4. Compare the various countries' population, national income and war expenditure and comment on what this data suggests about each country's ability to contribute to the war efforts.

Alliances

By 1914, the leading European nations had grouped themselves into two alliances. Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy formed the Triple Alliance, and the member nations of the rival alliance, the Triple Entente, were Britain, France and Russia (see Source 5). These groups of nations signed binding agreements that each would provide military support if one of its members was attacked.

Many other countries, colonies and territories were attached to these alliances. Japan, for example, had signed a treaty with Britain, which made it a member of the Triple Entente. British colonies and **dominions**, including India, Australia and New Zealand, were automatically a part of British agreements.

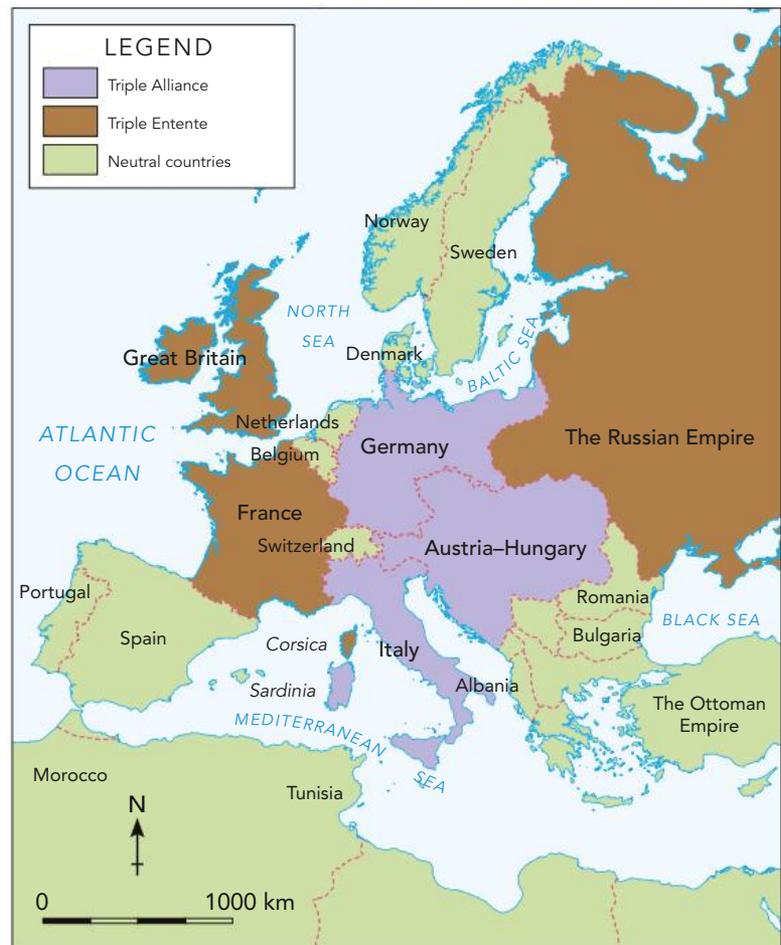
- **arms race**
the military build-up by countries competing to have the largest military forces and the latest military technology
- **dominion**
a territory of a sovereign or government

COUNTRY	POPULATION (MILLIONS)	NATIONAL INCOME (US\$ BILLIONS)	WAR EXPENDITURE (US\$ BILLIONS)
Germany	65	12	19.9
Britain	45	11	23
France	39	6	9.3
Austria-Hungary	52	3	4.7
Russia	171	7	5.4
Italy	37	4	3.2

Source: Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, 1988, pp. 243–74

SOURCE 4 National income, war expenditure (at 1913 prices) and population in key European nations 1913–1914

EUROPEAN ALLIANCES, 1914



SOURCE 5 European alliances formed before the First World War

Key events and developments in the lead-up and course of the First World War

1882

The Triple Alliance is formed between Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy.

1907

The Triple Entente is formed between Britain, France and Russia.

1914

28 June: Archduke Franz Ferdinand (heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne) and his wife Sophie are assassinated in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina.

28 July: Austria-Hungary declares war on Serbia.

Western Front

August: Germany declares war on Russia and France. Germany's Schlieffen Plan results in the German invasion of neutral Belgium on 4 August. Britain declares war on Germany. The First World War begins.

September: The First Battle of the Marne – French and British forces halt the Germans in Belgium and France.

Trench warfare on the Western Front begins.

October–November: The First Battle of Ypres takes place.

Eastern Front

August–September: War begins on the Eastern Front when Russia launches an offensive against Germany on 17 August. Russian forces are defeated in the Battle of Tannenburg and the Battle of the Masurian Lakes.

Home front and other developments

August: Recruits flock to enlist. The Defence of the Realm Act is introduced in Britain to impose wartime restrictions. Britain's Royal Navy begins a blockade of Germany.

October: Turkey enters the war on the side of Germany.



A soldier wearing a gas mask rings a bell to warn of a gas attack, c. 1915

1915

Western Front

April–May: The Second Battle of Ypres takes place. Poison gas is introduced.

Eastern Front

May: German forces take command of the Eastern Front.

Home front and other developments

January: The first raid on Britain by Zeppelins (early airships) takes place.

25 April: The Anzacs land at Gallipoli.

May: A German U-boat (submarine) sinks the British ocean liner *RMS Lusitania*, with the loss of 1198 lives, including 128 Americans.

December: Sir Douglas Haig becomes the British commander-in-chief.

A peace demonstration is held in Berlin.

Troops are evacuated from Gallipoli after eight months of fighting.

1916

Western Front

February–December: The Battle of Verdun takes place.

March: The Australian Imperial Force (AIF) joins the Allied forces against Germany on the Western Front.

July–November: The Battle of the Somme, a major British offensive, tries to break the stalemate on the Western Front. Tanks are used for the first time.

August: Paul von Hindenburg becomes the German commander-in-chief.

Home front and other developments

May: Britain introduces universal conscription.

May–June: The Battle of Jutland – the only major encounter between the British and German naval fleets – ends indecisively.

October: Australia holds its first conscription referendum. It is narrowly defeated.

A French soldier's grave, marked by his rifle and helmet, on the battlefield of Verdun





British soldiers marching to the front line to replace worn-out troops, 1916

1917

Western Front

March: Germans withdraw to the Hindenburg Line (Germany's formidable defensive line of trenches and concrete fortifications).

July–November: The Third Battle of Ypres takes place; it is better known as the Battle of Passchendaele.

Home front and other developments

February–March: The Russian Revolution leads to the abdication of the tsar on 2 March.

April: German miners go on strike in the Ruhr coalfields, objecting to a cut in the bread ration.

The United States enters the war.

October: The Battle of Beersheba, a British offensive against Turkish forces, takes place. It is remembered for the charge of the Australian Light Horse Regiment.

October–December: The Bolshevik revolution in October ends the Provisional Government in Russia. The Bolshevik leader, Vladimir Lenin, signs an armistice with Germany in December, ending Russia's participation in the war.

December: Australia holds its second conscription referendum, which is also defeated. The British Government passes a bill to give the vote to women over 30 years old.

1918

Western Front

March: The Ludendorff Offensive begins – this is the final attempt by Germany to break through the Allied lines and win the war.

April: General Ferdinand Foch becomes the Allied commander-in-chief.

Australian troops recapture the town of Villers-Bretonneux in France from the Germans, at the cost of around 1200 Australian lives.

July: The Battle of Hamel takes place.

July–August: The Battle of Amiens begins. The first day of this battle will later become known as the 'black day for the German Army'.

The Second Battle of the Marne – the last great German offensive of the war. Its failure turns the war in favour of the Allies.

September–October: Allied forces battle to capture the Hindenburg Line. A German Army representative tells the Reichstag (German parliament) that victory is no longer possible.

November: The Kaiser (German emperor) abdicates.

The armistice is signed on 11 November and fighting ceases.

1919

January–June: The Paris Peace Conference is held to decide the fate of Germany. At this conference, the Treaty of Versailles is drawn up, which officially ends the First World War.

13.1 Check your learning

- 1 Explain the term 'nationalism'. What are the positive and negative features of nationalism?
- 2 Does an arms race necessarily lead to a war? Give reasons for your response.
- 3 In your own words, explain the situation in Europe in the early 1900s.
- 4 What was the potential danger of the alliance system to stability in Europe in 1914?

13.2 The outbreak of war in 1914

As we have already seen, relationships between the key European powers were dominated by complex and interrelated factors, including nationalism, imperialism, militarism and the alliance system. Historians view these simmering national rivalries as the long-term causes of the First World War. Such tensions needed a spark to provoke outright hostilities, and this was provided by the assassination of the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand.



SOURCE 7 This photograph of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie riding in their car on 28 June 1914 was taken minutes before the event that sparked the First World War – their assassination by a gunman, a 19-year-old Serb nationalist named Gavrilo Princip.

The July Crisis and the first declarations of war

The Archduke and his wife Sophie were shot at close range by a gunman as they drove through the streets of Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, on 28 June 1914. This violent act was intended to promote the cause of Serbian nationalists. The immediate consequence was a period of threats, bluffs and failed negotiations among European nations known as the July Crisis. Tensions in the Balkans in the years prior to 1914 meant that Austria-Hungary was ready to lay blame for the Archduke's assassination on Serbia, and it issued its neighbour with 10 ultimatums. When Serbia could not comply with all of these demands, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia on 28 July 1914.

The world at war

The alliance system now came into effect. Russia promised to support Serbia and began to mobilise its army. Germany, Austria-Hungary's powerful ally, threatened Russia with war unless it ceased this mobilisation. When this threat was ignored, Germany declared war on Russia on 1 August 1914, and two days later declared war on Russia's ally, France.

At this point, Germany rapidly put into effect the Schlieffen Plan, its long-held strategy when faced with a war on two fronts: against France on its western borders and Russia on its eastern borders. Germany had feared a war on both fronts since Russia and France had become allies in 1894. If successful, the Schlieffen Plan would mean that the German Army would not need to fight on both fronts simultaneously. The plan called for an all-out attack on France to capture Paris and achieve a quick victory on the Western Front. The German Army could then turn to the east and defeat Russia before it had time to fully mobilise its army.

To reach the French border, German troops would advance through Belgium, a neutral country. Germany hoped that the British Government would decide to stand apart and stay neutral. However, Britain had pledged to protect Belgium's neutrality, and when Germany commenced its invasion of Belgium on 4 August 1914, Britain declared war on Germany.

Other countries would later join the war. These included Italy, Japan and the United States on the side of the **Allies**, and the Ottoman Empire (Turkey) and Bulgaria on the side of the **Central Powers**. (Note that although Italy had been a member of the Triple Alliance alongside Germany and Austria-Hungary, it did not join the Central Powers as it considered the actions of its old enemy, Austria-Hungary, to be in breach of the terms of that alliance.) The colonies and dominions of the European nations would also be drawn into the conflict, including Australia as a dominion of the British Empire.

So began the world's first global conflict.

Stalemate on the Western Front

Germany's attempt to maintain the timetable imposed by the Schlieffen Plan met with difficulties. Belgian resistance was greater than expected and delayed the advance, while the British Expeditionary Force arrived to defend Paris more rapidly than the Germans had anticipated. The German Army – its troops underfed and exhausted and already delayed – suffered a further blow on nearing Paris, when 100 000 of its men were transferred to the Eastern Front to face the Russians, who had also mobilised quickly and invaded Germany.

The First Battle of the Marne, which followed, was a hard-won Allied victory. The Germans had come so close to Paris they could see the Eiffel Tower in the distance, but they got no further. The Schlieffen Plan had failed and Germany was caught in a two-front war.

■ **Allies**
the coalition of countries in opposition to the Central Powers in the First World War; they included Britain, the Commonwealth, France and Russia, which were joined by the United States in 1917

■ **Central Powers**
the coalition of countries in opposition to the Allies in the First World War; they included Germany and Austria-Hungary, which were later joined by the Ottoman Empire (Turkey)



SOURCE 8 A cartoon illustrating how the First World War escalated as a result of the alliance system

The German Army retreated to the River Aisne and began to dig trenches. The Allied armies, equally exhausted, did not have the strength to push the Germans out of France. This led to the ‘race to the sea’, as each side extended its trench systems and fortified them with barbed wire, machine guns and artillery defences.

By the end of the year, when many had expected the war to be over, a line of trenches stretched from the sea to the Swiss Alps, movement had ended and the war was at a **stalemate**.

■ **stalemate**

a situation where neither side is able to gain an advantage

War on the Eastern Front

Australian students of the First World War are familiar with the areas on the Western Front, where Australians served, but the Eastern Front is also of great significance. This theatre of war stretched from the Baltic Sea in the north to the Black Sea in the south. It included most of Eastern Europe and also stretched into Central Europe. In area, it was much larger than the Western Front.

Russia surprised Germany by sending in troops soon after the war had started. Germany’s resistance was rushed but effective. By 1915, Germany was moving into Russia, and Russian troops suffered defeats in 1915 and 1916. In 1917, the Tsar of Russia was forced from office, and the **Bolsheviks** seized power.

■ **Bolsheviks**

a revolutionary political party led by Lenin that seized power from Russia’s Provisional Government in November 1917

The spread-out nature of the Eastern Front meant that trenches were largely ineffective, and it was the mobility and training of the German troops that proved to be decisive. By March 1918, German troops were within striking distance of the Russian capital, Petrograd (formerly St Petersburg), and the Bolsheviks concluded the Treaty of Brest–Litovsk that withdrew Russia from the war and ended the war on the Eastern Front.

Although Australia was not directly involved in this action, the campaign at Gallipoli had been designed to help Russia secure and maintain its access to the Mediterranean Sea.

The Battle of Tannenberg, August 1914

The Battle of Tannenberg was the battle that halted the Russian advance into Germany in the first month of the war. So effective were the German forces that the invading Russian Second Army was effectively destroyed. The statistics tell the story. Germany’s 150 000 troops were clearly outnumbered by Russia’s 250 000 troops, but 78 000 Russian soldiers were killed or wounded, and 90 000 were taken as prisoners of war. It took 60 German trains to carry away all the Russian equipment that had been captured.

The Battle of Tannenberg decisively stopped any Russian advance into Germany.

13.2 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 How could a historian use Source 7 to explain the outbreak of the First World War?
- 2 Analyse Source 8 and outline what information it gives you.

13.2 Check your learning

- 1 Explain why a political assassination in Sarajevo led to the First World War. Construct a flow chart or timeline to support your explanation.
 - 2 Why was it that the Western Front developed into a stalemate, while the Eastern Front didn’t?
 - 3 Explain why the Battle of Tannenberg is significant.
-

SOURCE 9 Beersheba, 1917



BATTLE OF BEERSHEBA

In the desert sands of Palestine, the Battle of Beersheba (31 October 1917) saw Australian and New Zealand troops support the British against the Ottoman Empire in one of the last great cavalry battles of modern warfare. It was effectively a battle for water, as Beersheba's wells were the only reliable water source in the area. The sight of Australia's Light Horse Regiment charging across the desert sands, with bayonets and rifles strapped to their backs, captured the romantic image of war that modern technology had driven into the mud of the Western and Eastern Fronts. Indeed, this was the style of battle that Archy Hamilton, the hero of the 1981 film *Gallipoli*, thought he was signing up for

when he joined the Western Australian Light Horse.

Among the 31 Australians killed in the charge was the Test cricketer Albert 'Tibby' Cotter, who was widely regarded as the best fast bowler of the time. Cotter, a stretcher-bearer, was shot as the troops dismounted to engage the enemy on reaching Beersheba. The walkway to the Sydney Cricket Ground is named in his memory.

Success at Beersheba helped consolidate British control in the region and, taking a longer-term view of history, could be seen as one of the factors that has led to today's conflict in the Middle East.

13.2 PROFILE TASKS

- 1 Explain what is meant by the statement that Beersheba 'captured the romantic image of war that modern technology had driven into the mud of the Western and Eastern Fronts'.
- 2 Research the sporting and military careers of Albert 'Tibby' Cotter.

13.3 Experiences of soldiers in key battles on the Western Front

The stalemate on the Western Front endured for the next three years. It was clear that a new type of war had begun to unfold. This was not a war of dash, excitement and adventure, but an ‘industrial war’, where the products of modern armament factories were set against flesh and bone. In this uneven contest, the power of defence was much greater than the power of offence – it was far easier to defend a trench line than to capture one.

In 1916 and 1917, military leaders on both sides attempted to break the deadlock with key battles at Verdun, the Somme and Passchendaele.

Battle of Verdun, February–December 1916

garrison
a body of troops stationed in a fortified place

On the Western Front, the French held the **garrison** of Verdun, a great French fortress, which was surrounded by 13 massive concrete forts. German General Erich von Falkenhayn hoped to break the stalemate by forcing the French to defend Verdun, using artillery to inflict huge numbers of casualties and ‘bleed the French Army to death’.

The Germans began a massive bombardment of French defences in February 1916, using 1400 heavy guns. French General Philippe Pétain was given the job of defending Verdun. This resistance became symbolic in the eyes of the French, and Pétain declared: ‘They shall not pass!’



SOURCE 10 The landscape around Verdun after months of intensive shelling by German artillery

The Battle of Verdun was brutal. German artillery fired twenty-three million shells at the French, and also used new deadly weapons. Phosgene gas (see Section 13.4) was introduced to the battlefield and, for the first time, flame-throwers were used in large numbers. The forts were the scene of fierce hand-to-hand fighting in their underground passageways.

Crucial to the French was their ability to bring in reinforcements of soldiers and supplies through what became known as ‘La Voie Sacrée’ (The Sacred Way), the only road into and out of Verdun. Despite intensive German shelling, this vital route was never closed and, at the height of activity, it saw 6000 vehicles a day. Almost three-quarters of the French Army was brought in to defend Verdun.

The Germans called off their main attack in July 1916, although fighting continued until December, when the French recaptured most of the land won by the Germans in earlier advances. The Germans had failed to break the French resistance.

Both sides suffered huge losses, with a total of more than 700 000 men killed, wounded or missing during the 10-month battle. Of these, it is estimated that 300 000 men died, with losses roughly equal on each side.

Battle of the Somme, July–November 1916

The Battle of the Somme in 1916 has become the defining symbol of the Great War. The first day of this bloody battle was perhaps the worst ever in the history of the British Army, which suffered 57 000 casualties, including 20 000 killed.

The Somme campaign was initially devised by the British as a way to break through German lines and break the stalemate on the Western Front. Allied forces fighting with the British included troops from France, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa.

The battle began on 1 July 1916 and was preceded by a week-long bombardment of German trenches, in order to destroy the Germans' barbed wire and front-line trenches. This aim was not achieved, however, because the Germans were aware of the impending attack and prepared by digging underground chambers that allowed their soldiers to shelter from the bombardment. When the Allied troops went '**over the top**', they were confident that the German trenches were cleared; soldiers from one British regiment even kicked footballs into no man's land as they advanced. But instead, they were hit by a barrage of machine-gun fire.

Although the French troops had some success, the British did not achieve any of the targets set by their commander-in-chief, General Sir Douglas Haig, in the first two days. Nevertheless, Haig persisted and the offensive continued. After the battle, the commander wrote that he had hoped for a breakthrough at first, but then accepted that the attack must go on anyway because it drew German troops away from Verdun. The optimistic 'breakthrough' battle had become part of the **war of attrition**.

Over the course of the following months, the Battle of the Somme became a series of attacks and counter-attacks, which saw the British front line advancing a mere 15 km at its furthest extent. The campaign of attrition was only halted by the British commanders in November 1916.

Final casualties have been estimated at 500 000 on the German side, and 620 000 suffered by the Allies.

■ **over the top**
the movement by troops when they climbed up from their trenches to move forward into battle

■ **war of attrition**
a strategy to wear down the enemy with continuous actions to reduce their resources

SOURCE 11 British soldiers go over the top during the Battle of the Somme.



SOURCE 12

By the end of July, responding to every British or French advance or attempt to advance, the German infantry had made not less than sixty-seven counter attacks, large or small, that I can identify. Probably they had made a great many more, now lost in time's obscurity – possibly twice as many. This was the texture of the battle: attack, counter-attack; attack again, counter-attack again ... That is why it is so utterly pernicious to dwell constantly on the freak of 1 July, and to associate the whole battle with the image of that day ... The Somme was the turning point.

John Terraine, *The Smoke and the Fire: Myths and Anti-Myths of War, 1861–1945*, 1980

SOURCE 13

The Somme offensive was a necessary if painful stage in the process of weakening a skilful, courageous and highly professional enemy.

Peter Simkins, in Chris McCarthy, *The Somme: The Day-By-Day Account*, 1993, foreword

SOURCE 14

We may perhaps question whether the four-and-a-half month slog of the Somme was the unmitigated disaster it is usually painted. One voice worth hearing in this context is that of the German supreme commander Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg, who was sufficiently chastened by the sufferings of his troops during the campaign to state at a conference in January 1917, 'We must save the men from a second Somme battle.' Another notable viewpoint is that of the distinguished soldier–writer Charles Carrington, who would later claim that 'The Somme battle raised the morale of the British Army. Although we did not win a decisive victory there was what matters most, a definite and growing sense of superiority, man to man ... We were quite sure we had got the Germans beat.'

M. Brown, 'Sommewhere in France', *History Today*, July 2006, Vol. 56, Issue 7, pp. 22–4

Battle of Passchendaele, July–November 1917

blockade
the act of stopping ships from leaving or entering ports

The year 1917 began positively for the Allies. The British naval **blockade** continued to deprive Germany of vital raw materials, the British and French gained control in the air and Allied industrial production was up. The French commander-in-chief, Robert Nivelle, attempted a breakthrough offensive in early 1917, but only succeeded in gaining less than 8 km, at great cost. He was replaced by Philippe Pétain in May 1917.

Disillusionment led to mutinies in some French units. Some scholars have gone so far as to suggest that from this point on, the French Army ceased to be a potent offensive force. This view may be extreme, but the fact remains that for the rest of 1917, the British Army had to carry the weight of the offensive.

The Third Battle of Ypres, better known as the Battle of Passchendaele, lasted from the end of July until November. Soldiers from Britain, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa once again attempted to break through German lines in Belgium. There were many frightening parallels between the circumstances surrounding the Somme in 1916 and Passchendaele in 1917. On both occasions, the British were requested to launch an attack to take pressure off the French Army, and in both battles the point of attack gave every advantage to the German defenders. Haig's decisions regarding both battles have produced much debate and criticism.

At Passchendaele, a huge bombardment of four and a half million shells combined with the worst rains seen in 30 years, turning the battlefield into a quagmire. Movement became almost impossible, as men, horses and equipment got stuck in the mud. Some men who fell into craters drowned, or had their backs broken as their comrades tried to pull them out of the mud.

Passchendaele was the ultimate example of the rationale for a war of attrition. Even though the Allies suffered heavy losses, Haig argued that as long as the Germans lost more men than the British and French, the Allies would win in the end. While there had been no breakthrough, Haig claimed that the Germans were suffering a fearful defeat because of their losses. Clearly, this kind of thinking worried the politicians, who were dependent on the support of the public – a public weary of the long casualty lists in their daily newspapers. Haig's view of attrition also gave little comfort to the troops, who joked grimly about who would be left to take food and ammunition up to the last man standing.

Passchendaele cost the Allies 275 000 casualties and the Germans 200 000, for an Allied gain of just over 10 km.

13.3 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Explain how Sources 10, 11 and 15 help you understand the conditions soldiers experienced on the Western Front.
- 2 Examine Sources 12, 13 and 14, and sources from your own research, and explain how the **historiography** of the Somme has changed over time.
- 3 Assess the Battle of the Somme. Was it a monstrous waste of life resulting from incompetent generalship, or a turning point that mortally wounded the German Army? Include relevant sources in your response.

■ **historiography**
the study of the construction of history

13.3 Check your learning

- 1 Outline what the Battles of Verdun, the Somme and Passchendaele were trying to achieve. Analyse how successful each was in achieving its objective.
 - 2 What does each battle reveal about the conditions under which soldiers were fighting?
-

SOURCE 15 Battlefield conditions at the Third Battle of Ypres, better known as the Battle of Passchendaele



13.4 The changing nature of war by 1918

During the First World War, both sides used scientific and industrial developments in weaponry in an attempt to break the deadlock. In 1914, the British infantryman walked to battle and attacked enemy trenches with his rifle and bayonet, a soft cap on his head. By 1918, technological and industrial advances meant that he was transported to battle in a truck, and could be armed with a **Lewis gun**, grenades, a **rifle grenade** or a flame-thrower. He now carried a gas respirator and his head was protected by a helmet. Infantry attacks were supported by barrages of high explosives, which bombarded the enemy from artillery and airplanes. Tanks were used to clear barbed wire ahead of an attack, and clouds of poison gas exploded from gas shells to terrorise the enemy.

■ Lewis gun

a type of machine gun that was mass-produced in Britain during the First World War

■ rifle grenade

a grenade-type explosive device propelled from a rifle barrel; these devices covered far greater distances than those thrown by hand

■ American Civil War

the war between the Northern and Southern states of the United States, fought between 1861 and 1865

The mechanisation of modern warfare

On the Western Front, it was the use of mechanised weapons, such as heavy artillery guns and machine guns, that gave the advantage to defenders and prolonged the stalemate. Infantrymen attacking enemy lines on foot stood little chance against a defensive force with heavy artillery, and with machine guns that could fire up to 600 rounds of ammunition per minute. The massive loss of life on the first day of the Battle of the Somme was a tragic example of this.

More fire-power was needed to break the deadlock, and the industries in the Central Powers and the Allied nations now bent their efforts toward mass production of the weapons that could provide it.

In addition to the fire-power laid down by their heavy artillery, military leaders in the First World War were the first to use tanks and aircraft. These developments in mechanised warfare could be used to counter the enemy's artillery fire during an attack, and increase the chances of a rapid advance and victory.



SOURCE 16 German soldiers using a machine gun, in the First World War, c. 1916

Guns and artillery

Machine guns had been used in the **American Civil War** and their fire-power was improved in the First World War. They gave defenders the ability to cut down the approaching enemy in numbers that could not have been imagined before the Battles of the Somme and Verdun.

Heavy artillery guns fired large shells over a long distance, hitting their targets from above. However, although they were mounted on wheels, the weight of artillery weapons meant they were difficult to move into the desired positions and often became bogged down in mud or stuck in craters.

Tanks

Tanks were first introduced to the battlefield on the Somme in September 1916. Tanks' main uses were to flatten barbed-wire obstacles and take out nests of enemy machine gunners. They also gave advancing soldiers some shelter from enemy fire.

These early tanks lacked the capacity to seriously affect the course of events. Only small numbers were available, and their slowness meant they could neither spearhead an attack, nor punch a hole in the enemy line to open the way for a major advance. They were limited in the terrain in which they could be used – they could not operate safely in built-up areas, woods, or over badly cratered or muddy ground, which excluded a good proportion of the areas where infantry needed it most.

Tank crews in the First World War faced a risk of carbon-monoxide poisoning, overheating or 'seasickness'. The tanks were deafeningly noisy for those inside, and the crews' visibility was also extremely limited.

Between 1916 and 1918, tanks were never more than an auxiliary to the infantry, with only slightly greater speed than a foot soldier.



SOURCE 17 A British Mark IV tank doing what it did well – crushing barbed wire

Aircraft

Modern warfare unveiled a new form of terror: attack from the air. Until 1916, German air raids were mainly carried out by Zeppelins – huge, hydrogen-filled balloons, with the crew slung underneath in a gondola. At first, there was little protection against the Zeppelins. Anti-aircraft guns were hopelessly inadequate, the shells exploding well below the height of the airships. In September 1916, however, the first airship was shot down over England, and by the end of that year the Zeppelin had had its day as an offensive weapon, though they were still used sporadically in raids until August 1918.

The Zeppelin was succeeded by the German Gotha bomber plane and its British equivalent, the Handley Page Type O.

In all, there were 53 Zeppelin raids and 57 aeroplane raids over Britain during the war, resulting in about 1400 deaths and 3400 injuries. These signalled an important change in the nature of modern warfare: women, children, the sick and the elderly were – in their own homes – now in the front line.

Britain was not the only country to face an aerial onslaught during the war. Gotha planes also attacked Paris and although Berlin was too distant, British and French aviators bombed many other German cities, especially in the Ruhr and Rhineland industrial areas in 1918. As in Britain, civilian morale in Germany was shaken by these attacks. German casualties from Allied aerial bombing were 740 killed and 1900 wounded.



SOURCE 18 Mounting bombs on a German Gotha bomber before take-off

Gas: a breakthrough weapon?

Chemical warfare was one of the scientific developments designed to break the deadlock on the Western Front. Three types of gas were used as weapons:

- > Chlorine caused difficulty in breathing, a burning sensation in the throat and chest pain.
- > Phosgene was more sinister and deadly because it did not cause coughing and irritation on first contact, like chlorine; thus, victims were exposed to larger doses for longer periods without realising it. The vast majority of all gas-related fatalities in the war were caused by phosgene.
- > Mustard gas led to blistering of the skin, airways and lungs, and even blindness. While death rates from mustard gas were relatively low, its effects were debilitating, and those affected required long-term, elaborate care.

Protective measures against gas were initially primitive, with soldiers told to urinate on a sock or piece of cloth and place it over their mouth and nose. Various types of gas mask were tried, until in 1917 the small-box respirator was developed, which gave effective protection.

At first, gas was released from cylinders, and thousands of these were carried to the front line. However, winds made gas difficult to control once it was released. From 1916, the French and Germans used gas shells, but these had limited use.

On the Western Front, the use of gas was occasionally effective, but never decisive. Gas was not the new breakthrough weapon that had been hoped for.



SOURCE 19 An aerial photo showing one of the first poison attacks using gas, taken over Belgium in April/May 1915

SOURCE 20

Not a cruel method. I look upon it as the most humane element in war. It should be said that of our gas casualties only 3 or 4 per cent died and of those that lived nearly all of them are getting well ...

Response by General William Sibert of the US Chemical Warfare Service during the First World War, when asked whether he considered gas to be a cruel method of warfare, in Donald Richter, *Chemical Soldiers*, 1994, p. 219

SOURCE 21

Gas! Gas! Quick, boys! – An ecstasy of fumbling,
Fitting the clumsy helmets just in time,
But someone still was yelling out and stumbling
And floundering like a man in fire or lime ...
Dim through the misty panes and thick green light,
As under a green sea, I saw him drowning.

In all my dreams, before my helpless sight,
He plunges at me, guttering, choking, drowning.

If in some smothering dreams, you too could pace
Behind the wagon that we flung him in,
And watch the white eyes writhing in his face,
His hanging face, like a devil's sick of sin;
If you could hear, at every jolt, the blood
Come gargling from the froth-corrupted lungs,
Obscene as cancer, bitter as the cud
Of vile, incurable sores on innocent tongues, –
My friend, you would not tell with such high zest
To children ardent for some desperate glory,
The old Lie: *Dulce et decorum est Pro patria mori*.*

Wilfred Owen, 'Dulce et Decorum Est', written during the First World War and published posthumously in 1920. Owen was killed in action in 1918, just one week before the signing of the armistice.

**It is sweet and fitting to die for one's country.*

SOURCE 22 A French soldier and his dog head to the Western Front, 1919.



Advances in communications

The development of telephone and wireless radio systems allowed instant communication between the front line and commanding field officers, who were behind the front line. However, telephone lines could be easily damaged by artillery fire or tank movements. Soldiers continued to act as ‘runners’, moving backwards and forwards through the trenches to relay information.

Advances in medicine

As weaponry designed to destroy lives developed rapidly, so too did medical technology designed to save lives. For example, a soldier whose thigh was broken in the conflict in 1914 had an 80 per cent chance of dying; but by 1916, that rate had changed to an 80 per cent chance of survival, thanks to the use of the Thomas splint. By the end of the war, mobile X-ray machines were brought to the front, nurses and surgeons were stationed much closer to the battles to treat injuries more quickly, and blood transfusions were available to help treat massive blood loss. At home, medical technology to produce prosthetic limbs and aid in facial reconstruction improved to meet the urgent need of soldiers disfigured by their wounds. Awareness of the dangers of bacteria and infection also increased dramatically.



SOURCE 23 French medics locating a bullet with an X-ray machine at a French field hospital during the First World War

13.4 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Contrast the views about gas warfare shown by General William Sibert in Source 20 and Wilfred Owen in Source 21. How would you account for the differences?
- 2 Research the life of Owen. Would you regard the view of Owen or Sibert as the more reliable source to provide an understanding of the impact of gas warfare? Explain your reasoning.
- 3 Analyse Sources 16, 17, 18, 19 and 23 and explain how each source contributes to your understanding of the developments of the First World War.

13.4 Check your learning

- 1 Create a timeline or flow chart that shows the changes in warfare that occurred during the First World War.
 - 2 As a class, debate whether the First World War had greater success in creating or curing injuries.
 - 3 Identify which area of change in war technology you feel made the greatest contribution to the First World War and explain, using evidence, why you have made this selection.
-

13.5 The impact of war on civilians

Prior to the First World War, wars had traditionally been fought by men on battlefields, often in distant lands. The First World War was different. The communities left behind became more than spectators awaiting news of battle; they became participants. They joined another front in the war – the ‘home’ front – that became vital to the outcome of the conflict.

The involvement of the **home front** led to the First World War becoming the first **total war**.

■ **home front**
those citizens who remain at home during a war; the home front typically includes women, children and the elderly

■ **total war**
a war in which all aspects of society are involved

Impact of war on civilians

Civilians often found they had no choice about being involved in the war. Invading armies and the mass destruction wrought along the Western Front ensured that simply living where you had always lived suddenly became impossible. Civilians fled from newly created war zones as the Germans launched their invasion through Belgium and into France. More than 150 000 Belgian refugees sought shelter in Britain in the early years of the war, returning home years later to their shattered landscape, to try and rebuild their villages, their farms and their communities. This was a story repeated across Europe, as families fled and communities were destroyed.



SOURCE 24 French civilians flee the advancing German Army, 1915.

Impact of the war: the home front

The war had a deeper and more profound impact on the German home front than it did in Britain. The British experienced food shortages and rationing, but the German food shortages were more severe and the German Government's regulation of domestic labour, industry and agriculture was more extensive. Germany had more than three and a half million civilians engaged in war work, the greatest number of any aggressive power. Food and fuel rationing eventually led to strikes and the breakdown of the German economy.

Britain focused its home front on ensuring the continued supply of all the munitions and products necessary to conduct war. The government took on extensive measures to ensure control of the home front. The Defence of the Realm Act (DORA) in 1914 gave the government extraordinary powers over the lives of its citizens and banned a range of activities, including flying kites, buying binoculars, feeding bread to animals and buying alcohol on public transport. People could be arrested without a warrant, and workers could be directed to do specific jobs. Emphasis was put on civilians producing food because of shortages, and food rationing was introduced.

Germany's food shortages soon became much more serious than anything experienced by the British home front. Germany largely relied on imports for food, and the British Navy's blockade of German trade proved an effective weapon. As shortages and heavy winters had an increasing impact, substitute products replaced foods that were no longer available. Coffee, for example, was made from roasted barley, rye, chicory and figs. Bread was known as K Bread or Kriegsbrot (war bread). At times, K bread was made with potatoes, turnips or rye, and by 1918 it contained large amounts of sawdust and chalk.

These deprivations of food and freedoms at home increased opposition to the war.

SOURCE 25

GERMANY IS STANDING AGAINST A WORLD OF ENEMIES WHO WOULD DESTROY HER!

I. We have enough breadstuffs in the country to nourish our population until the next harvest, but nothing must be wasted.

II. Breadstuffs must not be used as fodder.

VI. Do not despise even a single piece of bread because it is no longer fresh.

VII. Do not cut off a slice more than you need to eat. Think always of our soldiers in the field who, often in some far-off, exposed position, would rejoice to have the bread which you waste.

VIII. Eat war bread. It is recognisable by the letter K. It satisfies and nourishes as thoroughly as any other kind ...

IX. Whoever first peels potatoes before cooking them wastes much. Therefore, cook potatoes with the jackets on.

X. Leavings of potatoes, meat, vegetables, etc., which you can not use, do not throw away, but collect them as fodder for cattle.

A notice that was prominently displayed on public transport, and in shops, restaurants and other public places in Germany, in H.W. Wilson, *The Great War*, Vol. 4



SOURCE 26 Germans in Berlin crowd around a mobile soup kitchen during the First World War.

13.5a Understanding and using the sources

How do Sources 25 and 26 help historians understand the life of civilians during the war?

13.5a Check your learning

- 1 Explain in your own words what you understand by the term 'total war'. Justify why it is an appropriate term to use to describe the First World War.
 - 2 Describe the impact of the war on civilians across Europe.
 - 3 Canadian historian Margaret MacMillan suggests that one of the significant impacts of the First World War was that governments extended their control over citizens by imposing restrictions, such as postal censorship and other measures that undermined privacy, that they were reluctant to relinquish after the war. What evidence can you see around you to suggest that governments of today might take similar actions?
-



SOURCE 27 British women training as fire fighters during the First World War

The changing role of women in Britain

Britain in 1914 was still a society dominated by class. Upper- and middle-class women knew little of labour-based work until the advent of war, but widespread shortages meant that women of every class took up employment in areas where men had previously dominated. The manufacturing of munitions became a key area, but women became involved in other sectors of the economy, including transport, education, banking, finance and administration. For working-class women, whose lives had always been physically demanding, the war meant higher wages; but for upper- and middle-class women, the war years often meant their first experience of any form of employment.

This situation did not survive the war, however. Two years after the war ended, there were fewer women in work than there had been before the war, and returning servicemen often felt they had to protect their jobs from women. It was in the political arena that women found more success. The contribution of women to the war effort convinced most members of parliament, who were overwhelmingly male, that women had earned a fuller place in society. Previously, women in Britain had not been allowed to vote, but in December 1917 a bill was passed to give the vote to all women over 30 years. In this way, the war had enabled women to achieve a change, where a long campaign before the war had failed.

13.5b Understanding and using the sources

Explain how Source 27 either confirms or challenges the information on the changing role of women in Britain during the First World War, outlined above.

13.5b Check your understanding

- 1 List the ways in which British women aided the war effort.
 - 2 What benefits did British women gain from their experiences of war work?
 - 3 How did the experience of British women during the war represent continuity and change?
-

Recruitment and conscription in Britain and Germany

Before the war, the Germans had a tradition of **conscription** for military training and service, which meant that they entered the war in 1914 with a well-trained army of more than three million soldiers. By the end of the war, this had grown to eleven million. Britain, on the other hand, started the war with a small volunteer army of 730 000 men. Calls for volunteers were promoted throughout all areas of society and, by late September of 1914, more than two million men had volunteered.

Germany maintained its numerical superiority because of its efficient and accepted conscription system. Britain initially relied upon voluntary enlistment, but as the numbers of casualties mounted rapidly, Prime Minister H.H. Asquith introduced a conscription bill to parliament in January 1916. This bill targeted all single men between 18 and 41, but in May this was expanded to include married men.

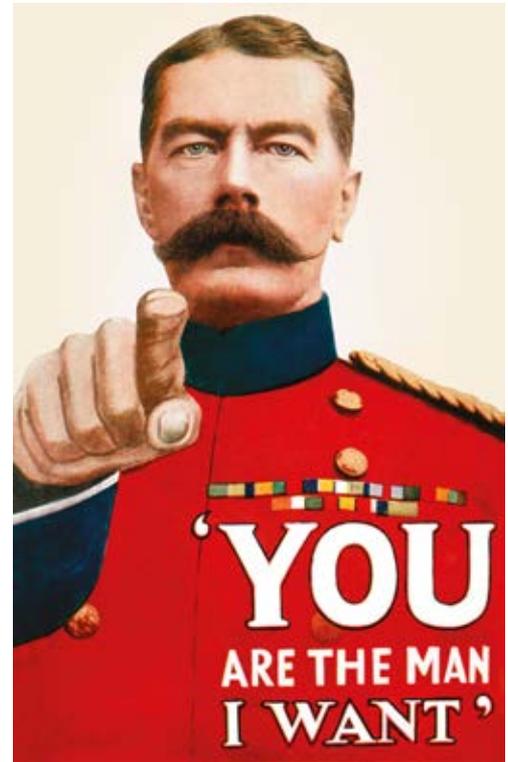
The mass destruction at the Somme basically ended Britain's volunteer army, and it relied on conscripts from late 1916. In 1918, the upper age for conscription was raised to 51. The total number conscripted was two and a half million, which along with support from the Empire and Allies, enabled Britain to outlast Germany.

By the end of the war, more than five million British men had served.

SOURCE 28

We thought it would be a novelty, you know, none of us had ever been out of England. To see another country, we thought that was a great thing. We were raw country lads who'd never seen nowt ... you had the impression you'd grown up from being a lad to a man. We were patriotic. It had been driven into us a bit that Germany wanted England, that's all we knew. We were young, strong lads, and thought we should go and help the old soldiers out.

Volunteer soldier George Littlefair, in R. van Emden and S. Humphries, *Veterans*, 1998, pp. 18–19



SOURCE 29 A 1914 British recruitment poster, featuring Lord Kitchener, Secretary of State for War, who organised the largest volunteer army Britain had ever seen

■ **conscription**
compulsory
enlistment into the
armed forces

13.5c Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Describe the method used in Source 29 to persuade men to enlist.
- 2 What does Source 28 indicate about the level of knowledge of many would-be recruits? Is there any evidence that these young men had been influenced by **propaganda**?
- 3 How useful and reliable are Sources 28 and 29 for a historian studying the home front in Britain at the beginning of the war?

■ **propaganda**
information,
especially of a biased
or misleading nature,
used to promote a
political cause or
point of view

13.5c Check your learning

- 1 Explain why Germany was able to enter the war with a large, well-trained army in 1914.
- 2 Explain why Britain had to resort to conscription during the First World War.

Propaganda and censorship in the First World War

Propaganda is an attempt to spread or encourage a particular idea or ideas. Though it can be a collection of lies, the best propaganda relies upon a seed of truth, even though it may be necessary to exaggerate or distort that truth. The apparently ruthless behaviour of the German armies in Belgium and the use of U-boats meant that British propagandists had a wealth of material to draw on to portray Germans as inhuman, or as bullies and aggressors.

Posters and cartoons

Posters and cartoons were a common propaganda device. Their messages reinforced positive feelings about your own side and negative images of the enemy. Much British propaganda was originally produced voluntarily by patriotic and eager publishers; however, the British soon began to organise and control their propaganda flow through agencies such as the War Propaganda Bureau.

Compared with the British propaganda effort, German propaganda lacked coordination and was largely undertaken by a number of private groups. Circulation both of newspapers and of magazines rose in Germany during the war, with people eager for news; however, there appears to have been a growing lack of public confidence in these publications. The military was clearly unhappy with the domestic propaganda effort and set up its own news source, the *Deutsche Kriegsnachrichten* (German War News).

Like the British, the Germans sought to justify the war. The 'encirclement' of Germany by enemy forces was a constant feature of published stories, as was the suggestion that the war was somehow a plot by rivals to suppress German *Kultur* and deny Germany its true and deserved position of greatness.



SOURCE 30 A cartoon shows the devil and a German soldier looking gleefully at a monthly report, which contains the numbers of civilians killed. This is an example of the type of propaganda that was used to drum up public support for the war effort.



SOURCE 31 A war poster, 1915



As with Allied propaganda, the Germans did not hesitate to use and embellish stories of atrocity; censorship and outright lies were well-established aspects of German propaganda. Examples of this approach were the falsification of casualty figures (an approach not unique to Germany), exaggeration of German resources, and inaccurate news from the battlefield. The German public was told that the war had begun with a French invasion of German soil.

Censorship in the First World War

Censorship was in many ways virtually indistinguishable from propaganda, and was designed to minimise bad news or keep it from the public entirely. In April 1915, Britain's Directorate of Special Intelligence (DSI) was set up to coordinate all censorship and intelligence activities. Censorship of mail offered excellent opportunities for finding suitable themes on which propaganda might be based.

In the trenches, soldiers were forbidden to keep diaries, a regulation that they bypassed by writing on scraps of paper, or keeping notes illicitly. It may seem surprising that there are so many war memoirs, but it should be remembered that nearly all letters were censored by a soldier's own officers, and often not especially rigorously.

There was also the 'green envelope system'. Soldiers were given one green envelope per month, in which they could send uncensored letters to their loved ones. The system was based on trust; the soldiers had to verify that these letters included only private and family matters, enabling them to write about personal things that they did not wish their immediate superiors to see. Random green envelopes were opened at headquarters as a deterrent, and if a soldier was found to have betrayed the trust placed in him, he would be punished.



SOURCE 32 An anti-English propaganda poster, c. 1916. The text reads: 'He is to blame, when you have to struggle and bleed, when you have to do without, when you must save light and coal, when you need ration books, when you cannot return to your peacetime work! The arch enemy is England! So, remain united! Remain strong! And you will assure Germany's victory!'

13.5d Understanding and using the sources

Analyse Sources 30, 31 and 32.

- 1 Identify each one as either British or German, and summarise the messages they are conveying.
- 2 Are they promoting positive views of their own side, or a negative view of the enemy?
- 3 Rank them in order of effectiveness, and explain your rankings.

13.5d Check your learning

- 1 What is propaganda? Why was it so important in the First World War?
- 2 What were the two basic approaches to propaganda used by both sides during the war?
- 3 Why was British propaganda more effective than German propaganda?
- 4 Explain why censorship was thought to be important during the war.

13.6 Victory and peace

In 1917, two events occurred that changed the course of the war: the entry of the United States into the war, and the withdrawal of Russia from the Eastern Front. Intense fighting continued on the Western Front in the closing months of 1918, but the extent to which the morale of the German Army had collapsed was clear. On 2 October 1918, the German Army's high command told the German Reichstag that victory in the war was no longer possible. In early November – with the Austro-Hungarians signing an armistice and the threat of revolution growing in Germany – the Kaiser abdicated and fled to Holland. At 5 a.m. on 11 November 1918, the **armistice** was signed and came into operation six hours later, thus ending the war at the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month of 1918.

armistice
the agreement made by opposing sides in a war to stop fighting



SOURCE 33 The front page of the *Daily News*, 12 November 1918

An overview of the reasons for the Allied victory

- > *The British naval blockade* – this was effective in depriving Germany of the food and raw materials it needed to continue the fight over a longer period. As to the overall effectiveness of the blockade, Allied commander-in-chief Ferdinand Foch stated that the final victory in the First World War was due 50 per cent to the military and 50 per cent to the blockade.
- > *Improved Allied tactics* – under Foch's direction, attacks on the Germans came in different directions from the French, the British and the Americans in a never-ending series of jabs that wore down enemy resistance. In the Battles of Hamel and Amiens in 1918, Australian General John Monash and British General Douglas Haig pursued carefully planned, closely defined engagements, avoiding the futile battles of attrition of former years. By this time, the Allied commanders had learnt to use artillery, tanks and aircraft in well-coordinated attacks. New strategies spared their troops from high casualties; for example 'bite and hold' tactics, where soldiers did not push beyond the protection offered by their artillery, gaining and consolidating small gains in territory before moving on.
- > *Fire-power* – the Allies had developed an overwhelming industrial supply of weaponry. British factories were delivering large quantities of tanks, machine guns, Lewis guns, **trench mortars** and shells. Artillery, and the constant supply of it, was a key factor in victory on the Western Front. The British war economy, now increasingly aided by the Americans, could supply it; the German war economy could not.
- > *Manpower* – both sides were running out of men and an important factor, therefore, was the growth in numbers with the arrival of the Americans in 1917. The first sustained US offensive took place at the end of May 1918. The growing numbers of fresh US troops were to provide a source of manpower that the Germans could not match. By 1918, many German units were commanding boys, older men or repatriated prisoners, who had already experienced enough of war.

trench mortar
a short, stumpy gun firing bombs at high angles to drop into enemy trenches; it was designed to be fired from trenches without exposing soldiers to enemy fire



The effects of the war in giving rise to the Russian Revolution

When war was declared in 1914, it seemed that the conflict would save the threatened Romanov dynasty – and its head, Tsar Nicholas II – and not destroy it. Volunteers hastened to join the Russian Army, and the tsar blessed the troops as they left for the front. Political differences were put aside as Russians joined to fight the common enemy in defence of the homeland.

The Russian Empire, however, was inadequately prepared for modern warfare. Supplies of weapons, ammunition and clothing for the troops proved hopelessly inadequate. After some initial successes, the pattern for the war on the Eastern Front was soon set by the German victories at Tannenberg and the Masurian Lakes in August and September 1914. By the end of 1915 Russia had suffered three and a half million casualties.

As resources went to the war effort, food supplies in Russian cities dwindled and prices rose. There were 268 strikes in January and February 1917 alone. Increasing discontent with the war and the leadership led to revolution and the abdication of the tsar in March 1917. Though the Provisional Government that replaced the tsar attempted to continue the war, the failure of its last major offensive in July 1917 strengthened the calls of anti-war revolutionaries within Russia, led by Lenin's Bolsheviks.

With little direction from the government and increasing rates of troop desertion, war on the Eastern Front effectively ended in 1917. When the Bolsheviks took power in November 1917, the formal ending of the war was only a matter of time and negotiation. Russian and German delegates signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk on 3 March 1918.

From this point, the revolution would lead to the rise of the Soviet Union from the ashes of Russia. With its **communist** ideology and a determination to support revolution elsewhere, the Soviet Union was the polar opposite of the rapidly emerging power of the United States. They would fight as allies during the First World War, but the divisions that would shape the second half of the twentieth century were falling into place as it ended.

■ **communism**
an economic system in which the means of production (for example factories, farms and machinery) are publicly owned by the state, and goods are distributed equally according to need, as opposed to privately owned and controlled systems such as capitalism



SOURCE 34 Bolshevik leader Vladimir Lenin addressing the crowd in the Red Square, Moscow, 1919, one year after the end of the war

13.6 Check your learning

- 1 How did British tactics change and improve in the second half of the war?
- 2 Why was the United States' decision to join the war on Britain's side in 1917 so critical to the outcome?
- 3 How could the First World War have been the salvation of the tsar and the Romanov dynasty? Why wasn't it?
- 4 Identify the group that eventually won power in Russia during the revolution, and research its tactics and ideology. Why would Western countries such as Britain and the United States have been so opposed to this group and its beliefs?

13.7 The nature and legacy of the First World War and its influence on modernity

■ **Blitzkrieg**
a military tactic used by the Germans that included short and fast attacks using a range of mobile weapons, such as tanks and air attacks

The First World War was a war of attrition, and introduced the world to the concept of total war. It started out with Germany's high hopes of a rapid **Blitzkrieg** (lightning war) into France, and Britain's belief that the 'big show' would be over by Christmas 1914. Soldiers believed they were fighting the 'war to end all wars', and that they would give the generations that followed a peaceful world in which to prosper. Yet within a generation the world would be at war again.

SOURCE 35

The cold numbers capture much of the war's horror: more than 9 million men dead and twice as many again wounded – a loss of sons, husbands and fathers but also of skills and talents. Graves in the north of France and Belgium and war memorials across the US bear witness to the 53 000 American soldiers who died. Thousands of civilians died, too, during the war itself, whether of hunger, disease or violence. And then, as the guns were falling silent, a new pestilence struck humanity in the shape of a virulent influenza. As troops returned home, they unwittingly helped carry the disease around the world. It has been estimated that 50 million died.

Margaret MacMillan, 'The First World War: The war that changed everything',
Wall Street Journal, 20 June 2014

As well as being one of the defining events of the twentieth century, the First World War left an enormous legacy that is still being felt in today's world. Historians argue that it was this war that shaped the world we are all living in. Consider the following summary of points raised by Canadian historian Margaret MacMillan in a *Wall Street Journal* article (quoted in Source 35) commemorating the centenary of the outbreak of the First World War in 2014. Some of the seminal changes she attributes to war include:

- > many modern national boundaries being established
- > many governments establishing more direct control over their civilian populations
- > attempts to establish an international body to avoid future conflicts
- > the collapse of traditional empires, such as Austria-Hungary and the Ottomans
- > the brutalisation of European society that led to violence becoming an acceptable way to resolve differences
- > a lack of trust in governments to deliver peace and security

SOURCE 36

The French National War Cemetery at La Targette



- > a fall in church attendance and an increase in alcohol consumption
- > the hastening of the end of colonial empires, as colonies that contributed troops to the war effort saw at first hand the myth of European superiority
- > recognition of the problem of how to end major wars without starting new conflicts
- > the impact of the West's rejection of Japanese and Chinese claims in the peace settlement
- > the reinforcement of America's sense of **exceptionalism**.

These changes all have implications for the modern world. That same year, the *Wall Street Journal* also ran a centenary article called '100 years, 100 legacies', which detailed 100 legacies from the First World War that it believed continue to influence life today. These included:

- > the massive migration of African Americans from the Southern states to the North, in search of work in rapidly expanding industrial cities such as Chicago and Detroit
- > the development of a sense of national identity among Australians and New Zealanders
- > the popularisation of condoms as a means of combating the massive spike in sexually transmitted diseases
- > the introduction of daylight saving as a method of preserving energy and gaining more productive daylight hours.

The world today evidently has many roots in the First World War. In Source 37, MacMillan makes her perspective very clear.

SOURCE 37

We should not see it merely as something of historical interest, a series of sepia photographs showing people who are quite alien to us. We are still living with the results of that war, and we face similar concerns. How, for example, does the world deal with powers whose leaders feel they must have their place in the sun? For Germany then, read Russia now. Or how can we rebuild societies after deeply damaging conflicts – in Europe then, but in Central Africa, the Middle East or Afghanistan today? A century after the assassination of an Austro-Hungarian archduke in the streets of Sarajevo, it may be that looking back to The First World War can still help us toward a more peaceful future.

Margaret MacMillan, 'The First World War: The war that changed everything',
Wall Street Journal, 20 June 2014

■ **exceptionalism**
the belief that something has special qualities that place it above others; the most common usage of this term is linked to the self-belief of the United States

13.7 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 What evidence does Margaret MacMillan use to support her contention that 'cold numbers capture much of the war's horror?'
- 2 Discuss how MacMillan's inclusion of a reference to civilian casualties helps you understand the concept of total war.

13.7 Check your learning

- 1 Discuss why the First World War wasn't the 'war to end all wars'.
- 2 Discuss the impact you think the First World War has had on the world today. How does this represent the value of studying history?
- 3 Analyse MacMillan's list of changes above. Explain which you think are the most significant three and justify your selection.
- 4 Conduct some online research to find the '100 years, 100 legacies' article, or a similar article, and identify how many legacies of the First World War have had a direct or indirect influence on your life.

In August 1914, the First World War unfolded before Europeans as a 'grand adventure' for those involved. Common phrases included 'We're off to the big show', 'It will all be over by Christmas' and the 'war to end all wars'. The only one that would prove to have any validity was the reference to the 'big show', if that is interpreted as total war.

The First World War became a war that killed civilians as freely as it did combatants. Whole communities were obliterated, as technology emerged that enabled mass destruction on a level that had never been previously imagined.

This war changed the world forever. After 400 years of virtual world dominance, Europe virtually self-destructed, and dragged far-flung sections of the British Empire – such as Australia – into the conflict too. From the ashes of destruction, the United States and the Soviet Union would emerge as the world powers to dominate the second half of the twentieth century.

The peace that concluded the war was as ill-advised as the conflict that preceded it. Squabbling over territories, winners blaming losers, selfish parochial interest and a last, fatal attempt by the traditional powers to retain their international control all combined to lead the world into the Second World War a mere generation later.

The First World War was not the 'war to end all wars', but it did change the world.



SOURCE 38 Inspired by the First World War poem 'In Flanders Fields', in which poet John McCrae observed how quickly poppies grew around the graves of those who fell at the Battle of Ypres, the poppy has long been used to commemorate military personnel who have died in war.



FOR THE TEACHER

Check your [obook](#) [assess](#) for the following additional resources for this chapter:

Answers

Answers to each *Check your learning*, *Understanding and using the sources* and *Profile task* in this chapter

Teacher notes

Useful notes and advice for teaching this chapter, including syllabus connections and relevant weblinks

Class test

Comprehensive test to review students' skills and knowledge

assess quiz

Interactive auto-correcting multiple-choice quiz to test student comprehension

14

The French Revolution

KEY CONCEPTS AND SKILLS

Analysis and use of sources

The French Revolution is a complex historical event. It covers different phases, and the people involved often had very different motivations for joining the cause. It is vital that you understand the motivation underlying any source that you use during your investigation of the revolution. It is crucial to ask questions such as: who said it, what were the circumstances, did they have anything to gain, and was it an attempt to sway opinion?

Historical interpretation

Revolutions are about abrupt change. As you investigate the French Revolution, you will have to keep asking the following key questions: what is changing and why is it changing? You will have to be alert to investigate continuities that may indicate strong underlying social and cultural values that may survive revolutionary change.

Historical investigation and research

'Why' and 'how' will become key questions to help guide you through an investigation of a period as volatile as the French Revolution. It will be equally important to recognise a range of sources if you are to develop a balanced perspective of your own in your investigation.

Explanation and communication

Think about some of the key terms that could help you communicate your understanding of the French Revolution, including 'causation', 'legacy', 'democracy', 'terror', 'rights' and 'Enlightenment'. Correct and relevant use of these terms and concepts can greatly enhance your investigation.

LEARNING GOALS

- > Understand the role and impact of key ideas at the time of the revolution.
- > Understand the perspective and motivations of different individuals and groups.
- > Recognise the legacy of the revolution.

Maximilien Robespierre (1758–94), a leading figure of the French Revolution, is guillotined in the Place de la Révolution, Paris, 28 July 1794.

FOCUS QUESTIONS

- 1 What were the long- and short-term causes of the French Revolution?
- 2 What were some of the crucial events during the French Revolution?
- 3 What is the legacy of the French Revolution?

14.1 Introduction

The French Revolution was not a single event, but a series of dramatic political, social and economic changes, stretching across 26 years from 1789. This revolutionary period marked the end of the French monarchy, saw the rise of a new political order, and led to enduring changes worldwide in how people thought about government and human rights.

The revolution provided examples of both the best and the worst in human nature. There were displays of courage, examples of high ideals and acts of terror. Source 4 outlines the key events and developments during the French Revolution, from 1789 to 1815. The revolutionary period, like all important episodes in history, later became the focus of historical debate about both its causes and its influence.

For many years, 1789 has been traditionally accepted as the starting point for the study of modern history. It marked the end of the **medieval** period (which incorporated **feudal** and **absolutist** systems), and represented the beginning of the Modern Era.

Historical context: society and government in France before the revolution

The system of government that was dramatically overthrown in France in the first phase of the revolution was an **absolute monarchy**. The French King Louis XVI had absolute power, which meant that he had the final say in all matters of government. He had ministers and advisers at court to help in the day-to-day running of the country, but the final decision was always his. He decided matters of domestic policy (such as taxation) and foreign relations (that resulted in war or peace).

The foundation of the king's power was the 'divine right of kings' – the people accepted the idea that God chose the king and his family to rule. The Church supported this view of the world, and was a great supporter of the monarchy.



SOURCE 1 King Louis XVI painted in 1779, 10 years before the start of the revolution

medieval

a period of European history, also known as the Middle Ages, that lasted from approximately the fifth to the fifteenth centuries

feudal

the dominant social system in medieval Europe, where the nobles could live on the King's land in exchange for military service, and the peasants in turn rented the land in exchange for working on the land and sharing the produce with the nobles and the King

absolutist

a political system where absolute and complete power is held by one individual

absolute monarchy

a system of government where the king has complete power



SOURCE 2 A French agricultural labourer, c. 1800

The system of monarchy had been well established in France for centuries, but when Louis XVI came to the throne in 1774, the kingdom faced major economic and political problems that would ultimately lead to its overthrow.

The structure of French society – the Estates of the Realm

Under the king, France was divided into three main social classes, known as the Estates of the Realm:

- 1 *The First Estate: the clergy* – the clergy were those who served the Church: the priests, monks, nuns, bishops and cardinals. In France at the end of the eighteenth century, most of France's population of 28 million was Roman Catholic. The Church was wealthy and owned a great deal of valuable land, amounting to 10 per cent of the total land in France. It was unpopular with many, and it enjoyed various privileges, such as exemption from tax, and being able to charge landowners **tithes**.
- 2 *The Second Estate: the nobility* – the French nobility was divided into two groups:
 - the 'Nobility of the Sword', which was made up of families with noble titles that went back for centuries
 - the 'Nobility of the Robe', which was made up of newcomers to the ranks of the nobility. They were often from middle-class backgrounds, and many of them had become rich as a result of changes in the economic structure of society. They were business people, manufacturers and merchants. Members of this group of nobles played a more active role in government and some served as judges. As a group, they were also more likely to comment on the King's decisions. Such official comments were called 'remonstrances', and were often criticisms of government policy and royal authority. It was the Nobility of the Robe that initially challenged the authority of the King and triggered the first phase of the French Revolution.
- 3 *The Third Estate: the commoners* – this group comprised peasants, the growing number of urban workers, business people and some professionals, such as doctors, teachers and lawyers. The peasants made up most of the population, about 85 per cent, but bore virtually 100 per cent of the tax burden in pre-revolutionary France. **Serfdom** no longer existed as a large-scale system, but relics of the feudal system still remained, such as duties and payments that French peasants owed to their landlords, and that caused great resentment.

■ **tithe**
a tax payment to the church of one-tenth of annual produce or earnings

■ **serfdom**
the state of being a serf or labourer within a feudal system

■ **Industrial Revolution**
the rapid development of industry, beginning in Britain in the mid-eighteenth century, in which advances in technology fundamentally changed the agricultural and manufacturing industries, as well as transport and communications

■ **bourgeoisie**
the French middle class

■ **Enlightenment**
an intellectual philosophical movement in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the West that saw the emergence of reason rather than faith as the major component of thought and the development of ideas

The absolute monarchy had been able to function for hundreds of years with this traditional class structure, but with the birth of the **Industrial Revolution** the old systems started to show signs of cracking. The Second Estate had begun to change; the newer Nobility of the Robe wanted to be more active in government.

The Third Estate had also changed. It was no longer just made up of rural peasants working on the land. There were growing numbers of urban workers. These were poor people who lived in the cities, especially Paris, and worked in manufacturing – in factories, mills or mines. The Third Estate also had growing numbers of educated middle-class people, referred to in France as the **bourgeoisie**. This group included wealthier, more educated workers in professions such as medicine, education and law. Many of these people were influenced by the ideas of the **Enlightenment**, the broad philosophical movement that had become influential in the 1700s. Many Enlightenment writers challenged the divine right of kings and other traditional ideas of government.

14.1 Understanding and using the sources

Examine Source 3 and discuss the message that the artist is conveying.

14.1 Check your learning

- 1 Create a diagram that shows the distribution of power and wealth in pre-revolutionary France.
- 2 Describe the concept of absolute monarchy.
- 3 Explain why the bourgeoisie was a class that would be steadily increasing in size after the end of the eighteenth century.

SOURCE 3 An engraving from 1789 portrays a farmer from the Third Estate bearing the First and Second Estates on her back. An approximate translation of the text is: 'The forced labour of the farmer. Hopefully this game will be finished soon.'



Key events in the French revolutionary period

1789

May: Louis XVI gathers the Estates-General (general assembly) at the Royal Palace of Versailles and tries to get a proposal passed that will increase taxes on the wealthy and the clergy. This is the first time in over 150 years that this type of meeting has been held. Unsurprisingly, the clergy (First Estate) and the nobility (Second Estate) are opposed to the tax increase, while the commoners (Third Estate) are supportive of it.

June: Members of the Third Estate meet as the Communes (Commons), and vote on a measure declaring themselves a National Assembly – not of the Estates, but of the people. This is the start of a shift of power, as members of the First and Second Estates join the Third Estate in vowing not to leave Versailles until a new constitution has been decided upon. Louis agrees to the formation of a National Constituent Assembly.

July: The Bastille (a government fortress) in Paris is stormed and captured by a mob, as patience among the lowest classes becomes stretched.

August: The Assembly abolishes feudalism and privilege. It then issues the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. This document, influenced by American Founding Father Thomas Jefferson, becomes the foundation of basic human rights and equality under the law. The 1948 United Nations Declaration of Human Rights drew heavily on this essential document from the French Revolution.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, 1789: the enduring legacy of the French Revolution



The three Estates of the Realm, forging the new constitution. An approximate translation of the text reads: 'Soon, soon, soon. Strike while the iron is hot. Soon, soon, soon. Good luck. Have faith in your work.'

1790

February: All religious orders are abolished, and monks and nuns are encouraged to return to civilian life.

July: The Civil Constitution of the Clergy is adopted. This is a law that turns all clergy into civil employees of the state; it effectively ends over a thousand years of power and privilege for the Roman Catholic Church in France.

1791

June: Louis attempts to flee to Austria. This leads to his capture and return to Paris in disgrace, and permanently weakens his position as king.

July: Louis accepts a new constitution, which severely limits his power and strengthens the National Constituent Assembly. After two years, the revolution has finally shifted political power to the people and away from the monarchy.

October: The Legislative Assembly replaces the National Constituent Assembly as the main decision-making body for the country, further strengthening the position of the revolutionaries; although splits over future aims will mark the following years of the revolution.



The Fête de la Fédération holiday festival was first celebrated in 1790.

1792

January–March: Food riots take place across Paris as the poor demand action and stability to improve their situation.

August: A Jacobin mob storms the royal palace and imprisons the king. The Jacobins are members of a political club that becomes increasingly influential under the control of revolutionary leader Maximilien Robespierre. They are the perhaps the most radical and ruthless of the revolutionaries, and will lead the Reign of Terror the following year.

September: A convention elected by the Legislative Assembly abolishes the monarchy and declares the First French Republic; it will last until the rise of Napoleon in 1804. More than 1200 royalists being held in Parisian prisons are murdered.



The 'Tree of Liberty' was adopted in 1792 as a symbol of the everlasting republic. The phrase 'Liberté, égalité, fraternité' ('Liberty, equality, fraternity') is the motto of the modern French nation.

1793

January: King Louis XVI is executed by guillotine in front of a large crowd at the Place de la Révolution in Paris.

April: The Committee of Public Safety is established to impose order and political control over opponents of the revolution, both in France and abroad. This committee becomes the effective government of France during the Reign of Terror.

May: A maximum price on bread is imposed in an effort to win public support and help the poor.



A meeting of the Committee of Public Safety

June: Robespierre and fellow revolutionary Louis Antoine de Saint-Just write a new, radical constitution which is only partly enacted before being replaced in 1795.

August: The metric system of measurement is adopted, in a reform that will have far-reaching and long-term effects around the world.

September: The Committee of Public Safety, led by Robespierre, institutes the Reign of Terror, killing about 1400 rivals. It is a bloody and chaotic period of the revolution, where violence is used as a political weapon.

1794

July: The Reign of Terror ends with the arrest and execution of Robespierre. The Committee of Public Safety is dissolved, and moves commence towards a more stable and conservative system of government.

1795

February: In a sign of a conservative reaction to the previous dramatic changes, churches reopen for Christian worship, but Church and state are now formally separated.

August: A new constitution is approved, establishing the Directory – a five-man system of government that presides over attempts to install French-supporting governments among neighbouring countries. However, its policies increase the economic chaos. The Directory starts deteriorating over the next four years, creating a power vacuum that Napoleon Bonaparte is able to fill.

The emblem of the French Revolution:
'God, the King'



1799

November: Napoleon seizes power in a coup d'état and is proclaimed First Consul of the Republic. This effectively ends the French Revolution and ushers in the Napoleonic Era (which is effectively a postscript to the revolution).

1804

March: The French Civil Code, also known as the Napoleonic Code, is enacted and provides the basis for modern law in the West.

December: Any pretence at democracy is swept away when Napoleon is crowned Emperor of France.



'Napoleon Crossing the Alps' by Jacques-Louis David, 1802

1805–09

Building on the unsuccessful attempts made by the Directory, Napoleon proves to be an outstanding and successful general. He is successful in his campaign to establish republics across Europe.

1814

Napoleon is defeated by a European coalition and exiled to the Italian island of Elba.

1815

Napoleon escapes from Elba and marches into France, rallying troops in the belief that he can restore himself to power.

In June, Napoleon is finally defeated at Waterloo by the Duke of Wellington, and Louis XVIII accedes to the throne, reinstating the French monarchy and effectively ending the Napoleonic Era. Napoleon is exiled to the remote British island of Saint Helena, between South America and Africa, where he dies in 1821.

14.2 The causes of the revolution

As with all major historical events, the causes of the revolution can be divided into four separate classifications: long-term and short-term, and primary and secondary. As the label suggests, long-term causes are forces that have been in motion for more than 50 years prior to the event. Short-term (or immediate) causes are factors that were in play just before the event and acted as triggers for it.

The other classifications of primary and secondary causes are more complicated. This is where historians argue about what they regard as the most important or indisputable causes (primary causes), and the less significant causes (secondary causes). Without the primary causes, there would not have been a French Revolution in 1789; while the secondary causes only influenced the nature and the extent of the revolution.

SOURCE 5

'La Marseillaise', on the Arc de Triomphe, Paris. 'La Marseillaise' was the song of the revolution – a patriotic call for freedom. It became France's national anthem in 1795.

Long-term causes of the French Revolution

For the French Revolution, the long-term causes include the following.

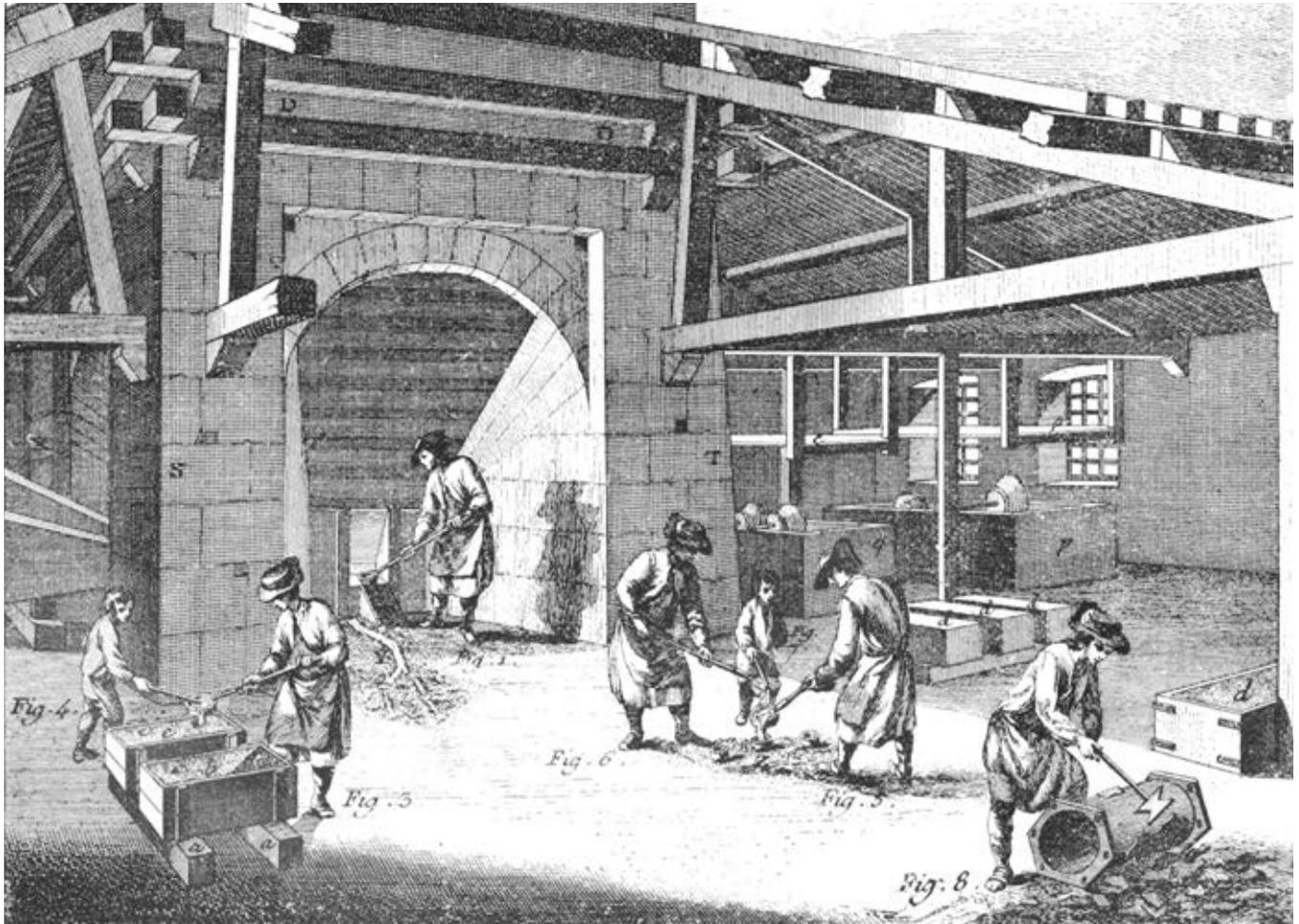
The changing economic and social structure of France

In the years before the revolution, the growth of industry and manufacturing changed the ways in which people worked and how they acquired their wealth. Before the 1700s, wealth was determined by how much land a person owned, and money was mainly made through agriculture. The people in France who owned most of the land – and hence controlled most of the wealth – were the king, his royal relatives and the aristocracy, that small group of noble families who lived on vast estates.

The spread of the Industrial Revolution changed everything. It created new ways for people to earn money through manufacturing and trade, which in turn produced new classes of citizens:

- > wealthy industrialists, who were without noble titles but sometimes as wealthy as – or even wealthier than – members of the nobility
- > the bourgeoisie, or middle class – the number of members of this class had grown from around 700 000 in the year 1700 to over 2.3 million in 1780
- > the industrial working class – these were the poor people who moved away from working on the land, going to towns and cities where they found work in factories, tanneries, glassworks, paper mills and textile mills. As an example, the French Anzin Coal Mining Company had been established in 1757 to meet the energy needs of the new economy, and by 1780 it employed more than 4000 workers.





SOURCE 6 This engraving from 1751 shows a French mould-making factory.

Growing class conflict

There had always been class conflict in France, but the Industrial Revolution made old conflicts worse and created new ones. The bourgeoisie paid heavy taxes but had no real say in government, and this was a source of conflict. The industrial working class often laboured under harsh conditions for low wages. The members of this group, unlike the traditional poor peasants, were concentrated geographically, and found it easier to organise opposition and protests against the government. It was the industrial working class that led the first attack on the king's power in Paris – storming the government fortress of the Bastille on 14 July 1789.

The influence of the Enlightenment

The Enlightenment – or, as it was known to French contemporaries, the Age des Lumières – began around 1640. It was a vast and influential intellectual and spiritual movement, amounting to a revolution in thinking. It introduced new ideas about science, nature, education, and the relationships between social classes, government and people, and between the people and the Church. These ideas challenged the very fabric of French society by questioning the concept of the absolute monarchy, and the relationships between the groups that comprised French society.

Some of the significant Enlightenment thinkers included:

- > René Descartes – who in the 1640s suggested that humans had to rely on reason, not dogma, faith or religion, to understand their world
- > Voltaire – who questioned the existing structure of society and was critical of the nature of the absolute monarchy
- > Baron Charles Montesquieu – who argued for liberty, and dividing and sharing power between separate branches of government; this was a direct attack on the existing French system of absolute monarchy
- > Jean-Jacques Rousseau – who maintained (notably in his famous book, *The Social Contract*) that the people and their governments had a shared duty.

The rulers had to govern well and fairly, in which case the people should obey. If, however, the rulers governed badly and were cruel and unfair, then the people had the right to rebel.

The ideas of the Enlightenment directly challenged the existing order and old way of doing things. It raised questions about the authority of both the king and the Church.

It is important to note that the Enlightenment was not a direct cause of the revolution. However, the views expressed in the publications of Enlightenment writers are useful because they leave us with a record of what many people in France were already thinking and feeling on the eve of the revolution.



SOURCE 7 French philosopher, mathematician and writer René Descartes (1596–1650)



SOURCE 8 French writer and philosopher Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet, 1694–1778)

Short-term causes of the French Revolution

Short-term causes of any event are often more identifiable. These often become the trigger for a chain of events that culminate in dramatic change. In the case of the French Revolution, there were both internal and external short-term causes.

Bread riots

The harvests of 1788 had been poor due to a hot dry summer, and the winter that followed had been unusually cold. Food shortages and outdated government regulations meant that poor families were going hungry. The result was a series of bread riots, both in rural areas, where the houses of nobles were burnt, and in the cities, where stores were looted. This helped create the climate for a violent revolution.

The example of the American Revolution

The decision of the French Government to support the American colonies in their war of independence against the British added to the massive French national debt. The success of the Americans, and the example of the new democratic form of government that they established, inspired the French to believe that they could do the same thing. Many hoped that France would be able to establish a government based on something similar to the US **Constitution** of 1781, the opening words of which declared ‘We the People ...’ The idea that a government could be established that was based on some of the theories of the Enlightenment became increasingly important.

■ **constitution**
a set of rules by which a country is governed

Financial crisis and the meeting of the Estates-General

By the time Louis XVI came to the throne in 1774, France was already in the grip of a major financial crisis. A series of wars and decades of extravagant spending – coupled with a taxation system that favoured the wealthy and therefore limited government revenue – meant that France was deep in debt. The French Government could rely on 377 million livres in annual income, but was spending 411 million, including 35 million on the king and the court. This gap was being covered by money that the French Government had borrowed. A further 154 million was needed to cover debt repayments. This situation could not go on, and the king therefore tried to change the taxation system to compel the nobility and the Church to pay more in taxes.

It was this decision that led the king to call into session the ancient parliament known as the Estates-General, which had not met since 1614. The Estates-General represented all three of France’s Estates. At the session, which was held at the Royal Palace of Versailles, the nobles opposed the changes in taxation, leading to what is known as the first phase of the French Revolution: the Revolt of the Nobles. At the same time, the Third Estate was agitating for increased recognition of its numerical superiority.

In the end, neither Estate was happy, and the lack of trust between the nobles and the commoners led to riots breaking out, particularly in Paris. On 14 July 1789, a group of insurgents stormed the Bastille, where gunpowder and weapons were stored. The Storming of the Bastille is usually seen as the start of the French Revolution.

14.2 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Compare Sources 1, 2 and 6, and explain how different the lives of the people pictured in each would be.
- 2 Select one of the three Estates to research, and outline its contribution to the French Revolution.

14.2 Check your learning

- 1 Describe the French system of government before the French Revolution.
- 2 Identify three long-term causes of the French Revolution, and explain the role they played in creating the environment where a revolution could occur.
- 3 Discuss the impact of the Enlightenment on the French Revolution. Do you think it was an important cause? Explain your answer.
- 4 Explain why the American Revolution would be an inspiration to the French.
- 5 Research the US Constitution, and explain why this document would have influenced French political thinking at the time.

14.3 The nature of the French Revolution

The French Revolution can be a difficult period of history to follow. It is marked by twists and turns, as various groups with competing agendas and aims struggled for power and acceptance. Public choice also changed, and groups quickly slipped from a position of acceptance if they proved too dangerous, too disorganised or too weak to introduce reforms that benefited the majority. It is not unfair to describe the nature of the French Revolution as chaotic. You should frequently refer back to the timeline in Source 4 as you follow the fortunes of varying competitors striving to achieve power and control of the forces that had been unleashed in France from 1789.

The Storming of the Bastille

A lack of trust in the deliberations of the Estates-General in the Royal Palace of Versailles, combined with the desperate conditions in which many of the urban poor lived, saw riots break out, particularly in Paris. On 14 July 1789, a group of insurgents stormed the Bastille, a government fortress where gunpowder and weapons were stored.

The Storming of the Bastille is usually seen as the start of the French Revolution. Although in reality it achieved little, its symbolic importance was dramatic. Traditionally, the Bastille was used by French kings to imprison subjects who disagreed with them politically, so the Bastille had come to represent the oppressive nature of the monarchy. As a result of the attack, many nobles fled France, fearing that their lives of privilege were about to come crashing down violently.

SOURCE 9 'The Conquerors of the Bastille before the Hotel de Ville in 1789' by Hippolyte Delaroche, 1839



The counter-revolution and the Reign of Terror

On 4 August 1789, the National Constituent Assembly officially abolished the old system of feudalism, adopting the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, which became the foundation of basic human rights and equality under the law. But agreeing on a constitution to replace the old order proved to be much more difficult. When a new constitution was finally adopted in 1791 and a **constitutional monarchy** was established, it was a more moderate outcome than many of the revolutionaries had hoped for.

In 1792, the more radical forces of the revolution, under the command of activist Maximilien Robespierre, arrested the king and declared France a republic. In the months to come, the revolution grew increasingly extreme. The Jacobins – a political group of which Robespierre was a member, and that was allied with the Paris radicals – promised sweeping economic and social reform. For 18 months, Robespierre and the Committee of Public Safety (which was established to impose order and political control) ruled France, and presided over the new Constitution of 1793 and the Declaration of Rights of Man and the Citizen.

This period was marked by mass executions of anyone thought to be an enemy of the revolution, including King Louis XVI in January 1793, and his wife Marie Antoinette nine months later. It became known as the Reign of Terror. Gradually, the heavy-handed rule of the Committee of Public Safety created resentment and resulted in a backlash in the form of a counter-revolution. In 1794, Robespierre himself became the victim of execution, signifying the end of the Reign of Terror and the beginning of another, more moderate phase of the revolution.

■ **constitutional monarchy**
a system of government where a monarch is head of state, but their power is restrained by a constitution and is largely ceremonial



SOURCE 10 The execution of King Louis XVI marked an acceleration in the Reign of Terror.

The Directory and the end of the Revolution

In 1795, a new form of government was developed, run by a five-man Directory appointed by parliament. Its period in control was marked by corruption and protest, and much of its power rested on the support of the military. In 1799 one of France's generals, Napoleon Bonaparte, staged a **coup d'état**, abolishing the Directory and appointing himself First Consul of the Republic. This was effectively the end of the French Revolution and the beginning of the Napoleonic Era, with a single powerful figure who came to dominate much of Europe, but also spread many of the values of the revolution throughout the Continent.

coup d'état

a swift, decisive and frequently violent seizure of power, often by the military

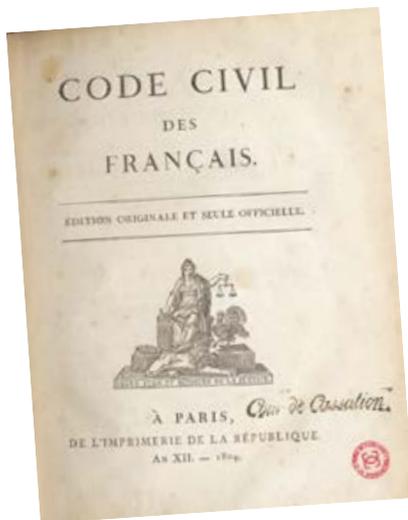
nationalism

a sense of pride in, and love of, one's country; advocacy of political independence for a particular country

The rise of Napoleon and the growth of nationalism

When Napoleon used the army to take power, he had to justify his action by providing stable government. Napoleon was a military man and therefore favoured discipline over liberty and individual freedom. He was not a reactionary; he did not want to turn back the clock to a pre-revolutionary form of government. He was a product of the revolution and he knew that he owed his rise to its reforms. Nevertheless, Napoleon made sure that he kept executive power in his hands.

By the time he made himself Emperor in 1804, Napoleon had destroyed many of the political and constitutional reforms of the revolution, but saved the positive social and administrative advances that had been made since 1789. The greatest of these was the French Civil Code – a unified code of clear laws that has formed the basis of many of Europe's laws ever since. Under Napoleon's leadership, France rose to a dominant military position on the continent of Europe. This encouraged a powerful feeling of French **nationalism** that survived his defeat in 1814. Napoleon's armies had swept aside outdated feudal regimes across Europe, and encouraged nationalism in all of the countries that were, for a time, subject to French occupation or under the threat of Napoleon's armies.



SOURCE 11

The original French Civil Code, published in 1804

14.3 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Given that the French Revolution occurred in an era before photography, what checks would you undertake before relying on Sources 9 and 10 as evidence for what occurred at the key moments of the revolution they depict?
- 2 Explain why the document shown in Source 11 could be regarded as the greatest achievement of the French Revolution.

14.3 Check your learning

- 1 Create your own timeline that helps you understand the main events of the French Revolution.
- 2 Research the Storming of the Bastille. Outline what occurred and discuss why Bastille Day is celebrated on 14 July in modern France to this day.
- 3 Outline an argument supporting the assertion either that Napoleon saved the French Revolution, or that Napoleon destroyed the French Revolution.
- 4 Explain why Maximilien Robespierre could be seen to have played a key role in enabling Napoleon to come to power.

LOUIS XVI

Louis was a decent family man. He was not a cruel or ruthless individual. He was not, however, intellectually or emotionally equipped to be an absolute monarch in a time of crisis. His attempt to flee to Austria in 1791 greatly increased his unpopularity, and helped lead to his execution in 1793.

MARIE ANTOINETTE

As the king and his court became increasingly unpopular, his Austrian-born wife Marie Antoinette became a target for that unpopularity. The groups that opposed the king came to use her, often unfairly, in anti-government propaganda. One of the most famous lies about Marie Antoinette was that when told that the people were starving and did not have any bread to eat, she replied: 'Then let them eat cake.' There is no evidence to support this claim and the phrase had been in wide circulation in France since the 1740s, more than a decade before she was born.

Marie Antoinette was only 14 years old when she married the future Louis XVI as part of an arrangement to strengthen ties between Austria and France. When she was executed in 1793, she died as the last Queen of France.

MAXIMILIEN ROBESPIERRE

Maximilien Robespierre started his career as a lawyer, representing the poor and underprivileged of society, and this sparked his zeal for change. He was elected to the Estates-General in 1789 as a member of the Third Estate. In 1793, he led the Committee of Public Safety, which he used to force adherence to the revolution and its aims, often condemning opponents to execution. He was guillotined on 28 July 1794, as his enemies extracted revenge and ended his Reign of Terror.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

Born on the island of Corsica in 1769, Napoleon relocated to France and joined the French military in 1793. He supported the Jacobins, but fell out with Robespierre and switched allegiance to the Directory, which was formed as the system of government in 1795. The disarray in French politics enabled Napoleon to lead a successful military coup in 1799. His political ability led to a new constitution and his election as First Consul. In effect, he became a dictator, and his success heralded the effective end of the French Revolution. He was proclaimed Emperor of France in 1804, but suffered his final military defeat at Waterloo in 1815. He died in exile in 1821.



SOURCE 12 Clockwise from top left: King Louis XVI; Maximilien Robespierre; Queen Marie Antoinette; Napoleon

14.3 PROFILE TASK

Select one of these key individuals from the French Revolution and examine their activity, contribution and achievements during this period.

14.4 The legacy of the French Revolution and its influence on modernity

‘Modernity’ is a term used by historians to describe the type of Western or European way of living, thinking and knowing that arose in post-medieval Europe. Modernity is closely linked to the Enlightenment and, as such, the French Revolution played an important role in spreading the ideas of modernity – not only in France, but also throughout Europe.

As a history student, it is important to remember that modernity is a primarily Western idea that privileges Western ways of understanding, teaching and recording aspects of society and the past at the expense of other ways.

The broader influence of the French Revolution

British historian William Doyle, a leading authority on the revolution, observes that there were both winners and losers in the 26 chaotic years between 1789 and 1815. The landowners benefited when the right to property was guaranteed and protected by law. The bourgeoisie benefited from a fairer system of taxation and the opportunity to have a say in government. They also benefited when advancement in government and society in general came to be based on merit and ability, rather than aristocratic birth. Soldiers benefited as they could now enter the military as a career, rather than having to be born to serve. However, the soldiers did have to pay a price. By 1802, 400 000 French soldiers had died in battle and further million died before Napoleon was finally defeated at Waterloo in 1815.

Even though many of the common people suffered through uncertain times, in one enduring way this class of people were winners. The ordinary people became sovereign. As in the United States, with its new republican, democratic constitution, people in a European country were in charge for the first time since the small-scale experiments with democracy in ancient Athens. The French Revolution also created a social transformation – away from a society that built its ideas around religion, to one that believed in reason, the sovereignty of the ordinary people, and advancement and opportunity based on talent, not birth.

‘Liberty, equality, fraternity’ and the concept of inalienable rights

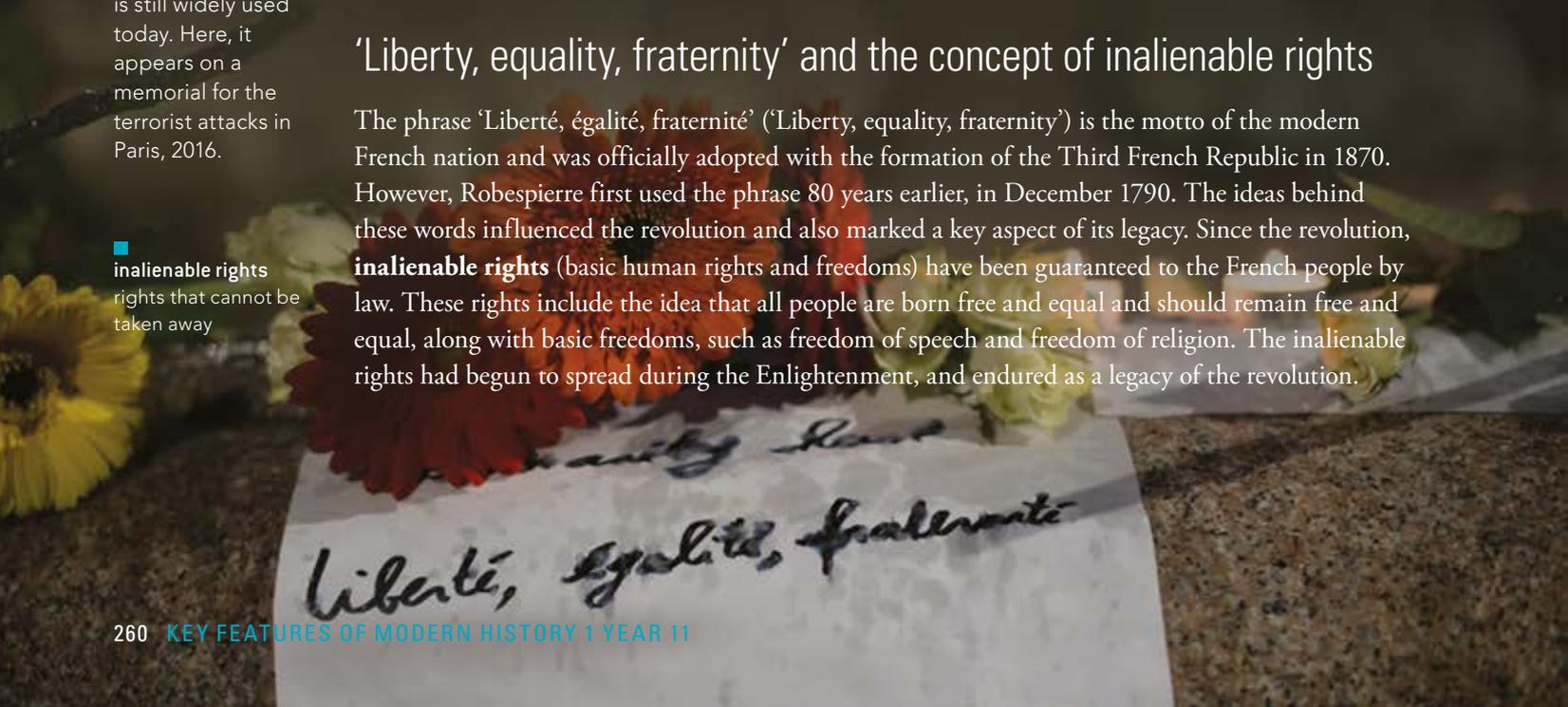
The phrase ‘Liberté, égalité, fraternité’ (‘Liberty, equality, fraternity’) is the motto of the modern French nation and was officially adopted with the formation of the Third French Republic in 1870. However, Robespierre first used the phrase 80 years earlier, in December 1790. The ideas behind these words influenced the revolution and also marked a key aspect of its legacy. Since the revolution, **inalienable rights** (basic human rights and freedoms) have been guaranteed to the French people by law. These rights include the idea that all people are born free and equal and should remain free and equal, along with basic freedoms, such as freedom of speech and freedom of religion. The inalienable rights had begun to spread during the Enlightenment, and endured as a legacy of the revolution.

SOURCE 13

The revolutionary motto ‘Liberté égalité fraternité’ is still widely used today. Here, it appears on a memorial for the terrorist attacks in Paris, 2016.

inalienable rights

rights that cannot be taken away



Liberté, égalité, fraternité

Historical debate: a chaotic bloodbath or the triumph of reason?

Even before the revolution had ended, there were arguments about its nature and broader influence. One of the strongest arguments and most durable ideas about the French Revolution is associated with the critical views of famous British writer Edmund Burke. Burke took a conservative view and argued that the revolution was a dangerous threat to individual liberty. In his widely read account *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, first published in November 1790, he depicted the revolution as excessively violent and evil. Burke was basically opposed to any radical, sudden, revolutionary change, and believed that the best kind of change was gradual or evolutionary.

At the height of the revolution, English-American writer and political activist Thomas Paine offered a very different point of view. Paine was one of the figures who inspired the thinking associated with the American Revolution, and he regarded the French Revolution positively. In 1791, he wrote *The Rights of Man* as a defence of the French Revolution. He insisted that the old French monarchy was corrupt and that it deserved to be overthrown. Although Paine acknowledged the violence, he felt that it was a price that had to be paid for social justice.

Paine focused on the revolution's positive influences, such as the ending of serfdom in 1789, a system where poor rural workers were not much more than the property of landowners. Paine also pointed to the steps taken towards promoting social justice and ending massive inequality based on the power of the aristocracy, with their inherited titles and privileges. Burke had not failed to see these things, but he thought that change needed to be slow and steady.

Burke also predicted that the violence and turmoil might lead to a dictatorship. When Napoleon came to power in 1799 using military force and declared himself Emperor, it seemed that Burke was right.

The critical view of the French Revolution was reinforced in 1837 when Scottish writer Thomas Carlyle published his account. Carlyle wrote like a novelist, and his account was full of dramatic accounts of the violence associated with the revolution, especially the Reign of Terror. This perspective was strengthened further by images of the mass executions and the **guillotine**, which are forever linked in popular memory with the French Revolution.

Perhaps Charles Dickens, the great British nineteenth-century novelist, came closer to the truth about the French Revolution than many historians in the opening words of *A Tale of Two Cities*, 1859, which is set against the historical backdrop of the revolution:

It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair ...

■ **guillotine**
a machine for beheading people, consisting of a wooden frame with a heavy blade that slides down when released by the executioner

14.4 Check your learning

- 1 Explain why 'Liberté égalité fraternité' is still such a powerful idea in modern France. How does this help you understand the historical concept of continuity?
 - 2 To what extent do you think the values and ideals of many participants in the French Revolution paved the way for modernity and the values and ideals that are often described as 'Western'?
 - 3 Explain the differences between Edmund Burke's and Thomas Paine's interpretations of the French Revolution.
-

The French Revolution proved to be a powerful influence on generations of revolutionaries on all continents. The next time that you use the metric system or decimal currency, you are working with two of the global consequences of the French Revolution. The legal systems of Germany, Belgium, Italy, Spain, Portugal and several other European countries are based on the French Civil Code introduced by Napoleon in 1804. The current United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) is based on the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, which was written in the wake of the French Revolution in August 1789. In some instances, parts of the United Nations declaration are taken word for word from the French document.

When coupled with the American Revolution, the French Revolution helped spread and embed many of the values we hold close today. In a world where terrorism threatens stability, it is those guiding principles of 'Liberté égalité fraternité' that still bind societies together, more than 200 years after they became a revolutionary motto.



SOURCE 14 France celebrates 200 years since the revolution, 1989.



FOR THE TEACHER

Check your [obook](#) [assess](#) for the following additional resources for this chapter:

Answers

Answers to each *Check your learning*, *Understanding and using the sources* and *Profile task* in this chapter

Teacher notes

Useful notes and advice for teaching this chapter, including syllabus connections and relevant weblinks

Class test

Comprehensive test to review students' skills and knowledge

assess quiz

Interactive auto-correcting multiple-choice quiz to test student comprehension

15

The Age of Imperialism

KEY CONCEPTS AND SKILLS

Analysis and use of sources

Two very clear perspectives emerge in any study of imperialism: that of the imperialist country and that of the peoples they conquered. It is vital for any valid historical interpretation to consider both perspectives.

Historical interpretation

Any interpretation relating to the Age of Imperialism will engage with the concepts of cause and effect. You will need to consider what factors enabled imperialism to develop, and examine the effects of imperialism on the conquerors and the conquered.

Explanation and communication

The emergence of newspapers and magazines enabled illustrations from this time period to be widely circulated in the imperialist countries. Such illustrations created a sense of a 'grand adventure' in foreign lands, and can effectively offer one perspective of imperialism.

Historical investigation and research

It is important that you access a range of sources and perspectives as you investigate various aspects of imperialism. This will help ensure that your investigation is balanced and valid.

LEARNING GOALS

- > Identify the causes and effects of imperialism.
- > Understand the impact of the Age of Imperialism on the modern world.

A local driver tows a Western man on a pousse-pousse or rickshaw, in French Indochina, c. 1900. French Indochina was a group of French colonial territories in what is now Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

FOCUS QUESTIONS

- 1 What is imperialism and how did it shape the modern world?
- 2 Which were the imperialist countries and what areas did they control?
- 3 What is the legacy of the Age of Imperialism?

15.1 Introduction

The nineteenth century is often described as the Age of Imperialism, but imperialism is, of course, much older than that. As far back as ancient Rome, stronger, more militarily and technologically advanced powers were exploiting their weaker neighbours; in order for their expansion to be successful, imperialist nations have always relied on military strength to impose control over other countries.



SOURCE 1 Imperialism in action: the French Resident-General of Madagascar being carried by native porters. Madagascar was invaded by the French in 1883.

imperialism
the practice of extending the power of a nation, especially by acquiring territory of another nation

colonisation
the practice of settling among and establishing control over the indigenous people of an area

In simple terms, **imperialism** is where a powerful country establishes political and economic control over another country or area, for the benefit of the stronger power.

Colonisation is the process of a group of peoples establishing their own system of government and law over another group of peoples. The two processes are closely linked. For example it was their belief in imperialism that saw the British establish colonies in areas as far apart as Kenya, Australia and Jamaica.

This chapter will give you the opportunity to investigate the roots of the imperialist expansion in Africa, Asia and the Pacific that characterised the nineteenth century. You will confront the ugliness of the exploitation of many people and resources for the betterment of the few; deal with the ethical dilemma of analysing sources that convey a sense of racial and moral superiority; and arguably see the roots of much of the discord inherent in the modern world. While doing this, you will learn to recognise that all historical sources were created in a unique context that must be considered. You may reject perspectives and points of view, but it is vital that you place your sources in their historical context in order for your conclusions to be fair, balanced and insightful.

15.2 The historical context of nineteenth-century imperialism

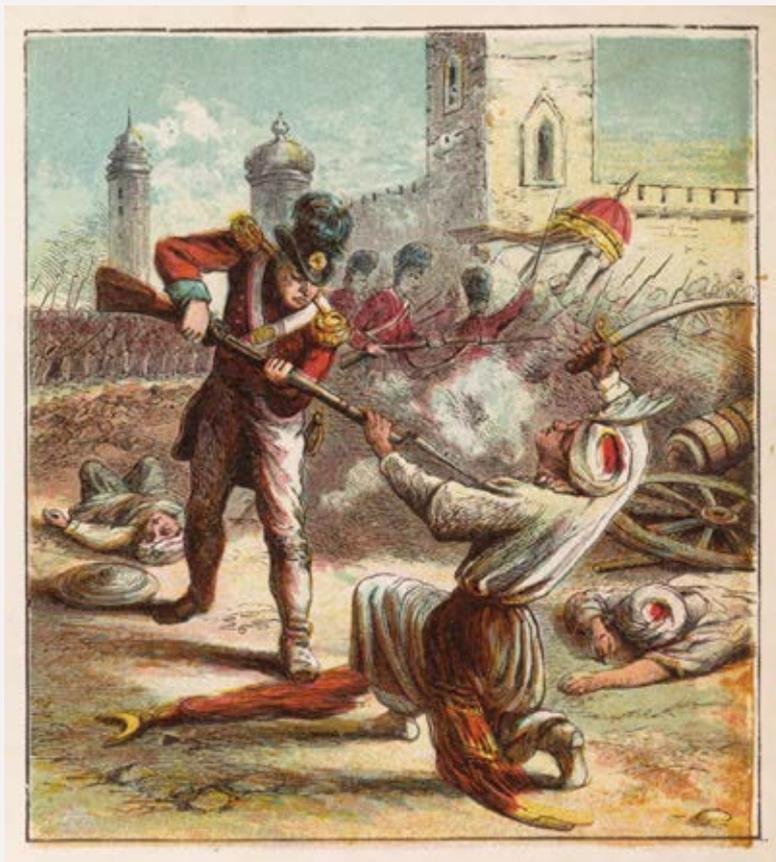
■ **besiege**
the act of surrounding an area with armed forces in order to capture it or force its surrender

■ **outpost**
a place that represents the authority of a far-away imperial country

From the fifteenth century, European explorers travelled to previously unexplored areas of the world with the intention of enriching themselves and their governments. As these explorers broke free of the Mediterranean Sea to reach areas previously unknown to Europe, settlers and armies from their countries followed in order to secure control, and exploit the natives and the resources of the new conquests. The European nations' belief in their right to do this was an imperialist approach, and the control they established over conquered areas led to colonisation.

At the time of their invasion of other countries, many imperialist states claimed that their forceful takeover of developing nations was done with good will, to spread Christianity or to 'help' these less fortunate peoples become more 'civilised'. All such arguments aside, imperialism was, first and foremost, the conquest of non-European communities for the benefit of European countries.

The capture of Seringapatam (Source 2) is one classic example. Here, troops representing the British East India Company (see 15.3 Profile) **besieged** and eventually colonised Seringapatam, India, to guarantee trade routes for the company, which in turn would bring wealth to the British Government.



SOURCE 2 An artist's impression of the capture of Seringapatam, India, in 1799

The history of European imperialism

The foundation for the European imperialism of the nineteenth century was laid centuries earlier, starting with advances in shipbuilding and navigation from the 1400s onwards. The original leaders in European imperialism were the Spanish and Portuguese, who ventured to the Americas in search of gold. They were quickly followed by the Netherlands (the Dutch), who established **outposts** in Asia. It was not long before a rivalry grew between Britain, France, Spain, Portugal and the Netherlands, all of which wanted to acquire colonies during the 1600s and 1700s to supply their populations with raw materials and luxury items – such as cotton, tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar, tobacco, silk and spices – that were not available in Europe. Soon, each of these countries had acquired colonies and trading posts in Africa, Asia and the Americas.

The Seven Years' War and the British Empire

A key turning point in this early phase of imperialism was the Seven Years' War, a global conflict that ranged from Europe to Africa, India, the Philippines and the Americas, 1754–63. The principal result of this conflict was the emergence of Britain as the world's dominant maritime power. The Seven Years' War also saw Britain gain control of Canada at the expense of France, take Florida from the Spanish, and reinforce the British hold on the east coast of what is now the United States.

In the decades that followed, Britain continued to build its empire, and by the nineteenth century it controlled the largest empire the world has ever seen. The British Empire covered almost a quarter of the earth's surface and governed approximately the same percentage of the world's population.

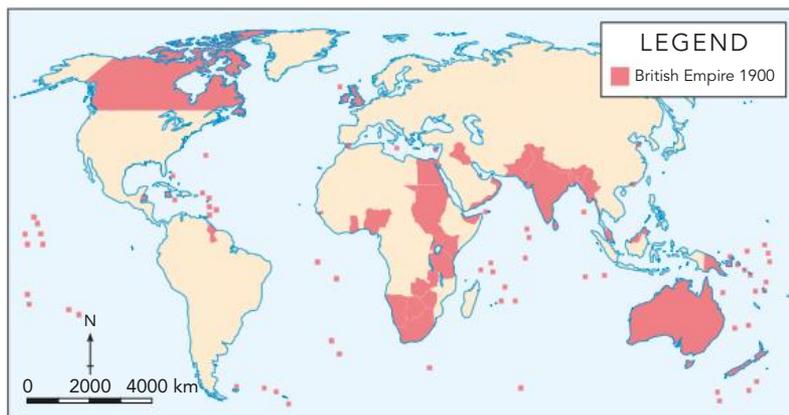
The American Revolution (1765–83) briefly interrupted this dominance. The American colonists, with the support of the French (who sought revenge on Britain for their defeat in the Seven Years' War), gained their independence from British rule. It was not long, however, before Britain renewed its acquisition of new territories. Australia and New Zealand became part of the British Empire at the end of the eighteenth century, in the aftermath of the American Revolution.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE, c.1700



SOURCE 3 British-controlled areas in 1700

THE BRITISH EMPIRE, c.1900



SOURCE 4 By 1900 Britain controlled the largest empire the world has ever seen.

15.2 Understanding and using the sources

Compare Sources 3 and 4. How can you account for the dramatic expansion in Britain's colonies between the start of the eighteenth and twentieth centuries?

15.2 Check your learning

- 1 Identify the main European imperialist countries in the period between the fifteenth and twentieth centuries.
- 2 Which country emerged as the strongest imperial power? Identify five different countries it controlled.

15.3 The nature of the Age of Imperialism

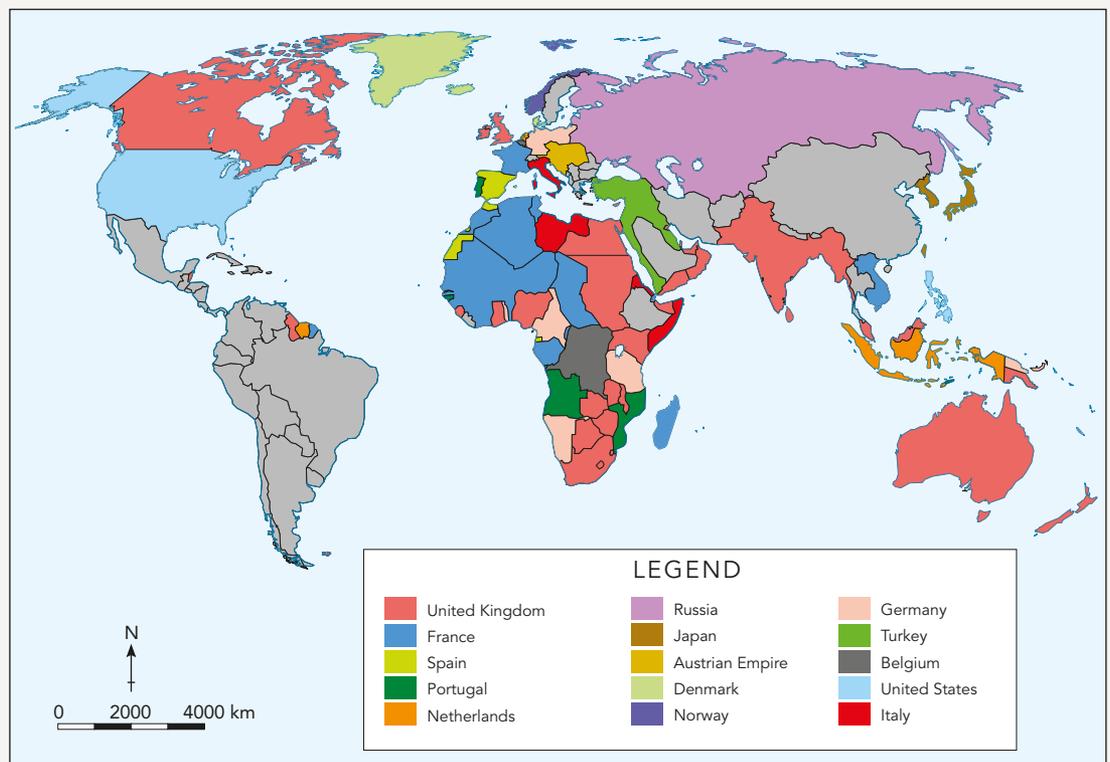
Industrial Revolution
the rapid development of industry, beginning in Britain in the mid-eighteenth century, in which advances in technology fundamentally changed the agricultural and manufacturing industries, as well as transport and communications

metallurgy
the science of separating metals from their ores

As a result of the **Industrial Revolution** in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the development of machinery, factories and **metallurgy** had made Europe more scientifically and technologically advanced than any other area on earth. The Europeans exploited this advantage to continue to plunder the rest of the world for luxury goods and raw materials to make them even richer and more powerful.

By 1800, Europeans occupied or controlled 35 per cent of the earth's land surface. By 1878, that figure had risen to 67 per cent and by 1914, at the beginning of the First World War, Europe controlled 84 per cent of the world. The empires were built on a combination of commercial, patriotic, religious, humanitarian, racist, strategic and exploitative motivations.

WORLD POWERS, c.1914



SOURCE 5 European empires controlled 84 per cent of the earth's surface by 1914.

The Scramble for Africa (1881–1914)

The most dramatic phase of late-nineteenth-century period of imperial expansion was the rapid invasion, occupation and colonisation of Africa by different European countries, which raced to carve the continent up and divide it between themselves. The Portuguese had established colonies along the east coast of Africa in the fifteenth century, but European involvement in the continent exploded in the late nineteenth century, when France, Italy, Portugal, Germany and Belgium each dominated sections of it. In 1870, only 10 per cent of Africa was under European control. By 1914, just 44 years later, it was 90 per cent.



SOURCE 6 A 1906 cartoon depicting King Leopold II of Belgium's stranglehold on the Belgian Congo

totalitarian
a form of government where a single party controls the country's administration and most other areas of life, requiring complete subservience and suppressing opposition

The most successful imperial expansion of the period was, however, Britain's. The British dominance of Africa was able to establish a line of control from the 'Cape to Cairo'. In other words, at one stage or another, Britain had African colonies that ran from Cairo in Egypt, on the Mediterranean coast, down to the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa, where the Atlantic and Indian Oceans join.

Slave labour in the Belgian Congo

The European powers traded not only in goods, but also in people and labour; for centuries they used African peoples as slaves. The British abolished slavery in 1807, but African peoples continued to be exploited in this way by other European imperial powers well into the nineteenth century, both in their native countries and overseas.

One of the more ruthless examples of this kind of imperial exploitation took place in the Belgian Congo. King Leopold II of Belgium gained control of a colony that became known as the Belgian Free State in 1885. The Congo was rich in raw materials and minerals, especially copper, and the native peoples of the Congo were brutalised as members of a cheap workforce, with all of the profits going back to Leopold in Belgium. This period saw many atrocities, murders and mutilations.

Historians have suggested that Leopold's exploitation of the Congo, with its brutality and mass murder, can be compared with the terrors associated with Hitler and Stalin in the twentieth century – a link between ruthless nineteenth-century imperialism and the **totalitarian** regimes that emerged in the twentieth century. The key difference is that Leopold acted mostly out of a desire for profit, while Hitler and Stalin were motivated by ideology and power.

The role of trade

Trade was a key motive for, and form of, imperialism. It was a two-sided element of imperialism, in that raw materials were ripped from the colonies as cheaply as possible, and then the finished products were sold back to the colonies, reaping still further profits.

India is perhaps the best example of this aspect of trade. British India provided most of the raw cotton for Britain's textile factories, as well as jute fibre (which is similar to cotton) and indigo (deep blue) dye. Once processed, the British sold the finished products back to millions of their Indian subjects.

Trade made the European powers richer, which in turn provided surplus capital for investment. By the end of the nineteenth century, European business people were looking for more opportunities to invest and they turned their eyes towards Asia and Africa. The risks were high, but so were the potential profits. Sometimes investors asked their governments to support trade by providing armies, in order to help minimise risks and maximise profits.

In China, European powers had established trading bases as early as the 1600s. In the middle of the nineteenth century, when China tried to limit European trade and exploitation, the British answered by declaring war on the Chinese. The result was the First and Second Opium Wars, fought between 1839 and 1860. These led to several European powers occupying territory in China, including Britain, which took possession of Hong Kong.

Trade was also the main driving force between Britain's move to take control of the Malayan peninsula and the island of Singapore. Malaya was rich in rubber and tin, while Singapore was an important naval base that was vital to Britain's imperial defence and trade network. These expansions were all examples of strategic, resource- and trade-based forms of imperialism.

The 'eclipse of the non-European world'

British economic historian Paul Kennedy, in his study *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, argued that the nineteenth century saw the 'eclipse of the non-European world'. This is clearly demonstrated in statistics regarding **global economic output** during that period. A comparison of Europe with China and India illustrates how swift and dramatic Europe's economic rise was:

- > In 1800, Europe as a whole was responsible for 28 per cent of global economic output, and China and India 57 per cent.
- > Within 60 years, by 1860, the percentage for Europe was 53 per cent, while China and India had dropped to 28 per cent.
- > By 1880, the European dominance was a striking 61 per cent, to China and India's 15 per cent.

This shift in economic power accompanied a comparable shift in political and military power.

Technology as an agent of imperialism

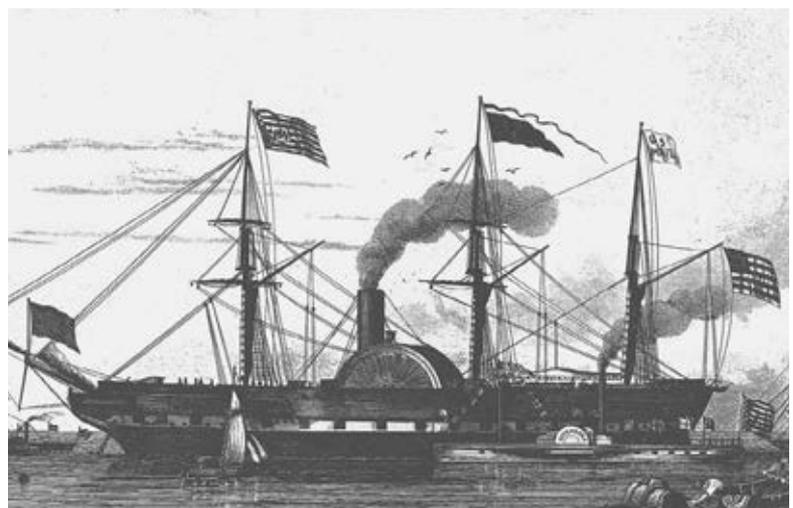
One of the keys to understanding any overview of imperial expansion is to take into consideration the huge changes that took place in transportation and communication technology during the nineteenth century. Steamships replaced sail ships, railway construction reduced overland travel times and, above all, the development of the electric telegraph brought the entire world closer together. Telegraph lines linked London and India in 1870, and London and Australia in 1872. Thus people, products, ideas and information were all able to move around the world at a speed that would have been regarded as impossible only a century earlier.



SOURCE 7 A caricature from 1898 depicting the division of China between imperial powers

■ **eclipse**
to pass from a position of power

■ **global economic output**
the total value of goods produced and services provided across the entire world in a year



SOURCE 8 The American steamship *Washington*, in 1851, as sail was giving way to steam and revolutionising ocean transport

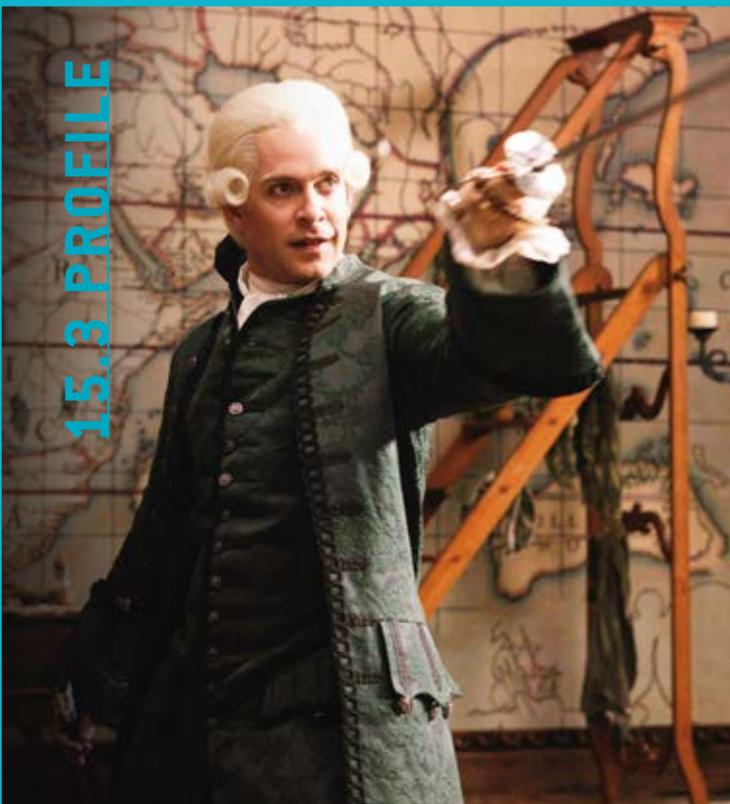
15.3 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Analyse Source 6. What is it implying about King Leopold II's control of the Belgian Congo? Research the treatment of the indigenous peoples of the Congo under Belgian control and discuss whether the attitude shown in Source 6 is justified.
- 2 Analyse Source 7 and explain what point it is making about the Age of Imperialism.
- 3 Explain how steamships such as that shown in Source 8 could change international trade and increase the value of European colonies.

15.3 Check your learning

- 1 What percentage of the planet did European countries control by 1914?
 - 2 Create a flow chart that explains the two-way trade process that enriched imperialist countries in the nineteenth century.
 - 3 Identify a specific example of imperialism that benefited the trade of an imperialist country. Research its impact on the population of the colonised country.
 - 4 Conduct research to identify which areas of the planet had *not* been colonised by Europeans by 1914.
-

15.3 PROFILE



SOURCE 9 Tom Hollander as Cutler Beckett, Chairman of the East India Trading Company, in *Pirates of the Caribbean: Dead Man's Chest* (2006). The avaricious company in this film was based on the real East India Company, with the pirates representing freedom from imperialist powers.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

Although the spreading of Christianity and 'civilised', Western ideals were used to justify imperialist expansion, these were not the core reasons behind colonisation. At the heart of imperialism was always the desire to secure profit for business owners and shareholders. Nowhere was this more evident than in the activities of the East India Company.

Known by a range of names during its years of operation, the East India Company was essentially an English private company formed to take advantage of new trading opportunities after the defeat of the Spanish Armada of 1588. In this conflict, England broke the monopoly (total control) Spain and Portugal had enjoyed in the East Indian spice trade.

Conflict with the Dutch in what was then called the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia) saw the Company focus its attention in India in the early seventeenth century, while also pursuing interests in the Persian Gulf, South-East Asia and East Asia.

The major products the Company traded in were cotton, silk, spices, tea and opium. The latter was eventually to bring it into conflict with China in the Opium Wars. The Company, displaying the inherent 'logic' of nineteenth-century imperialism, demanded to be able to sell Indian opium in China to pay for the Chinese tea it was selling in England. Twice, after China banned the sale of opium to its citizens, wars were fought to ensure the Company had the right to sell opium to the Chinese.

For around 150 years, from the 1620s, the Company transported slaves to support its economic expansion.

The Company effectively ruled India on behalf of the British crown from 1834. Resentment of the Company's imperialist actions in India eventually resulted in the Indian Mutiny of 1857. As a result of this conflict, the British Government took formal control of India in 1858, and seized the Company's Indian possessions, its administrative powers and its armies.

The Company lost all its power. It was finally dissolved in 1873, after over 300 years as a spearhead of English imperialism.



SOURCE 10 An artist's impression of an official of the East India Company riding in a procession in India



SOURCE 11 A woman smokes an opium pipe in modern-day China.

15.3 PROFILE TASKS

- 1 Which event paved the way for the establishment of the East India Company?
- 2 Research the Indian Mutiny and outline why the East India Company would have been resented by Indians.
- 3 Analyse Source 10 and explain how it could be used as evidence to help a historian understand the relationship between the East India Company and the Indian population.

15.4 Ideas driving imperialism: nationalism, Christianity and the idea of a superior race

nationalism
a sense of pride in, and love of, one's country; advocacy of political independence for a particular country

Nineteenth-century European imperialism was driven to some extent by ideas, as well as the desire for profit and power. Among the most influential key ideas in this period were **nationalism**, social Darwinism and the spread of Christianity.

Nationalism

Famous American scholar Benedict Anderson argued that nationalism was inseparable from the idea of the nation. He called this the creation of 'imagined communities', or the idea that a community is 'imagined' by the people who see themselves as part of that community.

The drive for communities to establish themselves as nations bound by a common culture and sense of identity and aspiration became a feature of nineteenth-century Europe. For a number of European countries, their national idea of themselves was linked to their international standing. The easiest way to measure that international standing was to look at the size of their armed forces and the size of their empire.

Germany only became a unified nation in 1871, and so was a latecomer to the nineteenth-century race for colonies. It was prompted to enter that race by nationalism and a desire to be seen as the equal of the other great European powers, Britain and France.

Many believe that the desire of European powers to compete with each other to create empires ultimately led to the First World War.



SOURCE 12 A statue of Queen Victoria, who ruled England throughout the Age of Imperialism

Glorification of empire

Celebrating the empire became central to life and culture in many European countries, none more prominently than Britain. In their classrooms, Britain's youngest citizens were told stories about national success, power and conquest. Generations of school children across the empire read books such as *Deeds That Won the Empire* (1896) by British-born Australian writer William Henry Fitchett, and the famous poems of Rudyard Kipling.

After the death of Queen Victoria in 1901, Empire Day was instituted across the British Empire (including Australia), where events such as community bonfires and fireworks gave people a chance to show their pride in being part of the empire. It was celebrated on 24 May, Victoria's birthday. In 1958, this day was replaced by British Commonwealth Day, which celebrated the achievements and unifying power of the British Commonwealth.

In ways such as these, the empire was glorified and celebrated.

Social Darwinism

Social Darwinism was a perversion of a central theory in *On the Origin of the Species*, the ground-breaking 1859 book by British naturalist Charles Darwin. Darwin had argued that when some species failed to adapt to change, they died out and were replaced by other species that were fitter or better adapted to change. This led to the evolutionary concept of 'natural selection', or 'survival of the fittest'. The European imperialists chose to apply this concept to human society, and found it to be a convenient justification for their abuse and subjugation of indigenous peoples in the areas they conquered. They argued that European superiority justified the exploitation of 'less civilised' races, whose main role was to serve the superior race. It was this idea that informed much of the treatment and policy directed towards Indigenous Australians under British colonisation and beyond.

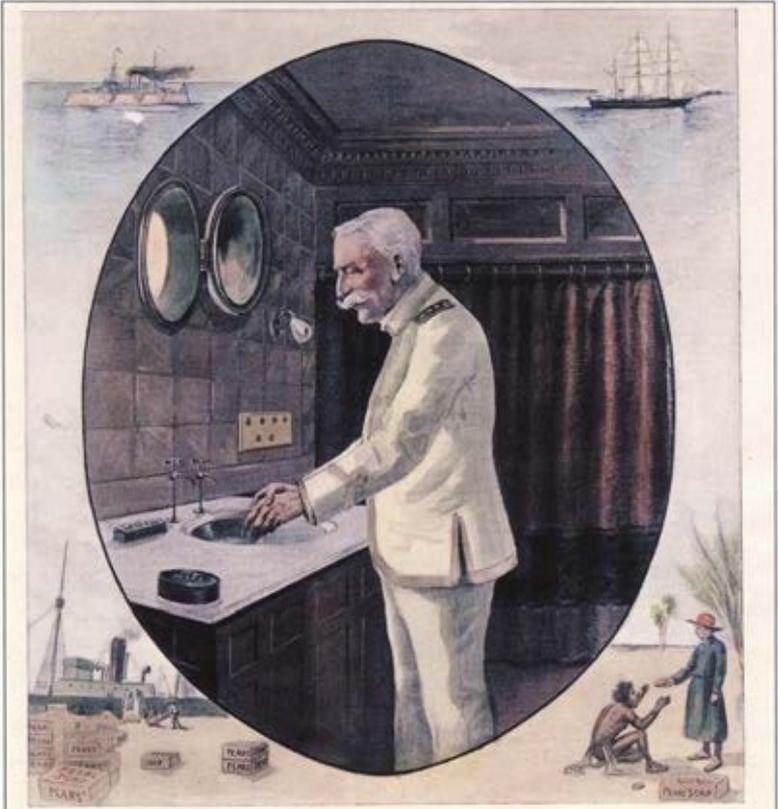
Spreading Christianity

In 1837, a committee of the British Parliament declared that Britain had a special mission to 'carry civilization and humanity, peace and good government, and above all the knowledge of the true God to the uttermost ends of the earth'. This quote clearly reflected another characteristic of nineteenth-century imperialism – Christianity.

SOURCE 14

The essential point in dealing with Africans is to establish a respect for the European. Upon this – the prestige of the white man – depends his influence, often his very existence, in Africa. If he shows by his surroundings, by his assumption of superiority, that he is far above the native, he will be respected, and his influence will be proportionate to the superiority he assumes and bears out by his higher accomplishments and mode of life.

Sir Frederick Lugard, Governor of Hong Kong and Nigeria,
The Rise of Our East African Empire, 1893

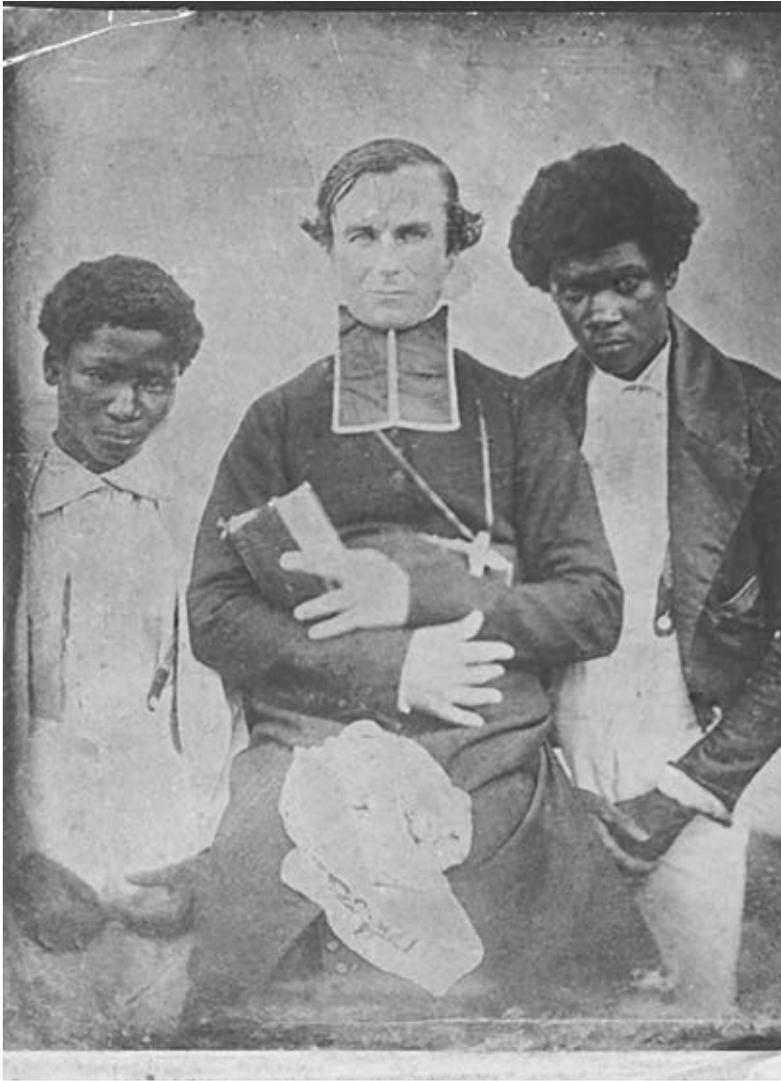


The first step towards lightening
The White Man's Burden
is through teaching the virtues of cleanliness.

Pears' Soap

is a potent factor in brightening the dark corners of the earth as civilization advances, while amongst the cultured of all nations it holds the highest place—it is the ideal toilet soap.

SOURCE 13 The 'White Man's Burden' is to teach cleanliness, according to a Pears' Soap advertisement from the 1890s.



SOURCE 15 One of the earliest photographs taken in the tropics, this image shows a missionary with two Tahitian converts to Christianity.

In 1792, British Christian missionary William Carey published a **treatise** called *Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens*. Carey called for the Christianisation of all parts of the world that had been deprived of the message of the Gospels. His call was heeded by Christians from a range of churches, who formed ‘**missions**’ to bring the word of God to the natives of the British Empire. This drive to destroy native culture and beliefs and replace them with Christianity had a destructive effect on many indigenous populations. When accompanied by social Darwinism, the result was devastating.

Throughout history both great good and great evil has been done in the name of religion, including Christianity. In Africa, Australia, Asia, the Pacific and the Americas, Christianity brought peace and hope to many, but it also destroyed lives and broke up families. While some missionaries cared deeply about the welfare of their new congregations, there were others who counted converts as if they were keeping a scorecard.

Christianity challenged old ways of thinking and traditional modes of behaviour; therefore, it amounted to a revolution. Aside from the spiritual side, however, Christianity was a tool of Western imperialism and it therefore cannot be separated from the processes of Westernisation.

■ **treatise**

a formal piece of writing that examines a specific subject

■ **mission**

a group of people sent by a religious organisation to teach their religion to conquered peoples

15.4 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Analyse Source 13. What attitude towards Indigenous people does it convey? Discuss how advertisements such as this help explain imperialism.
- 2 Explain how Source 14 provides evidence for the acceptance of social Darwinism as a philosophy of imperialism.

15.4 Check your learning

- 1 Discuss how the idea of empire became a part of British culture.
 - 2 Explain how social Darwinism and Christianity contributed to imperialism.
-

15.5 Australia: a 'settler colony'

Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa have been classified as 'settler colonies'. In other words, it is suggested that one of the reasons these countries became part of Britain's extensive imperial web of colonies was to provide places to resettle the growing European population, and the people who had been forced off their agricultural land by urbanisation and industrialisation. In each case, the settlers dispossessed the original inhabitants.

Australia has always struggled with acknowledgment of its treatment of Indigenous Australians. What anthropologist W.E.H. Stanner called 'the great Australian silence' surrounding this issue was challenged by historian Henry Reynolds in his ground-breaking book *The Other Side of the Frontier*, published in 1981. With this publication, Reynolds became one of the first historians to publicly question the traditional viewpoint that the settlement of Australia had been largely peaceful, with little or no resistance from Indigenous Australian communities. However, it was not until the Mabo Decision in 1992 that the Australian Government was willing to admit that Australia had been occupied by other peoples before the arrival of the Europeans.

Because of its recent history of colonisation, Australia offers a special case study that highlights a number of important themes in the story of nineteenth-century European imperialism.

The myth of the convict settlement

Generations of Australians were taught – and many still believe – that the primary reason for the British occupation of Australia was to use it to dispose of Britain's unwanted convicts. Like all great myths, this version of Australian history does have an element of truth. The First Fleet that arrived in New South Wales in 1788 was largely made up of convicts sentenced to transportation (banishment) for their crimes, and Britain did have a problem with overcrowded jails. However, few major events in history ever have such simple and straightforward explanations. The real reasons for the occupation of Australia are more complicated, interesting and challenging.

In the 1950s, Australian economic historian Ken Dallas argued that it just did not make financial sense for the British Government to try and solve the problem of overcrowded jails by shipping batches of convicts halfway around the world. This represented a huge cost when there were much cheaper solutions and alternative sites for a convict settlement closer to home. Dallas instead linked the decision to send Arthur Phillip and the First Fleet to Australia to other imperialist factors.

The settlement of Australia offered the British a potential site for a trading base in the Pacific. This, Dallas pointed out, offered the British a range of economic opportunities, such as the rich tea and spice trade with China, possible links to the fur trade in the North Pacific, and access to whaling. In addition to these economic and trade incentives, Dallas also suggests that Britain wanted to prevent its imperial rivals, specifically France, from establishing a foothold in the region.

This debate was rekindled in the 1960s, when two of Australia's most gifted researchers and historians, Geoffrey Blainey and Geoffrey Bolton, engaged in a long academic discourse about the reasons why the British decided to occupy Australia.

Bolton acknowledged that the decision to send the First Fleet to Australia was expensive and that the strategic placement of Australia in the Pacific might have played a role, but maintained that the most important factor was the overcrowded jails.

By contrast, Blainey – in a 1966 book entitled *The Tyranny of Distance* – said that Dallas had been right about the economic forces behind the decision to colonise, and then added some strategic reasons of his own. Blainey argued that aside from trade, Britain was attracted to Australia because of the existence of flax plants and impressive pine trees on Norfolk Island, close to Australia. According to Blainey, both of these raw materials were vital to the Royal Navy, and securing them was an important part of Britain's global naval strategy. The flax was used for ropes and the pine for masts and spars of sailing ships. Therefore Australia was not just intended as a place to dump convicts; rather, it was to become a plantation for these important strategic commodities.

As is the case with most historical debates, many still argue over the reasons for the settlement of Australia.

SOURCE 16 The famous Norfolk Island pines that Geoffrey Blainey argued were an important reason for settlement in Australia



The colonisation of Australia's first peoples

Indigenous Australians are part of the oldest surviving continuous culture on the planet. It is now generally acknowledged that Australian Indigenous cultures can be traced back at least 60 000 years, but they are likely to be much older. Some Indigenous communities argue that they have been here forever, and that they were born from this land.

The treatment of the first Australians is not a proud part of Australia's national story – and in some ways is made still worse by a long history of denial. A close examination of the nineteenth-century records indicates an acknowledgment of **frontier** violence, amounting in some cases to war. For example, on the Western plains of New South Wales, the Wiradjuri people actually drove back the advances of the Europeans into their country, for a time. By the twentieth century, however, in the wake of **Federation**, the records of the frontier became sanitised, and modern 'White Australia' invented itself without acknowledging that the British settlers took the land and homes of other people.

In Australia, as in other parts of the world, European diseases and weapons combined with lethal force to overcome opposition. Sometimes, the European treatment of the first Australians was deliberately brutal. The infamous Myall Creek Massacre in 1838 and the activities of the Queensland Native Police in the 1840s and 1850s are clearly documented examples of a level of violence that amounted to mass murder. These actions were on occasion disguised with government terms, such as 'dispersal'. This sounded harmless enough, but in 1861, when the Queensland Attorney-General was questioned in parliament, he explained that 'dispersal' meant 'shooting Aborigines'. There are also stories from the Queensland frontier of poisoned flour being handed to small Aboriginal groups, as though they were pests to be exterminated.

It has been argued that Europeans did not understand that they were taking land that belonged to someone else. Famous Australian historian Henry Reynolds rejects this view and points to a number of people – including Watkin Tench and William Dawes of the First Fleet, and Philip Gidley King, third Governor of New South Wales – who were troubled by the processes of invasion and dispossession. These men all publicly expressed their objections at the time and for the record. Reynolds described them and others that followed as men and women of conscience.

■ **frontier**
the outer limit of
settled land

■ **Federation**
the process by
which the separate
self-governing
colonies came
together to form the
Commonwealth of
Australia in 1901



SOURCE 17 Aboriginal Australians, c. 1880

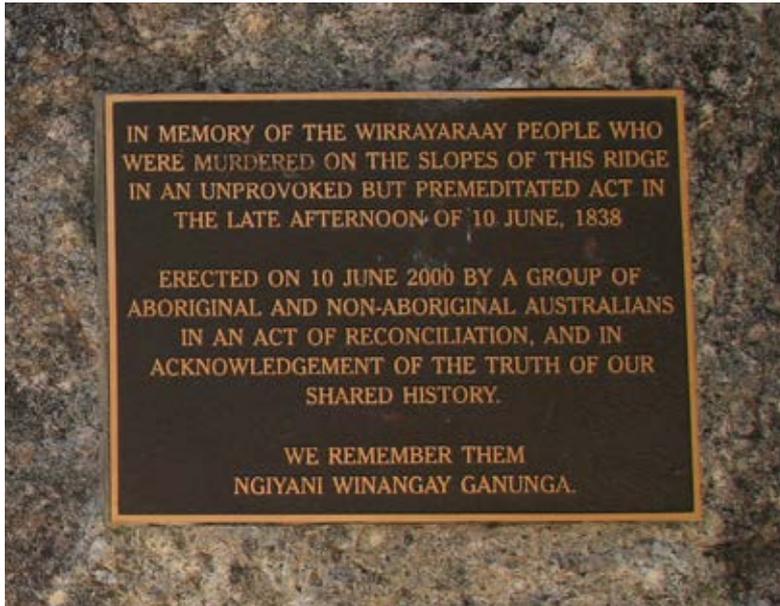
SOURCE 18

assimilation

the absorption and integration of people, ideas or culture into a wider society or culture

I look on the blacks (said this enlightened and philanthropic juror) as a set of monkies, and the earlier they are exterminated from the face of the earth the better. I would never consent to hang a white man for a black one. I knew well they were guilty of the murder, but I, for one, would never see a white man suffer for shooting a black.

A quote ascribed to a juror who had acquitted those accused of murdering Indigenous Australians at Myall Creek; this appeared in a letter to the editor of *The Australian* newspaper, 8 December 1838



SOURCE 19 A plaque at the Myall Creek Massacre and Memorial Site, New South Wales

Once resistance was subdued, the imperial impulse was to either eliminate the original owners or to make them like the newcomers. This **assimilation** process included a plan to turn the Indigenous population of New South Wales into European-style farmers in the 1800s. It also involved an 'education' program, which was dominated by the drive to turn Indigenous Australians into Christians and servants. By 1880, this philosophy was reflected in the three guiding principles of the New South Wales education policy for Aboriginal Australians: that they be 'clean, clothed and courteous'.

For much of the nineteenth century, the Europeans expected the Indigenous Australian population to simply die out. Government policies of dispossession and removal, and the establishment of missions

and reserves for Indigenous Australians, were all predicated on the idea that it was only a matter of time before all Indigenous peoples would disappear. It would take until the first two decades of the twentieth century for government policies around the treatment of Indigenous Australians to begin to change.

15.5 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 To what extent does Source 17 reflect ideas of social Darwinism?
- 2 Examine Sources 17, 18 and 19, and explain how they display continuities and changes in the recognition of the rights and freedoms of Indigenous Australians since the days of British imperialism.

15.5a Check your learning

- 1 What are settler colonies? Give three examples of such colonies.
 - 2 Discuss the different arguments about why Australia was established as a British colony. Which evidence do you find most compelling?
 - 3 Briefly discuss the impact of British imperialism on Indigenous Australians.
 - 4 To what extent do ideas of nationalism, social Darwinism and the spreading of Christianity help you understand the treatment of Indigenous Australians in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries?
-

Case study: Australian imperialism

Once Australia had been established as a British colony, it went on to colonise its own territories. Claimed areas included Macquarie Island (roughly halfway between New Zealand and Antarctica), which became the sole responsibility of Tasmania late in the nineteenth century, and the eastern portion of Papua New Guinea, which became an Australian territory in 1902. A decade later, in 1914, Australia was given control of Norfolk Island, and it would go on to seize control of the northern portion of Papua New Guinea from Germany during the First World War.

The **League of Nations** granted Australia a **mandate** to control the island of Nauru (a rich source of phosphate) in 1923, and Britain granted Australia control of the Ashmore and Carter Islands in the Indian Ocean in 1931. Australia's biggest geographical claim was made in 1933, when Britain gave it authority over the Australian Antarctic Territory, an area of the Antarctic continent over 5 896 500 km² in size.



SOURCE 20 This 1959 postcard marks the opening of the Wilkes post office in the Australian Antarctic Territory.

Australia continued to expand its territories in the 1950s and 1960s, acquiring the Heard and McDonald Islands in the Southern Ocean; Christmas Island and the Cocos (Keeling) Islands in the Indian Ocean; and the Coral Sea Islands in the Coral Sea.

Many of these territories provided Australia with valuable resources, such as phosphate, guano (a fertiliser made from manure) and whale oil. Even in the twenty-first century, decades after countries such as Papua New Guinea and Nauru gained independence from Australia, the Commonwealth still controls seven external territories, spanning from just 10 degrees south of the equator, all the way to the South Pole.

15.5b Check your learning

- 1 What evidence is there that Australia was also an imperialist country?
 - 2 Research the territories Australia still controls from '10 degrees south of the equator, all the way to the South Pole'. What does Australia gain from this control?
-

■ **League of Nations**
an international organisation established at the end of the First World War to maintain world peace and prevent the outbreak of future wars by encouraging nations to negotiate with each other

■ **mandate**
a commission given to one nation by others (for example through the League of Nations) to control a country or geographical area

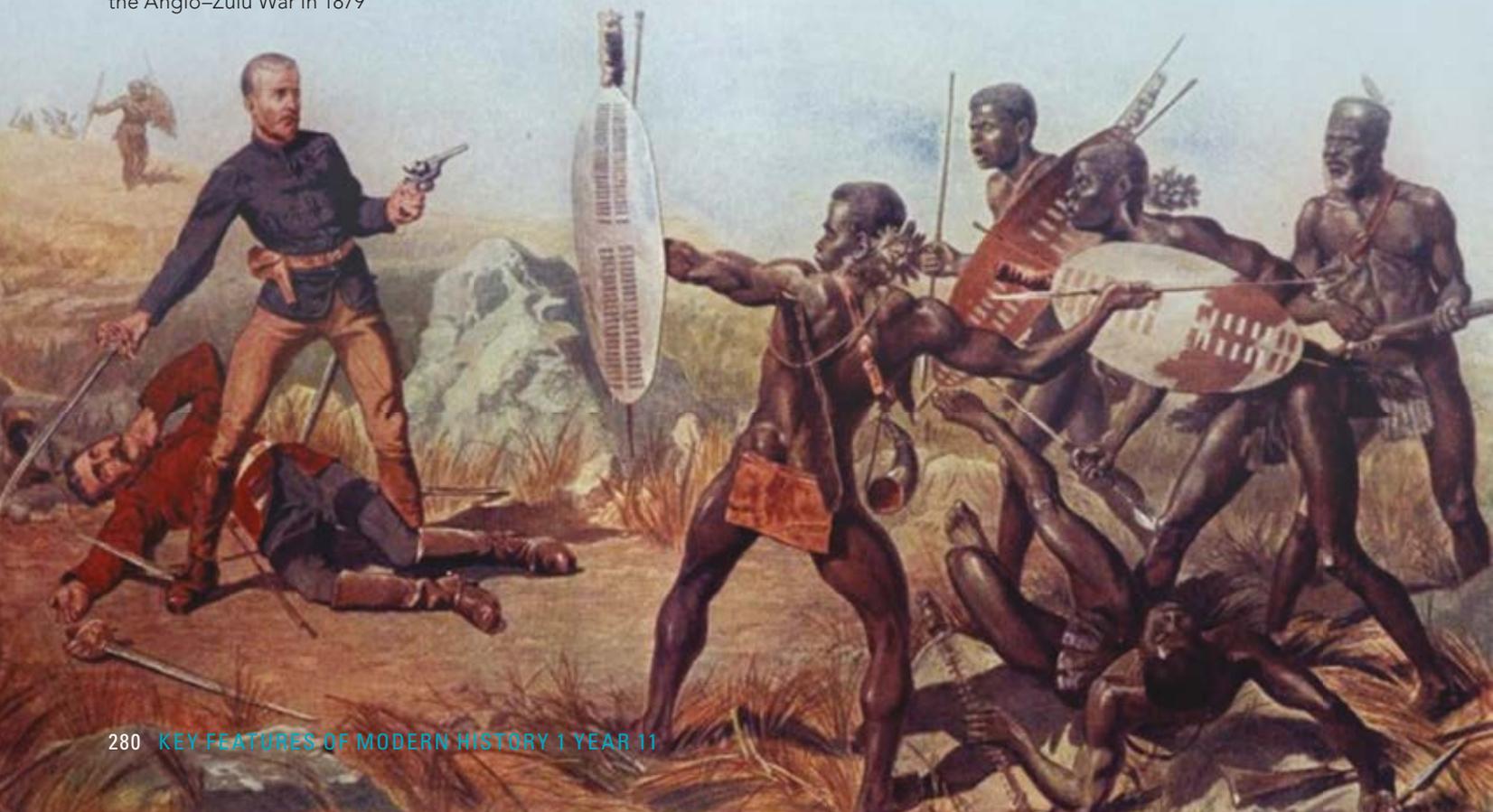
15.6 Global resistance and the resilience of Indigenous groups

Despite the best intentions of missionaries spreading the word of a ‘loving Christian God’, indigenous groups around the world resisted European imperialism. It is important to recognise that although the responses of indigenous groups to imperialism were generally not recorded, there are records of their resistance.

In Africa, where tribal groups such as the Zulu were large and well organised, armed resistance could be formidable. The Zulu Wars (1879–96) – which included the Battle of Isandlwana in 1879, where a Zulu Army of 20 000 warriors wiped out a British Army of more than 2000 men equipped with modern weapons – is a classic example. In New Zealand, where the Indigenous Māori people were similarly numerous, unified and organised, the resistance known as the Māori Wars (between 1845 and 1875) forms a key feature of national history.

In Australia, there was lengthy and determined resistance by Indigenous Australians, albeit more localised. Unlike the Zulu and the Māori, Indigenous Australians did not share a common language; nor did they have the kind of social organisation that allowed for the creation of large armies. In 2017, work done by Professor Lyndall Ryan at the University of Newcastle produced a map of Indigenous massacre sites on the east coast of Australia. It was based largely on settler accounts, newspaper reports, and Indigenous evidence that had previously been largely disregarded. This ongoing project has so far documented 150 massacres, resulting in at least 6000 deaths.

SOURCE 21 ‘Incident at the Battle of Isandlwana’, depicting the Anglo–Zulu War in 1879



Ultimately, the courage, spears and clubs of indigenous peoples were no match for European technology and weapons. As the nineteenth century progressed, European armies had at their disposal modern artillery, repeating rifles and early forms of the modern machine gun. This was the age of the 'firepower revolution', with weapons that could fire hundreds of rounds a minute. They turned a single man into an army, and practically eliminated all chance of a successful resistance.

Despite the fact that indigenous resistance was consistently crushed, with varying degrees of ruthlessness, indigenous peoples around the world displayed remarkable resilience and capacity to recover.

15.6 Understanding and using the sources

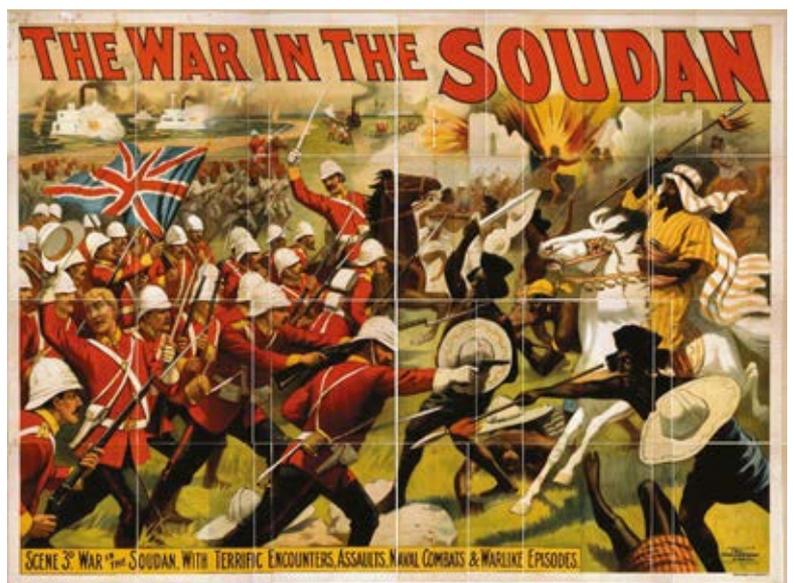
- 1 Analyse Sources 21–23. What perspective does each convey? Create a list of similarities and differences between these three sources.
- 2 Select one source from Sources 21–23, and explain how it helps you understand British imperialism in the nineteenth century.

15.6 Check your learning

- 1 Explain why the Zulu and Māori had more success in resisting British imperialism than Indigenous Australians.
- 2 Research the Indian Mutiny of 1857. Why did Indians revolt against the control of the East India Company? How successful were they?
- 3 Investigate and analyse one example of indigenous resistance to British imperialism in the nineteenth century.



SOURCE 22 'The relief of Lucknow' depicts an event in the Indian Mutiny of 1857. Indian historians still often refer to this as the 'First War of Indian Independence'.



SOURCE 23 A poster for a Barnum and Bailey Circus production, showing not only how British troops dealt with local resistance, but also the role popular culture played in spreading the idea of the glory of empire

15.7 The legacy of imperialism

Imperialism in the nineteenth century transformed the global economic, political and social landscape. It reflected the emergence of Europe, and spread Western modes of thinking worldwide. It led directly to the first phase of what we refer to today as ‘globalisation’ – the interconnectedness of economies all over the world. Due to Britain’s pre-eminent position as an imperial power, it also made English the universal language of trade and communication.

In addition to Christianity, which spread dramatically in the wake of imperialism, the European expansion also brought with it the other great Western article of faith: **capitalism**. The concepts of the **free market**, banking systems and investment were spread globally, along with a culture of respect for the elites of business and the corporate sector.

Imperialism and colonial rivalry between the great European powers have also long been considered among the causes of the First World War. In order to protect and maintain order in their colonies, European powers needed armies and navies. Imperialism therefore encouraged aspects of **militarism**.

Imperialism and modernity

The concept of modernity could be interpreted as an example of twenty-first-century cultural imperialism. This is primarily a Western idea that assumes the superiority of the Western, modern way of living, thinking and knowing. It privileges Western or European ways of understanding, teaching and recording aspects of society and the past, at the expense of other ways of doing so.

capitalism

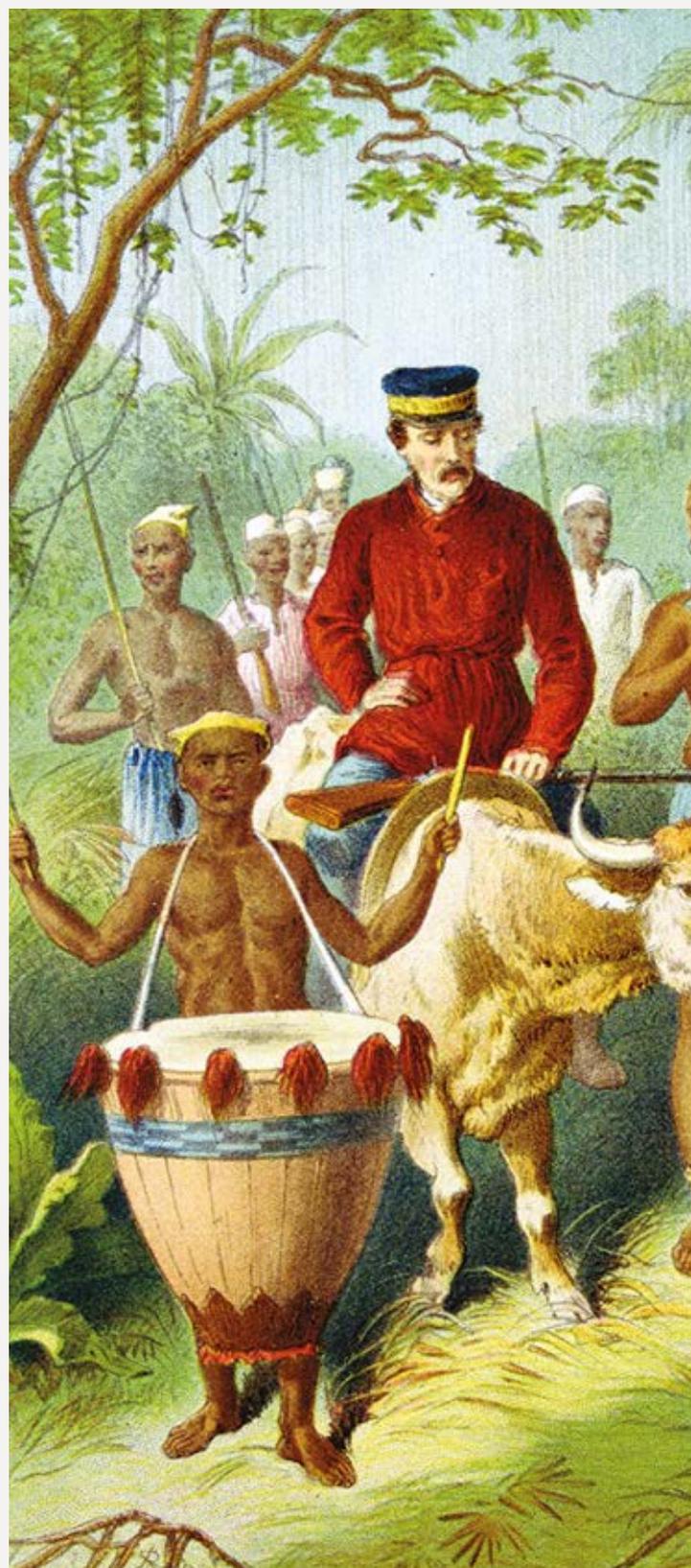
an economic system in which businesses and industry are run for profit by private owners, rather than run by the government

free market

a major belief of capitalism that government should not interfere in the operation of the economy

militarism

the belief that a country should maintain strong military forces and continually update its military technology, in order to defend national interests



SOURCE 24 Perhaps the most famous of the British Christian missionaries was David Livingstone (1813–73), a doctor and minister who travelled widely through Africa and preached that Christianity, civilisation and European trade and commerce should all go ‘hand in hand’.



One legacy of European imperialism was the creation of globalisation and the spread of Western thought, beliefs and ideas. These ideas took hold in relation to economics, as well as areas such as infrastructure and technology.

Ultimately, any judgments made about the legacy of European imperialism will depend on who you ask. Imperialism, like any other historical event, had winners and losers. The irony is that if imperialism and colonial rivalry did indeed help trigger the First World War, then ultimately imperialism carried within it the seeds of European global decline. After the First World War, the balance of global economic and political power began to shift away from Europe towards the United States, and a new style of imperialism.



SOURCE 25 French machine gunners take position during the Battle of the Aisne during the First World War in 1917. Was this war the end result of the Age of Imperialism?

15.7 Understanding and using the sources

- 1 Explain how Source 25 could be regarded as the culmination of the Age of Imperialism. What would you choose as the final image in a book chapter on the Age of Imperialism?

15.7 Check your learning

- 1 Discuss the significance of imperialism, both as an idea, and as the actions of European nations.
- 2 To what extent do you think imperialism was a contributing cause of the First World War?
- 3 In your own words, explain the concept of modernity.
- 4 Discuss the legacy of imperialism for the modern world. To what extent do you think the world is still dealing with the effects of the Age of Imperialism?

There is no doubt that the Age of Imperialism had a profound effect on the world we live in. The nineteenth century saw Europe dominate the global landscape. Colonies were established across the planet to increase the wealth and power of Europe at the expense of those who became the conquered. Huge profits were made, and the First World War erupted among those wealthy and privileged nations as they strove for even more wealth and privilege.

To some extent, in the twenty-first century we are still dealing with the effects of the Age of Imperialism. Global wealth continues to be largely concentrated in the countries that were the beneficiaries of imperialism, including the United States, which began as a product of European imperialism and then went on to become an imperial power in its own right.

Clashes over ideas and global inequalities are also still part of our daily life today. Indeed, Britain's decision in 2016 to exit the European Union – 'Brexit' – and US President Donald Trump's campaign call to 'make America great again' echo a nationalist desire to return to a period where imperial powers exerted greater control of world affairs.

As a history student, it is your responsibility to develop a well-researched interpretation of imperialism, supported by evidence and sources. You will be confronted by a range of opinions, many revealing bias, and it is critical that you think for yourself, and rely on the sources to guide you to your conclusion.



SOURCE 26 Queen Victoria presents a gift to an African diplomat.



FOR THE TEACHER

Check your obook assess for the following additional resources for this chapter:

Answers

Answers to each *Check your learning*, *Understanding and using the sources* and *Profile* task in this chapter

Teacher notes

Useful notes and advice for teaching this chapter, including syllabus connections and relevant weblinks

Class test

Comprehensive test to review students' skills and knowledge

assess quiz

Interactive auto-correcting multiple-choice quiz to test student comprehension

1848 revolutions

a wave of revolts across Europe in 1848 demanding social and political reforms; these popular uprisings achieved some initial reforms, but generally failed after Europe's monarchies suppressed the revolts and regained their hold on power

1905 Revolution

a revolution that sent a wave of political and social unrest throughout the Russian Empire

A**abolitionist movement**

the campaign to end slavery

absolute monarchy

a system of government where the king has complete power

absolutist

a political system where absolute and complete power is held by one individual

abstention

a deliberate refusal to take part in a vote

agrarian

related to the use of land for farming

agrarian reforms

changes to the law relating to land ownership

Allied Powers

the coalition of countries in opposition to the Axis Powers in the Second World War; they included Britain, the Commonwealth and France, which were joined by the United States and the Soviet Union in 1941

Allies

the coalition of countries in opposition to the Central Powers in the First World War; they included Britain, the Commonwealth, France and Russia, which were joined by the United States in 1917

American Civil War

the war between the Northern and Southern states of the United States, fought between 1861 and 1865

amnesty

a general pardon for crimes against the government, or under an earlier regime

anarchist

a person who believes in the absolute freedom of the individual and the idea of a society without government or law

anthropology

the study of human societies and cultures, and their development

antisemitic

hostile to or prejudiced against Jews

armistice

the agreement made by opposing sides in a war to stop fighting

arms race

the military build-up by countries competing to have the largest military forces and the latest military technology

assimilation

the absorption and integration of people, ideas or culture into a wider society or culture

autocrat

a ruler who has absolute power

Axis Powers

the coalition of countries in opposition to the Allied Powers in the Second World War; they included Germany, Italy and Japan

B**Balkan states**

the countries on the Balkan peninsula in southern Europe

battalion

a large body of troops

besiege

the act of surrounding an area with armed forces in order to capture it or force its surrender

Blitzkrieg

a military tactic used by the Germans that included short and fast attacks using a range of mobile weapons, such as tanks and air attacks

blockade

the act of stopping ships from leaving or entering ports

Bolsheviks

a revolutionary political party led by Lenin that seized power from Russia's Provisional Government in November 1917

bourgeoisie

the French middle class

C**capitalism**

an economic system in which businesses and industry are run for profit by private owners, rather than run by the government

centenary

hundredth anniversary

Central Powers

the coalition of countries in opposition to the Allies in the First World War; they included Germany and Austria-Hungary, which were later joined by the Ottoman Empire (Turkey)

chronology

a record of events in the order they took place

CIA

Central Intelligence Agency; a department of the US Government that collects information about other countries, often secretly

civil rights

the rights of individuals to equal treatment and equal opportunities

Cold War

the state of political conflict and hostility that existed between the Soviet Union and the United States from 1945 to 1990, characterised by threats and propaganda but not resulting in direct fighting or military conflict

collective memory

the memory of a group of people, passed from one generation to the next

colonisation

the practice of settling among and establishing control over the indigenous people of an area.

communism

an economic system in which the means of production (for example factories, farms and machinery) are publicly owned by the state, and goods are distributed equally according to need, as opposed to privately owned and controlled systems such as capitalism

concentration camp

a camp in which civilians and political prisoners or prisoners of war are detained under extremely harsh conditions

Confederates/Confederacy

the states that joined together to secede from (leave) the United States

conscript

a person who is compulsorily enlisted in the armed forces

constitution

a set of rules by which a country is governed

constitutional monarchy

a system of government where a monarch is head of state, but their power is restrained by a constitution and is largely ceremonial

contestation

the process of disputing and debating different interpretations of sources by historians

corroborate

to confirm or give support to a statement, theory or finding

Cossacks

an Eastern Slavic-speaking ethnic Russian group with a strong military tradition

coup d'état

a swift, decisive and frequently violent seizure of power, often by the military

cultural studies

the study of the ways in which culture is constructed and organised, and the ways in which it changes over time

D**Declaration of Independence**

the official document in which the United States declared its independence from Great Britain

despotic

governing with threats or the use of force

Developing World

the countries of Africa, Asia and South America that are less economically and technologically advanced; also known as the 'Third World'

Diaspora

the dispersion of the Jews beyond Israel

dissidents

people who challenge government policies

dominion

a territory of a sovereign or government

dowager

a widow with a title or property derived from her late husband

E**eclipse**

to pass from a position of power

economic sanctions/blockade

restrictions on trade

emancipation

the freeing of people from slavery

Enlightenment

an intellectual philosophical movement in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the West that saw the emergence of reason rather than faith as the major component of thought and the development of ideas

Eora nation

the Indigenous communities of the Sydney metropolitan area

exceptionalism

the belief that something has special qualities that place it above others; the most common usage of this term is linked to the self-belief of the United States

exodus

the departure, often forced, of a large number of people

F**factions**

interest groups or politically based groups competing for power within an organisation or country

Federal Government

the central (national) government of the United States, formed after the individual states federated to become a single country

Federation

the process by which the separate self-governing colonies came together to form the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901

feudal

the dominant social system in medieval Europe, where the nobles could live on the king's land in exchange for military service, and the peasants in turn rented the land in exchange for working on the land and sharing the produce with the nobles and the king

'Final Solution'

the Nazi Party's plan for the extermination of Jews in Europe

free market

a major belief of capitalism that government should not interfere in the operation of the economy

frontier

the outer limit of settled land

Fundamental Laws

a decree from the tsar in 1906 that ostensibly confirmed the October Manifesto, but also asserted his power over the Duma

G**garrison**

a body of troops stationed in a fortified place

general strike

a mass strike by a large sector of the workforce, covering a range of industries

genocide

the deliberate and systematic mass killing of people based on their race, ethnicity, religion or culture

geophysical

relating to the use of instruments to study the physics of the earth in inaccessible areas

Gestapo

the secret police of Nazi Germany

ghetto

a section of a town or city established by the Nazis during the Second World War to confine Jews and other 'undesirables', and isolate them from the wider population

global economic output

the total value of goods produced and services provided across the entire world in a year

Great Depression

a period of severe economic downturn that began in the United States and quickly spread around the world during the 1930s and 1940s

guerrilla

a style of warfare where small groups confront a much larger enemy with surprise attacks and ongoing harassment

guillotine

a machine for beheading people, consisting of a wooden frame with a heavy blade that slides down when released by the executioner

H**hindsight**

understanding of a situation or event only after it has happened or developed

historiography

the study of the construction of history

history wars

debate over the meaning and impact of British colonisation on Australia, and the consideration of Indigenous perspectives in understanding that meaning and impact

Holocaust deniers

people who seek to either deny the Holocaust ever took place, or argue that the numbers killed were wildly exaggerated

home front

those citizens who remain at home during a war; the home front typically includes women, children and the elderly

hypothesis

a proposed explanation for an event

I**icons**

paintings of Christ or another holy figure

I-ho magic boxing

the practice of spiritual and martial arts that the Boxers believed would make them invulnerable to bullets

imperialism

the practice of extending the power of a nation, especially by acquiring territory of another nation

inalienable rights

rights that cannot be taken away

indemnity

money paid by one country to another country after military defeat, as a condition of peace

Industrial Revolution

the rapid development of industry, beginning in Britain in the mid-eighteenth century, in which advances in technology fundamentally changed the agricultural and manufacturing industries, as well as transport and communications

intelligentsia

highly educated people with political influence, such as writers, journalists and academics

internal exile

forced settlement to another part of a country as punishment; in Russia, this was usually in the isolated region of Siberia

intransigence

unwillingness or refusal to change one's views or agree about something

L**League of Nations**

an international organisation established at the end of the First World War to maintain world peace and prevent the outbreak of future wars by encouraging nations to negotiate with each other

legations

buildings in which foreign government officials work and reside

Lewis gun

a type of machine gun that was mass-produced in Britain during the First World War

liberalism

a political philosophy that supports the rights and freedoms of the individual

literary studies

the evaluation and interpretation of literature

lynching

where a group of people kills someone for an alleged offence without a legal trial, often by hanging

M**mandate**

a commission given to one nation by others (for example through the League of Nations) to control a country or geographical area

manifesto

a public declaration to express beliefs and intentions

Marxist

a supporter of the political and economic theories of the nineteenth-century Prussian-born philosopher Karl Marx, whose theories formed the basis of communism

medieval

a period of European history, also known as the Middle Ages, that lasted from approximately the fifth to the fifteenth centuries

memoir

a historical account or biography written from personal knowledge

metallurgy

the science of separating metals from their ores

militarism

the belief that a country should maintain strong military forces and continually update its military technology, in order to defend national interests

militia

a military force raised from members of the civil population (not professional soldiers) that can be used to support an army

mission

a group of people sent by a religious organisation to teach their religion to conquered peoples

mobilisation

the preparation and movement of troops for military service

morality

principles concerning the distinction between right and wrong or good and bad behaviour

Mujahideen

guerrilla fighters in Islamic countries fighting against non-Muslim forces

N**nationalism**

a sense of pride in, and love of, one's country; advocacy of political independence for a particular country

neo-fascism, neo-Nazism

political movements inspired by fascism – more specifically by the Nazi leader Adolf Hitler – with ideals of extreme nationalism, including beliefs in racial purity and anti-immigration, and sometimes using violence to pursue their aims

nihilist movement

a Russian movement in the 1860s that rejected all authorities, becoming associated with the use of violence to bring about political change

no man's land

the area between the trench systems of opposing armies; soldiers were unlikely to return from this area

O**oral history**

the collection and study of historical information using sound recordings of interviews with people who remember past events

osteoarchaeologist

a specialist in the study of human skeletal remains

outpost

a place that represents the authority of a far-away imperial country

over the top

the movement by troops when they climbed up from their trenches to move forward into battle

P**Pacific War**

the theatre of the Second World War, where the Allied Powers resisted the Japanese invasion of countries through the Pacific region and South-East Asia

pan-Arabism

the idea of a unified Arab world

peculiar institution

the term used by Southerners for the system of slavery

peddler

a person who goes from place to place selling goods

Petrograd

the capital of the Russian Empire, renamed from St Petersburg to Petrograd in 1914, at the beginning of the First World War, because the original name sounded too German

plantations

large farms where slave labour was used to produce crops such as cotton, tobacco and sugar

planter

a landowner in the South owning 20 or more slaves

pogrom

an organised massacre of a particular ethnic group; in particular, that of Jews in Russia and Eastern Europe

police state

a state where the police, usually the secret police, detect and suppress opposition to the government

populism

a type of politics that claims to represent the opinions and interests of ordinary people

propaganda

information, especially of a biased or misleading nature, used to promote a political cause or point of view

propagate

to spread or promote ideas widely

protectorate

a country that is controlled and protected by a more powerful country

punitive

intended as punishment

puppet government

a government where the person who wields effective power is not holding office

R**regent**

a person who administers a state for an underage monarch

representative government

a system of government where citizens elect people to represent their interests and concerns

rifle grenade

a grenade-type explosive device propelled from a rifle barrel; these devices covered far greater distances than those thrown by hand

S**secede**

to leave or separate from the Union

segregation

the practice of separating people in a community on the basis of race

self-determination

the right of a people or nation to form their own government

serfdom

the state of being a serf or labourer within a feudal system

Sharif

an Arabic term to describe someone who is of noble birth; often a leader of a society

sister ship

a ship of the same class and/or of virtually identical design to another ship made by the same company

'slave state'

a state that allowed slave labour

socialism

a political and economic theory that promotes the public ownership of a nation's resources and means of production (for example factories, farms and machinery), as opposed to privately owned and controlled ownership in a capitalist system

sociology

the study of the development, structure and functioning of human society

Soviet

a district-level political organisation, associated with revolutionary Russia

sphere of influence

an area in which a foreign power has significant military, political and economic influence or control

squatter

in colonial Australian history, a person who occupied land for cattle or sheep grazing, without initially having any legal right to that land; many squatters were extremely wealthy and of high social status

stalemate

a situation where neither side is able to gain an advantage

states' rights

the rights that individual states believed they still held, despite the existence of a Federal Government

Stockholm syndrome

feelings of trust and affection that some kidnapping or hostage victims develop toward their captors as a way of coping with their traumatic situation

stratigraphic dating

the geological method of dating objects by their position in the stratigraphy – or layering – of rocks and sediment

subjective

based on personal feelings or beliefs

Suez Canal

a canal, built in the nineteenth century, that runs through Egypt, linking the Red Sea with the Mediterranean Sea

synonymous

closely associated with or suggestive of something

synthesise

to form a whole by combining different parts

T**tariff**

a tax put on imported goods to make them more expensive, so that people would buy US-made goods instead

'Ten Pound Pom'

a colloquial term for British immigrants to Australia who were charged just £10 for the voyage by the Australian Government, which subsidised the cost

terrorism

the unofficial or unauthorised use of violence and intimidation in the pursuit of political or religious aims

tithe

a tax payment to the church of one-tenth of annual produce or earnings

topography

the arrangement of the natural and artificial physical features of an area

total war

a war in which all aspects of society are involved

totalitarian

a form of government where a single party controls the country's administration and most other areas of life, requiring complete subservience and suppressing opposition

treatise

a formal piece of writing that examines a specific subject

Treaty of Versailles

the peace treaty that officially ended the First World War

trench mortar

a short, stumpy gun firing bombs at high angles to drop into enemy trenches; it was designed to be fired from trenches without exposing soldiers to enemy fire

Triple Alliance

the alliance between Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy prior to the First World War

Triple Entente

the alliance between Britain, France and Russia prior to the First World War

tsars

the rulers of Russia until 1917

U**Union**

the states that stayed loyal to the United States and fought to retain a united single country

Union of Unions

an alliance of professional Russian unions, formed to place pressure on the government to reform

universal suffrage

a form of voting rights, where all adults have the right to vote in political elections

utopian

aiming for a state in which everything is perfect

V**vested interests**

personal interests that may influence a perspective

Viet Cong

the communist guerrilla movement in Vietnam that fought against South Vietnam and US forces in the Vietnam War

vilify

to make abusive statements about a person or people, so that others will have a lower opinion of them

W**war of attrition**

a strategy to wear down the enemy with continuous actions to reduce their resources

West Bank

a contested area of land on the west side of the Jordan River; it is currently controlled by Israel, which seized it from Jordan in 1967

White Paper

an official and authoritative report on a topic, usually commissioned by a government

Y**yellow journalism**

news reports based on sensationalism, to shock and attract readers

Z**Zionist**

a supporter of Zionism; a person who believes in self-determination for the Jewish people and the development and protection of a Jewish nation ('Zion')

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Chapter 7: **Agefotostock**/Ann Ronan Pictures, source 4; **Getty Images**, source 2 /Ben Stansall, opening image /David Fenton, source 18 /Keystone-France, source 12 /MOHAMED AL-BAKOUR/AFP, source 3 /PATRICK BAZ/AFP, source 22 /Popperfoto, source 17 /Richard Baker, source 20 /Spencer Platt, source 13 /Tony Korody, source 19 /Yui Mok/PA Images, source 1; **imagefolk**/Illustrated London News Ltd/Mary Evans, source 15 /Image Asset Management, source 21 /Mary Evans Picture Library, source 5 /World History Archive, source 11; **Shutterstock**, sources 9, 14; **State Library of Victoria**, sources 7, 8.

Chapter 8: **Alamy**/Granger Historical Picture Archive, source 3 (1862) /Lebrecht Music and Arts Photo Library, source 15; **Getty Images**/ CBS Photo Archive/ Contributor, source 3 (1859) /Fotosearch / Stringer, source 3 (1831) /AFP PHOTO / Karen BLEIER, source 1 /Bettmann, source 3 (1852), 4 /Corbis, source 13 /Corbis/David Butow, source 3 (1868) /DenGuy, source 12 /Fotosearch, source 14 /mathieukor, source 5; **Shutterstock**, source 19, pp. 119, 121.

Chapter 9: AAP/AP, source 5 (1918); **Getty Images**/ Apic, source 24 /FPG, source 22 /Hulton Archive, sources 2, 29 /Leemage, source 5 (1916) /Popperfoto, source 28; **Imagefolk**/Fine Art Images, source 25 / Fine Art Images, source 26, 30 /GOSKINO/Ronald Grant Archive/Mary Evans, source 17 /Image Asset Management, source 20 /JT Vintage, source 6 /Sovfoto, source 12 /Sovfoto/UIG, source 13 /World History Archive, source 5 (1895); **Library of Congress**, opening image; **Shutterstock**, source 4, p. 141.

Chapter 10: 123RF, sources 3 (1898 & 1901), 19; AAP/AP, source 18; **Getty Image**/AFP, sources 13, 15, 23 / Archive Photos, source 8 /Bettman, sources 3 (1959), 5 /Carl Mydans, source 3 (1962) /Corbis/Lester Cole, source 17 /Elizabeth Frey/Three Lions, source 10 /Grey Villet, opening image /Hank Walker/The LIFE Picture Collection, source 20 /Historical, source 6 /Hulton Archive, source 1 /Joe Raedle, source 24 /JORGE CABRERA/AFP, source 22 /Jung/ullstein bild, source 21 /Lee Lockwood/The LIFE Images Collection, sources 14, 16 /New York Daily News Archive, source 7 /New York Times Co, source 3 (1934) /Niurka Barroso, source 2 /Ralph Morse/The LIFE Picture Collection, source 9; **Shutterstock**, source 11.

Chapter 11: **Agefotostock**/DEA/G DAGLI ORTI, source 15; **Alamy**/Granger Historical Picture Archive, source 16 /Peter Probst, source 17; **Getty Images**/

Bettman, opening image, source 14 /DEA Picture Library, source 3 (1839) /George Rinhart, source 2 /Hulton Archive, Sources 4, 11 / Keystone, source 3 (1900 execution) /Photo12, source 5 /VCG, source 7; **Imagefolk**/Mary Evans Picture Library, source 18; /Ronald Grant Archive/SAMUEL BRONSTON PRODUCTIONS, source 3 (1900 Peking); Wellcome Library, source 13.

Chapter 12: **Alamy**/Everett Collection, source 8 /Heritage Image Partnership Ltd, source 19 /National Geographic Creative, source 14; **Getty Images**/Apic, source 4 /Archive Photos, source 13 / Bettman, source 22 /Corbis, opening image /Frank Scherschel/ The LIFE Picture Collection, source 24 /Hans Pinn/GPO, source 20 / Hulton Archive, source 3 (1942) /JAAFAR ASHTIYEH/AFP, source 26 /Keystone-France/Gamma-Keystone, source 25 /Ramazan Turgut/ Anadolu Agency, source 7 /Sunset Boulevard, source 9 /Universal History Archive, source 3 (1929); **Imagefolk**/Mary Evans Picture Library, source 10 /World History Archive, source 11 /World History Archive/Ann Ronan Collection, source 15; **Shutterstock**, source 1.

Chapter 13: **Alamy**/Granger Historical Picture Archive, source 23; **Australian War Memorial**, source 9 (B02371); **Getty Images**/ General Photographic Agency, source 16 /Heritage Images, source 34 /Hulton, source 6 (1916) /IWM, opening image /Mansell, source 6 (1917) /Mondadori Portfolio, source 10 /Popperfoto, sources 17, 33 /Popperfoto, source 6 (1915) /Roger Viollet, source 1 /STR/AFP, source 7 /Topical Press Agency, source 26 /ullstein bild, sources 18, 19; **Imagefolk**/Clement Philippe, source 30 /Image Asset Management, source 27 /Mary Evans Picture Library, source 29 / Robert Hunt Library/Mary Evans, source 32 /World History Archive, source 24 /World History Archive/Ann Ronan Collection, source 15; **Library of Congress**, sources 22, 31; **Margaret MacMillan**, 'World War I: The War That Changed Everything', Wall St Journal, June 20, 2014, reprinted with Permission of the Wall Street Journal, Copyright (c) 2014, Dow Jones & Company, Inc. All rights Reserved Worldwide. License number 4160460924468 & 4160460832316, sources 35, 37; **Shutterstock**, sources 36, 38; **US National Archives**, source 11.

Chapter 14: **Alamy**/Pictorial Press Ltd, opening image / VincentDrago, source 13; **Getty Images**, source 4 (1793) /Christophel Fine Art/UIG, sources 3, 4 (1789 three) /DEA Picture Library, source 4 (1972) /DEA/G DAGLI ORTI, source 4 (1795) /Godong, source 4 (1791) /Ipsumpix/Corbis, source 10 /Pierre Perrin, source 14 / Universal History Archive, source 2; **imagefolk**/CSP_PhillipMinnis, source 5.

Chapter 15: **Alamy**/(c) Walt Disney/courtesy Everett Collection, source 9 /David Hancock, source 19; **Getty Images**/Albert Harlingue/Roger Viollet, opening image /Corbis/Hulton-Deutsch Collection, source 15 /Hulton Archive / Stringer, source 17 / Southern Lightscapes-Australia, source 16; **Imagefolk**/Image Asset Management, sources 1, 10, 24 /Mary Evans Picture Library, sources 2, 6, 22 /McPHOTO, source 11 /Schultz Reinhard, source 25; **Shutterstock**, source 12.

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↓ Church Street, New York City, covered in ash and litter after the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center, a few blocks away, on 11 September 2001.

↑ Jubilant crowd gathering on the streets of Havana, Cuba, on 1 January 1959 to celebrate Fidel Castro and his rebel army's victory in the Cuban Revolution.

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