Bill of Rights in Action

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'GO BOLDLY!': JOAN OF ARC AND THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR

JOAN OF ARC HEARD VOICES SHE BELIEVED ORIGINATED FROM GOD, COMMANDING HER TO LEAD THE FRENCH ARMY TO VICTORY OVER THE ENGLISH. SHE DID JUST THAT, INSPIRING HER SOLDIERS TO 'GO BOLDLY!' IN THE END, SHE FACED TRIAL FOR HER ACTIONS.

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As a teenager, Joan of Arc (c. 1412–1431) led the French army against the British during the Hundred Years War.

England and France fought the Hundred Years War over who should be king of France. The war began in 1337 when England's King Edward III claimed he was also the rightful king of France. Edward and later English kings based their claim on the fact that they were the heirs of William the Conqueror. In 1066, this noble had left Normandy in France and conquered England where he became king.

Edward invaded France three times during his reign and established English control of Normandy and other lands. But after Edward died, French armies regained most English-held territory.

Later, the insanity of France's King Charles VI led to a civil war among French nobles over who should succeed him. The most prominent noble was the king's son, the Dauphin Charles. (Dauphin was a title applied to next male in line to inherit the throne of France.)

In 1415, England's King Henry V invaded France. At the Battle of Agincourt, his superior longbow archers slaughtered nearly half of France's noble knights. Henry went on to retake Normandy, but his goal was to conquer all of France and become king of both England and France. To help him do this, he formed an alliance with the French duke of Burgundy, who recognized Henry as king of France.

Henry also signed a treaty with the queen of the mad Charles. She disowned the Dauphin Charles as illegitimate and agreed that her daughter would marry Henry, making his successors heirs to the French throne.

LEADERSHIP

This edition of Bill of Rights in Action looks at issues related to leadership. The first article traces the life of Joan of Arc, who rallied and led French troops to victory over the English. The second article looks at Sam Houston, who served as the governor of two states and the president of the Republic of Texas. The last article examines the political life of Margaret Thatcher, the first woman prime minister of the U.K.

World History: 'Go Boldly!': Joan of Arc and the Hundred Years War

U.S. History: Sam Houston: A Study in Leadership

Government: Margaret Thatcher and Conservative Politics in England

The first two articles were written by our long-time contributor Carlton Martz. The last article was written by our senior writer, Damon Huss.

In 1422, both Henry V and Charles VI died. Henry's successor was his infant son, Henry VI. Meanwhile, the Dauphin Charles claimed he was the rightful king of France. He had not, however, yet been crowned at Reims, the ancient site of France's coronations.

The fighting continued, but the dauphin's men grew discouraged as they lost battle after battle. The dauphin himself lacked confidence and was uncertain what to do.

In 1428, the English besieged the fortified town of Orleans, the key to invading southward into dauphin-held France. Many believed only God could save France now.

Joan of Arc and the Voices

Joan of Arc was born in 1412 in a village loyal to Charles VI and the Dauphin Charles. Her father, Jacques d'Arc, was a peasant farmer in charge of village defenses. Her mother had been on a religious pilgrimage and taught Joan the basics of the Catholic faith.

Joan never learned to read and write, but later could sign her name. She often prayed to the virgin saints Catherine and Margaret. Above all, she was strong-willed.

Joan knew about the war between the French and English from travelers passing through her village. She was probably aware of old prophesies that France would be saved by a virgin warrior.

At age 13, Joan began to hear voices, telling her things that she believed came from God. She became convinced God wanted her to remain a virgin to serve him. As Joan grew older, the voices became more urgent about a mission God wanted her to fulfill. She believed God commanded her to rescue Orleans from the English siege, take the Dauphin Charles to Reims to be crowned, and then lead his armies to drive the English from French soil.

After convincing the governor of a nearby large town of her holy mission, he secured an invitation for her to meet with the Dauphin Charles. In late February 1429, the 17-year-old peasant girl left on her quest. She dressed in male clothes with her hair cut short like a man. She later said her voices told her to "Go boldly!"

When Joan arrived at the royal court of the Dauphin Charles, she met privately with him. Calling herself "Joan the Maid," she said, "Most noble Dauphin, I have come and am sent by God to bring aid to you and your kingdom." Charles decided to have Catholic churchmen test her truthfulness and her virginity. The belief was that a witch or other evildoer could not be a virgin.

The churchmen asked Joan for a sign from God that she was acting at his command. Joan replied, "Take me to Orleans and I will show you signs proving why I was sent." After questioning her further, the churchmen reported to Charles that "No evil has been found in her," and she was a virgin. Charles then planned to use Joan not as a military leader but as a motivating symbol, matching her with the ancient prophecies that a virgin warrior would rescue France.

At age 13, Joan began to hear voices, telling her things that she believed came from God.

Joan was trained in military skills, which she quickly mastered. Charles outfitted her with a white horse and suit of armor. She acquired a special sword she said had been buried behind the altar of a church. Joan also had a large banner made that she said the voices had described to her. It had an image of Jesus in Heaven and a field of golden fleurs-de-lis (the emblem of French kings).

Joan the Warrior

In April 1429, Joan, mounted on horseback, wearing armor, and carrying her banner, led Charles' army of high-ranking nobles to rescue Orleans. The English had encircled Orleans with a series of forts. But a gap allowed Joan and the army to pass into the city. The people wildly greeted Joan the Maid.

The next day, Joan sent an ultimatum, which she had dictated, to the duke of Bedford, who led the English forces in France. She demanded that the English

> do right by the King of Heaven and surrender to the Maid sent by God . . . [and] depart in God's name for your own country. . . . [If] you refuse this, I am a captain of war, and wherever I find your men in France, I will force them to leave. . . . If they refuse to obey, I will have them all killed. I am sent by God, the King of Heaven, to chase you one and all from France.

She added that the Dauphin Charles was the true heir to the throne of France. "God wills it," she declared.

A few days later, she came upon a strategy meeting among the commanders of Charles' army. She had not been invited, but she barged in anyway and demanded to be included in the planning. The commanders, as in the past, were cautious and reluctant to attack. Joan disagreed and called for immediate bold assaults on the English siege forts.

Over the next few days, Joan personally led the French soldiers in directly attacking the scattered forts, usually by scaling their walls with ladders. Often she took off her helmet so the soldiers could see her, encouraging them with her cry of "Go boldly!"

On the last day of fighting at the key fort, Joan without a helmet was wounded by an arrow in the neck. She left the battle to have it tended to, but then returned to push for the final victory. The English, sure they had killed her, were shocked and began murmuring that she must be a witch. As for Charles' men of war, Joan was their leader now.

The English withdrew from Orleans, which was a spectacular French victory, exploding the long-held belief that the English were invincible. Joan then turned to her next Godly

command: to take Charles to Reims to be crowned. She believed this would make him the unquestioned king of France who would rally all French people to him.

To get to Reims, Joan's army mounted swift attacks on a string of English strongholds. Joan led the attacks she ordered. She was the first to climb a scaling ladder. She never personally killed anyone and sometimes shed tears when an enemy fell in battle. Joan also became expert at military strategy and tactics, especially the use of artillery. More than anything else, she restored the will to fight among her soldiers.

Wherever she went, the people cheered her as an angel from God. Many struggled in crowds to touch her or even her horse. While the French loved her, the English feared her.

The crowning of the dauphin as King Charles VII took place at Reims Cathedral on July 17, 1429. Joan, holding her banner, stood beside him.

Joan wanted to capture Paris, held by the duke of Burgundy. But Charles decided to negotiate with him instead. The negotiation proved to be a cover by the duke to strengthen his Paris defenses.

Charles then allowed Joan to gather a small force to attack Paris. For the first time, she failed. Her own legend of invincibility collapsed. Charles disbanded the entire royal army. He still believed he could negotiate a treaty with the duke, which, if successful, he thought would demoralize the English and cause them to give up their long quest for the French throne. Joan believed this could only be done by soundly defeating the English and their Burgundy ally.

Charles let Joan continue to fight with pick-up troops and mercenaries because of her great popularity with the French people. But on May 23, 1430, the duke of Burgundy's men captured her. They sold Joan to their ally, the English. Still wearing male clothing, she was taken to the English-occupied city of Rouen. King Charles did nothing to rescue her.

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The duke of Burgundy's men captured Joan of Arc and sold her to the British.

Joan's Trial for Heresy

The English agreed to have Joan tried and executed for heresy (beliefs or acts contrary to Catholic Church teachings). If Joan were convicted of heresy, her voices that said God willed Charles to be the king of France would be found false, thus undermining his claim to the throne. The English could then crown their young King Henry VI monarch of France and finally settle who should inherit the French throne, which was the whole point of the Hundred Years War.

The English had no other lawful way to get rid of Joan since her only other offense was simply humiliating them in battle. If the heresy trial failed to convict Joan, however, the English were clearly ready to take her to England and dispose of her there.

Joan was tried in a French Catholic Inquisition court, which decided if a person was a heretic and, if so, attempted to bring him or her back to the church. The duke of Bedford, governing English-held France in the name of 9-year-old Henry VI, appointed Bishop Pierre Cauchon to be chief judge at Joan's trial. Although French, Cauchon had served English kings for most of his career.

Cauchon assembled a large group to participate in questioning Joan at her trial. They included another judge from the office of the French Inquisition plus numerous religious experts, church lawyers, and other churchmen who acted as advisers to the two judges. Nearly all were French who sided with the English. Two notaries took notes during the trial sessions and wrote up a summary at the end of each day. This trial transcript exists today.

Cauchon presented no formal charges against Joan, a violation of normal Inquisition trial procedure. She agreed to take an oath to tell the truth, but only on condition that she would not speak about what the voices revealed to her because this was God's will. Cauchon and the others decided to proceed anyway.

Joan's trial started in late February 1431 and went on for three months. It mainly consisted of Cauchon and others questioning Joan. She told Cauchon, "You say you are my judge. Consider well what you do, for in truth I am sent by God, and you put yourself in great peril."

Joan, without anyone helping her, amazed her accusers by outwitting their every attempt to trap her with her own words. She argued, stalled, changed the subject, and used sarcasm. When asked what sign from God she gave Charles at their first meeting, she replied, "Go and ask him." She resisted talking about the voices, but said they were spoken by the virgin saints Catherine and Margaret and sometimes by angels.

After accomplishing little in trying to get Joan to incriminate herself, Cauchon and the expert advisers finally drew up a list of 70 charges against her. They accused her of being a witch, enchantress, and false prophet. They charged her with making war, "cruelly thirsting for human

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Joan of Arc was sentenced by an Inquisition court to be burned at the stake.

blood," and wearing the clothes of men, all acts of blasphemy (irreverence) against God. Her voices were either imagined or came from "a spirit of evil."

To Cauchon and Joan's other accusers, her greatest heresy was her failure to submit entirely to the authority of the Catholic Church. Joan said she did submit to the church, but would not agree to say anything that would violate the commands she had received from God. She requested to be taken to the pope for his judgment, but was told he was too far away.

The questioners focused on Joan's repeated refusal to give up her male clothing as clear physical evidence of her heresy. Also troubling to the questioners was Joan's heresy of personally communicating with God through the voices rather than doing so through the church. Joan refused to confess to the charges of heresy, even after being threatened with torture and burning at the stake.

Cauchon declared the trial over and read her sentence of death by fire before a pro-English crowd. He prepared to turn Joan over to the Rouen civil authorities to review the judgment of the Inquisition trial and carry out her execution (religious law prohibited the Church itself from doing this).

Suddenly, Joan cried out that she recanted (denounced) her revelations from the voices and submitted entirely to the church. A shocked Cauchon read to her a document, listing the charges of heresy against her. She accepted and signed it, thus saving herself from the fire. Cauchon sentenced her to imprisonment for life. The English were enraged that she would not be burned.

One of the conditions of accepting Joan back into the church was for her to abandon her male clothes and take on the dress of a woman. She did this, but a short time later put the male clothes on again. She said she took everything back she had just promised the church because the voices told her God was displeased she had betrayed him to save herself from the fire. Cauchon told Joan, "We declare you a relapsed heretic" for making her confession with a "false heart."

On May 30, 1431, Joan was taken by English soldiers to the marketplace of Rouen. The English were impatient and pressured Bishop Cauchon to hand her over directly to the executioner without first having the civil officials review her conviction and punishment.

Joan was bound to a stake on a platform for all to see and then set afire. As she perished, she cried "Jesus!" many times. Her ashes were thrown into the nearby Seine River. She was 19.

Primary Sources: How Do We Know So Much about Joan of Arc?

1. **The still-existing transcript of Joan of Arc's three-month trial**. While not word-for word, the transcript contains more detail of what Joan was asked and what she said than exists in the record of any other medieval Inquisition trial. Due to this primary source, we know about her childhood, Catholic faith, mission, aptitude for warfare, motivation, and ability to argue with highly educated church officials.
2. **The record of witness statements taken during Joan's re-trial.** In 1455, a Catholic Church commission interviewed 115 witnesses under oath about Joan's amazing life and heresy trial. The witnesses included Inquisition trial participants, but not Bishop Cauchon, who had died. Other witnesses were soldiers who fought beside her, her relatives and friends, common people from her village, nobles, and churchmen.
3. **Letters dictated by Joan.** Joan dictated about a dozen letters, three of them signed. The most famous is the "Letter to the English" that she sent to the Duke of Bedford and others before fighting them at Orleans. This letter reveals that she was bold not only in her desire for action, but also in her rhetoric even though she could not read or write.

The use of a primary source raises questions of its reliability. Is it authentic? Is it biased? Can it be verified by other sources? Most historians who have studied the primary sources by and about Joan of Arc say that they come closest to the truth about her as is possible after nearly 600 years. What do you think are the advantages of using primary source material?

End of the Hundred Years War

A few months after Joan of Arc was burned at the stake, 10-year-old King Henry VI of England was crowned Henri II of France at Paris. That meant France had two kings claiming the throne, since Charles VII refused to submit to the English.

The previously timid Charles grew in confidence and modernized his armies. He recaptured most of the English-held lands. In 1453, the French won the last major battle of the Hundred Years War. But the conflict lingered on into the next century until England lost is last foothold in France in 1558. The Hundred Years War, which lasted more than 100 years, proved to be the longest in world history.

* * * * *

In 1450, King Charles VII ordered an investigation, later joined by the Catholic Church, into Joan's heresy conviction. A church commission conducted a re-trial, which examined the Inquisition trial transcript and statements by many eyewitnesses. In 1456, the church cleared her of heresy. In 1920, it made her a saint.

Today, we know a lot about Joan the Maid. But mystery still remains surrounding her and those voices.

DISCUSSION & WRITING

1. Why do you think Joan of Arc, an illiterate peasant girl, became such an amazing military leader?
2. Some have called Joan of Arc's trial a political one rather than a religious one. Do you agree or disagree? Why?
3. How do you explain Joan of Arc's voices?

Excerpts from the Letter of Henry VI

Written at Rouen, June 8, 1431

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With wondrous presumption, this woman whom the common people called the Maid rose up against natural decency, clothed in men's attire and armed as a soldier, and dared to mingle in the slaughter of men in fierce combat, and to take part in battles. She even presumed to boast that she was sent by God to wage war, and that Michael, Gabriel, and a great host of other angels, along with the holy virgins Catherine and Margaret, visibly appeared to her.

* * *

At last, seeing his people thrust too readily toward new and dangerous beliefs before it was proved whether the spirit was from God, divine mercy took compassion on them and delivered the woman into our hands and power.

Although she had inflicted great damage upon our nation and brought many troubles to our kingdom . . . our intention was not at all to avenge the injury . . . . We were asked by the bishop in whose diocese she had been captured to surrender her for judgment to the jurisdiction of the church.

. . . Therefore, as befits a Christian king honoring [church] authority with a son's affection, we immediately delivered this woman to the judgment of Holy Mother Church. And [the bishop] conducted a most worthy trial in the matter, with great solemnity and suitable dignity . . . .

* * *

Now, in order for this wretched sinner to be cleansed of [her] wicked crimes . . . she was warned repeatedly for many days with kind entreaties to cast off all error, to enter the straight path of truth, and to beware the grave danger to her body and soul. But the spirit of pride had so filled her heart that sound doctrines and wholesome counsels could in no way soften her iron heart . . . . Worst of all, she acknowledged no earthly judge and would submit to no one but God alone . . . so scorning the judgment of our supreme [pope], the general council, and the universal church . . . . But before the reading [of her sentence] was concluded . . . she submitted to the rule of the church and with full voice recanted. . . . her errors and ruinous crimes . . . .

* * *

But the fire of her pride, which had seemed quenched, was revived by demonic winds and kindled into destructive flames, and the miserable woman returned to her errors and lying follies that she had earlier vomited forth. Finally . . . she was handed over to the judgment of [civil] authority, which determined that her body should be consumed by fire. Seeing her end near, the wretched woman openly acknowledged and plainly confessed that the spirits that she often claimed had appeared to her visibly were evil, lying spirits; that they had falsely promised to free her from prison, and she admitted that she had been tricked and deceived. . . .

ACTIVITY

Fair Account or Propaganda?

The "Letter of Henry VI to the Emperor, Kings, Dukes, and Other Christian Princes" was written several days after Joan of Arc was executed at Rouen. The letter was composed by the counselors of the English king, who was then 9 years old. The letter presented to Europe's leaders an account of Joan's life, trial, and execution.

1. Students in small groups should read the excerpts from this letter and investigate this question: **Was the letter of King Henry VI a fair account of Joan of Arc's life, trial, and execution, or was it English propaganda?**
2. Each group should compare the letter's account with that of the consensus of historians discussed in the article.
3 Each group should cite textual evidence from the letter and article to back up its conclusion.
4. The class should then hold a discussion of the activity question.

SAM HOUSTON: A STUDY IN LEADERSHIP

SAM HOUSTON WAS A LEADER WHO SOUGHT PRACTICAL SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS OF HIS TIME. HE FACED HIS GREATEST CHALLENGE DURING HIS FIGHT AGAINST TEXAS SECESSION FROM THE UNION.

Born in Virginia in 1793, Sam Houston moved with his family to Tennessee when he was 14. His father died soon afterward, leaving Sam's mother with a farm, a small store, nine children, and five slaves.

Sam hated school and refused to attend, but he learned to read and educated himself by reading his father's books. Bored with farming and clerking at the family store, he ran away at 17 and joined a peaceful tribe of Tennessee Cherokee Indians.

Sam took on the Cherokee ways and became fluent in their language. The chief, Oolooyeka ("He who puts away the war drum"), adopted him as his son. Sam also took a Cherokee name, "The Raven," a symbol of good luck.

Houston enlisted in the U.S. Army when the War of 1812 erupted on the frontier. He quickly advanced to become an officer under Gen. Andrew Jackson.

During the war, Houston fought the Creek Indians with Jackson and suffered severe wounds. When the war ended, he remained in the Army and became one of Jackson's favorite officers.

In 1817, Gen. Jackson appointed Houston as his special Indian agent. Jackson ordered Houston to relocate the Tennessee Cherokees across the Mississippi River to Arkansas. Houston faced a difficult dilemma because his adoptive father, Chief Oolooyeka, opposed the move. Houston took a pragmatic, or practical approach. He persuaded Chief Oolooyeka to leave Tennessee under favorable conditions arranged by Houston, which avoided the use of military force.

Houston left the Army in 1818 and returned to Tennessee where he studied law and opened a law office. He won election to the U.S. House of Representatives and served two terms. In 1827, he was elected governor of Tennessee.

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Among Sam Houston's many accomplishments, he was a U.S. senator, the governor of two different states, and even the president of Texas when it was an independent nation.

Two years later, Houston, 35, married Eliza Allen, 19. She was the daughter of a wealthy Tennessee planter. But almost immediately, the marriage fell apart, and Eliza returned to her parents. Most historians think she loved someone else and only married Houston to satisfy her socially ambitious parents.

Shocked and depressed, he soon resigned as governor and left Tennessee to again live with the Cherokees, this time in Arkansas.

A Texas Hero

Houston tried to start his life over again with the Cherokees. But he remained depressed about his failed marriage. He drank a lot. The Cherokees called him "Big Drunk."

Finally, President Jackson persuaded Houston to meet with the Comanches, probably the most warlike tribe in the Southwest. His mission was to get them to agree not to attack the Eastern tribes Jackson planned to remove across the Mississippi River. In 1832, Houston crossed into Texas, then a part of Mexico, to reach the Comanches.

Texas already had a sizeable American immigrant population as Spain and later Mexico had encouraged settlers to come and help develop the empty land. Many Americans from the South brought their slaves with them. This was illegal under Mexican law, but the law was not enforced.

Texas and Chihuahua were combined into one Mexican state. The American immigrants, calling themselves "Texians," wanted Texas to be a separate Mexican state with strong self-rule.

Houston did not succeed in arranging a treaty with the Comanches, but he decided to stay and become a Texian. He secured two land grants, started a law practice, and soon became involved in the movement to make Texas a separate Mexican state.

In 1834, Gen. Santa Anna, calling himself the "Napoleon of the West," took on dictatorial powers in Mexico City. He quickly abolished all state governments and replaced them with governors whom he appointed.

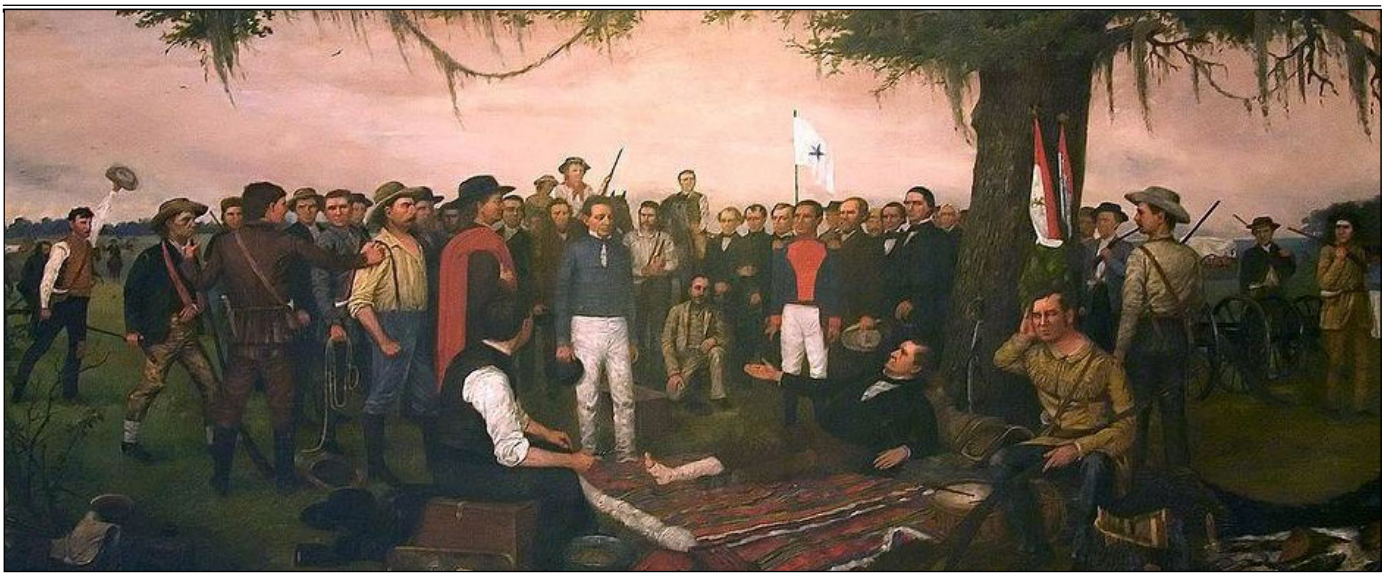
Alarmed by Santa Anna's actions, Texians met in a convention to debate what to do. Houston spoke against declaring independence since he thought that it would lead to a war with Mexico that the Texians were not ready to fight.

The convention finally sent Stephen Austin to present the Texas case for statehood and self-rule to Santa Anna. But the Mexican leader imprisoned Austin. Set free more than a year later, Austin returned to Texas and argued that the only path to take was independence and war.

At another convention on March 2, 1836, Houston and the other Texian delegates voted to declare the independence of the Republic of Texas. The convention also appointed Houston commander in chief of all Texas military forces.

Even before the convention adjourned, word arrived that Santa Anna with a large army had crossed the Rio Grande River and was attacking the Alamo, an old fortified Spanish mission in San Antonio. Houston, however, did not yet have a Texas army.

Santa Anna's army conquered the Alamo and captured the Texian garrison at Goliad, killing most of the



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A painting depicts Santa Anna surrendering to the wounded Sam Houston after the Battle of San Jacinto, 1836.

soldiers who had surrendered. Santa Anna then organized an attack across Texas to crush the rebellion. Houston quickly assembled volunteers for the Texas army, but needed time to train them and the right opportunity to attack. Buying time, he retreated from Santa Anna's invading army, causing many to call him a coward.

Finally, an overconfident Santa Anna led an advance unit of his much larger army closer to Houston and camped at San Jacinto. This was the opportunity Houston wanted.

On April 21, 1836, Houston on horseback led the Texians together with a unit of Tejanos (Texas Mexicans) in a surprise attack on Santa Anna's camp. Houston's fighters, yelling "Remember the Alamo," slaughtered the Mexican soldiers. Most important, they captured the "Napoleon of the West" himself. In exchange for his life, Santa Anna signed an agreement sending the rest of his army back to Mexico.

Houston was badly wounded in the ankle. But his strategy of waiting for the right moment to attack made him a Texas hero.

President Houston

In September 1836, Houston was overwhelmingly elected the first president of the Republic of Texas. He served two terms as president separated by a term in the Texas Congress.

Houston released Santa Anna after the dictator promised to recognize Texas independence. Once in Mexico City, however, he broke his promise, claiming Texas was still part of Mexico.

Houston opposed schemes by Texas hot heads to invade Mexico and occupy territory south of the Rio Grande. Invading Mexico was not practical, he said, because "We have no money!"

As president of Texas, Houston took a number of unpopular stances. He condemned the brutal treatment of Cherokees and other peaceful Texas tribes by white vigilantes. To settle differences between Indians and whites, he negotiated just treaties. He also refused to enforce a law that gave free blacks two years to leave Texas or be re-enslaved.

In between his two terms as president, Houston finally divorced his first wife, still living in Tennessee. In 1840 at age 47, he married 21-year-old Margaret Lea from Alabama. During their marriage, they lived in various houses and farms with a dozen slaves. She gave birth to eight children. She also sobered him up.

From the beginning of his presidency, Houston strongly pushed for annexing Texas to the U.S. He realized that the republic had little hope of defending itself against hostile foreign powers. After some stalling, the U.S. Congress voted to annex Texas to the Union in 1845.

Texas citizens voted for annexation in a referendum by an overwhelming majority. The new Texas state legislature elected Houston as one of its two U.S. senators. (The direct election of U.S. senators by the voters did not occur until 1913.)

Senator Houston

Sen. Sam Houston, who declared himself a Democrat, first arrived in Washington in early 1846. He was immediately involved in Senate debates on war with Mexico. Santa Anna disputed the new international boundary with the U.S., following its annexation of Texas. After clashes between Mexican and American troops, Santa Anna declared war on the U.S.

President Polk urged Congress to declare war on Mexico, which it did with Houston's full support in May 1846. Many Southerners favored the war because the U.S. would likely acquire new western territories that would enable the expansion of slavery and admission of new slave states.

Houston's upbringing in the South influenced his beliefs about slavery. He defended slavery and believed that whites were superior to blacks. But he once said that Indians and black slaves were equally intelligent. The difference between them, he explained, was that Indians were born free and raised to be self-reliant, while black slaves were born as property with their lives forever controlled by their owners.

Unlike most Southern slave owners, Houston allowed his own slaves to learn to read, write, and do arithmetic. They could also keep any money they earned when they worked for others.

Houston believed that suddenly abolishing slavery would ruin the

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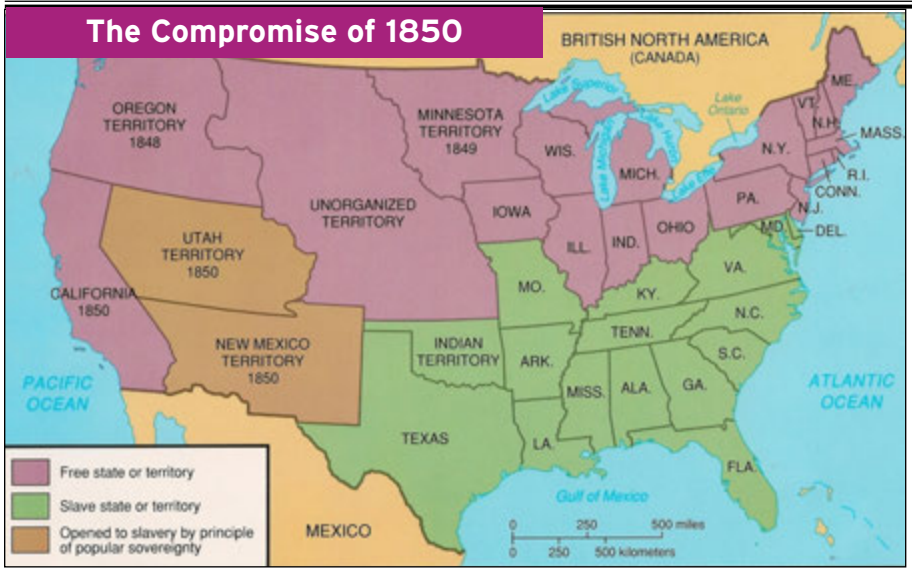

economy of the South and result in large numbers of former slaves "cast into the streets," unemployed and impoverished. He believed it was better for the North and South to work on a compromise, perhaps by sponsoring the return of freed slaves to a colony in Africa.

After the war with Mexico, the question of slavery in the newly acquired lands in the West became heated in the Senate. Houston criticized both the Northern abolitionists for their "mad fanaticism" and the Southern extremists for their "mad ambition."

South Carolina's Sen. John C. Calhoun threatened secession from the Union unless slavery was permitted in Oregon and the Mexican Cession territories. Houston argued that the climate and nature of agriculture in the West did not make plantation slave labor practical.

The Compromise of 1850 admitted California as a free state but required that slaves who had escaped to the North be returned to their owners. Many Southerners fought against the compromise since it did not guarantee the right to own slaves in all the Western territories. Houston voted for the compromise.

Three years later, Sen. Stephen Douglas, a Democrat from Illinois, proposed the Kansas-Nebraska Act. This would leave it up to the people of these new territories to vote whether they wanted slavery or not. The act would repeal that part the 1820 Missouri Compromise that prohibited slavery north the 36° 30' line of latitude from the Mississippi to the Pacific.

Southern slaveholders supported the Kansas-Nebraska Act because it opened the door to expanding slavery into the West. Northern abolitionists hated it. Houston feared the repeal of the Missouri Compromise would threaten the protection of slavery in Southern states south of the 36° 30' line.

In 1854, Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Houston voted against it and was viciously attacked as a traitor to the South.

Fight Against Secession

In 1859, Houston ran for governor of Texas. He campaigned against extremists who favored secession from the Union and reopening the African slave trade (banned by Congress in 1808). Secession, he warned, would only lead to a civil war the South could not win. He argued that the best way to resolve the slavery issue was by compromise within the Union.

Houston criticized both the Northern abolitionists for their 'mad fanaticism' and the Southern extremists for their 'mad ambition.'

Houston's moderate and pragmatic positions on the slavery issue helped him win the governorship of Texas. But a few months later, John Brown raided the federal armory at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, and threatened to arm a slave rebellion. Most Texans now believed that the intention of the Northern abolitionists was to destroy the Southern economy and way of life. From then on, the secessionists had the upper hand in Texas.

In the crucial presidential election of 1860, the dominant Democratic Party split apart. Northerners supported Stephen Douglas, who ran on his idea of letting the voters decide the slavery issue in the Western territories. Southern Democrats nominated their own candidate, who called for secession from the Union unless slavery was permitted in the Western territories.

The Republican Party nominated Abraham Lincoln, who opposed the spread of slavery. Lincoln was not an abolitionist, but most Southerners distrusted him.

Other candidates, including Sam Houston, entered the presidential race. Although officially a Democrat, Houston despised the secretive politics at party nominating conventions. He preferred to be thrust up for election by the people themselves. A group of Texas supporters gathered at the San Jacinto battlefield and voted to nominate him for president. He agreed to run. Surprisingly, Houston had supporters in the North, especially in New York.

A few months later, thinking he had no chance for election, he withdrew his name as a candidate. He spent the rest of the campaign pleading to keep the Union together (see sidebar on page 9).

Lincoln's election on November 6, 1860 ignited the secession movement in Texas and the rest of the South. A month later, South Carolina was the first to secede from the Union.

The Texas state legislature was not in session, and it alone could authorize a secession convention. Houston stalled and refused to call a special session of the legislature, hoping delay would calm things down. But in January 1861, he brought the legislature back to Austin, the state capital. He tried to persuade the state legislators to hold off authorizing a convention, but they voted overwhelmingly for it.

The convention met quickly and voted almost unanimously to approve leaving the Union. Then in a referendum, 75 percent of Texas voters approved secession. Even most non-slaveholders

seemed to believe that only by seceding from the Union could they maintain their economic well-being.

Houston accepted the will of the people, but challenged the convention when it voted for Texas to join the Confederacy. He argued neither the legislature nor the voters had called for that action. But the convention ignored him. It ordered all state officials to take an oath of allegiance to the Confederacy, but Houston refused. The convention then removed him from office.

The convention made it clear that Houston was no longer welcome in Austin. His friends tried to persuade him to use armed force to remain as governor. Even Lincoln sent messages, offering him aid. But Houston rejected the idea of starting a civil war within Texas.

Houston left Austin with his family. A few days later, he said to a crowd of Union supporters:

> The civil war is now near at hand and will be stubborn and of long duration. . . . The soil of our beloved South will drink deep the precious blood of our sons and brethren.

'Texas! Texas! Margaret'

Houston reluctantly supported Texas in the Civil War. His oldest son, Sam Jr., joined a Texas volunteer infantry unit and was severely wounded at the Battle of Shiloh.

In September 1862, Lincoln issued his preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. Freeing one's own slaves was illegal in Texas. But Houston gathered his dozen slaves at his home, read Lincoln's proclamation to them, and declared them free.

In his last days, Houston still plotted to rescue Texas from the disaster of defeat. He wanted Texas to secede from the Confederacy and become an independent republic again with himself as its leader. "The people will uphold me in this," he said, "and with God's help we will save Texas." Nothing came of his idea: Texas remained in the Confederacy.

Houston's health declined rapidly, partly due to wounds from the War of 1812 that never healed properly. His last words to his wife as he lay dying were, "Texas! Texas! Margaret." He died of pneumonia at age 70 on July 26, 1863 only days after the decisive Union victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg.

Sam Houston's Speech at a Mass Meeting for Preserving the Union

Austin, Texas September 22, 1860

In this excerpt, Houston gave his reasons for Texas remaining in the Union.

Power, wealth, expansion, victory, have followed [the American people], and yet the . . . Union has been broad enough to [include] all. Is it not worth perpetuating? Will you exchange this for all the hazards, the anarchy and carnage of civil war? Do you believe it will be [divided] and no shock felt by society? You are asked to plunge into a revolution; but are you told how to get out of it? Not so. . . .

What is there that is free that we have not? Are our rights invaded and no Government ready to protect them? No! Are our institutions wrested from us and others foreign to our taste forced upon us? No! Is the right of free speech, a free press, or free suffrage taken from us? No! Has our property been taken from us and the Government failed to interpose when called upon? No! No, none of these!. . .

I come not here to speak in behalf of a united South against Lincoln, I appeal to the nation. I ask not the defeat of sectionalism by sectionalism, but by nationality. The Union is worth more than Mr. Lincoln, and if the battle is to be fought for the Constitution, let us fight it in the Union and for the sake of the Union.

1. **In the first paragraph, why does Houston believe preserving the Union is better than disunion?**
2. **In the second paragraph, what overall point does Houston seem to be making with his series of questions?**
3. **In the last paragraph, what method does Houston propose to resolve the issues that divided the North and South?**

DISCUSSION & WRITING

1. Do you think Sam Houston's experience with the Cherokees influenced his career as a leader? Explain.
2. What evidence is there that Sam Houston was neither an anti-slavery abolitionist nor a pro-slavery extremist?
3. Do you think Sam Houston as a pragmatic leader was a success or a failure? Why?

ACTIVITY

A Better Choice for President?

1. Based on the information in the article, each student should write an essay on this question: **Knowing now what happened after Lincoln was elected, do you think Sam Houston would have made a better choice for president in 1860?**
2. The students will then meet in small groups and hold a collaborative discussion on the question, trying to reach consensus if possible.
3. Each group will finally report and give the reasons for the results of its discussion.

MARGARET THATCHER
AND CONSERVATIVE POLITICS IN ENGLAND

Wikimedia Commons

Nicknamed the "Iron Lady," Margaret Thatcher (1925–2013) served longer than any other UK prime minister in the 20th century.

IN A HISTORIC ELECTION IN 1979, VOTERS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM (UK) ELECTED MARGARET THATCHER TO BE PRIME MINISTER. SHE WAS THE FIRST WOMAN ELECTED TO THAT OFFICE. SHE WENT ON TO BE THE LONGEST-SERVING PRIME MINISTER IN THE 20TH CENTURY. AS HEAD OF THE UK GOVERNMENT AND LEADER OF THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY, THATCHER PROVOKED CONTROVERSY. EVEN AFTER HER DEATH IN 2013, SHE REMAINS A HERO TO SOME AND A VILLAIN TO OTHERS.

Born in 1925, Thatcher was the daughter of Alfred Roberts, a middle-class grocer in the town of Grantham, England. Young Margaret Roberts, her sister, mother, and father lived in an apartment above one of Alfred's two grocery stores. Later, Thatcher said of her family that "we always lived within our means." Her father was involved in local politics and was elected as mayor of Grantham for a year in 1945.

Margaret Roberts entered Oxford University in 1943 to study chemistry. She worked on a project of X-ray crystallography, supervised by Dorothy Hodgkin, who later won a Nobel Prize in chemistry. While in college, she developed an interest in politics and served as president of the Oxford Conservative Association.

The Conservative Party, also called the Tory Party, is one of two major parties in England along with the more liberal-left Labour Party (in the UK, the word "labor" is spelled *labour*). Conservatism is a political ideology that generally supports private property rights, a limited government, a strong national defense, and the importance of tradition in society. The Labour Party grew out of the trade union movement in the 19th century, and it traditionally supports the interests of working people, who want better wages, working conditions, and job security.

After college, Roberts worked as a chemist for a plastics company. She still had an interest in Conservative Party politics and even in running for office. She met Denis Thatcher, a wealthy businessman, at a Conservative Party conference, and the two married in 1951. Soon after, she studied law and became a tax lawyer. In 1959, she was elected to the House of Commons in Parliament.

From then on, Thatcher's career was entirely in politics. From 1959 until 1970, she served in Parliament. In 1970, Conservative Party Prime Minister Edward Heath appointed her education secretary, part of his Cabinet (government officials in charge of departments). As secretary, she made a controversial decision to end the government's distribution of free milk to schoolchildren aged 7 to 11. The press revealed that she privately opposed ending the free-milk policy, but the Treasury Department had pressured her to cut government spending.

'Who Governs Britain?'

Struggles between the UK government and trade unions marked Thatcher's career. In the 1970s, the UK's economy experienced inflation, which devalued the currency and made goods and services more expensive. Prime Minister Heath attempted to fight inflation by capping pay raises for public employees. This affected coal miners, who worked for the government. In protest in 1973, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) had the miners slow down their work to the bare minimum, which reduced the supply of coal.

Heath responded with an energy-saving policy called Three-Day Week, which limited non-essential businesses to only three consecutive days a week to consume energy. This put the government and NUM further into

conflict. Miners found their hours and wages cut. They went on strike in 1974. In the midst of this conflict, Heath called for a parliamentary election, which UK prime ministers may do. Heath's campaign slogan was "Who governs Britain?," which was a challenge to the NUM. But Heath and the Conservatives lost, and the Labour Party won.

The following year, Thatcher defeated Heath to become the leader of the opposition. This is an official position in Parliament, filled by the leader of the largest minority party in the House of Commons. The position enabled Thatcher to speak prominently about the ever-weakening British economy, the threat of the Soviet Union in world affairs, and other concerns.

When the Labour government of Prime Minister James Callaghan had its own troubles with trade unions, Thatcher seized an opportunity. With inflation skyrocketing, Callaghan imposed pay caps on public employees, much like Heath before him. Many trade unions went on nationwide strikes during the winter of 1978–79, known as the "Winter of Discontent." Piles of garbage went uncollected. In some areas, gravediggers left bodies unburied. Thatcher called for a new election. When Callaghan did not hold a new election, Thatcher called the Labour government "chickens."

Then, in March 1979, Thatcher made a motion in Parliament for a vote of no-confidence in Callaghan. In this kind of vote, members of Parliament vote up or down whether they want to continue having their current prime minister (and majority party). Callaghan lost by one vote, which forced a general election by the people.

Thatcher ran against Callaghan, whose popularity was sinking. The Conservative Party hired an advertising agency, Saatchi & Saatchi, to design an ad for the election. The agency came up with a poster that read in bold letters "Labour Isn't Working" above an image of what looked like an unemployment line. This novel political move helped sway public opinion further against Callaghan's Labour government. In the May 1979 general election, the Conservative Party won a majority of seats in Parliament, making Margaret Thatcher prime minister.

First Female Prime Minister

Thatcher's 1979 election was newsworthy partly because she was the first woman to be prime minister of the UK. Unfortunately, some men in Parliament were condescending to her simply because she was a woman in a strong leadership role. One said that arguing with her was "prototypical" of arguing with a woman, having "no rational sequence."

She downplayed the fact that she was a woman, however, and never embraced the feminist movement. "You see," she later said, "you do not actually elect women Prime Ministers. . . . You elect a person . . . and the fact that they are either men or women is secondary."

The agency came up with a poster that read in bold letters 'Labour Isn't Working'

In fact, she was more proud of being the first scientist to become prime minister than being the first woman in that role. During her three terms as prime minister, she never appointed one woman to a Cabinet position. She did, however, make thousands of positions in the army open to women. She also supported abortion rights for women throughout her political career.

Ending the Consensus

Thatcher's victory did more than end the rule of the Labour Party. She and her supporters had long hoped to shake up the Conservative Party. "If a Tory does not believe that private property is one of the main bulwarks of individual freedom," Thatcher wrote in 1975, "then he had better become a socialist and have done with it."

As prime minister, Thatcher's main challenge was to reduce inflation. Neither the previous Conservative nor Labour governments had managed to do that. Thatcher believed that a big part of the problem was that the Conservative Party was not confrontational enough.

Since World War II, the UK had been run under what was known as a "consensus" between Labour and Conservatives over a welfare state, collecting taxes and borrowing money to fund welfare programs and services for the public. Both parties supported the welfare state and also trade unions, even though they disagreed about how the welfare state should be run, how much it should provide, and how much power the trade unions should have. For example, both parties agreed that the government should provide universal healthcare and national unemployment insurance for all citizens.

Most of the Tory leaders in Parliament were from the upper class and had inherited their wealth. They were called "one-nation Tories" because they accepted the consensus. Many of them also felt a sense of *noblesse oblige*, the obligation of nobles to take care of the lower classes.

Margaret Thatcher was different. She had humbler middle-class beginnings. She had married a wealthy man, but she was independent-minded and had studied science and law. She intended to shake up the consensus, which she felt had led to uncontrollable inflation and a culture of dependence on government. This culture had allowed the trade unions to have too much influence on government.

The Basis of Thatcherism

Since studying at Oxford, she had developed an interest in the theories of Austrian economist Friedrich von Hayek, a winner of the Nobel Prize in economics. Hayek favored minimal government control over businesses and the economy. Thatcher had enough support within her party to put into practice several of Hayek's ideas. One of these ideas was privatization, taking away government control of key industries and businesses.

She also liked the ideas of Milton Friedman, an American economist and also a Nobel Prize winner. Friedman was a monetarist, which means he believed the way to lower inflation was to control the supply of money in a nation's economy. Simply put, the more money in an economy, the less it is worth. That causes inflation. More important, the nation's money supply should grow at fixed rates, so businesses can plan accordingly and adjust how many goods or services they can afford to supply. In turn, the government lowers taxes and does not

control prices or wages.

Thatcher used privatization and monetarism as the main ways to accomplish her goals and end the consensus. These policies came to be known early on as "Thatcherism." Throughout most of the 1980s, Thatcherism did reduce inflation.

Another element of Thatcherism was strong nationalism and the use of military and police power. In 1982, the military of Argentina invaded the Falkland Islands in the South Atlantic. The Falklands had been a colony of the UK since 1840, but the Argentine *junta* (military dictatorship), which was in power in 1982, disputed the UK's claim to the islands. In response to the invasion, Thatcher sent the Royal Navy and Army to reclaim the island.

She made a controversial decision to torpedo an Argentinian ship, the *General Belgrano*, which was sailing outside the "exclusion zone," where military engagement was allowed. Unless the *Belgrano* was directly threatening British ships, the use of a torpedo against it would be an act of aggression. The sinking of the ship killed more than 320 Argentine sailors, and Thatcher's decision was criticized in Parliament.

The UK was victorious in the Falklands War, which lasted two months. Despite many critics of the *Belgrano* incident, Thatcher's popularity soared. Partly based on sweeping nationalistic pride, Thatcher was able to fully implement her plan to end the consensus. By 1984, when she was elected a second time, she had fired almost all of the one-nation Tories from her Cabinet.

Popular Capitalism

A nationalized industry is owned and operated by a nation's government. The way for government to privatize, then, is for government to sell off its nationalized industries to private corporations. Soon after Thatcher's election in 1979, her government began the process by selling the profitable companies British Aerospace and British Cable & Wireless. Thatcher hoped that privatizing these companies would reduce government borrowing and thus reduce government debt.

After 1982, her government decided to privatize large utilities. It sold Britoil and later British Gas, the national oil and gas companies, respectively. During Thatcher's second and third terms in office, the government sold the British water and electric utilities. In total, the Thatcher government privatized more than 50 companies, including the Jaguar automobile company, British Steel, and British Airways.

Wikimedia Commons/Nick from Bristol, UK

Supporters of the miners' strike march in London in 1984.

Thatcher used the term "popular capitalism" to describe privatization in the 1980s. "Popular capitalism is nothing less than a crusade to enfranchise the many in the economic life of the nation," she told the Conservative Party in 1986. "We Conservatives are returning power to the people."

Popular capitalism, however, provoked controversy and even fierce resistance. When Thatcher announced a plan to privatize coal mines in March 1984, the plan included closing 20 mining pits for good. Many in the NUM, the union that had brought about the defeat of Edward Heath in 1974, were angered. But Thatcher was determined not to suffer Heath's fate.

In response to the plan, the new NUM president, Arthur Scargill, called for a national miners' strike. Scargill was a socialist, and he believed that Thatcherism harmed the UK. He and his supporters argued that the closures of the mines would lead to the loss of 20,000 jobs. Unemployment had already reached 3 million since Thatcher took office.

Thatcher argued that the mining pits were unprofitable, and job losses were inevitable. But she also argued that the strike itself was illegal. The NUM constitution called for a national ballot of miners to decide whether to strike. In April 1984, when Scargill could not get the required 55 percent approval vote, a special delegation of the NUM changed the rule to a simple majority of 51 percent and approved the strike. But a high court in September declared that the strike was indeed illegal.

Nonetheless, the strike lasted a year and was marked by violent episodes. Miners who refused to strike and continued working met threats and occasional assaults by some strikers. Notable violence occurred between thousands of police and strikers at Orgreave in June 1984. Scargill planned for about 5,000 miners to block convoys of coal-fuel (coke) convoys there. About 10,000 police, gathered from all over Britain, confronted the miners. Violent clashes ensued, and dozens of people were injured on both sides. In response to the "Battle of Orgreave," Thatcher called the strike "an attempt to substitute the rule of the mob for the rule of law."

At the height of the strike, but unrelated to the strike itself, she survived a bombing by a radical Irish nationalist. Five others were killed. The question of Northern Ireland's independence had been a longstanding and extremely contentious issue. The day after the bombing, Thatcher gave a speech to the Conservative Party and said, "And now it must be business as usual." Business as usual included ending the miners' strike.

The end was still months away. Because a 1980 law banned strikers' families from receiving welfare benefits, many of them relied on handouts in 1984 and 1985. After a year out of work, exhausted NUM delegates agreed to abandon the strike without even getting an agreement with the Thatcher government.

As a result, Thatcher achieved part of her popular capitalist goal. Largely because of the failed miners' strike, all trade unions were weakened. Union membership fell from 12 million in the 1970s to almost half that by the end of her administration in 1990. The coal mines were not privatized, however, until 1994.

Excerpt from Labour Party Leader Neil Kinnock's Speech to the Labour Party Conference

October 3, 1989 in Brighton, England

Neil Kinnock was the leader of the Labour Party and leader of the opposition from 1983 until 1992, during most of Thatcher's years as prime minister. In the excerpt below, Kinnock criticizes her record in power.

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[The Japanese] gave her a lovely reception. They had all the bands out, red carpets. But let's face it: if we had a relationship with a country and they had had a £1 billion trade deficit with us in 1979 and now they had a £5 billion trade deficit with us, I would give them the red carpet treatment. They could have my ticket for the Arms Park. There would be nothing too big.

Japan is a fairly good place to go to listen and to learn. That did not happen when Mrs Thatcher went there. As usual, Mrs Thatcher went there to lecture. She went to instruct the Japanese that if only they would de-regulate, implement free trade policies and remove exchange controls, they too could enjoy the same level of unbounded success as Britain has under Mrs Thatcher. That is what she was telling them. She told them – and she tells us – that we have been enjoying an economic 'miracle.' [Cabinet member] Nigel Lawson says the same, that we are enjoying a 'miracle.' *The Sun*, the *Daily Mail* and even some of the newspapers say the same thing. I suppose it is a miracle of a sort, because if you think about it, when Moses parted the Red Sea and took the children of Israel across, that was a miracle. The trouble was that in the middle of the same miracle along came Pharoah's army. They got onto the bottom of the Red Sea and it all closed in on them: We have been going through this miracle from the Pharoah's army eye-view.

But it has been a miracle, truly. We have had oil wealth that none of our major competitor countries has had. At the end of that ten years, Britain has got two million unemployed still – recorded unemployed – the highest inflation rate of any industrialised country, the highest interest rates of any industrialised country, the biggest balance of payments deficit by far of any industrialised country and, to go with it, something that is not too frequently disclosed, a huge net outflow of long term capital. . . . The worst news is that underlying those figures of failure – indeed causing those conditions – is the Tories' refusal, year after year, to make the essential commitment to the productive base of the economy: education and training, research and development, science and the transport and communications system are all objects of gross neglect. We are the only major industrialised country that in the last ten years has continually spent a lower and lower proportion of our gross national product on education; everybody else has been increasing it. Where could be the sense in that?

Excerpt from Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's Speech to the Conservative Party Conference

October 13, 1989, in Blackpool, England

A short time after Kinnock's speech, Thatcher delivered a speech on her government's accomplishments to her party.

Wikimedia Commons

Ten years ago, we set out together on a great venture. To provide a new lexicon for prosperity. To replace "It can't be done," with "I'll have a go." and we succeeded. Yes, there are still serious problems to tackle and I'll come to them in a moment. But let us set them against the massive achievements of our period in office. Industry – modernised at a pace unrivalled in the post-war years. Productivity in manufacturing – gains far exceeding those in Europe and North America. Profits – the best for 20 years, leading to investment at record levels. Jobs – more people in work in Britain than ever before. Living standards – higher than we have ever known. Reducing the national debt – not piling it up for our children to repay. Privatisation – five industries that together were losing over £2 million a week in the public sector, now making profits of over £100 million a week in the private sector. That is the measure of our achievements. But if you really want to see how the economy is doing, look at the newspapers. No, I didn't say read them. Just count the ones that didn't exist before 1979 – and weigh the ones that did.

And if you're still not satisfied, talk to the Americans and Japanese. They are investing more in Britain than in any other European country. Moreover, for the first time in years there are as many British as there are German companies in the top 100 in Europe. and, further, of these, six of the seven top earners are British or part British. And, with all these achievements under our belt, who presumes to advise us on inflation? Labour – who hold the record for the highest inflation for 50 years: 27 per cent. . . . [A]ll inflation is painful. So is reducing it. But in 1982, we got it down to 5 per cent and by 1986 to 3 per cent. Today, inflation is 7.6 per cent. For a Conservative Government that's far too high. We must get it down again. And we will.

[W]hen the choice is between high rates now or persistent higher inflation later, with all the damage that would do, the choice is clear. Inflation will come down through the use of high interest rates, as it has in the past. And so it must, for the rest of the world isn't standing still. America, Japan, West Germany – they're all investing, modernising, and cutting costs. To stay competitive, we must do the same. . . . Only by steadily improving efficiency will we win and keep our share of the world's markets. Britain's economy is strong. When inflation is beaten – and it will be – Britain will be stronger still.

The Legacy of the 'Iron Lady'

In 1980, Ronald Reagan was elected president of the U.S. In him, Thatcher found a kindred spirit, for they both shared a devotion to capitalist economics and a disdain for Communism and its influence in the world. In fact, it was a Soviet journalist who gave her the nickname the "Iron Lady" for her adamant defense of the West against Soviet influence.

"Iron" also described her refusal to back down on issues. With inflation rates rising high during her third term, her government instituted a community charge to pay for local-government services. The community charge, also called a poll tax, was a per-capita tax (per each adult). Since it charged every adult — rich or poor — the same amount, it was a regressive tax. Highly unpopular, the tax provoked riots and caused Conservative members of Parliament to break

ranks with the prime minister over the issue. She also angered members of her Cabinet and European leaders by refusing to negotiate on European currency issues. With her popularity dwindling, she chose to resign from office rather than change her mind on these issues. In 1990, John Major, a Tory and member of Thatcher's Cabinet, succeeded her as prime minister and abolished the poll tax.

Her strong will gave her a mixed legacy. Levels of unemployment, poverty, and home foreclosures reached record highs during her years as prime minister. Public spending reached a record low. The labor movement in the UK has never recovered from her government's confrontations with the NUM.

On the other hand, home ownership and private-sector service jobs boomed under Thatcher. Even the Labour Party accepted elements of Thatcherism in the 1990s, such as privatization. In other words, her bid to radically change her party and the UK succeeded, even though she did not permanently tackle inflation. Her administration marked a turning point for the UK, or perhaps a point of no return.

Wikimedia Commons

Prime Minister Thatcher's time in office (1979–1990) overlapped with President Ronald Reagan's two terms in office (1981–1989), and the two conservative leaders forged a close relationship.

DISCUSSION & WRITING

1. Critics called Thatcher ruthless as a politician; admirers called her tenacious in standing up for her principles. What evidence is there in the reading for either or both of these characterizations?
2. Do you agree or disagree with Thatcher's statement: "We Conservatives are returning power to the people"? What examples from the reading support your position?
3. The U.S. Congress is often criticized for too much partisan fighting. Reread the section "Ending the Consensus." Do you think this kind of consensus would be a proper way of running the U.S. government? Or should political parties stick to their ideologies and fight to implement them? Why?

CLOSE-READING ACTIVITY

Conservative vs. Labour

Each student should have a copy of the two speeches on page 13. Divide students into pairs.

Student instructions:

1. Read the excerpts of both speeches ("documents") silently to yourself. Note the dates for each as well as the speaker, setting, and audience. Underline two or three main points in each document. Circle words or phrases that you do not understand or need to look up. After reading, discuss the main points with your partner and try to reach agreement on what the documents are about. Read aloud the words or phrases that you do not understand and see if your partner can help explain them to you.
2. Re-read the excerpts, this time put a question mark in the margin next to any paragraph or sentence that you have a question about. Write down your questions on a separate sheet of paper if the margin does not give you enough room.
3. After re-reading, share your questions about the text with your partner. Determine if your partner can help you answer them, or if you need to look up more information.
4. Using the documents, answer the following questions. Specifically cite passages from the documents as evidence for your answers. When citing evidence, quote particular passages (and state the line number the passages are on).
   a. How does each speaker describe the British economy?
   b. What images does each speaker describe in order to criticize the other?
   c. Do either of them use a literary reference? If so, what is it, and why do you think it is used?
   d. What different ways do the speakers characterize Britain's relations with the country of Japan?
   e. In what ways does each speaker use sarcasm to criticize the other?
5. Using the main article and documents, answer this question: Were Neil Kinnock's criticisms of Thatcher's government valid? Explain.
6. Be prepared to report your answers, with reasons and evidence, to the class.

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Standards

Joan of Arc

National High School World History Standard 23: Understands patterns of crisis and recovery in Afro-Eurasia between 1300 and 1450. (9) Understands the significance of Joan of Arc (e.g., her role in the Hundred Years War, her subsequent trial and execution, the Church's review of her trial 25 years later, and her revered image as a patron saint of France).

California History-Social Science Standard 7.6: Students analyze the geographic, political, economic, religious, and social structures of the civilizations of Medieval Europe. (3) Understand the development of feudalism, its role in the medieval European economy, the way in which it was influenced by physical geography (the role of the manor and the growth of towns), and how feudal relationships provided the foundation of political order. (8) Understand the importance of the Catholic church as a political, intellectual, and aesthetic institution (e.g. founding of universities, political and spiritual roles of the clergy. . . .).

Common Core Standard RH.6-8.1 and RH.9-10.1: Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources.

Common Core Standard RI.7.8: Trace and evaluate the argument and specific claims in a text, assessing whether the reasoning is sound and the evidence is relevant and sufficient to support the claims.

Common Core Standard RI.9-10.8: Delineate and evaluate the argument and specific claims in a text, assessing whether the reasoning is valid and the evidence is relevant and sufficient; identify false statements and fallacious reasoning.

Sam Houston

National High School U.S. History Standard 9: Understands the United States territorial expansion between 1801 and 1861, and how it affected relations with external powers and Native Americans. (3) Understands shifts in federal and state policy toward Native Americans in the first half of the 19th century (e.g., arguments for and against removal policy, changing policies from assimilation to removal and isolation after 1825). (6) Understands Mexican and American perspectives of events leading up to the Mexican-American War (e.g., the Alamo, the treatment of Mexicans and Cherokees loyal to the Texas Revolution in the Lone Star Republic prior to 1846).

National High School U.S. History Standard 11: Understands the extension, restriction, and reorganization of political democracy after 1800. (2) Understands the positions of northern antislavery advocates and southern proslavery spokesmen on a variety of issues (e.g., race, chattel slavery, the nature of the Union, states' rights).

National High School U.S. History Standard 13: Understands the causes of the Civil War. (2) Understands events that fueled the political and sectional conflict over slavery and ultimately polarized the North and the South (e.g., the Missouri Compromise, the Wilmot Proviso, the Kansas-Nebraska Act)

California History-Social Science Standard 8.7: Students analyze the divergent paths of the American people in the South from 1800 to the mid-1800s and the challenges they faced. (2) Trace the development of slavery; its effects on black Americans and on the region's political, social, religious, economic, and cultural development; and identify the strategies that were tried to both overturn and preserve it. . . .

California History-Social Science Standard 8.8: Students analyze the divergent paths of American people in the West from 1800 to the mid-1800s and the challenges they faced. (6) Describe the Texas War for Independence and the Mexican-American War, including territorial settlements, the aftermath of the wars, and the effects the wars had on the lives of Americans. . . .

California History-Social Science Standard 8.9: Students analyze the early and steady attempts to abolish slavery and to realize the ideals of the Declaration of Independence. (4) Discuss the importance of the slavery issue as raised by the annexation of Texas and California's admission to the union as a free state under the Compromise of 1850. (5) Analyze the significance of the States' Rights Doctrine. . . , the Compromise of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854). . . .

California History-Social Science Standard 8.10: Students analyze the multiple causes, key events, and complex consequences of the Civil War. (3) Identify the Constitutional issues posed by the doctrine of nullification and secession. . . .

Common Core Standard WHST.6-8.1 and 11-12.1: Write arguments focused on discipline specific content. . . .

Common Core Standard RH.6-8.2 and 11-12.2: Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source. . . .

Common Core Standard SL.11-12.1: Initiate and participate effectively in a range of collaborative discussions (one-on-one, in groups, and teacher led) with diverse partners on grades 11-12 topics, texts, and issues, building on others' ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.

Margaret Thatcher

National High School Civics Standard 5: Understands the major characteristics of systems of shared powers and of parliamentary systems. (2) Understands the major characteristics of parliamentary systems . . . . (3) Understands the relative advantages and disadvantages of the various ways power is distributed, shared, and limited in systems of shared powers and parliamentary systems . . . .

California History-Social Science Standard 12.9: Students analyze the origins, characteristics, and development of different political systems across time, with emphasis on the quest for political democracy, its advances, and its obstacles. (2) Compare the various ways in which power is distributed, shared, and limited in systems of shared powers and in parliamentary systems, including the influence and role of parliamentary leaders (e.g., William Gladstone, Margaret Thatcher).

Common Core Standard RH.1112.3: Evaluate various explanations for actions or events and determine which explanation best accords with textual evidence, acknowledging where the text leaves matters uncertain.

Common Core Standard RH.1112.6: Evaluate authors' differing points of view on the same historical event or issue by assessing the authors' claims, reasoning, and evidence.

Common Core Standard SL.1112.4: Present information, findings, and supporting evidence, conveying a clear and distinct perspective, such that listeners can follow the line of reasoning, alternative or opposing perspectives are addressed, and the organization, development, substance, and style are appropriate to purpose, audience, and a range of formal and informal tasks.

Unleashing the Power and Potential of Common Core for History/Social Studies

Are you looking for ways to incorporate Common Core into your classroom now?

What's Really Being Said: Close Reading of Historical Primary Source Documents

Watch a webcast on close readings for social studies classrooms, including a lesson on Reconstruction.

The lesson:

- Utilizes a single primary source document to demonstrate close reading as a learning strategy through both the lenses of Common Core History/Social Studies standards and English Language Arts standards.
- Explores the era of Reconstruction through a letter written by a former slave, Jourdon Anderson, titled "To My Old Master."
- Provides opportunities for students to practice advanced critical-thinking skills.

Visit our website at www.crf-usa.org/common-core to take advantage of this great professional development opportunity, watch the webcast, and download the handouts.


Letter from a Freedman to his Old Master.

[The following is a genuine document... It was dictated by the old servant, and contains his ideas and forms of expression. Com.]

DAYTON,

To my Old Master, Colo
Spring, Tennessee:

Sir—I got your let
that you had not
you wanted me to
you again—promi
than any body el
uneasy about yo
would have hur
harboring the reb
I suppose they nev
going to Colonel Martin's

A Fire Waiting to Be Lit: The Origins of World War I

In addition to the main article "A Fire Waiting to Be Lit: The Origins of World War I," this lesson has four Common Core activities. Included are instructions for teachers and students, followed by student handouts. Students should have the main article available for reference for each of the activities.

The Bosnian Crisis of 1908
Students create plans for successfully resolving the crisis that occurred following Austria-Hungary's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908.

Which Country Was to Blame for World War I?
Students role play members of a commission who read experts' differing assessments on blame for World War I and decide which country, if any, was responsible for the war.

Did the Serbian Government Meet the Austrian Demands?
Students debate the following proposition: The Austrian Government Should Have Accepted the Serbian Responses as Meeting Its Demands.

Enrichment Activity: Cartoons of World War I
Students examine political cartoons created before and during World War I and evaluate their persuasiveness.

Enrichment Resource: Songs of World War I
A small sampling of the songs of the Great War and resources for finding more.

Supported by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation

Civic Action Project

NEW

Another great CRF resource is **Civic Action Project** (CAP). CAP provides lessons and resources to engage your students in project-based learning aimed at connecting everyday issues and problems to public policy. Students take informed "civic actions" to address those issues. CAP is aligned to CommonCore standards and provides a blended-learning platform for students.

To learn more about CAP, check out the website that is shared by teachers and students: www.crfcap.org

www.crf-usa.org/common-core/

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About Constitutional Rights Foundation

Constitutional Rights Foundation is a non-profit, non-partisan educational organization committed to helping our nation's young people to become active citizens and to understand the rule of law, the legal process, and their constitutional heritage. Established in 1962, CRF is guided by a dedicated board of directors drawn from the worlds of law, business, government, education, and the media. CRF's program areas include the California State Mock Trial, youth internship programs, youth leadership and civic participation programs, youth conferences, teacher professional development, and publications and curriculum materials.

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