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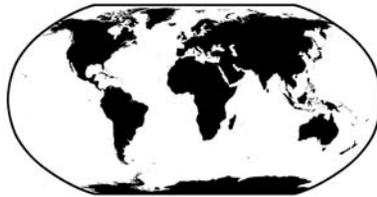
# WORLD HISTORY

Edited by  
Marsha E. Ackermann  
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Janice J. Terry  
Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur  
Mark F. Whitters



# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD HISTORY

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VOLUME VII

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Volume I  
THE ANCIENT WORLD  
Prehistoric Eras to 600 C.E.

Volume II  
THE EXPANDING WORLD  
600 C.E. to 1450

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THE FIRST GLOBAL AGE  
1450 to 1750

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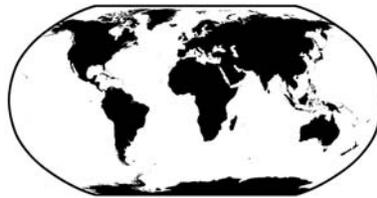
Volume V  
CRISIS AND ACHIEVEMENT  
1900 to 1950

Volume VI  
THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD  
1950 to the Present

Volume VII  
PRIMARY DOCUMENTS  
MASTER INDEX

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## Encyclopedia of World History

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# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD HISTORY

## Volume VII

### CONTENTS

Primary Documents	1
Master Index	239

### PRIMARY DOCUMENTS

#### VOLUME 1 PERIOD: 8000 B.C.E. TO 600 C.E.

<i>Document</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Page</i>
Code of Hammurabi	18th century B.C.E.	1
Book of the Dead	1567–1085 B.C.E.	4
<i>Daodejing</i>	eighth–third century B.C.E.	6
Constitution of Ancient Japan	604 B.C.E.	8
Hebrew Bible, Old Testament	c. 571–562 B.C.E.	9
Sunzi: <i>Art of War</i>	c. 400 B.C.E.	10
Plato's <i>Republic</i>	c. 360 B.C.E.	12
<i>Mencius (Mengzi)</i>	c. 300 B.C.E.	13
Selections from the Writings of Han Fei	c. 230 B.C.E.	15
Cicero: <i>On the Republic</i>	54–51 B.C.E.	16
<i>Aeneid</i> of Virgil	c. 29–19 B.C.E.	19
Acts	c. 60–90 C.E.	21
Bhagavad Gita	c. 100 C.E.	23
Tacitus: <i>The Histories</i>	106–107 C.E.	25
Edict of Milan	313 C.E.	26
<i>Confessions</i> of St. Augustine	397–400 C.E.	27

#### VOLUME 2 PERIOD: 600 C.E. TO 1450

<i>Document</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Page</i>
Yoruba Creation Myth	Unknown	29
The Qur'an (Koran)	c. 610–632	30
Antiochus Strategos: <i>Account of the Sack of Jerusalem</i>	614	32
Ordinance of Louis the Pious	817	33
<i>Genji Monogatari</i> , or <i>The Tale of Genji</i>	c. 1000	35

Al Biruni's <i>Chronology</i>	c. 1030	37
Concordat of Worms	1122	39
The Great Fair at Thessalonica	c. 1150	40
Averroës on Free Will and Predestination	c. 1190	41
Magna Carta	1215	44
Saint Thomas Aquinas: <i>Summa theologiae</i>	1265–1274	50
<i>The Travels of Marco Polo</i>	c. 1271–1298	53
Boccaccio Describing the Black Death	1348	55

**VOLUME 3 PERIOD: 1450 TO 1750**

<i>Document</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Page</i>
Excerpts from the Journal of Christopher Columbus	1492	59
<i>The Praise of Folly</i> (Desiderius Erasmus)	1511	60
<i>The Prince</i> (Niccoló Machiavelli)	1513	61
Martin Luther: The Ninety-five Theses	1517	65
Aztec Account of Cortés	1519	69
Second Letter of Cortés to Charles V	1520	70
Pedro de Cieza de León: <i>Chronicles of the Incas</i>	1540	75
New Laws of the Indies	1542	76
Copernicus: <i>De revolutionibus orbium coelestium</i>	1543	78
Nahuatl History	c. 1550	81
St. Francis Xavier: Letter from Japan to the Society of Jesus at Goa	1551	82
Sidi Ali Reis: <i>Mirat ul Memalik</i>	1557	85
Will Adams on Japan	1611	89
Mayflower Compact	1620	91
René Descartes: <i>Discourse on Method</i>	1637	93
British Bill of Rights	1689	95
Act to Settle the Trade to Africa	1698	96
Treaty of Utrecht	1713	97

**VOLUME 4 PERIOD: 1750 TO 1900**

<i>Document</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Page</i>
Jean-Jacques Rousseau: <i>The Social Contract</i>	1762	101
Proclamation of 1763	1763	103
Declaration of Independence	1776	105
Joseph Priestley: <i>Discovery of Oxygen</i>	1776	108
Adam Smith: <i>The Wealth of Nations</i>	1776	108
Voltaire on John Locke	1778	110
Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen	1789	113
Edmund Burke: <i>Reflections on the Revolution in France</i>	1790	114
U.S. Bill of Rights	1791	118
Mary Wollstonecraft: A Vindication on the Rights of Woman	1792	119
Sir William Eton: <i>A Survey of the Turkish Empire</i>	1799	121
Johann Gottlieb Fichte: <i>Addresses to the German Nation</i>	1807	121
Simón Bolívar: Message to the Congress of Angostura	1819	123
Treaty of Nanking (Nanjing)	1842	124
Women Miners in the English Coal Pits	1842	127
Friederich Engels: <i>Industrial Manchester</i>	1844	129
<i>The Communist Manifesto</i>	1848	131
Percy B. St. John: <i>Eyewitness to the French Revolution in 1848</i>	1848	133
Frederick Douglass's Speech on American Slavery	1850	137

Giuseppe Mazzini: On Nationality	1852	140
The Gettysburg Address	1863	142
One Day under the Paris Commune	1871	142
Charles Darwin: <i>The Descent of Man</i>	1871	146
Kingdom of Choson (Korea) Treaty	1882	148
Andrew Carnegie: “The Gospel of Wealth”	1889	148
Pope Leo XIII’s <i>Rerum Novarum</i> (Of New Things)	1891	150
Theodor Herzl: <i>On the Jewish State</i>	1896	151
John Hay: Circular Letter	1899	152

**VOLUME 5 PERIOD: 1900 TO 1950**

<i>Document</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Page</i>
Lenin: “ <i>What Is to Be Done?</i> ”	1902	155
<i>The Souls of Black Folk</i>	1903	156
Niagara Movement Declaration of Principles	1905	160
Treaty of Portsmouth	1905	162
Address to the Indian National Congress	1907	164
Theodore Roosevelt: “New Nationalism” Speech	1910	165
Balfour Declaration	1917	171
Woodrow Wilson: “Fourteen Points” Address	1918	172
Covenant of the League of Nations	1919	174
Mohandas K. Gandhi: <i>Freedom’s Battle</i>	1922	180
Adolf Hitler: <i>Mein Kampf</i>	1925	183
Munich Pact	1938	184
Winston Churchill: “Blood, Toil, Tears and Sweat”	1940	186
Axis Pact	1940	187
Franklin Roosevelt: “Four Freedoms” Speech	1941	188
Winston Churchill: “Iron Curtain” Speech	1946	193
Rudolf Hoess, Commandant of Auschwitz: Testimony at Nuremberg	1946	194
Truman on Truman Doctrine	1947	196
The UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights	1948	198
Mao Zedong: The Chinese People Have Stood Up	1949	201
Simone de Beauvoir: <i>The Second Sex</i>	1949	203

**VOLUME 6 PERIOD: 1950 TO PRESENT**

<i>Document</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Page</i>
The Freedom Charter	1955	205
Let Flowers of Many Kinds Blossom	1956	207
TASS on Eisenhower Doctrine	1957	209
John F. Kennedy: Inaugural Address	1961	211
Secretary-General U Thant: The Congo Problem	1962	213
Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.: “Letter from Birmingham Jail”	1963	214
Sayyid Qutb: <i>Milestones (Ma’alim fi al-Tariq)</i>	1964	221
U.S. State Department on Vietnam	1965	222
Black Panther Party Platform and Program	1966	224
President Nasser: Statement to Members of the Egyptian National Assembly	1967	225
Leonid Brezhnev, Soviet Communist Party Secretary, on Prague Spring	1968	227
Ronald Reagan: “Tear Down This Wall” Speech	1987	228
Nelson Mandela: Speech on Release from Prison	1990	231
United Nations Millennium Declaration	2000	233



## Code of Hammurabi

Date: 18th century B.C.E.

*The situations described in the Code of Hammurabi offer the modern-day reader a glimpse into the workings of a Mesopotamian society of nearly 3,800 years ago. Hammurabi I ruled Babylon from 1792 to 1750 B.C.E., in the period of the First Dynasty (c. 1900–1595 B.C.E.). He was a contemporary of Rim-Sin I (1822–1763 B.C.E.), king of Larsa, and Zimri-Lim (1776–1761 B.C.E.), ruler of Mari, both of whom he defeated in battle late in his reign, incorporating their cities into his empire. His law code, which was part of an even earlier tradition, was a means of imposing order over the territories he conquered, much as the gods Anu (An) and Enlil oversaw the organization of heaven and earth. The codification of responses to certain—and probably recurring—problems would also have served the purpose of simplifying and standardizing the administration of justice in his empire.*

*While his laws existed in various copies, the version that is now in the Louvre was inscribed in Akkadian cuneiform on a stela, or stone slab, and set up—according to the inscription itself—in “E-Sagil” (also spelled Sagil and Esagila), the temple of Marduk at Babylon. A few hundred years after the First Dynasty of Babylon fell, the Elamite king Shutruk-Nahhunte (ruled c. 1185–1155 B.C.E.) carted off the stela to Susa, his capital in southwestern Iran, where the French archaeologist Jacques de Morgan found it about 3,000 years later, in 1901.*

*The inscription can be divided into three parts: an introduction, the code, and an epilogue. In the first section, Hammurabi justifies his position as ruler of Babylon by describing it as a consequence of the divine ordering of the world and boasts of his achievements as a conqueror and restorer of temples. This section lists the names of known cities such as Nippur and Sippara (Sippar) but also cities such as Dur-ilu, which are unidentifiable today. Also mentioned are the Akkadian names of gods (thus Sin rather than Nanna; Shamash rather than Utu; Nebo rather than Nabu) and their temples. Enlil’s main temple at Nippur was E-kur (“mountain house”); E-babbar (“white temple”) was the temple of the sun god Shamash at Larsa; E-anna (“sky house”) that of the sky god Anu. As with the place-names, some of the gods and temples mentioned are of uncertain identity.*

*The second section is the code itself. It consists of 282 statements pronouncing judgment on various problems that might occur in a complex society. The judgments treat a wide range of matters, from stolen property to inheritance rights to hired labor. The situations described are very specific, with each occurrence phrased in a conditional “if” clause, followed by the appropriate response to that occurrence. To modern readers of the code, one of its most striking features is the harshness of many of the penalties. Death was prescribed for offenses ranging from murder (number 153) to harboring a runaway slave (number 16) to robbery (number 22). It is often pointed out that the code, most notably in the laws dealing with personal injury (numbers 194 to 214), calls for the *lex talionis*, or law of reciprocal punishment—the familiar “eye for an eye” (number 196). Yet not all of the prescribed punishments are overly severe, as evidenced by those concerning farmers (numbers 42–56) and merchants (numbers 100–107). And, while the laws illustrate the highly patriarchal organization of Babylonian society, women are accorded a certain amount of rights, as shown by numbers 137 and 179.*

*The third section, the epilogue, can itself be broken into two parts. In the first half, Hammurabi reasserts his authority as ruler, stating that he set up these laws to protect the people of Akkad and Sumer. In the second half, he prays that the gods make life very unpleasant for any future rulers who dare to corrupt or destroy his words.*

Original spellings have been retained in this document. The following is an excerpt.

### CODE OF LAWS

1. If any one ensnare another, putting a ban upon him, but he can not prove it, then he that ensnared him shall be put to death.
2. If any one bring an accusation against a man, and the accused go to the river and leap into the river, if he sink in the river his accuser shall take possession of his house. But if the river prove that the accused is not guilty, and he escape unhurt, then he who had brought the accusation shall be put to death, while he who leaped into the river shall take possession of the house that had belonged to his accuser.
3. If any one bring an accusation of any crime before the elders, and does not prove what he has charged, he shall, if it be a capital offense charged, be put to death.
4. If he satisfy the elders to impose a fine of grain or money, he shall receive the fine that the action produces.
5. If a judge try a case, reach a decision, and present his judgment in writing; if later error shall appear in his decision, and it be through his own fault, then he shall pay twelve times the fine set by him in the case, and he shall be publicly removed from the judge’s bench, and never again shall he sit there to render judgement.

6. If any one steal the property of a temple or of the court, he shall be put to death, and also the one who receives the stolen thing from him shall be put to death.

7. If any one buy from the son or the slave of another man, without witnesses or a contract, silver or gold, a male or female slave, an ox or a sheep, an ass or anything, or if he take it in charge, he is considered a thief and shall be put to death.

8. If any one steal cattle or sheep, or an ass, or a pig or a goat, if it belong to a god or to the court, the thief shall pay thirtyfold therefor; if they belonged to a freed man of the king he shall pay tenfold; if the thief has nothing with which to pay he shall be put to death.

9. If any one lose an article, and find it in the possession of another: if the person in whose possession the thing is found say "A merchant sold it to me, I paid for it before witnesses," and if the owner of the thing say, "I will bring witnesses who know my property," then shall the purchaser bring the merchant who sold it to him, and the witnesses before whom he bought it, and the owner shall bring witnesses who can identify his property. The judge shall examine their testimony—both of the witnesses before whom the price was paid, and of the witnesses who identify the lost article on oath. The merchant is then proved to be a thief and shall be put to death. The owner of the lost article receives his property, and he who bought it receives the money he paid from the estate of the merchant.

10. If the purchaser does not bring the merchant and the witnesses before whom he bought the article, but its owner bring witnesses who identify it, then the buyer is the thief and shall be put to death, and the owner receives the lost article.

11. If the owner do not bring witnesses to identify the lost article, he is an evil-doer, he has traduced, and shall be put to death.

12. If the witnesses be not at hand, then shall the judge set a limit, at the expiration of six months. If his witnesses have not appeared within the six months, he is an evil-doer, and shall bear the fine of the pending case.

14. If any one steal the minor son of another, he shall be put to death.

15. If any one take a male or female slave of the court, or a male or female slave of a freed man, outside the city gates, he shall be put to death.

16. If any one receive into his house a runaway male or female slave of the court, or of a freedman, and does not bring it out at the public proclamation of the major domus, the master of the house shall be put to death.

17. If any one find runaway male or female slaves in the open country and bring them to their masters, the master of the slaves shall pay him two shekels of silver.

18. If the slave will not give the name of the master, the finder shall bring him to the palace; a further investigation must follow, and the slave shall be returned to his master.

19. If he hold the slaves in his house, and they are caught there, he shall be put to death.

20. If the slave that he caught run away from him, then shall he swear to the owners of the slave, and he is free of all blame.

21. If any one break a hole into a house (break in to steal), he shall be put to death before that hole and be buried.

22. If any one is committing a robbery and is caught, then he shall be put to death.

23. If the robber is not caught, then shall he who was robbed claim under oath the amount of his loss; then shall the community, and . . . on whose ground and territory and in whose domain it was compensate him for the goods stolen.

24. If persons are stolen, then shall the community and . . . pay one mina of silver to their relatives.

25. If fire break out in a house, and some one who comes to put it out cast his eye upon the property of the owner of the house, and take the property of the master of the house, he shall be thrown into that self-same fire.

26. If a chieftain or a man (common soldier), who has been ordered to go upon the king's highway for war does not go, but hires a mercenary, if he withholds the compensation, then shall this officer or man be put to death, and he who represented him shall take possession of his house.

27. If a chieftain or man be caught in the misfortune of the king (captured in battle), and if his fields and garden be given to another and he take possession, if he return and reaches his place, his field and garden shall be returned to him, he shall take it over again.

28. If a chieftain or a man be caught in the misfortune of a king, if his son is able to enter into possession, then the field and garden shall be given to him, he shall take over the fee of his father.

29. If his son is still young, and can not take possession, a third of the field and garden shall be given to his mother, and she shall bring him up.

30. If a chieftain or a man leave his house, garden, and field and hires it out, and some one else takes possession of his house, garden, and field and uses it for three years: if the first owner return and claims his house, garden, and field, it shall not be given to him, but he who has taken possession of it and used it shall continue to use it.

31. If he hire it out for one year and then return, the house, garden, and field shall be given back to him, and he shall take it over again.

32. If a chieftain or a man is captured on the "Way of the King" (in war), and a merchant buy him free, and bring him back to his place; if he have the means in his house to buy his freedom, he shall buy himself free: if he have nothing in his house with which to buy himself free, he shall be bought free by the temple of his community; if there be nothing in the temple with which to buy him free, the court shall buy his freedom. His field, garden, and house shall not be given for the purchase of his freedom.

33. If a . . . or a . . . enter himself as withdrawn from the "Way of the King," and send a mercenary as substitute, but withdraw him, then the . . . or . . . shall be put to death.

34. If a . . . or a . . . harm the property of a captain, injure the captain, or take away from the captain a gift presented to him by the king, then the . . . or . . . shall be put to death.

35. If any one buy the cattle or sheep which the king has given to chieftains from him, he loses his money.

36. The field, garden, and house of a chieftain, of a man, or of one subject to quit-rent, can not be sold.

37. If any one buy the field, garden, and house of a chieftain, man, or one subject to quit-rent, his contract tablet of sale shall be broken (declared invalid) and he loses his money. The field, garden, and house return to their owners.

38. A chieftain, man, or one subject to quit-rent can not assign his tenure of field, house, and garden to his wife or daughter, nor can he assign it for a debt.

39. He may, however, assign a field, garden, or house which he has bought, and holds as property, to his wife or daughter or give it for debt.

40. He may sell field, garden, and house to a merchant (royal agents) or to any other public official, the buyer holding field, house, and garden for its usufruct.

41. If any one fence in the field, garden, and house of a chieftain, man, or one subject to quit-rent, furnishing the palings therefor; if the chieftain, man, or one subject to quit-rent return to field, garden, and house, the palings which were given to him become his property.

42. If any one take over a field to till it, and obtain no harvest therefrom, it must be proved that he did no work on the field, and he must deliver grain, just as his neighbor raised, to the owner of the field.

43. If he do not till the field, but let it lie fallow, he shall give grain like his neighbor's to the owner of the field, and the field which he let lie fallow he must plow and sow and return to its owner.

44. If any one take over a waste-lying field to make it arable, but is lazy, and does not make it arable, he shall plow the fallow field in the fourth year, harrow it and till it, and give it back to its owner, and for each ten gan (a measure of area) ten gur of grain shall be paid.

45. If a man rent his field for tillage for a fixed rental, and receive the rent of his field, but bad weather come and destroy the harvest, the injury falls upon the tiller of the soil.

46. If he do not receive a fixed rental for his field, but lets it on half or third shares of the harvest, the grain on the field shall be divided proportionately between the tiller and the owner.

47. If the tiller, because he did not succeed in the first year, has had the soil tilled by others, the owner may raise no objection; the field has been cultivated and he receives the harvest according to agreement.

48. If any one owe a debt for a loan, and a storm prostrates the grain, or the harvest fail, or the grain does not grow for lack of water; in that year he need not give his creditor any grain, he washes his debt-tablet in water and pays no rent for this year.

49. If any one take money from a merchant, and give the merchant a field tillable for corn or sesame and order him to plant corn or sesame in the field, and to harvest the crop; if the cultivator plant corn or sesame in the field, at the harvest the corn or sesame that is in the field shall belong to the owner of the field and he shall pay corn as rent, for the money he received from the merchant, and the livelihood of the cultivator shall he give to the merchant.

50. If he give a cultivated corn-field or a cultivated sesame-field, the corn or sesame in the field shall belong to the owner of the field, and he shall return the money to the merchant as rent.

51. If he have no money to repay, then he shall pay in corn or sesame in place of the money as rent for what he received from the merchant, according to the royal tariff.

52. If the cultivator do not plant corn or sesame in the field, the debtor's contract is not weakened.

53. If any one be too lazy to keep his dam in proper condition, and does not so keep it; if then the dam break and all the fields be flooded, then shall he in whose dam the break occurred be sold for money, and the money shall replace the corn which he has caused to be ruined.

54. If he be not able to replace the corn, then he and his possessions shall be divided among the farmers whose corn he has flooded.

55. If any one open his ditches to water his crop, but is careless, and the water flood the field of his neighbor, then he shall pay his neighbor corn for his loss.

56. If a man let in the water, and the water overflow the plantation of his neighbor, he shall pay ten gur of corn for every ten gan of land.

57. If a shepherd, without the permission of the owner of the field, and without the knowledge of the owner of the sheep, lets the sheep into a field to graze, then the owner of the field shall harvest his crop, and

the shepherd, who had pastured his flock there without permission of the owner of the field, shall pay to the owner twenty gur of corn for every ten gan.

58. If after the flocks have left the pasture and been shut up in the common fold at the city gate, any shepherd let them into a field and they graze there, this shepherd shall take possession of the field which he has allowed to be grazed on, and at the harvest he must pay sixty gur of corn for every ten gan.

59. If any man, without the knowledge of the owner of a garden, fell a tree in a garden he shall pay half a mina in money.

60. If any one give over a field to a gardener, for him to plant it as a garden, if he work at it, and care for it for four years, in the fifth year the owner and the gardener shall divide it, the owner taking his part in charge.

61. If the gardener has not completed the planting of the field, leaving one part unused, this shall be assigned to him as his.

62. If he do not plant the field that was given over to him as a garden, if it be arable land (for corn or sesame) the gardener shall pay the owner the produce of the field for the years that he let it lie fallow, according to the product of neighboring fields, put the field in arable condition and return it to its owner.

63. If he transform waste land into arable fields and return it to its owner, the latter shall pay him for one year ten gur for ten gan.

64. If any one hand over his garden to a gardener to work, the gardener shall pay to its owner two-thirds of the produce of the garden, for so long as he has it in possession, and the other third shall he keep.

65. If the gardener do not work in the garden and the product fall off, the gardener shall pay in proportion to other neighboring gardens.

[Here a portion of the text is missing, apparently comprising thirty-four paragraphs.]

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## Book of the Dead

Also known as: *pert em hru* (excerpts)

Date: 1567–1085 B.C.E.

*Known by the Egyptians as pert em hru, "coming forth by day," the Book of the Dead is the general title now given to the collection of Egyptian funerary texts from the New Kingdom (1567–1085 B.C.E.). The ancient Egyptians placed these spells, hymns, and incantations (which were illustrated with vignettes) in tombs for the deceased to recite and thereby successfully achieve a new existence in the afterlife. Written on papyri in hieratic script, they developed from the Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom (2698–2181 B.C.E.) and the Coffin Texts of the Middle Kingdom (1991–1786 B.C.E.). While these earlier texts were used respectively by royalty and the elite, the spells in the Book of the Dead were available to anyone who could afford them. The incantations, drawn from particular chapters, could be varied according to an individual's taste and financial means.*

*The first two selections, "A Hymn to the Setting Sun" and an excerpt from "A Hymn and Litany to Osiris," are from the papyrus of Ani. Ani, a scribe, was the person for whom this particular collection of hymns and prayers was assembled, probably during the 18th Dynasty (1567–1320 B.C.E.). This papyrus is currently in the British Museum. The third selection is a different version of "A Hymn to the Setting Sun" from a 19th Dynasty papyrus now located in Dublin. The final selection is from the papyrus of Nu, an example of the "Chapter of Coming Forth by Day."*

*In the first and third selections, the two hymns to the setting Sun, the texts refer to the journey of the sun god Re (Ra) from his birth each morning in the arms of the sky goddess Nut to his death in her arms each evening. The repetition of this journey symbolized the rebirth of the dead soul. The first hymn, from chapter 15 of the Ani papyrus, can more accurately be described as a hymn to both the rising and the setting sun, as is stated in the hymn's first lines. Ani is also named in these lines. The second hymn, from the Dublin papyrus, may not have been purchased by anyone. The space in the last line where the owner's name would appear (here marked with ellipses) was left blank. This papyrus includes a more elaborate description of the underworld than does the hymn in the Ani papyrus.*

*The second selection, also from chapter 15 of the Ani papyrus, is a hymn and an excerpt from the litany to Osiris. Osiris, god of the underworld, was violently murdered by his brother, Seth, and then reborn with the help of his wife, Isis. The litany includes a series in which the deceased addresses Osiris by a variety of titles and functions, along with the repetition of a prayer for safe passage through the underworld. Repetition is also a feature of the fourth selection here, an example from one of the many chapters of "Coming Forth by*

*Day.” The first lines include the name of the deceased, Nu, and give his occupation as “chancellor-in-chief.” The focus in this text on Nu’s “mastery” over various parts of his body would probably refer to how his ka, or the “double” of his human body, would exist after death.*

#### A HYMN TO THE SETTING SUN

A hymn of praise to Re when he riseth upon the horizon, and when he setteth in the land of life. Osiris, the scribe Ani, saith:

“Homage to thee, O Re, when thou risest as Tem-Heru-khuti (Tem-Harmakhis). Thou art adored by me when thy beauties are before mine eyes, and when thy radiance falleth upon my body. Thou goest forth to thy setting in the Sektet boat with the fair winds, and they heart is glad; the heart of the Matet boat rejoiceth. Thou stridest over the heavens in peace, and all thy foes are cast down; the never-resting stars sing hymns of praise unto thee, and the stars which rest, and the stars which never fail, glorify thee as thou sinkest to rest in the horizon of Manu, O Thou who art beautiful at morn and at eve, O thou lord who livest and art established, O my lord!

“Homage to thee, O thou who art Re when thou risest, and Tem when thou settest in beauty. Thou risest and shinest on the back of my mother Nut, O thou who art crowned king of the gods! Nut doeth homage unto thee, and everlasting and never-changing order embraceth thee at morn and at eve. Thou stridest over the heaven, being glad of heart, and the Lakes of Testes is content thereat. The Sebau Fiend hath fallen to the ground; his arms and his hands have been hacked off, and the knife hath severed the joints of his body. Re hath a fair wind; the Sektet boat goeth forth and, sailing along, it cometh into port. The gods of the south and of the north, of the west and of the east, praise thee, O thou divine substance, from whom all forms of life come into being. Thou sendest forth the word, and the earth is flooded with silence, O thou only One, who didst dwell in heaven before ever the earth and the mountains came into existence. O Runner, O Lord, O only One, thou maker of things which are, thou hast fashioned the tongue of the company of the gods, thou hast produced whatsoever cometh forth from the waters, and thou springest up from them over the flooded land of the Lake of Horus. Let me snuff the air which cometh forth from thy nostrils, and the north wind which cometh forth from my mother Nut. Oh, make thou to be glorious my shining form, O Osiris, make thou to be divine my soul! Thou art worshipped in peace (or in setting), O Lord of the gods, t’with thy rays of light upon my body day by day, upon me, Osiris the scribe, the teller of the divine offerings of all the gods, the overseer of the granary of the lords of Abtu (Abydos), the royal scribe in truth who loveth thee; Ani, victorious in peace.”

#### HYMN AND LITANY TO OSIRIS

“Praise be unto thee, O Osiris, lord of eternity, Unnefer, Heru-khuti (Harmakhis), whose forms are manifold, and whose attributes are majestic, Ptah-Seker-Tem in Annu (Heliopolis), the lord of the hidden place, and the creator of Het-ka-Ptah (Memphis) and of the gods therein, the guide of the underworld, whom the gods glorify when thou settest in Nut. Isis embraced thee in peace, and she driveth away the fiends from the mouth of thy paths. Thou turnest thy face upon Amentet, and thou makest the earth to shine as with refined copper. Those who have lain down (i.e., the dead) rise up to see thee, they breathe the air and they look upon thy face when the Disk riseth on its horizon; their hearts are at peace inasmuch as they behold thee, O thou who art Eternity and Everlastingness!”

#### LITANY

“Homage to thee, O Lord of starry deities in Annu, and of heavenly beings in Kher-aba; thou god Unti, who art more glorious than the gods who are hidden in Annu; oh, grant thou unto me a path whereon I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

“Homage to thee, O An in Antes, Heru-khuti (Harmakhis), with long strides thou stridest over heaven, O Heru-khuti. Oh, grant thou unto me a path whereon I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

“Homage to thee, O Soul of everlastingness, thou Soul who dwellest in Tattu, Unnefer, son of Nut; thou art lord of Akert. Oh, grant thou unto me a path wherein I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

“Homage to thee in thy dominion over Tattu; the Ureret crown is established upon thy head; thou art the One who maketh the strength which protecteth himself, and thou dwellest in peace in Tattu. Oh, grant thou unto me a path whereon I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

“Homage to thee, O Lord of the Acacia tree, the Seker boat is set upon its sledge; thou turnest back the Fiend, the worker of evil, and thou caustest the Utchat to rest upon its seat. Oh, grant thou unto me a path whereon I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.”

#### A HYMN TO THE SETTING SUN

A hymn of praise to Re-Heru-Khuti (Re-Harmakhis) when he setteth in the western part of heaven. He (i.e., the deceased) saith:

“Homage to thee, O Re who in thy sitting art Tem-Heru-khuti (Tem-Harmakhis), thou divine god, thou self-created being, thou primeval matter from which all things were made. When thou appearest in the bows of thy bark men shout for joy at thee, O maker of the gods! Thou didst stretch out the heavens wherein thy two eyes might travel, thou didst make the earth to be a vast chamber for thy Khus, so that every man might know his fellow. The Sektet boat is glad, and the Matet boat rejoiceth; and they greet thee with exaltation as thou journeyest along. The god Nu is content, and thy mariners are satisfied; the uraeus-goddess hath overthrown thine enemies, and thou hast carried off the legs of Apep. Thou art beautiful, O Re, each day, and thy mother Nut embraceth thee; thou settest in beauty, and thy heart is glad in the horizon of Manu, and the holy beings therein rejoice. Thou shinest there with thy beams, O thou great god, Osiris, the everlasting Prince. The lords of the zones of the Tuat in their caverns stretch out their hands in adoration before thy Ka (double), and they cry out to thee, and they all come forth in the train of thy form shining brilliantly. The hearts of the lords of the Tuat (underworld) are glad when thou sendest forth thy glorious light in Amentet; their two eyes are directed toward thee, and they press forward to see thee, and their hearts rejoice when they do see thee. Thou harkenest unto the acclamations of those that are in the funeral chest, thou doest away with their helplessness and drivest away the evils which are about them. Thou givest breath to their nostrils and they take hold of the bows of thy bark in the horizon of Manu. Thou art beautiful each day, O Re, and may thy mother Nut embrace Osiris . . . , victorious.”

### COMING FORTH BY DAY

The chapter of coming forth by day. The overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

“The doors of heaven are opened for me, the doors, of earth are opened for me, the bars and bolts of Seb are opened for me, and the first temple hath been unfastened for me by the god Petra. Behold, I was guarded and watched, but now I am released; behold, his hand had tied cords round me and his had darted upon me in the earth. Re-hent hath been opened for me and Re-hent hath been unfastened before me, Re-hent hath been given unto me, and I shall come forth by day into whatsoever place I please. I have gained the mastery over my heart; I have gained the mastery over my breast; I have gained the mastery over my two hands; I have gained the mastery over my two feet; I have gained the mastery over my mouth; I have gained the mastery over sepulchral offerings; I have gained the mastery over the waters; I have gained the mastery over air; I have gained the mastery over the canal; I have gained the mastery over the river and over the land; I have gained the mastery over the furrows; I have gained the mastery over the male workers for me; I have gained the mastery over the female workers for me; I have gained the mastery over all the things which were ordered to be done for me upon the earth, according to the entreaty which ye spake for me, saying, ‘Behold, let him live upon the bread of Seb.’ That which is an abomination unto me, I shall not eat; nay, I shall live upon cakes made of white grain, and my ale shall be made of the red grain of Hapi (i.e., the Nile). In a clean place shall I sit on the ground beneath the foliage of the date-palm of the goddess Hathor, who dwelleth in the spacious Disk as it advanceth to Annu (Heliopolis), having the books of the divine words of the writings of the god Thoth. I have gained the mastery over my heart; I have gained the mastery over my heart’s place (or breast); I have gained the mastery over my mouth; I have gained the mastery over my two hands; I have gained the mastery over the waters; I have gained the mastery over the canal; I have gained the mastery over the rivers; I have gained the mastery over the furrows; I have gained the mastery over the men who work for me; I have gained the mastery over the women who work for me in the underworld; I have gained the mastery over all things which were ordered to be done for me upon earth and in the underworld. I shall lift myself up on my left side, and I shall place myself on my right side; I shall lift myself up on my right side, and I shall place myself on my left side. I shall sit down, I shall stand up, and I shall place myself in the path of the wind like a guide who is well prepared.”

If this composition be known by the deceased he shall come forth by day, and he shall be in a position to journey about over the earth among the living, and he shall never suffer diminution, never, never.

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## Daodejing

Also known as: *Tao-te Ching*; *Daode Jing*; *Tao Te Ching*

Date: eighth. century–third century B.C.E.

*Daoism (or Taoism), one of the three major religions of China (Confucianism and Buddhism being the other two), was founded during a turbulent time in China’s history. Though hard to define in English, Daoism*

*stresses the Way, or the Path, a sort of energy that flows through the world, and the concept of wuwei, or "action through inaction." The Daodejing; (or Tao-te Ching; translated as The Way and Its Power) is one of the central texts in Daoism. Originally attributed to Laozi, the traditional founder of Daoism, the text is now thought to have been written anywhere between the eighth and the third century B.C.E.*

The following is an excerpt from the first section. Original spellings have been retained in this document.  
*Tao-te Ching*, Attributed to Laozi, Translated by: James Legge

## PART I.

### Ch. 1

1. The Tao that can be trodden is not the enduring and unchanging Tao. The name that can be named is not the enduring and unchanging name.
2. (Conceived of as) having no name, it is the Originator of heaven and earth; (conceived of as) having a name, it is the Mother of all things.
3. Always without desire we must be found, If its deep mystery we would sound; But if desire always within us be, Its outer fringe is all that we shall see.
4. Under these two aspects, it is really the same; but as development takes place, it receives the different names. Together we call them the Mystery. Where the Mystery is the deepest is the gate of all that is subtle and wonderful.

### Ch. 2

1. All in the world know the beauty of the beautiful, and in doing this they have (the idea of) what ugliness is; they all know the skill of the skilful, and in doing this they have (the idea of) what the want of skill is.
2. So it is that existence and non-existence give birth the one to (the idea of) the other; that difficulty and ease produce the one (the idea of) the other; that length and shortness fashion out the one the figure of the other; that (the ideas of) height and lowness arise from the contrast of the one with the other; that the musical notes and tones become harmonious through the relation of one with another; and that being before and behind give the idea of one following another.
3. Therefore the sage manages affairs without doing anything, and conveys his instructions without the use of speech.
4. All things spring up, and there is not one which declines to show itself; they grow, and there is no claim made for their ownership; they go through their processes, and there is no expectation (of a reward for the results). The work is accomplished, and there is no resting in it (as an achievement). The work is done, but how no one can see; 'Tis this that makes the power not cease to be.

### Ch. 3

1. Not to value and employ men of superior ability is the way to keep the people from rivalry among themselves; not to prize articles which are difficult to procure is the way to keep them from becoming thieves; not to show them what is likely to excite their desires is the way to keep their minds from disorder.
2. Therefore the sage, in the exercise of his government, empties their minds, fills their bellies, weakens their wills, and strengthens their bones.
3. He constantly (tries to) keep them without knowledge and without desire, and where there are those who have knowledge, to keep them from presuming to act (on it). When there is this abstinence from action, good order is universal.

### Ch. 4

1. The Tao is (like) the emptiness of a vessel; and in our employment of it we must be on our guard against all fullness. How deep and unfathomable it is, as if it were the Honoured Ancestor of all things!
2. We should blunt our sharp points, and unravel the complications of things; we should attemper our brightness, and bring ourselves into agreement with the obscurity of others. How pure and still the Tao is, as if it would ever so continue!
3. I do not know whose son it is. It might appear to have been before God.

### Ch. 5

1. Heaven and earth do not act from (the impulse of) any wish to be benevolent; they deal with all things as the dogs of grass are dealt with. The sages do not act from (any wish to be) benevolent; they deal with the people as the dogs of grass are dealt with.
2. May not the space between heaven and earth be compared to a bellows? 'Tis emptied, yet it loses not its power; 'Tis moved again, and sends forth air the more. Much speech to swift exhaustion lead we see; Your inner being guard, and keep it free.

## Ch. 6

1. The valley spirit dies not, aye the same; The female mystery thus do we name. Its gate, from which at first they issued forth, Is called the root from which grew heaven and earth. Long and unbroken does its power remain, Used gently, and without the touch of pain.

## Ch. 7

1. Heaven is long-enduring and earth continues long. The reason why heaven and earth are able to endure and continue thus long is because they do not live of, or for, themselves. This is how they are able to continue and endure.

2. Therefore the sage puts his own person last, and yet it is found in the foremost place; he treats his person as if it were foreign to him, and yet that person is preserved. Is it not because he has no personal and private ends, that therefore such ends are realised?

## CITATION INFORMATION:

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## Constitution of Ancient Japan

Date: 604 B.C.E.

*The Seventeen Article Constitution (in Japanese, Kenpo Jushichijo) was an early piece of Japanese writing and represented the basis of Japanese government through much of Japanese history. The constitution reflects Confucian principles (together with a number of Buddhist elements). The Constitution emphasized the Confucian values of harmony, regularity, and the importance of the moral development of government officials.*

### THE SEVENTEEN ARTICLE CONSTITUTION OF PRINCE SHOTOKU

1. Harmony is to be valued, and an avoidance of wanton opposition to be honored. All men are influenced by class-feelings, and there are few who are intelligent. Hence there are some who disobey their lords and fathers, or who maintain feuds with the neighboring villages. But when those above are harmonious and those below are friendly, and there is concord in the discussion of business, right views of things spontaneously gain acceptance. Then what is there which cannot be accomplished!

2. Sincerely reverence the three treasures. The three treasures: the Buddha, the Law, and the Priesthood, [The Buddha, the Law of Dharma, and the Sangha, or order of male and female monks, are the three treasures, or key elements, of Buddhism] are the final refuge . . . and are the supreme objects of faith in all countries. What man in what age can fail to reverence this law? Few men are utterly bad. They may be taught to follow it. But if they do not go to the three treasures, how shall their crookedness be made straight?

3. When you receive the Imperial commands, fail not scrupulously to obey them. The lord is Heaven, the vassal is Earth. Heaven overspreads, and Earth upbears. When this is so, the four seasons follow their due course, and the powers of Nature obtain their efficacy. If the Earth attempted to overspread, Heaven would simply fall in ruin. Therefore is it that when the lord speaks, the vassal listens; when the superior acts, the inferior yields compliance. Consequently when you receive the Imperial commands, fail not to carry them out scrupulously. Let there be a want of care in this matter, and ruin is the natural consequence.

4. The Ministers and functionaries should make decorous behavior their leading principle, for the leading principle of the government of the people consists in decorous behavior. If the superiors do not behave with decorum, the inferiors are disorderly: if inferiors are wanting in proper behavior, there must necessarily be offenses. Therefore it is that when lord and vassal behave with propriety, the distinctions of rank are not confused: when the people behave with propriety, the Government of the Commonwealth proceeds of itself . . .

6. Chastise that which is evil and encourage that which is good. This was the excellent rule of antiquity. Conceal not, therefore, the good qualities of others, and fail not to correct that which is wrong when you see it. Flatterers and deceivers are a sharp weapon for the overthrow of the State, and a pointed sword for the destruction of the people. Sycophants are also fond, when they meet, of speaking at length to their superiors on the errors of their inferiors; to their inferiors, they censure the faults of their superiors. Men of this kind are all wanting in fidelity to their lord, and in benevolence toward the people. From such an origin great civil disturbances arise.

7. Let every man have his own charge, and let not the spheres of duty be confused. When wise men are entrusted with office, the sound of praise arises. If unprincipled men hold office, disasters and tumults are multiplied. In this world, few are born with knowledge: wisdom is the product of earnest meditation. In all things, whether great or small, find the right man, and they will surely be well managed: on all occasions, be they urgent or the reverse, meet but with a wise man, and they will of themselves be amenable. In this way will the State be lasting and the Temples of the Earth and of Grain will be free from danger. Therefore did the wise sovereigns of antiquity seek the man to fill the office, and not the office for the sake of the man. . . .

10. Let us cease from wrath, and refrain from angry looks. Nor let us be resentful when others differ from us. For all men have hearts, and each heart has its own leanings. Their right is our wrong, and our right is their wrong. We are not unquestionably sages, nor are they unquestionably fools. Both of us are simply ordinary men. How can any one lay down a rule by which to distinguish right from wrong? For we are all, one with another, wise and foolish, like a ring which has no end. Therefore, although others give way to anger, let us on the contrary dread our own faults, and though we alone may be in the right, let us follow the multitude and act like men. . . .

11. Give clear appreciation to merit and demerit, and deal out to each its sure reward or punishment. In these days, reward does not attend upon merit, nor punishment upon crime. You high functionaries who have charge of public affairs, let it be your task to make clear rewards and punishments. . . .

15. To turn away from that which is private, and to set our faces toward that which is public—this is the path of a Minister. Now if a man is influenced by private motives, he will assuredly feel resentments, and if he is influenced by resentful feelings, he will assuredly fail to act harmoniously with others. If he fails to act harmoniously with others, he will assuredly sacrifice the public interests to his private feelings. When resentment arises, it interferes with order, and is subversive of law. . . .

16. Let the people be employed [in forced labor] at seasonable times. This is an ancient and excellent rule. Let them be employed, therefore, in the winter months, when they are at leisure. But from Spring to Autumn, when they are engaged in agriculture or with the mulberry trees, the people should not be so employed. For if they do not attend to agriculture, what will they have to eat? If they do not attend the mulberry trees, what will they do for clothing?

17. Decisions on important matters should not be made by one person alone. They should be discussed with many. But small matters are of less consequence. It is unnecessary to consult a number of people. It is only in the case of the discussion of weighty affairs, when there is a suspicion that they may miscarry, that one should arrange matters in concert with others, so as to arrive at the right conclusion.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Primary Source Citation: Aston, W. G. trans. *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*. Vol. 2. London: Keagan and Co., 1896, pp. 128–133.

## Hebrew Bible, Old Testament

Date: c. 571–562 B.C.E.

*In this excerpt from the Hebrew Bible, or the Old Testament, the Jewish prophet Ezekiel describes the destruction of Egypt, as well as Ethiopia and Libya, by the Babylonian king Nabuchodonosor (Nebuchadnezzar). Written about 570–562 B.C.E. during the period of the Babylonian exile, the text refers to events that occurred probably about 593–570 B.C.E. This chapter is part of a section (chapters 25–32) of prophecies against the enemies of the kingdom of Judah. Egypt is cursed in chapters 29–32.*

Ezekiel 30:1–26. Douay version, 1609–1610

The desolation of Egypt and her helpers: all her cities shall be wasted.

30:1. And the word of the Lord came to me, saying:

30:2. Son of man prophesy, and say: Thus saith the Lord God: Howl ye, Woe, woe to the day:

30:3. For the day is near, yea the day of the Lord is near: a cloudy day, it shall be the time of the nations.

30:4. And the sword shall come upon Egypt: and there shall be dread in Ethiopia, when the wounded shall fall in Egypt, and the multitude thereof shall be taken away, and the foundations thereof shall be destroyed.

30:5. Ethiopia, and Libya, and Lydia, and all the rest of the crowd, and Chub, and the children of the land of the covenant, shall fall with them by the sword.

30:6. Thus saith the Lord God: They also that uphold Egypt shall fall, and the pride of her empire shall be brought down: from the tower of Syene shall they fall in it by the sword, saith the Lord the God of hosts.

30:7. And they shall be desolate in the midst of the lands that are desolate, and the cities thereof shall be in the midst of the cities that are wasted.

30:8. And they shall know that I am the Lord: when I shall have set a fire in Egypt, and all the helpers thereof shall be destroyed.

30:9. In that day shall messengers go forth from my face in ships to destroy the confidence of Ethiopia, and there shall be drey among them in the day of Egypt: because it shall certainly come.

30:10. Thus saith the Lord God: I will make the multitude of Egypt to cease by the hand of Nabuchodonosor the king of Babylon.

30:11. He and his people with him, the strongest of nations, shall be brought to destroy the land: and they shall draw their swords upon Egypt: and shall fill the land with the slain.

30:12. And I will make the channels of the rivers dry, and will deliver the land into the hand of the wicked: and will lay waste the land and all that is therein by the hands of strangers, I the Lord have spoken it.

30:13. Thus saith the Lord God: I will also destroy the idols, and I will make an end of the idols of Memphis: and there shall: be no more a prince of the land of Egypt and I will cause a terror in the land of Egypt.

30:14. And I will destroy the land of Phatures, and will make a fire in Taphnis, and will execute judgments in Alexandria. Alexandria . . . In the Hebrew, No: which was the ancient name of that city, which was afterwards rebuilt by Alexander the Great, and from his name called Alexandria.

30:15. And I will pour out my indignation upon Pelusium the strength of Egypt, and will cut off the multitude of Alexandria.

30:16. And I will make a fire in Egypt: Pelusium shall be in pain like a woman in labour, and Alexandria shall be laid waste, and in Memphis there shall be daily distresses.

30:17. The young men of Heliopolis, and of Bubastus shall fall by the sword, and they themselves shall go into captivity.

30:18. And in Taphnis the day shall be darkened, when I shall break there the sceptres of Egypt, and the pride of her power shall cease in her: a cloud shall cover her, and her daughters shall be led into captivity.

30:19. And I will execute judgments in Egypt: and they shall know that I am the Lord.

30:20. And it came to pass in the eleventh year, in the first month, in the seventh day of the month, that the word of the Lord came, me, saying:

30:21. Son of man, I have broken the arm of Pharaoh king of Egypt: and behold it is not bound up, to be healed, to be tied up with clothes, and swathed with linen, that it might recover strength, and hold the sword.

30:22. Therefore, thus saith the Lord God: Behold, I come against Pharaoh king of Egypt, and I will break into pieces his strong arm, which is already broken: and I will cause the sword to fall out of his hand:

30:23. And I will disperse Egypt among the nations, and scatter them through the countries.

30:24. And I will strengthen the arms of the king of Babylon, and will put my sword in his hand: and I will break the arms of Pharaoh, and they shall groan bitterly being slain before his face.

30:25. And I will strengthen the arms of the king of Babylon, and the arms of Pharaoh shall fall: and they shall know that I am the Lord, when I shall have given my sword into the hand of the king of Babylon, and he shall have stretched it forth upon the land of Egypt.

30:26. And I will disperse Egypt among the nations, and will scatter them through the countries, and they shall know that I am the Lord.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

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## Sunzi (Sun Tzu): *Art of War*

Date: c.400 B.C.E.

Also known as: Sun Tzu, Sun-tzu

*An English translation of the Chinese treatise, Sunzi Bingfa, on the subject of war and strategy was written about 400 B.C.E. by the Chinese general Sunzi (Sun-Tzu). The basic premise is that if a commander knows his enemy as well as he knows his own troops, he can win any battle. It reveals a profound understanding of the practical and philosophical bases of war, emphasizing politics, tactics, and intelligence (secret agents). "All warfare is based on deception," said Sunzi, who instructed his followers: "Hold out*

*baits to entice the enemy. Feign disorder, and crush him.” Modern strategists have been clearly influenced by his tactics concerning guerrilla warfare: “Know the enemy, know yourself . . . Know the ground, know the weather; your victory will then be total.” Sunzi wrote that success comes from avoiding an enemy’s strength and striking his weakness.*

The following is an excerpt from the first section. Original spellings have been retained in this document.

## I. LAYING PLANS

1. Sun Tzu said: The art of war is of vital importance to the State.
2. It is a matter of life and death, a road either to safety or to ruin. Hence it is a subject of inquiry which can on no account be neglected.
3. The art of war, then, is governed by five constant factors, to be taken into account in one’s deliberations, when seeking to determine the conditions obtaining in the field.
4. These are: (1) The Moral Law; (2) Heaven; (3) Earth; (4) The Commander; (5) Method and discipline.
- 5, 6. The MORAL LAW causes the people to be in complete accord with their ruler, so that they will follow him regardless of their lives, undismayed by any danger.
7. HEAVEN signifies night and day, cold and heat, times and seasons.
8. EARTH comprises distances, great and small; danger and security; open ground and narrow passes; the chances of life and death.
9. The COMMANDER stands for the virtues of wisdom, sincerity, benevolence, courage and strictness.
10. By METHOD AND DISCIPLINE are to be understood the marshaling of the army in its proper subdivisions, the graduations of rank among the officers, the maintenance of roads by which supplies may reach the army, and the control of military expenditure.
11. These five heads should be familiar to every general: he who knows them will be victorious; he who knows them not will fail.
12. Therefore, in your deliberations, when seeking to determine the military conditions, let them be made the basis of a comparison, in this wise:
13. (1) Which of the two sovereigns is imbued with the Moral law? (2) Which of the two generals has most ability? (3) With whom lie the advantages derived from Heaven and Earth? (4) On which side is discipline most rigorously enforced? (5) Which army is stronger? (6) On which side are officers and men more highly trained? (7) In which army is there the greater constancy both in reward and punishment?
14. By means of these seven considerations I can forecast victory or defeat.
15. The general that hearkens to my counsel and acts upon it, will conquer: let such a one be retained in command! The general that hearkens not to my counsel nor acts upon it, will suffer defeat: let such a one be dismissed!
16. While heading the profit of my counsel, avail yourself also of any helpful circumstances over and beyond the ordinary rules.
17. According as circumstances are favorable, one should modify one’s plans.
18. All warfare is based on deception.
19. Hence, when able to attack, we must seem unable; when using our forces, we must seem inactive; when we are near, we must make the enemy believe we are far away; when far away, we must make him believe we are near.
20. Hold out baits to entice the enemy. Feign disorder, and crush him.
21. If he is secure at all points, be prepared for him. If he is in superior strength, evade him.
22. If your opponent is of choleric temper, seek to irritate him. Pretend to be weak, that he may grow arrogant.
23. If he is taking his ease, give him no rest. If his forces are united, separate them.
24. Attack him where he is unprepared, appear where you are not expected.
25. These military devices, leading to victory, must not be divulged beforehand.
26. Now the general who wins a battle makes many calculations in his temple ere the battle is fought. The general who loses a battle makes but few calculations beforehand. Thus do many calculations lead to victory, and few calculations to defeat: how much more no calculation at all! It is by attention to this point that I can foresee who is likely to win or lose.

## CITATION INFORMATION:

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Primary Source Citation: Sun-tzu. *The Art of War*. Translated from the Chinese by Giles, Lionel, M.A. London: 1910.

## Plato's Republic

Date: c. 385–370 B.C.E.

*The Republic is a long dialogue in 10 books on the nature of justice. In this excerpt from Book 7, the main speaker, the philosopher and teacher of Plato, Socrates, uses the parable of the cave to show how the philosopher, the true “lover of wisdom,” must escape from the bonds of the physical world and see the “real” world of ideas. The other speaker is Socrates’ friend Glaucon. Plato’s philosophy is based on the idea that reality lies not in what the eye can see but in “forms” or “ideas” of those things. Whoever apprehends these forms will acquire wisdom. The parable of the cave, with its image of humans who are capable only of seeing shadows of objects and not the objects themselves, is Plato’s method of illustrating this concept.*

And now, I said, let me show in a figure how far our nature is enlightened or unenlightened—Behold! human beings living in a underground den, which has a mouth open towards the light and reaching all along the den; here they have been from their childhood, and have their legs and necks chained so that they cannot move, and can only see before them, being prevented by the chains from turning round their heads. Above and behind them a fire is blazing at a distance, and between the fire and the prisoners there is a raised way; and you will see, if you look, a low wall built along the way, like the screen which marionette players have in front of them, over which they show the puppets.

I see.

And do you see, I said, men passing along the wall carrying all sorts of vessels, and statues and figures of animals made of wood and stone and various materials, which appear over the wall? Some of them are talking, others silent. You have shown me a strange image, and they are strange prisoners. Like ourselves, I replied; and they see only their own shadows, or the shadows of one another, which the fire throws on the opposite wall of the cave?

True, he said; how could they see anything but the shadows if they were never allowed to move their heads?

And of the objects which are being carried in like manner they would only see the shadows?

Yes, he said.

And if they were able to converse with one another, would they not suppose that they were naming what was actually before them?

Very true.

And suppose further that the prison had an echo which came from the other side, would they not be sure to fancy when one of the passers-by spoke that the voice which they heard came from the passing shadow?

No question, he replied.

To them, I said, the truth would be literally nothing but the shadows of the images.

That is certain.

And now look again, and see what will naturally follow if the prisoners are released and disabused of their error. At first, when any of them is liberated and compelled suddenly to stand up and turn his neck round and walk and look towards the light, he will suffer sharp pains; the glare will distress him, and he will be unable to see the realities of which in his former state he had seen the shadows; and then conceive some one saying to him, that what he saw before was an illusion, but that now, when he is approaching nearer to being and his eye is turned towards more real existence, he has a clearer vision,—what will be his reply? And you may further imagine that his instructor is pointing to the objects as they pass and requiring him to name them,—will he not be perplexed? Will he not fancy that the shadows which he formerly saw are truer than the objects which are now shown to him?

Far truer.

And if he is compelled to look straight at the light, will he not have a pain in his eyes which will make him turn away to take refuge in the objects of vision which he can see, and which he will conceive to be in reality clearer than the things which are now being shown to him?

True, he said.

And suppose once more, that he is reluctantly dragged up a steep and rugged ascent, and held fast until he is forced into the presence of the sun himself, is he not likely to be pained and irritated? When he approaches the light his eyes will be dazzled, and he will not be able to see anything at all of what are now called realities.

Not all in a moment, he said.

He will require to grow accustomed to the sight of the upper world. And first he will see the shadows best, next the reflections of men and other objects in the water, and then the objects themselves; then he will gaze upon the light of the moon and the stars and the spangled heaven; and he will see the sky and the stars by night better than the sun or the light of the sun by day?

Certainly.

Last of all he will be able to see the sun, and not mere reflections of him in the water, but he will see him in his own proper place, and not in another; and he will contemplate him as he is.

Certainly.

He will then proceed to argue that this is he who gives the season and the years, and is the guardian of all that is in the visible world, and in a certain way the cause of all things which he and his fellows have been accustomed to behold?

Clearly, he said, he would first see the sun and then reason about him.

And when he remembered his old habitation, and the wisdom of the den and his fellow-prisoners, do you not suppose that he would felicitate himself on the change, and pity them?

Certainly, he would.

And if they were in the habit of conferring honours among themselves on those who were quickest to observe the passing shadows and to remark which of them went before, and which followed after, and which were together; and who were therefore best able to draw conclusions as to the future, do you think that he would care for such honours and glories, or envy the possessors of them? Would he not say with Homer, 'Better to be the poor servant of a poor master,' and to endure anything, rather than think as they do and live after their manner?

Yes, he said, I think that he would rather suffer anything than entertain these false notions and live in this miserable manner.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

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## Mencius

Also known as: *Mengzi*.

Date c. 300 B.C.E.

*The word Mengzi was "Latinized" in the West to Mencius. The Mencius is a collection of philosopher's conversations elaborating on Confucian ideas, which are presented in no particular order.*

*The Chinese philosopher Mengzi was schooled in Confucianism and developed many of its principles in his own work, recorded by his disciples in The Sayings of Mencius, of which this is Book I. Mencius lived during the Warring States Period (403–221 B.C.E.), when dynastic power had eroded and feudal states fought against each other. Mencius traveled to many of the warring states, trying to persuade the feudal lords to respect their vassals and live virtuously.*

## ON GOVERNMENT

Mencius had an audience with King Hui of Liang. The king said, “Sir, you did not consider a thousand li too far to come. You must have some ideas about how to benefit my state.” Mencius replied, “Why must Your Majesty use the word ‘benefit?’ All I am concerned with are the benevolent and the right.

If Your Majesty says, ‘How can I benefit my state?’ your officials will say, ‘How can I benefit my family?’ and officers and common people will say, ‘How can I benefit myself?’ Once superiors and inferiors are competing for benefit, the state will be in danger. When the head of a state of ten thousand chariots is murdered, the assassin is invariably a noble with a fief of a thousand chariots, When the head of a fief of a thousand chariots is murdered, the assassin is invariably head of a subfief of a hundred chariots. Those with a thousand out of ten thousand, or a hundred out of a thousand, had quite a bit. But when benefit is put before what is right, they are not satisfied without snatching it all. By contrast there has never been a benevolent person who neglected his parents or a righteous person who put his lord last. Your Majesty perhaps will now also say, ‘All I am concerned with are the benevolent and the right. Why mention ‘benefit?’”

After seeing King Xiang of Liang, Mencius to someone, “When I saw him from a distance he did not look like a ruler, and when I got closer, I saw nothing to command respect. But he asked ‘How can the realm be settled?’ I answered, ‘It can be settled through unity.’ ‘Who can unify it?’ he asked. I answered, ‘Someone not fond of killing people.’ ‘Who could give it to him?’ I answered ‘Everyone in the world will give it to him. Your Majesty knows what rice plants are? If there is a drought in the seventh and eighth months, the plants wither, but if moisture collects in the sky and forms clouds and rain falls in torrents, plants suddenly revive. This is the way it is; no one can stop the process. In the world today there are no rulers disinclined toward killing. If there were a ruler who did not like to kill people, everyone in the world would crane their necks to catch sight of him. This is really true. The people would flow toward him the way water flows down. No one would be able to repress them.”

King Xuan of Qi asked, “Is it true that King Wen’s park was seventy li square,” Mencius answered, “That is what the records say.” The King said, “Isn’t that large?” Mencius responded, “The people considered it small.” “Why then do the people consider my park large when it is forty li square?” “In the forty square li of King Wen’s park, people could collect firewood and catch birds and rabbits. Since he shared it with the people, isn’t it fitting that they considered it small? When I arrived at the border, I asked about the main rules of the state before daring to enter. I learned that there was a forty-li park within the outskirts of the capital where killing a deer was punished like killing a person. Thus these forty li are a trap in the center of the state. Isn’t it appropriate that the people consider it too large?”

After an incident between Zou and Lu, Duke Mu asked, “Thirty-three of my officials died but no common people died. I could punish them, but I could not punish them all. I could refrain from punishing them but they did angrily watch their superiors die without saving them. What would be the best course for me to follow?” Mencius answered, “When the harvest failed, even though your granaries were full, nearly a thousand of your subjects were lost—the old and weak among them dying in the gutters, the able-bodied scattering in all directions. Your officials never reported the situation, a case of superiors callously inflicting suffering on their subordinates. Zengzi said, ‘Watch out, watch out! What you do will be done to you.’ This was the first chance the people had to pay them back. You should not resent them. If Your Highness practices benevolent government, the common people will love their superiors and die for those in charge of them.”

King Xuan of Qi asked, “Is it true that Tang banished Jie and King Wu took up arms against Zhou?” Mencius replied, “That is what the records say.” “Then is it permissible for a subject to assassinate his lord?” Mencius said, “Someone who does violence to the good we call a villain; someone who does violence to the right we call a criminal. A person who is both a villain and a criminal we call a scoundrel I have heard that the scoundrel Zhou was killed, but have not heard that a lord was killed

King Xuan of Qi asked about ministers Mencius said, “What sort of ministers does Your Majesty mean?” The king said ‘Are there different kinds of ministers?’ “There are. There are noble ministers related to the ruler and ministers of other surnames.” The king said, “I’d like to hear about noble ministers.” Mencius replied, “When the ruler makes a major error, they point it out. If he does not listen to their repeated remonstrations, then they put someone else on the throne.” The king blanched. Mencius continued, “Your Majesty should not be surprised at this. Since you asked me, I had to tell you truthfully.” After the king regained his composure, he asked about unrelated ministers. Mencius said, “When the king makes an error, they point it out. If he does not heed their repeated remonstrations, they quit their posts.”

Bo Gui said, “I’d like a tax of one part in twenty. What do you think?” Mencius said, “Your way is that of the northern tribes. Is one potter enough for a state with ten thousand households?” “No, there would

not be enough wares. The northern tribes do not grow all the five grains, only millet. They have no cities or houses, no ritual sacrifices. They do not provide gifts or banquets for feudal lords, and do not have a full array of officials. Therefore, for them, one part in twenty is enough. But we live in the central states. How could we abolish social roles and do without gentlemen? If a state cannot do without potters, how much less can it do without gentlemen? Those who want to make government lighter than it was under Yao and Shun are to some degree barbarians. Those who wish to make government heavier than it was under Yao and Shun are to some degree [tyrants like] Jie.”

### ON HUMAN NATURE

Mencius said, “Everyone has a heart that is sensitive to the sufferings of others. The great kings of the past had this sort of sensitive heart and thus adopted compassionate policies. Bringing order to the realm is as easy as moving an object in your palm when you have a sensitive heart and put into practice compassionate policies. Let me give an example of what I mean when I say everyone has a heart that is sensitive to the sufferings of others. Anyone today who suddenly saw a baby about to fall into a well would feel alarmed and concerned. It would not be because he wanted to improve his relations with the child’s parents, nor because he wanted a good reputation among his friends and neighbors, nor because he disliked hearing the child cry. From this it follows that anyone who lacks feelings of commiseration, shame, and courtesy or a sense of right and wrong is not a human being. From the feeling of commiseration benevolence grows; from the feeling of shame righteousness grows; from the feeling of courtesy ritual grows; from a sense of right and wrong wisdom grows. People have these four germs, just as they have four limbs. For someone with these four potentials to claim incompetence is to cripple himself; to say his ruler is incapable of them is to cripple his ruler. Those who know how to develop the four potentials within themselves will take off like a fire or burst forth like a spring. Those who can fully develop them can protect the entire land while those unable to develop them cannot even take care of their parents.”

Gaozi said, “Human nature is like whirling water. When an outlet is opened to the east, it flows east; when an outlet is opened to the west, it flows west. Human nature is no more inclined to good or bad and water is not inclined to east or west.” Mencius responded, “Water, it is true is not inclined to either east or west, but does it have no preference for high or low? Goodness is to human nature like flowing downward to water. There are no people who are not good and no water that does not flow down. Still water if splashed can go higher than your head; if forced, it can be brought up a hill. This isn’t the nature of water; it is the specific circumstances. Although people can be made to be bad, their natures are not changed.”

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## Selections from the Writings of Han Fei

Date: c. 230 B.C.E.

*Legalism in China reached a kind of peak in the late third century B.C.E. in the writings of Han Feizi (Master Han Fei) as well as in the policies of Emperor Qin Shi Huangdi. Before he committed suicide in 233 B.C.E., Han Fei wrote a number of essays on how to construct a stable and peaceful state. The selections below present the major principles of Han Fei’s political philosophy.*

### HAVING REGULATIONS

No country is permanently strong. Nor is any country permanently weak. If conformers to law are strong, the country is strong; if conformers to law are weak, the country is weak. . . .

Any ruler able to expel private crookedness and uphold public law, finds the people safe and the state in order; and any ruler able to expunge private action and act on public law, finds his army strong and his enemy weak. So, find out men following the discipline of laws and regulations, and place them above the body of officials. Then the sovereign cannot be deceived by anybody with fraud and falsehood. . . .

Therefore, the intelligent sovereign makes the law select men and makes no arbitrary promotion himself. He makes the law measure merits and makes no arbitrary regulation himself. In consequence, able men cannot be obscured, bad characters cannot be disguised; falsely praised fellows cannot be advanced, wrongly defamed people cannot be degraded.

To govern the state by law is to praise the right and blame the wrong.

The law does not fawn on the noble. . . . Whatever the law applies to, the wise cannot reject nor can the brave defy. Punishment for fault never skips ministers, reward for good never misses commoners. Therefore, to correct the faults of the high, to rebuke the vices of the low, to suppress disorders, to decide against mistakes, to subdue the arrogant, to straighten the crooked, and to unify the folkways of the masses, nothing could match the law. To warn the officials and overawe the people, to rebuke obscenity and danger, and to forbid falsehood and deceit, nothing could match penalty. If penalty is severe, the noble cannot discriminate against the humble. If law is definite, the superiors are esteemed and not violated. If the superiors are not violated, the sovereign will become strong and able to maintain the proper course of government. Such was the reason why the early kings esteemed Legalism and handed it down to posterity. Should the lord of men discard law and practice selfishness, high and law would have no distinction.

#### THE TWO HANDLES

The means whereby the intelligent ruler controls his ministers are two handles only. The two handles are chastisement and commendation. What are meant by chastisement and commendation? To inflict death or torture upon culprits, is called chastisement; to bestow encouragements or rewards on men of merit, is called commendation.

Ministers are afraid of censure and punishment but fond of encouragement and reward. Therefore, if the lord of men uses the handles of chastisement and commendation, all ministers will dread his severity and turn to his liberality. The villainous ministers of the age are different. To men they hate they would by securing the handle of chastisement from the sovereign ascribe crimes; on men they love they would by securing the handle of commendation from the sovereign bestow rewards. Now supposing the lord of men placed the authority of punishment and the profit of reward not in his hands but let the ministers administer the affairs of reward and punishment instead, then everybody in the country would fear the ministers and slight the ruler, and turn to the ministers and away from the ruler. This is the calamity of the ruler's loss of the handles of chastisement and commendation.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

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## Cicero: *On the Republic*

Date: 54–51 B.C.E.

*Marcus Tullius Cicero was the eldest son of an equestrian, though not noble, family. He was born in 105 b.c.e. and was beheaded by Antony's soldiers in 43 B.C.E. The path for a "new man" [i.e., without a family who had held a magistracy in Rome] to receive political honors was through the law, and at 26, after a thorough Greek and Latin education, Cicero pleaded his first case. The next year he successfully defended Publius Sextus Roscius against the favorite of Sulla, the dictator, and thought it best, during the rest of Sulla's dictatorship, to travel for his education and his health. At 32 he was elected quaestor to Sicily, and because of his integrity while holding this magistracy, was soon afterwards chosen by the Sicilians to prosecute their former governor Verres for extortion. Cicero was curule aedile in 69 B.C.E., and praetor urbanus in 66 B.C.E. In this year he supported Pompey for the eastern command, and the two remained friends. Cicero was consul in 63 B.C.E., and put down the conspiracy of Catiline.*

*Cicero wrote a major work discussing the nature of politics, written in six books, between 54–51 B.C.E. The original Latin name is De re publica or, alternatively, De republica and today is known to some as The Republic, similar to the dialogue of Plato, the style of which Cicero copied. The work is also known as On the Republic and On the Commonwealth. The series of books are a philosophical political dialogue written in the format of a Socratic dialogue. Cicero's characters were renowned Romans of a generation or two before him. The classical style of the books and the use of characters familiar to the Romans made Cicero's work very popular in its own time. The politics he wrote about, however, were the divisive politics and current affairs of his day. He presented his opinions and those of his political allies, as well as those of his political adversaries. Cicero's books were considered politically controversial in Rome.*

#### ON THE REPUBLIC

Book I.

35. Then Laelius said: But you have not told us, Scipio, which of these three forms of government you yourself most approve.

*Scipio*: You are right to shape your question, which of the three I most approve, for there is not one of them which I approve at all by itself, since, as I told you, I prefer that government which is mixed and composed of all these forms, to any one of them taken separately. But if I must confine myself to one of the particular forms simply and exclusively, I must confess I prefer the royal one, and praise that as the first and

best. In this, which I here choose to call the primitive form of government, I find the title of father attached to that of king, to express that he watches over the citizens as over his children, and endeavors rather to preserve them in freedom than reduce them to slavery. So that it is more advantageous for those who are insignificant in property and capacity to be supported by the care of one excellent and eminently powerful man. The nobles here present themselves, who profess that they can do all this in much better style; for they say that there is much more wisdom in many than in one, and at least as much faith and equity. And, last of all, come the people, who cry with a loud voice, that they will render obedience neither to the one nor to the few; that even to brute beasts nothing is so dear as liberty; and that all men who serve either kings or nobles are deprived of it. Thus, the kings attract us by affection, the nobles by talent, the people by liberty; and in the comparison it is hard to choose the best.

*Laelius:* I think so, too, but yet it is impossible to dispatch the other branches of the question, if you leave this primary point undetermined.

36. *Scipio:* We must, then, I suppose, imitate Aratus, who, when he prepared himself to treat of great things, thought himself in duty bound to begin with Jupiter.

*Laelius:* Why Jupiter? And what is there in this discussion which resembles that poem?

*Scipio:* Why, it serves to teach us that we cannot better commence our investigations than by invoking him whom, with one voice, both learned and unlearned extol as the universal king of all gods and men.

*Laelius:* How so?

*Scipio:* Do you, then, believe in nothing which is not before your eyes? Whether these ideas have been established by the chiefs of states for the benefit of society, that there might be believed to exist one Universal Monarch in heaven, at whose nod (as Homer expresses it) all Olympus trembles, and that he might be accounted both king and father of all creatures; for there is great authority, and there are many witnesses, if you choose to call all many, who attest that all nations have unanimously recognized, by the decrees of their chiefs, that nothing is better than a king, since they think that all the gods are governed by the divine power of one sovereign; or if we suspect that this opinion rests on the error of the ignorant, and should be classed among the fables, let us listen to those universal testimonies of erudite men, who have, as it were, seen with their eyes those things to the knowledge of which we can hardly attain by report.

*Laelius:* What men do you mean?

*Scipio:* Those who, by the investigation of nature, have arrived at the opinion that the whole universe [is animated] by a single Mind. . . . [Text missing].

37. *Scipio:* But if you please, my *Laelius*, I will bring forward evidences, which are neither too ancient, nor in any respect barbarous.

*Laelius:* Those are what I want.

*Scipio:* You are aware, that it is now not four centuries since this city of ours has been without kings.

*Laelius:* You are correct, it is less than four centuries.

*Scipio:* Well, then, what are four centuries in the age of a state or city; is it a long time ?

*Laelius:* It hardly amounts to the age of maturity.

*Scipio:* You say truly, and yet not four centuries have elapsed since there was a king in Rome.

*Laelius:* And he was a proud king.

*Scipio:* But who was his predecessor?

*Laelius:* He was an admirably just one; and, indeed, we must bestow the same praise on all his predecessors, as far back as Romulus, who reigned about six centuries ago.

*Scipio:* Even he, then, is not very ancient.

*Laelius:* No, he reigned when Greece was already becoming old.

*Scipio:* Agreed. Was Romulus, then, think you, king of a barbarous people?

*Laelius:* Why, as to that, if we are to follow the example of the Greeks, who say that all people are either Greeks or barbarians, I am afraid that we must confess that he was a king of barbarians; but if this name belong rather to manners than to languages, then I believe the Greeks were just as barbarous as the Romans.

*Scipio:* But with respect to the present question, we do not so much need to inquire into the nation as into the disposition. For if intelligent men, at a period so little remote, desired the governing of kings, you will confess that I am producing authorities that are neither antiquated, rude, nor insignificant.

38. *Laelius:* I see, *Scipio*, that you are very sufficiently provided with authorities; but with me, as with every fair judge, authorities are worth less than arguments.

*Scipio:* Then, *Laelius*, you shall yourself make use of an argument derived from your own senses.

*Laelius:* What senses do you mean ?

*Scipio:* The feelings which you experience when at any time you happen to feel angry at anyone.

*Laelius:* That happens rather oftener than I could wish.

*Scipio:* Well, then, when you are angry, do you permit your anger to triumph over your judgment?

*Laelius:* No, by Hercules! I imitate the famous Archytas of Tarentum, who, when he came to his villa, and found all its arrangements were contrary to his orders, said to his steward "Ah! you unlucky scoundrel, I would flog you to death, if it were not that I am in a rage with you."

*Scipio*: Capital. Archytas, then, regarded unreasonable anger as a kind of sedition and rebellion of nature, which he sought to appease by reflection. And so, if we examine avarice, the ambition of power or glory, or the lusts of concupiscence and licentiousness, we shall find a certain conscience in the mind of man, which, like a king, sways by the force of counsel all the inferior faculties and propensities; and this, in truth, is the noblest portion of our nature; for when conscience reigns, it allows no resting place to lust, violence, or temerity.

*Laelius*: You have spoken the truth.

*Scipio*: Well, then, does a mind thus governed and regulated meet your approbation ?

*Laelius*: More than anything on earth.

*Scipio*: Then you would not approve that the evil passions, which are innumerable, should expel conscience, and that lusts and animal propensities should assume an ascendancy over us?

*Laelius*: For my part, I can conceive nothing more wretched than a mind thus degraded, or a man animated by a soul so licentious.

*Scipio*: You desire, then, that all the faculties of the mind should submit to a ruling power, and that conscience should reign over them all?

*Laelius*: Certainly, that is my wish.

*Scipio*: How, then, can you doubt what opinion to form on the subject of the commonwealth? in which, if the state is thrown into many hands, it is very plain that there will be no presiding authority; for if power be not united, it soon comes to nothing.

39. *Laelius*: But what difference is there, I should like to know, between the one and the many, if justice exists equally in many?

*Scipio*: Since I see, my *Laelius*, that the authorities I have adduced have no great influence on you, I must continue to employ yourself as my witness in proof of what I am saying.

*Laelius*: In what way are you going to make me again support your argument?

*Scipio*: Why thus. I recollect when we were lately at Formiae that you told your servants repeatedly to obey the orders of not more than one master only.

*Laelius*: To be sure, those of my steward.

*Scipio*: What do you at home? do you commit your affairs to the hands of many persons?

*Laelius*: No, I trust them to myself alone.

*Scipio*: Well, in your whole establishment, is there any other master but yourself ?

*Laelius*: Not one.

*Scipio*: Then I think you must grant me that as respects the state, the government of single individuals, provided they are just, is superior to any other.

*Laelius*: You have conducted me to this conclusion, and I entertain very nearly that opinion.

40. *Scipio*: You would still further agree with me, my *Laelius*, if, omitting the common comparisons, that one pilot is better fitted to steer a ship, and a physician to treat an invalid, provided they be competent men in their respective professions, than many could be, I should come at once to more illustrious examples.

*Laelius*: What examples do you mean?

*Scipio*: Do you observe that it was the cruelty and pride of one single Tarquin only, that made the title of king unpopular among the Romans ?

*Laelius*: Yes, I acknowledge that.

*Scipio*: You are also aware of this fact, on which I think I shall debate in the course of the coming discussion, that after the expulsion of King Tarquin, the people were transported by a wonderful excess of liberty. Then, innocent men were driven into banishment; then the estates of many individuals were pillaged, consulships were made annual, public authorities were overawed by mobs, popular appeals took place in all cases imaginable; then secessions of the lower orders ensued; and lastly, those proceedings which tended to place all powers in the hands of the populace.

*Laelius*: I must confess this all too true.

*Scipio*: All these things now happened during periods of peace and tranquility, for licence is wont to prevail when there is too little to fear, as in a calm voyage, or a trifling disease. But as we observe the voyager and invalid implore the aid of some competent director, as soon as the sea grows stormy and the disease alarming! so our nation in peace and security commands, threatens, resists, appeals from, and insults its magistrates, but in war obeys them as strictly as kings; for public safety is after all rather more valuable than popular licence. And in the most serious wars, our countrymen have even chosen the entire command to be deposited in the hands of some single chief, without a colleague; the very name of which magistrate indicates the absolute character of his power. For though he is evidently called dictator because he is appointed, yet do we still observe him, my *Laelius*, in our sacred books entitled *Magister Populi*, the master of the people.

*Laelius*: This is certainly the case.

*Scipio*: Our ancestors, therefore, acted wisely.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Primary Source Citation: Thatcher, Oliver J., ed., *The Library of Original Sources*. Vol. 3, *The Roman World*. Milwaukee: University Research Extension Co., 1907, pp. 216–241.

## Aeneid of Virgil

Date: c. 29–19 B.C.E.

As the author of the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*, Virgil was already an established, even famous, poet when he began writing the *Aeneid* around 29 B.C.E. The poem, an epic in 12 books published after Virgil's death in 19 B.C.E., had a tremendous impact because it effectively created a political, historical, and literary identity for Rome in a way that no work had previously done.

The *Aeneid* tells the story of Aeneas, a survivor of the Trojan War, who struggles to reach Italy and establish a kingdom that will one day be known as the Roman Empire. The first six books describe the wanderings of the Trojans in search of a homeland, and the remaining books tell the story of the war between the Trojans and the native-born Italians. The poem ends with Aeneas victorious in combat over the Italian Turnus. This somewhat simplistic narrative is only one layer of a work of great depth and complexity.

A close study of the poem reveals, among other things, that Virgil had an astounding knowledge of history, philosophy, and literature. In crafting an epic that took as its subject the founding of Rome, he made use of many sources, both Greek and Latin. From its first line, "I sing arms and the man" (*Arma virumque cano*), the *Aeneid* makes reference to its two greatest models, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Homer. In the sixth book, Aeneas descends to the underworld to see his father Anchises. Although one of the models for this scene is book 11 of the *Odyssey*, Virgil writes the scene as an expression of Roman culture and ideals, which culminates in a pageant of Roman history. In this passage (lines 788–853 in the Latin) Anchises directs Aeneas's sight to a line of his descendants, among whom (according to this invented genealogy) will be the Emperor Augustus. After describing Augustus and his deeds, Anchises then recounts a brief history of Rome, from the time when it was ruled by kings through the early and late Republic, describing the names and deeds of famous men. Yet after this display of Rome's glory, the passage concludes with a warning. Anchises cautions Aeneas with the words, "Romane, memento," or "Roman, remember": Remember who you are, and that as ruler of the world, while it is your duty to "tame the proud," it is equally important to foster peace and to be sparing to the weak. At the end of the poem, when Aeneas stands with sword drawn over the wounded Turnus, the reader may recall these words. Although Turnus begs for his life and appeals to Aeneas in the name of his father, Anchises, Aeneas only hesitates for a second before plunging the sword into Turnus's chest.

The following is an excerpt from: The *Aeneid*, Book 6.

Now fix your sight, and stand intent, to see  
 Your Roman race, and Julian progeny.  
 The mighty Caesar waits his vital hour,  
 Impatient for the world, and grasps his promis'd pow'r.  
 But next behold the youth of form divine,  
 Ceasar himself, exalted in his line;  
 Augustus, promis'd oft, and long foretold,  
 Sent to the realm that Saturn rul'd of old;  
 Born to restore a better age of gold.  
 Afric and India shall his pow'r obey;  
 He shall extend his propagated sway  
 Beyond the solar year, without the starry way,  
 Where Atlas turns the rolling heav'ns around,  
 And his broad shoulders with their lights are crown'd.  
 At his foreseen approach, already quake  
 The Caspian kingdoms and Maeotian lake:  
 Their seers behold the tempest from afar,  
 And threat'ning oracles denounce the war.  
 Nile hears him knocking at his sev'nfold gates,  
 And seeks his hidden spring, and fears his nephew's fates.  
 Nor Hercules more lands or labors knew,  
 Not tho' the brazen-footed hind he slew,  
 Freed Erymanthus from the foaming boar,  
 And dipp'd his arrows in Lernaean gore;  
 Nor Bacchus, turning from his Indian war,  
 By tigers drawn triumphant in his car,  
 From Nisus' top descending on the plains,  
 With curling vines around his purple reins.  
 And doubt we yet thro' dangers to pursue

The paths of honor, and a crown in view?  
But what's the man, who from afar appears?  
His head with olive crown'd, his hand a censer bears,  
His hoary beard and holy vestments bring  
His lost idea back: I know the Roman king.  
He shall to peaceful Rome new laws ordain,  
Call'd from his mean abode a scepter to sustain.  
Him Tullus next in dignity succeeds,  
An active prince, and prone to martial deeds.  
He shall his troops for fighting fields prepare,  
Disus'd to toils, and triumphs of the war.  
By dint of sword his crown he shall increase,  
And scour his armor from the rust of peace.  
Whom Ancus follows, with a fawning air,  
But vain within, and proudly popular.  
Next view the Tarquin kings, th' avenging sword  
Of Brutus, justly drawn, and Rome restor'd.  
He first renews the rods and ax severe,  
And gives the consuls royal robes to wear.  
His sons, who seek the tyrant to sustain,  
And long for arbitrary lords again,  
With ignominy scourg'd, in open sight,  
He dooms to death deserv'd, asserting public right.  
Unhappy man, to break the pious laws  
Of nature, pleading in his children's cause!  
Howe'er the doubtful fact is understood,  
'T is love of honor, and his country's good:  
The consul, not the father, sheds the blood.  
Behold Torquatus the same track pursue;  
And, next, the two devoted Decii view:  
The Drusian line, Camillus loaded home  
With standards well redeem'd, and foreign foes o'ercome  
The pair you see in equal armor shine,  
Now, friends below, in close embraces join;  
But, when they leave the shady realms of night,  
And, cloth'd in bodies, breathe your upper light,  
With mortal hate each other shall pursue:  
What wars, what wounds, what slaughter shall ensue!  
From Alpine heights the father first descends;  
His daughter's husband in the plain attends:  
His daughter's husband arms his eastern friends.  
Embrace again, my sons, be foes no more;  
Nor stain your country with her children's gore!  
And thou, the first, lay down thy lawless claim,  
Thou, of my blood, who bearist the Julian name!  
Another comes, who shall in triumph ride,  
And to the Capitol his chariot guide,  
From conquer'd Corinth, rich with Grecian spoils.  
And yet another, fam'd for warlike toils,  
On Argos shall impose the Roman laws,  
And on the Greeks revenge the Trojan cause;  
Shall drag in chains their Achillean race;  
Shall vindicate his ancestors' disgrace,  
And Pallas, for her violated place.  
Great Cato there, for gravity renown'd,  
And conqu'ring Cossus goes with laurels crown'd.  
Who can omit the Gracchi? who declare  
The Scipios' worth, those thunderbolts of war,  
The double bane of Carthage? Who can see  
Without esteem for virtuous poverty,

Severe Fabricius, or can cease t' admire  
 The plowman consul in his coarse attire?  
 Tir'd as I am, my praise the Fabii claim;  
 And thou, great hero, greatest of thy name,  
 Ordain'd in war to save the sinking state,  
 And, by delays, to put a stop to fate!  
 Let others better mold the running mass  
 Of metals, and inform the breathing brass,  
 And soften into flesh a marble face;  
 Plead better at the bar; describe the skies,  
 And when the stars descend, and when they rise.  
 But, Rome, 't is thine alone, with awful sway,  
 To rule mankind, and make the world obey,  
 Disposing peace and war by thy own majestic way;  
 To tame the proud, the fetter'd slave to free:  
 These are imperial arts, and worthy thee."

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

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## Acts

Also known as the Acts of the Apostles—attributed to Luke  
 Date: c. 60–90 C.E.

*Like an early Christian Odyssey, this passage from the New Testament Acts describes Paul's journey by sea from Jerusalem to Rome in about 60 C.E., providing a fascinating eyewitness account of ancient ship travel. The evangelist Luke wrote Acts (also called Acts of the Apostles) in koine, or common dialect Greek, between 60 and 90 C.E. The 28-chapter book documents the lives of Christ's followers after his crucifixion. Much of the narrative of Acts focuses on Paul, formerly Saul, of Tarsus. Following his conversion, which is described in chapter 9:1–30, Paul undertook several missionary journeys in Greece and Asia Minor. Upon his return to Jerusalem, he was arrested by the authorities. As a Roman citizen, he appealed to Caesar and after two years was sent to Rome to stand trial. Chapter 27 describes the journey taken by Paul and the author (note how the narrative uses the pronoun "we") and the storm that wrecks their ship on the island of Malta (Melita). The remainder of the excerpt, chapter 28:1–14, describes the travelers' reception on the island and their eventual arrival at Rome.*

#### *Describing Paul's voyage*

27:1 And when it was determined that we should sail into Italy, they delivered Paul and certain other prisoners unto one named Julius, a centurion of Augustus' band. 27:2 And entering into a ship of Adramyttium, we launched, meaning to sail by the coasts of Asia; one Aristarchus, a Macedonian of Thessalonica, being with us. 27:3 And the next day we touched at Sidon. And Julius courteously entreated Paul, and gave him liberty to go unto his friends to refresh himself. 27:4 And when we had launched from thence, we sailed under Cyprus, because the winds were contrary. 27:5 And when we had sailed over the sea of Cilicia and Pamphylia, we came to Myra, a city of Lycia. 27:6 And there the centurion found a ship of Alexandria sailing into Italy; and he put us therein. 27:7 And when we had sailed slowly many days, and scarce were come over against Cnidus, the wind not suffering us, we sailed under Crete, over against Salmone; 27:8 And, hardly passing it, came unto a place which is called The fair havens; nigh where unto was the city of Lasea.

27:9 Now when much time was spent, and when sailing was now dangerous, because the fast was now already past, Paul admonished them, 27:10 And said unto them, "Sirs, I perceive that this voyage will be with hurt and much damage, not only of the lading and ship, but also of our lives." 27:11 Nevertheless the centurion believed the master and the owner of the ship, more than those things which were spoken by Paul. 27:12 And because the haven was not commodious to winter in, the more part advised to depart thence also, if by any means they might attain to Phenice, and there to winter; which is an haven of Crete, and lieth toward the south west and north west.

27:13 And when the south wind blew softly, supposing that they had obtained their purpose, loosing thence, they sailed close by Crete. 27:14 But not long after there arose against it a tempestuous wind, called Euroclydon. 27:15 And when the ship was caught, and could not bear up into the wind, we let her drive. 27:16 And running under a certain island which is called Claudia, we had much work to come by the boat: 27:17 Which when they had taken up, they used helps, undergirding the ship; and, fearing lest they should fall into the quicksands, strake sail, and so were driven. 27:18 And we being exceedingly tossed with a tempest, the next day they lightened the ship; 27:19 And the third day we cast out with our own hands the tackling of the ship. 27:20 And when neither sun nor stars in many days appeared, and no small tempest lay on us, all hope that we should be saved was then taken away.

27:21 But after long abstinence Paul stood forth in the midst of them, and said, "Sirs, ye should have hearkened unto me, and not have loosed from Crete, and to have gained this harm and loss. 27:22 And now I exhort you to be of good cheer: for there shall be no loss of any man's life among you, but of the ship. 27:23 For there stood by me this night the angel of God, whose I am, and whom I serve, 27:24 Saying, 'Fear not, Paul; thou must be brought before Caesar: and, lo, God hath given thee all them that sail with thee.' 27:25 Wherefore, sirs, be of good cheer: for I believe God, that it shall be even as it was told me. 27:26 Howbeit we must be cast upon a certain island."

27:27 But when the fourteenth night was come, as we were driven up and down in Adria, about midnight the shipmen deemed that they drew near to some country; 27:28 And sounded, and found it twenty fathoms: and when they had gone a little further, they sounded again, and found it fifteen fathoms. 27:29 Then fearing lest we should have fallen upon rocks, they cast four anchors out of the stern, and wished for the day. 27:30 And as the shipmen were about to flee out of the ship, when they had let down the boat into the sea, under colour as though they would have cast anchors out of the foreship, 27:31 Paul said to the centurion and to the soldiers, "Except these abide in the ship, ye cannot be saved." 27:32 Then the soldiers cut off the ropes of the boat, and let her fall off.

27:33 And while the day was coming on, Paul besought them all to take meat, saying, "This day is the fourteenth day that ye have tarried and continued fasting, having taken nothing. 27:34 Wherefore I pray you to take some meat: for this is for your health: for there shall not an hair fall from the head of any of you." 27:35 And when he had thus spoken, he took bread, and gave thanks to God in presence of them all: and when he had broken it, he began to eat. 27:36 Then were they all of good cheer, and they also took some meat. 27:37 And we were in all in the ship two hundred threescore and sixteen souls. 27:38 And when they had eaten enough, they lightened the ship, and cast out the wheat into the sea.

27:39 And when it was day, they knew not the land: but they discovered a certain creek with a shore, into the which they were minded, if it were possible, to thrust in the ship. 27:40 And when they had taken up the anchors, they committed themselves unto the sea, and loosed the rudder bands, and hoised up the mainsail to the wind, and made toward shore. 27:41 And falling into a place where two seas met, they ran the ship aground; and the forepart stuck fast, and remained unmoveable, but the hinder part was broken with the violence of the waves. 27:42 And the soldiers' counsel was to kill the prisoners, lest any of them should swim out, and escape. 27:43 But the centurion, willing to save Paul, kept them from their purpose; and commanded that they which could swim should cast themselves first into the sea, and get to land: 27:44 And the rest, some on boards, and some on broken pieces of the ship. And so it came to pass, that they escaped all safe to land.

28:1 And when they were escaped, then they knew that the island was called Melita. 28:2 And the barbarous people shewed us no little kindness: for they kindled a fire, and received us every one, because of the present rain, and because of the cold. 28:3 And when Paul had gathered a bundle of sticks, and laid them on the fire, there came a viper out of the heat, and fastened on his hand. 28:4 And when the barbarians saw the venomous beast hang on his hand, they said among themselves, No doubt this man is a murderer, whom, though he hath escaped the sea, yet vengeance suffereth not to live. 28:5 And he shook off the beast into the fire, and felt no harm. 28:6 Howbeit they looked when he should have swollen, or fallen down dead suddenly: but after they had looked a great while, and saw no harm come to him, they changed their minds, and said that he was a god.

28:7 In the same quarters were possessions of the chief man of the island, whose name was Publius; who received us, and lodged us three days courteously. 28:8 And it came to pass, that the father of Publius lay sick of a fever and of a bloody flux: to whom Paul entered in, and prayed, and laid his hands on him, and healed him.

28:9 So when this was done, others also, which had diseases in the island, came, and were healed: 28:10 Who also honoured us with many honours; and when we departed, they laded us with such things as were necessary. 28:11 And after three months we departed in a ship of Alexandria, which had wintered in the isle, whose sign was Castor and Pollux. 28:12 And landing at Syracuse, we tarried there three days. 28:13 And from thence we fetched a compass, and came to Rhegium: and after one day the south wind blew, and we came the next day to Puteoli: 28:14 Where we found brethren, and were desired to tarry with them seven days: and so we went toward Rome.

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**Bhagavad Gita**

Also known as: *Song of the Lord*.

Date: c. 100 C.E.

*The Bhagavad Gita is a Sanskrit poem forming part of the sixth book of the Hindu epic, the Mahabharata. Probably written in the first or second century C.E., it is often regarded as the greatest philosophical expression of Hinduism. The poem itself is a dialogue between Lord Krishna (as an incarnation of Vishnu) and Prince Arjuna on the eve of the Battle of Kurukshetra. Krishna eases Arjuna's concerns about the coming battle and instructs him on the importance of absolute devotion (bhakti) to a personal god as a means of salvation. As such, the Bhagavad Gita represents a fundamental departure from the brahman-atman (world-spirit and self) doctrine of the Vedas.*

**CHAPTER XIV**

*Gunatrayavibhagayog, or The Book of Religion by Separation from the Qualities.*

Krishna.

Yet farther will I open unto thee  
 This wisdom of all wisdoms, uttermost,  
 The which possessing, all My saints have passed  
 To perfectness. On such high verities  
 Reliant, rising into fellowship  
 With Me, they are not born again at birth  
 Of Kalpas, nor at Pralyas suffer change!  
 This Universe the womb is where I plant  
 Seed of all lives! Thence, Prince of India, comes  
 Birth to all beings! Whoso, Kunti's Son!  
 Mothers each mortal form, Brahma conceives,  
 And I am He that fathers, sending seed!  
 Sattwan, Rajas, and Tamas, so are named  
 The qualities of Nature, "Soothfastness,"  
 "Passion," and "Ignorance." These three bind down  
 The changeless Spirit in the changeful flesh.  
 Whereof sweet "Soothfastness," by purity  
 Living unsullied and enlightened, binds  
 The sinless Soul to happiness and truth;  
 And Passion, being kin to appetite,  
 And breeding impulse and propensity,  
 Binds the embodied Soul, O Kunti's Son!  
 By tie of works. But Ignorance, begot  
 Of Darkness, blinding mortal men, binds down  
 Their souls to stupor, sloth, and drowsiness.  
 Yea, Prince of India! Soothfastness binds souls  
 In pleasant wise to flesh; and Passion binds  
 By toilsome strain; but Ignorance, which blots  
 The beams of wisdom, binds the soul to sloth.  
 Passion and Ignorance, once overcome,  
 Leave Soothfastness, O Bharata! Where this  
 With Ignorance are absent, Passion rules;  
 And Ignorance in hearts not good nor quick.  
 When at all gateways of the Body shines  
 The Lamp of Knowledge, then may one see well  
 Soothfastness settled in that city reigns;  
 Where longing is, and ardour, and unrest,

Impulse to strive and gain, and avarice,  
 Those spring from Passion—Prince!—engrained; and where  
 Darkness and dulness, sloth and stupor are,  
 'Tis Ignorance hath caused them, Kuru Chief!  
 Moreover, when a soul departeth, fixed  
 In Soothfastness, it goeth to the place—  
 Perfect and pure—of those that know all Truth.  
 If it departeth in set habitude  
 Of Impulse, it shall pass into the world  
 Of spirits tied to works; and, if it dies  
 In hardened Ignorance, that blinded soul  
 Is born anew in some unlighted womb.  
 The fruit of Soothfastness is true and sweet;  
 The fruit of lusts is pain and toil; the fruit  
 Of Ignorance is deeper darkness. Yea!  
 For Light brings light, and Passion ache to have;  
 And gloom, bewilderments, and ignorance  
 Grow forth from Ignorance. Those of the first  
 Rise ever higher; those of the second mode  
 Take a mid place; the darkened souls sink back  
 To lower deeps, loaded with witlessness!  
 When, watching life, the living man perceives  
 The only actors are the Qualities,  
 And knows what rules beyond the Qualities,  
 Then is he come nigh unto Me!  
 The Soul,  
 Thus passing forth from the Three Qualities—  
 Whereby arise all bodies—overcomes  
 Birth, Death, Sorrow, and Age; and drinketh deep  
 The undying wine of Amrit.  
 Arjuna.  
 Oh, my Lord!  
 Which be the signs to know him that hath gone  
 Past the Three Modes? How liveth he? What way  
 Leadeth him safe beyond the threefold Modes?  
 Krishna.  
 He who with equanimity surveys  
 Lustre of goodness, strife of passion, sloth  
 Of ignorance, not angry if they are,  
 Not wishful when they are not: he who sits  
 A sojourner and stranger in their midst  
 Unruffled, standing off, saying—serene—  
 When troubles break, “These be the Qualities!”  
 He unto whom—self-centred—grief and joy  
 Sound as one word; to whose deep-seeing eyes  
 The clod, the marble, and the gold are one;  
 Whose equal heart holds the same gentleness  
 For lovely and unlovely things, firm-set,  
 Well-pleased in praise and dispraise; satisfied  
 With honour or dishonour; unto friends  
 And unto foes alike in tolerance;  
 Detached from undertakings,—he is named  
 Surmounter of the Qualities!  
 And such—  
 With single, fervent faith adoring Me,  
 Passing beyond the Qualities, conforms  
 To Brahma, and attains Me!  
 For I am  
 That whereof Brahma is the likeness! Mine  
 The Amrit is; and Immortality  
 Is mine; and mine perfect Felicity!

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**Tacitus: *The Histories***

Date: 106–107 C.E.

*This passage from The Histories illustrates why Tacitus (c. 56/57–c. 117 C.E.) is considered one of Rome's greatest writers. It describes the battle that took place in the city of Rome on December 20, 69 C.E., and the death of the emperor Vitellius (15–69 C.E.). In the struggle for control of the empire, Vitellius was the third emperor in less than a year, and he would not be the last. Like his predecessors Galba and Otho, he fell to the leader of a more powerful army. The man who would succeed him, Vespasian (9–79 C.E.), was serving as the governor of Judaea when his army (called Flavians after Vespasian's full name, Titus Flavius Vespasianus) proclaimed him emperor in the summer of 69. When the Flavians reached Rome that December, they had already won a decisive victory against the Vitellians at Bedriacum in northern Italy in October. It was the second time that year that a battle for the succession had been fought there.*

*Tacitus begins his narrative of the events that occurred in Rome that day, not with an account of the main actors, but by focusing on the crowd that has gathered to watch. He describes their behavior and the fighting in detail noting the historical significance of both. The account of the battle at the camp of the Praetorian Guard is brief yet effective in its narrative flow and in its mixture of military detail with the reported thoughts of the soldiers. The defeat of the Vitellians there leads to the palace and a description of the final actions of Vitellius himself. In a chilling account, Tacitus relates how, in a panic, the emperor attempted to escape, but was ultimately unable to avoid his fate.*

*The Histories* (Book 3, chapters 83–85) (c. 106–107 C.E.)

The following is an excerpt.

The people came and watched the fighting, cheering and applauding now one side, now the other, like spectators at a gladiatorial contest. Whenever one side gave ground, and the soldiers began to hide in shops or seek refuge in some private house, they clamoured for them to be dragged [our] and killed, and thus got the greater part of the plunder for themselves: for while the soldiers were busy with the bloody work of massacre, the spoil fell to the crowd. The scene throughout the city was hideous and terrible: on the one side fighting and wounded men, on the other baths and restaurants: here lay heaps of bleeding dead, and close at hand were harlots and their companions—all the vice and licence of luxurious peace, and all the crime and horror of a captured town. One might well have thought the city mad with fury and mad with pleasure at the same time. Armies had fought in the city before this, twice when Sulla mastered Rome, once under Cinna. Nor were there less horrors then. What was now so inhuman was the people's indifference. Not for one minute did they interrupt the life of pleasure. The fighting was a new amusement for their holiday. Caring nothing for either party, they enjoyed themselves in riotous dissipation and took a frank pleasure in their country's disaster.

The storming of the Guards' camp was the most troublesome task. It was still held by some of the bravest as a forlorn hope, which made the victors all the more eager to take it, especially those who had originally served in the Guards. They employed against it every means ever devised for the storming of the most strongly fortified towns, a 'tortoise', artillery, earthworks, firebrands. This, they cried, was the crown of all the toil and danger they had undergone in all their battles. They had restored the city to the senate and people of Rome, and their Temples to the gods: the soldier's pride is his camp, it is his country and his home. If they could not regain it at once, they must spend the night in fighting. The Vitellians, for their part, had numbers and fortune against them, but by marring their enemy's victory, by postponing peace, by fouling houses and altars with their blood, they embraced the last consolations that the conquered can enjoy. Many lay more dead than alive on the towers and ramparts of the walls and there expired. When the gates were torn down, the remainder faced the conquerors in a body. And there they fell, every man of them facing the enemy with all his wounds in front. Even as they died they took care to make an honourable end.

When the city was taken, Vitellius left the Palace by a back way and was carried in a litter to his wife's house on the Aventine. If he could lie hid during the day, he hoped to make his escape to his brother and the Guards at Tarracina. But it is in the very nature of terror that, while any course looks dangerous, the present

state of things seems worst of all. His fickle determination soon changed and he returned to the vast, deserted Palace, whence even the lowest of his menials had fled, or at least avoided meeting him. Shuddering at the solitude and hushed silence of the place, he wandered about, trying closed doors, terrified to find the rooms empty; until at last, wearied with his miserable search, he crept into some shameful hiding-place. There Julius Placidus, an officer of the Guards, found him and dragged him out. His hands were tied behind his back, his clothes were torn, and thus he was led forth—a loathly spectacle at which many hurled insults and no one shed a single tear of pity. The ignominy of his end killed all compassion. On the way a soldier of the German army either aimed an angry blow at him, or tried to put him out of his shame, or meant, perhaps, to strike the officer in command; at any rate, he cut off the officer's ear and was immediately stabbed.

With the points of their swords they made Vitellius hold up his head and face their insults, forcing him again and again to watch his own statues hurtling down, or to look at the Rostra and the spot where Galba had been killed. At last he was dragged along to the Ladder of Sighs, where the body of Flavius Sabinus had lain. One saying of his which was recorded had a ring of true nobility. When some officer flung reproaches at him, he answered, 'And yet I was once your emperor.' After that he fell under a shower of wounds, and when he was dead the mob abused him as loudly as they had flattered him in his lifetime—and with as little reason.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: "*The Histories*, Book 3 (excerpt)." Facts On File, Inc. *Ancient and Medieval History Online*. www.fofweb.com.

Primary Source Citation: Tacitus. "*The Histories*, Book 3 (excerpt)." In *Tacitus, The Histories*. Vol. 2. Translated and with an introduction and notes by W. Hamilton Fyfe. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912.

## Edict of Milan

Date: 313 C.E.

*With this decree, issued in 313 C.E., the coemperors Constantine (c. 285–337 C.E.) and Licinius (c. 263–325 C.E.) granted freedom of worship to all people throughout the Roman Empire. The decree was directed primarily at Christians, who, persecuted since the time of Nero (37–68 C.E.), had been subjected more recently to extremely brutal treatment under the emperors Diocletian (ruled from 284 to 305 C.E.) and Galerius (ruled as augustus from 305 to his death in 311 C.E.). Although Galerius had issued an edict of toleration in the last year of his reign, his successor, Maximinus II Daia, ignored it and continued the persecutions. The jointly issued decree of Constantine and Licinius not only restated the government's toleration of Christian worship but also returned confiscated property to the Christians.*

*The text in which the edict has been preserved, On the Deaths of the Persecutors, is a history of the Christian persecutors in the Roman Empire. It was written in Latin between 300 and 318 C.E. by Lucius Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius, a converted Christian from North Africa. The edict as recorded by Lactantius is not technically an edict but a letter, written to a provincial governor, who, at the close, is instructed to announce the decree publicly.*

### Constantine and Licinius

When I, Constantine Augustus, as well as I, Licinius Augustus, had fortunately met near Mediolanum (Milan), and were considering everything that pertained to the public welfare and security, we thought that among other things which we saw would be for the good of many, that those regulations pertaining to the reverence of the Divinity ought certainly to be made first, so that we might grant to the Christians and to all others full authority to observe that religion which each preferred; whence any Divinity whatsoever in the seat of the heavens may be propitious and kindly disposed to us, and all who are placed under our rule. And thus by this wholesome counsel and most upright provision, we thought to arrange that no one whatever should be denied the opportunity to give his heart to the observance of the Christian religion or of that religion which he should think best for himself, so that the supreme Deity, to whom worship we freely yield our hearts, may show in all things his usual favor and benevolence. Therefore, your Worship should know that it has pleased us to remove all conditions whatsoever, which were in the rescripts formerly given to you officially, concerning the Christians, and now any one of these who wishes to observe the Christian religion may do so freely and openly, without any disturbance or molestation. We thought it fit to commend these things most fully to your care that you may know that we have given to those Christians free and unrestricted opportunity of religious worship. When you see that this has been granted to them by us, your Worship will know that we have also conceded to other religions the right of open and free observance of their worship for the sake of the peace of our times, that each one may have the free

opportunity to worship as he pleases; this regulation is made that we may not seem to detract aught from any dignity or any religion.

Moreover, in the case of the Christians especially, we esteemed it best to order that if it happens that anyone heretofore has bought from our treasury or from anyone whatsoever, those places where they were previously accustomed to assemble, concerning which a certain decree had been made and a letter sent to you officially, the same shall be restored to the Christians without payment or any claim of recompense and without any kind of fraud or deception. Those, moreover, who have obtained the same by gift, are likewise to return them at once to the Christians. Besides, both those who have purchased and those who have secured them by gift, are to appeal to the vicar if they seek any recompense from our bounty, that they may be cared for through our clemency. All this property ought to be delivered at once to the community of the Christians through your intercession, and without delay. And since these Christians are known to have possessed not only those places in which they were accustomed to assemble, but also other property, namely the churches, belonging to them as a corporation and not as individuals, all these things which we have included under the above law, you will order to be restored, without any hesitation or controversy at all, to these Christians, that is to say the corporations and their conventicles:—providing, of course, that the above arrangements be followed so that those who return the same without payment, as we have said, may hope for an indemnity from our bounty. In all these circumstances you ought to tender your most efficacious intervention to the community of the Christians, that our command may be carried into effect as quickly as possible, whereby, moreover, through our clemency, public order may be secured. Let this be done so that, as we have said above, Divine favor towards us which, under the most important circumstances we have already experienced, may, for all time, preserve and prosper our successes together with the good of the state. Moreover, in order that the statement of this decree of our good will may come to the notice of all, this rescript, published by your decree, shall be announced everywhere and brought to the knowledge of all, so that the decree of this, our benevolence, cannot be concealed.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: “Edict of Milan.” Facts On File, Inc. *Ancient and Medieval History Online*. www.fofweb.com.

Primary Source Citation: Constantine and Licinius. “Edict of Milan.” In *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History*. Vol. 4. Edited by William Fairley. Philadelphia: Dept. of History of the University of Pennsylvania, 1898.

## Confessions of St. Augustine

Date: 397–400 c.e.

*Augustine wrote his Confessions between 397 and 400 c.e., about 85 years after Constantine and Licinius signed the Edict of Milan, which legalized Christianity in the Roman Empire. Despite the new religion’s increasing popularity, Roman culture was at this time still largely, if not primarily, pagan. Many continued to worship the old gods and to read Cicero and Homer, whose texts glorified these gods and the mortals who served them. As Christianity’s influence increased, the extent to which Christians should partake of this classical culture became an issue among church leaders such as Augustine and Jerome. In this section of his spiritual autobiography, Augustine, a converted Christian, intersperses the narrative of events in his childhood with pleas to God to forgive him for what he now views as sinful behavior. Here, in Book 1, he describes how he was given a traditional education in classical literature. He relates with shame that as a boy he loved the Aeneid, but, expressing the frustration of anyone who has struggled with learning a foreign language, he tells how he hated Homer because he was unable to understand the Greek.*

But now, my God, cry Thou aloud in my soul; and let Thy truth tell me, “Not so, not so. Far better was that first study.” For, lo, I would readily forget the wanderings of Aeneas and all the rest, rather than how to read and write. But over the entrance of the Grammar School is a vail drawn! true; yet is this not so much an emblem of aught recondit, as a cloak of error. Let not those, whom I no longer fear, cry out against me, while I confess to Thee, my God, whatever my soul will, and acquiesce in the condemnation of my evil ways, that I may love Thy good ways. Let not either buyers or sellers of grammar-learning cry out against me. For if I question them whether it be true that Aeneas came on a time to Carthage, as the poet tells, the less learned will reply that they know not, the more learned that he never did. But should I ask with what letters the name “Aeneas” is written, every one who has learnt this will answer me aright, as to the signs which men have conventionally settled. If, again, I should ask which might be forgotten with least detriment to the concerns of life, reading and writing or these poetic fictions? who does not foresee what all must answer who have not wholly forgotten themselves? I sinned, then, when as a boy I preferred those empty to those more profitable

studies, or rather loved the one and hated the other. “One and one, two”; “two and two, four”; this was to me a hateful singsong: “the wooden horse lined with armed men,” and “the burning of Troy,” and “Creusa’s shade and sad similitude,” were the choice spectacle of my vanity.

Why then did I hate the Greek classics, which have the like tales? For Homer also curiously wove the like fictions, and is most sweetly vain, yet was he bitter to my boyish taste. And so I suppose would Virgil be to Grecian children, when forced to learn him as I was Homer. Difficulty, in truth, the difficulty of a foreign tongue, dashed, as it were, with gall all the sweetness of Grecian fable. For not one word of it did I understand, and to make me understand I was urged vehemently with cruel threats and punishments. Time was also (as an infant) I knew no Latin; but this I learned without fear or suffering, by mere observation, amid the caresses of my nursery and jests of friends, smiling and sportively encouraging me. This I learned without any pressure of punishment to urge me on, for my heart urged me to give birth to its conceptions, which I could only do by learning words not of those who taught, but of those who talked with me; in whose ears also I gave birth to the thoughts, whatever I conceived. No doubt, then, that a free curiosity has more force in our learning these things, than a frightful enforcement. Only this enforcement restrains the roving of that freedom, through Thy laws, O my God, Thy laws, from the master’s cane to the martyr’s trials, being able to temper for us a wholesome bitter, recalling us to Thyself from that deadly pleasure which lures us from Thee.

**CITATION INFORMATION:**

Text Citation: “*The Confessions*, Book 1 (excerpt).” Facts On File, Inc. *Ancient and Medieval History Online*. [www.fofweb.com](http://www.fofweb.com).

Primary Source Citation: Augustine, Saint, Bishop of Hippo. “*The Confessions*, Book 1 (excerpt).” In *The Confessions of Saint Augustine*. Translated by E. B. Pusey, London: Chatto and Windus, 1909.

## Yoruba Creation Myth

Date: Unknown

*The Yoruba are a people and a culture in West Africa and represent one of the largest language groups in Africa. Historically, the Yoruba have occupied the region of southwestern Nigeria, Benin, and Togo. It is believed that people migrated to this area around 900 and that the kingdom of Ile-Ife came into being around 1100. The golden age of the Yoruba civilization between 1100 and 1700 occurred due to the expansion of the kingdom's influence, power, and economic wealth.*

*The cultural and societal identity of the Yoruba people is based on their creation myths, or cosmogony—they believe they are in direct lineage to the Creator. The Yoruba Creation Myth states that in the beginning, there was nothing but an enormous ocean that reached the heavens. The Gods and their sons consulted and decided to build a city on dry land for all living creatures. It is taught that in later years the children of these gods became the kings and queens of Yorubaland.*

In the beginning was only the sky above, water and marshland below. The chief god Olorun ruled the sky, and the goddess Olokun ruled what was below. Obatala, another god, reflected upon this situation, then went to Olorun for permission to create dry land for all kinds of living creatures to inhabit. He was given permission, so he sought advice from Orunmila, oldest son of Olorun and the god of prophecy. He was told he would need a gold chain long enough to reach below, a snail's shell filled with sand, a white hen, a black cat, and a palm nut, all of which he was to carry in a bag. All the gods contributed what gold they had, and Orunmila supplied the articles for the bag.

When all was ready, Obatala hung the chain from a corner of the sky, placed the bag over his shoulder, and started the downward climb. When he reached the end of the chain he saw he still had some distance to go. From above he heard Orunmila instruct him to pour the sand from the snail's shell, and to immediately release the white hen. He did as he was told, whereupon the hen landing on the sand began scratching and scattering it about. Wherever the sand landed it formed dry land, the bigger piles becoming hills and the smaller piles valleys. Obatala jumped to a hill and named the place Ife. The dry land now extended as far as he could see. He dug a hole, planted the palm nut, and saw it grow to maturity in a flash. The mature palm tree dropped more palm nuts on the ground, each of which grew immediately to maturity and repeated the process. Obatala settled down with the cat for company. Many months passed, and he grew bored with his routine. He decided to create beings like himself to keep him company. He dug into the sand and soon found clay with which to mold figures like himself and started on his task, but he soon grew tired and decided to take a break. He made wine from a nearby palm tree, and drank bowl after bowl. Not realizing he was drunk, Obatala returned to his task of fashioning the new beings; because of his condition he fashioned many imperfect figures. Without realizing this, he called out to Olorun to breathe life into his creatures. The next day he realized what he had done and swore never to drink again, and to take care of those who were deformed, thus becoming Protector of the Deformed.

The new people built huts as Obatala had done and soon Ife prospered and became a city. All the other gods were happy with what Obatala had done, and visited the land often, except for Olokun, the ruler of all below the sky. She had not been consulted by Obatala and grew angry that he had usurped so much of her kingdom. When Obatala returned to his home in the sky for a visit, Olokun summoned the great waves of her vast oceans and sent them surging across the land. Wave after wave she unleashed, until much of the land was underwater and many of the people were drowned. Those that had fled to the highest land beseeched the god Eshu who had been visiting, to return to the sky and report what was happening to them. Eshu demanded sacrifice be made to Obatala and himself before he would deliver the message. The people sacrificed some goats, and Eshu returned to the sky. When Orunmila heard the news he climbed down the golden chain to the earth, and cast many spells which caused the flood waters to retreat and the dry land reappear. So ended the great flood.

### CITATION INFORMATION:

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## The Qur'an

Also known as: Quran; Koran.

Date: c. 610–632

*The Qur'an is the sacred book of Islam. According to Islamic belief, the Qur'an (Koran) was revealed by God to the prophet Muhammad. Its tenets are strictly followed by devout Muslims around the world. The Qur'an is sacred in the same way to Muslims as the Bible is to Christians and Jews.*

*Allah is the Arabic name for the Supreme Being, or God. Qur'an, in Arabic, means "recitation." Muslims, or followers of Islam, believe that Muhammad received the word of Allah through the mediacy of the angel Gabriel and then recited it to the faithful. Islam, which means "submission to the word of God," is one of the world's great monotheistic religions, along with Judaism and Christianity. Devout Muslims believe that Allah sent several prophets, including Moses, Jesus, and, last but not most important, Muhammad, to save humankind from its sins. The teachings of Muhammad were passed orally among believers until they were recorded in book form after his death in 632. Devout Muslims regard the written text of the Qur'an to be an earthly copy of a book that exists as an eternal entity of the universe.*

*According to tradition, Muhammad, while in a heavenly trance, received the Qur'an from the angel Gabriel, a few verses at a time over the years 610 through 632, the year Muhammad died. Thus the teachings of the Qur'an follow the events of his life. Each time Muhammad awoke from his trance, he repeated Allah's revelations in Arabic to his followers. Legend states that scribes recorded the revelations on paper, palm-leaves, stone, or other objects that were on hand. Muhammad's followers then memorized the passages and recited them to other Arabs.*

### Surah 1

1: 1. In the name of ALLAH, the Gracious, the Merciful.

1: 2. All praise is due to ALLAH alone, Lord of all the worlds.

1: 3. The Gracious, the Merciful.

1: 4. Master of the Day of Judgment.

1: 5. THEE alone do we worship and THEE alone do we implore for help.

1: 6. Guide us in the straight path,

1: 7. The path of those on whom THOU hast bestowed THY favours, those who have not incurred THY displeasure and those who have not gone astray.

### Surah 47

47: 1. In the name of ALLAH, the Gracious, the Merciful.

47: 2. Those who disbelieve and hinder men from the way of ALLAH—HE renders their works vain.

47: 3. But as for those who believe and do righteous deeds and believe in that which has been revealed to Muhammad—and it is the truth from their Lord—HE removes from them their sins and sets right their affairs.

47: 4. That is because those who disbelieve follow falsehood while those who believe follow the truth from their Lord. Thus does ALLAH set forth for men their lessons by similitudes.

47: 5. And when you meet in regular battle those who disbelieve, smite their necks; and, when you have overcome them, by causing great slaughter among them, bind fast the fetters—then afterwards either release them as a favour or by taking ransom—until the war lays down its burdens. That is the ordinance. And if ALLAH had so pleased, HE could have punished them Himself, but HE has willed that HE may try some of you by others. And those who are killed in the way of ALLAH—HE will never render their works vain.

47: 6. HE will guide them to success and will improve their condition.

47: 7. And will admit them into the Garden which HE has made known to them.

47: 8. O ye who believe! if you help the cause of ALLAH, HE will help you and will make your steps firm.

47: 9. But those who disbelieve, perdition is their lot; and HE will make their works vain.

47: 10. That is because they hate what ALLAH has revealed; so HE has made their works vain.

47: 11. Have they not traveled in the earth and seen what was the end of those who were before them? ALLAH utterly destroyed them, and for the disbelievers there will be the like thereof.

47: 12. That is because ALLAH is the Protector of those who believe, and the disbelievers have no protector.

47: 13. Verily, ALLAH will cause those who believe and do good works to enter the Gardens underneath which streams flow; While those who disbelieve enjoy themselves and eat even as the cattle eat, and the Fire will be their last resort.

47: 14. And how many a township, mightier than thy town which has driven thee out, have WE destroyed, and they had no helper.

47: 15. Then, is he who takes his stand upon a clear proof from his Lord like those to whom the evil of their deeds is made to look attractive and who follow their low desires?

47: 16. A description of the Garden promised to the righteous: Therein are streams of water which corrupts not; and streams of milk of which the taste changes not; and streams of wine, a delight to those who drink; and streams of clarified honey. And in it they will have all kinds of fruit, and forgiveness from their Lord. Can those who enjoy such bliss be like those who abide in the Fire and who are given boiling water to drink so that it tears their bowels?

47: 17. And among them are some who seems to listen to thee till, when they go forth from thy presence, they say to those who have been given knowledge, 'What has he been talking about just now?' These are they upon whose hearts ALLAH has set a seal, and who follow their own evil desires.

47: 18. But as for those who follow guidance, HE adds to their guidance, and bestows on them righteousness suited to their condition.

47: 19. The disbelievers wait not but for the Hour, that it should come upon them suddenly. The Signs thereof have already come. But of what avail will their admonition be to them when it has actually come upon them.

47: 20. Know, therefore, that there is no god other than ALLAH, and ask protection for thy human frailties, and for believing men and believing women. And ALLAH knows the place where you move about and the place where you stay.

47: 21. And those who believe say, 'Why is not a Surah revealed?' But when a decisive Surah is revealed and fighting is mentioned therein, thou seest those in whose hearts is a disease, looking towards thee like the look of one who is fainting on account of approaching death. So woe to them!

47: 22. Their attitude should have been one of obedience and of calling people to good. And when the matter was determined upon, it was good for them if they were true to ALLAH.

47: 23. Would you not then, if you are placed in authority, create disorder in the land and sever your ties of kinship?

47: 24. It is these whom ALLAH has cursed, so that HE has made them deaf and has made their eyes blind.

47: 25. Will they not, then, ponder over the Qur'an, or, is it that there are locks on their hearts?

47: 26. Surely, those who turn their backs after guidance has become manifest to them, Satan has seduced them and holds out false hopes to them.

47: 27. That is because they said to those who hate what ALLAH has revealed, 'We will obey you in some matters, and ALLAH knows their secrets.

47: 28. But how will they fare when the angels will cause them to die, smiting their faces and their backs?

47: 29. That is because they followed that which displeased ALLAH, and disliked the seeking of HIS pleasure. So HE rendered their works vain.

47: 30. Do those in whose hearts is a disease suppose that ALLAH will not bring to light their malice?

47: 31. And if WE pleased, WE could show them to thee so that thou shouldst know them by their marks. And thou shalt, surely, recognize them by the tone of their speech. And ALLAH knows your deeds.

47: 32. And WE will, surely, try you, until WE make manifest those among you who strive for the cause of ALLAH and those who are steadfast. And WE will make known the true facts about you.

47: 33. Those, who disbelieve and hinder men from the way of ALLAH and oppose the Messenger after guidance has become manifest to them, shall not harm ALLAH in the least; and HE will make their works fruitless.

47: 34. O ye who believe! obey ALLAH and obey the Messenger and make not your works vain.

47: 35. Verily, those who disbelieve and hinder people from the way of ALLAH, and then die while they are disbelievers—ALLAH certainly, will not forgive them.

47: 36. So be not slack and sue not for peace, for you will, certainly, have the upper hand. And ALLAH is with you, and HE will not deprive you of the reward of your actions.

47: 37. The life of this world is but a sport and a pastime, and if you believe and be righteous, HE will give you your rewards, and will not ask of you your wealth.

47: 38. Were HE to ask it of you and press you, you would be niggardly, and HE would bring to light your malice.

47: 39. Behold! You are those who are called upon to spend in the way of ALLAH; but of you there are some who are niggardly. And whoso is niggardly, is niggardly only against his own soul. And ALLAH is Self-Sufficient, and it is you who are needy. And if you turn your backs, HE will bring in your place another people; then they will not be like you.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Page, Willie F. and R. Hunt Davis, eds. "Koran." *Encyclopedia of African History and Culture*. Vol. 2, *African Kingdoms (500 to 1500)*. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2005. Facts On File, Inc. *Ancient and Medieval History Online*. [www.fofweb.com](http://www.fofweb.com).

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introduction and explanatory notes (from Sale and other writers), by J. Murdock (*Sacred Books of the East*), 2d ed., 1902. *The Religion of the Koran*, selections with an introduction by A. N. Wollaston (*The Wisdom of the East*), 1904. Sir W. Muir: *The Koran, its Composition and Teaching*, 1878.

## **Antiochus Strategos: Account of the Sack of Jerusalem**

Date: 614

*Byzantine law was tolerant to Jews [Theodosian Code 16.8.21], but there remained a general prejudice against Jews. The following is an account of the fall of Jerusalem to the Persians in 614, by the monk Antiochus Strategos, who lived in the monastery (lavra) of St. Sabas in Jerusalem and expresses that prejudice. It provides a Byzantine version of what transpired and may also, of course, reflect Jewish resistance to Byzantine restrictions and oppression.*

*Finally, despite Antiochus's account, the Persians of this period seem to have been significantly more tolerant of religious diversity than almost any other contemporary government. They began the system, long continued and later known (under the Turks) as the millet system, by which each religious group governed itself in religious and family matters.*

The beginning of the struggle of the Persians with the Christians of Jerusalem was on the 15th April, in the second indiction, in the fourth year of the Emperor Heraclius. They spent twenty days in the struggle. And they shot from their ballistas with such violence, that on the twenty-first day they broke down the city wall. Thereupon the evil; foemen entered the city in great fury, like infuriated wild beasts and irritated serpents. The men however, who defended the city wall fled, and hid themselves in caverns, fosses and cisterns in order to save themselves; and the people in crowds fled into churches and altars; and there they destroyed them. For the enemy entered in a mighty wrath, gnashing their teeth in violent fury; like evil beasts they roared, bellowed like lions, hissed like ferocious serpents, and slew all whom they found. [ Like ] mad dogs they tore with their teeth the flesh of the faithful, and respected non at all, neither male nor female, neither young nor old, neither child nor baby, neither priest no monk, neither virgin nor widow. . . .

Meanwhile the evil Persians, who had no pity in their hearts, raced to every place in the city and with one accord extirpated all the people. Anyone who ran away in terror they caught hold of; and if any cried out from fear, they roared at them with gashing teeth, and by breaking their teeth on the ground forced them to close their mouths. They slaughtered tender infants on the ground, and then with loud yelps called their parents. The parents bewailed the children with vociferations and sobbings, but were promptly despatched along with them. Any that were caught armed were massacred with their own weapons. Those who ran swiftly were pierced with arrows, the unresisting and quiet they slew without mercy. They listened not to the appeals of supplicants, nor pitied youthful [ beauty ] nor had compassion on old men's age, nor blushed before the humility of the clergy. On the contrary they destroyed persons of every age, massacred them like animals, cut them into pieces, mowed sundry of them down like cabbages, so that all alike had severally to drain the cup full of bitterness. Lamentation and terror might be seen in Jerusalem. Holy churches were burned with fire, other were demolished, majestic altars fell prone, sacred crosses were trampled underfoot, life-giving icons were spat upon by the unclean. Then their wrath fell upon priests and deacons; they slew them in their churches like dumb animals.

Thereupon the vile Jews, enemies of the truth and haters of Christ, when they perceived that the Christians were given over into the hands of the enemy, rejoiced exceedingly, because they detested the Christians; and they conceived an evil plan in keeping with their vileness about the people. For in the eyes of the Persians their importance was great, because they were the betrayers of the Christians. And in this season then the Jews approached the edge of the reservoir and called out to the children of God, while they were shut up therein, and said to them: "If ye would escape from death, become Jews and deny Christ; and then ye shall step up from your place and join us. We will ransom you with our money, and ye shall be benefited by us." But their plot and desire were not fulfilled, their labours proved to be in vain; because the children of the Holy Church chose death for Christ's sake rather than to live in godlessness: and they reckoned it better for their flesh to be punished, rather than their souls ruined, so that their portion were not with the Jews. And when the unclean Jews saw the steadfast uprightness of the Christians and their immovable faith, then they were agitated with lively ire, like evil beasts, and thereupon imagined an other plot. As of old they bought the Lord from the Jews with silver, so they purchased Christians out of the reservoir; for they gave the Persians silver, and they bought a Christian and slew him like a sheep. The Christians however rejoiced because they were being slain for Christ's sake and shed their blood for His blood, and took on themselves death in return for His death. . . .

When the people were carried into Persia, and the Jews were left in Jerusalem, they began with their own hands to demolish and burn such of the holy churches as were left standing. . . .

How many souls were slain in the reservoir of Mamel! How many perished of hunger and thirst! How many priests and monks were massacred by the sword! How many infants were crushed under foot, or perished

by hunger and thirst, or languished through fear and horror of the foe! How many maidens, refusing their abominable outrages, were given over to death by the enemy! How many parents perished on top of their own children! How many of the people were bought up by the Jews and butchered, and became confessors of Christ! How many persons, fathers, mothers, and tender infants, having concealed themselves in fosses and cisterns, perished of darkness and hunger! How many fled into the Church of the Anastasis, into that of Sion and other churches, and were therein massacred and consumed with fire! Who can count the multitude of the corpses of those who were massacred in Jerusalem?

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## Ordinance of Louis the Pious

Date: 817

*Louis I was the son and successor of Charlemagne and, as his name suggests, a deeply devout man. In 817 he divided the Frankish Empire among his three sons, as detailed in this ordinance. This act would have far-reaching consequences, for when Louis awarded land to a fourth son from a different marriage in 829, his three other sons went to war against him, deposing him in 833. Although he eventually regained the throne and made peace with his sons, Louis left a much weaker and more vulnerable empire than the one he had inherited.*

Original spellings have been retained in this document

In the name of the Lord God and of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Louis, the divine power ordaining, august emperor. While we in the name of God, in the year 817 of the incarnation of the Lord, in the tenth indiction, and in the fourth year of our reign, in the month of July, had assembled in our palace at Aix in our accustomed manner a sacred synod and the generality of our people to treat of ecclesiastical needs and the needs of our whole empire, and were intent upon these, suddenly, by divine inspiration, it came about that our faithful ones warned us that, while we still remained safe and peace on all sides was granted by God, we should, after the manner of our forefathers, treat of the condition of the whole kingdom and of the case of our sons. But although this admonition was devoutly and faithfully given, nevertheless it seems good neither to us nor to those who know what is salutary' that for the love or for the sake of our sons the unity of the empire preserved to us by God should be rent by human division; lest by chance from this cause a scandal should arise in the holy church and we should incur the offending of Him in whose power are the laws of all kingdoms. Therefore we thought it necessary that by fastings and prayers and the giving of alms we should obtain from Him that which our infirmity did not presume. Which being duly performed for three days, by the will of Almighty God, as we believe, it was brought about that both our own wishes and those of our whole people concurred in the election of our beloved first-born Lothar. And so it pleased both us and all our people that he, thus manifested by the divine dispensation, being crowned in solemn manner with the imperial diadem, should, by common wish, be made our consort and successor to the empire if God should so wish. But as to his other brothers, Pippin, namely, and Louis our namesake, it seemed good by common counsel to distinguish them by the name of kings, and to fix upon the places named below, in which after our decease they may hold sway with regal power under their elder brother according to the clauses mentioned below, in which are contained the conditions which we have established among them. Which clauses, on account of the advantage of the empire, and of preserving perpetual peace among them, and for the safety of the whole church, it pleased us to deliberate upon with all our faithful ones; and having deliberated, to write down; and having written down, to confirm with our own hands: so that, God lending His aid, as they had been passed by all with common consent, so by common devotion they should be inviolably observed by all, to the perpetual peace of themselves and of the whole Christian people; saving in all things our imperial power over our sons and our people, with all the subjection which is exhibited by a father to his sons and to an emperor and king by his people.

1. We will that Pippin shall have Aquitania and Gascony, and all the March of Toulouse, and moreover four counties: namely, in Septimania Carcassone, and in Burgundy Autun, l'Avalonnais and Nevers.

2. Likewise we will that Louis shall have Bavaria and Carinthia, and the Bohemians, Avars, and Slavs, who are on the eastern side of Bavaria; and furthermore, two demesne towns to do service to him, in the county of Nortgau, Lauterburg and Ingolstadt.

3. We will that these two brothers, who are called by the name of king, shall possess power of themselves to distribute all honours within the range of their jurisdiction; provided that in the bishoprics and abbeys the ecclesiastical order shall be held to, and in giving other honours, honesty and utility shall be observed.

4. Likewise we will, that once a year, at a fitting times either together or individually, according as the condition of things allows, they shall come to their elder brother with their gifts, for the sake of visiting him, and seeing him, and treating with mutual fraternal love of those things which are necessary, and which pertain to the common utility and to perpetual peace. And if by chance one of them, impeded by some inevitable necessity, is unable to come at the accustomed and fitting time, he shall signify this to his elder brother by sending legates and gifts; so, nevertheless, that at whatever suitable time it may be possible for him, he shall not avoid coming through any feigned excuse.

5. We will and order that the elder brother, when one or both of his brothers shall come to him, as has been said, with gifts, shall, according as to him, by God's will, greater power has been attributed, likewise himself remunerate them with pious and fraternal love, and a more ample gift.

6. We will and order that the elder brother shall, either in person, or through his faithful envoys and his armies, according as reason dictates and time and occasion permits send help to his younger brothers when they shall reasonably ask him to come to their aid against external nations.

7. We likewise will that without the counsel and consent of the elder brother they by no means presume to make peace with, or engage in war against, foreign nations, and those that are hostile to this empire, which is in the care of God.

8. But as to envoys, if such are sent by external nations either for the sake of making peace, or engaging in war, or surrendering castles, or of arranging any other important matters, they, the younger brothers, shall by no means give them an answer without the knowledge of the elder brother, nor shall they send them away. But if envoys shall be sent to him from any place, he of the younger brothers to whom they shall first come, shall receive them with honour, and shall cause them, accompanied by faithful envoys, to come into his (the older brother's) presence. But in minor matters, according to the nature of the embassy, they may answer of themselves. But we add this warning, that in whatever condition affairs within their confines may be, they shall not neglect to keep their elder brother always informed, that he may be found always interested and ready to give his attention to whatever things the necessity and utility of the kingdom shall demand.

9. It seems best for us also to require that after our decease the vassal of each one of the brothers, for the sake of avoiding discord, shall have a benefice only in the domain of his ruler, and not in that of one of the others. But his own property and heritage, wherever it be, each one may possess according to his law, and without unjust interference, justice being observed, with honour and security; and each free man who has not a lord shall be allowed to commend himself to whichever of the three brothers he may wish.

10. But if, what God avert and what we least of all wish, it should happen that any one of the brothers, on account of desire for earthly goods, which is the root of all evils, shall be either a divider or oppressor of the churches or the poor, or shall exercise tyranny, in which all cruelty consists: first, in secret, according to the precept of God, he shall be warned once, twice, and thrice, through faithful envoys, to amend; and if he refuse them, being summoned by one brother before the other he shall be admonished and punished with fraternal and paternal love. And if he shall altogether spurn this healthful admonition, by the common sentence of all it shall be decreed what is to be done concerning him; so that him whom a healthful admonition could not recall from his wicked ways, the imperial power and the common sentence of all may coerce.

11. But the rulers of the churches of Francia shall have such power over the possessions of the same, whether in Aquitania or in Italy, or in other regions and provinces subject to this empire, as they had in the time of our father, or are known to have in our own.

12. Whatever of tribute, moreover, and rents and precious metals can be exacted or obtained within their confines, they shall possess; so that from these they may provide for their necessities, and may the better be able to prepare the gifts to be brought to their elder brother.

13. We will, also, that if to any one of them, after our decease, the time for marrying shall come, he shall take a wife with the counsel and consent of his elder brother. This, moreover, we decree shall be guarded against, for the sake of avoiding discords and removing harmful opportunities: that any one of them shall presume to take a wife from external nations. But the vassals of all of them, in order that the bonds of peace may be drawn more closely, may take their wives from whatever places they wish.

14. But if any one of them, dying, shall leave lawful children, his power shall not be divided among them; but rather the people, coming together in common, shall elect one of them who shall be pleasing to God; and this one the elder brother shall receive as a brother and a son, and, himself being treated with paternal honour, shall observe this constitution towards him in every way. But in the matter of the other children they shall, with pious love, discuss how they may keep them and give them advice, after the manner of our parents.

15. But if any one of them shall die without lawful children, his power shall revert to the elder brother. And if he shall happen to have children from concubines we exhort the elder brother to act mercifully towards them.

16. But if at our death either of them shall happen not yet to be of lawful age according to Ripuarian law, we will that, until he arrive at the established term of years, just as now by us, so by his elder brother, both himself and his kingdom shall be cared for and governed. And when he shall come to be of lawful age, he shall in all things possess his power according to the manner laid down.

17. But to our son, if God will that he be our successor the kingdom of Italy shall in the aforesaid manner be subject in all things, just as it was subject to our father, and remains subject in the present time to us, by the will of God.

18. We exhort also the devotion of our whole people and that firmness of a most sincere faith, the fame of which has spread among almost all nations, that if our son, who by the divine aid shall succeed to us, shall depart from this life without legitimate heirs, they shall, for the sake of the salvation of all, and the tranquillity of the church and the unity of the empire, follow the conditions that we have made in the matter of his election, and elect one of our sons, if they shall survive their brother; so that in choosing him they shall seek to fulfil, not a human will, but the will of God.

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## Genji Monogatari, or The Tale of Genji

Date: c. 1000

*Murasaki Shikibu, also known as Lady Murasaki, (c. 973–1030) wrote what is widely considered to be the world's first novel, the Genji Monogatari (The Tale of Genji). The daughter of a Japanese provincial governor, Murasaki wrote her novel during Japan's cultural renaissance, the Heian period (794–1192). The Tale of Genji reflects the aristocratic culture that marked this era. It is also the cultural flower of a distinctively Japanese literary tradition, removed from the influence of Chinese hegemony.*

*The Tale of Genji represents a zenith in Heian writing during the 10th and 11th centuries. Because Murasaki Shikibu wrote it in Japanese and not Chinese, its popularity signaled a new appreciation for the Japanese language and for the women who utilized it.*

### CHAPTER I: THE CHAMBER OF KIRI

Some time had now elapsed since the death of the Emperor's favorite, but he was still often haunted by her image. Ladies were introduced into his presence, in order, if possible, to divert his attention, but without success.

There was, however, living at this time a young Princess, the fourth child of a late Emperor. She had great promise of beauty, and was guarded with jealous care by her mother, the Empress-Dowager. The Naishi-no-Ske, who had been at the Court from the time of the said Emperor, was intimately acquainted with the Empress and familiar with the Princess, her daughter, from her very childhood. This person now recommended the Emperor to see the Princess, because her features closely resembled those of Kiri-Tsubo.

"I have now fulfilled," she said, "the duties of my office under three reigns, and, as yet, I have seen but one person who resembles the departed. The daughter of the Empress-Dowager does resemble her, and she is singularly beautiful."

"There may be some truth in this," thought the Emperor, and he began to regard her with awakening interest.

This was related to the Empress-Dowager. She, however, gave no encouragement whatever to the idea, "How terrible!" she said. "Do we not remember the cruel harshness of the mother of the Heir-apparent, which hastened the fate of Kiri-Tsubo!"

While thus discountenancing any intimacy between her daughter and the Emperor, she too died, and the princess was left parentless. The Emperor acted with great kindness, and intimated his wish to regard her as his own daughter. In consequence of this her guardian, and her brother, Prince Hiub-Ku, considering that life at Court would be better for her and more attractive for her than the quiet of her own home, obtained for her an introduction there.

She was styled the Princess Fuji-Tsubo (of the Chamber of Wistaria), from the name of the chamber which was assigned to her.

There was, indeed, both in features and manners a strange resemblance between her and Kiri-Tsubo. The rivals of the latter constantly caused pain both to herself and to the Emperor; but the illustrious birth of the Princess prevented any one from ever daring to humiliate her, and she uniformly maintained the dignity of her position. And to her alas! the Emperor's thoughts were now gradually drawn, though he could not yet be said to have forgotten Kiri-Tsubo.

The young Prince, whom we now style Genji (the Gen), was still with the Emperor, and passed his time pleasantly enough in visiting the various apartments where the inmates of the palace resided. He found the companionship of all of them sufficiently agreeable; but beside the many who were now of maturer years, there was one who was still in the bloom of her youthful beauty, and who more particularly caught his fancy, the Princess Wistaria. He had no recollection of his mother, but he had been told by Naishi-no-Ske that this lady was exceedingly like her; and for this reason he often yearned to see her and to be with her.

The Emperor showed equal affection to both of them, and he sometimes told her that he hoped she would not treat the boy with coldness or think him forward. He said that his affection for the one made him feel the same for the other too, and that the mutual resemblance of her own and of his mother's face easily accounted for Genji's partiality to her. And thus as a result of this generous feeling on the part of the Emperor, a warmer tinge was gradually imparted both to the boyish humor and to the awakening sentiment of the young Prince.

The mother of the Heir-apparent was not unnaturally averse to the Princess, and this revived her old antipathy to Genji also. The beauty of her son, the Heir-apparent, though remarkable, could not be compared to his, and so bright and radiant was his face that Genji was called by the public Hikal-Genji-no-Kimi (the shining Prince Gen).

When he attained the age of twelve the ceremony of Gembuk<sup>1</sup> (or crowning) took place. This was also performed with all possible magnificence. . . . The Royal chair was placed in the Eastern wing of the Seiriu-Den, where the Emperor dwells, and in front of it were the seats of the hero of the ceremony and of the Sadaijin, who was to crown him and to regulate the ceremonial.

About ten o'clock in the forenoon Genji appeared on the scene. The boyish style of his hair and dress excellently became his features; and it almost seemed matter for regret that it should be altered. The Okura-Kiu-Kurahito, whose office it was to rearrange the hair of Genji, faltered as he did so. As to the Emperor, a sudden thought stole into his mind. "Ah! could his mother but have lived to have seen him now!" This thought, however, he at once suppressed. After he had been crowned the Prince withdrew to a dressing-room, where he attired himself in the full robes of manhood. Then descending to the Court-yard he performed a measured dance in grateful acknowledgment. This he did with so much grace and skill that all present were filled with admiration; and his beauty, which some feared might be lessened, seemed only more remarkable from the change. And the Emperor, who had before tried to resist them, now found old memories irresistible.

Sadaijin had by his wife, who was a Royal Princess, an only daughter. The Heir-apparent had taken some notice of her, but her father did not encourage him. He had, on the other hand, some idea of Genji, and had sounded the Emperor on the subject. He regarded the idea with favor, and especially on the ground that such a union would be of advantage to Genji, who had not yet any influential supporters.

Now all the Court and the distinguished visitors were assembled in the palace, where a great festival was held; Genji occupied a seat next to that of the Royal Princess. During the entertainment Sadaijin whispered something several times into his ear, but he was too young and diffident to make any answer.

Sadaijin was now summoned before the daos of the Emperor, and, according to custom, an Imperial gift, a white 'Uchiki (grand robe), and a suit of silk vestments were presented to him by a lady. Then proffering his own wine-cup, the Emperor addressed him thus:

"In the first hair-knot<sup>2</sup> of youth,  
Let love that lasts for age be bound!"

This evidently implied an idea of matrimony. Sadaijin feigned surprise and responded:

"Aye! if the purple<sup>3</sup> of the cord,  
I bound so anxiously, endure!"

He then descended into the Court-yard, and gave expression to his thanks in the same manner in which Genji had previously done. A horse from the Imperial stables and a falcon from the Kurand-Dokoro<sup>4</sup> were on view in the yard, and were now presented to him. The princes and nobles were all gathered together in front of the grand staircase, and appropriate gifts were also presented to each one of them. Among the crowd baskets and trays of fruits and delicacies were distributed by the Emperor's order, under the direction of Udaiben; and more rice-cakes and other things were given away now than at the Gembuk of the Heir-apparent.

In the evening the young Prince went to the mansion of the Sadaijin, where the espousal with the young daughter of the latter was celebrated with much splendor. The youthfulness of the beautiful boy was well pleasing to Sadaijin; but the bride, who was some years older than he was, and who considered the disparity in their age to be unsuitable, blushed when she thought of it.

Not only was this Sadaijin himself a distinguished personage in the State, but his wife was also the sister of the Emperor by the same mother, the late Empress; and her rank therefore was unequivocal. When to this we add the union of their daughter with Genji, it was easy to understand that the influence of Udaiben, the

grandfather of the Heir-apparent, and who therefore seemed likely to attain great power, was not after all of very much moment.

Sadaijin had several children. One of them, who was the issue of his Royal wife, was the Kurand Shiushiu.

Udaijin was not, for political reasons, on good terms with this family; but nevertheless he did not wish to estrange the youthful Kurand. On the contrary, he endeavored to establish friendly relations with him, as was indeed desirable, and he went so far as to introduce him to his fourth daughter, the younger sister of the Koki-Den.

Genji still resided in the palace, where his society was a source of much pleasure to the Emperor, and he did not take up his abode in a private house. Indeed, his bride, Lady Aoi (Lady Hollyhock), though her position insured her every attention from others, had few charms for him, and the Princess Wistaria much more frequently occupied his thoughts. "How pleasant her society, and how few like her!" he was always thinking; and a hidden bitterness blended with his constant reveries.

The years rolled on, and Genji being now older was no longer allowed to continue his visits to the private rooms of the Princess as before. But the pleasure of overhearing her sweet voice, as its strains flowed occasionally through the curtained casement . . . made him still glad to reside in the Palace. Under these circumstances he seldom visited the home of his bride, sometimes only for a day or two after an absence of five or six at Court.

His father-in-law, however, did not attach much importance to this, on account of his youth; and whenever they did receive a visit from him, pleasant companions were invited to meet him, and various games likely to suit his taste were provided for his entertainment.

In the Palace, Shigeisa, his late mother's quarters, was allotted to him, and those who had waited on her waited on him. The private house, where his grandmother had resided, was beautifully repaired for him by the Shuri Takmi—the Imperial Repairing Committee—in obedience to the wishes of the Emperor. In addition to the original loveliness of the landscape and the noble forest ranges, the basin of the lake was now enlarged, and similar improvements were effected throughout with the greatest pains. "Oh, how delightful would it not be to be in a place like that which such an one as one might choose!" thought Genji within himself.

#### FOOTNOTES:

- 1: The ceremony of placing a crown or coronet upon the head of a boy. This was an ancient custom observed by the upper and middle classes both in Japan and China, to mark the transition from boyhood to youth.
- 2: Before the crown was placed upon the head at the Gembuk, the hair was gathered up in a conical form from all sides of the head, and then fastened securely in that form with a knot of silken cords of which the color was always purple.
- 3: The color of purple typifies, and is emblematical of, love.
- 4: A body of men who resembled "Gentlemen-at-arms," and a part of whose duty it was to attend to the falcons.

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## Al Biruni's *Chronology*

Also known as: *The Existing Monuments* or *Chronology*.

Date: c. 1030

Al Biruni, also known as Abu ar-Rayhan Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Biruni; Abu Raihan Muhammad al-Biruni; al-Ustadh (973–1048)

*Al Biruni was one of the earliest Arab writers to be regarded as a true historian. He was a leading scientist of his day and also a geographer. He composed more than 138 treatises. These include treatises on the subjects of astronomy, weather, mineralogy, pharmacology, and trigonometry. He wrote extensive works on India, covering the philosophical and cosmological theories of Hinduism. His Al-Kanun al-Masudi is an encyclopedia of astronomy. Al Biruni's most important work is considered to be his Chronology, which is his Chronology of the Ancient Peoples.*

The following is an excerpt.

Praise be to God who is high above all things, and blessings be on Muhammed, the elected, the best of all created beings, and on his family, the guides of righteousness and truth.

One of the exquisite plans in God's management of the affairs of his creation, one of the glorious benefits which he has bestowed upon the entirety of his creatures, is that categorical decree of his, not to leave in his world any period without a just guide, whom he constitutes as a protector for his creatures, with whom to take refuge in unfortunate and sorrowful cases and accidents, and upon whom to devolve their affairs, when they seem indissolubly perplexed, so that the order of the world should rest upon—and its existence be supported by—his genius. And this decree (that the affairs of mankind should be governed by a prophet) has been settled upon them as a religious duty, and has been linked together with the obedience toward God, and the obedience toward his prophet, through which alone a reward in future life may be obtained—in accordance with the word of him, who is truth and justice—and his word is judgment and decree, "O ye believers, obey God, and obey the prophets, and those among yourselves who are invested with the command."

#### ERA OF THE CREATION.

The first and most famous of the beginnings of antiquity is the fact of the creation of mankind. But among those who have a book of divine revelation, such as the Jews, Christians, Magians, and their various sects, there exists such a difference of opinion as to the nature of this fact, and as to the question how to date from it, the like of which is not allowable for eras. Everything, the knowledge of which is connected with creation and with the history of bygone generations, is mixed up with falsifications and myths, because it belongs to a far remote age; because a long interval separates us therefrom, and because the student is incapable of keeping it in memory, and of fixing it (so as to preserve it from confusion). God says: "Have they not got the stories about those who were before them? None but God knows them." (Surahix, 71.) Therefore it is becoming not to admit any account of a similar subject, if it is not attested by a book, the correctness of which is relied upon, or by a tradition, for which the conditions of authenticity, according to the prevalent opinion, furnish grounds of proof.

If we now first consider this era, we find a considerable divergence of opinion regarding; it among these nations. For the Persians and Magians think that the duration of the world is 12,000 years, corresponding to the number of signs in the zodiac and of the months; and that Zarathustra, the founder of their law, thought that of those there had passed, till the time of his appearance, 3,000 years, intercalated with the day-quarters, for he himself had made their computation, and had taken into account that defect, which had accrued to them on account of the day-quarters, 'till the time when they were intercalated and made to agree with real time. From his appearance to the beginning of the Era of Alexander, they count 258 years; therefore they count from the beginning of the world to Alexander 3,258 years. However, if we compute the years from the creation of Gayomard, whom they hold to be the first man, and sum up the years of the reign of each of his successors—for the rule of Iran remained with his descendants without interruption—this number is, for the time 'till Alexander, the sum total of 3,354 years. So the specification of the single items of the addition does not agree with the sum total.

A section of the Persians is of the opinion that those past 3,000 years which we have mentioned are to be counted from the creation of Gayomard; because, before that, already six thousand years had elapsed—a time during which the celestial globe stood motionless, the natures (of created beings) did not interchange, the elements did not mix—during which there was no growth, and no decay, and the earth was not cultivated. Thereupon, when the celestial globe was set a-going, the first man came into existence on the equator, so that part of him in longitudinal direction was on the north, and part south of the line. The animals were reproduced, and mankind commenced to reproduce their own species and to multiply; the atoms of the elements mixed, so as to give rise to growth and decay; the earth was cultivated, and the world was arranged in conformity with fixed forms.

The Jews and Christians differ widely on this subject; for, according to the doctrine of the Jews, the time between Adam and Alexander is 3,448 years, whilst, according to the Christian doctrine it is 5,180 years. The Christians reproach the Jews with having diminished the number of years with the view of making the appearance of Jesus fall into the fourth millennium in the middle of the seven millennia, which are, according to their view, the time of the duration of the world, so as not to coincide with that time at which, as the prophets after Moses had prophesied, the birth of Jesus from a pure virgin at the end of time, was to take place.

#### ERA OF THE DELUGE.

The next following era is the era of the great deluge, in which everything perished at the time of Noah. Here, too, there is such a difference of opinions, and such a confusion, that you have no chance of deciding as to the correctness of the matter, and do not even feel inclined to investigate thoroughly its historical truth. The reason is, in the first instance, the difference regarding the period between the Era of Adam and the Deluge, which we have mentioned already; and secondly, that difference, which we shall have to mention, regarding the period between the Deluge and the Era of Alexander. For the Jews derive from the Torah, and the following books, for this latter period 1,792 years, whilst the Christians derive from their Torah for the same period 2,938 years.

The Persians, and the great mass of the Magians, deny the Deluge altogether; they believe that the rule of the world has remained with them without any interruption ever since Gayomard Gilshah, who was,

according to them, the first man. In denying the Deluge, the Indians, Chinese, and the various nations of the East, concur with them. Some, however, of the Persians admit the fact of the Deluge, but they describe it in a different way from what it is described in the books of the prophets. They say, a partial deluge occurred in Syria and the West at the time of Tahmurath, but it did not extend over the whole of the then civilized world and only a few nations were drowned in it; it did not extend beyond the peak of Hulwan, and did not reach the empires of the East. Further, they relate, that the inhabitants of the West, when they were warned by their sages, constructed buildings of the kind of the two pyramids that have been built in Egypt, saying: "If the disaster comes from heaven we shall go into them; if it comes from the earth, we shall ascend above them." People are of opinion that the traces of the water of the Deluge, and the efforts of the waves, are still visible on these two pyramids half-way up, above which the water did not rise. Another report says, that Joseph had made them a magazine where he deposited the bread and victuals for the years of drought.

It is related that Tahmurath on receiving the warning of the Deluge—231 years before the Deluge—ordered his people to select a place of good air and soil in his realm. Now they did not find a place that answered better to this description than Ispahan. Thereupon, he ordered all scientific books to be preserved for posterity and to be buried in a part of that place least exposed to obnoxious influences. In favor of this report we may state that in our time in Jay, the city of Ispahan, there have been discovered hills, which, on being excavated, disclosed houses, filled with many loads of that tree-bark with which arrows and shields are covered and which is called Tuz, bearing inscriptions, of which no one was able to say what they are and what they mean.

These discrepancies in their reports inspire doubts in the student, and make him inclined to believe what is related in some books, that Gayomard was not the first man, but that he was Gomer ben Yaphet ben Noah, that he was a prince to whom a long life was given, that he settled on the Mount Dumbawand, where he founded an empire, and that finally his power became very great, whilst mankind was still living in elementary conditions, similar to those at the time of creation and of the first stage of the development of the world. Then he, and some of his children, took control of the guidance of the world. Toward the end of his life, he became tyrannical, and called himself Adam, saying: "If anybody calls me by another name than this, I shall cut off his head."

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

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## Concordat of Worms

Date: 1122

*The Concordat of Worms was a compromise between Pope Calixtus II and the Holy Roman Emperor Henry V regarding the control of church offices. A conflict had erupted between the emperor and pope over which man had the authority to appoint bishops and abbots, who in turn controlled substantial amounts of land and wealth. The agreement allowed the Vatican the spiritual authority to direct the appointments, with the emperor overseeing the process and mediating possible disputes. It also granted secular (land) titles to the bishops. In return, the bishops paid homage to the Crown, recognizing the emperor as the final secular authority.*

Original spellings have been retained in this document.

#### (a.) Privilege of Pope Calixtus II.

I, bishop Calixtus, servant of the servants of God, do grant to thee beloved son, Henry-by the grace of God august emperor of the Romans-that the elections of the bishops and abbots of the German kingdom, who belong to the kingdom, shall take place in thy presence, without simony and without any violence; so that if any discord shall arise between the parties concerned, thou, by the counsel or judgment of the metropolitan and the co-provincials, may'st give consent and aid to the party which has the more right. The one elected, moreover, without any exaction may receive the regalia from thee through the lance, and shall do unto thee for these what he rightfully should. But he who is consecrated in the other parts of thy empire (i.e. Burgundy and Italy) shall, within six months, and without any exaction, receive the regalia from thee through the lance, and shall do unto thee for these what he rightfully should. Excepting all things which are known to belong to the Roman church. Concerning matters, however, in which thou dost make complaint to me, and dost demand aid, I, according to the duty of my office, will furnish aid to thee. I give unto thee true peace, and to all who are or have been on thy side in the time of this discord.

#### (b.) Edict of the Emperor Henry IV.

In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, I, Henry, by the grace of God august emperor of the Romans, for the love of God and of the holy Roman church and of our master pope Calixtus, and for the healing of my soul, do remit to God, and to the holy apostles of God, Peter and Paul, and to the holy catholic church, all investiture through ring and staff; and do grant that in all the churches that are in my kingdom or empire there may be canonical election and free consecration. All the possessions and regalia of St. Peter which, from the beginning of this discord unto this day, whether in the time of my father or also in mine, have been abstracted, and which I hold: I restore to that same holy Roman church. As to those things, moreover, which I do not hold, I will faithfully aid in their restoration. As to the possessions also of all other churches and princes, and of all others lay and clerical persons which have been lost in that war: according to the counsel of the princes, or according to justice, I will restore the things that I hold; and of those things which I do not hold I will faithfully aid in the restoration. And I grant true peace to our master pope Calixtus, and to the holy Roman church, and to all those who are or have been on its side. And in matters where the holy Roman church shall demand aid I will grant it; and in matters concerning which it shall make complaint to me I will duly grant to it justice. All these things have been done by the consent and counsel of the princes. Whose names are here adjoined: Adalbert archbishop of Mainz; F. archbishop of Cologne; H. bishop of Ratisbon; O. bishop of Bamberg; B. bishop of Spire; H. of Augsberg; G. of Utrecht; Ou. Of Constance; E. abbot of Fulda; Henry, duke; Frederick, duke; S. duke; Pertolf, duke; Margrave Teipold; Margrave Engelbert; Godfrey, count Palatine; Otto, count Palatine; Berengar, count.

I, Frederick, archbishop of Cologne and archchancellor, have given my recognizances.

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## The Great Fair at Thessalonica

Date: c. 1150

*Thessalonica was the site of the most well-known fair in the Byzantine world, and in later centuries was almost as important a city as the capital at Byzantium. Merchants came to Thessalonica from all over the East as well as the West. This fair was probably larger in size than the famous contemporary fair at Champagne in France. The following description is taken from the Timarion, a satirical work in the style of the ancient writer Lucian. It describes the fair of Thessalonica as it was in the mid-12th century (about 1150 c.e.), a period in which that city not only was of economic importance but was becoming significant culturally as well.*

The Demetria is a festival, like the Panathenaea at Athens and the Panionia among the Milesians, and it is at the same time the most important fair held in Macedon'ia. Not only do the natives of the country flock together to it in great numbers, but multitudes also come from all lands and of every race—Greeks, wherever they are found, the various tribes of Mysians [i.e. people of Moesia] who dwell on our borders as far as the Ister and Scythia, Campanians and other Italians, Lusitanians, and Transalpine Celts [this is Byzantine way of describing the Bulgarians, Neapolitans, Spaniards, Portuguese, and French]; and, to make a long story short, the shores of the ocean send pilgrims and suppliants to visit the martyr, so widely extended is his fame throughout Europe. For myself, being a Cappadocian from beyond the boundaries of the empire, [this country was now under the Seljuk sultans of Iconium] and having never before been present on the occasion, but having only heard it described, I was anxious to get a bird's eye view of the whole scene, that I might pass over nothing unnoticed. With this object I made my way up to a height close by the scene of the fair, where I sat down and surveyed everything at my leisure. What I saw there was a number of merchants' booths, set up in parallel rows opposite one another; and these rows extended to a great length, and were sufficiently wide apart to leave a broad space in the middle, so as to give free passage for the stream of the people. Looking at the closeness of the booths to one another and the regularity of their position, one might take them for lines drawn lengthwise from two opposite points. At right angles to these, other booths were set up, also forming rows, though of no great length, so that they resembled the tiny feet that grow outside the bodies of certain reptiles. Curious indeed it was, that while in reality there were two rows, they presented the appearance of a single animal, owing to the booths being so near and so straight; for lines suggested a long body, while the crossrows at the sides looked like the feet that supported it. I declare than when I looked down from the heights above on the ground plan of the fair, I could not help comparing it to a centipede, a very long insect with innumerable small feet under Its belly.

And if you are anxious to know what it contained, my inquisitive friend, as I saw it afterwards when I came down from the hills—well, there was every kind of material woven or spun by men or women, all those that come from Boeotia and the Peloponnese, and all that are brought in trading ships from Italy to Greece. Besides this, Phoencia furnishes numerous articles, and Egypt, and Spain, and the pillars of Hercules, where the finest coverlets are manufactured. These things the merchants bring direct from their respective countries to old Macedonia and Thessalonica; but the Euxine also contributes to the splendour of the fair by sending across its products to Constantinople, whence the cargoes are brought by numerous horses and mules. All this I went through and carefully examined afterwards when I came down; but even while I was still seated on the height above I was struck with wonder at the number and variety of the animals, and the extraordinary confusion of their noises which assailed my ears—horses neighing, oxen lowing, sheep bleating, pigs grunting, and dogs barking, for these also accompany their masters as a defence against wolves and thieves.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

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## Averroës on Free Will and Predestination

Also known as: *On the Harmony of Religions and Philosophy*, in Arabic as *Kitab fasl al-maqal*, with its appendix (*Damina*).

Date: c. 1190

Ibn Rushd, commonly known as Averroës (1126–1198)

*The Islamic philosopher Ibn Rushd, known as Averroës or Averroës of Córdoba, is also known as Abu al-Walid Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Rushd and Abu l-Walid Muhammad Ibn Rushd.*

*Ibn Rushd has been considered one of the greatest thinkers and scientists of the 12th century. He was studied in theology, mathematics, medicine, jurisprudence, and philosophy and wrote extensively in these areas. He wrote major works on Aristotle and Plato. In medicine he wrote on prevention of diseases, diagnoses, and on cures. He also wrote a treatise on astronomy and the motion of the spheres.*

*Averroës’s writings on philosophy and religion included works on questions of theology; in them he applied his knowledge of philosophy and logic. Averroës’s books were translated into Hebrew and Latin—his Latin translations were the most important source of Greek philosophy for the Christian religious and secular scholars of the Middle Ages.*

The following is an excerpt.

#### PROBLEM THIRD: OF FATE AND PREDESTINATION

This is one of the most intricate problems of religion. For if you look into the traditional arguments (Hadith) about this problem you will find them contradictory; such also being the case with arguments of reason. The contradiction in the arguments of the first kind is found in the Qur’an and the Hadith. There are many verses of the Qur’an, which by their universal nature teach that all the things are predestined and that man is compelled to do his acts; then there are verses which say that man is free in his acts and not compelled in performing them. The following verses tell us that all the things are by compulsion, and are predestined, “Everything have We created bound by a fixed degree” [Qur’an 56.49]; again, “With Him everything is regulated according to a determined measure” [Qur’an 13.9]. Further, He says, “No accident happened in the earth, nor in your persons, but the same was entered in the Book verily it is easy with God” [Qur’an 57.22]. There may be quoted many other verses on this subject.

Now, as to the verses which say that man can acquire deeds by free will, and that things are only possible and not necessary, the following may be quoted: “Or He destroys them (by ship-wreck), because of that which their crew have merited; though He pardons many things” [Qur’an 42.32]. And again, “Whatever misfortune befalls you is sent you by God, for that which your hands have deserved” [Qur’an 42.32]. Further, He says, “But they who commit evil, equal thereunto” [Qur’an 10.28]. Again, He says, “It shall have the good which it gains, and it shall have the evil which it gains” [Qur’an 2.278]. And, “And as to Thamud, We directed them, but they loved blindness better than the true directions” [Qur’an 41.16].

Sometimes contradiction appears even in a single verse of the Qur’an. For instance, He says, “After a misfortune has befallen you (you had already attained two equal advantages), do you say, whence comes this? Answer, This is from yourselves” [Qur’an 3.159]. In the next verse, He says, “And what happened unto you, on the day whereon the two armies met, was certainly by permission of the Lord” [Qur’an 3.160]. Of this kind also is the verse, “Whatever good befalls you, O man, it is from God; and whatever

evil befalls you, it is from yourself" [Qur'an 4.81]; while the preceding verse says, "All is from God" [Qur'an 4.80].

Such is also the case with the hadith. The Prophet says, "Every child is born in the true religion; his parents afterwards turn him into a Jew or a Christian." On another occasion he said, "The following people have been created for hell, and do the deeds of those who are fit for it. These have been created for heaven, and do deeds fit for it." The first hadith says that the cause of disbelief is one's own environments; while faith and belief are natural to man. The other hadith says that wickedness and disbelief are created by God, and man is compelled to follow them.

This condition of things has led Muslims to be divided into two groups. The one believed that man's wickedness or virtue is his own acquirement, and that according to these he will be either punished or rewarded. These are the Mutazilites. The belief of the other party is quite opposed to this. They say that man is compelled to do his deeds. They are the Jabarites. The Asharites have tried to adopt a mean between these two extreme views. They say that man can do action, but the deeds done, and the power of doing it, are both created by God. But this is quite meaningless. For if the deed and the power of doing it be both created by God, then man is necessarily compelled to do the act. This is one of the reasons of the difference of opinion about this problem.

As we have said there is another cause of difference of opinion about this problem, than the traditional one. This consists of the contradictory arguments advanced. For if we say that man is the creator of his own deeds, it would be necessary to admit that there are things which are not done according to the will of God, or His authority. So there would be another creator besides God, while the Muslims are agreed that there is no creator but He. If, on the other hand, we were to suppose that man cannot act freely, we admit thus he is compelled to do certain acts, for there is no mean between compulsion and freedom. Again, if man is compelled to do certain deeds, then on him has been imposed a task which he cannot bear; and when he is made to bear a burden, there is no difference between his work and the work of inorganic matter. For inorganic matter has no power, neither has the man the power for that which he cannot bear. Hence all people have made capability one of the conditions for the imposition of a task, such as wisdom. We find Abul Maali, saying in his Nizamiyyah, that man is free in his own deeds and has the capability of doing them. He has established it upon the impossibility of imposing a task which one cannot bear, in order to avoid the principle formerly disproved by the Mutazilites, on account of its being unfit by reason. The succeeding Asharites have opposed them. Moreover, if man had no power in doing a deed, then it will be only by chance that he may escape from evil, and that is meaningless. Such also would be the case with acquiring goodness. In this way all those arts which lead to happiness, as agriculture, etc., would become useless. So also would become useless all those arts the purpose of which is protection from, and repulsion of danger, as the sciences of war, navigation, medicine, etc. Such a condition is quite contrary to all that is intelligible to man.

Now it may be asked that if the case is so, how is this contradiction which is to be found both in hadith and reason to be reconciled we would say, that apparently the purpose of religion in this problem is not to divide it into two separate beliefs, but to reconcile them by means of a middle course, which is the right method. It is evident that God has created in us power by which we can perform deeds which are contradictory in their nature. But as this cannot be complete except by the cause which God has furnished for us, from outside, and the removal of difficulties from them, the deeds done are only completed by the conjunction of both these things at the same time. This being so, the deeds attributed to use are done by our intention, and by the fitness of the causes which are called the Predestination of God, which He has furnished for us from outside. They neither complete the works which we intend nor hinder them, but certainly become the cause of our intending them -- one of the two things. For intention is produced in us by our imagination, or for the verification of a thing, which in itself is not in our power, but comes into being by causes outside us. For instance, if we see a good thing, we like it, without intention, and move towards acquiring it. So also, if we happen to come to a thing which it is better to shun, we leave it without intention. Hence our intentions are bound and attached to causes lying outside ourselves.

To this the following words of God refer: "Each of them have angels, mutually succeeding each other, before him and behind him; they watch him by the command of God" [Qur'an 13.12]. As these outside causes take this course according to a well-defined order and arrangement, and never go astray from the path which their Creator has appointed for them, and our own intentions can neither be compelled, nor ever found, on the whole, but by their fitness, so it is necessary that actions too should also be within well-defined limits, that is, they be found in a given period of time and in a given quantity. This is necessary because our deeds are only the effects of causes, lying outside us; and all the effects which result from limited and prearranged causes are themselves limited, and are found in a given quantity only. This relation does not exist only between our actions and outside causes, but also between them and the causes which God has created in our body, and the well-defined order existing between the inner and outer causes. This is what is meant by Fate and predestination, which is found mentioned in the Qur'an and is incumbent upon man. This is also the "Preserved Tablet" [Qur'an 85.22]. God's knowledge of these causes, and that which pertains to them, is the cause of their existence. So no one can have a full knowledge of these things except God, and hence He is the only Knower of

secrets, which is quite true; as God has said, “Say, None either in heaven or earth, know that which is hidden besides God” [Qur’an 27.67].

A knowledge of causes is a knowledge of secret things, because the secret is a knowledge of the existence of a thing, before it comes into being, and as the arrangement and order of causes bring a thing into existence or not at a certain time, there must be a knowledge of the existence or non-existence of a thing at a certain time. A knowledge of the causes as a whole is the knowledge of what things would be found or not found at a certain moment of time. Praised be He, Who has a complete knowledge of creation and all of its causes. This is what is meant by the “keys of the secret, “ in the following words of God, “with Him are the keys of secret things; none know them besides Himself” [Qur’an 6.59].

All that we have said being true, it must have become evident how we can acquire our deeds, and how far they are governed by predestination and fate. This very reconciliation is the real purpose of religion by those verses and hadith which are apparently contradictory. When their universal nature be limited in this manner, those contradictions should vanish by themselves, and all the doubts which were raised before, about the contradictory nature of reason, would disappear. The existent things from our volition are completed by two things, our intention and the other causes. But when the deeds are referred to only by one of these agencies, doubts would rise. It may be said [this] is a good answer, and here reason is in perfect agreement with religion, but it is based upon the principles that these are agreed that there are creative causes bringing into existence other things; while the Muslims are agreed that there is no Creator but God. We would say that whatever they have agreed upon is quite right, but the objection can be answered in two ways. One of them is that this objection itself can be understood in two ways; one of them being that there is no Creator but God, and all those causes which He has created, cannot be called creators, except speaking figuratively.

Their existence also depends upon Him. He alone has made them to be causes, nay, He only preserves their existence as creative agents, and protects their effects after their actions. He, again, produces their essences at the moment when causes come together. He alone preserves them as a whole. Had there been no divine protection they could not have existed for the least moment of time. Abu Hamid (Al-Ghazzali) has said that a man who makes any of the causes to be co-existent with God is like a man who makes the pen share the work of a scribe in writing; that is, he says that the pen is a scribe and the man is a scribe too. He means that “writing “ is a word which may be applied to both, but in reality they have no resemblance in anything but word, for otherwise there is no difference between them. Such is also the case with the word Creator, when applied to God and the Causes. We say that in this illustration there are doubts. It should have been clearly shown, whether the scribe was the Creator of the essence (Jawhar) of pen, a preserver of it, as long as it remains a pen, and again a preserver of the writing after it is written, a Creator of it after it has come in touch with the pen, as we have just explained that God is the Creator of the essences (Jawahir) of everything which comes into contact with its causes, which are so called only by the usage. This is the reason why there is no creator but God -- a reason which agrees with our feelings, reason and religion. Our feelings and reason see that there are things which produce others.

The order found in the universe is of two kinds: that which God has put in the nature and disposition of things; and that which surround the universe from outside. This is quite clear in the movement of the heavenly bodies. For it is evident that the sun and the moon, the day and night, and all other stars are obedient to us; and it is on this arrangement and order which God has put in their movements that our existence and that of all other things depends. So even if we imagine the least possible confusion in them, with them in any other position, size and rapidity of movement which God has made for them, all the existent things upon the earth would be destroyed. This is so because of the nature in which God has made them and the nature of the things which are effected by them. This is very clear in the effects of the sun and the moon upon things of this world; such also being the case with the rains, winds, seas and other tangible things. But the greater effect is produced upon plants, and upon a greater number, or all, on the animals. Moreover, it is apparent that had there not been those faculties which God has put in our bodies, as regulating them that could not exist even for a single moment after birth. But, we say, had there not been the faculties found in all the bodies of the animals, and plants and those found in the world by the movement of the heavenly bodies, then they would not have existed at all, not even for a twinkling of the eye.

So praised be the “Sagacious, the Knowing” [Qur’an 67.14]. God has called our attention to this fact in His book, “And He has subjected the night and the day to your service; and the sun and the moon and the stars, which are compelled to serve by His Command” [Qur’an 77.14]; again, “Say, what think you, if God should cover you with perpetual night, until the day of Resurrection” [Qur’an 16.12]; and again, “Of His mercy, He has made you night and the day, that you may rest in the one, and may seek to obtain provision for yourselves of His abundance, by your industry; in the other” [Qur’an 28.71]; and, “And He obliges whatever is in heaven or on earth to serve you” [Qur’an 18.73]. Further He says, “He likewise compels the sun and the moon, which diligently perform their courses, to serve you; and have subjected the day and night to your service” [Qur’an 45.12]. There may be quoted many other verses on the subject. Had there been any wisdom in their existence by which God has favored us, and there would not have been those blessings for which we are to be grateful to Him.

The second answer to the objection is that we say that the things produced out of it are of two kinds: essences and substances; and movements, hardness, coldness and all other accidents. The essences and substances are not created by any but God. Their causes effect the accidents of those essences, and not the essences themselves. For instance, man and woman are only the agents, while God is the real creator of the child, and the life in it. Such is also the case with agriculture. The earth is prepared and made ready for it, and the seed scattered in it. But it is God who produces the ear of the grain. So there is no creator but God, while created things are but essences. To this refer the words of God. "O men, a parable is propounded unto you, therefore, hearken unto it. Verily the idols which you invoke, besides God, can never create a single fly, although they may all assemble for the purpose; and if the fly snatch anything from them they cannot turn the same from it. Weak is the petitioner and the petitioned" [Qur'an 22.72]. This is where the unbeliever wanted to mislead Abraham, when he said, "I give life and kill" [Qur'an 22.260]. When Abraham saw that he could understand it, he at once turned to the conclusive argument and said, "Verily, God brings the sun from the east; do you bring it from the west."

On the whole, if the matter about the creator and the doer be understood on this wise, there would be no contradiction, either in Hadith or in reason. So we say that the word "Creator" does not apply to the created things by any near or far-fetched metaphor, for the meaning of the creator is the inventor of the essences. So God has said, "God created you, and that which you know" [Qur'an 2.260]. It should be known that one who denies the effect of the causes on the results of them, also denies philosophy and all the sciences. For science is the knowledge of the things by their causes, and philosophy is the knowledge of hidden causes. To deny the causes altogether is a thing which is unintelligible to human reason. It is to deny the Creator, not seen by us. For the unseen in this matter must always be understood by a reference to the seen.

So those men can have no knowledge of God, when they admit that for every action there is an actor. It being so, the agreement of the Muslims on the fact that there is no Creator but God cannot be perfect, if we understand by it the denial of the existence of an agent in the visible world. For from the existence of the agent in it, we have brought an argument for the Creator in the invisible world. But when we have once admitted the existence of the Creator in the invisible world, it becomes clear that there is no Creative agent except one by His command and will. It is also evident that we can perform our own deeds, and that one who takes up only one side of the question is wrong, as is the case with the Mutazilites and the Jabarites. Those who adopt the middle course, like the Asharites, for discovering the truth cannot find it. For they make no difference for a man between the trembling and the movement of his hand by intention. There is no meaning in their admitting that both the movements are not by ourselves. Because if they are not by ourselves we have no power to check them, so we are compelled to do them. Hence there is no difference between trembling of hand and voluntary movement, which they could call acquired. So their is no difference between them, except in their names, which never effect the things themselves. This is all clear by itself.

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## Magna Carta

Also known as: Magna Charta, or Great Charter.

Date: 1215

*The Magna Carta became the foundation of the English constitution and the basis of modern constitutional government. The document restricted the absolute power of the monarch.*

*Prior to this time, kings had honored the practices of the feudal order, deferring certain rights and powers to their nobles. Certain privileges, freedoms, and representation had been established under the practices of feudal common-law custom. Henry II, who ruled from 1154 to 1189, had implemented numerous legal reforms. His son, King John Lackland (1199–1216), had lost Normandy and most of the holdings on the continent at the Battle of the Bowines in 1214. This led to his greater assertion of royal rights of power of the king and greater taxation, due to the cost of war. In 1213 he imposed a new tax on knights, after which the barons led an open rebellion against the king. Those rebellious against the monarch included the clergy, the nobility, and the citizens of London—a free city.*

*The feudal barons had a list of grievances and rights. The initial document was drawn up and with the help of Stephen Langton, the archbishop of Canterbury, in November 1214.*

*The rebellion between the nobles and the king ended with the king's loss at the Battle of Runnymede, a meadow near Windsor in Surrey County, England. There the king was forced by the barons to sign a newly*

*redrafted document, which included more rights and demands, on June 15, 1215. This document was called the Great Charter, or, as it was written in Latin, the Magna Carta.*

*The Magna Carta asserted the authorities and rights of the English aristocracy and the independence of the church. It reestablished feudal common-law custom and the privileges of free cities, such as London. To a lesser extent it implied the rights of subject people. Rights were granted, such as the right not to be jailed without charges, or habeas corpus, and the right to a trial by jury. It reestablished other rights that were formally recognized.*

*To enforce the charter a tribunal of 25 barons was established to hear complaints of the king breaking any of the rules of the charter. This tribunal had the legal power to use any means necessary against the king. King John immediately appealed to Pope Innocent III to annul the Magna Carta, which he said was signed under duress and force of arms. It was annulled by the pope on August 24, 1215.*

*The Magna Carta was reinstated with changes in 1216, 1217, and 1225 and became the framework on which modern constitutional government was founded.*

## PREAMBLE

John, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to the archbishop, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justiciaries, foresters, sheriffs, stewards, servants, and to all his bailiffs and liege subjects, greetings. Know that, having regard to God and for the salvation of our soul, and those of all our ancestors and heirs, and unto the honor of God and the advancement of his holy Church and for the rectifying of our realm, we have granted as underwritten by advice of our venerable fathers, Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England and cardinal of the holy Roman Church, Henry, archbishop of Dublin, William of London, Peter of Winchester, Jocelyn of Bath and Glastonbury, Hugh of Lincoln, Walter of Worcester, William of Coventry, Benedict of Rochester, bishops; of Master Pandulf, subdeacon and member of the household of our lord the Pope, of brother Aymeric (master of the Knights of the Temple in England), and of the illustrious men William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, William, earl of Salisbury, William, earl of Warenne, William, earl of Arundel, Alan of Galloway (constable of Scotland), Waren Fitz Gerold, Peter Fitz Herbert, Hubert De Burgh (seneschal of Poitou), Hugh de Neville, Matthew Fitz Herbert, Thomas Basset, Alan Basset, Philip d'Aubigny, Robert of Roppesley, John Marshal, John Fitz Hugh, and others, our liegemen.

1. In the first place we have granted to God, and by this our present charter confirmed for us and our heirs forever that the English Church shall be free, and shall have her rights entire, and her liberties inviolate; and we will that it be thus observed; which is apparent from this that the freedom of elections, which is reckoned most important and very essential to the English Church, we, of our pure and unconstrained will, did grant, and did by our charter confirm and did obtain the ratification of the same from our lord, Pope Innocent III, before the quarrel arose between us and our barons: and this we will observe, and our will is that it be observed in good faith by our heirs forever. We have also granted to all freemen of our kingdom, for us and our heirs forever, all the underwritten liberties, to be had and held by them and their heirs, of us and our heirs forever.

2. If any of our earls or barons, or others holding of us in chief by military service shall have died, and at the time of his death his heir shall be full of age and owe "relief", he shall have his inheritance by the old relief, to wit, the heir or heirs of an earl, for the whole barony of an earl by £100; the heir or heirs of a baron, £100 for a whole barony; the heir or heirs of a knight, 100s, at most, and whoever owes less let him give less, according to the ancient custom of fees.

3. If, however, the heir of any one of the aforesaid has been under age and in wardship, let him have his inheritance without relief and without fine when he comes of age.

4. The guardian of the land of an heir who is thus under age, shall take from the land of the heir nothing but reasonable produce, reasonable customs, and reasonable services, and that without destruction or waste of men or goods; and if we have committed the wardship of the lands of any such minor to the sheriff, or to any other who is responsible to us for its issues, and he has made destruction or waster of what he holds in wardship, we will take of him amends, and the land shall be committed to two lawful and discreet men of that fee, who shall be responsible for the issues to us or to him to whom we shall assign them; and if we have given or sold the wardship of any such land to anyone and he has therein made destruction or waste, he shall lose that wardship, and it shall be transferred to two lawful and discreet men of that fief, who shall be responsible to us in like manner as aforesaid.

5. The guardian, moreover, so long as he has the wardship of the land, shall keep up the houses, parks, fishponds, tanks, mills, and other things pertaining to the land, out of the issues of the same land; and he shall restore to the heir, when he has come to full age, all his land, stocked with ploughs and wainage, according as the season of husbandry shall require, and the issues of the land can reasonable bear.

6. Heirs shall be married without disparagement, yet so that before the marriage takes place the nearest in blood to that heir shall have notice.

7. A widow, after the death of her husband, shall forth-with and without difficulty have her marriage portion and inheritance; nor shall she give anything for her dower, or for her marriage portion, or for the inheritance which her husband and she held on the day of the death of that husband; and she may remain in the house of her husband for forty days after his death, within which time her dower shall be assigned to her.

8. No widow shall be compelled to marry, so long as she prefers to live without a husband; provided always that she gives security not to marry without our consent, if she holds of us, or without the consent of the lord of whom she holds, if she holds of another.

9. Neither we nor our bailiffs will seize any land or rent for any debt, as long as the chattels of the debtor are sufficient to repay the debt; nor shall the sureties of the debtor be distrained so long as the principal debtor is able to satisfy the debt; and if the principal debtor shall fail to pay the debt, having nothing wherewith to pay it, then the sureties shall answer for the debt; and let them have the lands and rents of the debtor, if they desire them, until they are indemnified for the debt which they have paid for him, unless the principal debtor can show proof that he is discharged thereof as against the said sureties.

10. If one who has borrowed from the Jews any sum, great or small, die before that loan be repaid, the debt shall not bear interest while the heir is under age, of whomsoever he may hold; and if the debt fall into our hands, we will not take anything except the principal sum contained in the bond.

11. And if anyone die indebted to the Jews, his wife shall have her dower and pay nothing of that debt; and if any children of the deceased are left under age, necessaries shall be provided for them in keeping with the holding of the deceased; and out of the residue the debt shall be paid, reserving, however, service due to feudal lords; in like manner let it be done touching debts due to others than Jews.

12. No scutage not aid shall be imposed on our kingdom, unless by common counsel of our kingdom, except for ransoming our person, for making our eldest son a knight, and for once marrying our eldest daughter; and for these there shall not be levied more than a reasonable aid. In like manner it shall be done concerning aids from the city of London.

13. And the city of London shall have all its ancient liberties and free customs, as well by land as by water; furthermore, we decree and grant that all other cities, boroughs, towns, and ports shall have all their liberties and free customs.

14. And for obtaining the common counsel of the kingdom anent the assessing of an aid (except in the three cases aforesaid) or of a scutage, we will cause to be summoned the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons, severally by our letters; and we will moreover cause to be summoned generally, through our sheriffs and bailiffs, and others who hold of us in chief, for a fixed date, namely, after the expiry of at least forty days, and at a fixed place; and in all letters of such summons we will specify the reason of the summons. And when the summons has thus been made, the business shall proceed on the day appointed, according to the counsel of such as are present, although not all who were summoned have come.

15. We will not for the future grant to anyone license to take an aid from his own free tenants, except to ransom his person, to make his eldest son a knight, and once to marry his eldest daughter; and on each of these occasions there shall be levied only a reasonable aid.

16. No one shall be distrained for performance of greater service for a knight's fee, or for any other free tenement, than is due therefrom.

17. Common pleas shall not follow our court, but shall be held in some fixed place.

18. Inquests of novel disseisin, of mort d'ancestor, and of darrein presentment shall not be held elsewhere than in their own county courts, and that in manner following; We, or, if we should be out of the realm, our chief justiciar, will send two justiciaries through every county four times a year, who shall alone with four knights of the county chosen by the county, hold the said assizes in the county court, on the day and in the place of meeting of that court.

19. And if any of the said assizes cannot be taken on the day of the county court, let there remain of the knights and freeholders, who were present at the county court on that day, as many as may be required for the efficient making of judgments, according as the business be more or less.

20. A freeman shall not be amerced for a slight offense, except in accordance with the degree of the offense; and for a grave offense he shall be amerced in accordance with the gravity of the offense, yet saving always his "contentment"; and a merchant in the same way, saving his "merchandise"; and a villein shall be amerced in the same way, saving his "wainage" if they have fallen into our mercy: and none of the aforesaid ameracements shall be imposed except by the oath of honest men of the neighborhood.

21. Earls and barons shall not be amerced except through their peers, and only in accordance with the degree of the offense.

22. A clerk shall not be amerced in respect of his lay holding except after the manner of the others aforesaid; further, he shall not be amerced in accordance with the extent of his ecclesiastical benefice.

23. No village or individual shall be compelled to make bridges at river banks, except those who from old were legally bound to do so.

24. No sheriff, constable, coroners, or others of our bailiffs, shall hold pleas of our Crown.

25. All counties, hundred, wapentakes, and trithings (except our demesne manors) shall remain at the old rents, and without any additional payment.

26. If anyone holding of us a lay fief shall die, and our sheriff or bailiff shall exhibit our letters patent of summons for a debt which the deceased owed us, it shall be lawful for our sheriff or bailiff to attach and enroll the chattels of the deceased, found upon the lay fief, to the value of that debt, at the sight of law worthy men, provided always that nothing whatever be thence removed until the debt which is evident shall be fully paid to us; and the residue shall be left to the executors to fulfill the will of the deceased; and if there be nothing due from him to us, all the chattels shall go to the deceased, saving to his wife and children their reasonable shares.

27. If any freeman shall die intestate, his chattels shall be distributed by the hands of his nearest kinsfolk and friends, under supervision of the Church, saving to every one the debts which the deceased owed to him.

28. No constable or other bailiff of ours shall take corn or other provisions from anyone without immediately tendering money therefor, unless he can have postponement thereof by permission of the seller.

29. No constable shall compel any knight to give money in lieu of castle-guard, when he is willing to perform it in his own person, or (if he himself cannot do it from any reasonable cause) then by another responsible man. Further, if we have led or sent him upon military service, he shall be relieved from guard in proportion to the time during which he has been on service because of us.

30. No sheriff or bailiff of ours, or other person, shall take the horses or carts of any freeman for transport duty, against the will of the said freeman.

31. Neither we nor our bailiffs shall take, for our castles or for any other work of ours, wood which is not ours, against the will of the owner of that wood.

32. We will not retain beyond one year and one day, the lands those who have been convicted of felony, and the lands shall thereafter be handed over to the lords of the fiefs.

33. All kydells for the future shall be removed altogether from Thames and Medway, and throughout all England, except upon the seashore.

34. The writ which is called praecipe shall not for the future be issued to anyone, regarding any tenement whereby a freeman may lose his court.

35. Let there be one measure of wine throughout our whole realm; and one measure of ale; and one measure of corn, to wit, "the London quarter"; and one width of cloth (whether dyed, or russet, or "halberget"), to wit, two ells within the selvedges; of weights also let it be as of measures.

36. Nothing in future shall be given or taken for awrit of inquisition of life or limbs, but freely it shall be granted, and never denied.

37. If anyone holds of us by fee-farm, either by socage or by burage, or of any other land by knight's service, we will not (by reason of that fee-farm, socage, or burage), have the wardship of the heir, or of such land of his as if of the fief of that other; nor shall we have wardship of that fee-farm, socage, or burage, unless such fee-farm owes knight's service. We will not by reason of any small serjeancy which anyone may hold of us by the service of rendering to us knives, arrows, or the like, have wardship of his heir or of the land which he holds of another lord by knight's service.

38. No bailiff for the future shall, upon his own unsupported complaint, put anyone to his "law", without credible witnesses brought for this purpose.

39. No freemen shall be taken or imprisoned or disseised or exiled or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him nor send upon him, except by the lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land.

40. To no one will we sell, to no one will we refuse or delay, right or justice.

41. All merchants shall have safe and secure exit from England, and entry to England, with the right to tarry there and to move about as well by land as by water, for buying and selling by the ancient and right customs, quit from all evil tolls, except (in time of war) such merchants as are of the land at war with us. And if such are found in our land at the beginning of the war, they shall be detained, without injury to their bodies or goods, until information be received by us, or by our chief justiciar, how the merchants of our land found in the land at war with us are treated; and if our men are safe there, the others shall be safe in our land.

42. It shall be lawful in future for anyone (excepting always those imprisoned or outlawed in accordance with the law of the kingdom, and natives of any country at war with us, and merchants, who shall be treated as if above provided) to leave our kingdom and to return, safe and secure by land and water, except for a short period in time of war, on grounds of public policy—reserving always the allegiance due to us.

43. If anyone holding of some escheat (such as the honor of Wallingford, Nottingham, Boulogne, Lancaster, or of other escheats which are in our hands and are baronies) shall die, his heir shall give no other relief, and perform no other service to us than he would have done to the baron if that barony had been in the baron's hand; and we shall hold it in the same manner in which the baron held it.

44. Men who dwell without the forest need not henceforth come before our justiciaries of the forest upon a general summons, unless they are in plea, or sureties of one or more, who are attached for the forest.

45. We will appoint as justices, constables, sheriffs, or bailiffs only such as know the law of the realm and mean to observe it well.

46. All barons who have founded abbeys, concerning which they hold charters from the kings of England, or of which they have long continued possession, shall have the wardship of them, when vacant, as they ought to have.

47. All forests that have been made such in our time shall forthwith be disafforsted; and a similar course shall be followed with regard to river banks that have been placed "in defense" by us in our time.

48. All evil customs connected with forests and warrens, foresters and warreners, sheriffs and their officers, river banks and their wardens, shall immediately be inquired into in each county by twelve sworn knights of the same county chosen by the honest men of the same county, and shall, within forty days of the said inquest, be utterly abolished, so as never to be restored, provided always that we previously have intimation thereof, or our justiciar, if we should not be in England.

49. We will immediately restore all hostages and charters delivered to us by Englishmen, as sureties of the peace of faithful service.

50. We will entirely remove from their bailiwicks, the relations of Gerard of Athee (so that in future they shall have no bailiwick in England); namely, Engelard of Cigogne, Peter, Guy, and Andrew of Chanceaux, Guy of Cigogne, Geoffrey of Martigny with his brothers, Philip Mark with his brothers and his nephew Geoffrey, and the whole brood of the same.

51. As soon as peace is restored, we will banish from the kingdom all foreign born knights, crossbowmen, sergeants, and mercenary soldiers who have come with horses and arms to the kingdom's hurt.

52. If anyone has been dispossessed or removed by us, without the legal judgment of his peers, from his lands, castles, franchises, or from his right, we will immediately restore them to him; and if a dispute arise over this, then let it be decided by the five and twenty barons of whom mention is made below in the clause for securing the peace. Moreover, for all those possessions, from which anyone has, without the lawful judgment of his peers, been disseised or removed, by our father, King Henry, or by our brother, King Richard, and which we retain in our hand (or which as possessed by others, to whom we are bound to warrant them) we shall have respite until the usual term of crusaders; excepting those things about which a plea has been raised, or an inquest made by our order, before our taking of the cross; but as soon as we return from the expedition, we will immediately grant full justice therein.

53. We shall have, moreover, the same respite and in the same manner in rendering justice concerning the disafforestation or retention of those forests which Henry our father and Richard our brother afforsted, and concerning the wardship of lands which are of the fief of another (namely, such wardships as we have hitherto had by reason of a fief which anyone held of us by knight's service), and concerning abbeys founded on other fiefs than our own, in which the lord of the fee claims to have right; and when we have returned, or if we desist from our expedition, we will immediately grant full justice to all who complain of such things.

54. No one shall be arrested or imprisoned upon the appeal of a woman, for the death of any other than her husband.

55. All fines made with us unjustly and against the law of the land, and all amercements, imposed unjustly and against the law of the land, shall be entirely remitted, or else it shall be done concerning them according to the decision of the five and twenty barons whom mention is made below in the clause for securing the peace, or according to the judgment of the majority of the same, along with the aforesaid Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, if he can be present, and such others as he may wish to bring with him for this purpose, and if he cannot be present the business shall nevertheless proceed without him, provided always that if any one or more of the aforesaid five and twenty barons are in a similar suit, they shall be removed as far as concerns this particular judgment, others being substituted in their places after having been selected by the rest of the same five and twenty for this purpose only, and after having been sworn.

56. If we have disseised or removed Welshmen from lands or liberties, or other things, without the legal judgment of their peers in England or in Wales, they shall be immediately restored to them; and if a dispute arise over this, then let it be decided in the marches by the judgment of their peers; for the tenements in England according to the law of England, for tenements in Wales according to the law of Wales, and for tenements in the marches according to the law of the marches. Welshmen shall do the same to us and ours.

57. Further, for all those possessions from which any Welshman has, without the lawful judgment of his peers, been disseised or removed by King Henry our father, or King Richard our brother, and which we retain in our hand (or which are possessed by others, and which we ought to warrant), we will have respite until the usual term of crusaders; excepting those things about which a plea has been raised or an inquest made by our order before we took the cross; but as soon as we return (or if perchance we desist from our expedition), we will immediately grant full justice in accordance with the laws of the Welsh and in relation to the foresaid regions.

58. We will immediately give up the son of Llywelyn and all the hostages of Wales, and the charters delivered to us as security for the peace.

59. We will do towards Alexander, king of Scots, concerning the return of his sisters and his hostages, and concerning his franchises, and his right, in the same manner as we shall do towards our other barons of England, unless it ought to be otherwise according to the charters which we hold from William his father, formerly king of Scots; and this shall be according to the judgment of his peers in our court.

60. Moreover, all these aforesaid customs and liberties, the observances of which we have granted in our kingdom as far as pertains to us towards our men, shall be observed by all of our kingdom, as well clergy as laymen, as far as pertains to them towards their men.

61. Since, moreover, for God and the amendment of our kingdom and for the better allaying of the quarrel that has arisen between us and our barons, we have granted all these concessions, desirous that they should enjoy them in complete and firm endurance forever, we give and grant to them the underwritten security, namely, that the barons choose five and twenty barons of the kingdom, whomsoever they will, who shall be bound with all their might, to observe and hold, and cause to be observed, the peace and liberties we have granted and confirmed to them by this our present Charter, so that if we, or our justiciar, or our bailiffs or any one of our officers, shall in anything be at fault towards anyone, or shall have broken any one of the articles of this peace or of this security, and the offense be notified to four barons of the foresaid five and twenty, the said four barons shall repair to us (or our justiciar, if we are out of the realm) and, laying the transgression before us, petition to have that transgression redressed without delay. And if we shall not have corrected the transgression (or, in the event of our being out of the realm, if our justiciar shall not have corrected it) within forty days, reckoning from the time it has been intimated to us (or to our justiciar, if we should be out of the realm), the four barons aforesaid shall refer that matter to the rest of the five and twenty barons, and those five and twenty barons shall, together with the community of the whole realm, distrain and distress us in all possible ways, namely, by seizing our castles, lands, possessions, and in any other way they can, until redress has been obtained as they deem fit, saving harmless our own person, and the persons of our queen and children; and when redress has been obtained, they shall resume their old relations towards us. And let whoever in the country desires it, swear to obey the orders of the said five and twenty barons for the execution of all the aforesaid matters, and along with them, to molest us to the utmost of his power; and we publicly and freely grant leave to everyone who wishes to swear, and we shall never forbid anyone to swear. All those, moreover, in the land who of themselves and of their own accord are unwilling to swear to the twenty five to help them in constraining and molesting us, we shall by our command compel the same to swear to the effect foresaid. And if any one of the five and twenty barons shall have died or departed from the land, or be incapacitated in any other manner which would prevent the foresaid provisions being carried out, those of the said twenty five barons who are left shall choose another in his place according to their own judgment, and he shall be sworn in the same way as the others. Further, in all matters, the execution of which is entrusted to these twenty five barons, if perchance these twenty five are present and disagree about anything, or if some of them, after being summoned, are unwilling or unable to be present, that which the majority of those present ordain or command shall be held as fixed and established, exactly as if the whole twenty five had concurred in this; and the said twenty five shall swear that they will faithfully observe all that is aforesaid, and cause it to be observed with all their might. And we shall procure nothing from anyone, directly or indirectly, whereby any part of these concessions and liberties might be revoked or diminished; and if any such things has been procured, let it be void and null, and we shall never use it personally or by another.

62. And all the will, hatreds, and bitterness that have arisen between us and our men, clergy and lay, from the date of the quarrel, we have completely remitted and pardoned to everyone. Moreover, all trespasses occasioned by the said quarrel, from Easter in the sixteenth year of our reign till the restoration of peace, we have fully remitted to all, both clergy and laymen, and completely forgiven, as far as pertains to us. And on this head, we have caused to be made for them letters testimonial patent of the lord Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, of the lord Henry, archbishop of Dublin, of the bishops aforesaid, and of Master Pandulf as touching this security and the concessions aforesaid.

63. Wherefore we will and firmly order that the English Church be free, and that the men in our kingdom have and hold all the aforesaid liberties, rights, and concessions, well and peaceably, freely and quietly, fully and wholly, for themselves and their heirs, of us and our heirs, in all respects and in all places forever, as is aforesaid. An oath, moreover, has been taken, as well on our part as on the part of the barons, that all these conditions aforesaid shall be kept in good faith and without evil intent. Given under our hand—the above named and many others being witnesses—in the meadow which is called Runnymede, between Windsor and Staines, on the fifteenth day of June, in the seventeenth year of our reign.

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## Saint Thomas Aquinas: *Summa theologia*

Also known as: *Summa theologiae*

Date: 1265–1274

*A philosophical treatise written by Roman Catholic theologian and philosopher Saint Thomas Aquinas from approximately 1265 to 1274, it summarized Christian theology in its entirety. The work was divided into three parts, with the first treating the existence and nature of God; the second, ethical and moral questions; and the third, Christ, the Sacraments, and the salvation of man's soul. Throughout the work Aquinas's arguments were aided by the methodology of Aristotelian logic, whereby ultimate causes were deduced from facts based on experience. At the same time, Aquinas relied on divine revelation, or the Holy Scriptures, for his ultimate conclusions about the Christian faith. The work has been the basis, up to the present day, for the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church.*

The following entry contains an excerpt from the original document.

### QUESTION 27

#### OF THE CAUSE OF LOVE

(In Four Articles)

We must now consider the cause of love: and under this head there are four points of inquiry:

- (1) Whether good is the only cause of love?
- (2) Whether knowledge is a cause of love?
- (3) Whether likeness is a cause of love?
- (4) Whether any other passion of the soul is a cause of love?

#### FIRST ARTICLE [I–II, Q. 27, ART. 1]

Whether Good Is the Only Cause of Love?

Objection 1: It would seem that good is not the only cause of love. For good does not cause love, except because it is loved. But it happens that evil also is loved, according to Ps. 10:6: “He that loveth iniquity, hateth his own soul”: else, every love would be good. Therefore good is not the only cause of love.

Obj. 2: Further, the Philosopher says (Rhet. ii, 4) that “we love those who acknowledge their evils.” Therefore it seems that evil is the cause of love.

Obj. 3: Further, Dionysius says (Div. Nom. iv) that not “the good” only but also “the beautiful is beloved by all.”

On the contrary, Augustine says (De Trin. viii, 3): “Assuredly the good alone is beloved.” Therefore good alone is the cause of love.

I answer that, As stated above (Q. 26, A. 1), Love belongs to the appetitive power which is a passive faculty. Wherefore its object stands in relation to it as the cause of its movement or act. Therefore the cause of love must needs be love's object. Now the proper object of love is the good; because, as stated above (Q. 26, AA. 1, 2), love implies a certain connaturalness or complacency of the lover for the thing beloved, and to everything, that thing is a good, which is akin and proportionate to it. It follows, therefore, that good is the proper cause of love.

Reply Obj. 1: Evil is never loved except under the aspect of good, that is to say, in so far as it is good in some respect, and is considered as being good simply. And thus a certain love is evil, in so far as it tends to that which is not simply a true good. It is in this way that man “loves iniquity,” inasmuch as, by means of iniquity, some good is gained; pleasure, for instance, or money, or such like.

Reply Obj. 2: Those who acknowledge their evils, are beloved, not for their evils, but because they acknowledge them, for it is a good thing to acknowledge one's faults, in so far as it excludes insincerity or hypocrisy.

Reply Obj. 3: The beautiful is the same as the good, and they differ in aspect only. For since good is what all seek, the notion of good is that which calms the desire; while the notion of the beautiful is that which calms the desire, by being seen or known. Consequently those senses chiefly regard the beautiful, which are the most cognitive, viz. sight and hearing, as ministering to reason; for we speak of beautiful sights and beautiful sounds. But in reference to the other objects of the other senses, we do not use the expression “beautiful,” for we do not speak of beautiful tastes, and beautiful odors. Thus it is evident that beauty adds to goodness a relation to the cognitive faculty: so that “good” means that which simply pleases the appetite; while the “beautiful” is something pleasant to apprehend.

#### SECOND ARTICLE [I–II, Q. 27, ART. 2]

Whether Knowledge Is a Cause of Love?

Objection 1: It would seem that knowledge is not a cause of love. For it is due to love that a thing is sought. But some things are sought without being known, for instance, the sciences; for since “to have them is the same as to know them,” as Augustine says (QQ. 83, qu. 35), if we knew them we should have them, and should not seek them. Therefore knowledge is not the cause of love.

Obj. 2: Further, to love what we know not seems like loving something more than we know it. But some things are loved more than they are known: thus in this life God can be loved in Himself, but cannot be known in Himself. Therefore knowledge is not the cause of love.

Obj. 3: Further, if knowledge were the cause of love, there would be no love, where there is no knowledge. But in all things there is love, as Dionysius says (Div. Nom. iv); whereas there is not knowledge in all things. Therefore knowledge is not the cause of love.

On the contrary, Augustine proves (De Trin. x, 1, 2) that “none can love what he does not know.”

I answer that, As stated above (A. 1), good is the cause of love, as being its object. But good is not the object of the appetite, except as apprehended. And therefore love demands some apprehension of the good that is loved. For this reason the Philosopher (Ethic. ix, 5, 12) says that bodily sight is the beginning of sensitive love: and in like manner the contemplation of spiritual beauty or goodness is the beginning of spiritual love. Accordingly knowledge is the cause of love for the same reason as good is, which can be loved only if known.

Reply Obj. 1: He who seeks science, is not entirely without knowledge thereof: but knows something about it already in some respect, either in a general way, or in some one of its effects, or from having heard it commended, as Augustine says (De Trin. x, 1, 2). But to have it is not to know it thus, but to know it perfectly.

Reply Obj. 2: Something is required for the perfection of knowledge, that is not requisite for the perfection of love. For knowledge belongs to the reason, whose function it is to distinguish things which in reality are united, and to unite together, after a fashion, things that are distinct, by comparing one with another. Consequently the perfection of knowledge requires that man should know distinctly all that is in a thing, such as its parts, powers, and properties. On the other hand, love is in the appetitive power, which regards a thing as it is in itself: wherefore it suffices, for the perfection of love, that a thing be loved according as it is known in itself. Hence it is, therefore, that a thing is loved more than it is known; since it can be loved perfectly, even without being perfectly known. This is most evident in regard to the sciences, which some love through having a certain general knowledge of them: for instance, they know that rhetoric is a science that enables man to persuade others; and this is what they love in rhetoric. The same applies to the love of God.

Reply Obj. 3: Even natural love, which is in all things, is caused by a kind of knowledge, not indeed existing in natural things themselves, but in Him Who created their nature, as stated above (Q. 26, A. 1; cf. I, Q. 6, A. 1, ad 2).

### THIRD ARTICLE [I–II, Q. 27, ART. 3]

#### Whether Likeness Is a Cause of Love?

Objection 1: It would seem that likeness is not a cause of love. For the same thing is not the cause of contraries. But likeness is the cause of hatred; for it is written (Prov. 13:10) that “among the proud there are always contentions”; and the Philosopher says (Ethic. viii, 1) that “potters quarrel with one another.” Therefore likeness is not a cause of love.

Obj. 2: Further, Augustine says (Confess. iv, 14) that “a man loves in another that which he would not be himself: thus he loves an actor, but would not himself be an actor.” But it would not be so, if likeness were the proper cause of love; for in that case a man would love in another, that which he possesses himself, or would like to possess. Therefore likeness is not a cause of love.

Obj. 3: Further, everyone loves that which he needs, even if he have it not: thus a sick man loves health, and a poor man loves riches. But in so far as he needs them and lacks them, he is unlike them. Therefore not only likeness but also unlikeness is a cause of love.

Obj. 4: Further, the Philosopher says (Rhet. ii, 4) that “we love those who bestow money and health on us; and also those who retain their friendship for the dead.” But all are not such. Therefore likeness is not a cause of love.

On the contrary, It is written (Ecclus. 13:19): “Every beast loveth its like.”

I answer that, Likeness, properly speaking, is a cause of love. But it must be observed that likeness between things is twofold. One kind of likeness arises from each thing having the same quality actually: for example, two things possessing the quality of whiteness are said to be alike. Another kind of likeness arises from one thing having potentially and by way of inclination, a quality which the other has actually: thus we may say that a heavy body existing outside its proper place is like another heavy body that exists in its proper place: or again, according as potentiality bears a resemblance to its act; since act is contained, in a manner, in the potentiality itself.

Accordingly the first kind of likeness causes love of friendship or well-being. For the very fact that two men are alike, having, as it were, one form, makes them to be, in a manner, one in that form: thus two men

are one thing in the species of humanity, and two white men are one thing in whiteness. Hence the affections of one tend to the other, as being one with him; and he wishes good to him as to himself. But the second kind of likeness causes love of concupiscence, or friendship founded on usefulness or pleasure: because whatever is in potentiality, as such, has the desire for its act; and it takes pleasure in its realization, if it be a sentient and cognitive being.

Now it has been stated above (Q. 26, A. 4), that in the love of concupiscence, the lover, properly speaking, loves himself, in willing the good that he desires. But a man loves himself more than another: because he is one with himself substantially, whereas with another he is one only in the likeness of some form. Consequently, if this other's likeness to him arising from the participation of a form, hinders him from gaining the good that he loves, he becomes hateful to him, not for being like him, but for hindering him from gaining his own good. This is why "potters quarrel among themselves," because they hinder one another's gain: and why "there are contentions among the proud," because they hinder one another in attaining the position they covet.

Hence the Reply to the First Objection is evident.

Reply Obj. 2: Even when a man loves in another what he loves not in himself, there is a certain likeness of proportion: because as the latter is to that which is loved in him, so is the former to that which he loves in himself: for instance, if a good singer love a good writer, we can see a likeness of proportion, inasmuch as each one has that which is becoming to him in respect of his art.

Reply Obj. 3: He that loves what he needs, bears a likeness to what he loves, as potentiality bears a likeness to its act, as stated above.

Reply Obj. 4: According to the same likeness of potentiality to its act, the illiberal man loves the man who is liberal, in so far as he expects from him something which he desires. The same applies to the man who is constant in his friendship as compared to one who is inconstant. For in either case friendship seems to be based on usefulness. We might also say that although not all men have these virtues in the complete habit, yet they have them according to certain seminal principles in the reason, in force of which principles the man who is not virtuous loves the virtuous man, as being in conformity with his own natural reason.

#### FOURTH ARTICLE [I-II, Q. 27, ART. 4]

Whether Any Other Passion of the Soul Is a Cause of Love?

Objection 1: It would seem that some other passion can be the cause of love. For the Philosopher (*Ethic.* viii, 3) says that some are loved for the sake of the pleasure they give. But pleasure is a passion. Therefore another passion is a cause of love.

Obj. 2: Further, desire is a passion. But we love some because we desire to receive something from them: as happens in every friendship based on usefulness. Therefore another passion is a cause of love.

Obj. 3: Further, Augustine says (*De Trin.* x, 1): "When we have no hope of getting a thing, we love it but half-heartedly or not at all, even if we see how beautiful it is." Therefore hope too is a cause of love.

On the contrary, All the other emotions of the soul are caused by love, as Augustine says (*De Civ. Dei* xiv, 7, 9).

I answer that, There is no other passion of the soul that does not presuppose love of some kind. The reason is that every other passion of the soul implies either movement towards something, or rest in something. Now every movement towards something, or rest in something, arises from some kinship or aptness to that thing; and in this does love consist. Therefore it is not possible for any other passion of the soul to be universally the cause of every love. But it may happen that some other passion is the cause of some particular love: just as one good is the cause of another.

Reply Obj. 1: When a man loves a thing for the pleasure it affords, his love is indeed caused by pleasure; but that very pleasure is caused, in its turn, by another preceding love; for none takes pleasure save in that which is loved in some way.

Reply Obj. 2: Desire for a thing always presupposes love for that thing. But desire of one thing can be the cause of another thing's being loved; thus he that desires money, for this reason loves him from whom he receives it.

Reply Obj. 3: Hope causes or increases love; both by reason of pleasure, because it causes pleasure; and by reason of desire, because hope strengthens desire, since we do not desire so intensely that which we have no hope of receiving. Nevertheless hope itself is of a good that is loved.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

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## The Travels of Marco Polo

Date: c. 1271–1298

*With the influence of the Golden Horde in eastern Europe, Europeans became more aware of and concerned with Asian issues. Papal and political diplomatic missions were sent out, such as that of the Italian Giovanni da Pian del Carpine in 1245–47 and the Flemish William of Rubrouck in 1253–55. European traders followed. In 1271–75, Italian merchants Maffeo Polo, Niccolò Polo, and Marco Polo traveled across Central Asia to Cambaluc (present-day Beijing), the new Mongol capital founded by Genghis's successor Kubilai Khan. Marco Polo, in 1275–92, explored on behalf of the khan, visiting other parts of China, Tibet, Southeast Asia, Indonesia, Mongolia, and possibly Siberia. His book, The Travels of Marco Polo, with descriptions of Mongol customs, was influential in Europe over the next two centuries and influenced Christopher Columbus in his 1492 attempt to reach the Orient by way of the Atlantic Ocean.*

The following entry contains excerpts from the original document.

### BOOK I: CHAPTER LX.

#### CONCERNING THE KAAAN'S PALACE OF CHAGANNOR.

At the end of those three days you find a city called CHAGAN NOR [which is as much as to say White Pool], at which there is a great Palace of the Grand Kaan's; and he likes much to reside there on account of the Lakes and Rivers in the neighbourhood, which are the haunt of swans and of a great variety of other birds. The adjoining plains too abound with cranes, partridges, pheasants, and other game birds, so that the Emperor takes all the more delight in staying there, in order to go a-hawking with his gerfalcons and other falcons, a sport of which he is very fond.

There are five different kinds of cranes found in those tracts, as I shall tell you. First, there is one which is very big, and all over as black as a crow; the second kind again is all white, and is the biggest of all; its wings are really beautiful, for they are adorned with round eyes like those of a peacock, but of a resplendent golden colour, whilst the head is red and black on a white ground. The third kind is the same as ours. The fourth is a small kind, having at the ears beautiful long pendent feathers of red and black. The fifth kind is grey all over and of great size, with a handsome head, red and black.

Near this city there is a valley in which the Emperor has had several little houses erected in which he keeps in mew a huge number of *cators* which are what we call the Great Partridge. You would be astonished to see what a quantity there are, with men to take charge of them. So whenever the Kaan visits the place he is furnished with as many as he wants.

### CHAPTER LXI.

#### OF THE CITY OF CHANDU, AND THE KAAAN'S PALACE THERE.

And when you have ridden three days from the city last mentioned, between north-east and north, you come to a city called CHANDU, which was built by the Kaan now reigning. There is at this place a very fine marble Palace, the rooms of which are all gilt and painted with figures of men and beasts and birds, and with a variety of trees and flowers, all executed with such exquisite art that you regard them with delight and astonishment.

Round this Palace a wall is built, inclosing a compass of 16 miles, and inside the Park there are fountains and rivers and brooks, and beautiful meadows, with all kinds of wild animals (excluding such as are of ferocious nature), which the Emperor has procured and placed there to supply food for his gerfalcons and hawks, which he keeps there in mew. Of these there are more than 200 gerfalcons alone, without reckoning the other hawks. The Kaan himself goes every week to see his birds sitting in mew, and sometimes he rides through the park with a leopard behind him on his horse's croup; and then if he sees any animal that takes his fancy, he slips his leopard at it, and the game when taken is made over to feed the hawks in mew. This he does for diversion.

Moreover [at a spot in the Park where there is a charming wood] he has another Palace built of cane, of which I must give you a description. It is gilt all over, and most elaborately finished inside. [It is stayed on gilt and lackered columns, on each of which is a dragon all gilt, the tail of which is attached to the column whilst the head supports the architrave, and the claws likewise are stretched out right and left to support the architrave.] The roof, like the rest, is formed of canes, covered with a varnish so strong and excellent that no amount of rain will rot them. These canes are a good 3 palms in girth, and from 10 to 15 paces in length. [They are cut across at each knot, and then the pieces are split so as to form from each two hollow tiles, and with these the house is roofed; only every such tile of cane has to be nailed down to prevent the wind from lifting it.] In short, the whole Palace is built of these canes, which (I may mention) serve also for a great variety of other useful purposes. The construction of the Palace is so devised that it can be taken down and put up again with great celerity; and it can all be taken to pieces and removed whithersoever the Emperor may command. When erected, it is braced [against mishaps from the wind] by more than 200 cords of silk.

The Lord abides at this Park of his, dwelling sometimes in the Marble Palace and sometimes in the Cane Palace for three months of the year, to wit, June, July, and August; preferring this residence because it is by no means hot; in fact it is a very cool place. When the 28th day of [the Moon of] August arrives he takes his departure, and the Cane Palace is taken to pieces. But I must tell you what happens when he goes away from this Palace every year on the 28th of the August [Moon].

You must know that the Kaan keeps an immense stud of white horses and mares; in fact more than 10,000 of them, and all pure white without a speck. The milk of these mares is drunk by himself and his family, and by none else, except by those of one great tribe that have also the privilege of drinking it. This privilege was granted them by Chinghis Kaan, on account of a certain victory that they helped him to win long ago. The name of the tribe is HORIAD.

Now when these mares are passing across the country, and any one falls in with them, be he the greatest lord in the land, he must not presume to pass until the mares have gone by; he must either tarry where he is, or go a half-day's journey round if need so be, so as not to come nigh them; for they are to be treated with the greatest respect. Well, when the Lord sets out from the Park on the 28th of August, as I told you, the milk of all those mares is taken and sprinkled on the ground. And this is done on the injunction of the Idolaters and Idol-priests, who say that it is an excellent thing to sprinkle that milk on the ground every 28th of August, so that the Earth and the Air and the False Gods shall have their share of it, and the Spirits likewise that inhabit the Air and the Earth. And thus those beings will protect and bless the Kaan and his children and his wives and his folk and his gear, and his cattle and his horses, his corn and all that is his. After this is done, the Emperor is off and away.

But I must now tell you a strange thing that hitherto I have forgotten to mention. During the three months of every year that the Lord resides at that place, if it should happen to be bad weather, there are certain crafty enchanters and astrologers in his train, who are such adepts in necromancy and the diabolic arts, that they are able to prevent any cloud or storm from passing over the spot on which the Emperor's Palace stands. The sorcerers who do this are called TEBET and KESIMUR, which are the names of two nations of Idolaters. Whatever they do in this way is by the help of the Devil, but they make those people believe that it is compassed by dint of their own sanctity and the help of God. [They always go in a state of dirt and uncleanness, devoid of respect for themselves, or for those who see them, unwashed, unkempt, and sordidly attired.]

These people also have a custom which I must tell you. If a man is condemned to death and executed by the lawful authority, they take his body and cook and eat it. But if any one die a natural death then they will not eat the body.

There is another marvel performed by those BACSI, of whom I have been speaking as knowing so many enchantments. For when the Great Kaan is at his capital and in his great Palace, seated at his table, which stands on a platform some eight cubits above the ground, his cups are set before him [on a great buffet] in the middle of the hall pavement, at a distance of some ten paces from his table, and filled with wine, or other good spiced liquor such as they use. Now when the Lord desires to drink, these enchanters by the power of their enchantments cause the cups to move from their place without being touched by anybody, and to present themselves to the Emperor! This every one present may witness, and there are oftentimes more than 10,000 persons thus present. 'Tis a truth and no lie! and so will tell you the sages of our own country who understand necromancy, for they also can perform it.

And when the Idol Festivals come round, these Bacsi go to the Prince and say: "Sire, the Feast of such a god is come" (naming him). "My Lord, you know," the enchanter will say, "that this god, when he gets no offerings, always sends bad weather and spoils our seasons. So we pray you to give us such and such a number of black-faced sheep," naming whatever number they please. "And we beg also, good my lord, that we may have such a quantity of incense, and such a quantity of signaloes, and" so much of this, so much of that, and so much of t'other, according to their fancy "that we may perform a solemn service and a great sacrifice to our Idols, and that so they may be induced to protect us and all that is ours."

The Bacsi say these things to the Barons entrusted with the Stewardship, who stand round the Great Kaan, and these repeat them to the Kaan, and he then orders the Barons to give everything that the Bacsi have asked for. And when they have got the articles they go and make a great feast in honour of their god, and hold great ceremonies of worship with grand illuminations and quantities of incense of a variety of odours, which they make up from different aromatic spices. And then they cook the meat, and set it before the idols, and sprinkle the broth hither and thither, saying that in this way the idols get their bellyful. Thus it is that they keep their festivals. You must know that each of the idols has a name of his own, and a feast-day, just as our Saints have their anniversaries. They have also immense Minsters and Abbeys, some of them as big as a small town, with more than two thousand monks (i.e. after their fashion) in a single abbey. These monks dress more decently than the rest of the people, and have the head and beard shaven. There are some among these Bacsi who are allowed by their rule to take wives, and who have plenty of children.

Then there is another kind of devotees called SENSIN, who are men of extraordinary abstinence after their fashion, and lead a life of such hardship as I will describe. All their life long they eat nothing but bran, which they take mixt with hot water. That is their food: bran, and nothing but bran; and water for their drink. 'Tis a lifelong

fast! so that I may well say their life is one of extraordinary asceticism. They have great idols, and plenty of them; but they sometimes also worship fire. The other Idolaters who are not of this sect call these people heretics . . . because they do not worship their idols in their own fashion. Those of whom I am speaking would not take a wife on any consideration. They wear dresses of hempen stuff, black and blue, and sleep upon mats; in fact their asceticism is something astonishing. Their idols are all feminine, that is to say, they have women's names.

Now let us have done with this subject, and let me tell you of the great state and wonderful magnificence of the Great Lord of Lords; I mean that great Prince who is the Sovereign of the Tartars, CUBLAY by name, that most noble and puissant Lord.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

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## Boccaccio Describing the Black Death

Date: 1348

*Giovanni Boccaccio was an Italian author and poet (1313–75) who wrote The Decameron. It is believed that the Black Death entered Europe as a result of Italian trade with the Orient. At that time, merchants and traders from Genoa owned the major trading port of Caffa on the north coast of the Black Sea. The Genoese traders fled the city and arrived dead and dying in their ships on the Italian coast. From 1347 to 1348 the Black Death spread rapidly from Messina to Genoa and Venice, and through the rest of Italy and Europe. Prior to the plague hitting Europe, there was a massive plague in China and Central Asia.*

*The description of the Black Death is from Giovanni Boccaccio's famous work The Decameron, which is a collection of 100 short tales. The opening tale in the book is about the Black Death and its horror, with people of means fleeing the city to live in the country.*

*Giovanni Boccaccio grew up in Florence and studied at the University of Naples. He returned to Florence in 1341. In 1350 he met and became friends with Petrarch, or Francesco Petrarca (1304–1374), the Italian poet and humanist, who had an enormous impact on his intellectual life.*

The onset of the Black Death as described by Giovanni Boccaccio.

I say, then, that the years of the beatific incarnation of the Son of God had reached the tale of one thousand three hundred and forty eight, when in the illustrious city of Florence, the fairest of all the cities of Italy, there made its appearance that deadly pestilence, which, whether disseminated by the influence of the celestial bodies, or sent upon us mortals by God in His just wrath by way of retribution for our iniquities, had had its origin some years before in the East, whence, after destroying an innumerable multitude of living beings, it had propagated itself without respite from place to place, and so calamitously, had spread into the West.

In Florence, despite all that human wisdom and forethought could devise to avert it, as the cleansing of the city from many impurities by officials appointed for the purpose, the refusal of entrance to all sick folk, and the adoption of many precautions for the preservation of health; despite also humble supplications addressed to God, and often repeated both in public procession and otherwise by the devout; towards the beginning of the spring of the said year the doleful effects of the pestilence began to be horribly apparent by symptoms that shewed as if miraculous.

Not such were they as in the East, where an issue of blood from the nose was a manifest sign of inevitable death; but in men a women alike it first betrayed itself by the emergence of certain tumors in the groin or the armpits, some of which grew as large as a common apple, others as an egg, some more, some less, which the common folk called gavoccioli. From the two said parts of the body this deadly gavocciolo soon began to propagate and spread itself in all directions indifferently; after which the form of the malady began to change, black spots or livid making their appearance in many cases on the arm or the thigh or elsewhere, now few and large, then minute and numerous. And as the gavocciolo had been and still were an infallible token of approaching death, such also were these spots on whomsoever they shewed themselves. Which maladies seemed set entirely at naught both the art of the physician and the virtue of physic; indeed, whether it was that the disorder was of a nature to defy such treatment, or that the physicians were at fault—besides the qualified there was now a multitude both of men and of women who practiced without having received the slightest tincture of medical science—and, being in ignorance of its source, failed to apply the proper remedies; in either case, not merely were those that covered few, but almost all within three

days from the appearance of the said symptoms, sooner or later, died, and in most cases without any fever or other attendant malady.

Moreover, the virulence of the pest was the greater by reason the intercourse was apt to convey it from the sick to the whole, just as fire devours things dry or greasy when they are brought close to it, the evil went yet further, for not merely by speech or association with the sick was the malady communicated to the healthy with consequent peril of common death; but any that touched the clothes the sick or aught else that had been touched, or used by these seemed thereby to contract the disease.

So marvelous sounds that which I have now to relate, that, had not many, and I among them, observed it with their own eyes, I had hardly dared to credit it, much less to set it down in writing, though I had had it from the lips of a credible witness.

I say, then, that such was the energy of the contagion of the said pestilence, that it was not merely propagated from man to man, but, what is much more startling, it was frequently observed, that things which had belonged to one sick or dead of the disease, if touched by some other living creature, not of the human species, were the occasion, not merely of sickening, but of an almost instantaneous death. Whereof my own eyes (as I said a little before) had cognisance, one day among others, by the following experience. The rags of a poor man who had died of the disease being strewn about the open street, two hogs came thither, and after, as is their wont, no little trifling with their snouts, took the rags between their teeth and tossed them to and fro about their chaps; whereupon, almost immediately, they gave a few turns, and fell down dead, as if by poison, upon the rags which in an evil hour they had disturbed.

In which circumstances, not to speak of many others of a similar or even graver complexion, divers apprehensions and imaginations were engendered in the minds of such as were left alive, inclining almost all of them to the same harsh resolution, to wit, to shun and abhor all contact with the sick and all that belonged to them, thinking thereby to make each his own health secure. Among whom there were those who thought that to live temperately and avoid all excess would count for much as a preservative against seizures of this kind. Wherefore they banded together, and dissociating themselves from all others, formed communities in houses where there were no sick, and lived a separate and secluded life, which they regulated with the utmost care, avoiding every kind of luxury, but eating and drinking moderately of the most delicate viands and the finest wines, holding converse with none but one another, lest tidings of sickness or death should reach them, and diverting their minds with music and such other delights as they could devise. Others, the bias of whose minds was in the opposite direction, maintained, that to drink freely, frequent places of public resort, and take their pleasure with song and revel, sparing to satisfy no appetite, and to laugh and mock at no event, was the sovereign remedy for so great an evil: and that which they affirmed they also put in practice, so far as they were able, resorting day and night, now to this tavern, now to that, drinking with an entire disregard of rule or measure, and by preference making the houses of others, as it were, their inns, if they but saw in them aught that was particularly to their taste or liking; which they, were readily able to do, because the owners, seeing death imminent, had become as reckless of their property as of their lives; so that most of the houses were open to all comers, and no distinction was observed between the stranger who presented himself and the rightful lord. Thus, adhering ever to their inhuman determination to shun the sick, as far as possible, they ordered their life. In this extremity of our city's suffering and tribulation the venerable authority of laws, human and divine, was abased and all but totally dissolved for lack of those who should have administered and enforced them, most of whom, like the rest of the citizens, were either dead or sick or so hard bested for servants that they were unable to execute any office; whereby every man was free to do what was right in his own eyes.

Not a few there were who belonged to neither of the two said parties, but kept a middle course between them, neither laying the same restraint upon their diet as the former, nor allowing themselves the same license in drinking and other dissipations as the latter, but living with a degree of freedom sufficient to satisfy their appetite and not as recluses. They therefore walked abroad, carrying in the hands flowers or fragrant herbs or divers sorts of spices, which they frequently raised to their noses, deeming it an excellent thing thus to comfort the brain with such perfumes, because the air seemed to be everywhere laden and reeking with the stench emitted by the dead and the dying, and the odours of drugs.

Some again, the most sound, perhaps, in judgment, as they were also the most harsh in temper, of all, affirmed that there was no medicine for the disease superior or equal in efficacy to flight; following which prescription a multitude of men and women, negligent of all but themselves, deserted their city, their houses, their estates, their kinsfolk, their goods, and went into voluntary exile, or migrated to the country parts, as if God in visiting men with this pestilence in requital of their iniquities would not pursue them with His wrath wherever they might be, but intended the destruction of such alone as remained within the circuit of the walls of the city; or deeming perchance, that it was now time for all to flee from it, and that its last hour was come.

Of the adherents of these divers opinions not all died, neither did all escape; but rather there were, of each sort and in every place many that sickened, and by those who retained their health were treated after the example which they themselves, while whole, had set, being everywhere left to languish in almost total neglect. Tedious were it to recount, how citizen avoided citizen, how among neighbors was scarce found

any that shewed fellow-feeling for another, how kinsfolk held aloof, and never met, or but rarely; enough that this sore affliction entered so deep into the minds of men and women, that in the horror thereof brother was forsaken by brother nephew by uncle, brother by sister, and oftentimes husband by wife: nay, what is more, and scarcely to be believed, fathers and mothers were found to abandon their own children, untended, unvisited, to their fate, as if they had been strangers. Wherefore the sick of both sexes, whose number could not be estimated, were left without resource but in the charity of friends (and few such there were), or the interest of servants, who were hardly to be had at high rates and on unseemly terms, and being, moreover, one and all, men and women of gross understanding, and for the most part unused to such offices, concerned themselves no further than to supply the immediate and expressed wants of the sick, and to watch them die; in which service they themselves not seldom perished with their gains. In consequence of which dearth of servants and dereliction of the sick by neighbors, kinsfolk and friends, it came to pass—a thing, perhaps, never before heard of—that no woman, however dainty, fair or well-born she might be, shrank, when stricken with the disease, from the ministrations of a man, no matter whether he were young or no, or scrupled to expose to him every part of her body, with no more shame than if he had been a woman, submitting of necessity to that which her malady required; wherefrom, perchance, there resulted in after time some loss of modesty in such as recovered. Besides which many succumbed, who with proper attendance, would, perhaps, have escaped death; so that, what with the virulence of the plague and the lack of due attendance of the sick, the multitude of the deaths, that daily and nightly took place in the city, was such that those who heard the tale—not to say witnessed the fact—were struck dumb with amazement. Whereby, practices contrary to the former habits of the citizens could hardly fail to grow up among the survivors.

It had been, as to-day it still is, the custom for the women that were neighbors and of kin to the deceased to gather in his house with the women that were most closely connected with him, to wail with them in common, while on the other hand his male kinsfolk and neighbors, with not a few of the other citizens, and a due proportion of the clergy according to his quality, assembled without, in front of the house, to receive the corpse; and so the dead man was borne on the shoulders of his peers, with funeral pomp of taper and dirge, to the church selected by him before his death. Which rites, as the pestilence waxed in fury, were either in whole or in great part disused, and gave way to others of a novel order. For not only did no crowd of women surround the bed of the dying, but many passed from this life unregarded, and few indeed were they to whom were accorded the lamentations and bitter tears of sorrowing relations; nay, for the most part, their place was taken by the laugh, the jest, the festal gathering; observances which the women, domestic piety in large measure set aside, had adopted with very great advantage to their health. Few also there were whose bodies were attended to the church by more than ten or twelve of their neighbors, and those not the honorable and respected citizens; but a sort of corpse-carriers drawn from the baser ranks, who called themselves *becchini* and performed such offices for hire, would shoulder the bier, and with hurried steps carry it, not to the church of the dead man's choice, but to that which was nearest at hand, with four or six priests in front and a candle or two, or, perhaps, none; nor did the priests distress themselves with too long and solemn an office, but with the aid of the *becchini* hastily consigned the corpse to the first tomb which they found untenanted. The condition of the lower, and, perhaps, in great measure of the middle ranks, of the people shewed even worse and more deplorable; for, deluded by hope or constrained by poverty, they stayed in their quarters, in their houses where they sickened by thousands a day, and, being without service or help of any kind, were, so to speak, irredeemably devoted to the death which overtook them. Many died daily or nightly in the public streets; of many others, who died at home, the departure was hardly observed by their neighbors, until the stench of their putrefying bodies carried the tidings; and what with their corpses and the corpses of others who died on every hand the whole place was a sepulchre.

It was the common practice of most of the neighbors, moved no less by fear of contamination by the putrefying bodies than by charity towards the deceased, to drag the corpses out of the houses with their own hands, aided, perhaps, by a porter, if a porter was to be had, and to lay them in front of the doors, where any one who made the round might have seen, especially in the morning, more of them than he could count; afterwards they would have biers brought up or in default, planks, whereon they laid them. Nor was it once twice only that one and the same bier carried two or three corpses at once; but quite a considerable number of such cases occurred, one bier sufficing for husband and wife, two or three brothers, father and son, and so forth. And times without number it happened, that as two priests, bearing the cross, were on their way to perform the last office for some one, three or four biers were brought up by the porters in rear of them, so that, whereas the priests supposed that they had but one corpse to bury, they discovered that there were six or eight, or sometimes more. Nor, for all their number, were their obsequies honored by either tears or lights or crowds of mourners rather, it was come to this, that a dead man was then of no more account than a dead goat would be to-day.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Primary Source: Boccaccio, *The Decamerons* Vol. 1. Translated by M. Rigg, London: David Campbell, 1921, pp. 5–11



## Excerpts from the Journal of Christopher Columbus

Date: 1492

*Columbus's journal no longer exists in its original form. The available text was abridged and edited by the Spanish priest Bartolomé de Las Casas, an early missionary in the New World and a noted champion of Native peoples. The revisions by Las Casas account for the variant use of first and third person in reference to Columbus throughout the manuscript. In the following section, Columbus recounts his departure from the city of Granada in May, the discovery of land the following October, and describes the indigenous people he mistakenly named Indians. Columbus assumed the people were simple because they were naked and did not have metal weapons. He also assumed that they would be readily converted to Christianity "as they appear to have no religion." He may have been attempting to construct an idea of the Natives as future Christians in order to please his sponsors, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, the Catholic monarchs who instituted the Spanish Inquisition in 1478 to create a homogenous Christian population in Spain. Columbus would undertake three more journeys across the Atlantic in his lifetime, exploring Trinidad, Venezuela, the Orinoco River delta, Cape Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Veragua, and Panama, but never reaching the spice-rich Orient he set out to find. He died in Spain in 1506, still believing he had reached "the Indies."*

The following are excerpts from the journal Christopher Columbus kept during his first voyage to the Americas in 1492.

Hereupon I left the city of Granada, on Saturday, the twelfth day of May, 1492, and proceeded to Palos, a seaport, where I armed three vessels, very fit for such an enterprise, and having provided myself with abundance of stores and seamen, I set sail from the port, on Friday, the third of August, half an hour before sunrise, and steered for the Canary Islands of your Highnesses which are in the said ocean, thence to take my departure and proceed till I arrived at the Indies, and perform the embassy of your Highnesses to the Princes there, and discharge the orders given me. For this purpose I determined to keep an account of the voyage, and to write down punctually every thing we performed or saw from day to day, as will hereafter appear. Moreover, Sovereign Princes, besides describing every night the occurrences of the day, and every day those of the preceding night, I intend to draw up a nautical chart, which shall contain the several parts of the ocean and land in their proper situations; and also to compose a book to represent the whole by picture with latitudes and longitudes, on all which accounts it behooves me to abstain from my sleep, and make many trials in navigation, which things will demand much labor.

Friday, 12 October. At two o'clock in the morning the land was discovered, at two leagues' distance; they took in sail and remained under the square-sail lying to till day, which was Friday, when they found themselves near a small island, one of the Lucayos, called in the Indian language Guanahani. Presently they descried people, naked, and the Admiral landed in the boat, which was armed, along with Martin Alonso Pinzon, and Vincent Yanez his brother, captain of the Nina. The Admiral bore the royal standard, and the two captains each a banner of the Green Cross, which all the ships had carried; this contained the initials of the names of the King and Queen each side of the cross, and a crown over each letter. Arrived on shore, they saw trees very green many streams of water, and diverse sorts of fruits. The Admiral called upon the two Captains, and the rest of the crew who landed, as also to Rodrigo de Escovedo notary of the fleet, and Rodrigo Sanchez, of Segovia, to bear witness that he before all others took possession (as in fact he did) of that island for the King and Queen his sovereigns, making the requisite declarations, which are more at large set down here in writing. Numbers of the people of the island straightway collected together. Here follow the precise words of the Admiral: "As I saw that they were very friendly to us, and perceived that they could be much more easily converted to our holy faith by gentle means than by force, I presented them with some red caps, and strings of beads to wear upon the neck, and many other trifles of small value, wherewith they were much delighted, and became wonderfully attached to us. Afterwards they came swimming to the boats, bringing parrots, balls of cotton thread, javelins, and many other things which they exchanged for articles we gave them, such as glass beads, and hawk's bells; which trade was carried on with the utmost good will. But they seemed on the whole to me, to be a very poor people. They all go completely naked, even the women, though I saw but one girl. All whom I saw were young, not above thirty years of age, well made, with fine shapes and faces; their hair short, and coarse like that of a horse's tail, combed toward the forehead, except a small portion which they suffer to hang down behind, and never cut. Some paint themselves with black, which makes them appear like those of the Canaries, neither black nor white; others with white, others with red, and others with such

colors as they can find. Some paint the face, and some the whole body; others only the eyes, and others the nose. Weapons they have none, nor are acquainted with them, for I showed them swords which they grasped by the blades, and cut themselves through ignorance. They have no iron, their javelins being without it, and nothing more than sticks, though some have fish-bones or other things at the ends. They are all of a good size and stature, and handsomely formed. I saw some with scars of wounds upon their bodies, and demanded by signs the of them; they answered me in the same way, that there came people from the other islands in the neighborhood who endeavored to make prisoners of them, and they defended themselves. I thought then, and still believe, that these were from the continent. It appears to me, that the people are ingenious, and would be good servants and I am of opinion that they would very readily become Christians, as they appear to have no religion. They very quickly learn such words as are spoken to them. If it please our Lord, I intend at my return to carry home six of them to your Highnesses, that they may learn our language. I saw no beasts in the island, nor any sort of animals except parrots.” These are the words of the Admiral.

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## ***The Praise of Folly***

Date: 1511

*This prose satire was written in Latin by Erasmus (Encomium Moriae) in 1509 and first published in 1511. It was composed in its earliest form at the Chelsea home of Sir Thomas More, and its original title is a pun on More's name, as Erasmus's dedication to him makes plain. In it the goddess Folly, in a formal oration, addresses the multitude of her disciples and congratulates herself on how all mankind is enrolled in her train: princes, courtiers, statesmen, scholars, poets, lawyers, philosophers, and, most pointedly, theologians. The satire on the follies of churchmen was the heart of the work and provoked much fury from its victims. The work was an extraordinary best seller: 42 Latin editions appeared in Erasmus's lifetime and it was soon translated into French (1520), German (1520), and English (1549).*

The following entry is an excerpt from the original.

The Praise of Folly  
An oration, of feigned matter,  
spoken by Folly in her own person.

At what rate soever the world talks of me (for I am not ignorant what an ill report Folly has got, even among the most foolish), yet that I am that she, that only she, whose deity recreates both gods and men, even this is a sufficient argument, that I no sooner stepped up to speak to this full assembly than all your faces put on a kind of new and unwonted pleasantness. So suddenly have you cleared your brows, and with so frolic and hearty a laughter given me your applause, that in truth as many of you as I behold on every side of me seem to me no less than Homer's gods drunk with nectar and nepenthe; whereas before, you sat as lumpish and pensive as if you had come from consulting an oracle. And as it usually happens when the sun begins to show his beams, or when after a sharp winter the spring breathes afresh on the earth, all things immediately get a new face, new color, and recover as it were a certain kind of youth again: in like manner, by but beholding me you have in an instant gotten another kind of countenance; and so what the otherwise great rhetoricians with their tedious and long-studied orations can hardly effect, to wit, to remove the trouble of the mind, I have done it at once with my single look.

But if you ask me why I appear before you in this strange dress, be pleased to lend me your ears, and I'll tell you; not those ears, I mean, you carry to church, but abroad with you, such as you are wont to prick up to jugglers, fools, and buffoons, and such as our friend Midas once gave to Pan. For I am disposed awhile to play the sophist with you; not of their sort who nowadays boozle young men's heads with certain empty notions and curious trifles, yet teach them nothing but a more than womanish obstinacy of scolding; but I'll imitate those ancients who, that they might the better avoid that infamous appellation of “sophi” or “wise”, chose rather to be called sophists. Their business was to celebrate the praises of the gods and valiant men. And the like encomium shall you hear from me, but neither of Hercules nor Solon, but my own dear self, that is to say, Folly. Nor do I esteem a rush that call it a foolish and insolent thing to praise one's self. Be it as foolish as they would make it, so they confess it proper: and what can be more than that Folly be her own

trumpet? For who can set me out better than myself, unless perhaps I could be better known to another than to myself? Though yet I think it somewhat more modest than the general practice of our nobles and wise men who, throwing away all shame, hire some flattering orator or lying poet from whose mouth they may hear their praises, that is to say, mere lies; and yet, composing themselves with a seeming modesty, spread out their peacock's plumes and erect their crests, while this impudent flatterer equals a man of nothing to the gods and proposes him as an absolute pattern of all virtue that's wholly a stranger to it, sets out a pitiful jay in other's feathers, washes the blackamoor white, and lastly swells a gnat to an elephant. In short, I will follow that old proverb that says, "He may lawfully praise himself that lives far from neighbors." Though, by the way, I cannot but wonder at the ingratitude, shall I say, or negligence of men who, notwithstanding they honor me in the first place and are willing enough to confess my bounty, yet not one of them for these so many ages has there been who in some thankful oration has set out the praises of Folly; when yet there has not wanted them whose elaborate endeavors have extolled tyrants, agues, flies, baldness, and such other pests of nature, to their own loss of both time and sleep. And now you shall hear from me a plain extemporaneous speech, but so much the truer. Nor would I have you think it like the rest of orators, made for the ostentation of wit; for these, as you know, when they have been beating their heads some thirty years about an oration and at last perhaps produce somewhat that was never their own, shall yet swear they composed it in three days, and that too for diversion: whereas I ever liked it best to speak whatever came first out.

But let none of you expect from me that after the manner of rhetoricians I should go about to define what I am, much less use any division; for I hold it equally unlucky to circumscribe her whose deity is universal, or make the least division in that worship about which everything is so generally agreed. Or to what purpose, think you, should I describe myself when I am here present before you, and you behold me speaking? For I am, as you see, that true and only giver of wealth whom the Greeks call "Moria", the Latins "Stultitia", and our plain English "Folly". Or what need was there to have said so much, as if my very looks were not sufficient to inform you who I am? Or as if any man, mistaking me for wisdom, could not at first sight convince himself by my face the true index of my mind? I am no counterfeit, nor do I carry one thing in my looks and another in my breast. No, I am in every respect so like myself that neither can they dissemble me who arrogate to themselves the appearance and title of wise men and walk like asses in scarlet hoods, though after all their hypocrisy Midas' ears will discover their master. A most ungrateful generation of men that, when they are wholly given up to my party, are yet publicly ashamed of the name, as taking it for a reproach; for which cause, since in truth they are "morotatoi", fools, and yet would appear to the world to be wise men and Thales, we'll even call them "morosophous", wise fools.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

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## The Prince

Also known as: *Il Principe*

Date: 1513

*A political treatise in 25 chapters by Niccolò Machiavelli, The Prince also contains a conclusion urging the redemption of Italy from barbarian forces. It was originally written in 1513 and dedicated to Giuliano de' Medici but was revised in 1516 and dedicated to Giuliano's nephew Lorenzo before he became duke of Urbino. Machiavelli's ideas had developed during his active career (1498–1512) in the Florentine republic, when he had become familiar with all manner of political problems and conflicts and had, as a member of important missions, directly dealt with such powerful figures as Cesare Borgia.*

*The Prince concerns what is necessary for the successful seizure and exercise of political power and considers the means available to achieve this end, without reference to individual morality or ultimate religious truths. The secular point of view and the ambiguous tone arising from Machiavelli's procedure of presenting his firmly held opinions in a purely descriptive guise were largely responsible for the work's unjustified reputation in the later 16th century as an epitome of atheism and wickedness. It and its author were frequently alluded to in Elizabethan writings. Il Principe was the subject of an anonymous Tudor translation of about 1560, which was edited by Hardin Craig and first published at Chapel Hill in 1944. The first printed English translation (1640), by E. Dacres and entitled Nicholas Machiavel's Prince, was reprinted in the Tudor Translations series (1905). The Prince is included in A. H. Gilbert's The Chief Works of Machiavelli (Durham, N.C., 1965). George Bull's translation was first issued in the Penguin Classics series in 1961, and there is also an Oxford World's Classics edition by Peter Bondanella, with the translation by Bondanella and Mark Musa*

(Oxford, 1984). Parallel Italian and English texts feature in Musa's earlier edition of the work (New York, 1964).

The following entry contains excerpts from the original document.

THE PRINCE, by Niccolò Machiavelli

CHAPTER I  
HOW MANY KINDS OF PRINCIPALITIES THERE ARE, AND BY WHAT MEANS THEY ARE ACQUIRED

ALL STATES, all powers, that have held and hold rule over men have been and are either republics or principalities. Principalities are either hereditary, in which the family has been long established; or they are new.

The new are either entirely new, as was Milan to Francesco Sforza, or they are, as it were, members annexed to the hereditary state of the prince who has acquired them, as was the kingdom of Naples to that of the King of Spain.

Such dominions thus acquired are either accustomed to live under a prince, or to live in freedom; and are acquired either by the arms of the prince himself, or of others, or else by fortune or by ability.

CHAPTER II  
CONCERNING HEREDITARY PRINCIPALITIES

I WILL leave out all discussion on republics, inasmuch as in another place I have written of them at length, [1] and will address myself only to principalities. In doing so I will keep to the order indicated above, and discuss how such principalities are to be ruled and preserved.

I say at once there are fewer difficulties in holding hereditary states, and those long accustomed to the family of their prince, than new ones; for it is sufficient only not to transgress the customs of his ancestors, and to deal prudently with circumstances as they arise, for a prince of average powers to maintain himself in his state, unless he be deprived of it by some extraordinary and excessive force; and if he should be so deprived of it, whenever anything sinister happens to the usurper, he will regain it.

We have in Italy, for example, the Duke of Ferrara, who could not have withstood the attacks of the Venetians in '84, nor those of Pope Julius in '10, unless he had been long established in his dominions. For the hereditary prince has less cause and less necessity to offend; hence it happens that he will be more loved; and unless extraordinary vices cause him to be hated, it is reasonable to expect that his subjects will be naturally well disposed towards him; and in the antiquity and duration of his rule the memories and motives that make for change are lost, for one change always leaves the tooting for another.

1. Discourses.

CHAPTER III  
CONCERNING MIXED PRINCIPALITIES

BUT the difficulties occur in a new principality. And firstly, if it be not entirely new, but is, as it were, a member of a state which, taken collectively, may be called composite, the changes arise chiefly from an inherent difficulty which there is in all new principalities; for men change their rulers willingly, hoping to better themselves, and this hope induces them to take up arms against him who rules: wherein they are deceived, because they afterwards find by experience they have gone from bad to worse. This follows also on another natural and common necessity, which always causes a new prince to burden those who have submitted to him with his soldiery and with infinite other hardships which he must put upon his new acquisition.

In this way you have enemies in all those whom you have injured in seizing that principality, and you are not able to keep those friends who put you there because of your not being able to satisfy them in the way they expected, and you cannot take strong measures against them, feeling bound to them. For, although one may be very strong in armed forces, yet in entering a province one has always need of the goodwill of the natives.

For these reasons Louis XII, King of France, quickly occupied Milan, and as quickly lost it; and to turn him out the first time it only needed Lodovico's own forces; because those who had opened the gates to him, finding themselves deceived in their hopes of future benefit, would not endure the ill-treatment of the new prince. It is very true that, after acquiring rebellious provinces a second time, they are not so lightly lost afterwards, because the prince, with little reluctance, takes the opportunity of the rebellion to punish the delinquents, to clear out the suspects, and to strengthen himself in the weakest places. Thus to cause France to lose Milan the first time it was enough for the Duke Lodovico to raise insurrections on the borders; but to cause him to lose it a second time it was necessary to bring the whole world against him, and that his armies should be defeated and driven out of Italy; which followed from the causes above mentioned.

Nevertheless Milan was taken from France both the first and the second time. The general reasons for the first have been discussed; it remains to name those for the second, and to see what resources he had, and

what any one in his situation would have had for maintaining himself more securely in his acquisition than did the King of France.

Now I say that those dominions which, when acquired, are added to an ancient state by him who acquires them, are either of the same country and language, or they are not. When they are, it is easier to hold them, especially when they have not been accustomed to self-government; and to hold them securely it is enough to have destroyed the family of the prince who was ruling them; because the two peoples, preserving in other things the old conditions, and not being unlike in customs, will live quietly together, as one has seen in Brittany, Burgundy, Gascony, and Normandy, which have been bound to France for so long a time: and, although there may be some difference in language, nevertheless the customs are alike, and the people will easily be able to get on amongst themselves. He who has annexed them, if he wishes to hold them, has only to bear in mind two considerations: the one, that the family of their former lord is extinguished; the other, that neither their laws nor their taxes are altered, so that in a very short time they will become entirely one body with the old principality.

But when states are acquired in a country differing in language, customs, or laws, there are difficulties, and good fortune and great energy are needed to hold them, and one of the greatest and most real helps would be that he who has acquired them should go and reside there. This would make his position more secure and durable, as it has made that of the Turk in Greece, who, notwithstanding all the other measures taken by him for holding that state, if he had not settled there, would not have been able to keep it. Because, if one is on the spot, disorders are seen as they spring up, and one can quickly remedy them; but if one is not at hand, they heard of only when they are one can no longer remedy them. Besides this, the country is not pillaged by your officials; the subjects are satisfied by prompt recourse to the prince; thus, wishing to be good, they have more cause to love him, and wishing to be otherwise, to fear him. He who would attack that state from the outside must have the utmost caution; as long as the prince resides there it can only be wrested from him with the greatest difficulty.

The other and better course is to send colonies to one or two places, which may be as keys to that state, for it necessary either to do this or else to keep there a great number of cavalry and infantry. A prince does not spend much on colonies, for with little or no expense he can send them out and keep them there, and he offends a minority only of the citizens from whom he takes lands and houses to give them to the new inhabitants; and those whom he offends, remaining poor and scattered, are never able to injure him; whilst the rest being uninjured are easily kept quiet, and at the same time are anxious not to err for fear it should happen to them as it has to those who have been despoiled. In conclusion, I say that these colonies are not costly, they are more faithful, they injure less, and the injured, as has been said, being poor and scattered, cannot hurt. Upon this, one has to remark that men ought either to be well treated or crushed, because they can avenge themselves of lighter injuries, of more serious ones they cannot; therefore the injury that is to be done to a man ought to be of such a kind that one does not stand in fear of revenge.

But in maintaining armed men there in place of colonies one spends much more, having to consume on the garrison all income from the state, so that the acquisition turns into a loss, and many more are exasperated, because the whole state is injured; through the shifting of the garrison up and down all become acquainted with hardship, and all become hostile, and they are enemies who, whilst beaten on their own ground, are yet able to do hurt. For every reason, therefore, such guards are as useless as a colony is useful.

Again, the prince who holds a country differing in the above respects ought to make himself the head and defender of his powerful neighbours, and to weaken the more powerful amongst them, taking care that no foreigner as powerful as himself shall, by any accident, get a footing there; for it will always happen that such a one will be introduced by those who are discontented, either through excess of ambition or through fear, as one has seen already. The Romans were brought into Greece by the Aetolians; and in every other country where they obtained a footing they were brought in by the inhabitants. And the usual course of affairs is that, as soon as a powerful foreigner enters a country, all the subject states are drawn to him, moved by the hatred which they feel against the ruling power. So that in respect to these subject states he has not to take any trouble to gain them over to himself, for the whole of them quickly rally to the state which he has acquired there. He has only to take care that they do not get hold of too much power and too much authority, and then with his own forces, and with their goodwill, he can easily keep down the more powerful of them, so as to remain entirely master in the country. And he who does not properly manage this business will soon lose what he has acquired, and whilst he does hold it he will have endless difficulties and troubles.

The Romans, in the countries which they annexed, observed closely these measures; they sent colonies and maintained friendly relations with the minor powers, without increasing their strength; they kept down the greater, and did not allow any strong foreign powers to gain authority. Greece appears to me sufficient for an example. The Achaeans and Aetolians were kept friendly by them, the kingdom of Macedonia was humbled, Antiochus was driven out; yet the merits of the Achaeans and Aetolians never secured for them permission to increase their power, nor did the persuasions of Philip ever induce the Romans to be his friends without first humbling him, nor did the influence of Antiochus make them agree that he should retain any lordship over the country. Because the Romans did in these instances what all prudent princes ought to do, who have to regard not only present troubles, but also future ones, for which they must prepare with every

energy, because, when foreseen, it is easy to remedy them; but if you wait until they approach, the medicine is no longer in time because the malady has become incurable; for it happens in this, as the physicians say it happens in hectic fever, that in the beginning of the malady it is easy to cure but difficult to detect, but in the course of time, not having been either detected or treated in the beginning, it becomes easy to detect but difficult to cure. Thus it happens in affairs of state, for when the evils that arise have been foreseen (which it is only given to a wise man to see), they can be quickly redressed, but when, through not having been foreseen, they have been permitted to grow in a way that every one can see them, there is no longer a remedy. Therefore, the Romans, foreseeing troubles, dealt with them at once, and, even to avoid a war, would not let them come to a head, for they knew that war is not to be avoided, but is only put off to the advantage of others; moreover they wished to fight with Philip and Antiochus in Greece so as not to have to do it in Italy; they could have avoided both, but this they did not wish; nor did that ever please them which is for ever in the mouths of the wise ones of our time:— Let us enjoy the benefits of the time—but rather the benefits of their own valour and prudence, for time drives everything before it, and is able to bring with it good as well as evil, and evil as well as good.

But let us turn to France and inquire whether she has done any of the things mentioned. I will speak of Louis [XII] (and not of Charles [VIII]) as the one whose conduct is the better to be observed, he having held possession of Italy for the longest period; and you will see that he has done the opposite to those things which ought to be done to retain a state composed of divers elements.

King Louis was brought into Italy by the ambition of the Venetians, who desired to obtain half the state of Lombardy by his intervention. I will not blame the course taken by the king, because, wishing to get a foothold in Italy, and having no friends there—seeing rather that every door was shut to him owing to the conduct of Charles—he was forced to accept those friendships which he could get, and he would have succeeded very quickly in his design if in other matters he had not made some mistakes. The king, however, having acquired Lombardy, regained at once the authority which Charles had lost: Genoa yielded; the Florentines became his friends; the Marquess of Mantua, the Duke of Ferrara, the Bentivoglio, my lady of Forli, the Lords of Faenza, of Pesaro, of Rimini, of Camerino, of Piombino, the Lucchesi, the Pisans, the Sienese—everybody made advances to him to become his friend. Then could the Venetians realize the rashness of the course taken by them, which, in order that they might secure two towns in Lombardy, had made the king master of two-thirds of Italy.

Let any one now consider with what little difficulty the king could have maintained his position in Italy had he observed the rules above laid down, and kept all his friends secure and protected; for although they were numerous they were both weak and timid, some afraid of the Church, some of the Venetians, and thus they would always have been forced to stand in with him, and by their means he could easily have made himself secure against those who remained powerful. But he was no sooner in Milan than he did the contrary by assisting Pope Alexander to occupy the Romagna. It never occurred to him that by this action he was weakening himself, depriving himself of friends and those who had thrown themselves into his lap, whilst he aggrandized the Church by adding much temporal power to the spiritual, thus giving it great authority. And having committed this prime error, he was obliged to follow it up, so much so that, to put an end to the ambition of Alexander, and to prevent his becoming the master of Tuscany, he was himself forced to come into Italy.

And as if it were not enough to have aggrandized the Church, and deprived himself friends, he, wishing to have the kingdom of Naples, divides it with the King of Spain, and where he was the prime arbiter of Italy he takes an associate, so that the ambitious of that country and the malcontents of his own should have where to shelter; and whereas he could have left in the kingdom his own pensioner as king, he drove him out, to put one there who was able to drive him, Louis, out in turn.

The wish to acquire is in truth very natural and common, and men always do so when they can, and for this they will be praised not blamed; but when they cannot do so, yet wish to do so by any means, then there is folly and blame. Therefore, if France could have attacked Naples with her own forces she ought to have done so; if she could not, then she ought not to have divided it. And if the partition which she made with the Venetians in Lombardy was justified by the excuse that by it she got a foothold in Italy, this other partition merited blame, for it had not the excuse of that necessity.

Therefore Louis made these five errors: he destroyed the minor powers, he increased the strength of one of the greater powers in Italy, he brought in a foreign power, he did not settle in the country, he did not send colonies. Which errors, if he had lived, were not enough to injure him had he not made a sixth by taking away their dominions from the Venetians; because, had he not aggrandized the Church, nor brought Spain into Italy, it would have been very reasonable and necessary to humble them; but having first taken these steps, he ought never to have consented to their ruin, for they, being powerful, would always have kept off others from designs on Lombardy, to which the Venetians would never have consented except to become masters themselves there; also because the others would not wish to take Lombardy from France in order to give it to the Venetians, and to run counter to both they would not have had the courage.

And if any one should say: King Louis yielded the Romagna to Alexander and the kingdom to Spain to avoid war, I answer for the reasons given above that a blunder ought never be perpetrated to avoid war,

because it is not to be avoided, but is only deferred to your disadvantage. And if another should allege the pledge which the king had given to the Pope that he would assist him in the enterprise, in exchange for the dissolution of his marriage and for the hat to Rouen, to that I reply what I shall write later on concerning the faith of princes, and how it ought to be kept.

Thus King Louis lost Lombardy by not having followed any of the conditions observed by those who have taken possession of countries and wished to retain them. Nor is there any miracle in this, but much that is reasonable and quite natural. And on these matters I spoke at Nantes with Rouen, when Valentino, [1] as Cesare Borgia, the son of Pope Alexander, was usually called, occupied the Romagna, and on Cardinal Rouen observing to me that the Italians did not understand war, I replied to him that the French did not understand statecraft, meaning that otherwise they would not have allowed the Church to reach such greatness. And in fact it has been seen that the greatness of the Church and of Spain in Italy has been caused by France, and her ruin may be attributed to them. From this a general rule is drawn which never or rarely fails: that he who is the cause of another becoming powerful is ruined; because that predominancy has been brought about either by astuteness or else by force, and both are distrusted by him who has been raised to power.

1. So called—in Italian—from the duchy of Valentinois, conferred on him by Louis XII.

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## Martin Luther: The Ninety-five Theses

Date: October 31, 1517

*At this time in history, there was only one church in Europe, which amounted to a monopoly. Over the centuries, popes and theologians had developed a broad range of actions that were considered sins. Those who committed any type of sin and wished to be forgiven for their sins had to be absolved by the church. This act of forgiveness of a sin committed, or the remission of punishments because a sin was committed, is referred to as an indulgence. The sinner confessed to a priest and received absolution. Anyone wishing an indulgence would in turn make a donation to the church. Over time, selling indulgences became quite profitable for the church. While St. Peter's Basilica in Rome was being rebuilt, the pope dispatched priests charged with selling indulgences to raise money for the project.*

*Martin Luther was a German monk of the Roman Catholic Church and a doctor of theology. Being a theologian and scholar, Luther reasoned that only God can forgive mankind, and that man cannot forgive man. Luther made a protest over the sale of indulgences by the church in a letter to Albert, the archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg, on October 31, 1517. This protest letter was titled "Disputation of Dr. Martin Luther on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgences." This letter has become known as the Ninety-five Theses, and is a list of 95 items.*

*It is said that Martin Luther nailed his protest letter on the door of the Castle Church in Wittenburg, Germany, and many viewed this as an act of defiance against the Roman Catholic Church; however, in Luther's time, any announcement, event, or public posting would be posted on a church door. This was the age of the printing press, and Luther's letter was translated from Latin into German and into other languages, and within a few months it was being read throughout Europe. This event and Martin Luther's writings started the Reformation movement.*

Disputation of Dr. Martin Luther on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgences, also known as: The 95 Theses.

Out of love for the truth and the desire to bring it to light, the following propositions will be discussed at Wittenberg, under the presidency of the Reverend Father Martin Luther, Master of Arts and of Sacred Theology, and Lecturer in Ordinary on the same at that place. Wherefore he requests that those who are unable to be present and debate orally with us, may do so by letter.

In the Name our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

1. Our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, when He said Poenitentiam agite, willed that the whole life of believers should be repentance.

2. This word cannot be understood to mean sacramental penance, i.e., confession and satisfaction, which is administered by the priests.

3. Yet it means not inward repentance only; nay, there is no inward repentance which does not outwardly work divers mortifications of the flesh.

4. The penalty [of sin], therefore, continues so long as hatred of self continues; for this is the true inward repentance, and continues until our entrance into the kingdom of heaven.

5. The pope does not intend to remit, and cannot remit any penalties other than those which he has imposed either by his own authority or by that of the Canons.

6. The pope cannot remit any guilt, except by declaring that it has been remitted by God and by assenting to God's remission; though, to be sure, he may grant remission in cases reserved to his judgment. If his right to grant remission in such cases were despised, the guilt would remain entirely unforgiven.

7. God remits guilt to no one whom He does not, at the same time, humble in all things and bring into subjection to His vicar, the priest.

8. The penitential canons are imposed only on the living, and, according to them, nothing should be imposed on the dying.

9. Therefore the Holy Spirit in the pope is kind to us, because in his decrees he always makes exception of the article of death and of necessity.

10. Ignorant and wicked are the doings of those priests who, in the case of the dying, reserve canonical penances for purgatory.

11. This changing of the canonical penalty to the penalty of purgatory is quite evidently one of the tares that were sown while the bishops slept.

12. In former times the canonical penalties were imposed not after, but before absolution, as tests of true contrition.

13. The dying are freed by death from all penalties; they are already dead to canonical rules, and have a right to be released from them.

14. The imperfect health [of soul], that is to say, the imperfect love, of the dying brings with it, of necessity, great fear; and the smaller the love, the greater is the fear.

15. This fear and horror is sufficient of itself alone (to say nothing of other things) to constitute the penalty of purgatory, since it is very near to the horror of despair.

16. Hell, purgatory, and heaven seem to differ as do despair, almost-despair, and the assurance of safety.

17. With souls in purgatory it seems necessary that horror should grow less and love increase.

18. It seems unproved, either by reason or Scripture, that they are outside the state of merit, that is to say, of increasing love.

19. Again, it seems unproved that they, or at least that all of them, are certain or assured of their own blessedness, though we may be quite certain of it.

20. Therefore by "full remission of all penalties" the pope means not actually "of all," but only of those imposed by himself.

21. Therefore those preachers of indulgences are in error, who say that by the pope's indulgences a man is freed from every penalty, and saved;

22. Whereas he remits to souls in purgatory no penalty which, according to the canons, they would have had to pay in this life.

23. If it is at all possible to grant to any one the remission of all penalties whatsoever, it is certain that this remission can be granted only to the most perfect, that is, to the very fewest.

24. It must needs be, therefore, that the greater part of the people are deceived by that indiscriminate and high-sounding promise of release from penalty.

25. The power which the pope has, in a general way, over purgatory, is just like the power which any bishop or curate has, in a special way, within his own diocese or parish.

26. The pope does well when he grants remission to souls [in purgatory], not by the power of the keys (which he does not possess), but by way of intercession.

27. They preach man who say that so soon as the penny jingles into the money-box, the soul flies out [of purgatory].

28. It is certain that when the penny jingles into the money-box, gain and avarice can be increased, but the result of the intercession of the Church is in the power of God alone.

29. Who knows whether all the souls in purgatory wish to be bought out of it, as in the legend of Sts. Severinus and Paschal.

30. No one is sure that his own contrition is sincere; much less that he has attained full remission.

31. Rare as is the man that is truly penitent, so rare is also the man who truly buys indulgences, i.e., such men are most rare.

32. They will be condemned eternally, together with their teachers, who believe themselves sure of their salvation because they have letters of pardon.

33. Men must be on their guard against those who say that the pope's pardons are that inestimable gift of God by which man is reconciled to Him;

34. For these “graces of pardon” concern only the penalties of sacramental satisfaction, and these are appointed by man.

35. They preach no Christian doctrine who teach that contrition is not necessary in those who intend to buy souls out of purgatory or to buy confessionalia.

36. Every truly repentant Christian has a right to full remission of penalty and guilt, even without letters of pardon.

37. Every true Christian, whether living or dead, has part in all the blessings of Christ and the Church; and this is granted him by God, even without letters of pardon.

38. Nevertheless, the remission and participation [in the blessings of the Church] which are granted by the pope are in no way to be despised, for they are, as I have said, the declaration of divine remission.

39. It is most difficult, even for the very keenest theologians, at one and the same time to commend to the people the abundance of pardons and [the need of] true contrition.

40. True contrition seeks and loves penalties, but liberal pardons only relax penalties and cause them to be hated, or at least, furnish an occasion [for hating them].

41. Apostolic pardons are to be preached with caution, lest the people may falsely think them preferable to other good works of love.

42. Christians are to be taught that the pope does not intend the buying of pardons to be compared in any way to works of mercy.

43. Christians are to be taught that he who gives to the poor or lends to the needy does a better work than buying pardons;

44. Because love grows by works of love, and man becomes better; but by pardons man does not grow better, only more free from penalty.

45. Christians are to be taught that he who sees a man in need, and passes him by, and gives [his money] for pardons, purchases not the indulgences of the pope, but the indignation of God.

46. Christians are to be taught that unless they have more than they need, they are bound to keep back what is necessary for their own families, and by no means to squander it on pardons.

47. Christians are to be taught that the buying of pardons is a matter of free will, and not of commandment.

48. Christians are to be taught that the pope, in granting pardons, needs, and therefore desires, their devout prayer for him more than the money they bring.

49. Christians are to be taught that the pope’s pardons are useful, if they do not put their trust in them; but altogether harmful, if through them they lose their fear of God.

50. Christians are to be taught that if the pope knew the exactions of the pardon-preachers, he would rather that St. Peter’s church should go to ashes, than that it should be built up with the skin, flesh and bones of his sheep.

51. Christians are to be taught that it would be the pope’s wish, as it is his duty, to give of his own money to very many of those from whom certain hawkers of pardons cajole money, even though the church of St. Peter might have to be sold.

52. The assurance of salvation by letters of pardon is vain, even though the commissary, nay, even though the pope himself, were to stake his soul upon it.

53. They are enemies of Christ and of the pope, who bid the Word of God be altogether silent in some Churches, in order that pardons may be preached in others.

54. Injury is done the Word of God when, in the same sermon, an equal or a longer time is spent on pardons than on this Word.

55. It must be the intention of the pope that if pardons, which are a very small thing, are celebrated with one bell, with single processions and ceremonies, then the Gospel, which is the very greatest thing, should be preached with a hundred bells, a hundred processions, a hundred ceremonies.

56. The “treasures of the Church,” out of which the pope grants indulgences, are not sufficiently named or known among the people of Christ.

57. That they are not temporal treasures is certainly evident, for many of the vendors do not pour out such treasures so easily, but only gather them.

58. Nor are they the merits of Christ and the Saints, for even without the pope, these always work grace for the inner man, and the cross, death, and hell for the outward man.

59. St. Lawrence said that the treasures of the Church were the Church’s poor, but he spoke according to the usage of the word in his own time.

60. Without rashness we say that the keys of the Church, given by Christ’s merit, are that treasure;

61. For it is clear that for the remission of penalties and of reserved cases, the power of the pope is of itself sufficient.

62. The true treasure of the Church is the Most Holy Gospel of the glory and the grace of God.

63. But this treasure is naturally most odious, for it makes the first to be last.

64. On the other hand, the treasure of indulgences is naturally most acceptable, for it makes the last to be first.

65. Therefore the treasures of the Gospel are nets with which they formerly were wont to fish for men of riches.

66. The treasures of the indulgences are nets with which they now fish for the riches of men.

67. The indulgences which the preachers cry as the "greatest graces" are known to be truly such, in so far as they promote gain.

68. Yet they are in truth the very smallest graces compared with the grace of God and the piety of the Cross.

69. Bishops and curates are bound to admit the commissaries of apostolic pardons, with all reverence.

70. But still more are they bound to strain all their eyes and attend with all their ears, lest these men preach their own dreams instead of the commission of the pope.

71. He who speaks against the truth of apostolic pardons, let him be anathema and accursed!

72. But he who guards against the lust and license of the pardon-preachers, let him be blessed!

73. The pope justly thunders against those who, by any art, contrive the injury of the traffic in pardons.

74. But much more does he intend to thunder against those who use the pretext of pardons to contrive the injury of holy love and truth.

75. To think the papal pardons so great that they could absolve a man even if he had committed an impossible sin and violated the Mother of God -- this is madness.

76. We say, on the contrary, that the papal pardons are not able to remove the very least of venial sins, so far as its guilt is concerned.

77. It is said that even St. Peter, if he were now Pope, could not bestow greater graces; this is blasphemy against St. Peter and against the pope.

78. We say, on the contrary, that even the present pope, and any pope at all, has greater graces at his disposal; to wit, the Gospel, powers, gifts of healing, etc., as it is written in I. Corinthians xii.

79. To say that the cross, emblazoned with the papal arms, which is set up [by the preachers of indulgences], is of equal worth with the Cross of Christ, is blasphemy.

80. The bishops, curates and theologians who allow such talk to be spread among the people, will have an account to render.

81. This unbridled preaching of pardons makes it no easy matter, even for learned men, to rescue the reverence due to the pope from slander, or even from the shrewd questionings of the laity.

82. To wit: -- "Why does not the pope empty purgatory, for the sake of holy love and of the dire need of the souls that are there, if he redeems an infinite number of souls for the sake of miserable money with which to build a Church? The former reasons would be most just; the latter is most trivial."

83. Again: "Why are mortuary and anniversary masses for the dead continued, and why does he not return or permit the withdrawal of the endowments founded on their behalf, since it is wrong to pray for the redeemed?"

84. Again "What is this new piety of God and the pope, that for money they allow a man who is impious and their enemy to buy out of purgatory the pious soul of a friend of God, and do not rather, because of that pious and beloved soul's own need, free it for pure love's sake?"

85. Again: "Why are the penitential canons long since in actual fact and through disuse abrogated and dead, now satisfied by the granting of indulgences, as though they were still alive and in force?"

86. Again: "Why does not the pope, whose wealth is to-day greater than the riches of the richest, build just this one church of St. Peter with his own money, rather than with the money of poor believers?"

87. Again: "What is it that the pope remits, and what participation does he grant to those who, by perfect contrition, have a right to full remission and participation?"

88. Again: "What greater blessing could come to the Church than if the pope were to do a hundred times a day what he now does once, and bestow on every believer these remissions and participations?"

89. "Since the pope, by his pardons, seeks the salvation of souls rather than money, why does he suspend the indulgences and pardons granted heretofore, since these have equal efficacy?"

90. To repress these arguments and scruples of the laity by force alone, and not to resolve them by giving reasons, is to expose the Church and the pope to the ridicule of their enemies, and to make Christians unhappy.

91. If, therefore, pardons were preached according to the spirit and mind of the pope, all these doubts would be readily resolved; nay, they would not exist.

92. Away, then, with all those prophets who say to the people of Christ, "Peace, peace," and there is no peace!

93. Blessed be all those prophets who say to the people of Christ, "Cross, cross," and there is no cross!

94. Christians are to be exhorted that they be diligent in following Christ, their Head, through penalties, deaths, and hell;

95. And thus be confident of entering into heaven rather through many tribulations, than through the assurance of peace.

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**Aztec Account of Cortés**

Date: 1519

*In 1519 Hernán Cortés sailed from Cuba, landed in Mexico and made his way to the Aztec capital. Miguel León Portilla, a Mexican anthropologist, gathered accounts by the Aztecs, some of which were written shortly after the conquest. It is said that the Aztecs had a tradition and belief that one day a god would descend from the heavens and return to them, and that this return of a deity had been prophesied by the Aztec priests. It has been written that when Cortés arrived, he was showered with gifts and greeted by Moctezuma (Montezuma) II as an incarnation of the deity Quetzalcóatl, the god of learning, or the Feathered Serpent.*

*Yet other historians believe that history is written by the victor and not by the vanquished. It is known that before the arrival of the Spaniards in his lands, Moctezuma had his people and spies watching the Spaniards conquer the cities of other coastal peoples and that he had runners keeping him informed of all of the actions of this newly arriving army.*

*Some posit that Moctezuma, knowing that Cortés had already destroyed so many other cities, strategically chose to welcome Cortés as an honored guest and to bestow gifts upon him rather than risk going to war against him. They propose that this approach would have allowed Moctezuma to study this potential enemy.*

The following dialogue is an excerpt.

**SPEECHES OF MOTECUHZOMA AND CORTÉS**

When Motecuhzoma [Montezuma] had given necklaces to each one, Cortés asked him: "Are you Motecuhzoma? Are you the king? Is it true that you are the king Motecuhzoma?"

And the king said: "Yes, I am Motecuhzoma." Then he stood up to welcome Cortés; he came forward, bowed his head low and addressed him in these words: "Our lord, you are weary. The journey has tired you, but now you have arrived on the earth. You have come to your city, Mexico. You have come here to sit on your throne, to sit under its canopy.

"The kings who have gone before, your representatives, guarded it and preserved it for your coming. The kings Itzcoatl, Motecuhzoma the Elder, Axayacatl, Tizoc and Ahuitzol ruled for you in the City of Mexico. The people were protected by their swords and sheltered by their shields.

"Do the kings know the destiny of those they left behind, their posterity? If only they are watching! If only they can see what I see!

"No, it is not a dream. I am not walking in my sleep. I am not seeing you in my dreams. I have seen you at last! I have met you face to face! I was in agony for five days, for ten days, with my eyes fixed on the Region of the Mystery. And now you have come out of the clouds and mists to sit on your throne again.

"This was foretold by the kings who governed your city, and now it has taken place. You have come back to us; you have come down from the sky. Rest now, and take possession of your royal houses. Welcome to your land, my lords! "

When Motecuhzoma had finished, La Malinche translated his address into Spanish so that the Captain could understand it. Cortés replied in his strange and savage tongue, speaking first to La Malinche: "Tell Motecuhzoma that we are his friends. There is nothing to fear. We have wanted to see him for a long time, and now we have seen his face and heard his words. Tell him that we love him well and that our hearts are contented." Then he said to Motecuhzoma: "We have come to your house in Mexico as friends. There is nothing to fear." La Malinche translated this speech and the Spaniards grasped Motecuhzoma's hands and patted his back to show their affection for him.

The account continues regarding a later incident.

*Cuba's governor Pánfilo de Narváez was said to be jealous of Hernán Cortés. Narváez conducted an expedition from Cuba to Mexico, intending to arrest his rival conquistador for overstepping the authority granted to him. Cortés set out from Tenochtitlán, the Aztec capital, to meet the governor's forces, leaving*

*the imperial city in the hands of one Pedro de Alvarado. Overcoming Narváez's army proved no great task; Cortés suborned 900 of his opponent's men and employed them in defeating the balance of the expeditionary army. Narváez lost an eye in the battle, and it was he, and not Cortés, who was placed under arrest.*

*While Spaniards fought Spaniards in the Mexican countryside, Pedro de Alvarado, back in Tenochtitlán, initiated an action that was to typify white-Indian relations for the next four centuries. He turned his soldiers loose on the people, giving them leave to slaughter all men, women, and children. This provoked the people, who had so far meekly submitted to conquest, to rise up in heated rebellion. They laid siege to the palace where the Spaniards had taken refuge and where soldiers now held Moctezuma captive. Returning in the midst of this rebellion, Cortés took charge of his men and fought his way into and then out of the palace and city, plundering what he could as he went. During the evacuation—on June 30, 1520, called by the Spanish the Noche Triste (Sad Night)—Moctezuma was murdered. Spanish accounts claimed he had been assassinated by his own people; the Aztecs attributed his death to the Spanish.*

The following entry is an excerpt.

#### MASSACRE IN THE MAIN TEMPLE

During this time, the people asked Motecuhzoma how they should celebrate their god's fiesta. He said: "Dress him in all his finery, in all his sacred ornaments."

During this same time, the Sun commanded that Motecuhzoma and Itzcohuatzin, the military chief of Tlatelolco, be made prisoners. The Spaniards hanged a chief from Acolhuacan named Nezahualquenzin. They also murdered the king of Nauhtla, Cohualpopocatzin, by wounding him with arrows and then burning him alive. For this reason, our warriors were on guard at the Eagle Gate. The sentries from Tenochtitlan stood at one side of the gate, and the sentries from Tlatelolco at the other. But messengers came to tell them to dress the figure of Huitzilopochtli. They left their posts and went to dress him in his sacred finery: his ornaments and his paper clothing. When this had been done, the celebrants began to sing their songs. That is how they celebrated the first day of the fiesta. On the second day they began to sing again, but without warning they were all put to death. The dancers and singers were completely unarmed. They brought only their embroidered cloaks, their turquoises, their lip plugs, their necklaces, their clusters of heron feathers, their trinkets made of deer hooves. Those who played the drums, the old men, had brought their gourds of snuff and their timbrels.

The Spaniards attacked the musicians first, slashing at their hands and faces until they had killed all of them. The singers—and even the spectators—were also killed. This slaughter in the Sacred Patio went on for three hours. Then the Spaniards burst into the rooms of the temple to kill the others: those who were carrying water, or bringing fodder for the horses, or grinding meal, or sweeping, or standing watch over this work.

The king Motecuhzoma, who was accompanied by Itzcohuatzin and by those who had brought food for the Spaniards, protested: "Our lords, that is enough! What are you doing? These people are not carrying shields or macanas. Our lords, they are completely unarmed!"

The Sun had treacherously murdered our people on the twentieth day after the captain left for the coast. We allowed the Captain to return to the city in peace. But on the following day we attacked him with all our might, and that was the beginning of the war

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## Second Letter of Cortés to Charles V

Date: 1520

*Hernán Cortés (c. 1485–1547) wrote five letters to Charles V of Spain to provide him with an accounting of his actions in present-day Mexico. The second letter (Segunda Carta de Relación), dated October 30, 1520, was published at Seville in 1522. In this section, Cortés gives a detailed description of the city of Tenochtitlán (here called Temixtitán) in addition to the type and extent of power wielded by its ruler, Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin II the Younger (fl.1502–d. 1520; here spelled Muteczuma). The passage is of further interest because, in addition to providing an account of the buildings and other physical aspects of the city, Cortés comments on the city's social, cultural, and religious aspects. Moreover, his descriptions of the temples, and of his own actions in some of them, reveals Cortés's intention to convert the Aztecs to Christianity.*

*Tenochtitlán, the Aztec capital, was founded in 1235. Over the course of nearly three centuries the city grew both in size and grandeur, particularly during the reign of Motecuhzoma I (1440–1469). When Cortés*

arrived there in November 1519, he was amazed at what he saw. In this passage, he describes a city of great sophistication and beauty, with a system of bridges and canals, thriving outdoor markets, shops, restaurants, and grand temples. The palaces of Motechuzoma II, he writes, were so beautiful as to be nearly indescribable: "I can only say that in Spain there is nothing equal to them." After Tenochtitlán fell in 1521, Cortés razed the buildings that he had so highly praised, and built his own city on top of the ruins.

The passage also offers an outsider's view of Motechuzoma II that supplements the Aztec ruler's self-description in chapter 4 of the same letter. In the earlier passage, Motecuhzoma tells Cortés that despite what his subjects may believe, he is no god, but flesh and blood. While Motecuhzoma may not have considered himself a god, he was treated like one. Cortés writes that the ruler had 600 nobles in attendance upon him and that he never ate off of the same plate twice. When he summoned any of the local chieftains (*caciques*) to his presence, they would bow their heads and avert their gaze "from excessive modesty and reverence." When Motecuhzoma appeared in public, some "turned away without looking towards him, and others prostrated themselves until he had passed."

#### Chapter 5 (excerpt)

In order, most potent, Sire, to convey to your Majesty a just conception of the great extent of this noble city of Temixtitan, and of the many rare and wonderful objects it contains; of the government and dominions of Mutezuma, the sovereign, of the religious rites and customs that prevail, and the order that exists in this as well as other cities appertaining to his realm: it would require the labor of many accomplished writers, and much time for the completion of the task. I shall not be able to relate an hundredth part of what could be told respecting these matters; but I will endeavor to describe, in the best manner in my power, what I have myself seen; and imperfectly as I may succeed in the attempt, I am fully aware that the account will appear so wonderful as to be deemed scarcely worthy of credit; since even we who have seen these things with our own eyes, are yet so amazed as to be unable to comprehend their reality. But your Majesty may be assured that if there is any fault in my relation, either in regard to the present subject, or to any other matters of which I shall give your Majesty an account, it will arise from too great brevity rather than extravagance or prolixity in the details; and it seems to me but just to my Prince and Sovereign to declare the truth in the clearest manner, without saying any thing that would detract from it, or add to it.

Before I begin to describe this great city and the others already mentioned, it may be well for the better understanding of the subject to say something of the configuration of Mexico, in which they are situated, it being the principal seat of Mutezuma's power. This Province is in the form of a circle, surrounded on all sides by lofty and rugged mountains; its level surface comprises an area of about seventy leagues in circumference, including two lakes, that overspread nearly the whole valley, being navigated by boats more than fifty leagues round. One of these lakes contains fresh, and the other, which is the larger of the two, salt water. On one side of the lakes, in the middle of the valley, a range of highlands divides them from one another, with the exception of a narrow strait which lies between the highlands and the lofty sierras. This strait is a bow-shot wide, and connects the two lakes; and by this means a trade is carried on between the cities and other settlements on the lakes in canoes without the necessity of travelling by land. As the salt lake rises and falls with its tides like the sea, during the time of high water it pours into and on the other lake with the rapidity of a powerful stream; and on the other hand, when the tide has ebbed, the water runs from the fresh into the salt lake.

This great city of Temixtitan [Mexico] is situated in this salt lake, and from the main land to the denser parts of it, by whichever route one chooses to enter, the distance is two leagues. There are four avenues or entrances to the city, all of which are formed by artificial causeways, two spears' length in width. The city is as large as Seville or Cordova; its streets, I speak of the principal ones, are very wide and straight; some of these, and all the inferior ones, are half land and half water, and are navigated by canoes. All the streets at intervals have openings, through which the water flows, crossing from one street to another; and at these openings, some of which are very wide, there are also very wide bridges, composed of large pieces of timber, of great strength and well put together; on many of these bridges ten horses can go abreast. Foreseeing that if the inhabitants of this city should prove treacherous, they would possess great advantages from the manner in which the city is constructed, since by removing the bridges at the entrances, and abandoning the place, they could leave us to perish by famine without our being able to reach the main land—as soon as I entered it, I made great haste to build four brigantines, which were soon finished, and were large enough to take ashore three hundred men and the horses, whenever it should become necessary.

This city has many public squares, in which are situated the markets and other places for buying and selling. There is one square twice as large as that of the city of Salamanca, surrounded by porticoes, where are daily assembled more than sixty thousand souls, engaged in buying and selling; and where are found all kinds of merchandise that the world affords, embracing the necessaries of life, as for instance articles of food, as well as jewels of gold and silver, lead, brass, copper, tin, precious stones, bones, shells, snails, and feathers. There are also exposed for sale wrought and unwrought stone, bricks burnt and unburnt, timber hewn and unhewn, of different sorts. There is a street for game, where every variety of birds found in the country are

sold, as fowls, partridges, quails, wild ducks, fly-catchers, widgeons, turtle-doves, pigeons, reedbirds, parrots, sparrows, eagles, hawks, owls, and kestrels; they sell likewise the skins of some birds of prey, with their feathers, head, beak, and claws. There are also sold rabbits, hares, deer, and little dogs, which are raised for eating and castrated. There is also an herb street, where may be obtained all sorts of roots and medicinal herbs that the country affords. There are apothecaries' shops, where prepared medicines, liquids, ointments, and plasters are sold; barbers' shops, where they wash and shave the head; and restauranters, that furnish food and drink at a certain price. There is also a class of men like those called in Castile porters, for carrying burthens. Wood and coals are seen in abundance, and brasiers of earthenware for burning coals; mats of various kinds for beds, others of a lighter sort for seats, and for halls and bedrooms. There are all kinds of green vegetables, especially onions, leeks, garlic, watercresses, nasturtium, borage, sorrel, artichokes, and golden thistle; fruits also of numerous descriptions, amongst which are cherries and plums, similar to those in Spain; honey and wax from bees, and from the stalks of maize, which are as sweet as the sugar-cane; honey is also extracted from the plant called maguey, which is superior to sweet or new wine; from the same plant they extract sugar and wine, which they also sell. Different kinds of cotton thread of all colors in skeins are exposed for sale in one quarter of the market, which has the appearance of the silk-market at Granada, although the former is supplied more abundantly. Painters' colors, as numerous as can be found in Spain, and as fine shades; deer-skins dressed and undressed, dyed different colors, earthenware of a large size and excellent quality; large and small jars, jugs, pots, bricks, and an endless variety of vessels, all made of fine clay, and all or most of them glazed and painted; maize, or Indian corn, in the grain and in the form of bread, preferred in the grain for its flavor to that of the other islands and terra-firma; patés of birds and fish; great quantities of fish, fresh, salt, cooked and uncooked; the eggs of hens, geese, and of all other birds I have mentioned in great abundance, and cakes made of eggs; finally, every thing that can be found throughout the whole country is sold in the markets, comprising articles so numerous that to avoid prolixity, and because their names are not retained in my memory, or are unknown to me, I shall not attempt to enumerate them. Every kind of merchandise is sold in a particular street or quarter assigned to it exclusively, and thus the best order is preserved. They sell every thing by number or measure; at least so far we have not observed them to sell any thing by weight. There is a building in the great square that is used as an audience house, where ten or twelve persons, who are magistrates, sit and decide all controversies that arise in the market, and order delinquents to be punished. In the same square there are other persons who go constantly about among the people observing what is sold, and the measures used in selling; and they have been seen to break measures that were not true.

This great city contains a large number of temples, or houses for their idols, very handsome edifices, which are situated in the different districts and the suburbs; in the principal ones religious persons of each particular sect are constantly residing, for whose use beside the houses containing the idols there are other convenient habitations. All these persons dress in black, and never cut or comb their hair from the time they enter the priesthood until they leave it; and all the sons of the principal inhabitants, both nobles and respectable citizens, are placed in the temples and wear the same dress from the age of seven or eight years until they are taken out to be married; which occurs more frequently with the first-born who inherit estates than with the others. The priests are debarred from female society, nor is any woman permitted to enter the religious houses. They also abstain from eating certain kinds of food, more at some seasons of the year than at others. Among these temples there is one which far surpasses all the rest, whose grandeur of architectural details no human tongue is able to describe; for within its precincts, surrounded by a lofty wall, there is room enough for a town of five hundred families. Around the interior of this enclosure there are handsome edifices, containing large halls and corridors, in which the religious persons attached to the temple reside. There are full forty towers, which are lofty and well built, the largest of which has fifty steps leading to its main body, and is higher than the tower of the principal church at Seville. The stone and wood of which they are constructed are so well wrought in every part, that nothing could be better done, for the interior of the chapels containing the idols consists of curious imagery, wrought in stone, with plaster ceilings, and wood-work carved in relief, and painted with figures of monsters and other objects. All these towers are the burial places of the nobles, and every chapel in them is dedicated to a particular idol, to which they pay their devotions.

There are three halls in this grand temple, which contain the principal idols; these are of wonderful extent and height, and admirable workmanship, adorned with figures sculptured in stone and wood; leading from the halls are chapels with very small doors, to which the light is not admitted, nor are any persons except the priests, and not all of them. In these chapels are the images or idols, although, as I have before said, many of them are also found on the outside; the principal ones, in which the people have the greatest faith and confidence, I precipitated from their pedestals, and cast them down the steps of the temple, purifying the chapels in which they had stood, as they were all polluted with human blood, shed in the sacrifices. In the place of these I put images of Our Lady and the Saints, which excited not a little feeling in Mutezuma and the inhabitants, who at first remonstrated, declaring that if my proceedings were known throughout the country, the people would rise against me; for they believed that their idols bestowed on them all temporal good, and if they permitted them to be ill-treated, they would be angry and withhold their gifts, and by this means the people would be deprived of the fruits of the earth and perish with famine. I answered, through the interpreters, that

they were deceived in expecting any favors from idols, the work of their own hands, formed of unclean things; and that they must learn there was but one God, the universal Lord of all, who had created the heavens and the earth, and all things else, and had made them and us; that he was without beginning and immortal, and they were bound to adore and believe him, and no other creature or thing. I said every thing to them I could to divert them from their idolatries, and draw them to a knowledge of God our Lord. Mutezuma replied, the others assenting to what he said, "That they had already informed me they were not the aborigines of the country, but that their ancestors had emigrated to it many years ago; and they fully believed that after so long an absence from their native land, they might have fallen into some errors; that I having more recently arrived must know better than themselves what they ought to believe; and that if I would instruct them in these matters, and make them understand the true faith, they would follow my directions, as being for the best." Afterwards, Mutezuma and many of the principal citizens remained with me until I had removed the idols, purified the chapels, and placed the images in them, manifesting apparent pleasure; and I forbade them sacrificing human beings to their idols, as they had been accustomed to do; because, besides being abhorrent in the sight of God, your sacred Majesty had prohibited it by law, and commanded to put to death whoever should take the life of another. Thus, from that time, they refrained from the practice, and during the whole period of my abode in that city, they were never seen to kill or sacrifice a human being.

The figures of the idols in which these people believe surpass in stature a person more than ordinary size; some of them are composed of a mass of seeds and leguminous plants, such as are used for food, ground and mixed together, and kneaded with the blood of human hearts taken from the breasts of living persons, from which a paste is formed in a sufficient quantity to form large statues. When these are completed they make them offerings of the hearts of other victims, which they sacrifice to them, and besmear their faces with the blood. For every thing they have an idol, consecrated by the use of the nations that in ancient times honored the same gods. Thus they have an idol that they petition for victory in war; another for success in their labors; and so for every things in which they seek or desire prosperity, they have their idols, which they honor and serve.

This noble city contains many fine and magnificent houses; which may be accounted for from the fact, that all the nobility of the country, who are the vassals of Mutezuma, have houses in the city, in which they reside a certain part of the year; and besides, there are numerous wealthy citizens who also possess fine houses. All these persons, in addition to the large and spacious apartments for ordinary purposes, have others, both upper and lower, that contain conservatories of flowers. Along one of the causeways that lead into the city are laid two pipes, constructed of masonry, each of which is two paces in width, and about five feet in height. An abundant supply of excellent water, forming a volume equal in bulk to the human body, is conveyed by one of these pipes, and distributed about the city, where it is used by the inhabitants for drinking and other purposes. The other pipe, in the mean time, is kept empty until the former requires to be cleansed, when the water is let into it and continues to be used till the cleansing is finished. As the water is necessarily carried over bridges on account of the salt water crossing its route, reservoirs resembling canals are constructed on the bridges through which the fresh water is conveyed. These reservoirs are of the breadth of the body of an ox, and of the same length as the bridges. The whole city is thus served with water, which they carry in canoes through all the streets for sale, taking it from the aqueduct in the following manner: the canoes pass under the bridges on which the reservoirs are placed, when men stationed above fill them with water, for which service they are paid. At all the entrances of the city, and in those parts where the canoes are discharged, that is, where the greatest quantity of provisions is brought in, huts are erected, and persons stationed as guards, who receive a certum quid of every thing that enters. I know not whether the sovereign receives this duty or the city, as I have not yet been informed; but I believe that it appertains to the sovereign, as in the markets of other provinces a tax is collected for the benefit of their cacique. In all the markets and public places of this city are seen daily many laborers and persons of various employments waiting for some one to hire them. The inhabitants of this city pay a greater regard to style in their mode of living, and are more attentive to elegance of dress and politeness of manners, than those of the other provinces and cities; since, as the Cacique Mutezuma has his residence in the capital, and all the nobility, his vassals, are in the constant habit of meeting there, a general courtesy of demeanor necessarily prevails. But not to be prolix in describing what relates to the affairs of this great city, although it is with difficulty I refrain from proceeding, I will say no more than that the manners of the people, as shown in their intercourse with one another, are marked by as great an attention to properties of life as in Spain, and good order is equally well observed; and considering that they are a barbarous people, without the knowledge of God, having no intercourse with civilized nations, these traits of character are worthy of admiration.

In regard to the domestic appointments of Mutezuma, and the wonderful grandeur and state that he maintains, there is so much to be told, that I assure your Highness, I know not where to begin my relation, so as to be able to finish any part of it. For, as I have already stated, what can be more wonderful, than that a barbarous monarch, as he is, should have every object found in his dominions imitated in gold, silver, precious stones, and feathers; the gold and silver being wrought so naturally as not to be surpassed by any smith in the world; the stone work executed with such perfection that it is difficult to conceive what instruments could have been used; and the feather work superior to the finest productions in wax or embroidery. The extent of

Muteczuma's dominions has not been ascertained, since to whatever point he despatched his messengers, even two hundred leagues from his capital, his commands were obeyed, although some of his provinces were in the midst of countries with which he was at war. But as nearly as I have been able to learn, his territories are equal in extent to Spain itself, for he sent messengers to the inhabitants of a city called Cumatan, (requiring them to become subjects of your Majesty,) which is sixty leagues beyond that part of Putunchán watered by the river Grijalva, and two hundred and thirty leagues distant from the great city; and I sent some of our people a distance of one hundred and fifty leagues in the same direction. All the principal chiefs of these provinces, especially those in the vicinity of the capital, reside, as I have already stated, the greater part of the year in that great city, and all or most of them have their oldest sons in the service of Muteczuma. There are fortified places in all the provinces, garrisoned with his own men, where are also stationed his governors and collectors of the rents and tribute, rendered him by every province; and an account is kept of what each is obliged to pay, as they have characters and figures made on paper that are used for this purpose. Each province renders a tribute of its own peculiar productions, so that the sovereign receives a great variety of articles from different quarters. No prince was ever more feared by his subjects, both in his presence and absence. He possessed out of the city as well as within, numerous villas, each of which had its peculiar sources of amusement, and all were constructed in the best possible manner for the use of a great prince and lord. Within the city his palaces were so wonderful that it is hardly possible to describe their beauty and extent; I can only say that in Spain there is nothing equal to them.

There was one palace somewhat inferior to the rest, attached to which was a beautiful garden with balconies extending over it, supported by marble columns, and having a floor formed of jasper elegantly inlaid. There were apartments in this palace sufficient to lodge two princes of the highest rank with their retinues. There were likewise belonging to it ten pools of water, in which were kept the different species of water birds found in this country, of which there is a great variety, all of which are domesticated; for the sea birds there were pools of salt water, and for the river birds, of fresh water. The water is let off at certain times to keep it pure, and is replenished by means of pipes. Each species of bird is supplied with the food natural to it, which it feeds upon when wild. Thus fish is given to birds that usually eat it; worms, maize, and the finer seeds, to such as prefer them. And I assure your Highness, that to the birds accustomed to eat fish there is given the enormous quantity of arrobas every day, taken in the salt lake. The emperor has three hundred men whose sole employment is to take care of these birds; and there are others whose only business is to attend to the birds that are in bad health.

Over the pools for the birds there are corridors and galleries, to which Muteczuma resorts, and from which he can look out and amuse himself with the sight of them. There is an apartment in the same palace in which are men, women and children, whose faces, bodies, hair, eyebrows, and eyelashes are white from their birth. The emperor has another very beautiful palace, with a large court-yard, paved with handsome flags, in the style of a chess-board. There were also cages, about nine feet in height and six paces square, each of which was half covered with a roof of tiles, and the other half had over it a wooden grate, skillfully made. Every cage contained a bird of prey, of all the species found in Spain, from the kestrel to the eagle, and many unknown there. There was a great number of each kind; and in the covered part of the cages there was a perch, and another on the outside of the grating, the former of which the birds used in the night time, and when it rained; and the other enabled them to enjoy the sun and air. To all these birds fowls were daily given for food, and nothing else. There were in the same palace several large halls on the ground floor, filled with immense cages built of heavy pieces of timber, well put together, in all or most of which were kept loins, tigers, wolves, foxes, and a variety of animals of the cat kind, in great numbers, which were also fed on fowls. The care of these animals and birds was assigned to three hundred men. There was another palace that contained a number of men and women of monstrous size, and also dwarfs, and crooked and ill-formed persons, each of which had their separate apartments. These also had their respective keepers. As to the other remarkable things that the emperor had in his city for his amusement, I can only say that they were numerous and of various kinds.

He was served in the following manner. Every day as soon as it was light, six hundred nobles and men of rank were in attendance at the palace, who either sat, or walked about the halls and galleries, and passed their time in conversation, but without entering the apartment where his person was. The servants and attendants of these nobles remained in the court-yards, of which there were two or three of great extent, and in the adjoining street, which was also very spacious. They all remained in attendance from morning till night; and when his meals were served, the nobles were likewise served with equal profusion, and their servants and secretaries also had their allowance. Daily his larder and wine-cellar were open to all who wished to eat and drink. The meals were served by three or four hundred youths, who brought on an infinite variety of dishes; indeed, whenever he dined or supped, the table was loaded with every kind of flesh, fish, fruits, and vegetables, that the country produced. As the climate is cold, they put a chafing-dish with live coals under every plate and dish to keep them warm. The meals were served in a large hall, in which Muteczuma was accustomed to eat, and the dishes quite filled the room, which was covered with mats and kept very clean. He sat on a small cushion curiously wrought of leather. During the meals there were present, at a little distance from him, five or six elderly caciques, to whom he presented some of the food. and there was constantly in attendance one

of the servants, who arranged and handed the dishes, and who received from others whatever was wanted for the supply of the table. Both at the beginning and end of every meal, they furnished water for the hands; and the napkins used on these occasions were never used a second time; it was the same also with the chafing-dishes. He is also dressed every day in four different suits, entirely new, which he never wears a second time. None of the caciques who enter his palace have their feet covered, and when those for whom he sends enter his presence, they incline their heads and look down, bending their bodies; and when they address him, they do not look him in the face; this arises from excessive modesty and reverence. I am satisfied that it proceeds from respect, since certain caciques reproved the Spaniards for their boldness in addressing me, saying that it showed a want of becoming deference. Whenever Mutezcuma appeared in public, which was seldom the case, all those who accompanied him, or whom he accidentally met in the streets, turned away without looking towards him, and others prostrated themselves until he had passed. One of the nobles always preceded him on these occasions, carrying three slender rods erect, which I suppose was to give notice of the approach of his person. And when they descended from the litters, he took one of them in his hand, and held it until he reached the place where he was going. So many and various were the ceremonies and customs observed by those in the service of Mutezcuma, that more space than I can spare would be required for the details, as well as a better memory than I have to recollect them; since no sultan or other infidel lord, of whom any knowledge now exists, ever had so much ceremonial in their courts.

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## Pedro de Cieza de León: *Chronicles of the Incas*

Also known as: *Chronica del Perú*

Date: 1540

*Pedro de Cieza de León (c. 1520–1554) was a Spanish conquistador who wrote journals about Colombia, Peru, and the Incas. It is known that Pedro de Cieza de León was in the New World at least as early as 1536 and that he returned to Seville, Spain, in 1551. His Chronicles of the Incas was published in three parts. He published the first part of the chronicles in Seville in 1553. He died in 1554, and long after his death the second part of his chronicles was edited and published in 1871. The third part of his chronicles was published in 1909. In his Chronicles of the Incas he wrote of the history of Peru, the Incan gentry and the government and economy, Incan civil wars, and the Spanish conquest of the Incas. He also described native Peruvian animal species and vegetables, ethnography, and geography.*

The following is a view of the Incas by Pedro de Cieza de León providing information about the redistributive aspects of the Incan economy.

It is told for a fact of the rulers of this kingdom that in the days of their rule they had their representatives in the capitals of all the provinces, for in all these places there were larger and finer lodgings than in most of the other cities of this great kingdom, and many storehouses. They served as the head of the provinces or regions, and from every so many leagues around the tributes were brought to one of these capitals, and from so many others, to another. This was so well-organized that there was not a village that did not know where it was to send its tribute. In all these capitals the Incas had temples of the Sun, mints, and many silversmiths who did nothing but work rich pieces of gold or fair vessels of silver; large garrisons were stationed there, and a steward who was in command of them all, to whom an accounting of everything that was brought in was made, and who, in turn, had to give one of all that was issued. . . . The tribute paid by each of these provinces, whether gold, silver, clothing, arms and all else they gave, was entered in the accounts of those who kept the quipus and did everything ordered by the governor in the matter of finding the soldiers or supplying whom-ever the Inca ordered, or making delivery to Cuzco; but when they came from the city of Cuzco to go over the accounts, or they were ordered to go to Cuzco to give an accounting, the accountants themselves gave it by the quipus, or went to give it where there could be no fraud, but everything had to come out right. Few years went by in which an accounting was not made . . . .

At the beginning of the new year the rulers of each village came to Cuzco, bringing their quipus, which told how many births there had been during the year, and how many deaths. In this way the Inca and the governors knew which of the Indians were poor, the women who had been widowed, whether they were able

to pay their taxes, and how many men they could count on in the event of war, and many other things they considered highly important. The Incas took care to see that justice was meted out, so much so that nobody ventured to commit a felony or theft. This was to deal with thieves, rapists, or conspirators against the Inca.

As this kingdom was so vast, in each of the many provinces there were many storehouses filled with supplies and other needful things; thus, in times of war, wherever the armies went they drew upon the contents of these storehouses, without ever touching the supplies of their confederates or laying a finger on what they had in their settlements . . . Then the storehouses were filled up once more with the tributes paid the Inca. If there came a lean year, the storehouses were opened and the provinces were lent what they needed in the way of supplies; then, in a year of abundance, they paid back all they had received. No one who was lazy or tried to live by the work of others was tolerated; everyone had to work. Thus on certain days each lord went to his lands and took the plow in hand and cultivated the earth, and did other things. Even the Incas themselves did this to set an example. And under their system there was none such in all the kingdom, for, if he had his health, he worked and lacked for nothing; and if he was ill, he received what he needed from the storehouses. And no rich man could deck himself out in more finery than the poor, or wear different clothing, except the rulers and the headmen, who, to maintain their dignity, were allowed great freedom and privilege.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Pedro de Cieza de León. *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*. Markham, Clements R., trans. and ed. London: Hakluyt Society, 1883, pp. 36–50, *passim*.

## New Laws of the Indies

Date: 1542

*The “Laws and ordinances newly made by His Majesty for the government of the Indies and good treatment and preservation of the Indians” created a set of pro-Indian laws. They were so pro-Indian that some had to be revoked in Mexico and in Peru due to settler opposition. One viceroy was killed when he attempted to enforce them. The conflict was between “feudalists,” who favored the encomienda system because it maintained society as in the Old World, and the more centralizing “regalists,” who wanted to preserve royal power in Spain’s new empire. Eventually the encomienda was allowed to continue.*

Charles by the divine clemency Emperor ever august, King of Germany. . . . To the Most Illustrious Prince Don Philip our very dear and very beloved grandson and son, and to the Infantes our grandsons and sons, and to the President, and those of our Council of the Indies, and to our Viceroys, Presidents and Auditors of our Audiencias and royal Chanceries of our said Indies, Islands and Continent of the Ocean Sea; to our Governors, Alcaldes mayores and our other Authorities thereof, and to all the Councils, magistrates, regidores, knights, esquires, officers, and commoners of all the cities, towns, and villages of our said Indies, Islands, and Tierra-firme of the Ocean Sea, discovered and to be discovered; and to any other persons, captains, discoverers, settlers, and inhabitants dwelling in and being natives thereof, of whatever state, quality, condition and pre-eminence they may be. . . .

Know ye, That having for many years had will and intention as leisure to occupy ourselves with the affairs of the Indies, on account of their great importance, as well in that touching the service of God our Lord and increase of his holy Catholic faith, as in the preservation of the natives of those parts, and the good government and preservation of their persons; and although we have endeavoured to disengage ourselves to this effect, it has not been possible through the many and continual affairs that have occurred from which we were not able to excuse ourselves, and through the absences from these kingdoms which 1 the King have made for most necessary causes, as is known to all: and although this incessant occupation has not ceased this present year, nevertheless we commanded persons to assemble of all ranks, both prelates and knights and the clergy with some of our Council to discuss and treat of the things of most importance, of which we had information that they ought to be provided for: the which having been maturely debated and consulted upon, and in presence of me the King divers times argued and discussed: and finally having taken the opinion of all, we resolved on commanding to enact and ordain the things contained below: which besides the other Ordinances and Provisions that at different times we have commanded to be made, as by them shall appear, we command to be from henceforwards kept inviolably as laws. . . .

Whereas one of the most important things in which the Audiencias are to serve us is in taking very especial care of the good treatment of the Indians and preservation of them, We command that the said Audiencias enquire continually into the excesses or ill treatment which are or shall be done to them by governors or private persons; and how the ordinances and instructions which have been given to them, and are made for the good treatment of the said Indians have been observed. And if there had been any excesses, on the part of the said Governors, or should any be committed hereafter, to take care that such excesses are properly corrected,

chastizing the guilty parties with all rigour conformably to justice. The Audiencias must not allow that in the suits between Indians, or with them, there be ordinary proceedings at law, nor dilatory expedients, as is wont to happen through the malice of some advocates and solicitors, but that they be determined summarily, observing their usages and customs, unless they be manifestly unjust; and that the said Audiencias take care that this be so observed by the other, inferior judges.

Item, We ordain and command that from henceforward for no cause of war nor any other whatsoever, though it be under title of rebellion, nor by ransom nor in other manner can an Indian be made a slave, and we will that they be treated as our vassals of the Crown of Castile since such they are.

No person can make use of the Indians by way of Naboria or Tapia or in any other manner against their will.

As We have ordered provision to be made that from henceforward the Indians in no way be made slaves, including those who until now have been enslaved against all reason and right and contrary to the provisions and instructions thereupon, We ordain and command that the Audiencias having first summoned the parties to their presence, without any further judicial form, but in a summary way, so that the truth may be ascertained, speedily set the said Indians at liberty unless the persons who hold them for slaves show title why they should hold and possess them legitimately. And in order that in default of persons to solicit the aforesaid, the Indians may not remain in slavery unjustly, We command that the Audiencias appoint persons who may pursue this cause for the Indians and be paid out of the Exchequer fines, provided they be men of trust and diligence.

Also, We command that with regard to the lading of the said Indians the Audiencias take especial care that they be not laden, or in case that in some parts this cannot be avoided that it be in such a manner that no risk of life, health and preservation of the said Indians may ensue from an immoderate burthen; and that against their own will and without their being paid, in no case be it permitted that they be laden, punishing very severely him who shall act contrary to this. In this there is to be no remission out of respect to any person.

Because report has been made to us that owing to the pearl fisheries not having been conducted in a proper manner deaths of many Indians and Negroes have ensued, We command that no free Indian be taken to the said fishery under pain of death, and that the bishop and the judge who shall be at Veneçuela direct what shall seem to them most fit for the preservation of the slaves working in the said fishery, both Indians and Negroes, and that the deaths may cease. If, however, it should appear to them that the risk of death cannot be avoided by the said Indians and Negroes, let the fishery of the said pearls cease, since we value much more highly (as is right) the preservation of their lives than the gain which may come to us from the pearls.

Whereas in consequence of the allotments of Indians made to the Viceroy, Governors, and their lieutenants, to our officials, and prelates, monasteries, hospitals, houses of religion and mints, offices of our Hazienda and treasury thereof, and other persons favoured by reason of their offices, disorders have occurred in the treatment of the said Indians, it is our will, and we command that forthwith there be placed under our Royal Crown all the Indians whom they hold and possess by any title and cause whatever, whoever the said parties are, or may be, whether Viceroy, Governor, or their lieutenants, or any of our officers, as well of Justice as of our Hazienda, prelates, houses of religion, or of our Hazienda, hospitals, confraternities, or other similar institutions, although the Indians may not have been allotted to them by reason of the said offices; and although such functionaries or governors may say that they wish to resign the offices or governments and keep the Indians, let this not avail them nor be an excuse for them not to fulfill what we command.

Moreover, We command that from all those persons who hold Indians without proper title, having entered into possession of them by their own authority, such Indians be taken away and be placed under our Royal Crown.

And because we are informed that other persons, although possessing a sufficient title, have had an excessive number of Indians allotted to them, We order that the Audiencias, each in its jurisdiction diligently inform themselves of this, and with all speed, and reduce the allotments made to the said persons to a fair and moderate quantity, and then place the rest under our Royal Crown notwithstanding any appeal or application which may be interposed by such persons: and send us a report with all speed of what the said Audiencias have thus done, that we may know how our command is fulfilled. And in New Spain let it be especially provided as to the Indians held by Joan Infante, Diego de Ordas, the Maestro Roa, Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, Francisco Maldonado, Bernardino Vazquez de Tapia, Joan Xaramillo, Martin Vazquez, Gil Gongales de Venavides, and many other persons who are said to hold Indians in very excessive quantity, according to the report made to us. And, whereas we are informed that there are some persons in the said New Spain who are of the original Conquistadores and have no repartimiento of Indians, We ordain that the President and Auditors of the said New Spain do inform themselves if there be any persons of this kind, and if any, to give them out of the tribute which the Indians thus taken away have to pay, what to them may seem fit for the moderate support and honourable maintenance of the said original Conquistadores who had no Indians allotted to them.

So also, The said Audiencias are to inform themselves how the Indians have been treated by the persons who have held them in encomienda, and if it be clear that in justice they ought to be deprived of the said Indians for their excesses and the ill-usage to which they have subjected them, We ordain that they take away and place such Indians under our Royal Crown. And in Peru, besides the aforesaid, let the Viceroy and Audiencia

inform themselves of the excesses committed during the occurrences between Governors Pizarro and Almagro in order to report to us thereon, and from the principal persons whom they find notoriously blameable in those feuds they then take away the Indians they have, and place them under our Royal Crown.

Moreover, We ordain and command that from henceforward no Viceroy, Governor, Audiencia, discoverer, or any other person have power to allot Indians in encomienda by new provision, or by means of resignation, donation, sale, or any other form or manner, neither by vacancy nor inheritance, but that the person dying who held the said Indians, they revert to our Royal Crown. And let the Audiencias take care to inform themselves then particularly of the person who died, of his quality, his merits and services, of how he treated the said Indians whom he held, if he left wife and children or what other heirs, and send us a report thereof with the condition of the Indians and of the land, in order that we may give directions to provide what may be best for our service, and may do such favour as may seem suitable to the wife and children of the defunct. If in the meantime it should appear to the Audiencia that there is a necessity to provide some support for such wife and children, they can do it out of the tribute which the said Indians will have to pay, or allowing them a moderate pension, if the said Indians are under our Crown, as aforesaid.

Item, We ordain and command that our said Presidents and Auditors take great care that the Indians who in any of the ways above mentioned are taken away, and those who may become vacant be very well treated and instructed in the matters of our holy Catholic faith, and as our free vassals. This is to be their chief care, that on which we principally desire them to report, and in which they can best serve us. They are also to provide that they be governed with justice in the way and manner that the Indians who are under our Royal Crown are at present governed in New Spain. . . .

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## Copernicus: *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium*

Date: 1543

*Nicolaus Copernicus was born February 19, 1473, in Poland. He entered the University of Kraków in 1491 and went to Padua in 1495 to study medicine. In 1500 he was called to Rome and took the chair of mathematics there. In about 1507 he began to believe that Earth traveled around the Sun and, from that time until his death, worked more or less intermittently on his exposition of this theory. He delayed the publication of this exposition because of the fear of being accused of heresy. Copernicus died May 24, 1543, just as his book was published. The knowledge of that time was not sufficient to prove his theory; his great argument for it was from its simplicity, as compared to the epicycle hypothesis.*

Nicolaus Copernicus: An excerpt from *The Revolutions of the Heavenly Bodies*, 1543

That the universe is spherical. FIRST WE must remark that the universe is spherical in form, partly because this form being a perfect whole requiring no joints, is the most complete of all, partly because it makes the most capacious form, which is best suited to contain and preserve everything; or again because all the constituent parts of the universe, that is the sun, moon and the planets appear in this form; or because everything strives to attain this form, as appears in the case of drops of water and other fluid bodies if they attempt to define themselves. So no one will doubt that this form belongs to the heavenly bodies.

That the earth is also spherical. That the earth is also spherical is therefore beyond question, because it presses from all sides upon its center. Although by reason of the elevations of the mountains and the depressions of the valleys a perfect circle cannot be understood, yet this does not affect the general spherical nature of the earth. This appears in the following manner. To those who journey towards the North the North pole of the daily revolution of the heavenly sphere seems gradually to rise, while the opposite seems to sink. Most of the stars in the region of the Bear seem not to set, while some of the Southern stars seem not to rise at all. So Italy does not see Canopus which is visible to the Egyptians. And Italy sees the outermost star of the Stream, which our region of a colder zone does not know. On the other hand to those who go towards the South the others seem to rise and those to sink which are high in our region. Moreover, the inclination of the poles to the diameter of the earth bears always the same relation, which could happen only in the case of a sphere. So it is evident that the earth is included between the two poles, and is therefore spherical in form. Let us add that the inhabitants of the East do not observe the eclipse of the sun or of the moon which occurs in the evening, and the inhabitants of the West those which occur in the morning, while those who dwell between see those later and these earlier. That the water also has the same form can be

observed from the ships, in that the land which cannot be seen from the deck, is visible from the mast-tree. And conversely if a light be placed at the masthead it seems to those who remain on the shores gradually to sink and at last still sinking to disappear. It is clear that the water also according to its nature continually presses like the earth downward, and does not rise above its banks higher than its convexity permits. So the land extends above the ocean as much as the land happens to be higher.

Whether the earth has a circular motion, and concerning the location of the earth. As it has been already shown that the earth has the form of a sphere, we must consider whether a movement also coincides with this form, and what place the earth holds in the universe. Without this there will be no secure results to be obtained in regard to the heavenly phenomena. The great majority of authors of course agree that the earth stands still in the center of the universe, and consider it inconceivable and ridiculous to suppose the opposite. But if the matter is carefully weighed it will be seen that the question is not yet settled and therefore by no means to be regarded lightly. Every change of place which is observed is due, namely, to a movement of the observed object or of the observer, or to movements of both, naturally in different directions, for if the observed object and the observer move in the same manner and in the same direction no movement will be seen. Now it is from the earth that the revolution of the heavens is observed and it is produced for our eyes. Therefore if the earth undergoes no movement this movement must take place in everything outside of the earth, but in the opposite direction than if everything on the earth moved, and of this kind is the daily revolution. So this appears to affect the whole universe, that is, everything outside the earth with the single exception of the earth itself. If, however, one should admit that this movement was not peculiar to the heavens, but that the earth revolved from west to east, and if this was carefully considered in regard to the apparent rising and setting of the sun, the moon and the stars, it would be discovered that this was the real situation. Since the sky, which contains and shelters all things, is the common seat of all things, it is not easy to understand why motion should not be ascribed rather to the thing contained than to the containing, to the located rather than to the location. From this supposition follows another question of no less importance, concerning the place of the earth, although it has been accepted and believed by almost all, that the earth occupies the middle of the universe. But if one should suppose that the earth is not at the center of the universe, that, however, the distance between the two is not great enough to be measured on the orbits of the fixed stars, but would be noticeable and perceptible on the orbit of the sun or of the planets: and if one was further of the opinion that the movements of the planets appeared to be irregular as if they were governed by a center other than the earth, then such an one could perhaps have given the true reasons for the apparently irregular movement. For since the planets appear now nearer and now farther from the earth, this shows necessarily that the center of their revolutions is not the center of the earth: although it does not settle whether the earth increases and decreases the distance from them or they their distance from the earth.

Refutation of the arguments of the ancients that the earth remains still in the middle of the universe, as if it were its center. From this and similar reasons it is supposed that the earth rests at the center of the universe and that there is no doubt of the fact. But if one believed that the earth revolved, he would certainly be of the opinion that this movement was natural and not arbitrary. For whatever is in accord with nature produces results which are the opposite of those produced by force. Things upon which force or an outside power has acted, must be injured and cannot long endure: what happens by nature, however, preserves itself well and exists in the best condition. So Ptolemy feared without good reason that the earth and all earthly objects subject to the revolution would be destroyed by the act of nature, since this latter is opposed to artificial acts, or to what is produced by the human spirit. But why did he not fear the same, and in a much higher degree, of the universe, whose motion must be as much more rapid as the heavens are greater than the earth? Or has the heaven become so immense because it has been driven outward from the center by the inconceivable power of the revolution; while if it stood still, on the contrary, it would collapse and fall together? But surely if this is the case the extent of the heavens would increase infinitely. For the more it is driven higher by the outward force of the movement, so much the more rapid will the movement become, because of the ever increasing circle which must be traversed in twenty-four hours; and conversely if the movement grows the immensity of the heavens grows. So the velocity would increase the size and the size would increase the velocity unendingly. According to the physical law that the endless cannot wear away nor in any way move, the heavens must necessarily stand still. But it is said that beyond the sky no body, no place, no vacant space, in fact nothing at all exists; then it is strange that some thing should be enclosed by nothing. But if the heaven is endless and is bounded only by the inner hollow, perhaps this establishes all the more clearly the fact that there is nothing outside the heavens, because everything is within it, but the heaven must then remain unmoved. The highest proof on which one supports the finite character of the universe is its movement. But whether the universe is endless or limited we will leave to the physiologues; this remains sure for us that the earth enclosed between the poles is bounded by a spherical surface. Why therefore should we not take the position of ascribing to a movement conformable to its nature and corresponding to its form, rather than suppose that the whole universe whose limits are not and cannot be known moves? And why will we not

recognize that the appearance of a daily revolution belongs to the heavens, but the actuality to the earth; and that the relation is similar to that of which one says: "We run out of the harbor, the lands and cities retreat from us." Because if a ship sails along quietly, everything outside of it appears to those on board as if it moved with the motion of the boat, and the boatman thinks that the boat with all on board is standing still, this same thing may hold without doubt of the motion of the earth, and it may seem as if the whole universe revolved.

What shall we say, however, of the clouds and other things floating, falling or rising in the air—except that not only does the earth move with the watery elements belonging with it, but also a large part of the atmosphere, and whatever else is in any way connected with the earth; whether it is because the air immediately touching the earth has the same nature as the earth, or that the motion has become imparted to the atmosphere. A like astonishment must be felt if that highest region of the air be supposed to follow the heavenly motion, as shown by those suddenly appearing stars which the Greeks call comets or bearded stars, which belong to that region and which rise and set like other stars. We may suppose that part of the atmosphere, because of its great distance from the earth, has become free from the earthly motion. So the atmosphere which lies close to the earth and all things floating in it would appear to remain still, unless driven here and there by the wind or some other outside force, which chance may bring into play; for how is the wind in the air different from the current in the sea? We must admit that the motion of things rising and falling in the air is in relation to the universe a double one, being always made up of a rectilinear and a circular movement. Since that which seeks of its own weight to fall is essentially earthy, so there is no doubt that these follow the same natural law as their whole; and it results from the same principle that those things which pertain to fire are forcibly driven on high. Earthly fire is nourished with earthly stuff, and it is said that the flame is only burning smoke. But the peculiarity of the fire consists in this that it expands whatever it seizes upon, and it carries this out so consistently that it can in no way and by no machinery be prevented from breaking its bonds and completing its work.

The expanding motion, however, is directed from the center outward; therefore if any earthly material is ignited it moves upward. So to each single body belongs a single motion, and this is evinced preferably in a circular direction as long as the single body remains in its natural place and its entirety. In this position the movement is the circular movement which as far as the body itself is concerned is as if it did not occur. The rectilinear motion, however, seizes upon those bodies which have wandered or have been driven from their natural position or have been in any way disturbed. Nothing is so much opposed to the order and form of the world as the displacement of one of its parts. Rectilinear motion takes place only when objects are not properly related, and are not complete according to their nature because they have separated from their whole and have lost their unity. Moreover, objects which have been driven outward or away, leaving out of consideration the circular motion, do not obey a single, simple and regular motion, since they cannot be controlled simply by their lightness or by the force of their weight, and if in falling they have at first a slow movement the rapidity of the motion increases as they fall, while in the case of earthly fire which is forced upwards—and we have no means of knowing any other kind of fire—we will see that its motion is slow as if its earthly origin thereby showed itself.

The circular motion, on the other hand, is always regular, because it is not subject to an intermittent cause. Those other objects, however, would cease to be either light or heavy in respect to their natural movement if they reached their own place, and thus they would fit into that movement. Therefore if the circular movement is to be ascribed to the universe as a whole and the rectilinear to the parts, we might say that the revolution is to the straight line as the natural state is to sickness. That Aristotle divided motion into three sorts, that from the center out, that inward toward center, and that around about the center, appears to be merely a logical convenience, just as we distinguish point, line and surface, although one cannot exist without the others, and none of them are found apart from bodies. This fact is also to be considered, that the condition of immovability is held to be more noble and divine than that of change and inconstancy, which latter therefore should be ascribed rather to the earth than to the universe, and I would add also that it seems inconsistent to attribute motion to the containing and locating element rather than to the contained and located object, which the earth is. Finally since the planets plainly are at one time nearer and at another time farther from the earth, it would follow, on the theory that the universe revolves, that the movement of the one and same body which is known to take place about a center, that is the center of the earth, must also be directed toward the center from without and from the center outward. The movement about the center must therefore be made more general, and it suffices if that single movement be about its own center. So it appears from all these considerations that the movement of the earth is more probable than its fixity, especially in regard to the daily revolution, which is most peculiar to the earth.

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## Nahuatl History

Date: c. 1550

*This long and complex Nahuatl poem is an exhortation to the Huexotzincos to go to war. The Huexotzincos, who lived in the Puebla valley, were defeated by the Tlaxcalans in the 15th century. The poem is from a collection of Nahuatl poetry recorded by the Spanish after the conquest in the 16th century. The poem's title may be slightly misleading in that Tezozomoc, the Tepanec king who ruled in the mid-14th century, is mentioned only briefly here, and even though the speaker addresses Tezozomoc directly in the 10th verse, it is uncertain whether the poem's events took place during his reign. Nor is it easy to distinguish who is allied with whom. Another difficulty is that the poem refers to both the Colhuacan and the Acolhuacan, but according to the translator, the term Colhuacan can also be understood to refer to the Acolhuacan.*

*The poem has 29 verses. It begins by alluding to Nahuatl origins in Chicomoztoc and proceeds with a brief history of Nahuatl leaders (1–3). The next verses suggest that some of the present-day leaders gathered to hold a war council (4–7). The tone changes in the eighth verse when the narrator addresses the men of Huexotzinco, indicating that they have suffered losses among the Acolhuacan, and in the 10th verse, he asks Tezozomoc why he has not gone to war with the Acolhuacan. The next part includes the opinion of the narrator concerning the need to go to war (11–17). According to the translator, the manuscript is corrupt at verse 18, and, therefore, his translation is tentative. As it stands, this and the following verse call for the Huexotzinco to go to war against the men of Tlaxcala (here spelled Tlaxcalla) (18–19). The next two verses describe the destruction in Huexotzinco (20–21); in verse 23, the Tlaxcalans themselves are addressed. In the following two verses the speaker indicates that preparations have been made, and he asks when this meeting in war will occur (24–25); verse 26 is another exhortation. The three last verses return to the theme of the destruction of the land. The final verse begins and ends with the same question, whose answer seems to the narrator to be only too clear. Mictlan is the Aztec underworld.*

### Reign of Tezozomoc (c. 16th century)

1. From the land of the tzihuac bushes, from the land of the mezquite bushes, where was ancient Chicomoztoc, thence came all your rulers hither.
2. Here unrolled itself the royal line of Colhuacan, here our nobles of Colhuacan, united with the Chichimecs.
3. Sing for a little while concerning these, O children, the sovereign Huitzilihuitl, the judge Quauhxilol, of our bold leader Tlalnahuatl, of the proud bird Ixtlilxochitl, those who went forth, and conquered and ruled before God, and bewail Tezozomoc.
4. A second time they left the mezquite bushes in Hue Tlalpan, obeying the order of God.
5. They go where are the flowers, where they may gain grandeur and power, dividing asunder they leave the mountain Atloyan and Hue Tlalpan, obeying the order of the Giver of Life.
6. It is cause of rejoicing, that I am enabled to see our rulers from all parts gathering together, arranging in order the words of the Giver of Life, and that their souls are caused to see and to know that God is precious, wonderful, a sweet ointment, and that they are known as flowers of wise counsel in the affairs of war.
7. There were Tochin, with many boats, the noble Acolmiztlan, the noble Catocih, Yohuallatonoc, and Cuetzpaltzin, and Iztaccoyotl, bold leaders from Tlaxcalla, and Coatziteuctli, and Huitalotzin, famed as flowers on the field of battle.
8. For what purpose do you make your rulers, men of Huexotzinco? Look at Acolhuacan where the men of Huexotzinco are broken with toil, are trod upon like paving stones, and wander around the mountain Atloyan.
9. There is a ceiba tree, a cypress tree, there stands a mezquite bush, strong as a cavern of stone, known as the Giver of Life.
10. Ruler of men, Nopiltzin, Chicimec, o Tezozomoc, why hast thou made us sick, why brought us to death, through not desiring to offer war and battle to Acolhuacan?
11. But we lift up our voice and rejoice in the Giver of life; the men of Colhuacan and the Mexican leader have ruined us, through not desiring to offer war and battle to Acolhuacan.
12. The only joy on earth will be again to send the shield-flower again to rejoice the Giver of Life; already are discontented the faces of the workers in filth.
13. Therefore you rejoice in the shield-flowers, the flowers of night, the flowers of battle; already are ye clothed, ye children of Quetzalmamatzin and Huitznahuatl.
14. Your shield and your wall of safety are where dwells the sweet joy of war, where it comes, and sings and lifts its voice, where dwell the nobles, the precious stones, making known their faces; thus you give joy to the Giver of Life.
15. Let your dancing, and banqueting be in the battle, there be your place of gain, your scene of action, where the noble youths perish.

16. Dressed in their feathers they go rejoicing the Giver of Life to the excellent place, the place of shards.

17. He lifted up his voice in our houses like a bird, that man of Huexotzinco, Iztaccoyotl.

18. Whoever is aggrieved let him come forth with us against the men of Tlaxcallan, let him follow where the city of Huexotzinco lets drive its arrows.

19. Our leaders will lay waste, they will destroy the land, and your children, O Huexotzincos, will have peace of mind.

20. the mezquite was there, the tzihuac was there, the Giver of Life has set up the cypress; be sad that evil has befallen Huexotzinco, that it stands alone in the land.

21. In all parts there are destruction and desolation, no longer are there protection and safety, nor has the one only God heard the song; therefore speak it again, you children;

22. That the words may be repeated, you children, and give joy to the Giver of Life at Tepeyacan.

23. And since you are going, you Tlaxcallans, call upon Tlacomihuatzin that he may yet go to this divine war.

24. The Chichimecs and the leaders and Iztaccoyatl have with difficulty and vain labor arranged and set in order their jewels and feathers.

25. At Huexotzinco the ruler Quiauhtzin hates the Mexicans, hates the Acolhuacans; when shall we go to mix with them, to meet them?

26. Set to work and speak, you fathers, to your rulers, to your lords that they may make a blazing fire of the smoking tzihuac wood.

27. the Acolhuacans were at Chalco, the Otomies were in your cornfields at Quauhquechollan, they laid them waste by the permission of God.

28. The fields and hills are ravaged, the whole land has been laid waste.

29. What remedy can they turn to? Water and smoke have spoiled the land of the rulers; they have gone back to Mictlan attaching themselves to the ruler Cacamatl. What remedy can they turn to?

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## St. Francis Xavier: Letter from Japan to the Society of Jesus at Goa

Date: 1551

*Francis Xavier was born in the Navarre province of Spain and studied in Paris. Years later he met Ignatius of Loyola, and they and several others founded the Society of Jesus, the Jesuit order. He was ordained a priest in Venice in 1537. He spent years in service to his Jesuit order in Rome. In 1540, he was named papal nuncio to the Indies. King João III of Portugal sponsored him in a missionary expedition to the Portuguese colony of Goa, India. From 1542 he spent next three years traveling through India, winning many converts and establishing missions. From 1545 through 1546 he carried on missionary work in the Malay Peninsula, the Indonesian archipelago, and the Spice Islands, or Moluccas. Returning to India, Francis Xavier supervised the assignment of additional Jesuit missionaries to posts in India.*

*In 1549 he led a group of missionaries to Japan, landing at Kagoshima on southernmost Kyushu Island, he met up with the Portuguese traveler Fernão Mendes Pinto. Francis Xavier and his Jesuit brothers spent two years traveling in Japan, during which time he was permitted to open a number of missions and Christian settlements. After Fernão Mendes Pinto, he was one of the first Europeans to visit Japan, providing early descriptions of that land and its people in his many letters to his fellow Jesuits in India and in Europe.*

Here is a descriptive from one of his letters.

Last year, dearest brethren, I wrote to you from Cagoxima concerning our voyage, our arrival in Japan, and what had been done in the interests of Christianity up to that time. Now I will relate what God had done by our means since last year. On our arrival at the native place of our good Paul, we were received very kindly indeed by his relations and friends. They all of them became Christians, being led by what Paul told them; and that they might be thoroughly confirmed in the truth of our religion, we remained in that place a whole year and more. In that time more than a hundred were gathered into the fold of Christ. The rest might have done so

if they had been willing, without giving any offence to their kinsfolk or relations. But the bonzes admonished the prince (who is very powerful, the lord of several towns), that if he allowed his people to embrace the Christian religion, his whole dominion would be destroyed, and the ancestral gods of the country, which they call pagodas, would come to be despised by the natives. For the law of God was contrary to the law of Japan, and it would therefore result that any who embraced that law would repudiate the holy founders of the ancient law of their forefathers, which could not be done without great ruin to the town and realm. Let him look, therefore, with reverence on those most holy men who had been the legislators of Japan, and, considering that the law of God was opposed and hostile to the law of his fathers, let him issue an edict forbidding, under penalty of death, that any one in future should become a Christian. The prince was moved by this discourse of the bonzes, and issued the edict as they had requested.

The interval after this was spent in instructing our converts, in learning Japanese, and in translating into that tongue the chief heads of the Christian faith. We used to dwell shortly on the history of the creation of the world, as seemed useful for the men we had to deal with, as, for instance, that God was the Maker and Creator of the universe, a truth which they were entirely ignorant of, and the other truths necessary for salvation, but principally the truth that God had taken on Himself the nature of man. On this account we translated diligently all the great mysteries of the life of Christ until His Ascension into heaven, and also the account of the last Judgment. We have now translated this book, for such it was, into Japanese with great labor, and have written it in our own characters. Out of this we read what I have mentioned to those who came to the faith of Christ, that the converts might know how to worship God and Jesus Christ with piety and to their souls' health. And when we went on to expound these things in our discourses, the Christians delighted in them very much, as seeing how true the things were which we had taught them. The Japanese are certainly of remarkably good dispositions, and follow reason wonderfully. They see clearly that their ancestral law is false and the law of God true, but they are deterred by fear of their prince from submitting to the Christian religion.

When the year came to an end, seeing the lord of the town to be opposed to all extension of our religion, we determined to pass to another place. We therefore bade farewell to our converts; they loved us so much that they shed many tears, and giving us great thanks for having shown them the way of eternal salvation at the cost of so much labour of our own, were very sorrowful at our departure. We left with them Paul, their own townsman, who is an excellent Christian, to finish their instruction in the precepts of religion. We then went to another town, where the lord of the place received us very kindly; there we remained a few days, and made about a hundred Christians. None of us knew Japanese; nevertheless, by reading the semi-Japanese volume mentioned, and talking to the people, we brought many of them to the worship of Christ.

I charged Cosmo Torres with the care of these converts, and went on with Joan Fernandez to Yamaguchi, the seat of a very wealthy daimyo, as he is thought among the Japanese. The city contains more than ten thousand households; all the houses are of wood. We found many here, both of the common people and of the nobility, very desirous to become acquainted with the Christian law. We thought it best to preach twice a day in the streets and cross roads, reading out parts of our book, and then speaking to the people about the Christian religion. Some of the noblemen also invited us to their houses, that they might hear about our religion with more convenience. They promised of their own accord, that if they came to think it better than their own, they would unhesitatingly embrace it. Many of them heard what we had to say about the law of God very willingly; some, on the other hand, were angry at it, and even went so far as to laugh at what we said. So, wherever we went through the streets of the city, we were followed by a small crowd of boys of the lowest dregs of the populace, laughing at us and mocking us with some such words as these: "There go the men who tell us that we must embrace the law of God in order to be saved, because we cannot be rescued from destruction except by the Maker of all things and by His Son! There go the men who declare that it is wicked to have more than one wife!" In the same way they made a joke and play of the other articles of our religion.

We had spent some days in this office of preaching, when the king, who was then in the city, sent for us and we went to him. He asked us wherever did we come from? why had we come to Japan? And we answered that we were Europeans sent thither for the sake of preaching the law of God, since no one could be safe and secure unless he purely and piously worship God and His Son Jesus Christ, the Redeemer and Saviour of all nations. Then the king commanded us to explain to him the law of God. So we read to him a good part of our volume; and although we went on reading for an hour or more, he listened to us diligently and attentively as long as we were reading, and then he sent us away. We remained many days in that city, and preached to the people in the streets and at the cross roads. Many of them listened to the wonderful deeds of Christ with avidity, and when we came to His most bitter death, they were unable to restrain their tears. Nevertheless, very few actually became Christians.

Finding, therefore, that the fruit of our labours was small, we went on to Kyoto, the most famous city in all Japan. We spent two months on the road, and passed through many dangers, because we had to go through countries in which war was raging. I say nothing of the cold of those parts, nor of the roads so

infested by frequent robberies. When we arrived at Kyoto, we waited for some days that we might obtain leave to approach the king, and ask of him to give us permission to publish the divine law in his kingdom. But we found all ways of access to him altogether closed. And as we discovered that the edicts of the king were generally thought little of among the princes and rulers, we laid aside our design of obtaining from him any such licence, and I determined to sound and try the minds and dispositions of the people themselves, so as to find out how disposed that city was to receive the worship of Christ. But as the people were under arms, and under the pressure of a severe war, I judged that the time was most inopportune for the preaching of the Gospel. Kyoto was formerly a very large city; but now, on account of the perpetual calamities it has undergone in war, it is a great part in ruins and waste. At one time, as they say, it contained one hundred and eighty thousand dwellings. It seems to me very likely that it was so, for the wall which encircles it shows that the city was very extensive indeed. Now, although a great part of it is in ruins, it yet contains more than a hundred thousand houses.

When we found that the city of Kyoto was neither at peace nor prepared to receive the Gospel, we returned to Yamaguchi, and we presented to the king there the letters and presents which had been sent as signs of friendship by the Governor of India and the Bishop of Goa. The king was very much delighted both with the letters and with the presents, and that he might reward us, he offered us a great amount of gold and silver. These gifts we sent back, and then asked him that, if he desired to make some acceptable present to the strangers who had come to his city, he would give us leave to announce the law of God to his people, saying that nothing could possibly be more pleasing to us than such a gift. This he granted us with the greatest goodwill.

He accordingly affixed edicts in the most crowded places of the city, declaring that it was pleasing to him that the law of heaven should be announced in his dominions; and that it was lawful for any, who desired, to embrace it. At the same time, he assigned an empty monastery for us to inhabit. A great many used to come to us to this place for the sake of hearing about the new religion. We used to preach twice a day, and after the sermon there was always a good long dispute concerning religion.

Thus we were continually occupied either in preaching or in answering questions. Many bonzes were often present at the sermons, and a great number of others, both of the common people and of the nobility. The house was always full of men—so full, that at times some were shut out for want of space. Those who asked us questions pressed them so well home, that the answers we gave enabled them thoroughly to understand the falsehood of their own laws and founders, and the truth of the Christian law. After disputes and questionings for many days, they at last began to give in and betake themselves to the faith of Christ.

The first of all to do this were those who in the discussions and questions had shown themselves our most strenuous adversaries. Many of these were persons of good birth, and, when they had embraced Christianity, they became our friends with an amount of warmth which I can find no words to describe. And these new Christians told us with the greatest faithfulness the mysteries, or rather the absurdities, of the Japanese religion. As I said at first, there are as many as nine sects in Japan, and they are very different one from another in their teaching and ordinances. When we got to know the opinions of these sects, we began to look up arguments by which to refute them. So we used to press hard by daily questions and arguments the sorcerer bonzes and other enemies of the Christian law, and we did this so effectually, that at last they did not venture to open their mouths against us when we attacked and refuted them.

When the Christians saw the bonzes convicted and silenced they were of course full of joy, and were daily more and more confirmed in the faith of our Lord. On the other hand, the heathen, who were present at these discussions, were greatly shaken in their own religion, seeing the systems of their fore-fathers giving way. The bonzes were much displeased at this, and when they were present at the sermons and saw that a great number became Christians daily, they began to accuse them severely for leaving their ancestral religion to follow a new faith. But the others answered that they embraced the Christian law because they had made up their minds that it was more in accordance with nature than their own, and because they found that we satisfied their questions while the bonzes did not.

The Japanese are very curious by nature, and as desirous of learning as any people ever were. So they go on perpetually telling other people about their questions and our answers. They desire very much to hear novelties, especially about religion. Even before our arrival, as we are told, they were perpetually disputing among themselves, each one contending that his own sect was the best. But after they had heard what we had to say, they left off their disputes about their own rules of life and religion, and all began to contend about the Christian faith. It is really very wonderful that in so large a city as Yamaguchi in every house and in every place men should be talking constantly about the law of God. But if I were to go into the history of all their questionings, I should have to write on for ever.

The Japanese have a very high opinion of the wisdom of the Chinese, whether as to the mysteries of religion or as to manners and civil institutions. They used to make that a principal point against us, that if things were as we preached, how was it that the Chinese knew nothing about them? After many disputations and questions, the people of Yamaguchi began to join the Church of Christ, some from the lower orders and some from the nobility. In the space of two months quite as many as five hundred have become

Christians. Their number is daily being added to; so that there is great cause for joy, and for thanking God that there are so many who embrace the Christian faith, and who tell us all the deceptions of the bonzes, and the mysteries contained in their books and taught by their sects. For those who have become Christians used to belong, one to one sect, another to another; the most learned of each of them explained to us the institutions and rules of his own way of belief. If I had not had the work of these converts to help me, I should not have been able to become sufficiently acquainted with, and so attack, these abominable religions of Japan. It is quite incredible how much the Christians love us. They are always coming to our house to ask whether we have anything at all which we wish them to do for us. All the Japanese appear naturally very obliging; certainly the Christians among them are so very good to us that it would be impossible to exceed their extreme kindness and attentiveness.

May God in His mercy repay them with His favor, and give us all His heavenly bliss! Amen.

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## Sidi Ali Reis: *Mirat ul Memalik*

Also known as: *The Mirror of Countries*

Date: 1557

*The book of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reis, entitled Mirat ul Memalik (The Mirror of Countries), is interesting in many ways. It reveals the personality of the author, a man of varied accomplishments—a genuine type of the Islamic culture of his time and a representative of that class of officials and military dignitaries under whose influence it is chiefly due that the Ottoman Empire, extending over three continents, attained the height of culture it occupied during the reign of Suleiman the Great. Sidi Ali was the descendant of an illustrious family, connected with the arsenal at Galata, in whom love for the sea seems to have been hereditary, and, hence, as the Turkish publisher points out in his preface, Sidi Ali, being thoroughly acquainted with the nautical science of his day, excels as author on maritime subjects.*

*As a man of general culture, he was, in harmony with the prevailing notions of his time, a mathematician, astronomer, and geographer, as well as a poet and theologian. Adept in all branches of general literature, he sometimes wielded his pen to write lyrical or occasional verses, at other times entering into keen controversial disputes upon certain Qur'anic theses or burning schismatic questions.*

*Besides all this, he was a warrior, proving himself as undaunted in fighting the elements as in close combat with the Portuguese, who in point of accoutrement had far the advantage over him. But what stands out above all these accomplishments is his patriotism and his unwavering faith in the power and the greatness of the Ottoman Empire. He boasts that he never ceases to hope to see Gujarat and Ormuz joined to the Ottoman realm; his one desire is to see his Padishah ruler of the world, and wherever he goes and whatever he sees, Rum (Turkey) always remains in his eyes the most beautiful, the richest, and the most cultured land of the whole world. The Turkish admiral has, moreover, a singularly happy way of expressing himself on this subject of his preference for his own Padishah and his native land, and this required no small amount of courage and tact where he had to face proud Humayun or Thamasp, no less conceited than the former.*

The following entry contains excerpts from the original document.

When Sultan Suleiman had taken up his winter residence in Aleppo, I, the author of these pages, was appointed to the Admiralty of the Egyptian fleet, and received instructions to fetch back to Egypt the ships (15 galleys), which some time ago had been sent to Basrah on the Persian Gulf. But, "Man proposes, God disposes." I was unable to carry out my mission, and as I realized the impossibility of returning by water, I resolved to go back to Turkey by the overland route, accompanied by a few tried and faithful Egyptian soldiers. I traveled through Gujarat, Hind, Sind, Balkh, Zabulistan, Bedakhshan, Khotlan, Turan, and Iran, i.e., through Trans-oxania, Khorassan, Kharezm, and Deshti-Kiptchak; and as I could not proceed any farther in that direction, I went by Meshed and the two Iraqs, Kazwin and Hamadan, on to Baghdad.

Our travels ended, my companions and fellow-adventurers persuaded me to write down our experiences, and the dangers through which we had passed, an accurate account of which it is almost impossible to give; also to tell of the cities and the many wonderful sights we had seen, and of the holy shrines we had visited. And so this little book sees the light; in it I have tried to relate, in simple and plain language, the troubles and difficulties, the suffering and the distress which beset our path, up to the time that we reached Constantinople. Considering the

matter it contains this book ought to have been entitled, "A tale of woe," but with a view to the scene of action I have called it "Mirror of Countries," and as such I commend it to the reader's kind attention.

### THE BEGINNING OF THE STORY

When the illustrious Padishah was holding his court at Aleppo, in Ramazan of the year 960 (1552), I was commanded to join the army. I celebrated Ramzam-Bairam in attendance on his Majesty, later on, however, I went to Sidi-Ghazi, made a pilgrimage in Konia to the tomb of Molla-i-Rumi, and visited the shrines of the Sultan ul-Ulema, and Shemsî Tebrizi, and of the Sheik Sadr-ed-din-Koniavi; at Kassarie I made a pilgrimage to the graves of the Sheiks Awhad-ed-din Kirmani, Burham-ed-din, Baha-ed-din Zade, Ibrahim Akserayi, and Davud Kaissari. Returned to Haleb (Aleppo), I visited the graves of Daud, Zakeriah, and Balkiah, as also those of Saad and Said, companions of the Prophet. The Kurban-Bairam I spent again in attendance on the Sultan.

I must here mention that Piri Bey, the late Admiral of the Egyptian fleet, had, some time previous to this, been dispatched with about 30 ships (galleys and galleons) from Suez, through the Red Sea, touching Jedda and Yemen, and through the straits of Bab-i-Mandeb, past Aden and along the coast of Shahar. Through fogs and foul weather his fleet became dispersed, some ships were lost, and with the remainder he proceeded from Oman to Muscat, took the fortress and made all the inhabitants prisoners; he also made an incursion into the islands of Ormuz and Barkhat, after which he returned to Muscat. There he learned from the captive infidel captain that the Christian [Portuguese] fleet was on its way, that therefore any further delay was inadvisable, as in case it arrived he would not be able to leave the harbor at all. As a matter of fact it was already too late to save all the ships; he therefore took only three, and with these just managed to make his escape before the arrival of the Portuguese. One of his galleys was wrecked near Bahrein, so he brought only two vessels back to Egypt. As for the remainder of the fleet at Basrah, Kubad Pasha had offered the command of it to the Chief Officer, but he had declined, and returned to Egypt by land.

When this became known in Constantinople the command of the fleet had been given to Murad Bey, formerly Sanjakbey of Catif, then residing in Basrah. He was ordered to leave two ships, five galleys, and one galleon at Basrah, and with the rest, i.e., 15 galleys (one galley had been burned in Basrah) and two boats, he was to return to Egypt. Murad Bey did start as arranged, but opposite Ormuz he came upon the Portuguese fleet, a terrible battle followed in which Suleiman Reis, Rejeb Reis, and several of the men, died a martyr's death. Many more were wounded and the ships terribly battered by the cannon-balls. At last, night put a stop to the fight. One boat was wrecked off the Persian coast, part of the crew escaped, the rest were taken prisoners by the infidels, and the boat itself captured.

When all this sad news reached the capital, toward the end of Zilhija of the said year 960 (1552), the author of these pages was appointed Admiral of the Egyptian fleet.

I, humble Sidi Ali bin Husein, also known as Kiatibi-Rumi [the writer of the West, i.e., of Turkey], most gladly accepted the post. I had always been very fond of the sea, had taken part in the expedition against Rhodes under the Sultan Suleiman, and had since had a share in almost all engagements, both by land and by sea. I had fought under Khairuddin Pasha, Sinan Pasha, and other captains, and had cruised about on the Western [Mediterranean] sea, so that I knew every nook and corner of it. I had written several books on astronomy, nautical science, and other matters bearing upon navigation. My father and grandfather, since the conquest of Constantinople, had had charge of the arsenal at Galata; they had both been eminent in their profession, and their skill had come down to me as an heirloom.

The post now entrusted to me was much to my taste, and I started from Aleppo for Basrah, on the first of Moharram of the year 961 (7 Dec. 1553). I crossed the Euphrates at Biredjik and when in Reka (i.e., Orfah), I undertook a pilgrimage to the tomb of Abraham, having visited on the way between Nisebin and Mossul the holy graves of the prophets Yunis and Djerdjis and of the sheiks Mohammed Garabili, Feth Mosuli, and Sazib-elban-Mosuli. On the way to Baghdad I made a little detour from Tekrit to Samira, and visited the graves of Iman Ali-el-Hadi and Iman Haman Askeri, after which I came past the towns of Ashik and Maas-huk, and through Harbi, past the castle of Semke, on to Baghdad. We crossed the Tigris near Djisr and, after visiting the graves of the saints there, I continued my journey past the fortress of Teir, to Bire, and crossing the Euphrates near the little town of Wasib, I reached Kerbela (Azwie), where I made a pilgrimage to the graves of the martyrs Hasan and Husein.

Turning into the steppe near Shefata, I reached Nedjef (Haira) on the second day, and visited the graves of Adam, Noah, Shimun, and Ali, and from there proceeded to Kufa, where I saw the mosque with the pulpit under which the prophets of the house of Ali are buried, and the tombs of Samber and Duldul. Arrived at the fortress of Hasinia, I visited the grave of the prophet Zilkefl, the son of Aaron, and in Hilla I made pilgrimages to the graves of Iman Mohammed Mehdi and Iman Akil, brother of Ali, and also visited there the mosque of Shem. Again crossing the Euphrates (this time by a bridge), I resumed my journey to Bagdad and went from there by ship to Basrah. On the way we touched Medain, saw the grave of Selmas Faris, admired Tak Resri and the castle of Shah Zenan, and went past Imare Bugazi, on the road of Vasit to Zekya, past the strongholds of Adjul and Misra to Sadi-es Sueiba and on to Basrah, where I arrived toward the end of Safar of the said year (beginning of February, 1554).

### ABOUT WHAT HAPPENED IN BASRA

On the day after my arrival I had an interview with Mustafa Pasha, who, after seeing my credentials, made over to me the 15 galleys which were needing a great deal of repair. As far as could be, they were put in order, calked and provided with guns, which, however, were not to be had in sufficient quantity either from the stores there or from Ormuz. A water-supply had also to be arranged for, and as it was yet five months before the time of the monsoon, I had plenty of leisure to visit the mosque of Ali and the graves of Hasan Basri, Talha, Zobeir, Uns-bin-Malik, Abdurrahman-bin-Anf, and several martyrs and companions of the Prophet. One night I dreamed that I lost my sword, and as I remembered that a similar thing had happened to Sheik Muhieddin and had resulted in a defeat, I became greatly alarmed, and, just as I was about to pray to the Almighty for the victory of the Islam arms, I awoke. I kept this dream a secret, but it troubled me for a long time, and when later on Mustafa Pasha sent a detachment of soldiers to take the island of Huweiza (in which expedition I took part with five of my galleys), and the undertaking resulted in our losing about a hundred men all through the fickleness of the Egyptian troops, I fully believed this to be the fulfilment of my dream. But alas! there was more to follow—for “What is decreed must come to pass, No matter, whether you are joyful or anxious.”

When at last the time of the monsoon came, the Pasha sent a trusty sailor with a frigate to Ormuz, to explore the neighborhood. After cruising about for a month he returned with the news that, except for four boats, there was no sign of any ships of the infidels in those waters. The troops therefore embarked and we started for Egypt.

### WHAT TOOK PLACE IN THE SEA OF ORMUZ

On the first of Shavval we left the harbor of Basrah, accompanied, as far as Ormuz, by the frigate of Sherifi Pasha. We visited on the way from Mehzari the grave of Khidr, and proceeding along the coast of Duspul (Dizful), and Shushter in Charik, I made pilgrimages to the graves of Imam Mohammed, Hanifi, and other saints. From the harbor in the province of Shiraz we visited Rishehr (Bushir) and after reconnoitering the coasts and unable to get any clue as to the whereabouts of the enemy by means of the Tshekleva, I proceeded to Katif, situated near Lahsa and Hadjar on the Arabian coast. Unable to learn anything there, I went on to Bahrein, where I interviewed the commander of the place, Reis Murad. But neither could he give me any information about the fleet of the infidels. There is a curious custom at Bahrein. The sailors, provided with a leather sack, dive down into the sea and bring the fresh water from the bottom for Reis Murad's use. This water is particularly pleasant and cold in the spring time, and Reis Murad gave me some. God's power is boundless! This custom is the origin of the proverb: Maradj ul bahreia jaltakian and hence also the name “Bahrein.”

Next we came to Kis, i.e., old Ormuz, and Barhata, and several other small islands in the Green Sea, i.e., the waters of Ormuz, but nowhere could we get any news of the fleet. So we dismissed the vessel, which Mustafa Pasha had sent as an escort, with the message that Ormuz was safely passed. We proceeded by the coasts of Djilgar and Djadi, past the towns of Keizzar or Leime, and forty days after our departure, i.e., on the tenth of Ramazan, in the forenoon, we suddenly saw coming toward us the Christian fleet, consisting of four large ships, three galleons, six Portuguese guard ships, and twelve galleys, 25 vessels in all. I immediately ordered the canopy to be taken down, the anchor weighed, the guns put in readiness, and then, trusting to the help of the Almighty, we fastened the lilandra to the mainmast, the flags were unfurled, and, full of courage and calling upon Allah, we commenced to fight. The volley from the guns and cannon was tremendous, and with God's help we sank and utterly destroyed one of the enemy's galleons. Never before within the annals of history has such a battle been fought, and words fail me to describe it.

The battle continued till sunset, and only then the Admiral of the infidel fleet began to show some signs of fear. He ordered the signal-gun to fire a retreat, and the fleet turned in the direction of Ormuz. With the help of Allah, and under the lucky star of the Padishah, the enemies of Islam had been defeated. Night came at last; we were becalmed for awhile, then the wind rose, the sails were set and as the shore was near . . . until daybreak. The next day we continued our previous course. On the day after we passed Khorfakan, where we took in water, and soon after reached Oman, or rather Sohar. Thus we cruised about for nearly 17 days. When on the sixth of Ramazan, i.e., the day of Kadr-Ghedjesi, a night in the month of Ramazan, we arrived in the vicinity of Maskat and Kalhat, we saw in the morning, issuing from the harbor of Maskat, 12 large boats and 22 gurabs, 32 vessels in all, commanded by Captain Kuya, the son of the Governor. They carried a large number of troops.

The boats and galleons obscured the horizon with their mizzen sails and Peneta all set; the guard-ships spread their round sails (Chember-yelken), and, gay with bunting, they advanced toward us. Full of confidence in God's protection we awaited them. Their boats attacked our galleys; the battle raged, cannon and guns, arrows and swords made terrible slaughter on both sides. The Badjoalushka penetrated the boats and the Shai-kas and tore large holes in their hulls, while our galleys were riddled through by the Darda thrown down upon us from the enemy's turrets, which gave them the appearance of bristling porcupines; and they showered down upon us. . . . The stones which they threw at us created quite a whirlpool as they fell into the sea.

One of our galleys was set on fire by a bomb, but strange to say the boat from which it issued shared the like fate. God is merciful! Five of our galleys and as many of the enemy's boats were sunk and utterly wrecked, one of theirs went to the bottom with all sails set. In a word, there was great loss on both sides; our rowers were now insufficient in number to manage the oars, while running against the current, and to fire the cannon. We were compelled to drop anchor (at the stern) and to continue to fight as best we might. The boats had also to be abandoned.

Alemshah Reis, Rara Mustafa, and Kalfat Memi, captains of some of the foundered ships, and Derzi Mustafa Bey, the Serdar of the volunteers, with the remainder of the Egyptian soldiers and 200 carpenters, had landed on the Arabian shore, and as the rowers were Arabs they had been hospitably treated by the Arabs of Nedjd. The ships (gurabs) of the infidel fleet had likewise taken on board the crews of their sunken vessels, and as there were Arabs amongst them, they also had found shelter on the Arabian coast. God is our witness. Even in the war between Khaiveddin Pasha and Andreas Doria no such naval action as this has ever taken place.

When night came, and we were approaching the bay of Ormuz, the wind began to rise. The boats had already cast two Lenguurta, i.e., large anchors, the Lushtas were tightly secured, and, towing the conquered gurabs along, we neared the shore while the galleys, dragging their anchors, followed. However, we were not allowed to touch the shore, and had to set sail again. During that night we drifted away from the Arabian coast into the open sea, and finally reached the coasts of Djash, in the province of Kerman. This is a long coast, but we could find no harbor, and we roamed about for two days before we came to Kichi Mekran. As the evening was far advanced we could not land immediately, but had to spend another night at sea. In the morning a dry wind carried off many of the crew, and at last, after unheard-of troubles and difficulties, we approached the harbor of Sheba.

Here we came upon a Notak, i.e., a brigantine, laden with spoils, and when the watchman sighted us they hailed us. We told them that we were Muslims, whereupon their captain came on board our vessel; he kindly supplied us with water, for we had not a drop left, and thus our exhausted soldiers were invigorated. This was on Bairam day, and for us, as we had now got water, a double feast-day.

Escorted by the said captain we entered the harbor of Guador. The people there were Beluchistanis and their chief was Malik Djelaeddin, the son of Malik Dinar. The Governor of Guador came on board our ship and assured us of his unalterable devotion to our glorious Padishah. He promised that henceforth, if at any time our fleet should come to Ormuz, he would undertake to send 50 or 60 boats to supply us with provisions, and in every possible way to be of service to us. We wrote a letter to the native Prince Djelaeddin to ask for a pilot, upon which a first-class pilot was sent us, with the assurance that he was thoroughly trustworthy and entirely devoted to the interests of our Padishah.

#### WHAT WE SUFFERED IN THE INDIAN OCEAN

God is merciful! With a favorable wind we left the port of Guador and again steered for Yemen. We had been at sea for several days, and had arrived nearly opposite to Zofar and Shar, when suddenly from the west arose a great storm known as fil Tofani. We were driven back, but were unable to set the sails, not even the trinquetla (stormsail). The tempest raged with increasing fury. As compared to these awful tempests the foul weather in the western seas is mere child's play, and their towering billows are as drops of water compared to those of the Indian sea. Night and day were both alike, and because of the frailty of our craft all ballast had to be thrown overboard. In this frightful predicament our only consolation was our unwavering trust in the power of the Almighty. For ten days the storm raged continuously and the rain came down in torrents. We never once saw the blue sky.

I did all I could to encourage and cheer my companions, and advised them above all things to be brave, and never to doubt but that all would end well. A welcome diversion occurred in the appearance of a fish about the size of two galley lengths, or more perhaps, which the pilot declared to be a good omen. The tide being very strong here and the ebb slow, we had an opportunity of seeing many sea-monsters in the neighborhood of the bay of Djugd, sea-horses, large sea-serpents, turtles in great quantities, and eels.

The color of the water suddenly changed to pure white, and at sight of it the pilot broke forth into loud lamentations; he declared we were approaching whirlpools and eddies. These are no myth here; it is generally believed that they are only found on the coasts of Abyssinia and in the neighborhood of Sind in the bay of Djugd, and hardly ever a ship has been known to escape their fury. So, at least, we are told in nautical books. We took frequent soundings, and when we struck a depth of five Kuladj (arm-lengths) the mizzen-sails (Orta Yelken) were set, the bowsprits . . . and . . . heeling over to the left side, and flying the commander's flag, we drifted about all night and all day until at last, in God's mercy, the water rose, the storm somewhat abated, and the ship veered right round.

The next morning we slackened speed and drew in the sails. A stalwart cabin boy (or sailor) was tied to the Djondu, whereby the post at the foot of the mizzenmast was weighted down, and the sailrope slightly raised. Taking a survey of our surroundings we caught sight of an idol-temple on the coast of Djamher. The sails were drawn in a little more; we passed Formyan and Menglir, and directing our course toward Somenat,

we passed by that place also. Finally we came to Div, but for fear of the unbelievers which dwell there we further drew in our sails and continued on our course with serderma.

Meanwhile, the wind had risen again, and as the men had no control over the rudder, large handles had to be affixed with long double ropes fastened to them. Each rope was taken hold of by four men, and so with great exertion they managed to control the rudder. No one could keep on his feet on deck, so of course it was impossible to walk across. The noise of the . . . and the . . . was deafening; we could not hear our own voices. The only means of communication with the sailors was by inarticulate words, and neither captain nor boatswain could for a single instant leave his post. The ammunition was secured in the storeroom, and after cutting the . . . from the . . . we continued our way.

It was truly a terrible day, but at last we reached Gujarat in India, which part of it, however, we knew not, when the pilot suddenly exclaimed: "On your guard! a whirlpool in front!" Quickly the anchors were lowered, but the ship was dragged down with great force and nearly submerged. The rowers had left their seats, the panic-stricken crew threw off their clothes, and, clinging some to casks and some to jacks, had taken leave of one another. I also stripped entirely, gave my slaves their liberty, and vowed to give 100 florins to the poor of Mecca. Presently one of the anchors broke from its crook and another at the podjuz; two more were lost, the ship gave a terrible jerk—and in another instant we were clear of the breakers. The pilot declared that had we been wrecked off Fisht-Kidsur, a place between Diu and Daman; nothing could have saved us. Once more the sails were set, and we decided to make for the infidel coast; but after duly taking note of tide and current, and having made a careful study of the chart, I came to the conclusion that we could not be very far off the mainland. I consulted the horoscope in the Qur'an, and this also counseled patience. So we commenced to examine the hold of the ship and found that the storeroom was submerged, in some places up to the walls, in some places higher still. We had shipped much water, and all hands set to work at once to bale it out. In one or two places the bottom had to be ripped up to find the outlet so as to reduce the water.

Toward afternoon the weather had cleared a little, and we found ourselves about two miles off the port of Daman, in Gujarat in India. The other ships had already arrived, but some of the galleys were waterlogged not far from the shore, and they had thrown overboard oars, boats, and casks, all of which wreckage eventually was borne ashore by the rapidly rising tide. We were obliged to lie to for another five days and five nights, exposed to a strong spring-tide, accompanied by floods of rain; for we were now in the Badzad, or rainy season of India, and there was nothing for it but to submit to our fate. During all this time we never once saw the sun by day, nor the stars by night; we could neither use our clock nor our compass, and all on board anticipated the worst. It seems a miracle that of the three ships lying there, thrown on their sides, the whole crew eventually got safely to land.

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## Will Adams on Japan

Date: 1611

*Will Adams was the first Englishman to make his home in Japan. His knowledge of shipbuilding made him so useful to the emperor that, although he was treated with honors and liberality, he was not allowed to leave the country. The Japanese of the street in Yedo that was named for him still hold an annual celebration in his memory. The letter from which the following excerpts are taken was written in 1611. It begins with his departure from the coast of Peru.*

My Coming to Japan, 1611. Will Adams.

It was agreed that we should leave the coast of Peru and direct our course for Japan, having understood that cloth was good merchandise there and also how upon that coast of Peru the king's ships were out seeking us, having knowledge of our being there, understanding that we were weak of men, which was certain, for one of our fleet for hunger was forced to seek relief at the enemies' hands in Saint Ago. So we stood away directly for Japan, and passed the equinoctial line together, until we came in twenty-eight degrees to the northward of the line, in which latitude we were about the twenty-third of February, 1600. We had a wondrous storm of wind as ever I was in, with much rain, in which storm we lost our consort, whereof we were very sorry. Nevertheless with hope that in Japan we should meet the one the other, we proceeded on our former intention for Japan, and in the height of thirty degrees sought the northernmost cape of the fore-named island, but found it not by reason that it lay false in all cards and maps and globes; for the cape lies in thirty-five degrees and one

half, which is a great difference. In the end, in thirty-two degrees and one half we came in sight of the land, being the nineteenth day of April. So that between the Cape of St. Maria and Japan we were four months and twenty-two days; at which time there were no more than six besides myself that could stand upon his feet.

So we in safety let fall our anchor about a league from a place called Bungo. At which time came to us many boats and we suffered them to come aboard, being not able to resist them, which people did us no harm, neither of us understanding the one the other. The king of Bungo showed us great friendship, for he gave us a house and land, where we landed our sick men, and had all refreshing that was needful. We had when we came to anchor in Bungo, sick and whole, four and twenty men, of which number the next day three died. The rest for the most part recovered, saving three, which lay a long time sick, and in the end also died.

In the which time of our being here, the emperor hearing of us sent presently five galleys, or frigates, to us to bring me to the court where His Highness was, which was distant from Bungo about eighty English leagues. So that as soon as I came before him, he demanded of me of what country we were. So I answered him in all points, for there was nothing that he demanded not, both concerning war and peace between country and country; so that the particulars here to write would be too tedious. And for that time I was commanded to prison, being well used, with one of our mariners that came with me to serve me.

A two days after, the emperor called me again, demanding the reason of our coming so far. I answered: We are a people that sought all friendship with all nations, and to have trade in all countries, bringing such merchandise as our country did afford into strange lands in the way of traffic. He demanded also as concerning the wars between the Spaniards or Portugal and our country and the reasons; the which I gave him to understand of all things, which he was glad to hear, as it seemed to me.

In the end I was commanded to prison again, but my lodging was bettered in another place. So that thirty-nine days I was in prison, hearing no more news, neither of our ship nor captain, whether he were recovered of his sickness or not, nor of the rest of the company; in which time I looked every day to die, to be crossed [crucified] as the custom of justice is in Japan, as hanging in our land. In which long time of imprisonment, the Jesuits and the Portuguese gave many evidences against me and the rest to the emperor that we were thieves and robbers of all nations, and, were we suffered to live, it should be against the profit of His Highness and the land; for no nation should come there without robbing; His Highness's justice being executed, the rest of our nation without doubt should fear and not come here any more: thus daily making access to the emperor and procuring friends to hasten my death. But God, that is always merciful at need, showed mercy unto us and would not suffer them to have their wills of us. In the end, the emperor gave them answer that we as yet had not done to him nor to none of his land any harm or damage; therefore against reason and justice to put us to death. If our countries had war the one with the other, that was no cause that he should put us to death; with which they were out of heart that their cruel pretense failed them. For which God be forever-more praised.

Now in this time that I was in prison the ship was commanded to be brought so near to the city where the emperor was as she might be (for grounding her); the which was done. Forty-one days being expired, the emperor caused me to be brought before him again, demanding of me many questions more, which were too long to write. In conclusion he asked me whether I were desirous to go to the ship to see my countrymen. I answered very gladly, the which he bade me do. So I departed and was free from imprisonment. And this was the first news that I had that the ship and company were come to the city. So that with a rejoicing heart I took a boat and went to our ship, where I found the captain and the rest recovered of their sickness; and when I came aboard with weeping eyes was received, for it was given them to understand that I was executed long since. Thus, God be praised, all we that were left alive came together again.

From the ship all things were taken out, so that the clothes which I took with me on my back I only had. All my instruments and books were taken. Not only I lost what I had in the ship, but from the captain and the company generally what was good or worth the taking was carried away; all which was done unknown to the emperor. So in process of time having knowledge of it, he commanded that they which had taken our goods should restore it to us back again; but it was here and there so taken that we could not get it again, saving 50,000 R in ready money was commanded to be given us and in his presence brought and delivered in the hands of one that was made our governor, who kept them in his hands to distribute them unto us as we had need for the buying of victuals for our men with other particular charges. In the end the money was divided according to every man's place; but this was about two years that we had been in Japan, and when we had a denial that we should not have our ship, but to abide in Japan. So that the part of every one being divided, every one took his way where he thought best. In the end, the emperor gave every man, much as was worth eleven or twelve ducats a year, namely, myself, the captain, and mariners all alike.

So in process of four or five years the emperor called me, as divers times he had done before. So one time above the rest he would have me to make him a small ship. I answered that I was no carpenter and had no knowledge thereof. "Well, do your endeavor," said he; "if it be not good, it is no matter." Wherefore at his command I built him a ship of the burden of eighty tons or thereabout; which ship being made in all respects as our manner is, he coming aboard to see it, liked it very well; by which means I came in favor with him, so that I came often in his presence, who from time to time gave me presents, and at length a yearly stipend

to live upon, much about seventy ducats by the year with two pounds of rice a day daily. Now being in such grace and favor by reason I learned him some points of geometry and understanding of the art of mathematics with other things, I pleased him so that what I said he would not contrary. At which my former enemies did wonder, and at this time must entreat me to do them a friendship, which to both Spaniards and Portuguese have I done, recompensing them good for evil. So to pass my time to get my living, it hath cost me great labor and trouble at the first; but God hath blessed my labor.

In the end of five years I made supplication to the king to go out of this land, desiring to see my poor wife and children according to conscience and nature. With the which request the emperor was not well pleased, and would not let me go any more for my country, but to bide in his land. Yet in process of time, being in great favor with the emperor, I made supplication again, by reason we had news that the Hollanders were in Shian and Patania; which rejoiced us much with hope that God should bring us to our country again by one means or other. So I made supplication again, and boldly spoke myself with him, at which he gave me no answer. I told him if he would permit me to depart, I would be a means that both the English and Hollanders should come and traffic there. But by no means he would let me go. I asked him leave for the captain, the which he presently granted me. So by that means my captain got leave, and in a Japan junk sailed to Pattan; and in a year's space came to Hollanders. In the end, he went from Patane to Ior, where he found a fleet of nine sail, of which fleet Matleef was general, and in this fleet he was made master again, which fleet sailed to Malacca and fought with an armado of Portugal; in which battle he was shot and presently died; so that, as I think, no certain news is known whether I be living or dead. Therefore I do pray and entreat you in the name of Jesus Christ to do so much as to make my being here in Japan known to my poor wife, in a manner a widow and my two children fatherless; which thing only is my greatest grief of heart and conscience. I am a man not unknown in Ratcliffe and Limehouse, by name to my good Master Nicholas Diggines and M. Thomas Best and M. Nicholas Isaac and William Isaac, brothers, with many others; also to M. William Jones and M. Becket. Therefore may this letter come to any of their hands or the copy, I do know that compassion and mercy is so that my friends and kindred shall have news that I do as yet live in this vale of my sorrowful pilgrimage; the which thing again and again I do desire for Jesus Christ his sake.

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## Mayflower Compact

Date: November 11, 1620

*Often regarded as the first constitutional document of the colonies, the Mayflower Compact was an agreement signed by settlers aboard the ship Mayflower off Cape Cod, on November 11, 1620, prior to their settlement at Plymouth in what became the colony and later the state of Massachusetts.*

*The central core group of the 102 English colonists who sailed to North America on the Mayflower in 1620 was a group of 41 Puritan Separatist Congregationalists. We refer to them as the Pilgrims.*

*The Anglican Church had been established and had been the church authority in England after the split with the Catholic Church. These Puritan Separatists believed that the Anglican Church was still too close to the Catholic Church in organization and in traditions of ceremonies. They rejected the ideas of hierarchical authority within the church and favored the concept of local authority within each church congregation. By establishing their own separatist congregations, they were pursued by the authorities of the established church and fined and imprisoned. Many fled in mass to Holland in 1608, where the Dutch churches had much greater independence and reform.*

*A minority of these Puritan Separatist English exiles in Holland believed that the New World would offer them even greater independence and religious freedoms. Their representatives, Deacon John Carver and Robert Cushman, negotiated with Thomas Weston and with Weston's merchant investors to form a joint-stock company in 1619. This new company was similar in concept to the Virginia Company and other English venture groups. Their company contract deemed that all property and profits of the new settlement become the communal property of the company for profit for a period of seven years. Their ship was bound for Jamestown and the Virginia Colony.*

*The Virginia Colony had already established governance and law. Their ship, the Mayflower, arrived off the coast of Cape Cod on November 11, 1620. These new settlers were to be put ashore in an area outside of the bounds of the Virginia Colony. This created two new issues: first, that there was no existing establishment of governance and of the king's law there, and, second, that the Pilgrims were outside of the domain of the original company charter and contract.*

*Owing to these new circumstances, the Puritan leaders created a compact—or agreement—by which all Puritan and non-Puritan settlers would unite together as one colony rather than splitting up and creating separate settlements. All 41 adult men on board the Mayflower agreed to sign the Mayflower Compact, in which they agreed to accept a democratically elected communal government and to establish a rule of law. The Mayflower anchored in Plymouth Bay on December 16, 1620 and the Plymouth Colony was established.*

Agreement Between the Settlers at New Plymouth : 1620

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN. We, whose names are underwritten, the Loyal Subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord King James, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. Having undertaken for the Glory of God, and Advancement of the Christian Faith, and the Honour of our King and Country, a Voyage to plant the first Colony in the northern Parts of Virginia; Do by these Presents, solemnly and mutually, in the Presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil Body Politick, for our better Ordering and Preservation, and Furtherance of the Ends aforesaid: And by Virtue hereof do enact, constitute, and frame, such just and equal Laws, Ordinances, Acts, Constitutions, and Officers, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general Good of the Colony; unto which we promise all due Submission and Obedience. IN WITNESS whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names at Cape-Cod the eleventh of November, in the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King James, of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, Anno Domini; 1620.

Mr. John Carver,  
Mr. William Bradford,  
Mr Edward Winslow,  
Mr. William Brewster.  
Isaac Allerton,  
Myles Standish,  
John Alden,  
John Turner,  
Francis Eaton,  
James Chilton,  
John Craxton,  
John Billington,  
Joses Fletcher,  
John Goodman,  
Mr. Samuel Fuller,  
Mr. Christopher Martin,  
Mr. William Mullins,  
Mr. William White,  
Mr. Richard Warren,  
John Howland,  
Mr. Steven Hopkins,  
Digery Priest,  
Thomas Williams,  
Gilbert Winslow,  
Edmund Margesson,  
Peter Brown,  
Richard Britteridge  
George Soule,  
Edward Tilly,  
John Tilly,

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## René Descartes: *Discourse on Method*

Also known as: *Discours de la méthode*

Date: 1637

*Metaphysical essay written by French philosopher René Descartes and published anonymously in 1637 containing his "method," through which, Descartes held, one could attain certainty with regard to the truth of ideas. His method stipulated that one could not accept anything as true unless all doubt as to its truth could be dispelled, and that all opinions that were not understood with perfect clarity had to be analyzed systematically and in detail. Descartes also acknowledged the possibility that all man's beliefs could be false and, consequently, that truth might never be known definitively by man. This possibility Descartes dismissed with his dictum "Cogito, ergo sum" ("I think, therefore I am"), a dictum that, according to Descartes, was indubitable and therefore proof that absolute certainty could be attained. The famous essay served as a preface to a book containing his works, Geometry, Dioptrics and Meteors.*

### PART 1

Good sense is, of all things among men, the most equally distributed; for every one thinks himself so abundantly provided with it, that those even who are the most difficult to satisfy in everything else, do not usually desire a larger measure of this quality than they already possess. And in this it is not likely that all are mistaken the conviction is rather to be held as testifying that the power of judging aright and of distinguishing truth from error, which is properly what is called good sense or reason, is by nature equal in all men; and that the diversity of our opinions, consequently, does not arise from some being endowed with a larger share of reason than others, but solely from this, that we conduct our thoughts along different ways, and do not fix our attention on the same objects.

For myself, I have never fancied my mind to be in any respect more perfect than those of the generality; on the contrary, I have often wished that I were equal to some others in promptitude of thought, or in clearness and distinctness of imagination, or in fullness and readiness of memory. And besides these, I know of no other qualities that contribute to the perfection of the mind; for as to the reason or sense, inasmuch as it is that alone which constitutes us men, and distinguishes us from the brutes, I am disposed to believe that it is to be found complete in each individual; and on this point to adopt the common opinion of philosophers, who say that the difference of greater and less holds only among the accidents, and not among the forms or natures of individuals of the same species.

From my childhood, I have been familiar with letters; and as I was given to believe that by their help a clear and certain knowledge of all that is useful in life might be acquired, I was ardently desirous of instruction. But as soon as I had finished the entire course of study, at the close of which it is customary to be admitted into the order of the learned, I completely changed my opinion. For I found myself involved in so many doubts and errors, that I was convinced I had advanced no farther in all my attempts at learning, than the discovery at every turn of my own ignorance. And yet I was studying in one of the most celebrated schools in Europe, in which I thought there must be learned men, if such were anywhere to be found. I had been taught all that others learned there; and not contented with the sciences actually taught us, I had, in addition, read all the books that had fallen into my hands, treating of such branches as are esteemed the most curious and rare. I knew the judgment which others had formed of me; and I did not find that I was considered inferior to my fellows, although there were among them some who were already marked out to fill the places of our instructors. And, in fine, our age appeared to me as flourishing, and as fertile in powerful minds as any preceding one. I was thus led to take the liberty of judging of all other men by myself, and of concluding that there was no science in existence that was of such a nature as I had previously been given to believe.

I was especially delighted with the mathematics, on account of the certitude and evidence of their reasonings; but I had not as yet a precise knowledge of their true use; and thinking that they but contributed to the advancement of the mechanical arts, I was astonished that foundations, so strong and solid, should have had no loftier superstructure reared on them. On the other hand, I compared the disquisitions of the ancient moralists to very towering and magnificent palaces with no better foundation than sand and mud: they laud the virtues very highly, and exhibit them as estimable far above anything on earth; but they give us no adequate criterion of virtue, and frequently that which they designate with so fine a name is but apathy, or pride, or despair, or parricide.

I revered our theology, and aspired as much as any one to reach heaven: but being given assuredly to understand that the way is not less open to the most ignorant than to the most learned, and that the revealed truths which lead to heaven are above our comprehension, I did not presume to subject them to the impotency of my reason; and I thought that in order competently to undertake their examination, there was need of some special help from heaven, and of being more than man.

Of philosophy I will say nothing, except that when I saw that it had been cultivated for many ages by the most distinguished men, and that yet there is not a single matter within its sphere which is not still in dispute,

and nothing, therefore, which is above doubt, I did not presume to anticipate that my success would be greater in it than that of others; and further, when I considered the number of conflicting opinions touching a single matter that may be upheld by learned men, while there can be but one true, I reckoned as well-nigh false all that was only probable.

It is true that, while busied only in considering the manners of other men, I found here, too, scarce any ground for settled conviction, and remarked hardly less contradiction among them than in the opinions of the philosophers. So that the greatest advantage I derived from the study consisted in this, that, observing many things which, however extravagant and ridiculous to our apprehension, are yet by common consent received and approved by other great nations, I learned to entertain too decided a belief in regard to nothing of the truth of which I had been persuaded merely by example and custom; and thus I gradually extricated myself from many errors powerful enough to darken our natural intelligence, and incapacitate us in great measure from listening to reason. But after I had been occupied several years in thus studying the book of the world, and in essaying to gather some experience, I at length resolved to make myself an object of study, and to employ all the powers of my mind in choosing the paths I ought to follow, an undertaking which was accompanied with greater success than it would have been had I never quitted my country or my books.

## PART 2

. . . Among the branches of philosophy, I had, at an earlier period, given some attention to logic, and among those of the mathematics to geometrical analysis and algebra,—three arts or sciences which ought, as I conceived, to contribute something to my design. But, on examination, I found that, as for logic, its syllogisms and the majority of its other precepts are of avail—rather in the communication of what we already know, or even as the art of Lully, in speaking without judgment of things of which we are ignorant, than in the investigation of the unknown; and although this science contains indeed a number of correct and very excellent precepts, there are, nevertheless, so many others, and these either injurious or superfluous, mingled with the former, that it is almost quite as difficult to effect a severance of the true from the false as it is to extract a Diana or a Minerva from a rough block of marble. Then as to the analysis of the ancients and the algebra of the moderns, besides that they embrace only matters highly abstract, and, to appearance, of no use, the former is so exclusively restricted to the consideration of figures, that it can exercise the understanding only on condition of greatly fatiguing the imagination; and, in the latter, there is so complete a subjection to certain rules and formulas, that there results an art full of confusion and obscurity calculated to embarrass, instead of a science fitted to cultivate the mind. By these considerations I was induced to seek some other method which would comprise the advantages of the three and be exempt from their defects. And as a multitude of laws often only hampers justice, so that a state is best governed when, with few laws, these are rigidly administered; in like manner, instead of the great number of precepts of which logic is composed, I believed that the four following would prove perfectly sufficient for me, provided I took the firm and unwavering resolution never in a single instance to fail in observing them.

The first was never to accept anything for true which I did not clearly know to be such; that is to say, carefully to avoid precipitancy and prejudice, and to comprise nothing more in my judgement than what was presented to my mind so clearly and distinctly as to exclude all ground of doubt.

The second, to divide each of the difficulties under examination into as many parts as possible, and as might be necessary for its adequate solution.

The third, to conduct my thoughts in such order that, by commencing with objects the simplest and easiest to know, I might ascend by little and little, and, as it were, step by step, to the knowledge of the more complex; assigning in thought a certain order even to those objects which in their own nature do not stand in a relation of antecedence and sequence.

And the last, in every case to make enumerations so complete, and reviews so general, that I might be assured that nothing was omitted.

The long chains of simple and easy reasonings by means of which geometers are accustomed to reach the conclusions of their most difficult demonstrations, had led me to imagine that all things, to the knowledge of which man is competent, are mutually connected in the same way, and that there is nothing so far removed from us as to be beyond our reach, or so hidden that we cannot discover it, provided only we abstain from accepting the false for the true, and always preserve in our thoughts the order necessary for the deduction of one truth from another. And I had little difficulty in determining the objects with which it was necessary to commence, for I was already persuaded that it must be with the simplest and easiest to know, . . .

In this way I believed that I could borrow all that was best both in geometrical analysis and in algebra, and correct all the defects of the one by help of the other.

## PART 4

I am in doubt as to the propriety of making my first meditations in the place above mentioned matter of discourse; for these are so metaphysical, and so uncommon, as not, perhaps, to be acceptable to every one. And yet, that it may be determined whether the foundations that I have laid are sufficiently secure, I find myself in

a measure constrained to advert to them. I had long before remarked that, in relation to practice, it is sometimes necessary to adopt, as if above doubt, opinions which we discern to be highly uncertain, as has been already said; but as I then desired to give my attention solely to the search after truth, I thought that a procedure exactly the opposite was called for, and that I ought to reject as absolutely false all opinions in regard to which I could suppose the least ground for doubt, in order to ascertain whether after that there remained aught in my belief that was wholly indubitable. Accordingly, seeing that our senses sometimes deceive us, I was willing to suppose that there existed nothing really such as they presented to us; and because some men err in reasoning, and fall into paralogisms, even on the simplest matters of geometry, I, convinced that I was as open to error as any other, rejected as false all the reasonings I had hitherto taken for demonstrations; and finally, when I considered that the very same thoughts (presentations) which we experience when awake may also be experienced when we are asleep, while there is at that time not one of them true, I supposed that all the objects (presentations) that had ever entered into my mind when awake, had in them no more truth than the illusions of my dreams. But immediately upon this I observed that, whilst I thus wished to think that all was false, it was absolutely necessary that I, who thus thought, should be somewhat; and as I observed that this truth, I think, therefore I am (COGITO ERGO SUM), was so certain and of such evidence that no ground of doubt, however extravagant, could be alleged by the sceptics capable of shaking it, I concluded that I might, without scruple, accept it as the first principle of the philosophy of which I was in search.

In the next place, I attentively examined what I was and as I observed that I could suppose that I had no body, and that there was no world nor any place in which I might be; but that I could not therefore suppose that I was not; and that, on the contrary, from the very circumstance that I thought to doubt of the truth of other things, it most clearly and certainly followed that I was; while, on the other hand, if I had only ceased to think, although all the other objects which I had ever imagined had been in reality existent, I would have had no reason to believe that I existed; I thence concluded that I was a substance whose whole essence or nature consists only in thinking, and which, that it may exist, has need of no place, nor is dependent on any material thing; so that “I,” that is to say, the mind by which I am what I am, is wholly distinct from the body, and is even more easily known than the latter, and is such, that although the latter were not, it would still continue to be all that it is.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Kohn, George Childs. “Descartes’ ‘Discourse on Method’.” In *Dictionary of Historic Documents*. Revised Edition. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2003. Facts On File, Inc. *Modern World History Online*. www.fofweb.com.

Primary Source Citation: *Descartes, René*. Veitch, John, LL.D. vi, 87 p., 20cm. La Salle, IL: Open Court Publishing Company, 1899.

## British Bill of Rights

Date: 1689

*Following the “Glorious Revolution” of 1688, which overthrew King James II and installed Mary and William of Orange on the English throne, Parliament secured a bill of rights. Many of the provisions of this document were later emulated in colonial charters in the English colonies in the New World, and, later, in the Constitution and Bill of Rights of the United States of America. The following text is drawn from the official Revised Statutes, 1871.*

Whereas the said late King James II having abdicated the government, and the throne being thereby vacant, his Highness the prince of Orange (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the glorious instrument of delivering this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power) did (by the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal, and diverse principal persons of the Commons) cause letters to be written to the lords spiritual and temporal, being Protestants, and other letters to the several counties, cities, universities, boroughs, and Cinque Ports, for the choosing of such persons to represent them, as were of right to be sent to parliament, to meet and sit at Westminster upon the two and twentieth day of January, in this year 1689, in order to such an establishment as that their religion, laws, and liberties might not again be in danger of being subverted; upon which letters elections have been accordingly made.

And thereupon the said lords spiritual and temporal and Commons, pursuant to their respective letters and elections, being new assembled in a full and free representation of this nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the ends aforesaid, do in the first place (as their ancestors in like case have usually done), for the vindication and assertion of their ancient rights and liberties, declare:

1. That the pretended power of suspending laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, without consent of parliament is illegal.

2. That the pretended power of dispensing with the laws, or the execution of law by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.

3. That the commission for erecting the late court of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, and all other commissions and courts of like nature, are illegal and pernicious.

4. That levying money for or to the use of the crown by pretense of prerogative, without grant of parliament, for longer time or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal.

5. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.

6. That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of parliament, is against law.

7. That the subjects which are Protestants may have arms for their defense suitable to their conditions, and as allowed by law.

8. That election of members of parliament ought to be free.

9. That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament.

10. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

11. That jurors ought to be duly impaneled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials for high treason ought to be freeholders.

12. That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction are illegal and void.

13. And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, parliament ought to be held frequently.

And they do claim, demand, and insist upon all and singular the premises, as their undoubted rights and liberties. . . .

Having therefore an entire confidence that his said Highness the prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other attempt upon their religion, rights, and liberties:

The said lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, assembled at Westminster, do resolve that William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, be, and be declared, king and queen of England, France, and Ireland. . . .

Upon which their said Majesties did accept the crown and royal dignity of the kingdoms of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, according to the resolution and desire of the said lords and commons contained in the said declaration.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: *The Statutes: Revised Edition*. Vol. 2. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1871, pp. 10–12.

## Act to Settle the Trade to Africa

Date: 1698

*The act of Parliament ending the Royal African Company's monopoly on the British slave trade. Under a 1672 charter from the British parliament, the Royal African Company's shareholders held exclusive rights to trade in slaves from Africa. In 1698, Parliament yielded to the mounting demands of rival English merchants and opened the slave trade to all. However, the 1698 act declared the forts maintained by the RAC on Gold Coast "undoubtedly necessary" for the success of the trade. Newcomers to the trade were given permission to practice as "separate traders," but expected—as were all merchants who traded to Africa—to contribute to the maintenance of the forts.*

*These independent traders were required to pay a 10 percent tax to the Royal African Company on all exports to Africa, as well as an additional 10 percent on all direct imports to Britain from Northwest Africa between Capes Blanco and Monte. Exports to the Americas, including slaves, were not taxed. In return for their support, traders were granted rights at the company's forts. Despite the alleged benefits, the "Ten-Per-centers," as these independent merchants came to be known, complained about the imposed taxes and often paid them late or not at all. The taxes were finally remitted altogether in 1712. With the end of the Royal African Company's monopoly, the number of slaves transported on English ships would increase dramatically, to an average of over 20,000 a year. By the end of the 17th century, England led the world in the trafficking of slaves.*

The original spellings have been retained in this excerpt.

I. Whereas the Trade to Africa is highly beneficial and advantageous to this kingdom, and to the Plantations and Colonies thereunto belonging: and whereas Forts and Castles are undoubtedly necessary for the preservation and well carrying on the said Trade. . . . Be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled and by the Authority of the same That from and after the Four and twentieth Day of June in the Year One thousand six hundred ninety and eight the said Royal African Company their Successors and Assigns by and with their Stock, and Duties herein after appointed to be paid, shall maintain, support and defend all such Forts and Castles as the said African Company now have in their Possession or shall hereafter purchase or erect . . . and at all times hereafter as occasion shall require shall supply with Men Artillery, Ammunition and Provision, and all other Necessaries and incident Charges whatsoever.

II. And the better to enable the said Royal African Company, their Successors and Assigns, to maintain the said Castles and Forts and for the Preservation and well carrying on the said Trade to and for the Advantage of England and the Plantations and Colonies thereunto belonging: Be it further enacted That it shall and may be lawfull to and for any of the Subjects of His Majesties Realm of England as well as for the said Company from and after the said Four and Twentieth Day of June to trade from England, and from and after the First of August One thousand six hundred ninety and eight from any of His Majesties Plantations and Colonies in America, to and for the Coast of Africa between Cape Mount and the Cape of Good Hope, the said Company and all other the said Subjects answering and paying for the Uses aforesaid a Duty of Ten Pounds per Centum ad Valorem for [of the value of] the Goods and Merchandize to be exported from England or from any of His Majesties Plantations or Colonies in America to and for the Coast of Africa between Cape Mount and the Cape of Good Hope and in proportion for a greater or lesser Value in Manner and Forme as herein after expressed. . . .

XIV. Provided always and be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid That all Persons being the natural born Subjects of England trading to the Coast of Africa as aforesaid and paying the Duties by this Act imposed, shall have the same Protection Security and Defence for their Persons Ships and Goods by from and in all the said Forts and Castles and the like Freedom and Security for their Negotiations and Trade to all Intents and Purposes whatsoever as the said Company their Agents Factors and Assigns and their Ships and Goods have, may or shall have, and that all and every person and Persons trading to Africa and paying the Duties as aforesaid may and are hereby impowered at their own Charge to Settle Factories [establishments for traders carrying on business in a foreign country] on any part of Africa within the Limits aforesaid according as they shall judge necessary and convenient for the carrying on their Trade without any Lett Hindrance or Molestation from the said Company, their Agents Factors or Assigns, and that all Persons not Members of the said Company so trading and paying the said Duties as aforesaid shall, together with their Shippes and Goods, be free from all Molestations Hindrances Restraints Arrests Seizures Penalties or other Impositions whatsoever from the said Company, their Agents Factors or Assigns, for or by reason of their so trading, Any Charter Usage or Custom to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. . . .

XX. And be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That no Governor or Deputy Governor of any of his Majesties Colonies or Plantations in America or His Majesties Judges in any Courts there for the time being nor any other Person or Persons for the use or on behalf of such Governor or Deputy Governor or Judges from and after the Nine and twentieth Day of September One thousand six hundred ninety eight shall be a Factor or Factors, Agent or Agents for the said Company, or any other Person or Persons for the Sale or disposal of any Negroes and that every Person offending herein shall Forfeit Five hundred pounds . . .

Provided that this Act shall continue and be in Force Thirteen Years and thence to the end of the next Sessions of Parliament and no longer.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: "British Act to Settle the Trade to Africa (excerpt)." Facts On File, Inc. *African-American History Online*. www.fofweb.com.

Primary Source Citation: British Parliament. "British Act to Settle the Trade to Africa (excerpt)." In Schneider, Dorothy, and Carl J. Schneider, *An Eyewitness History of Slavery in America: From Colonial Times to the Civil War*. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2000.

## Treaty of Utrecht

Date: 1713

*The Treaty of Utrecht ended the War of the Spanish Succession as well as its North American phase, Queen Anne's War. Not only did the treaty bring about a basic equilibrium in Europe until about 1740, it established the foundation of the English hegemony in North America, giving to Great Britain the Hudson Bay region, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland. By the Anglo-Spanish agreement that is part of the Treaty of Utrecht (signed*

*July 13, 1713), Spain ceded Gibraltar and Minorca to Great Britain and the asientio (privilege) of exclusively introducing African slaves into its American possessions, a right that was subsequently extended to general trading privileges. The Utrecht documents and an additional agreement, the Treaty of Rastadt (March 16, 1714), marked the end of French aggrandizement under the ancien régime and the dramatic diminution of Spain as a power among the European states.*

All Offenses, Injurys, and Damages, which the aforesaid Queen of Great Britain, and her subjects, or the aforesaid most Christian King, and his Subjects, have suffered the one from the other, during the War, shall be buried in Oblivion; so that neither on account, or under pretence thereof, or of any other thing, shall either hereafter, of the Subjects of either, do or give, cause or suffer to be done or given to the other, any Hostility, Enmity, Molestation, or Hindrance, by themselves, or by others, secretly or openly, directly or indirectly, under color of Right, or by any way of fact.

More specifically, the treaty acknowledged that “the most destructive Flame of War . . . arose chiefly from hence, that the Security and Libertys of Europe could by no means bear the Union of the Kingdoms of France and Spain under one and the same King” and made its principal thrust clear: “that this Evil”—the union of France and Spain under one crown—“should in all times to come be obviated, by means of Renunciations drawn in the most effectual Form, and executed in the most solemn Manner.”

#### TREATY OF UTRECHT

Whereas the most destructive Flame of War which is to be extinguished by this Peace, arose chiefly from hence, that the Security and Libertys of Europe could by no means bear the Union of the Kingdoms of France and Spain under one and the same King; And whereas it has at length been brought to pass by the Assistance of the Divine Power, upon the most earnest Instances of her Sacred Royal Majesty of Great Britain, and with the Consent both of the most Christian and of the Catholick King, that this Evil should in all times to come be obviated, by means of Renunciations drawn in the most effectual Form, and executed in the most solemn Manner, the Tenor whereof is as follows.

LETTERS PATENT BY THE KING, WHICH ADMIT THE RENUNCIATION OF THE KING OF SPAIN TO THE CROWN OF FRANCE, AND THOSE OF MONSIEUR THE DUKE OF BERRY AND OF MONSIEUR THE DUKE OF ORLÉANS, TO THE CROWN OF SPAIN.

LEWIS, by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre: To all People present and to come, Greeting. During the various Revolutions of a War, wherein we have fought only to maintain the Justice of the Rights of the King, our most dear and most beloved Grandson to the Monarchy of Spain, we have never ceased to desire Peace. The greatest Successes did not at all dazzle us, and the contrary Events, which the Hand of God made use of to try us rather than to destroy us, did not give birth to that Desire in us, but found it there. But the Time marked out by Divine Providence for the Repose of Europe was not yet come; the distant Fear of seeing one Day our Crown and that of Spain upon the Head of one and the same Prince, did always make an equal Impression on the Powers which were united against us; and this Fear, which had been the principal Cause of the War, seemed also to lay an insuperable Obstacle in the way to Peace. At last, after many fruitless Negotiations, God being moved with the Sufferings and Groans of so many People, was pleased to open a surer way to come at so difficult a Peace. But the same Alarms still subsisting, the first and principal Condition, which was proposed to us by our most dear and most beloved Sister the Queen of Great Britain, as the essential and necessary Foundation of Treating, was, That the King of Spain, our said Brother and Grandson, keeping the Monarchy of Spain and of the Indies, should renounce for himself and his Descendants for ever, the Rights which his Birth might at any time give him and them to our Crown; that on the other hand, our most dear and most beloved Grandson the Duke of Berry, and our most dear and most beloved Nephew the Duke of Orleans, should likewise renounce for themselves, and for their Descendants, Male and Female for ever, their Rights to the Monarchy of Spain and the Indies. Our said Sister caused it to be represented to us, that without a formal and positive Assurance upon this Point, which alone could be the Bond of Peace, Europe would never be at rest; all the Powers which share the same being equally persuaded, That it was for their general Interest, and for their common Security, to continue a War, whereof no one could foresee the End, rather than to be exposed to behold the same Prince become one day Master of two Monarchys, so powerful as those of France and Spain. But as this Princess (whose indefatigable Zeal for re-establishing the general Tranquillity we cannot sufficiently praise) was sensible of all the Reluctancy we had to consent that one of our Children, so worthy to inherit the Succession of our Forefathers, should necessarily be excluded from it, if the Misfortunes wherewith it has pleased God to afflict us in our Family, should moreover take from us, in the Person of the Dauphin, our most dear and most beloved great Grandson, the only Remainder of those Princes which our Kingdom has so justly lamented with us; she entered into our Pain, and after having jointly sought out gentler means of securing the Peace, we agreed with our said Sister to propose the King of Spain other Dominions, inferior indeed to those which he possesses, yet the Value thereof would so much the more

increase under his Reign, in as much as in that case he would preserve his Rights, and annex to our Crown a part of the said Dominions, if he came one time or other to succeed us. We employed therefore the strongest Reasons to persuade him to accept this Alternative. We gave him to understand, that the Duty of his Birth was the first which he ought to consult; that he owed himself to his House, and to his Country, before he was obliged to Spain; that if he were wanting to his first Engagements, he would perhaps one day in vain regret his having abandoned those Rights, which he would be no more able to maintain. We added to these Reasons the personal motives of Friendship and of tender Love, which we thought likely to move him; the Pleasure we should have in seeing him from time to time near us, and in passing some part of our days with him, which we might promise ourselves from the Neighborhood of the Dominions that were offered him; the Satisfaction of instructing him ourselves concerning the State of our Affairs, and of relying upon him for the future; so that, if God should preserve to us the Dauphin, we could give our Kingdom, in the Person of the King our Brother and Grandson, a Regent instructed in the Art of Government; and that, if this Child so precious to us and to our Subjects, were also taken from us, we shou'd at least have the Consolation of leaving to our People a virtuous King, fit to govern them, and who would likewise annex to our Crown very considerable Dominions. Our Instances, reiterated with all the force, and with all the tender affection necessary to persuade a Son who so justly deserves those Efforts which we made for preserving him to France, produced nothing but reiterated Refusals on his part, ever to abandon such brave and faithful Subjects, whose Zeal for him had been distinguished in those Conjunctions, when his Throne seemed to be the most shaken. So that persisting with an invincible Firmness in his first Resolution, asserting likewise, that it was more glorious and more advantageous for our House, and for our Kingdom, than that which we pressed him to take, he declared in the Meeting of the States of the Kingdom of Spain, assembled at Madrid for that purpose, that for obtaining a general Peace, and securing the Tranquillity of Europe by a Ballance of Power, he of his own proper Motion, of his own free Will, and without any Constraint, renounced for himself, for his Heirs and Successors for ever and ever, all Pretensions, Rights and Titles, which he, or any of his Descendants, have at present, or may have at any time to come whatsoever, to the Succession of our Crown: That he held for excluded therefrom himself, his Children, Heirs, and Descendants for ever: That he consented for himself and for them, that now, as well as then, his Right, and that of his Descendants, should pass over and be transferred to him among the Princes, whom the Law of Succession, and the Order of Birth calls, or shall call to inherit our Crown, in default of our said Brother and Grandson the King of Spain, and of his Descendants, as it is more amply specified in the Act of Renunciation, approved by the States of his Kingdom; and consequently he declared, that he desisted particularly from the Right which hath been added to that of his Birth, by our Letters Patent of the Month of December 1700, whereby we declared, that it was our Will, that the King of Spain and his Descendants should always preserve the Rights of their Birth and Original, in the same manner as if they resided actually in our Kingdom; and from the Registry which was made of our said Letters Patent, both in our Court of Parliament, and in our Chamber of Accounts at Paris, we are sensible as King and as Father, how much it were to be desired that the general Peace could have been concluded without a Renunciation, which makes so great a Change in our Royal House, and in the ancient Order of succeeding to our Crown: but we are yet more sensible how much it is our Duty to secure speedily to our Subjects a Peace which is so necessary for them. We shall never forget the Efforts which they made for us, during the long continuance of a War, which we could not have supported, if their Zeal had not been much more extensive than their Power. The Welfare of a People so faithful, is to us a supreme Law, which ought to be preferred to any other Consideration. It is to this Law that We this day sacrifice the Right of a Grandson, who is so dear to us; and by the Price which the general Peace will cost our tender Love, we shall at least have the Comfort of shewing our Subjects, that even at the Expence of our Blood, they will always keep the first place in our Heart.

For these Causes, and other important Considerations us thereunto moving, after having seen in our Council the said Act of Renunciation of the King of Spain our said Brother and Grandson, of the fifth of November last, as also the Acts of Renunciations, which our said Grandson the Duke of Berry, and our said Nephew the Duke of Orleans, made reciprocally of their Rights to the Crown of Spain, as well for themselves as for their Descendants Male and Female, in consequence of the Renunciation of our said Brother and Grandson the King of Spain, the whole hereunto annexed, with a Copy collated of the said Letters Patent of the Month of December 1700, under the Counter-Seal of our Chancery; of our special Grace, full Power, and Royal Authority, we have declared, decreed and ordained, and by these Presents signed with our Hand, we do declare, decree and ordain, we will, and it is our Pleasure, That the said Act of Renunciation of our said Brother and Grandson the King of Spain, and those of our said Grandson the Duke of Berry, and of our said Nephew the Duke of Orleans, which we have admitted, and do admit, be registered in all our Courts of Parliament, and Chambers of our Accounts in our Kingdom, and other Places where it shall be necessary, in order to their being executed according to their Form and Tenor. And consequently, we will and intend, that our said Letters Patent of the Month of December 1700, be and remain null, and as if they had never been made; that they be brought back to us, and that in the Margin of the Resisters of our said Court of Parliament, and of our said Chamber of Accounts, where the Enrolment of the said Letters Patent is, the Extract of these Presents be placed and inserted, the better to signify our Intention as to the Revocation, and Nullity of the said

Letters. We will that in conformity to the said Act of Renunciation of our said Brother and Grandson the King of Spain, he be from henceforth looked upon and considered as excluded from our Succession; that his Heirs, Successors, and Descendants be likewise excluded for ever, and looked upon as incapable of enjoying the same. We understand that in failure of them, all Rights to our said Crown, and succession to our Dominions, which might at any time whatsoever belong and appertain to them, be and remain transferred to our most dear, and most beloved Grandson the Duke of Berry, and to his Children and Descendants, being Males born in lawful Marriage; and successively in failure of them, to those of the Princes of our Royal House, and their Descendants, who in Right of their Birth, or by the Order established since the Foundation of our Monarchy, ought to succeed to our Crown. And so we command our beloved and trusty Counsellors, the Members of our Court of Parliament at Paris, that they do cause these Presents, together with the Acts of Renunciation made by our said Brother and Grandson the King of Spain, by our said Grandson the Duke of Berry, and by our said Nephew the Duke of Orleans, to be read, publish'd and registered, and the Contents thereof to be kept, peaceably, and perpetually; ceasing, and causing to cease all Molestations and Hindrances, notwithstanding any Laws, Statutes, Usages, Customs, Decrees, Regulations, and other matters contrary thereunto: whereto, and to the Derogations of the Derogations therein contained, we have derogated, and do derogate by these Presents, for this purpose only and without being brought into Precedent. For such is our Pleasure.

And to the end that this may be a matter firm and lasting for ever, we have caused our Seal to be affixed to these Presents. Given at Versailles, in the Month of March in the Year of our Lord 1713, and of our Reign the 70th. Sign'd Lewis, and underneath, by the King, Phelypeaux. Visé, Phelypeaux. And sealed with the Great Seal on green Wax, with strings of red and green Silk.

Read and published, the Court being assembled, and registered among the Rolls of the Court, the King's Attorney General being heard and moving for the same, to the end that they may be executed according to their Form and Tenor, in pursuance of, and in conformity to, the Acts of this Day. At Paris, in Parliament the 15th of March, 1713.

Sign'd  
DONGOIS

*For his part, King Philip V of Spain reciprocally renounced any claim to the French throne for himself or his heirs. By the July 13, 1713, agreement, Spain pledged "free Use of Navigation and Commerce" between itself and England, ceded Minorca and Gibraltar, and, through the Pacto de el Assiento de Negros, granted Great Britain an exclusive right to introduce African slaves into her American possessions.*

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

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## PRIMARY DOCUMENTS: AGE OF REVOLUTION AND EMPIRE—1750 TO 1900

### Jean-Jacques Rousseau: *The Social Contract*

Also known as: *Du contrat social*

Date: 1762

Rousseau's *Du contrat social; ou principes du droit politique* was first published in Amsterdam in 1762. The French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau stated the concept of a social contract as the basis of society. Unlike John Locke, who saw such a contract between the governed and the governors, Rousseau perceived the contract as being between all people of a society. He grounded his idea of liberties on the basis of a natural law, and those he influenced began to speak of natural rights.

In Rousseau's view, all members of society were equal and therefore shared equal obligations to the society at large. The will of society at large became the general will, and each individual was therefore obligated to surrender his rights to the general will. The general will would be represented by the state, and the state should be headed by a responsible monarch. An arrangement such as this was considered ideal, as all citizens would retain equality with respect to one another. Citizens would retain ultimate power as they had the right to remove the king from power at will.

#### ORIGIN AND TERMS OF THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

Man was born free, but everywhere he is in chains. This man believes that he is the master of others, and still he is more of a slave than they are. How did that transformation take place? I don't know. How may the restraints on man become legitimate? I do believe I can answer that question. . . .

At a point in the state of nature when the obstacles to human preservation have become greater than each individual with his own strength can cope with. . . . , an adequate combination of forces must be the result of men coming together. Still, each man's power and freedom are his main means of selfpreservation. How is he to put them under the control of others without damaging himself . . . ?

This question might be rephrased: "How is a method of associating to be found which will defend and protect—using the power of all—the person and property of each member and still enable each member of the group to obey only himself and to remain as free as before?" This is the fundamental problem; the social contract offers a solution to it.

The very scope of the action dictates the terms of this contract and renders the least modification of them inadmissible, something making them null and void. Thus, although perhaps they have never been stated in so many words, they are the same everywhere and tacitly conceded and recognized everywhere. And so it follows that each individual immediately recovers his primitive rights and natural liberties whenever any violation of the social contract occurs and thereby loses the contractual freedom for which he renounced them.

The social contract's terms, when they are well understood, can be reduced to a single stipulation: the individual member alienates himself totally to the whole community together with all his rights. This is first because conditions will be the same for everyone when each individual gives himself totally, and secondly, because no one will be tempted to make that condition of shared equality worse for other men. . . .

Once this multitude is united this way into a body, an offense against one of its members is an offense against the body politic. It would be even less possible to injure the body without its members feeling it. Duty and interest thus equally require the two contracting parties to aid each other mutually. The individual people should be motivated from their double roles as individuals and members of the body, to combine all the advantages which mutual aid offers them. . . .

#### INDIVIDUAL WILLS AND THE GENERAL WILL

In reality, each individual may have one particular will as a man that is different from—or contrary to—the general will which he has as a citizen. His own particular interest may suggest other things to him than the common interest does. His separate, naturally independent existence may make him imagine that what he owes to the common cause is an incidental contribution—a contribution which will cost him more to give than their failure to receive it would harm the others. He may also regard the moral person of the State as an imaginary being since it is not a man, and wish to enjoy the rights of a citizen without performing the duties of a subject. This unjust attitude could cause the ruin of the body politic if it became widespread enough.

So that the social pact will not become meaningless words, it tacitly includes this commitment, which alone gives power to the others: Whoever refuses to obey the general will shall be forced to obey it by the whole body politic, which means nothing else but that he will be forced to be free. This condition is indeed the one which by dedicating each citizen to the fatherland gives him a guarantee against being personally

dependent on other individuals. It is the condition which all political machinery depends on and which alone makes political undertakings legitimate. Without it, political actions become absurd, tyrannical, and subject to the most outrageous abuses.

Whatever benefits he had in the state of nature but lost in the civil state, a man gains more than enough new ones to make up for them. His capabilities are put to good use and developed; his ideas are enriched, his sentiments made more noble, and his soul elevated to the extent that-if the abuses in this new condition did not often degrade him to a condition lower than the one he left behind-he would have to keep blessing this happy moment which snatched him away from his previous state and which made an intelligent being and a man out of a stupid and very limited animal. . . .

#### **PROPERTY RIGHTS**

In dealing with its members, the State controls all their goods under the social contract, which serves as the basis for all rights within the State, but it controls them only through the right of first holder which individuals convey to the State. . . .

A strange aspect of this act of alienating property rights to the state is that when the community takes on the goods of its members, it does not take these goods away from them. The community does nothing but assure its members of legitimate possession of goods, changing mere claims of possession into real rights and customary use into property. . . . Through an act of transfer having advantages for the public but far more for themselves they have, so to speak, really acquired everything they gave up. . . .

#### **INDIVISIBLE, INALIENABLE SOVEREIGNTY**

The first and most important conclusion from the principles we have established thus far is that the general will alone may direct the forces of the State to achieve the goal for which it was founded, the common good. . . . Sovereignty is indivisible . . . and is inalienable. . . . A will is general or it is not: it is that of the whole body of the people or only of one faction. In the first instance, putting the will into words and force is an act of sovereignty: the will becomes law. In the second instance, it is only a particular will or an administrative action; at the very most it is a decree.

Our political theorists, however, unable to divide the source of sovereignty, divide sovereignty into the ways it is applied. They divide it into force and will; into legislative power and executive power; into the power to tax, the judicial power, and the power to wage war; into internal administration and the power to negotiate with foreign countries. Now we see them running these powers together. Now they will proceed to separate them. They make the sovereign a being of fantasy, composed of separate pieces, which would be like putting a man together from several bodies, one having eyes, another arms, another feet-nothing more. Japanese magicians are said to cut up a child before the eyes of spectators, then throw the pieces into the air one after the other, and then cause the child to drop down reassembled and alive again. That is the sort of magic trick our political theorists perform. After having dismembered the social body with a trick worthy of a travelling show, they reassemble the pieces without anybody knowing how. . . .

If we follow up in the same way on the other divisions mentioned, we find that we are deceived every time we believe we see sovereignty divided. We find that the jurisdictions we have thought to be exercised as parts of sovereignty in reality are subordinate to the [one] sovereign power. They presuppose supreme wills, which they merely carry out in their jurisdictions. . . .

#### **NEED FOR CITIZEN PARTICIPATION, NOT REPRESENTATION**

It follows from the above that the general will is always in the right and inclines toward the public good, but it does not follow that the deliberations of the people always have the same rectitude. People always desire what is good, but they do not always see what is good. You can never corrupt the people, but you can often fool them, and that is the only time that the people appear to will something bad. . . .

If, assuming that the people were sufficiently informed as they made decisions and that the citizens did not communicate with each other, the general will would always be resolved from a great number of small differences, and the deliberation would always be good. But when blocs are formed, associations of parts at the expense of the whole, the will of each of these associations will be general as far as its members are concerned but particular as far as the State is concerned. Then we may say that there are no longer so many voters as there are men present but as many as there are associations. The differences will become less numerous and will yield less general results. Finally, when one of these associations becomes so strong that it dominates the others, you no longer have the sum of minor differences as a result but rather one single [unresolved] difference, with the result that there no longer is a general will, and the view that prevails is nothing but one particular view. . . .

But we must also consider the private persons who make up the public, apart from the public personified, who each have a life and liberty independent of it. It is very necessary for us to distinguish between the respective rights of the citizens and the sovereign and between the duties which men must fulfill in their role as subjects from the natural rights they should enjoy in their role as men.

It is agreed that everything which each individual gives up of his power, his goods, and his liberty under the social contract is only that part of all those things which is of use to the community, but it is also necessary to agree that the sovereign alone is the judge of what that useful part is.

All the obligations which a citizen owes to the State he must fulfill as soon as the sovereign asks for them, but the sovereign in turn cannot impose any obligation on subjects which is not of use to the community. If fact, the sovereign cannot even wish to do so, for nothing can take place without a cause according to the laws of reason, any more than according to the laws of nature [and the sovereign community will have no cause to require anything beyond what is of communal use. . . .

Government . . . is wrongly confused with the sovereign, whose agent it is. What then is government? It is an intermediary body established between the subjects and the sovereign to keep them in touch with each other. It is charged with executing the laws and maintaining both civil and political liberty. . . . The only will dominating government . . . should be the general will or the law. The government's power is only the public power vested in it. As soon as [government] attempts to let any act come from itself completely independently, it starts to lose its intermediary role. If the time should ever come when the [government] has a particular will of its own stronger than that of the sovereign and makes use of the public power which is in its hands to carry out its own particular will—when there are thus two sovereigns, one in law and one in fact—at that moment the social union will disappear and the body politic will be dissolved.

Once the public interest has ceased to be the principal concern of citizens, once they prefer to serve State with money rather than with their persons, the State will be approaching ruin. Is it necessary to march into combat? They will pay some troops and stay at home. Is it necessary to go to meetings? They will name some deputies and stay at home. Laziness and money finally leave them with soldiers to enslave their fatherland and representatives to sell it. . . .

Sovereignty cannot be represented. . . . Essentially, it consists of the general will, and a will is not represented: either we have it itself, or it is something else; there is no other possibility. The deputies of the people thus are not and cannot be its representatives. They are only the people's agents and are not able to come to final decisions at all. Any law that the people have not ratified in person is void, it is not a law at all.

#### SOVEREIGNTY AND CIVIL RELIGION

Now then, it is of importance to the State that each citizen should have a religion requiring his devotion to duty; however, the dogmas of that religion are of no interest to the State except as they relate to morality and to the duties which each believer is required to perform for others. For the rest of it, each person may have whatever opinions he pleases. . . .

It follows that it is up to the sovereign to establish the articles of a purely civil faith, not exactly as dogmas of religion but as sentiments of social commitment without which it would be impossible to be either a good citizen or a faithful subject. . . . While the State has no power to oblige anyone to believe these articles, it may banish anyone who does not believe them. This banishment is not for impiety but for lack of social commitment, that is, for being incapable of sincerely loving the laws and justice or of sacrificing his life to duty in time of need. As for the person who conducts himself as if he does not believe them after having publicly stated his belief in these same dogmas, he deserves the death penalty. He has lied in the presence of the laws.

The dogmas of civil religion should be simple, few in number, and stated in precise words without interpretations or commentaries. These are the required dogmas: the existence of a powerful, intelligent Divinity, who does good, has foreknowledge of all, and provides for all; the life to come; the happy rewards of the just; the punishment of the wicked; and the sanctity of the social contract and the laws. As for prohibited articles of faith, I limit myself to one: intolerance. Intolerance characterizes the religious persuasions we have excluded.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Du contrat social; ou principes du droit politique*. Paris: Garnier Frères 1800, pp. 240–332, passim. Translated by Henry A. Myers.

## Proclamation of 1763

Date: October 7, 1763

*The French and Indian War (1754–63) was brought to an end by the Treaty of Paris (1763). About six months later King George III issued the Proclamation of 1763, which set a western boundary beyond which British colonials would not be allowed to settle. This was in part to acknowledge the debts that the British government owed to its Indian allies for their support in the war against the French. The British officials also wanted to end the continued frontier fighting caused by colonial settlers and the Native Americans over land rights west of the Appalachians. In addition to this, the fighting and raiding were interfering with the lucrative commerce in fur*

*trading and tobacco, and the royal taxes upon this commerce. By the king's royal proclamation and decree, the Native Americans were given the use of his lands as a hunting ground, without the incursion of the colonists. The king's colonials were not allowed to trespass on these lands.*

*The enforcement of the proclamation by British authorities was another matter. By the time that the proclamation had been issued, there were already many small towns and villages west of the Appalachians in New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and some settlements in what is now Ohio and Kentucky. Many more settlers were continuing to travel west to the land of free farmland for the taking. Another problem was that many of the original charters of the colonies themselves had granted them land as far west as each colony chose to claim.*

*Many Native American tribes respected the proclamation from the British king. The frontier fighting did subside, and life returned to normal by 1764. Over time, however, they saw that the colonists were not honoring the proclamation, and so the raiding and fighting continued.*

Whereas we have taken into our royal consideration the extensive and valuable acquisitions in America secured to our Crown by the late definitive treaty of peace concluded at Paris on the 10th day of February last; and being desirous that all our loving subjects, as well of our kingdom as of our colonies in America, may avail themselves, with all convenient speed, of the great benefits and advantages which must accrue therefrom to their commerce, manufactures, and navigation; we have thought fit, with the advice of our Privy Council, to issue this our Royal Proclamation, hereby to publish and declare to all our loving subjects that we have, with the advice of our said Privy Council, granted our letters patent under our Great Seal of Great Britain, to erect within the countries and islands ceded and confirmed to us by said treaty, four distinct and separate governments, styled and called by the names of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada, and limited and bounded as follows, viz . . .

First, the Government of Quebec, bounded on the Labrador coast by the river St. John, and from thence by a line drawn from the head of that river, through the lake St. John, to the south end of the lake Nipissim; from whence the said line, crossing the river St. Lawrence and the lake Champlain in 45 degrees of north latitude, passes along the high lands which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the said river St. Lawrence from those which fall into the sea . . .

Secondly, the Government of East Florida, bounded to the westward by the Gulf of Mexico and the Apalachicola River; to the northward, by a line drawn from that part of the said river where the Chatahoochee and Flint Rivers meet, to the source of the St. Mary's river, and by the course of the said river to the Atlantic Ocean . . .

Thirdly, the Government of West Florida, bounded to the . . . westward, by the Lake Pontchartrain, the lake Maurepas, and the river Mississippi; to the northward, by a line drawn due east from that part of the river Mississippi which lies in 31 degrees north latitude, to the river Apalachicola or Chatahoochee; and to the eastward, by the said river . . .

We have also, with the advice of our Privy Council aforesaid, annexed to our Province of Georgia all the lands lying between the rivers Altamaha and St. Mary's . . .

And whereas it is just and reasonable, and essential to our interest and the security of our colonies, that the several nations or tribes of Indians with whom we are connected, and who live under our protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the possession of such parts of our dominions and territories as, not having been ceded to or purchased by us, are reserved to them, or any of them, as their hunting-grounds; we do therefore, with the advice of our Privy Council, declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, that no Governor or commander in chief, in any of our colonies of Quebec, East Florida, or West Florida, do presume, upon any pretence whatever, to grant warrants of survey, or pass any patents for lands beyond the bounds of their respective governments, as described in their commissions; as also that no Governor or commander in chief of our other colonies or plantations in America do presume for the present, and until our further pleasure be known, to grant warrants of survey or pass patents for any lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the west or northwest; or upon any lands whatever, which, not having been ceded to or purchased by us, as aforesaid, are reserved to the said Indians, or any of them.

And we do further declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, for the present as aforesaid, to reserve under our sovereignty, protection, and dominion, for the use of the said Indians, all the land and territories not included within the limits of our said three new governments, or within the limits of the territory granted to the Hudson's Bay Company; as also all the land and territories lying to the westward of the sources of the rivers which fall into the sea from the west and northwest as aforesaid; and we do hereby strictly forbid, on pain of our displeasure, all our loving subjects from making any purchases or settlements whatever, or taking possession of any of the lands above reserved, without our special leave and license for that purpose first obtained.

And we do further strictly enjoin and require all persons whatever, who have either willfully or inadvertently seated themselves upon any lands within the countries above described, or upon any other lands which, not having been ceded to or purchased by us, are still reserved to the said Indians as aforesaid, forthwith to remove themselves from such settlements.

And whereas great frauds and abuses have been committed in the purchasing lands of the Indians, to the great prejudice of our interests, and to the great dissatisfaction of the said Indians; in order, therefore, to prevent such irregularities for the future, and to the end that the Indians may be convinced of our justice and determined resolution to remove all reasonable cause of discontent, we do, with the advice of our Privy Council, strictly enjoin and require, that no private person do presume to make any purchase from the said Indians of any lands reserved to the said Indians within those parts of our colonies where we have thought proper to allow settlement; but that if at any time any of the said Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said lands, the same shall be purchased only for us, in our name, at some public meeting or assembly of the said Indians, to be held for that purpose by the Governor or commander in chief of our colony respectively within which they shall lie: and in case they shall lie within the limits of any proprietary government, they shall be purchased only for the use and in the name of such proprietaries, conformable to such directions and instructions as we or they shall think proper to give for that purpose. And we do, by the advice of our Privy Council, declare and enjoin, that the trade with the said Indians shall be free and open to all our subjects whatever, provided that every person who may incline to trade with the said Indians do take out a license for carrying on such trade, from the Governor or commander in chief of any of our colonies respectively where such person shall reside, and also give security to observe such regulations as we shall at any time think fit, by ourselves or commissaries to be appointed for this purpose, to direct and appoint for the benefit of the said trade. And we do hereby authorize, enjoin, and require the Governors and commanders in chief of all our colonies respectively, as well those under our immediate government as those under the government and direction of proprietaries, to grant such licenses without fee or reward, taking especial care to insert therein a condition that such license shall be void, and the security forfeited, in case the person to whom the same is granted shall refuse or neglect to observe such regulations as we shall think proper to prescribe as aforesaid.

And we do further expressly enjoin and require all officers whatever, as well military as those employed in the management and direction of Indian affairs within the territories reserved as aforesaid, for the use of the said Indians, to seize and apprehend all persons whatever who, standing charged with treasons, misprisions of treason, murders, or other felonies or misdemeanors, shall fly from justice and take refuge in the said territory, and to send them under a proper guard to the colony where the crime was committed of which they shall stand accused, in order to take their trial for the same.

Given at our Court at St. James's, the 7th day of October 1763, in the third year of our reign.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Axelrod, Alan, and Charles L. Phillips. "Proclamation of 1763." *Encyclopedia of Historical Treaties and Alliances: From Ancient Times to the 1930s*. Vol. 1. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2006. Facts On File, Inc. *Modern World History Online*. [www.factsonfile.com](http://www.factsonfile.com).

Primary Source Citation: King George III. "Proclamation of 1763." In *Encyclopedia of Historical Treaties and Alliances: From Ancient Times to the 1930s*. Vol. 1. Edited by Alan, Axelrod, and Charles L. Phillips. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2006.

## Declaration of Independence

Date: July 4, 1776

*The Declaration of Independence was penned by Thomas Jefferson and made public on July 4, 1776. It opened with the theoretical explanation for America's separation from Great Britain, justifying the split with an appeal to the doctrine of natural rights. Arguing that governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed," Jefferson went on to assert the right to revolt against an unjust government. The abuses of King George III against the colonists were then listed to legitimize the renunciation of all ties with Great Britain. Though edited by members of the Second Continental Congress (notably Benjamin Franklin and John Adams), Jefferson's ideas remained basically intact. Revisions were completed on July 4 and sent immediately to a printer in Philadelphia who printed it under that date. The official signing of the document by all the delegates to the Congress took place on August 2, 1776; most of the 56 names on the document were signed before August 6, but at least six signatures were attached later.*

The original spellings have been retained in this document.

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's god entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with inherent and inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence indeed will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes. And accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, begun at a distinguished period and pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to expunge their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of unremitting injuries and usurpations, among which appears no solitary fact to contradict the uniform tenor of the rest, but all have in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this let facts be submitted to a candid world, for the truth of which we pledge a faith yet unsullied by falsehood.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has neglected utterly to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative houses repeatedly and continually, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time after such dissolutions to cause others to be elected whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the state remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither; and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has suffered the administration of justice totally to cease in some of these states, refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made our judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices by a self-assumed power, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies and ships of war, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation for quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them by a mock-trial from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offenses;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein in arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these states;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves to be invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, withdrawing his governors, and declaring us out of his allegiance and protection.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries, to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions of existence.

He has incited treasonable insurrections of our fellow citizens, with the allurements of forfeiture and confiscation of property.

He has constrained others, taken captives on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people, who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce; and that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people upon whom he also obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a people who mean to be free. Future ages will scarce believe that the hardness of one man adventured, within the short compass of twelve years only, to lay a foundation, so broad and undisguised, for tyranny over a people fostered and fixed in principles of freedom.

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend a jurisdiction over these our states. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here, no one of which could warrant so strange a pretension: that these were affected at the expence of our own blood and treasure, unassisted by the wealth or the strength of Great Britain: that in constituting indeed our several forms of government, we had adopted one common king, thereby laying a foundation for perpetual league and amity with them: but that submission to their parliament was no part of our constitution, nor ever in idea, if history may be credited: and we appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, as well as to the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which were likely to interrupt our condition and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity; and when occasions have been given them, by the regular course of their laws, of removing from their councils the disturbers of our harmony, they have by their free election re-established them in power. At this very time, too, they are permitting their chief magistrate to send over not only soldiers of our common blood, but Scotch and foreign mercenaries to invade and destroy us. These facts have given the last stab to agonizing affection; and manly spirit bids us to renounce forever these unfeeling brethren. We must therefore endeavor to forget our former love for them, and to hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends. We might have been a great and free people together; but a communication of grandeur and of freedom, it seems, is below their dignity. Be it so, since they will have it. The road to happiness and to glory is open to us too; we will climb it apart from them, and acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our eternal separation!

We therefore the Representatives of the United States of America in General Congress assembled, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these states, reject and renounce all allegiance and subjection to the kings of Great Britain, and all others who may hereafter claim by, through, or under them; we utterly dissolve all political connection which may heretofore have subsisted between us and the people or parliament of Great Britain; and finally we do assert and declare these colonies to be free and independent states, and that as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: "Declaration of Independence." Facts On File, Inc. *American History Online*. www.fofweb.com.

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## Joseph Priestley: *Discovery of Oxygen*

Date: 1776

Oxygen was discovered nearly simultaneously and independently by three researchers. In 1771 or 1772, Carl Wilhelm Scheele first isolated oxygen, but he delayed publication of his findings until 1777. Joseph Priestley was the first to publish his experiments with oxygen in 1774. In 1778 Antoine Lavoisier gave oxygen its name, on the assumption that oxides when dissolved in water always generated acids. Thus the word oxygen, meaning “acid-generator,” derived from two Greek words, took hold. In this second edition of Priestley’s work, published in 1776, Priestley describes how he discovered oxygen. Together, the work of the three researchers overthrew the prevailing theory of combustion, based on the concept of “phlogiston,” a mysterious substance supposedly given off during combustion. The simultaneous discovery of oxygen demonstrated a recurrent phenomenon during the scientific revolution, when independent researchers, confronted with the same existing scientific problems or anomalies, and working with similar technical devices, reached similar conclusions within months or even days of each other.

An excerpt from *The Discovery of Oxygen. Experiments and Observations on Different Kinds of Air*.

The contents of this section will furnish a very striking illustration of the truth of a remark which I have more than once made in my philosophical writings, and which can hardly be too often repeated, as it tends greatly to encourage philosophical investigations: viz. that more is owing to what we call chance, that is, philosophically speaking, to the observation of events, arising from unknown causes, than to any proper design, or preconceived theory in this business. . . .

I wish my reader be not quite tired with the frequent repetition of the word surprise, and other of similar import; but I must go on in that style a little longer. For the next day I was more surprised than ever I had been before, with finding that, after the above mentioned mixture of nitrous air and the air from mercurius calcinatus, had stood all night, (in which time the whole diminution must have taken place; and, consequently had it been common air, it must have been made perfectly noxious, and entirely unfit for respiration or inflammation) a candle burned in it, and even better than in common air.

I cannot, at this distance of time, recollect what it was that I had in view in making this experiment; but I know I had no expectation of the real issue of it. Having acquired a considerable degree of readiness in making experiments of this kind, a very slight and evanescent motive would be sufficient to induce me to do it. If, however, I had not happened, for some other purpose, to have had a lighted candle before me, I should probably never have made the trial; and the whole train of my future experiments relating to this kind of air might have been prevented. Still, however, having no conception of the real cause of this phenomenon, I considered it as something very extraordinary; but as a property that was peculiar to air that was extracted from these substances, and adventitious; and I always spoke of the air to my acquaintance as being substantially the same with common air. I particularly remember my telling Dr. Price, that I was myself perfectly satisfied of its being common air, as it appeared to be so by the test of nitrous air; though, for the satisfaction of others, I wanted a mouse to make the proof quite complete.

On the 8th of this month I procured a mouse, and put it into a glass vessel, containing two ounce-measures of the air from mercurius calcinatus. Had it been common air, a full-grown mouse, as this was, would have lived in it about a quarter of an hour. In this air, however, my mouse lived a full hour; and though it was taken out seemingly dead, it appeared to have been only exceedingly chilled; for, upon being held to the fire, it presently revived, and appeared not to have received any harm from the experiment.

### CITATION INFORMATION:

From Priestley, Joseph. *Experiments and Observations on Different Kinds of Air*. 2d ed. 1776. Vol. 2, sec 3 [*The Discovery of Oxygen*].

## Adam Smith: *The Wealth of Nations*

Date: 1776

In this extract from *The Wealth of Nations*, the “founder” of economics, Adam Smith, analyzes the mercantile system. In this passage, he criticizes those who believe that a nation’s wealth can be measured by its surplus in gold derived from control of international and colonial trade. Instead he argues that wealth derives from efficiencies of production and consumption, and that mercantile barriers to protect the industries of a country can in fact diminish its wealth. His logic led, in later years, to the concept of international free trade.

## THE PRINCIPLE OF THE MERCANTILE SYSTEM, 1776

Some of the best English writers upon commerce set out with observing, that the wealth of a country consists, not in its gold and silver only, but in its lands, houses, and consumable goods of all different kinds. In the course of their reasoning, however, the lands, houses, and consumable goods seem to slip out of their memory, and the strain of their argument frequently supposes that all wealth consists in gold and silver, and that to multiply those metals is the great object of national industry and commerce. The two principles being established, however, that wealth consisted in gold and silver, and that those metals could be brought into a country which had no mines only by the balance of trade, or by exporting to a greater value than it imported; it necessarily became the great object of political economy to diminish as much as possible the importation of foreign goods for home consumption, and to increase as much as possible the exportation of the produce of domestic industry. Its two great engines for enriching the country, therefore, were restraints upon importation, and encouragements to exportation. . . .

BY restraining, either by high duties, or by absolute prohibitions, the importation of such goods from foreign countries as can be produced at home, the monopoly of the home market is more or less secured to the domestic industry employed in producing them. Thus the prohibition of importing either live cattle or salt provisions from foreign countries secures to the grazers of Great Britain the monopoly of the home market for butcher's meat. The high duties upon the importation of grain, which in times of moderate plenty amount to a prohibition, give a like advantage to the growers of that commodity. The prohibition of the importation of foreign woollens is equally favorable to the woollen manufacturers. The silk manufacture, though altogether employed upon foreign materials, has lately obtained the same advantage. The linen manufacture has not yet obtained it, but is making great strides towards it. Many other sorts of manufacturers have, in the same manner, obtained in Great Britain, either altogether, or very nearly a monopoly against their countrymen. . . . That this monopoly of the home-market frequently gives great encouragement to that particular species of industry which enjoys it, and frequently turns towards that employment a greater share of both the labor and stock of the society than would otherwise have gone to it, cannot be doubted. But whether it tends either to increase the general industry of the society, or to give it the most advantageous direction, is not, perhaps, altogether so evident. . . .

THOUGH the encouragement of exportation, and the discouragement of importation, are the two great engines by which the mercantile system proposes to enrich every country, yet with regard to some particular commodities, it seems to follow an opposite plan: to discourage exportation and to encourage importation. Its ultimate object, however, it pretends, is always the same, to enrich the country by an advantageous balance of trade. It discourages the exportation of the materials of manufacture, and of the instruments of trade, in order to give our own workmen an advantage, and to enable them to undersell those of other nations in all foreign markets; and by restraining, in this manner, the exportation of a few commodities, of no great price, it proposes to occasion a much greater and more valuable exportation of others. It encourages the importation of the materials of manufacture, in order that our own people may be enabled to work them up more cheaply, and thereby prevent a greater and more valuable importation of the manufactured commodities. . . .

Consumption is the sole end and purpose of all production; and the interest of the producer ought to be attended to, only so far as it may be necessary for promoting that of the consumer. The maxim is so perfectly self-evident, that it would be absurd to attempt to prove it. But in the mercantile system, the interest of the consumer is almost constantly sacrificed to that of the producer; and it seems to consider production, and not consumption, as the ultimate end and object of all industry and commerce. . . .

In the system of laws which has been established for the management of our American and West Indian colonies the interest of the home-consumer has been sacrificed to that of the producer with a more extravagant profusion than in all our other commercial regulations. A great empire has been established for the sole purpose of raising up a nation of customers who should be obliged to buy from the shops of our different producers, all the goods with which these could supply them. For the sake of that little enhancement of price which this monopoly might afford our producers, the home-consumers have been burdened with the whole expense of maintaining and defending that empire. For this purpose, and for this purpose only, in the two last wars, more than two hundred millions have been spent, and a new debt of more than a hundred and seventy millions has been contracted over and above all that had been expended for the same purpose in former wars. The interest of this debt alone is not only greater than the whole extraordinary profit, which, it ever could be pretended, was made by the monopoly of the colony trade, but than the whole value of that trade, or than the whole value of the goods, which at an average have been annually exported to the colonies. It cannot be very difficult to determine who have been the contrivers of this whole mercantile system; not the consumers, we may believe, whose interest has been entirely neglected; but the producers, whose interest has been so carefully attended to; and among this latter class our merchants and manufacturers have been by far the principal architects.

The importation of gold and silver is not the principal much less the sole benefit which a nation derives from its foreign trade. Between whatever places foreign trade is carried on, they all of them derive two distinct benefits from it. It carries out that surplus part of the produce of their land and labor for which there is no

demand among them, and brings back in return for it something else for which there is a demand. It gives a value to their superfluities by exchanging them for something else, which may satisfy a part of their wants, and increase their enjoyments. By means of it, the narrowness of the home market does not hinder the division of labor in any particular branch of art or manufacture from being carried to the highest perfection. By opening a more extensive market for whatever part of the produce of their labor may exceed the home consumption, it encourages them to improve its productive powers and to augment its annual produce to the utmost, and thereby to increase the real revenue and wealth of the society.

**CITATION INFORMATION:**

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## Voltaire on John Locke

Date: c. 1778

From *Letters on the English* or *Lettres Philosophiques*, c. 1778

*François-Marie Arouet, known by his assumed name of Voltaire, was born in Paris, November 21, 1694. His father was a well-to-do notary, and François was educated under the Jesuits at the Collège Louis-le-Grand. He began writing verse early and was noted for his freedom of speech, a tendency which led to his being twice exiled from Paris and twice imprisoned in the Bastille. In 1726 he took refuge in England, and the two years spent there had great influence on his later development. Some years after his return he became historiographer of France and gentleman of the king's bedchamber; from 1750 to 1753 he lived at the court of Frederick the Great, with whom he ultimately quarreled, and he spent the last period of his life, from 1758 to 1778, on his estate of Ferney, near Geneva, where he produced much of his best work. He died in Paris, May 30, 1778.*

*It will be seen that Voltaire's active life covers nearly the whole 18th century, of which he was the dominant and typical literary figure. Every department of letters then in vogue was cultivated by him; in all he showed brilliant powers, and in several he reached all but the highest rank. Apart from his *Henriade*, an epic on the classical model, and the burlesque *La Pucelle*, most of his verse belongs to the class of satire, epigram, and vers de société. Of real poetical quality it has little, but abounds in technical cleverness. For the stage he was the most prominent writer of the time, his most successful dramas including *Zaïre*, *Oedipe*, *La Mort de César*, *Alzire*, and *Mérope*. His chief contribution in this field was the development of the didactic and philosophic element. In prose fiction he wrote *Zadig*, *Candide*, and many admirable short stories; in history, his *Age of Louis XIV* is only the best known of four or five considerable works; in criticism, his commentary on *Corneille* is notable. His scientific and philosophic interests are to some extent indicated in the following letters, which also show his admiration for the tolerance and freedom of speech in Britain, which it was his greatest service to strive to introduce into his own country.*

### Letter XIII: On Mr. Locke

Perhaps no man ever had a more judicious or more methodical genius, or was a more acute logician than Mr. Locke, and yet he was not deeply skilled in the mathematics. This great man could never subject himself to the tedious fatigue of calculations, nor to the dry pursuit of mathematical truths, which do not at first present any sensible objects to the mind; and no one has given better proofs than he, that it is possible for a man to have a geometrical head without the assistance of geometry. Before his time, several great philosophers had declared, in the most positive terms, what the soul of man is; but as these absolutely knew nothing about it, they might very well be allowed to differ entirely in opinion from one another.

In Greece, the infant seat of arts and of errors, and where the grandeur as well as folly of the human mind went such prodigious lengths, the people used to reason about the soul in the very same manner as we do.

The divine Anaxagoras, in whose honour an altar was erected for his having taught mankind that the sun was greater than Peloponnesus, that snow was black, and that the heavens were of stone, affirmed that the soul was an aerial spirit, but at the same time immortal. Diogenes (not he who was a cynical philosopher after having coined base money) declared that the soul was a portion of the substance of God: an idea which we must confess was very sublime. Epicurus maintained that it was composed of parts in the same manner as the body.

Aristotle, who has been explained a thousand ways, because he is unintelligible, was of opinion, according to some of his disciples, that the understanding in all men is one and the same substance.

The divine Plato, master of the divine Aristotle, and the divine Socrates, master of the divine Plato, used to say that the soul was corporeal and eternal. No doubt but the demon of Socrates had instructed him in the nature of it. Some people, indeed, pretend that a man who boasted his being attended by a familiar genius must infallibly be either a knave or a madman, but this kind of people are seldom satisfied with anything but reason.

With regard to the Fathers of the Church, several in the primitive ages believed that the soul was human, and the angels and God corporeal. Men naturally improve upon every system. St. Bernard, as Father Mabillon confesses, taught that the soul after death does not see God in the celestial regions, but converses with Christ's human nature only. However, he was not believed this time on his bare word; the adventure of the crusade having a little sunk the credit of his oracles. Afterwards a thousand schoolmen arose, such as the Irrefragable Doctor, the Subtile Doctor, the Angelic Doctor, the Seraphic Doctor, and the Cherubic Doctor, who were all sure that they had a very clear and distinct idea of the soul, and yet wrote in such a manner, that one would conclude they were resolved no one should understand a word in their writings. Our Descartes, born to discover the errors of antiquity, and at the same time to substitute his own; and hurried away by that systematic spirit which throws a cloud over the minds of the greatest men, thought he had demonstrated that the soul is the same thing as thought, in the same manner as matter, in his opinion, is the same as extension. He asserted, that man thinks eternally, and that the soul, at its coming into the body, is informed with the whole series of metaphysical notions: knowing God, infinite space, possessing all abstract ideas-in a word, completely endued with the most sublime lights, which it unhappily forgets at its issuing from the womb.

Father Malebranche, in his sublime illusions, not only admitted innate ideas, but did not doubt of our living wholly in God, and that God is, as it were, our soul.

Such a multitude of reasoners having written the romance of the soul, a sage at last arose, who gave, with an air of the greatest modesty, the history of it. Mr. Locke has displayed the human soul in the same manner as an excellent anatomist explains the springs of the human body. He everywhere takes the light of physics for his guide. He sometimes presumes to speak affirmatively, but then he presumes also to doubt. Instead of concluding at once what we know not, he examines gradually what we would know. He takes an infant at the instant of his birth; he traces, step by step, the progress of his understanding; examines what things he has in common with beasts, and what he possesses above them. Above all, he consults himself; the being conscious that he himself thinks.

"I shall leave," says he, "to those who know more of this matter than myself, the examining whether the soul exists before or after the organisation of our bodies. But I confess that it is my lot to be animated with one of those heavy souls which do not think always; and I am even so unhappy as not to conceive that it is more necessary the soul should think perpetually than that bodies should be for ever in motion."

With regard to myself, I shall boast that I have the honour to be as stupid in this particular as Mr. Locke. No one shall ever make me believe that I think always: and I am as little inclined as he could be to fancy that some weeks after I was conceived I was a very learned soul; knowing at that time a thousand things which I forgot at my birth; and possessing when in the womb (though to no manner of purpose) knowledge which I lost the instant I had occasion for it; and which I have never since been able to recover perfectly.

Mr. Locke, after having destroyed innate ideas; after having fully renounced the vanity of believing that we think always; after having laid down, from the most solid principles, that ideas enter the mind through the senses; having examined our simple and complex ideas; having traced the human mind through its several operations; having shown that all the languages in the world are imperfect, and the great abuse that is made of words every moment, he at last comes to consider the extent or rather the narrow limits of human knowledge. It was in this chapter he presumed to advance, but very modestly, the following words: "We shall, perhaps, never be capable of knowing whether a being, purely material, thinks or not." This sage assertion was, by more divines than one, looked upon as a scandalous declaration that the soul is material and mortal. Some Englishmen, devout after their way, sounded an alarm. The superstitious are the same in society as cowards in an army; they themselves are seized with a panic fear, and communicate it to others. It was loudly exclaimed that Mr. Locke intended to destroy religion; nevertheless, religion had nothing to do in the affair, it being a question purely philosophical, altogether independent of faith and revelation. Mr. Locke's opponents needed but to examine, calmly and impartially, whether the declaring that matter can think, implies a contradiction; and whether God is able to communicate thought to matter. But divines are too apt to begin their declarations with saying that God is offended when people differ from them in opinion; in which they too much resemble the bad poets, who used to declare publicly that Boileau spake irreverently of Louis XIV., because he ridiculed their stupid productions. Bishop Stillingfleet got the reputation of a calm and unprejudiced divine because he did not expressly make use of injurious terms in his dispute with Mr. Locke. That divine entered the lists against him, but was defeated; for he argued as a schoolman, and Locke as a philosopher, who was perfectly acquainted with the strong as well as the weak side of the human mind, and who fought with weapons whose temper he knew. If I might presume to give my opinion on so delicate a subject after Mr. Locke, I would say, that men have long disputed on the nature and the immortality of the soul. With regard to its immortality, it is impossible to give a demonstration of it, since its nature is still the subject of controversy; which, however, must be thoroughly understood before a person can be able to

determine whether it be immortal or not. Human reason is so little able, merely by its own strength, to demonstrate the immortality of the soul, that it was absolutely necessary religion should reveal it to us. It is of advantage to society in general, that mankind should believe the soul to be immortal; faith commands us to do this; nothing more is required, and the matter is cleared up at once. But it is otherwise with respect to its nature; it is of little importance to religion, which only requires the soul to be virtuous, whatever substance it may be made of. It is a clock which is given us to regulate, but the artist has not told us of what materials the spring of this clock is composed.

I am a body, and, I think, that's all I know of the matter. Shall I ascribe to an unknown cause, what I can so easily impute to the only second cause I am acquainted with? Here all the school philosophers interrupt me with their arguments, and declare that there is only extension and solidity in bodies, and that there they can have nothing but motion and figure. Now motion, figure, extension and solidity cannot form a thought, and consequently the soul cannot be matter. All this so often repeated mighty series of reasoning, amounts to no more than this: I am absolutely ignorant what matter is; I guess, but imperfectly, some properties of it; now I absolutely cannot tell whether these properties may be joined to thought. As I therefore know nothing, I maintain positively that matter cannot think. In this manner do the schools reason.

Mr. Locke addressed these gentlemen in the candid, sincere manner following: At least confess yourselves to be as ignorant as I. Neither your imaginations nor mine are able to comprehend in what manner a body is susceptible of ideas; and do you conceive better in what manner a substance, of what kind soever, is susceptible of them? As you cannot comprehend either matter or spirit, why will you presume to assert anything?

The superstitious man comes afterwards and declares, that all those must be burnt for the good of their souls, who so much as suspect that it is possible for the body to think without any foreign assistance. But what would these people say should they themselves be proved irreligious? And indeed, what man can presume to assert, without being guilty at the same time of the greatest impiety, that it is impossible for the Creator to form matter with thought and sensation? Consider only, I beg you, what a dilemma you bring yourselves into, you who confine in this manner the power of the Creator. Beasts have the same organs, the same sensations, the same perceptions as we; they have memory, and combine certain ideas. In case it was not in the power of God to animate matter, and inform it with sensation, the consequence would be, either that beasts are mere machines, or that they have a spiritual soul.

Methinks it is clearly evident that beasts cannot be mere machines, which I prove thus. God has given to them the very same organs of sensation as to us: if therefore they have no sensation, God has created a useless thing; now according to your own confession God does nothing in vain; He therefore did not create so many organs of sensation, merely for them to be uninformed with this faculty; consequently beasts are not mere machines. Beasts, according to your assertion, cannot be animated with a spiritual soul; you will, therefore, in spite of yourself, be reduced to this only assertion, viz., that God has endued the organs of beasts, who are mere matter, with the faculties of sensation and perception, which you call instinct in them. But why may not God, if He pleases, communicate to our more delicate organs, that faculty of feeling, perceiving, and thinking, which we call human reason? To whatever side you turn, you are forced to acknowledge your own ignorance, and the boundless power of the Creator. Exclaim therefore no more against the sage, the modest philosophy of Mr. Locke, which so far from interfering with religion, would of be use to demonstrate the truth of it, in case religion wanted any such support. For what philosophy can be of a more religious nature than that, which affirming nothing but what it conceives clearly, and conscious of its own weakness, declares that we must always have recourse to God in our examining of the first principles?

Besides, we must not be apprehensive that any philosophical opinion will ever prejudice the religion of a country. Though our demonstrations clash directly with our mysteries, that is nothing to the purpose, for the latter are not less revered upon that account by our Christian philosophers, who know very well that the objects of reason and those of faith are of a very different nature. Philosophers will never form a religious sect, the reason of which is, their writings are not calculated for the vulgar, and they themselves are free from enthusiasm. If we divide mankind into twenty parts, it will be found that nineteen of these consist of persons employed in manual labour, who will never know that such a man as Mr. Locke existed. In the remaining twentieth part how few are readers? And among such as are so, twenty amuse themselves with romances to one who studies philosophy. The thinking part of mankind is confined to a very small number, and these will never disturb the peace and tranquillity of the world.

Neither Montaigne, Locke, Bayle, Spinoza, Hobbes, the Lord Shaftesbury, Collins, nor Toland lighted up the firebrand of discord in their countries; this has generally been the work of divines, who being at first puffed up with the ambition of becoming chiefs of a sect, soon grew very desirous of being at the head of a party. But what do I say? All the works of the modern philosophers put together will never make so much noise as even the dispute which arose among the Franciscans, merely about the fashion of their sleeves and of their cowls.

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## The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen

Also known as: La Déclaration des droits de l'Homme et du citoyen

Date: August 26, 1789

*The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen is one of the fundamental documents of the French Revolution. It was a proclamation of principles written during the first months of the revolution and was intended as a guide for the men would be charged with writing a new constitution for the new republic. Its 17 articles affirmed human liberties and served as a preface to the French constitution of 1791.*

*The philosophical and political principles of the Enlightenment are reflected in the document, based on the writings of philosophers Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Thomas Hobbes. These ideas are put forth with terms that express the natural rights of each man, all men being equal in rights, the general will, and the usage of the term society rather than the word government.*

*It is pointed out that the document directly reflects some of the rights and items in the documents of the American Revolution, the Declaration of Independence (July 4, 1776), and the Virginia state legislature's 1776 Declaration of Rights. It also contains many concepts which were put forth at approximately the same time in the United States Constitution (1787) and in the United States Bill of Rights (1789).*

*The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen was drafted by Emmanuel J. Sieyès (Abbé Sieyès), with input from others. Among these was the famed general of the American Revolution the marquis de Lafayette. Before being submitted to the National Assembly, the document was reviewed by Thomas Jefferson, who was at that time the U.S. ambassador to France in Paris, as well as being the author of the Declaration of Independence.*

*The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen was approved by the National Assembly, or the National Constituent Assembly (Assemblée nationale constituante), in Paris on August 27, 1789, and was signed by France's King Louis XVI on October 5, 1789.*

### Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen

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

#### Articles:

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

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

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

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

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

Article VI Law is the expression of the general will. Every citizen has a right to participate personally, or through his representative, in its foundation. It must be the same for all, whether it protects or punishes. All citizens, being equal in the eyes of the law, are equally eligible to all dignities and to all public

positions and occupations, according to their abilities, and without distinction except that of their virtues and talents.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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## **Edmund Burke: *Reflections on the Revolution in France***

Date: 1790

*Edmund Burke's political philosophical commentary regarding the French Revolution (1789–99) was originally written as a letter and then published as a book. The book contains Burke's harsh criticisms of the French Revolution.*

*Burke was supportive of social change. His political philosophy, however, was grounded in the belief that society and civilization were held together by tradition and heritage. He believed that respect for author-*

ity, ancestors, and traditions preserved the good of society and that civilization was passed on from one generation to the next through education and culture, thus preserving the best of the historical past. This included the influences of art, music, architecture, traditional education, religion, the family, and the right to private property. To Burke, these formed the cultural foundations for law, stability, and order in a society. This would become known as the values of Burkean conservatism, this idea of preserving the best of the past. It is said that Edmund Burke's political philosophy marks the origin of modern conservative thought.

Edmund Burke believed that social change should be proper and gradual and not an abrupt revolution overthrowing traditional systems. Burke supported the rights of people in cases where they were defending their traditional political liberties and rights. He defended the British revolution in 1640 and the Glorious Revolution of 1688, in that these did not discard the past wholesale, but preserved the valuable traditions of English law and civilization. As a member of the British parliament, Burke had supported the American colonists in their initial protests against the British government, which led to the Declaration of Independence. The American Revolution of 1776 was in the British tradition of preserving English liberties and rights, and Burke approved of it.

Burke was philosophically opposed to sudden political change without respect for past traditions and other cultural aspects. He believed that the complete overthrow of traditional institutions would produce a nightmare of violence and disorder rather than creating improvements and progress. Burke foresaw disaster in the French Revolution. One of the better known quotes from Edmund Burke is "Learning will be cast into the mire and trodden down under the hoofs of a swinish multitude."

The concept of a social contract for Burke was something quite different than the ideas of a social contract theorized by Rousseau. To Burke, the true social contract is a long-term, cultural phenomenon between the past, the present, and the future within a society. It was not, as it is in Rousseau, something that you could define in your ideas as a new social philosophy and then apply to a society.

In Burke's view, the revolutionary French were trying to overthrow and dismantle the whole structure of their ancien régime (old regime) and to replace it with ideas or theories which were not "time tested" in tradition, rather than to restore tradition. Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* stands as an indictment of the aspects of the Enlightenment that were embodied in the French revolt.

In direct response to Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, Mary Wollstonecraft published her *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* in 1790 (see p. 119) and Thomas Paine published his *Rights of Man* in 1791.

The following is an excerpt from the original document.  
Original spellings have been retained in this document.

Kings, in one sense, are undoubtedly the servants of the people: because their power has no other rational end than that of the general advantage; but it is not true that they are, in the ordinary sense, (by our constitution at least), anything like servants; the essence of whose situation is to obey the commands of some other, and to be removable at pleasure. But the king of Great Britain obeys no other person; all other persons are individually, and collectively too, under him, and owe to him a legal obedience. The law which knows neither to flatter nor to insult, calls this high magistrate not our servant, as this humble divine calls him, but "our sovereign Lord the king"; and we, on our parts have learned to speak only the primitive language of the law, and not the confused jargon of their Babylonian pulpits.

As he is not to obey us, but as we are to obey the law in him, our constitution has made no sort of provision towards rendering him, as a servant, in any degree responsible. Our constitution knows nothing of a magistrate like the Justicia of Aragon; nor of any court legally appointed, nor of any process legally settled, for submitting the king to the responsibility belonging to all servants. In this he is not distinguished from the Commons and the Lords; who, in their several public capacities, can never be called to an account of their conduct; although the Revolution Society chooses to assert in direct opposition to one of the wisest and most beautiful parts of our constitution, that "a king is no more than the first servant of the public, created by it, and responsible to it."

Ill would our ancestors at the Revolution [of 1688] have deserved their fame for wisdom, if they had found no security for their freedom, but in rendering their government feeble in its operations and precarious in its tenure; if they had been able to contrive no better remedy against arbitrary power than civil confusion. Let these gentlemen state who that representative public is to whom they will affirm the king, as a servant, to be responsible. It will be then time enough for me to produce to them the positive statute law which affirms that he is not.

The ceremony of cashiering kings of which these gentlemen talk so much at their ease, can rarely, if ever, be performed without force. It then becomes a case of war, and not of constitution. Laws are commanded to hold their tongues amongst arms; and tribunals fall to the ground with the peace they are no longer able to uphold. The Revolution of 1688 was obtained by a just war, in the only case in which any war, and much more a civil war, can be just. "Justa bella quibus necessaria." ["Wars are just to those to whom they are necessary."] The

question of dethroning, or, if these gentlemen like the phrase better “cashiering kings,” will always be, as it has always been, an extraordinary question of state, and wholly out of the law; a question (like all other questions of state) of dispositions, and of means, and of probable consequences, rather than of positive rights. As it was not made for common abuses, so it is not to be agitated by common minds. The speculative line of demarcation, where obedience ought to end, and resistance must begin, is faint, obscure, and not easily definable. It is not a single act, or a single event, which determines it. Governments must be abused and deranged indeed, before it can be thought of; and the prospect of the future must be as bad as the experience of the past. When things are in that lamentable condition, the nature of the disease is to indicate the remedy to those whom nature has qualified to administer in extremities this critical, ambiguous, bitter | potion to a distempered state. Times, and occasions, and provocations, will teach their own lessons. The wise will determine from the gravity of the case; the irritable, from sensibility to oppression; the highminded, from disdain and indignation at abusive power in unworthy hands; the brave and bold, from the love of honourable danger in a generous cause; but, with or without right, a revolution will be the very last resource of the thinking and the good.

The third head of right, asserted by the pulpit of the Old Jewry, namely, the “right to form a government for ourselves,” has, at least, as little countenance from anything done at the Revolution [of 1688- Ed.], either in precedent or principle, as the two first of their claims. The Revolution was made to preserve our ancient, indisputable laws and liberties, and that ancient constitution of government which is our only security for law and liberty. If you are desirous of knowing the spirit of our constitution, and the policy which predominated in that great period which has secured it to this hour, pray look for both in our histories, in our records, in our acts of parliament, and journals of parliament, and not in the sermons of the Old Jewry, and the afterdinner toasts of the Revolution Society. In the former you will find other ideas and another language. Such a claim is as ill-suited to our temper and wishes as it is unsupported by an appearance of authority. The very idea of the fabrication of a new government is enough to fill us with disgust and horror. We wished at the period of the Revolution, and do now wish, to derive all we possess as an inheritance from our forefathers. Upon that body and stock of inheritance we have taken care not to inoculate any scion alien to the nature of the original plant. All the reformations we have hitherto made have proceeded upon the principle of reverence to antiquity: and I hope, nay I am persuaded, that all those which possibly may be made hereafter, will be carefully formed upon analogical precedent, authority, and example.

Our oldest reformation is that of Magna Charta. You will see that Sir Edward Coke, that great oracle of our law, and indeed all the great men who follow him, to Blackstone, are industrious to prove the pedigree of our liberties. They endeavour to prove, that the ancient charter, the Magna Charta of King John, was connected with another positive charter from Henry 1, and that both the one and the other were nothing more than a reaffirmance of the still more ancient standing law of the kingdom. In the matter of fact, for the greater part, these authors appear to be in the right; perhaps not always; but if the lawyers mistake in some particulars, it proves my position still the more strongly; because it demonstrates the powerful prepossession towards antiquity, with which the minds of all our lawyers and legislators, and of all the people whom they wish to influence, have been always filled; and the stationary policy of this kingdom in considering their most sacred rights and franchises as an inheritance.

In the famous law of the 3rd of Charles I, called the Petition of Right, the parliament says to the king, “Your subjects have inherited this freedom,” claiming their franchises not on abstract principles “as the rights of men,” but as the rights of Englishmen, and as a patrimony derived from their forefathers. Selden, and the other profoundly learned men, who drew this Petition of Right, were as well acquainted, at least, with all the general theories concerning the “rights of men,” as any of the discourses in our pulpits, or on your tribune, full as well as Dr. Price, or as the Abbé Siéyès. But, for reasons worthy of that practical wisdom which superseded their theoretic science, they preferred this positive, recorded, hereditary title to all which can be dear to the man and the citizen, to that vague speculative right, which exposed their sure inheritance to be scrambled for and torn to pieces by every wild, litigious spirit.

The same policy pervades all the laws which have since been made for the preservation of our liberties. In the 1st of William and Mary, in the famous statute, called the Declaration of Right, the two Houses utter not a syllable of “a right to frame a government for themselves.” You will see, that their whole care was to secure the religion, laws, and liberties that had been long possessed, and had been lately endangered. “Taking into their most serious consideration the best means for making such an establishment, that their religion, laws, and liberties might not be in danger of being again subverted,” they auspicate all their proceedings, by stating as some of those best means, “in the first place” to do “as their ancestors in like cases have usually done for vindicating their ancient rights and liberties, to declare”;-and then they pray the king and queen, “that it may be declared and enacted, that all and singular the rights and liberties asserted and declared, are the true ancient and indubitable rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom.

You will observe that from Magna Charta to the Declaration of Right, it has been the uniform policy of our constitution to claim and assert our liberties as an entailed inheritance derived to us from our forefathers, and to be transmitted to our posterity; as an estate specially belonging to the people of this kingdom, without any reference whatever to any other more general or prior right. By this means our constitution preserves a

unity in so great a diversity of its parts. We have an inheritable crown; an inheritable peerage; and a House of Commons and a people inheriting privileges, franchises, and liberties, from a long line of ancestors.

This policy appears to me to be the result of profound reflection; or rather the happy effect of following nature, which is wisdom without reflection, and above it. A spirit of innovation is generally the result of a selfish temper, and confined views. People will not look forward to posterity, who never look backward to their ancestors. Besides, the people of England well know, that the idea of inheritance furnishes a sure principle of conservation, and a sure principle of transmission; without at all excluding a principle of improvement. It leaves acquisition free; but it secures what it acquires. Whatever advantages are obtained by a state proceeding on these maxims, are locked fast as in a sort of family settlement; grasped as in a kind of mortmain for ever. By a constitutional policy, working after the pattern of nature, we receive, we hold, we transmit our government and our privileges, in the same manner in which we enjoy and transmit our property alad our lives. The institutions of policy, the goods of fortune, the gifts of providence, are handed down to us, and from us, in the same course and order. Our political system is placed in a just correspondence and symmetry with the order of the world, and with the mode of existence decreed to a permanent body composed of transitory parts; wherein, by the disposition of a stupendous wisdom, moulding together the great mysterious incorporation of the human race, the whole, at one time, is never old, or middle-aged, or young, but, in a condition of unchangeable constancy, moves on through the varied tenor of perpetual decay, fall, renovation, and progression. Thus, by preserving the method of nature in the conduct of the state, in what we improve, we are never wholly new; in what we retain, we are never wholly obsolete. By adhering in this manner and on those principles to our forefathers, we are guided not by the superstition of antiquarians, but by the spirit of philosophic analogy. In this choice of inheritance we have given to our frame of polity the image of a relation in blood; binding up the constitution of our country with our dearest domestic ties; adopting our fundamental laws into the bosom of our family affections; keeping inseparable, and cherishing with the warmth of all their combined and mutually reflected charities, our state, our hearts, our sepulchres, and our altars.

Through the same plan of a conformity to nature in our artificial institutions, and by calling in the aid of her unerring and powerful instincts to fortify the fallible and feeble contrivances of our reason, we have derived several others, and those no small benefits, from considering our liberties in the light of an inheritance. Always acting as if in the presence of canonized forefathers, the spirit of freedom, leading in itself to misrule and excess, is tempered with an awful gravity. This idea of a liberal descent inspires us with a sense of habitual native dignity, which prevents that upstart insolence almost inevitably adhering to and disgracing those who are the first acquirers of any distinction. By this means our liberty becomes a noble freedom. It carries an imposing and majestic aspect. It has a pedigree and illustrating ancestors. It has its bearings and its ensigns armorial. It has its gallery of portraits; its monumental inscriptions; its records, evidences, and titles. We procure reverence to our civil institutions on the principle upon which nature teaches us to revere individual men; on account of their age, and on account of those from whom they are descended. All your sophisters cannot produce anything better adapted to preserve a rational and manly freedom than the course that we have pursued, who have chosen our nature, rather than our speculations, our breasts rather than our inventions, for the great conservatories and magazines of our rights and privileges.

You [in France-Ed.] might, if you pleased, have profited of our example, and have given to your recovered freedom a correspondent dignity. Your privileges, though discontinued, were not lost to memory. Your constitution, it is true, whilst you were out of possession, suffered waste and dilapidation; but you possessed in some parts the walls, and, in all, the foundations, of a noble and venerable castle. You might have repaired those walls; you might have built on those old foundations. Your constitution was suspended before it was perfected; but you had the elements of a constitution very nearly as good as could be wished. In your old states you possessed that variety of parts corresponding with the various descriptions of which your community was happily composed; you had all that combination, and all that opposition of interests, you had that action and counteraction, which, in the natural and in the political world, from the reciprocal struggle of discordant powers, draws out the harmony of the universe. These opposed and conflicting interests, which you considered as so great a blemish in your old and in our present constitution, interpose a salutary check to all precipitate resolutions. They render deliberation a matter not of choice, but of necessity; they make all change a subject of compromise, which naturally begets moderation; they produce temperaments preventing the sore evil of harsh, crude, unqualified reformations; and rendering all the headlong exertions of arbitrary power, in the few or in the many, for ever impracticable. Through that diversity of members and interests, general liberty had as many securities as there were separate views in the several orders; whilst by pressing down the whole by the weight of a real monarchy, the separate parts would have been prevented from warping, and starting from their allotted places.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Reill, Peter Hanns, and Ellen Judy Wilson. "Reflections on the Revolution in France." In *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*. Rev. ed. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2004. *Modern World History Online*. Facts On File, Inc. [www.fofweb.com](http://www.fofweb.com).

Primary Source Citation: Burke, Edmund. *Works*. London: 1867.

## U.S. Bill of Rights

Date: 1791

*The first 10 amendments to the U.S. Constitution, which enumerate the fundamental rights of citizens, were introduced in the First Congress, to overcome fears that the new federal system would not protect individual liberties. They went into effect in 1791. The First Amendment deals with freedom of religion, speech, assembly, and the press. The Second and Third Amendments protect the civilian population against military excesses by granting citizens the right to keep and bear arms and by prohibiting the quartering of troops in private homes in peacetime. The Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth Amendments safeguard rights in criminal cases, and the Seventh Amendment preserves the right to jury trial in civil cases. The Ninth Amendment says that no rights are abridged merely because they are not enumerated in the Constitution, and the Tenth Amendment reserves to the states or the people all powers not delegated to the federal government by the Constitution. Initially the Bill of Rights was binding only on the U.S. government, but the Fourteenth Amendment applied these guarantees to state governments as well.*

### AMENDMENT 1

#### FREEDOM OF RELIGION, SPEECH, PRESS, ASSEMBLY, AND PETITION

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

### AMENDMENT 2

#### RIGHT TO KEEP ARMS

A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

### AMENDMENT 3

#### RIGHTS FROM TROOPS

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

### AMENDMENT 4

#### SEARCH AND SEIZURE; WARRANTS

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

### AMENDMENT 5

#### RIGHTS OF ACCUSED PERSONS

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

### AMENDMENT 6

#### AMENDMENT TO SPEEDY TRIAL

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

### AMENDMENT 7

#### JURY TRIAL IN CIVIL CASES

In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed \$20, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

## AMENDMENT 8

## BAILS, FINES, PUNISHMENTS

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

## AMENDMENT 9

## POWERS RESERVED TO THE PEOPLE

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

## AMENDMENT 10

## POWERS RESERVED TO THE STATES

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

## CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: "Bill of Rights." Facts On File, Inc. *American History Online*. www.fofweb.com.

Primary Source Citation: U.S. Congress. "Bill of Rights." In Todd, Lewis Paul, and Merle Curti, ed. *Triumph of the American Nation*. Orlando: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986.

## Mary Wollstonecraft: *A Vindication on the Rights of Woman*

Date: 1792

*A Vindication on the Rights of Woman is a seminal feminist text written by British author Mary Wollstonecraft. Although published in Britain, her book had a profound effect on feminist theory in the United States. Her treatise argues for the education and equal rights of women within the context of ideas shaped by the British Enlightenment and French Revolution. In this excerpt she announces, "Let woman share the rights, and she will emulate the virtues of man; for she must grow more perfect when emancipated, or justify the authority that chains such a weak being to her duty." These words written in 1792 still resonate today in what has become a classic work of feminist literature.*

The following is an excerpt from the original document. Original spellings have been retained in this document.

To render women truly useful members of society, I argue that they should be led, by having their understandings cultivated on a large scale, to acquire a rational affection for their country, founded on knowledge, because it is obvious that we are little interested about what we do not understand. And to render this general knowledge of due importance, I have endeavoured to show that private duties are never properly fulfilled unless the understanding enlarges the heart; and that public virtue is only an aggregate of private. But, the distinctions established in society undermine both, by beating out the solid gold of virtue, till it becomes only the tinsel-covering of vice; for whilst wealth renders a man more respectable than virtue, wealth will be sought before virtue; and, whilst women's persons are caressed, when a childish simper shows an absence of mind—the mind will lie fallow. Yet, true voluptuousness must proceed from the mind—for what can equal the sensations produced by mutual affection, supported by mutual respect?

What are the cold, or feverish caresses of appetite, but sin embracing death, compared with the modest overflowings of a pure heart and exalted imagination? Yes, let me tell the libertine of fancy when he despises understanding in woman—that the mind, which he disregards, gives life to the enthusiastic affection from which rapture, short-lived as it is, alone can flow! And, that, without virtue, a sexual attachment must expire like a tallow candle in the socket, creating intolerable disgust. To prove this, I need only observe, that men who have wasted great part of their lives with women, and with whom they have sought for pleasure with eager thirst, entertain the meanest opinion of the sex. Virtue, true refiner of joy!—if foolish men were to fright thee from earth, in order to give loose to all their appetites without a check—some sensual wight of taste would scale the heavens to invite thee back, to give a zest to pleasure!

That women at present are by ignorance rendered vicious, is, I think, not to be disputed; and, that salutary effects tending to improve mankind might be expected from a REVOLUTION in female manners, appears, at least, with a face of probability, to rise out of the observation. For as marriage has been termed the parent of those endearing charities which draw man from the brutal herd, the corrupting intercourse

that wealth, idleness, and folly, produce between the sexes, is more universally injurious to morality than all the other vices of mankind collectively considered. To adulterous lust the most sacred duties are sacrificed, because before marriage, men, by a promiscuous intimacy with women, learned to consider love as a selfish gratification—learned to separate it not only from esteem, but from the affection merely built on habit which mixes a little humanity with it. Justice and friendship are also set at defiance, and that purity of taste is vitiated which would naturally lead a man to relish an artless display of affection rather than affected airs. But that noble simplicity of affection, which dares to appear unadorned, has few attractions for the libertine, though it be the charm, which by cementing the matrimonial tie, secures to the pledges of a warmer passion the necessary parental attention; for children will never be properly educated till friendship subsists between parents. Virtue flies from a house divided against itself—and a whole legion of devils take up their residence there.

The affection of husbands and wives cannot be pure when they have so few sentiments in common, and when so little confidence is established at home, as must be the case when their pursuits are so different. That intimacy from which tenderness should flow, will not, cannot subsist between the vicious.

Contending, therefore, that the sexual distinction which men have so warmly insisted upon, is arbitrary, I have dwelt on an observation, that several sensible men, with whom I have conversed on the subject, allowed to be well founded; and it is simply this, that the little chastity to be found amongst men, and consequent disregard of modesty, tend to degrade both sexes; and further, that the modesty of women, characterised as such, will often be only the artful veil of wantonness instead of being the natural reflection of purity, till modesty be universally respected.

From the tyranny of man, I firmly believe, the greater number of female follies proceed; and the cunning, which I allow makes at present a part of their character, I likewise have repeatedly endeavoured to prove, is produced by oppression.

Were not dissenters, for instance, a class of people, with strict truth, characterised as cunning? And may I not lay some stress on this fact to prove, that when any power but reason curbs the free spirit of man, dissimulation is practised, and the various shifts of art are naturally called forth? Great attention to decorum, which was carried to a degree of scrupulosity, and all that puerile bustle about trifles and consequential solemnity, which Butler's caricature of a dissenter brings before the imagination, shaped their persons as well as their minds in the mould of prim littleness. I speak collectively, for I know how many ornaments in human nature have been enrolled amongst sectaries; yet, I assert, that the same narrow prejudice for their sect, which women have for their families, prevailed in the dissenting part of the community, however worthy in other respects; and also that the same timid prudence, or headstrong efforts, often disgraced the exertions of both. Oppression thus formed many of the features of their character perfectly to coincidence with that of the oppressed half of mankind; for is it not notorious that dissenters were, like women, fond of deliberating together, and asking advice of each other, till by a complication of little contrivances, some little end was brought about? A similar attention to preserve their reputation was conspicuous in the dissenting and female world, and was produced by a similar cause.

Asserting the rights which women in common with men ought to contend for, I have not attempted to extenuate their faults; but to prove them to be the natural consequence of their education and station in society. If so, it is reasonable to suppose that they will change their character, and correct their vices and follies, when they are allowed to be free in a physical, moral, and civil sense.

Let woman share the rights, and she will emulate the virtues of man; for she must grow more perfect when emancipated, or justify the authority that chains such a weak being to her duty. If the latter, it will be expedient to open a fresh trade with Russia for whips: a present which a father should always make to his son-in-law on his wedding day, that a husband may keep his whole family in order by the same means; and without any violation of justice reign, wielding this sceptre, sole master of his house, because he is the only thing in it who has reason—the divine, indefeasible earthly sovereignty breathed into man by the Master of the universe. Allowing this position, women have not any inherent rights to claim; and, by the same rule, their duties vanish, for rights and duties are inseparable.

Be just then, O ye men of understanding: and mark not more severely what women do amiss than the vicious tricks of the horse or the ass for whom ye provide provender—and allow her the privileges of ignorance, to whom ye deny the rights of reason, or ye will be worse than Egyptian task-masters expecting virtue where Nature has not given understanding.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

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Primary Source Citation: Wollstonecraft, Mary. "A *Vindication on the Rights of Woman* (excerpt)." Philadelphia: W. Gibbons, 1792.

## Sir William Eton: *A Survey of the Turkish Empire*

Date: 1799

*Published as a book, A Survey of the Turkish Empire, the writings of Sir William Eton draw a picture of the decline of the great Ottoman Empire. His observations create a historical view of this time period. It also details the lessening of power of the empire. Sir William Eton's writings are viewed as a historical account of the Turkish Empire but may also be seen as a military intelligence report. This section provides a none-too-complimentary view of the ability of the Turkish army.*

The following is an excerpt from the original document.

It is undeniable that the power of the Turks was once formidable to their neighbors not by their numbers only, but by their military and civil institutions, far surpassing those of their opponents. And they all trembled at the name of the Turks, who with a confidence procured by their constant successes, held the Christians in no less in contempt as warriors than they did on account of their religion. Proud and vainglorious, conquest was to them a passion, a gratification, and even a means of salvation, a sure way of immediately attaining a delicious paradise. Hence their zeal for the extension of their empire; hence their profound respect for the military profession, and their glory even in being obedient and submissive to discipline.

Besides that the Turks refuse all reform, they are seditious and mutinous; their armies are encumbered with immense baggage, and their camp has all the conveniences of a town, with shops etc. for such was their ancient custom when they wandered with their hordes. When their sudden fury is abated, which is at the least obstinate resistance, they are seized with a panic, and have no rallying as formerly. The cavalry is as much afraid of their own infantry as of the enemy; for in a defeat they fire at them to get their horses to escape more quickly. In short, it is a mob assembled rather than an army levied. None of those numerous details of a well-organized body, necessary to give quickness, strength, and regularity to its actions, to avoid confusion, to repair damages, to apply to every part to some use; no systematic attack, defense, or retreat; no accident foreseen, nor provided for . . .

The artillery they have, and which is chiefly brass, comprehends many fine pieces of cannon; but notwithstanding the reiterated instruction of so many French engineers, they are ignorant of its management. Their musket-barrels are much esteemed but they are too heavy; nor do they possess any quality superior to common iron barrels which have been much hammered, and are very soft Swedish iron. The art of tempering their sabers is now lost, and all the blades of great value are ancient. The naval force of the Turks is by no means considerable. Their grand fleet consisted of not more than seventeen or eighteen sail of the line in the last war [Russo-Turkish war of 1787-92], and those not in very good condition; at present their number is lessened.

The present reigning Sultan, Selim III, has made an attempt to introduce the European discipline into the Turkish army, and to abolish the body of the Janissaries. [He has] caused a corps to be recruited, set apart a branch of the revenue for their maintenance, and finally declared his intention of abolishing the institution of Janissaries. This step, as might be expected, produced a mutiny, which was only appeased by the sultan's consenting to continue their pay during their lifetimes; but he at the same time ordered that no recruits should be received into their corps. The new soldiers in the corps are taught their exercise with the musket and bayonet, and a few maneuvers. When they are held to be sufficiently disciplined, they are sent to garrison the fortresses on the frontiers. Their officers are all Turks and are chosen out of those who perform their exercise the best.

### CITATION INFORMATION:

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## Johann Gottlieb Fichte: *Addresses to the German Nation*

Also known as: *Reden an die deutsche Nation*

Date: 1807

*Matters of the expression of thought and the significant study of languages became a major area of study and of great intellectual debate during the Enlightenment. As a quintessential characteristic of human society, language was a target of attention for Enlightenment thinkers. Philosophers such as John Locke, who helped characterize words and ideas as relevant objects of study in his Essay Concerning Human Understanding (1689), discussed the nature of language and the ways in which it might be improved via rational principles.*

*This linguistic research, study, and debate would develop for over a century. The trends toward categorizing languages and seeing them as formative of identity reached its fullest form at the beginning of the 19th century with Johann Gottlieb Fichte. As the Napoleonic Wars got fully under way, language theory combined with national pique to serve as the foundation for a particularistic view of languages. By 1807, French troops had occupied Berlin, and Fichte, who lived and worked there, used the opportunity to draw sharp distinctions between Germans and the French invaders. In his *Reden an die deutsche Nation* (Addresses to the German Nation, 1807), Fichte expressly connected linguistic tradition with virtue. Language and culture made the Germans noble and profound and the French ignoble and superficial. The tendency to identify national virtues through exclusive linguistic traditions did not stop with Fichte, however, but became fundamental to public attitudes across Europe in the 19th century.*

*In this selection Johann Gottlieb Fichte exhorts people of German ancestry to love their fatherland. This passage serves as an example of romantic nationalism.*

The following is an excerpt from the original document.  
Original spellings have been retained in this document.

Love that is truly love, and not a mere transitory lust, never clings to what is transient; only in the eternal does it awaken and become kindled, and there alone does it rest. Man is not able to love even himself unless he conceives himself as eternal; apart from that he cannot even respect, much less approve, of himself. Still less can he love anything outside himself without taking it up into the eternity of his faith and of his soul and binding it thereto. He who does not first regard himself as eternal has in him no love of any kind, and, moreover, cannot love a fatherland, a thing which for him does not exist. He who regards his invisible life as eternal, but not his visible life as similarly eternal, may perhaps have a heaven and therein a fatherland, but here below he has no fatherland, for this, too, is regarded only in the image of eternity—eternity visible and made sensuous, and for this reason also he is unable to love his fatherland. If none has been handed down to such a man, he is to be pitied. But he to whom a fatherland has been handed down, and in whose soul heaven and earth, visible and invisible meet and mingle, and thus, and only thus, create a true and enduring heaven—such a man fights to the last drop of his blood to hand on the precious possession unimpaired to his posterity.

Hence, the noble-minded man will be active and effective, and will sacrifice himself for his people. Life merely as such, the mere continuance of changing existence, has in any case never had any value for him, he has wished for it only as the source of what is permanent. But this permanence is promised to him only by the continuous and independent existence of his nation. In order to save his nation he must be ready even to die that it may live, and that he may live in it the only life for which he has ever wished.

So it has always been, although it has not always been expressed in such general terms and so clearly as we express it here. What inspired the men of noble mind among the Romans, whose frame of mind and way of thinking still live and breathe among us in their works of art, to struggles and sacrifices, to patience and endurance for the fatherland? They themselves express it often and distinctly. It was their firm belief in the eternal continuance of their Roma, and their confident expectation that they themselves would eternally continue to live in this eternity in the stream of time. In so far as this belief was well-founded, and they themselves would have comprehended it if they had been entirely clear in their own minds, it did not deceive them. To this very day there still lives in our midst what was truly eternal in their eternal Roma. . . .

In this belief in our earliest common forefathers, the original stock of the new culture, the Germans, as the Romans called them, bravely resisted the oncoming world dominion of the Romans. Did they not have before their eyes the greater brilliance of the Roman provinces next to them and the more refined enjoyments in those provinces, to say nothing of laws and judges, seats and lictors, axes and fasces in superfluity? Were not the Romans willing enough to let them share in all these blessings? In the case of several of their own princes, who did no more than intimate that war against such benefactors of mankind was rebellion, did they not experience proofs of the belauded Roman clemency? To those who submitted the Romans gave marks of distinction in the form of kingly titles, high commands in their armies, and Roman fillets; and if they were driven out by their countrymen, did not the Romans provide for them a place of refuge and a means of subsistence in their colonies? Had they no appreciation of the advantages of Roman civilization, of the superior organization of their armies, in which even Arminius did not disdain to learn the trade of war? Their descendants, as soon as they could do so without losing their freedom, even assimilated Roman culture, so far as this was possible without losing their individuality.

Freedom to them meant just this: remaining Germans and continuing to settle their own affairs, independently and in accordance with the original spirit of their race, going on with their development in accordance with the same spirit, and propagating this independence in their posterity. All those blessings which the Romans offered them meant slavery to them because then they would have to become something that was not German, they would have to become half-Roman. They assumed as a matter of course that every man would rather die than become half a Roman, and that a true German could only want to live in order to be, and to remain, just a German and to bring up his children as Germans.

They did not all die; they did not see slavery; they bequeathed freedom to their children. It is their unyielding resistance which the whole modern world has to thank for being what it now is. Had the Romans suc-

ceeded in bringing them also under the yoke and in destroying them as a nation, which the Romans did in every case, the whole development of the human race would have taken a different course, a course that one cannot think would have been more satisfactory. It is they whom we must thank—we, the immediate heirs of their soil, their language, and their way of thinking—for being Germans still, for being still borne along on the stream of original and independent life. It is they whom we must thank for everything that we have been as a nation since those days, and to them we shall be indebted for everything that we shall be in the future, unless things come to an end with us now and the last drop of blood inherited from them has dried up in our veins. To them the other branches of the race, whom we now look upon as foreigners, but who by descent from them are our brothers, are indebted for their very existence. When our ancestors triumphed over Roma the eternal, not one of all these peoples was in existence, but the possibility of their existence in the future was won for them in the same fight . . .

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

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Primary Source Citation: Fichte, Johann Gottlieb. *Addresses to the German Nation*. Translated by R. F. Jones and G. H. Turnbull. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922, pp. 136–138, 143–145.

## Simón de Bolívar: Message to the Congress of Angostura

Date: 1819

*The address was given by Simón de Bolívar at a congress called by him in Angostura (now Ciudad Bolívar, Venezuela) in 1819 for the purpose of providing a temporary basis of political organization for the newly created state of Gran Colombia (comprising Venezuela, New Granada, and Quito—now Ecuador). Believing that only democracy was capable of providing absolute liberty, in his famous address Bolívar proposed a type of constitution and political organization that he maintained would ensure liberty: a strong centralized representative republic with full administrative authority, one that guaranteed “the sovereignty of the people, the division of powers, civil liberty, the prohibition of slavery, [and] the abolition of monarchy and special privileges.” In its combination of realism and vision, Bolívar’s address is considered one of his two most outstanding social and political documents.*

The following is an excerpt from the original document.

We are not Europeans; we are not Indians; we are but a mixed species of aborigines and Spaniards. Americans by birth and Europeans by law, we find ourselves engaged in a dual conflict: we are disputing with the natives for titles of ownership, and at the same time we are struggling to maintain ourselves in the country that gave us birth against the opposition of the invaders. Thus our position is most extraordinary and complicated. But there is more. As our role has always been strictly passive and political existence nil, we find that our quest for liberty is now even more difficult of accomplishment; for we, having been placed in a state lower than slavery, had been robbed not only of our freedom but also of the right to exercise an active domestic tyranny. . . We have been ruled more by deceit than by force, and we have been degraded more by vice than by superstition. Slavery is the daughter of darkness: an ignorant people is a blind instrument of its own destruction. Ambition and intrigue abuses the credulity and experience of men lacking all political, economic, and civic knowledge; they adopt pure illusion as reality; they take license for liberty, treachery for patriotism, and vengeance for justice. If a people, perverted by their training, succeed in achieving their liberty, they will soon lose it, for it would be of no avail to endeavor to explain to them that happiness consists in the practice of virtue; that the rule of law is more powerful than the rule of tyrants, because, as the laws are more inflexible, every one should submit to their beneficent austerity; that proper morals, and not force, are the bases of law; and that to practice justice is to practice liberty.

Although those people [North Americans], so lacking in many respects, are unique in the history of mankind, it is a marvel, I repeat, that so weak and complicated a government as the federal system has managed to govern them in the difficult and trying circumstances of their past. But, regardless of the effectiveness of this form of government with respect to North America, I must say that it has never for a moment entered my mind to compare the position and character of two states as dissimilar as the English-American and the Spanish-American. Would it not be most difficult to apply to Spain the English system of political, civil, and religious liberty: Hence, it would be even more difficult to adapt to Venezuela the laws of North America.

Nothing in our fundamental laws would have to be altered were we to adopt a legislative power similar to that held by the British Parliament. Like the North Americans, we have divided national representation into two chambers: that of Representatives and the Senate. The first is very wisely constituted. It enjoys all its proper functions, and it requires no essential revision, because the Constitution, in creating it, gave it the form and powers which the people deemed necessary in order that they might be legally and properly represented. If the Senate were hereditary rather than elective, it would, in my opinion, be the basis, the tie, the very soul of our republic. In political storms this body would arrest the thunderbolts of the government and would repel any violent popular reaction. Devoted to the government because of a natural interest in its own preservation, a hereditary senate would always oppose any attempt on the part of the people to infringe upon the jurisdiction and authority of their magistrates. . . . The creation of a hereditary senate would in no way be a violation of political equality. I do not solicit the establishment of a nobility, for as a celebrated republican has said, that would simultaneously destroy equality and liberty. What I propose is an office for which the candidates must prepare themselves, an office that demands great knowledge and the ability to acquire such knowledge. All should not be left to chance and the outcome of elections. The people are more easily deceived than is Nature perfected by art; and although these senators, it is true, would not be bred in an environment that is all virtue, it is equally true that they would be raised in an atmosphere of enlightened education. The hereditary senate will also serve as a counterweight to both government and people; and as a neutral power it will weaken the mutual attacks of these two eternally rival powers.

The British executive power possesses all the authority properly appertaining to a sovereign, but he is surrounded by a triple line of dams, barriers, and stockades. He is the head of government, but his ministers and subordinates rely more upon law than upon his authority, as they are personally responsible; and not even decrees of royal authority can exempt them from this responsibility. The executive is commander in chief of the army and navy; he makes peace and declares war; but Parliament annually determines what sums are to be paid to these military forces. While the courts and judges are dependent on the executive power, the laws originate in and are made by Parliament. Give Venezuela such an executive power in the person of a president chosen by the people or their representatives, and you will have taken a great step toward national happiness. No matter what citizen occupies this office, he will be aided by the Constitution, and therein being authorized to do good, he can do no harm, because his ministers will cooperate with him only insofar as he abides by the law. If he attempts to infringe upon the law, his own ministers will desert him, thereby isolating him from the Republic, and they will even bring charges against him in the Senate. The ministers, being responsible for any transgressions committed, will actually govern, since they must account for their actions.

A republican magistrate is an individual set apart from society, charged with checking the impulse of the people toward license and the propensity of judges and administrators toward abuse of the laws. He is directly subject to the legislative body, the senate, and the people: he is the one man who resists the combined pressure of the opinions, interests, and passions of the social state and who, as Carnot states, does little more than struggle constantly with the urge to dominate and the desire to escape domination. This weakness can only be corrected by a strongly rooted force. It should be strongly proportioned to meet the resistance which the executive must expect from the legislature, from the judiciary, and from the people of a republic. Unless the executive has easy access to all the administrative resources, fixed by a just distribution of powers, he inevitably becomes a nonentity or abuses his authority. By this I mean that the result will be the death of the government, whose heirs are anarchy, usurpation, and tyranny. . . . Therefore, let the entire system of government be strengthened, and let the balance of power be drawn up in such a manner that it will be permanent and incapable of decay because of its own tenuity. Precisely because no form of government is so weak as the democratic, its framework must be firmer, and its institutions must be studied to determine their degree of stability...unless this is done, we will have to reckon with an ungovernable, tumultuous, and anarchic society, not with a social order where happiness, peace, and justice prevail.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Kohn, George Childs. "Bolívar's address at Angostura." *Dictionary of Historic Documents*, Rev. ed. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2003. *Modern World History Online*. Facts On File, Inc. www.fofweb.com.

Primary Source Citation: Bolívar, Simón. *An Address of Bolivar at the Congress of Angostura* (February 15, 1819). Reprint edition. Washington, D.C.: Press of B. S. Adams, 1919, passim.

## Treaty of Nanking

Also known as: Treaty of Nanjing

Date: 1842

*The Treaty of Nanking ended the Opium War of 1839–42 between Great Britain and China. The treaty was completed August 29, 1842, in Nanjing (Nanking), China.*

*By the terms of the treaty the Chinese would agree to pay an indemnity of \$20 million to Great Britain. China would cede Hong Kong to Great Britain in perpetuity. China would open the ports of Guangzhou, Xiamen, Fuzhou (Foochow), Ningbo, and Shanghai to unrestricted British trade and residence. The Chinese agreed to extraterritoriality, by which British residents in China were not subject to Chinese legal jurisdiction and were exclusively subject to the jurisdiction of their own countries' courts.*

Peace Treaty between the Queen of Great Britain and the Emperor of China

HER MAJESTY the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the Emperor of China, being desirous of putting an end to the misunderstandings and consequent hostilities which have arisen between the two countries, have resolved to conclude a Treaty for that purpose, and have therefore named as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart., a Major-General in the service of the East India Company;

And His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China, the High Commissioners Keying, a member of the Imperial House, a Guardian of the Crown Prince, and General of the garrison of Canton; and Elepoo, of the Imperial Kindred, graciously permitted to wear the insignia of the first rank, and the distinction of a peacock's feather, lately Minister and Governor-General, &c., and now Lieutenant General commanding at Chapoo;

Who, after having communicated to each other their respective Full Powers, and found them to be in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles:

I There shall henceforward be peace and friendship between Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and His Majesty the Emperor of China, and between their respective subjects, who shall enjoy full security and protection for their persons and property within the dominions of the other.

II His Majesty the Emperor of China agrees, that British subjects, with their families and establishments, shall be allowed to reside, for the purposes of carrying on their mercantile pursuits, without molestation or restraint, at the cities and towns of Canton, Amoy, Foochowfoo, Ningpo, and Shanghai; and Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, &c., will appoint Superintendents, or Consular officers, to reside at each of the above-named cities or towns, to be the medium of communication between the Chinese authorities and the said merchants, and to see that the just duties and other dues of the Chinese Government, as hereafter provided for, are duly discharged by Her Britannic Majesty's subjects.

III It being obviously necessary and desirable that British subjects should have some port whereat they may careen and refit their ships when required, and keep stores for that purpose, His Majesty the Emperor of China cedes to Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, &c., the Island of Hong-Kong, to be possessed in perpetuity by Her Britannic Majesty, her heirs and successors, and to be governed by such laws and regulations as Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, &c., shall see fit to direct.

IV The Emperor of China agrees to pay the sum of 6,000,000 of dollars, as the value of the opium which was delivered up at Canton in the month of March, 1839, as a ransom for the lives of Her Britannic Majesty's Superintendent and subjects, who had been imprisoned and threatened with death by the Chinese High Officers.

V The Government of China having compelled the British merchants trading at Canton to deal exclusively with certain Chinese merchants, called Hong merchants (or Co-Hong), who had been licensed by the Chinese Government for that purpose, the Emperor of China agrees to abolish that practice in future at all ports where British merchants may reside, and to permit them to carry on their mercantile transactions with whatever persons they please; and His Imperial Majesty further agrees to pay to the British Government the sum of 3,000,000 of dollars, on account of debts due to British subjects by some of the said Hong merchants (or Co-Hong), who have become insolvent, and who owe very large sums of money to subjects of Her Britannic Majesty.

VI The Government of Her Britannic Majesty having been obliged to send out an expedition to demand and obtain redress for the violent and unjust proceedings of the Chinese High Authorities towards Her Britannic Majesty's officer and subjects, the Emperor of China agrees to pay the sum of 12,000,000 of dollars, on account of the expences incurred; and Her Britannic Majesty's Plenipotentiary voluntarily agrees, on behalf of Her Majesty, to deduct from the said amount of 12,000,000 of dollars, any sums which may have been received by Her Majesty's combined forces, as ransom for cities and towns in China, subsequent to the 1st day of August, 1841.

VII It is agreed, that the total amount of 21,000,000 of dollars, described in the 3 preceding Articles, shall be paid as follows:

6,000,000 immediately.

6,000,000 in 1843; that is, 3,000,000 on or before the 30th of the month of June, and 3,000,000 on or before the 31st of December.

5,000,000 in 1844; that is, 2,500,000 on or before the 30th of June, and 2,500,000 on or before the 31st of December.

4,000,000 in 1845; that is, 2,000,000 on or before the 30th of June, and 2,000,000 on or before the 31st of December.

And it is further stipulated, that interest, at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum, shall be paid by the Government of China on any portion of the above sums that are not punctually discharged at the periods fixed.

VIII The Emperor of China agrees to release, unconditionally, all subjects of Her Britannic Majesty (whether natives of Europe or India), who may be in confinement at this moment in any part of the Chinese empire.

IX The Emperor of China agrees to publish and promulgate, under his Imperial sign manual and seal, a full and entire amnesty and act of indemnity to all subjects of China, on account of their having resided under, or having had dealings and intercourse with, or having entered the service of Her Britannic Majesty, or of Her Majesty's officers; and His Imperial Majesty further engages to release all Chinese subjects who may be at this moment in confinement for similar reasons.

X His Majesty the Emperor of China agrees to establish at all the ports which are, by the II<sup>nd</sup> Article of this Treaty, to be thrown open for the resort of British merchants, a fair and regular tariff of export and import customs and other dues, which tariff shall be publicly notified and promulgated for general information; and the Emperor further engages, that when British merchandize shall have once paid at any of the said ports the regulated customs and dues, agreeable to the tariff to be hereafter fixed, such merchandize may be conveyed by Chinese merchants to any province or city in the interior of the Empire of China, on paying a further amount as transit duties, which shall not exceed \* per cent. on the tariff value of such goods.

XI It is agreed that Her Britannic Majesty's Chief High Officer in China shall correspond with the Chinese High Officers, both at the capital and in the provinces, under the term "communication"; the subordinate British Officers and Chinese High Officers in the provinces, under the terms "statement" on the part of the former, and on the part of the latter, "declaration"; and the subordinates of both countries on a footing of perfect equality: merchants and others not holding official situations, and therefore not included in the above, on both sides, to use the term "representation" in all papers addressed to, or intended for the notice of, the respective Governments.

XII On the assent of the Emperor of China to this Treaty being received, and the discharge of the first instalment of money, Her Britannic Majesty's forces will retire from Nanking and the Grand Canal, and will no longer molest or stop the trade of China. The military post at Chinhai will also be withdrawn; but the Islands of Koolangsoo, and that of Chusan, will continue to be held by Her Majesty's forces until the money payments, and the arrangements for opening the ports to British merchants, be completed.

XIII The ratification of this Treaty by Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, &c., and His Majesty the Emperor of China, shall be exchanged as soon as the great distance which separates England from China will admit; but in the meantime, counterpart copies of it, signed and sealed by the Plenipotentiaries on behalf of their respective Sovereigns, shall be mutually delivered, and all its provisions and arrangements shall take effect.

Done at Nanking, and signed and sealed by the Plenipotentiaries on board Her Britannic Majesty's ship Cornwallis, this 29th day of August, 1842; corresponding with the Chinese date, 24th day of the 7th month, in the 22nd year of Taoukwang.

[L.S.] HENRY POTTINGER.

[SIGNATURES OF THE THREE CHINESE PLENIPOTENTIARIES]

#### DECLARATION RESPECTING TRANSIT DUTIES

Whereas by the Xth Article of the Treaty between Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the Emperor of China, concluded and signed on board Her Britannic Majesty's ship Cornwallis, at Nanking, on the 29th day of August, 1842, corresponding with the Chinese date 24th day of the 7th month, in the 22nd year of Taoukwang, it is stipulated and agreed, that His Majesty the Emperor of China shall establish at all the ports which; by the II<sup>nd</sup> Article of the said Treaty,

are to be thrown open for the resort of British merchants, a fair and regular tariff of export and import customs and other dues, which tariff shall be publicly notified and promulgated for general information; and further, that when British merchandize shall have once paid, at any of the said ports, the regulated customs and dues, agreeable to the tariff to be hereafter fixed, such merchandize may be conveyed by Chinese merchants to any province or city in the interior of the Empire of China, on paying a further amount of duty as transit duty;

And whereas the rate of transit duty to be so levied was not fixed by the said Treaty;

Now, therefore, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries of Her Britannic Majesty, and of His Majesty the Emperor of China, do hereby, on proceeding to the exchange of the Ratifications of the said Treaty, agree and declare, that the further amount of duty to be so levied on British merchandize, as transit duty, shall not exceed the present rates, which are upon a moderate scale; and the Ratifications of the said Treaty are exchanged subject to the express declaration and stipulation herein contained.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present declaration, and have affixed thereto their respective seals.

Done at Hong-Kong, the 26th day of June, 1843, corresponding with the Chinese date, Taoukwang 23rd year, 5th month, and 29th day.

[L.S.] HENRY POTTINGER.

[SEAL AND SIGNATURE OF THE CHINESE PLENIPOTENTIARY]

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

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Primary Source Citation: Great Britain and China. "Treaty of Nanking." In *Encyclopedia of Historical Treaties and Alliances: From Ancient Times to the 1930s*. Vol. 1. Edited by Alan, Axelrod, and Charles L. Phillips. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2006.

## Women Miners in the English Coal Pits

Date: 1842

*The following extracts from reports to the British parliament describe working conditions for women and children in the coal mines of England. The reports show that while industrial and mining conditions for the new class of laborers were terrible, reformers were beginning to investigate conditions and to consider means of regulating them.*

From *Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1842*, Vol. XVI, pp. 24, 196.

In England, exclusive of Wales, it is only in some of the colliery districts of Yorkshire and Lancashire that female Children of tender age and young and adult women are allowed to descend into the coal mines and regularly to perform the same kinds of underground work, and to work for the same number of hours, as boys and men; but in the East of Scotland their employment in the pits is general; and in South Wales it is not uncommon.

West Riding of Yorkshire: Southern Part—In many of the collieries in this district, as far as relates to the underground employment, there is no distinction of sex, but the labour is distributed indifferently among both sexes, except that it is comparatively rare for the women to hew or get the coals, although there are numerous instances in which they regularly perform even this work. In great numbers of the coalpits in this district the men work in a state of perfect nakedness, and are in this state assisted in their labour by females of all ages, from girls of six years old to women of twenty-one, these females being themselves quite naked down to the waist.

"Girls," says the Sub-Commissioner [J. C. Symons], -regularly perform all the various offices of trapping, hurrying [Yorkshire terms for drawing the loaded coal corves], filling, riddling, tipping, and occasionally getting, just as they are performed by boys. One of the most disgusting sights I have ever seen was that of young females, dressed like boys in trousers, crawling on all fours, with belts round their waists and chains passing between their legs, at day pits at Hunshelf Bank, and in many small pits near Holmfirth and New Mills: it exists also in several other places. I visited the Hunshelf Colliery on the 18th of January: it is a day pit; that is, there is no shaft or descent; the gate or entrance is at the side of a bank, and nearly horizontal. The gate was not more than a yard high, and in some places not above 2 feet.

"When I arrived at the board or workings of the pit I found at one of the sideboards down a narrow passage a girl of fourteen years of age in boy's clothes, picking down the coal with the regular pick used by the

men. She was half sitting half lying at her work, and said she found it tired her very much, and 'of course she didn't like it.' The place where she was at work was not 2 feet high. Further on were men lying on their sides and getting. No less than six girls out of eighteen men and children are employed in this pit.

"Whilst I was in the pit the Rev Mr Bruce, of Wadsley, and the Rev Mr Nelson, of Rotherham, who accompanied me, and remained outside, saw another girl of ten years of age, also dressed in boy's clothes, who was employed in hurrying, and these gentlemen saw her at work. She was a nice-looking little child, but of course as black as a tinker, and with a little necklace round her throat.

"In two other pits in the Huddersfield Union I have seen the same sight. In one near New Mills, the chain, passing high up between the legs of two of these girls, had worn large holes in their trousers; and any sight more disgustingly indecent or revolting can scarcely be imagined than these girls at work—no brothel can beat it.

"On descending Messrs Hopwood's pit at Barnsley, I found assembled round a fire a group of men, boys, and girls, some of whom were of the age of puberty; the girls as well as the boys stark naked down to the waist, their hair bound up with a tight cap, and trousers supported by their hips. (At Silkstone and at Flockton they work in their shifts and trousers.) Their sex was recognizable only by their breasts, and some little difficulty occasionally arose in pointing out to me which were girls and which were boys, and which caused a good deal of laughing and joking. In the Flockton and Thornhill pits the system is even more indecent: for though the girls are clothed, at least three-fourths of the men for whom they "hurry" work stark naked, or with a flannel waistcoat only, and in this state they assist one another to fill the corves 18 or 20 times a day: I have seen this done myself frequently.

"When it is remembered that these girls hurry chiefly for men who are not their parents; that they go from 15 to 20 times a day into a dark chamber (the bank face), which is often 50 yards apart from any one, to a man working naked, or next to naked, it is not to be supposed but that where opportunity thus prevails sexual vices are of common occurrence. Add to this the free intercourse, and the rendezvous at the shaft or bullstake, where the corves are brought, and consider the language to which the young ear is habituated, the absence of religious instruction, and the early age at which contamination begins, and you will have before you, in the coal-pits where females are employed, the picture of a nursery for juvenile vice which you will go far and we above ground to equal."

#### Two Women Miners

*From Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1842, Vol. XV, p. 84, and ibid., Vol. XVII, p. 108.*

Betty Harris, age 37: I was married at 23, and went into a colliery when I was married. I used to weave when about 12 years old; can neither read nor write. I work for Andrew Knowles, of Little Bolton (Lancs), and make sometimes 7s a week, sometimes not so much. I am a drawer, and work from 6 in the morning to 6 at night. Stop about an hour at noon to eat my dinner; have bread and butter for dinner; I get no drink. I have two children, but they are too young to work. I worked at drawing when I was in the family way. I know a woman who has gone home and washed herself, taken to her bed, delivered of a child, and gone to work again under the week.

I have a belt round my waist, and a chain passing between my legs, and I go on my hands and feet. The road is very steep, and we have to hold by a rope; and when there is no rope, by anything we can catch hold of. There are six women and about six boys and girls in the pit I work in; it is very hard work for a woman. The pit is very wet where I work, and the water comes over our clog-tops always, and I have seen it up to my thighs; it rains in at the roof terribly. My clothes are wet through almost all day long. I never was ill in my life, but when I was lying in.

My cousin looks after my children in the day time. I am very tired when I get home at night; I fall asleep sometimes before I get washed. I am not so strong as I was, and cannot stand my work so well as I used to. I have drawn till I have bathe skin off me; the belt and chain is worse when we are in the family way. My feller (husband) has beaten me many a times for not being ready. I were not used to it at first, and he had little patience.

I have known many a man beat his drawer. I have known men take liberties with the drawers, and some of the women have bastards.

Patience Kershaw, age 17, Halifax: I go to pit at 5 o'clock in the morning and come out at 5 in the evening; I get my breakfast, porridge and milk, first; I take my dinner with me, a cake, and eat it as I go; I do not stop or rest at any time for the purpose, I get nothing else until I get home, and then have potatoes and meat, not every day meat.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Primary Source Citation: *Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1842, Vol. 16, pp. 24, 196. Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1842, Vol. 15, p. 84, and ibid., Vol. 17, p. 108.*

## Friederich Engels: *Industrial Manchester*

Date: 1844

*Manchester, in southeast Lancashire, rapidly rose from obscurity to become the premier center of cotton manufacturing in England. This was largely due to geography. Its famously damp climate was better for the manufacture of cotton than the drier climate of the older eastern English cloth manufacture centers. It was close to the Atlantic port of Liverpool (and was eventually connected by one of the earliest rail tracks, as well as an ocean ship-capable canal—although 30 miles inland, it was long a major port). It was also close to power sources—first the water power of the Pennine mountain chain and, later, the coal mines of central Lancashire. As a result, Manchester became perhaps the first modern industrial city.*

*Friedrich Engels's father was a German manufacturer, and Engels worked as an agent in his father's Manchester factory. As a result, he combined both real experience of the city with a strong social conscience. This experience informs his The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844.*

The following segments are excerpts from the original document.

Manchester lies at the foot of the southern slope of a range of hills, which stretch hither from Oldham, their last peak, Kersall moor, being at once the racecourse and the Mons Sacer of Manchester. Manchester proper lies on the left bank of the Irwell, between that stream and the two smaller ones, the Irk and the Medlock, which here empty into the Irwell. On the left bank of the Irwell, bounded by a sharp curve of the river, lies Salford, and farther westward Pendleton; northward from the Irwell lie Upper and Lower Broughton; northward of the Irk, Cheetham Hill; south of the Medlock lies Hulme; farther east Chorlton on Medlock; still farther, pretty well to the east of Manchester, Ardwick. The whole assemblage of buildings is commonly called Manchester, and contains about four hundred thousand inhabitants, rather more than less. The town itself is peculiarly built, so that a person may live in it for years, and go in and out daily without coming into contact with a working-people's quarter or even with workers, that is, so long as he confines himself to his business or to pleasure walks. This arises chiefly from the fact, that by unconscious tacit agreement, as well as with outspoken conscious determination, the working-people's quarters are sharply separated from the sections of the city reserved for the middle-class . . .

I may mention just here that the mills almost all adjoin the rivers or the different canals that ramify throughout the city, before I proceed at once to describe the labouring quarters. First of all, there is the old town of Manchester, which lies between the northern boundary of the commercial district and the Irk. Here the streets, even the better ones, are narrow and winding, as Todd Street, Long Millgate, Withy Grove, and Shude Hill, the houses dirty, old, and tumble-down, and the construction of the side streets utterly horrible. Going from the Old Church to Long Millgate, the stroller has at once a row of old-fashioned houses at the right, of which not one has kept its original level; these are remnants of the old pre-manufacturing Manchester, whose former inhabitants have removed with their descendants into better built districts, and have left the houses, which were not good enough for them, to a population strongly mixed with Irish blood. Here one is in an almost undisguised working-men's quarter, for even the shops and beer houses hardly take the trouble to exhibit a trifling degree of cleanliness. But all this is nothing in comparison with the courts and lanes which lie behind, to which access can be gained only through covered passages, in which no two human beings can pass at the same time. Of the irregular cramming together of dwellings in ways which defy all rational plan, of the tangle in which they are crowded literally one upon the other, it is impossible to convey an idea. And it is not the buildings surviving from the old times of Manchester which are to blame for this; the confusion has only recently reached its height when every scrap of space left by the old way of building has been filled up and patched over until not a foot of land is left to be further occupied.

The south bank of the Irk is here very steep and between fifteen and thirty feet high. On this declivitous hillside there are planted three rows of houses, of which the lowest rise directly out of the river, while the front walls of the highest stand on the crest of the hill in Long Millgate. Among them are mills on the river, in short, the method of construction is as crowded and disorderly here as in the lower part of Long Millgate. Right and left a multitude of covered passages lead from the main street into numerous courts, and he who turns in thither gets into a filth and disgusting grime, the equal of which is not to be found—especially in the courts which lead down to the Irk, and which contain unqualifiedly the most horrible dwellings which I have yet beheld. In one of these courts there stands directly at the entrance, at the end of the covered passage, a privy without a door, so dirty that the inhabitants can pass into and out of the court only by passing through foul pools of stagnant urine and excrement. This is the first court on the Irk above Ducie Bridge—in case any one should care to look into it. Below it on the river there are several tanneries which fill the whole neighbourhood with the stench of animal putrefaction. Below Ducie Bridge the only entrance to most of the houses is by means of narrow, dirty stairs and over heaps of refuse and filth. The first court below Ducie Bridge, known as Allen's Court, was in such a state at the time of the cholera that the sanitary police ordered it evacuated,

swept, and disinfected with chloride of lime. Dr. Kay gives a terrible description of the state of this court at that time. Since then, it seems to have been partially torn away and rebuilt; at least looking down from Ducie Bridge, the passer-by sees several ruined walls and heaps of debris with some newer houses. The view from this bridge, mercifully concealed from mortals of small stature by a parapet as high as a man, is characteristic for the whole district. At the bottom flows, or rather stagnates, the Irk, a narrow, coal-black, foul-smelling stream, full of debris and refuse, which it deposits on the shallower right bank.

In dry weather, a long string of the most disgusting, blackish-green, slime pools are left standing on this bank, from the depths of which bubbles of miasmatic gas constantly arise and give forth a stench unendurable even on the bridge forty or fifty feet above the surface of the stream. But besides this, the stream itself is checked every few paces by high weirs, behind which slime and refuse accumulate and rot in thick masses. Above the bridge are tanneries, bone mills, and gasworks, from which all drains and refuse find their way into the Irk, which receives further the contents of all the neighbouring sewers and privies. It may be easily imagined, therefore, what sort of residue the stream deposits. Below the bridge you look upon the piles of debris, the refuse, filth, and offal from the courts on the steep left bank; here each house is packed close behind its neighbour and a piece of each is visible, all black, smoky, crumbling, ancient, with broken panes and window frames. The background is furnished by old barrack-like factory buildings. On the lower right bank stands a long row of houses and mills; the second house being a ruin without a roof, piled with debris; the third stands so low that the lowest floor is uninhabitable, and therefore without windows or doors. Here the background embraces the pauper burial-ground, the station of the Liverpool and Leeds railway, and, in the rear of this, the Workhouse, the "Poor-Law Bastille" of Manchester, which, like a citadel, looks threateningly down from behind its high walls and parapets on the hilltop, upon the working-people's quarter below.

Above Ducie Bridge, the left bank grows more flat and the right bank steeper, but the condition of the dwellings on both banks grows worse rather than better. He who turns to the left here from the main street, Long Millgate, is lost; he wanders from one court to another, turns countless corners, passes nothing but narrow, filthy nooks and alleys, until after a few minutes he has lost all clue, and knows not whither to turn. Everywhere half or wholly ruined buildings, some of them actually uninhabited, which means a great deal here; rarely a wooden or stone floor to be seen in the houses, almost uniformly broken, ill-fitting windows and doors, and a state of filth! Everywhere heaps of debris, refuse, and offal; standing pools for gutters, and a stench which alone would make it impossible for a human being in any degree civilised to live in such a district. The newly-built extension of the Leeds railway, which crosses the Irk here, has swept away some of these courts and lanes, laying others completely open to view. Immediately under the railway bridge there stands a court, the filth and horrors of which surpass all the others by far, just because it was hitherto so shut off, so secluded that the way to it could not be found without a good deal of trouble. I should never have discovered it myself, without the breaks made by the railway, though I thought I knew this whole region thoroughly. Passing along a rough bank, among stakes and washing-lines, one penetrates into this chaos of small one-storied, one-roomed huts, in most of which there is no artificial floor; kitchen, living and sleeping-room all in one. In such a hole, scarcely five feet long by six broad, I found two beds—and such bedsteads and beds!—which, with a staircase and chimney-place, exactly filled the room. In several others I found absolutely nothing, while the door stood open, and the inhabitants leaned against it. Everywhere before the doors refuse and offal; that any sort of pavement lay underneath could not be seen but only felt, here and there, with the feet. This whole collection of cattle-sheds for human beings was surrounded on two sides by houses and a factory, and on the third by the river, and besides the narrow stair up the bank, a narrow doorway alone led out into another almost equally ill-built, ill-kept labyrinth of dwellings. . . .

If we leave the Irk and penetrate once more on the opposite side from Long Millgate into the midst of the working-men's dwellings, we shall come into a somewhat newer quarter, which stretches from St. Michael's Church to Withy Grove and Shude Hill. Here there is somewhat better order. In place of the chaos of buildings, we find at least long straight lanes and alleys or courts, built according to a plan and usually square. But if, in the former case, every house was built according to caprice, here each lane and court is so built, without reference to the situation of the adjoining ones. . . .

. . . Here, as in most of the working-men's quarters of Manchester, the pork-raisers rent the courts and build pig-pens in them. In almost every court one or even several such pens may be found, into which the inhabitants of the court throw all refuse and offal, whence the swine grow fat; and the atmosphere, confined on all four sides, is utterly corrupted by putrefying animal and vegetable substances. . . .

Such is the Old Town of Manchester, and on re-reading my description, I am forced to admit that instead of being exaggerated, it is far from black enough to convey a true impression of the filth, ruin, and uninhabitableness, the defiance of all considerations of cleanliness, ventilation, and health which characterise the construction of this single district, containing at least twenty to thirty thousand inhabitants. And such a district exists in the heart of the second city of England, the first manufacturing city of the world. If any one wishes to see in how little space a human being can move, how little air—and such air!—he can breathe, how little of civilisation he may share and yet live, it is only necessary to travel hither. True, this is the Old Town, and the people of Manchester emphasise the fact whenever any one mentions to them the frightful condition of

this Hell upon Earth; but what does that prove? Everything which here arouses horror and indignation is of recent origin, belongs to the industrial epoch.

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## **The Communist Manifesto**

Also known as: *Manifesto of the Communist Party*; *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei*.

Date: February 21, 1848

*This tract or pamphlet was written in 1847 for a meeting of the Communist League (in London) by the German social philosopher Karl Marx and his associate and compatriot Friedrich Engels. In the manifesto of the league, the authors attempted to explain scientifically how society had developed to a point where a classless society would begin to emerge. According to the authors, the workers of their day, who had been exposed to the vicissitudes of the capitalist market and who had been exploited by it, had grown to such numbers as to be able to unite and together abolish all ownership of property by the bourgeoisie, and to place, forcibly if necessary, the machinery that controlled the economy in the hands of the workers. Ultimately, the authors claimed, the state would be ruled by the workers, and a socialist, classless society would emerge.*

The Manifesto of the Communist Party was written and published in German as a pamphlet and was printed in London in 1848. It is commonly referred to as The Communist Manifesto. The document was eventually translated into almost every language and would stir social change in many parts of the world. Its famous final line is usually rendered as “Workers of the world, unite!”

[From the English edition of 1888, edited by Friedrich Engels]

The following segments are excerpts from the original document. Original spellings have been retained in this document.

### Manifesto of the Communist Party

A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of Communism. All the Powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre: Pope and Czar, Metternich and Guizot, French Radicals and German police-spies.

Where is the party in opposition that has not been decried as Communistic by its opponents in power? Where is the Opposition that has not hurled back the branding reproach of Communism, against the more advanced opposition parties, as well as against its reactionary adversaries?

Two things result from this fact.

I. Communism is already acknowledged by all European Powers to be itself a Power.

II. It is high time that Communists should openly, in the face of the whole world, publish their views, their aims, their tendencies, and meet this nursery tale of the Spectre of Communism with a Manifesto of the party itself.

To this end, Communists of various nationalities have assembled in London, and sketched the following Manifesto, to be published in the English, French, German, Italian, Flemish and Danish languages. . . .

The history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggles. . . .

The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes, directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat. . . .

The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his “natural superiors,” and has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous “cash payment.” . . .

In proportion as the bourgeoisie, i.e., capital, is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working class, developed—a class of labourers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labour increases capital. These labourers, who must sell themselves piece-meal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market. . . .

Modern industry has converted the little workshop of the patriarchal master into the great factory of the industrial capitalist. Masses of labourers, crowded into the factory, are organised like soldiers. As privates of the industrial army they are placed under the command of a perfect hierarchy of officers and sergeants. Not only are they slaves of the bourgeois class, and of the bourgeois State; they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the over-looker, and, above all, by the individual bourgeois manufacturer himself. The more openly this despotism proclaims gain to be its end and aim, the more petty, the more hateful and the more embittering it is. . . .

But with the development of industry the proletariat not only increases in number; it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows, and it feels that strength more. The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalised, in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinctions of labour, and nearly everywhere reduces wages to the same low level. The growing competition among the bourgeois, and the resulting commercial crises, make the wages of the workers ever more fluctuating. The unceasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeois take more and more the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon the workers begin to form combinations (Trades Unions) against the bourgeois; they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent associations in order to make provision beforehand for these occasional revolts. Here and there the contest breaks out into riots. . . .

This organization of the proletarians into a class, and consequently into a political party, is continually being upset again by the competition between the workers themselves. But it ever rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier. . . .

It has become evident, that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an over-riding law. It is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state, that it has to feed him, instead of being fed by him. Society can no longer live under this bourgeoisie, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society.

The essential condition for the existence, and for the sway of the bourgeois class, is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage-labour. Wage-labour rests exclusively on competition between the laborers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the labourers, due to competition, by their revolutionary combination, due to association. The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie, therefore, produces, above all, is its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable. . . .

The immediate aim of the Communist is the same as that of all the other proletarian parties: formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat. . . .

The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products, that is based on class antagonisms, on the exploitation of the many by the few.

In this sense, the theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property. . . .

The Communists are further with desiring to abolish countries and nationality.

The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word.

National differences and antagonisms between peoples are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world-market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding thereto.

The supremacy of the proletariat will cause them to vanish still faster. United action, of the leading civilised countries at least, is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat. . . .

The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organised as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible.

Of course, in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production; by means of measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which, in the course of the movement, outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order, and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionising the mode of production.

These measures will of course be different in different countries.

Nevertheless in the most advanced countries, the following will be pretty generally applicable.

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
3. Abolition of all right of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralisation of credit in the hands of the State, by means of a national bank with State capital and an exclusive monopoly.
6. Centralisation of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the State.
7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the State; the bringing into cultivation of waste-lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.
8. Equal liability of all to labour. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country, by a more equable distribution of the population over the country.
10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc., etc.

When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organised power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organise itself as a class, if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.

In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all. . . .

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

Workingmen of all countries, unite!

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## Percy B. St. John: *Eyewitness to the French Revolution in 1848*

Date: February 22, 1848

*During this time period in France, suffrage was restricted only to men who owned a certain amount of property. Among the disenfranchised masses, opposition parties and organized protest movements had been held for years. On February 22, 1848, a mass protest banquet was arranged to demand universal manhood suffrage. François-Pierre-Guillaume Guizot (1787–1874), the French premier under King Louis-Philippe (1773–1850), was informed of the planned event and immediately issued a decree forbidding the banquet. In response to Guizot's provocative decree, Parisians gathered at the banquet hall and street fighting broke*

*out. The violence reached its height on February 23, when troops clashed with demonstrators. Although some of the soldiers fired into the mob, others laid down their arms and joined the Parisians. Guizot resigned immediately, and Louis-Philippe abdicated on February 24. The Chamber of Deputies created a Committee of Public Safety, headed by the renowned poet Alphonse de Lamartine (1790–1869), which quickly created the Second French Republic. The Second Republic endured until 1852, when Louis-Napoleon-Bonaparte proclaimed himself Napoleon III.*

*Percy B. St. John was a journalist and author. By 1846 he was editor of The Mirror of Literature. His book is titled French Revolution in 1848: The Three Days of February 1848, by Percy B. St. John, An Eye-Witness Of The Whole Revolution, and was published by Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, London, 1848. St. John went on to become the editor of The Guide to Literature, Science, Art and General Information in 1853, and in 1861 became the editor of The London Herald.*

The following segments are excerpts from the original document.

Tuesday, February 22. The journals of the opposition appeared with the notice, in large letters, at the head of their papers, that the banquet was given up, and an appeal to the population of Paris to keep order, formed a very prominent part of the announcement. The Left were evidently alarmed, while ministers were confident and their journals sang a triumphant song of victory. From an early hour detachments of municipal guard, troops of the line and cavalry, were seen moving toward the boulevards and the Chamber of Deputies; it became known that heavy squadrons of cavalry had entered Paris during the night, while others were concealed within the Hippodrome, or were bivouacked round the fortifications. The spies of the government reported during the night that there was a total absence of conspiracy. . . .

The weather was disagreeable, even wet. A somber and threatening sky hung over the town, but from six in the morning the boulevards presented an animated appearance. Crowds of workmen, of shopkeepers, began to move toward the Church of the Madeleine, in front of which the procession was to have met and formed. Many were not aware that the banquet was given up, and went to witness the departure of the cortege, while those who knew that the opposition had abandoned their intention of holding the meeting, went with a vague desire to see what would happen. Hundreds went with a settled determination to bring things to an issue; for early on Tuesday morning I saw swords, and daggers, and pistols concealed under the blouses of the workmen. . . .

Between nine and ten I walked to the Place de la Madeleine. It was covered with knots of men and women of all classes, talking, whispering, looking about with a vague air of uncertainty and alarm. . . .

The neighborhood of the Chamber of Deputies were then occupied militarily. A strong force was placed upon the Pont de la Concorde, and on attempting to pass, I and others were driven back by the military. No one was allowed to cross save deputies, who carried their medals, or persons bearing tickets. The other approaches to the legislature were equally well guarded. Between the Quai d'Orsay and the Invalides, two regiments of the line and six pieces of artillery were stationed.

Meanwhile, everywhere the crowd increased; all Paris seemed moving to the boulevards, to the Madeleine, to the Champs Elysees, and to the Place de la Concorde. As yet there was no menacing aspect in the masses, many artisans, with their wives on their arms, hung about looking on and listening. Not a policeman in uniform was seen, but many a mouchard face could be distinguished in the crowd.

About ten o'clock, a considerable body of workmen, and young men belonging to the different schools of Paris collected on the Place du Pantheon, and set out for the Madeleine by the Rues St. Jacques, des Gres, the Pont Neuf, the Rue St. Honore, etc., crying as they went, *Vive la Reforme*, and singing the Marseillaise and the chant of the Girondins. . . .

This procession, which had gradually swelled as it went, came out upon the boulevards by the Rue Duphot, and as they passed, it was impossible not to admire the courage of this body of young men, who, wholly unarmed, thus braved the strict orders of a government, backed by an immense army and whole parks of artillery. They were liable at every moment to be charged or fired on. . . .

Having reached the Madeleine, the procession halted before the house in which the central committee of the electors of the opposition were in the habit of assembling, and asked for Barrot, who, however, was not there. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, up to the time this procession passed before its door, had the gate open, with soldiers standing before utterly unarmed. . . .

An officer of dragoons advanced alone to a large group of spectators, who were collected in the basin of one of the fountains, and begged them to retire, which many of them at once did. A few persisted; but suddenly the water beginning to play, they jumped out amid loud laughter. In fact, with few exceptions, the crowd, amidst whom were many well-dressed ladies and gentlemen, were excessively good humored. The majority seemed persuaded that the vast display of unarmed Parisians who had turned out would induce the ministry to give way. The municipal guard, however, like the gendarmes and Swiss of the July Revolution, seemed doomed to mar all. This body, detested by the Parisians as police, kept up continued charges upon the crowd as it gradually dispersed. . . .

About twelve, passing by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, I noticed, in the back court, a heavy detachment of dragoons, in addition to which, soon after, the front door was closed and guarded by numerous sentries. A powerful mob, with sticks and iron bars, strove to burst open the gate and inflict summary vengeance on Guizot. The windows were broken with stones. Loud cries of *Vive la Reforme!* were followed by a *bas Guizot!* A single municipal guard strove to get out at the front gate, as if to go for a reinforcement. He was pelted with stones and driven back within shelter of the hotel [i.e., the Ministry].

About this time a most imposing military force marched down upon the hotel, which assumed the air of a fortress. A line of soldiers, with their arms loaded and bayonets fixed, occupied the pavement. The long garden wall was guarded by a cordon of troops, and municipal guards on horseback stood before the door. These latter took up their position with so much carelessness, as to knock down and severely wound one of the crowd. Shortly after, one of these police having rushed out to seize a rioter, was unhorsed and severely handled, after which he was taken to the same doctor's shop where was the wounded man of the people. From that moment all disturbance finished on this point for the day, and Guizot was able to go to the Chamber of Deputies. The passengers were in this neighborhood compelled to turn out on to the carriage way, the whole pavement being occupied by soldiers. . . .

At this very time [about three], having returned to my residence to write a letter, I was witness to a scene, which described minutely, may give an idea of many similar events. My residence is situated in the Rue St. Honore. . . . Called to my window by a noise, I saw several persons standing at the horses' heads of an omnibus. The driver whipped, and tried to drive on. The people insisted. At length, several policemen in plain clothes interfered, and as the party of the people was small, disengaged the omnibus, ordered the passengers to get out, and sent the vehicle home amid the hootings of the mob. A few minutes later, a cart full of stones and gravel came up. A number of boys seized it, undid the harness, and it was placed instantly in the middle of the street, amid loud cheering. A brewer's dray and hackney cab were in brief space of time added, and the barricade was made. The passers-by continued to move along with the most perfect indifference. . . .

Next door to me is an armorer's. Suddenly the people perceived the words *Prelat, armourier*, over the door. A rush is made at his shutters, stones are raised at his windows, and those of the house he occupied, many of which smash the panes in neighboring houses. Every window is, however, filled by anxious spectators. Suddenly the shutters of the shop give way, they are torn down and borne to the barricade, while the windows being smashed, the people rush into the warehouse. There are no arms! The night before they have been removed or concealed. Still, a few horns of gunpowder, and some swords and pistols are taken. Though the mob was through the whole of the vast hotel, a portion of which was occupied by the armorer, nothing but arms were taken away. . . .

On Wednesday, however, it was impossible to conceal from the *liing* that the movement was general, that the people were flying to arms, that barricades were rising in every quarter, and worse than all, the colonels of the national guard reported, one after another, that their men demanded, nay, insisted on the dismissal of Guizot. The generals of the line were interrogated. Not one would answer for the troops if the national guard sided with the people. The saying of an artillery officer near the Hotel de Ville was reported "Fire on the people? No! Fire on the people who pay us? We shall do nothing of the kind. If we have to choose between massacring our brothers and abandoning the monarchy, there can be no hesitation." Louis Philippe saw the critical nature of the position, and hesitated no longer. Guizot and his colleagues were dismissed. . . .

Toward seven o'clock, the general aspect of Paris was peaceable. On the Petit Bourse, near the Opera, the funds had risen forty centimes on the arrival of the news that the ministry had been dismissed. Aides-de-camp and general officers galloped here and there, proclaiming the intelligence. Everywhere the people delivered the prisoners made during the day, and then they went away rejoicing. Nevertheless, the barricades were not abandoned. The strongest and most artistically made were guarded by some hundreds of young men, between the Rue du Temple and the Rue St. Martin, and about the Rue Transnonain. Though repeatedly told of the dismissal of Guizot, they replied that they must have guarantees, and with this they posted sentries at every issue, and prepared to bivouac for the night, many without food, many without fire. Among these were numbers of the better classes, who had placed blouses over their clothes and joined the people, to encourage and direct them.

Between eight and nine o'clock, darkness having completely set in, the streets began to present an unusual aspect—that of an illumination. With rare exceptions, at every window of the lofty houses on the quarter of the Tuileries, candles or lamps were placed, and by their light could be seen ladies and gentlemen looking down upon the dense and happy crowd who filled the streets to overflowing. Loud cheers greeted the presence of the spectators, while groans and threats of demolishing their windows were the punishment of the sulky few who refused to join in the general manifestation. They gained nothing by it but to let their ill will be seen, for the populace compelled them to follow the general example. All, however, was gayety and good humor.

After witnessing the fine coup-d'oeil presented by the Rue St. Honore, the longest street in the world, I believe, I attempted to gain the boulevards by the Place Vendome. I found it, however, occupied by a dense mass of some ten thousand men, who were striving to force the denizens of the Hotel de Justice to light up. As no attention was paid to their demand, and Hebert [minister of Justice] was peculiarly hated, they began to break his windows, and even set fire to the planks which shelved off from the door, as well as to the sentry box. A heavy body of cuirassiers however, and several detachments of national guards came down, and using vigorous, but gentle measures,

re-established order. To lessen the crowd, they drew a line across the Rue Castiglione, and allowed no one to pass. Standing in the crowd, I heard many republicans conversing. Their tone was that of bitter disappointment. They said that the people were deceived, that a Molé ministry was a farce, and that if the populace laid down their arms, it would be but to take them up again. Still, the majority rejoiced. To have carried this point was a great thing, and no greater proof of the patriotism of the workingmen can be given. They gained nothing by the change but mental satisfaction, with which a vast majority seemed amply satisfied.

But a terrible and bloody tragedy was about to change the aspect of the whole scene. . . .

Wednesday, February 23d. About a quarter past ten, while on my way, by another route, to the boulevards, I suddenly, with others, was startled by the aspect of a gentleman who, without his hat, ran madly into the middle of the street, and began to harangue the passersby. "To arms!" he cried, "we are betrayed. The soldiers have slaughtered a hundred unarmed citizens by the Hôtel des Capucines. Vengeance!" and having given the details of the affair, he hurried to carry the intelligence to other quarters. The effect was electric; each man shook his neighbor by the hand, and far and wide the word was given that the whole system must fall.

As this tragic event sealed the fate of the Orleans dynasty, I have been at some pains to collect a correct version of it, and I have every reason to believe those who were eyewitnesses will bear me out in my description. I went immediately as near to the spot as possible, I conversed to numerous parties who saw it, and myself saw many of the immediate consequences.

The boulevards were, like all the other streets, brilliantly illuminated, and everywhere immense numbers of promenaders walked up and down, men, women, and children, enjoying the scene, and rejoicing that the terrific struggle of the day had ceased. The footpaths were quite covered, while the carriage way, in part occupied by cavalry, was continually filled by processions of students, working men, and others, who sang songs of triumph at their victory. Round the Hôtel des Capucines, where Guizot resided, there was a heavy force of military, of troops of the line, dragoons, and municipal guard, who occupied the pavement and forced everyone on to the carriage way. A vast crowd, principally of accidental spectators, ladies, gentlemen, English, etc., in fact curious people in general, were stationed watching a few men and boys who tried to force the inmates to light up.

For some time all was tranquil, but presently a column of students and artisans, unarmed, but singing "Mourir pour la patrie," came down the boulevards; at the same instant a gun was heard, and the 14th Regiment of Line leveled their muskets and fired. The scene which followed was awful. Thousands of men, women, children, shrieking, bawling, raving, were seen flying in all directions, while sixty-two men, women, and lads, belonging to every class of society, lay weltering in their blood upon the pavement. Next minute an awful roar, the first breath of popular indignation was heard, and then flew the students, artisans, the shopkeepers, all, to carry the news to the most distant parts of the city, and to rouse the population to arms against a government whose satellites murdered the people in this atrocious manner.

A squadron of cuirassiers now charged, sword in hand, over dead and wounded, amid useless cries of "Mind the fallen," and drove the people before them. The sight was awful. Husbands were seen dragging their fainting wives from the scene of massacre; fathers snatching up their children, with pale faces and clenched teeth, hurried away to put their young ones in safety, and then to come out in arms against the monarchy. Women clung to railings, trees, or to the wall, or fell fainting on the stones. More than a hundred persons who saw the soldiers level, fell in time to save their lives, and then rose and hastened to quit the spot. Utter strangers shook hands and congratulated one another on their escape. In a few minutes, a deputy of the opposition, Courtais, now commanding the national guard, was on the spot and making inquiries into the cause of this fearful affair. "Sir," said he, warmly addressing the colonel in command, "you have committed an action, unworthy of a French soldier." The Colonel, overwhelmed with sorrow and shame, replied, that the order to fire was a mistake. It appeared that a ball, from a gun which went off accidentally, had struck his horse's leg, and that thinking he was attacked, he had ordered a discharge. "Monsieur le Colonel," added the honorable deputy, "you are a soldier, I believe in your good faith; but remember that an awful responsibility rests on your head." Tremendous indeed, for he had sealed the fate of the tottering monarchy!

A word before we proceed. When the proclamation was made that the Guizot ministry had been dismissed, the military were gradually withdrawn, and wherever this occurred, tranquillity followed. No serious attacks were made upon any public building; in fact, the people contented themselves with breaking a few windows; everywhere the cry "Light the lamps," was not obeyed. Guizot, however, conscious of the intense hatred which was felt toward him, kept his house guarded like a fortress. The display of military force was tremendously imposing, both within and without the hoel. Had none been stationed outside, whatever he had in, the causes which kept crowds standing round, would have been removed, and the people would not have been irritated. It was the overcare of his own person shown by Guizot, which caused this frightful catastrophe. Like every other event of this great week, with all its momentous consequences, this is to be traced to the utter incapacity of Guizot, in politics. . . .

Meanwhile, Courtais had hurried to the National office, while a body of men, now no longer hindered by the soldiers, proceeded to remove the heaps of dead and dying, whose groans must have been plainly heard by the ex-minister in his hotel. The wounded, and those bodies which were claimed, were borne to houses in

the neighborhood, while some of the national guards in uniform were carried to their respective town halls, everywhere as the bloody banner of insurrections. Seventeen corpses, however, were retained and placed upon a cart. Ghastly was the spectacle of torch and gaslight, of that heap of dead, a few minutes before alive, merry, anxious, full of hopes, and perhaps, lofty aspirations for their country. Round about were men, no less pale and ghastly, bearing pikes and torches, while others drew the awful cartload along.

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## Frederick Douglass's Speech on American Slavery

Date: 1850

*This speech, given by Frederick Douglass in Rochester, New York, was the first of a series of lectures on slavery. Opposition to slavery went back at least as far as 1688 and had become a heated topic between the northern and southern states in the first half of the 1800s. Douglass, a former slave, first gained recognition in 1841 as a speaker at the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society's convention, and he soon became a living symbol against claims that blacks were inferior. His speech elicited sympathy for the millions of slaves in the South by using the oppression of Ireland for comparison: No matter how badly the Irish were treated, they were still masters of their own body and soul. Earlier that same year, Congress produced the Great Compromise, which strengthened the Fugitive Slave Law and outraged abolitionists.*

I come before you this evening to deliver the first lecture of a course which I purpose to give in this city, during the present winter, on the subject of American Slavery.

I make this announcement with no feelings of self-sufficiency. If I do not mistake my own emotions, they are such as result from a profound sense of my incompetency to do justice to the task which I have just announced, and now entered upon.

If any, then, demand of me why I speak, I plead as my apology, the fact that abler and more eloquent men have failed to speak, or what, perhaps, is more true, and therefore more strong, such men have spoken only on the wrong side of the question, and have thus thrown their influence against the cause of liberty, humanity and benevolence.

There are times in the experience of almost every community, when even the humblest member thereof may properly presume to teach—when the wise and great ones, the appointed leaders of the people, exert their powers of mind to complicate, mystify, entangle and obscure the simple truth—when they exert the noblest gifts which heaven has vouchsafed to man to mislead the popular mind, and to corrupt the public heart, —then the humblest may stand forth and be excused for opposing even his weakness to the torrent of evil.

That such a state of things exists in this community, I have abundant evidence. I learn it from the Rochester press, from the Rochester pulpit, and in my intercourse with the people of Rochester. Not a day passes over me that I do not meet with apparently good men, who utter sentiments in respect to this subject which would do discredit to savages. They speak of the enslavement of their fellow-men with an indifference and coldness which might be looked for only in men hardened by the most atrocious and villainous crimes.

The fact is, we are in the midst of a great struggle. The public mind is widely and deeply agitated; and bubbling up from its perturbed waters, are many and great impurities, whose poisonous miasma demands a constant antidote.

Whether the contemplated lectures will in any degree contribute towards answering this demand, time will determine.

Of one thing, however, I can assure my hearers—that I come up to this work at the call of duty, and with an honest desire to promote the happiness and well-being of every member of this community, as well as to advance the emancipation of every slave.

The audience will pardon me if I say one word more by way of introduction. It is my purpose to give this subject a calm, candid and faithful discussion. I shall not aim to shock nor to startle my hearers; but to convince their judgment and to secure their sympathies for the enslaved. I shall aim to be as stringent as truth, and as severe as justice; and if at any time I shall fail of this, and do injustice in any respect, I shall be most happy to be set right by any gentleman who shall hear me, subject, of course to order and decorum. I shall deal, during these lectures, alike with individuals and institutions—men shall no more escape me than things. I shall

have occasion, at times, to be even personal, and to rebuke sin in high places. I shall not hesitate to arraign either priests or politicians, church or state, and to measure all by the standard of justice, and in the light of truth. I shall not forget to deal with the unrighteous spirit of caste which prevails in this community; and I shall give particular attention to the recently enacted fugitive slave bill. I shall keep my eye upon the Congress which is to commence to-morrow, and fully inform myself as to its proceedings. In a word, the whole subject of slavery, in all its bearings, shall have a full and impartial discussion.

A very slight acquaintance with the history of American slavery is sufficient to show that it is an evil of which it will be difficult to rid this country. It is not the creature of a moment, which to-day is, and to-morrow is not; it is not a pigmy, which a slight blow may demolish; it is no youthful upstart, whose impertinent pratings may be silenced by a dignified contempt. No: it is an evil of gigantic proportions, and of long standing.

Its origin in this country dates back to the landing of the pilgrims on Plymouth rock. . . . It was here more than two centuries ago. The first spot poisoned by its leprous presence, was a small plantation in Virginia. The slaves, at that time, numbered only twenty. They have now increased to the frightful number of three millions; and from that narrow plantation, they are now spread over by far the largest half of the American Union. Indeed, slavery forms an important part of the entire history of the American people. Its presence may be seen in all American affairs. It has become interwoven with all American institutions, and has anchored itself in the very soil of the American Constitution. It has thrown its paralysing arm over freedom of speech, and the liberty of the press; and has created for itself morals and manners favorable to its own continuance. It has seduced the church, corrupted the pulpit, and brought the powers of both into degrading bondage; and now, in the pride of its power, it even threatens to bring down that grand political edifice, the American Union, unless every member of this republic shall so far disregard his conscience and his God as to yield to its infernal behests.

That must be a powerful influence which can truly be said to govern a nation; and that slavery governs the American people, is indisputably true. If there were any doubt on this point, a few plain questions (it seems to me) could not fail to remove it. What power has given this nation its Presidents for more than fifty years? Slavery. What power is that to which the present aspirants to presidential honors are bowing? Slavery. We may call it "Union," "Constitution," "Harmony," or "American institutions," that to which such men as Cass, Dickinson, Webster, Clay and other distinguished men of this country, are devoting their energies, is nothing more nor less than American slavery. It is for this that they are writing letters, making speeches, and promoting the holding of great mass meetings, professedly in favor of "the Union." These men know the service most pleasing to their master, and that which is most likely to be richly rewarded. Men may "serve God for nought," as did Job; but he who serves the devil has an eye to his reward. "Patriotism," "obedience to the law," "prosperity to the country," have come to mean, in the mouths of these distinguished statesmen, a mean and servile acquiescence in the most flagitious and profligate legislation in favor of slavery. I might enlarge here on this picture of slave power, and tell of its influence upon the press in the free States, and upon the condition and rights of the free colored people of the North; but I forbear for the present. . . . Enough has been said, I trust, to convince all that the abolition of this evil will require time, energy, zeal, perseverance and patience; that it will require fidelity, a martyr-like spirit of self-sacrifice, and a firm reliance on Him who has declared Himself to be "the God of the oppressed." Having said thus much upon the power and prevalence of slavery, allow me to speak of the nature of slavery itself; and here I can speak, in part, from experience—I can speak with the authority of positive knowledge. . . .

First of all, I will state, as well as I can, the legal and social relation of master and slave. A master is one (to speak in the vocabulary of the Southern States) who claims and exercises a right of property in the person of a fellow man. This he does with the force of the law and the sanction of Southern religion. The law gives the master absolute power over the slave. He may work him, flog him, hire him out, sell him, and, in certain contingencies, kill him, with perfect impunity. The slave is a human being, divested of all rights—reduced to the level of a brute—a mere "chattel" in the eye of the law—placed beyond the circle of human brotherhood—cut off from his kind—his name, which the "recording angel" may have enrolled in heaven, among the blest, is impiously inserted in a master's ledger, with horses, sheep and swine. In law, the slave has no wife, no children, no country, and no home. He can own nothing, possess nothing, acquire nothing, but what must belong to another. To eat the fruit of his own toil, to clothe his person with the work of his own hands, is considered stealing. He toils that another may reap the fruit; he is industrious that another may live in idleness; he eats unbolted meal, that another may eat the bread of fine flour; he labors in chains at home, under a burning sun and a biting lash, that another may ride in ease and splendor abroad; he lives in ignorance, that another may be educated; he is abused, that another may be exalted; he rests his toil-worn limbs on the cold, damp ground, that another may repose on the softest pillow; he is clad in coarse and tattered raiment, that another may be arrayed in purple and fine linen; he is sheltered only by the wretched hovel, that a master may dwell in a magnificent mansion; and to this condition he is bound down as by an arm of iron.

From this monstrous relation, there springs an unceasing stream of most revolting cruelties. The very accompaniments of the slave system, stamp it as the offspring of hell itself. To ensure good behavior, the slaveholder relies on the whip; ; to induce proper humility, he relies on the whip; ; to rebuke what he is pleased to

term insolence, he relies on the whip, ; to supply the place of wages, as an incentive to toil, he relies on the whip, ; to bind down the spirit of the slave, to imbrute and to destroy his manhood, he relies on the whip, , the chain, the gag, the thumb- screw, the pillory, the bowie-knife, the pistol, and the blood-hound. These are the necessary and unvarying accompaniments of the system. . . .

Nor is slavery more adverse to the conscience than it is to the mind.

This is shown by the fact that in every State of the American Union, where slavery exists, except the State of Kentucky, there are laws, absolutely prohibitory of education among the slaves. The crime of teaching a slave to read is punishable with severe fines and imprisonment, and, in some instances, with death itself.

Nor are the laws respecting this matter, a dead letter. Cases may occur in which they are disregarded, and a few instances may be found where slaves may have learned to read; but such are isolated cases, and only prove the rule. The great mass of slaveholders look upon education among the slaves as utterly subversive of the slave system. I well remember when my mistress first announced to my master that she had discovered that I could read. His face colored at once, with surprise and chagrin. He said that "I was ruined, that my value as a slave was destroyed; that a slave should know nothing but to obey his master; that to give a Negro an inch would lead him to take an ell; that having learned how to read, I would soon want to know how to write; and that, bye and bye, I would be running away." I think my audience will bear witness to the correctness of this philosophy, and to the literal fulfilment of this prophecy.

It is perfectly well understood at the South that to educate a slave is to make him discontented with slavery, and to invest him with a power which shall open to him the treasures of freedom; and since the object of the slaveholder is to maintain complete authority over his slave, his constant vigilance is exercised to prevent everything which militates against, or endangers the stability of his authority. Education being among the menacing influences, and, perhaps, the most dangerous, is therefore, the most cautiously guarded against.

It is true that we do not often hear of the enforcement of the law, punishing as crime the teaching of slaves to read, but this is not because of a want of disposition to enforce it. The true reason, or explanation of the matter is this, there is the greatest unanimity of opinion among the white population of the South, in favor of the policy of keeping the slave in ignorance. There is, perhaps, another reason why the law against education is so seldom violated. The slave is too poor to be able to offer a temptation sufficiently strong to induce a white man to violate it; and it is not to be supposed that in a community where the moral and religious sentiment is in favor of slavery, many martyrs will be found sacrificing their liberty and lives by violating those prohibitory enactments.

As a general rule, then, darkness reigns over the abodes of the enslaved, and "how great is that darkness!"

We are sometimes told of the contentment of the slaves, and are entertained with vivid pictures of their happiness. We are told that they often dance and sing; that their masters frequently give them wherewith to make merry; in fine, that they have little of which to complain. I admit that the slave does sometimes sing, dance, and appear to be merry. But what does this prove? It only proves to my mind, that though slavery is armed with a thousand stings, it is not able entirely to kill the elastic spirit of the bondman. That spirit will rise and walk abroad, despite of whips and chains, and extract from the cup of nature, occasional drops of joy and gladness. No thanks to the slaveholder, nor to slavery, that the vivacious captive may sometimes dance in his chains, his very mirth in such circumstances, stands before God, as an accusing angel against his enslaver.

But who tell us of the extraordinary contentment and happiness of the slave? What traveller has explored the balmy regions of our Southern country and brought back "these glad tidings of joy"? Bring him on the platform, and bid him answer a few plain questions, we shall then be able to determine the weight and importance that attach to his testimony. Is he a minister? Yes. Were you ever in a slave State, sir? Yes. May I inquire the object of your mission South? To preach the gospel, sir. Of what denominations are you? A Presbyterian, sir. To whom were you introduced? To the Rev. Dr. Plummer. Is he a slaveholder, sir? Yes, sir. Has slaves about his house? Yes, sir. Were you then the guest of Dr. Plummer? Yes, sir. Waited on by slaves while there? Yes, sir. Did you preach for Dr. Plummer? Yes, sir. Did you spend your nights at the great house, or at the quarter among the slaves? At the great house. You had, then, no social intercourse with the slaves? No, sir. You fraternized, then, wholly with the white portion of the population while there? Yes, sir. This is sufficient, sir; you can leave the platform.

Nothing is more natural than that those who go into slave States, and enjoy the hospitality of slaveholders, should bring back favorable reports of the condition of the slave. If that ultra republican, the Hon. Lewis Cass could not return from the Court of France, without paying a compliment to royalty simply because King Louis Phillippe patted him on the shoulder, called him "friend," and invited him to dinner, it is not to be expected that those hungry shadows of men in the shape of ministers, that go South, can escape a contamination even more beguiling and insidious. Alas! for the weakness of poor human nature! "Pleased with a rattle, tickled with a straw!"

Why is it that all the reports of contentment and happiness among the slaves at the South come to us upon the authority of slaveholders, or (what is equally significant), of slaveholders' friends? Why is it that we do not hear from the slaves direct? The answer to this question furnishes the darkest features in the American slave system.

It is often said, by the opponents of the anti-slavery cause, that the condition of the people of Ireland is more deplorable than that of the American slaves. Far be it from me to underrate the sufferings of the Irish people. They have been long oppressed; and the same heart that prompts me to plead the cause of the American bondman, makes it impossible for me not to sympathize with the oppressed of all lands. Yet I must say that there is no analogy between the two cases. The Irishman is poor, but he is not a slave. He may be in rags, but he is not a slave. He is still the master of his own body, and can say with the poet, "The hand of Douglass is his own." "The world is all before him, where to choose," and poor as may be my opinion of the British Parliament, I cannot believe that it will ever sink to such a depth of infamy as to pass a law for the recapture of Fugitive Irishmen! The shame and scandal of kidnapping will long remain wholly monopolized by the American Congress! The Irishman has not only the liberty to emigrate from his country, but he has liberty at home. He can write, and speak, and co-operate for the attainment of his rights and the redress of his wrongs.

The multitude can assemble upon all the green hills, and fertile plains of the Emerald Isle—they can pour out their grievances, and proclaim their wants without molestation; and the press, that "swiftwinged messenger," can bear the tidings of their doing to the extreme bounds of the civilized world. They have their "Conciliation Hall" on the banks of the Liffey, their reform Clubs, and the newspapers; they pass resolutions, send forth addresses, and enjoy the right of petition. But how is it with the American slave? Where may he assemble? Where is his Conciliation Hall? Where are his newspapers? Where is his right of petition? Where is his freedom of speech? his liberty of the press? and his right of locomotion? He is said to be happy; happy men can speak. But ask the slave—what is his condition?—what his state of mind?—what he thinks of this enslavement? and you had as well address your inquiries to the silent dead. There comes no voice from the enslaved, we are left to gather his feelings by imagining what ours would be, were our souls in his soul's stead.

If there were no other fact descriptive of slavery, than that the slave is dumb, this alone would be sufficient to mark the slave system as a grant aggregation of human horrors.

Most who are present will have observed that leading men, in this country, have been putting forth their skill to secure quiet to the nation. A system of measures to promote this object was adopted a few months ago in Congress.

The result of those measures is known. Instead of quiet, they have produced alarm; instead of peace, they have brought us war, and so must ever be.

While this nation is guilty of the enslavement of three millions of innocent men and women, it is as idle to think of having a sound and lasting peace, as it is to think there is no God, to take cognizance of the affairs of men. There can be no peace to the wicked while slavery continues in the land, it will be condemned, and while it is condemned there will be agitation; Nature must cease to be nature; Men must become monsters; Humanity must be transformed; Christianity must be exterminated; all ideas of justice, and the laws of eternal goodness must be utterly blotted out from the human soul, ere a system so foul and infernal can escape condemnation, or this guilty Republic can have a sound and enduring Peace.

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## Giuseppe Mazzini: On Nationality

Date: 1852

*Giuseppe Mazzini was a leader of the Italian unification movement. As a law student at the University of Genoa, he was exposed to literature and political thought. His goal was that Italy be united as a republic. His activities led to his imprisonment by the government. In 1830 he chose to go into exile in Marseille, France, where he founded Young Italy, a patriotic society committed to republicanism and democracy. Its members swore to proselytize and fight for democracy, national independence, and unity, and to wage relentless war on tyrants. He saw the creation of a democratic Italian state as crucial to Italy's development.*

*Mazzini's republicanism differentiated him from both the monarchists and the socialists. His philosophy called for cooperation across class lines. He believed that the unity of workers and employers—educated and uneducated—was an essential precondition for the triumph of democratic movements.*

*Eventually, Italian unification did become a reality, but not as a democratic republic. It was united as a monarchy.*

The following segments are excerpts from the original document.

Europe no longer possesses unity of faith, of mission, or of aim. Such unity is a necessity in the world. Here, then, is the secret of the crisis. It is the duty of every one to examine and analyse calmly and carefully the probable elements of this new unity. But those who persist in perpetuating, by violence or by Jesuitical compromise, the external observance of the old unity, only perpetuate the crisis, and render its issue more violent.

There are in Europe two great questions; or, rather, the question of the transformation of authority, that is to say, of the Revolution, has assumed two forms; the question which all have agreed to call social, and the question of nationalities. The first is more exclusively agitated in France, the second in the heart of the other peoples of Europe. I say, which all have agreed to call social, because, generally speaking, every great revolution is so far social, that it cannot be accomplished either in the religious, political, or any other sphere, without affecting social relations, the sources and the distribution of wealth; but that which is only a secondary consequence in political revolutions is now the cause and the banner of the movement in France. The question there is now, above all, to establish better relations between labour and capital, between production and consumption, between the workman and the employer.

It is probable that the European initiative, that which will give a new impulse to intelligence and to events, will spring from the question of nationalities. The social question may, in effect, although with difficulty, be partly resolved by a single people; it is an internal question for each, and the French Republicans of 1848 so understood it, when, determinately abandoning the European initiative, they placed Lamartine's [Note: A French poet and politician] manifesto by the side of their aspirations towards the organisation of labour. The question of nationality can only be resolved by destroying the treaties of 1815, and changing the map of Europe and its public Law. The question of Nationalities, rightly understood, is the Alliance of the Peoples; the balance of powers based upon new foundations; the organisation of the work that Europe has to accomplish. . . .

It was not for a material interest that the people of Vienna fought in 1848; in weakening the empire they could only lose power. It was not for an increase of wealth that the people of Lombardy fought in the same year; the Austrian Government had endeavoured in the year preceding to excite the peasants against the landed proprietors, as they had done in Galicia; but everywhere they had failed. They struggled, they still struggle, as do Poland, Germany, and Hungary, for country and liberty; for a word inscribed upon a banner, proclaiming to the world that they also live, think, love, and labour for the benefit of all. They speak the same language, they bear about them the impress of consanguinity, they kneel beside the same tombs, they glory in the same tradition; and they demand to associate freely, without obstacles, without foreign domination, in order to elaborate and express their idea; to contribute their stone also to the great pyramid of history. It is something moral which they are seeking; and this moral something is in fact, even politically speaking, the most important question in the present state of things. It is the organisation of the European task. It is no longer the savage, hostile, quarrelsome nationality of two hundred years ago which is invoked by these peoples. The nationality . . . founded upon the following principle:-Whichever people, by its superiority of strength, and by its geographical position, can do us an injury, is our natural enemy; whichever cannot do us an injury, but can by the amount of its force and by its position injure our enemy, is our natural ally, -is the princely nationality of aristocracies or royal races. The nationality of the peoples has not these dangers; it can only be founded by a common effort and a common movement; sympathy and alliance will be its result. In principle, as in the ideas formerly laid down by the men influencing every national party, nationality ought only to be to humanity that which the division of labour is in a workshop-the recognised symbol of association; the assertion of the individuality of a human group called by its geographical position, its traditions, and its language, to fulfil a special function in the European work of civilisation.

The map of Europe has to be remade. This is the key to the present movement; herein lies the initiative. Before acting, the instrument for action must be organised; before building, the ground must be one's own. The social idea cannot be realised under any form whatsoever before this reorganisation of Europe is effected; before the peoples are free to interrogate themselves; to express their vocation, and to assure its accomplishment by an alliance capable of substituting itself for the absolutist league which now reigns supreme.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Sarti, Roland. "Mazzini, Giuseppe." *Italy: A Reference Guide from the Renaissance to the Present*. European Nations. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2004. *Modern World History Online*. Facts On File, Inc. [www.fofweb.com](http://www.fofweb.com).

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## The Gettysburg Address

Date: November 19, 1863

*President Abraham Lincoln delivered the Gettysburg Address, one of his most memorable public speeches, on November 19, 1863. Lincoln's brief remarks officially dedicated the Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, where in July 1863 the Union Army of the Potomac had won a major victory over the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia. At the conclusion of the battle, the battlefield contained the bodies of more than 7,500 soldiers.*

*Lincoln's opening sentences portray a new type of nation based on liberty and equality. He then portrays the events as a test as to whether this type of nation "can long endure." His summation essentially states ". . . that we here highly resolve that . . . [this new type, or form of government of the people] shall not perish from the earth."*

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great Civil War, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as the final resting place of those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But in a larger sense we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

### CITATION INFORMATION:

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## One Day under the Paris Commune

Date: 1871

*According to the terms of the 1871 Treaty of Versailles, which ended the Franco-Prussian War, France ceded to Germany some 4,700 square miles of territory and agreed to pay 5 billion francs for indemnification within three years. The Red Republicans, or Communists, rebelled against these humiliating terms, and the capital fell into the hands of the Commune of Paris. By order of the national government the regular army was called in, and a second siege of Paris took place, infinitely more full of horrors than the previous one by the Germans. The government at length gained control, and the Third Republic was fully organized under the presidency of Louis-Adolphe Thiers. John Leighton, the author of the following extract, was in Paris at the time of the Commune.*

The following is an excerpt from the original document. Original spellings have been retained in this document.

THE roaring of cannon close at hand, the whizzing of shells, volleys of musketry. I hear this in my sleep, and awake with a start. I dress and go out. I am told the troops have come in. "How? Where? When?" I ask of the National Guards who come rushing down the street, crying out, "We are betrayed!" They, however, know but very little. They have come from the Trocadero, and have seen the red trousers of the soldiers in the distance. Fighting is going on near the viaduct of Auteuil, at the Champ de Mars. Did the assault take place last night or this morning? It is quite impossible to obtain any reliable information. Some talk of a civil engineer having made signals to the Versaillais; others say a captain in the navy was the first to enter Paris. Suddenly about thirty men rush into the streets, crying, "We must make a barricade." I turn back, fearing to be pressed into the service. The cannonading appears dreadfully near. A shell whistles over my head. I hear

some one say, "The batteries of Montmartre are bombarding the Arc de Triomphe"; and strangely enough, in this moment of horror and uncertainty, the thought crosses my mind that now the side of the arch on which is the bas-relief of Rudé will be exposed to the shells. On the Boulevard there is only here and there a passenger hurrying along. The shops are closed; even the cafes are shut up; the harsh screech of the mitrailleuse grows louder and nearer. The battle seems to be close at hand, all round me. A thousand contradictory suppositions rush through my brain and hurry me along, and here on the Boulevard there is no one that can tell me anything. I walk in the direction of the Madeleine, drawn there by a violent desire to know what is going on, which silences the voice of prudence. As I approach the Chaussee d'Antin, I perceive a multitude of men, women, and children running backwards and forwards, carrying paving-stones. A barricade is being thrown up; it is already more than three feet high. Suddenly I hear the offing of heavy wheels; I turn, and a strange sight is before me—a mass of women in rags, livid, horrible, and yet grand, with the Phrygian cap on their heads, and the skirts of their robes tied around their waists, were harnessed to a mitrailleuse, which they dragged along at full speed; other women pushing vigorously behind. The whole procession, in its somber colors, with dashes of red here and there, thunders past me; I follow it as fast as I can. The mitrailleuse draws up a little in front of the barricade, and is hailed with wild clamors by the insurgents. The Amazons are being unharnessed as I come up. "Now," said a young gamin, such as one used to see in the gallery of the Theatre Porte St.-Martin, "don't you be acting the spy here, or I will break your head open as if you were a Versaillais."—"Don't waste ammunition," cried an old man with a long white beard—a patriarch of civil war—"don't waste ammunition; and as for the spy, let him help to carry paving-stones. Monsieur," said he, turning to me with much politeness, "will you be so kind as to go and fetch those stones from the corner there?"

I did as I was bid, although I thought, with anything but pleasure, that if at that moment the barricade were attacked and taken, I might be shot before I had the time to say, "Allow me to explain." But the scene which surrounds me interests me in spite of myself. Those grim hags, with their red head-dresses, passing the stones I give them rapidly from hand to hand, the men who are building them up only leaving off for a moment now and then to swallow a cup of coffee, which a young girl prepares over a small tin stove; the rifles symmetrically piled; the barricade, which rises higher and higher; the solitude in which we are working—only here and there a head appears at a window, and is quickly withdrawn; the ever-increasing noise of the battle; and, over all, the brightness of a dazzling morning sun—all this has something sinister, and yet horribly fascinating about it. While we are at work they talk; I listen. The Versaillais have been coming in all night. The Porte de la Muette and the Porte Dauphine have been surrendered by the 13th and the 113th battalions of the first arrondissement. "Those two numbers 13 will bring them ill luck," says a woman. Vinoy is established at the Trocadero, and Douai at the Point du Jour: they continue to advance. The Champ de Mars has been taken from the Federals after two hours' fighting. A battery is erected at the Arc de Triomphe, which sweeps the Champs Elysees and bombards the Tuileries. A shell has fallen in the Rue du Marche Saint-Honore. In the Cours-la-Reine the 138th battalion stood bravely. The Tuileries is armed with guns, and shells the Arc de Triomphe. In the Avenue de Marigny the gendarmes have shot twelve Federals who had surrendered; their bodies are still lying on the pavement in front of the tobacconist's. Rue de Sevres, the Vengeurs de Flourens have put to flight a whole regiment of the line: the Vengeurs have sworn to resist to a man. They are fighting in the Champs Elysees, around the Ministere de la Guerre, and on the Boulevard Haussmann. Dombrowski has been killed at the Chateau de la Muette. The Versaillais have attacked the Western Saint-Lazare Station, and are marching towards the Pepiniere barracks. "We have been sold, betrayed, and surprised; but what does it matter, we will triumph. We want no more chiefs or generals; behind the barricades every man is a marshal!"

Close to Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois women are busy pulling down the wooden seats; children are rolling empty wine-barrels and carrying sacks of earth. As one nears the Hotel de Ville the barricades are higher, better armed, and better manned. All the Nationals here look ardent, resolved, and fierce. They say little, and do not shout at all. Two guards, seated on the pavement, are playing at picquet. I push on, and am allowed to pass. The barricades are terminated here, and I have nothing to fear from paving-stones. Looking up, I see that all the windows are closed, with the exception of one, where two old women are busy putting a mattress between the window and the shutter. A sentinel, mounting guard in front of the Cafe de la Compagnie du Gaz, cries out to me, "You can't pass here!"

I therefore seat myself at a table in front of the cafe, which has doubtless been left open by order, and where several officers are talking in a most animated manner.

One of them rises and advances towards me. He asks me rudely what I am doing there. I will not allow myself to be abashed by his tone, but draw out my pass from my pocket and show it to him, without saying a word. "All right," says he; and then seats himself by my side, and tells me, "I know it already, that a part of the left bank of the river is occupied by the troops of the Assembly, that fighting is going on everywhere, and that the army on this side is gradually retreating.—Street fighting is our affair, you see," he continues. "In such battles as that, the merest gamin from Belleville knows more about it than MacMahon . . . It will be terrible. The enemy shoots the prisoners." (For the last two months the Commune had been saying the same thing.) "We shall give no quarter."—I ask him, "Is it Delescluze who is determined to resist?"—"Yes,"

he answers. "Lean forward a little. Look at those three windows to the left of the trophy. That is the Salle de l'Etat-Major. Delescluze is there giving orders, signing commissions. He has not slept for three days. Just now I scarcely knew him, he was so worn out with fatigue. The Committee of Public Safety sits permanently in a room adjoining, making out proclamations and decrees."—"Ha, ha!" said I, "decrees!"—"Yes, citizen, he has just decreed heroism!" The officer gives me several other bits of information: tells me that "Lullier this very morning has had thirty réfractaires shot, and that Rigault has gone to Mazas to look after the hostages."

While he is talking, I try to see what is going on in the Place de l'Hôtel de Ville. Two or three thousand Federals are there, some seated, some lying on the ground. A lively discussion is going on. Several little barrels are standing about on chairs; the men are continually getting up and crowding round the barrels, some have no glasses, but drink in the palms of their hands. Women walk up and down in bands, gesticulating wildly. The men shout, the women shriek. Mounted expresses gallop out of the Hotel, some in the direction of the Bastille, some towards the Place de la Concorde. The latter fly past us crying out, "All's well!" "A man comes out on the balcony of the Hotel de Ville and addresses the crowd. All the Federals start to their feet enthusiastically. —"That's Valles," says my neighbor to me. I had already recognized him. I frequently saw him in the students' quarter in a little crémérie in the Rue Serpente. He was given to making verses, rather bad ones by the bye; I remember one in particular, a panegyric on a green coat. They used to say he had a situation as a professional mourner. His face even then wore a bitter and violent expression. He left poetry for journalism, and then journalism for politics. Today he is spouting forth at a window of the Hôtel de Ville. I cannot catch a word of what he says; but as he retires he is wildly applauded. Such applause pains me sadly. I feel that these men and these women are mad for blood, and will know how to die. Alas! how many dead and dying already! Neither the cannonading nor the musketry has ceased an instant.

I now see a number of women walk out of the Hôtel, the crowd makes room for them to pass. They come our way. They are dressed in black, and have black crape tied round their arms and a red cockade in their bonnets. My friend the officer tells me that they are the governesses who have taken the places of the nuns. Then he walks up to them and says, "Have you succeeded?"—"Yes," answers one of them, "here is our commission. The school-children are to be employed in making sacks and filling them with earth, the eldest ones are to load the rifles behind the barricades. They will receive rations like National Guards, and a pension will be given to the mothers of those who die for the republic. They are mad to fight, I assure you. We have made them work hard during the last month; this will be their holiday!" The woman who says this is young and pretty, and speaks; with a sweet smile on her lips. I shudder. Suddenly two staff officers appear and ride furiously up to the Hôtel de Ville; they have come from the Place Vendôme. An instant later and the trumpets sound. The companies form in the Place, and great agitation reigns in the Hôtel. Men rush in and out. The officers who are in the cafe where I am get up instantly, and go to take their places at the head of their men. A rumor spreads that the Versaillais have taken the barricades on the Place de la Concorde.—"By Jove! I think you had better go home," says my neighbor to me, as he clasps his sword-belt; "we shall have hot work here, and that shortly." I think it prudent to follow this advice.

One glance at the Place before I go. The companies of Federals have just started off by the Rue de Rivoli and the quays at a quick march, crying, "Vive la Commune!" a ferocious joy beaming in their faces. A young man, almost a lad, lags a little behind; a woman rushes up to him, and lays hold of his collar, screaming, "Well, and you! are you not going to get yourself killed with the others?"

I reach the Rue Vieille-du-Temple, where another barricade is being built up. I place a paving-stone upon it and pass on. Soon I see open shops and passengers in the streets. This tradesmen's quarter seems to have outlived the riot of Paris. Here one might almost forget the frightful civil war which wages so near, if the conversation of those around did not betray the anguish of the speakers, and if you did not hear the cannon roaring out unceasingly, "People of Paris, listen to me! I am ruining your houses. Listen to me! I am killing your children."

On the Boulevards more barricades; some nearly finished, others scarcely commenced. One constructed near the Porte Saint-Martin looks formidable. That spot seems destined to be the theater of bloody scenes, of riot and revolution. In 1852, corpses lay piled up behind the railing, and all the pavement was tinged with blood. I return home profoundly sad; I can scarcely think—I feel in a dream, and am tired to death; my eyelids droop of themselves; I am like one of those houses there with closed shutters.

Near the Gymnase I meet a friend who I thought was at Versailles. We shake hands sadly. "When did you come back?" I ask.—"Today; I followed the troops." —Then turning back with me he tells me what he has seen. He had a pass, and walked into Paris behind the artillery and the line, as far as the Trocadero, where the soldiers halted to take up their line of battle. Not a single man was visible along the whole length of the quays. At the Champ de Mars he did not see any insurgents. The musketry seemed very violent near Vaugirard on the Pont Royal and around the Palais de l'Industrie. Shells from Montmartre repeatedly fell on the quays. He could not see much, however, only the smoke in the distance. Not a soul did he meet. Such frightful noise in such solitude was fearful. He continued his way under the shelter of the parapet. On one place he saw some gamins cutting huge pieces of flesh off the dead body of a horse that was lying in the path. There must have been fighting there. Down by the water a man fishing while two shells fell in the river, a little higher up, a yard or two from the shore. Then he thought it prudent to get nearer to the Palais de l'Industrie. The fighting was

nearly over then, but not quite. The Champs Élysées was melancholy in the extreme; not a soul was there. This was only too literally true, for several corpses lay on the ground. He saw a soldier of the line lying beneath a tree, his forehead covered with blood. The man opened his mouth as if to speak as he heard the sound of footsteps, the eyelids quivered and then there was a shiver, and all was over.

My friend walked slowly away. He saw trees thrown down and bronze lamp-posts broken; glass crackled under his feet as he passed near the ruined kiosques. Every now and then turning his head he saw shells from Montmartre fall on the Arc de Triomphe and break off large fragments of stone. Near the Tuileries was a confused mass of soldiery against a background of smoke. Suddenly he heard the whizzing of a ball and saw the branch of a tree fall. From one end of the avenue to the other, no one; the road glistened white in the sun. Many dead were to be seen lying about as he crossed the Champs Élysées. All the streets to the left were full of soldiery; there had been fighting there, but it was over now. The insurgents had retreated in the direction of the Madeleine. In many places tricolor flags were hanging from the windows, and women were smiling and waving their handkerchiefs to the troops. The presence of the soldiery seemed to reassure everybody. The concierges were seated before their doors with pipes in their mouths, recounting to attentive listeners the perils from which they had escaped; how balls pierced the mattresses put up at the windows, and how the Federals had got into the houses to hide. One said, "I found three of them in my court; I told a lieutenant they were there, and he had them shot. But I wish they would take them away; I cannot keep dead bodies in my house." Another was talking with some soldiers, and pointing out a house to them. Four men and a corporal went into the place indicated, and an instant afterwards my friend heard the cracking of rifles. The concierge rubbed his hands and winked at the bystanders, while another was saying, "They respect nothing, those Federals; during the battle they came in to steal. They wanted to take away my clothes, my linen, everything I have; but I told them to leave that, that it was not good enough for them, that they ought to go up to the first floor, where they would find clocks and plate, and I gave them the key. Well, messieurs, you would never believe what they have done, the rascals! They took the key and went and pillaged everything on the first floor!" My friend had heard enough, and passed on. The agitation everywhere was very great. The soldiers went hither and thither, rang the bells, went into the houses and brought out with them pale-faced prisoners. The inhabitants continued to smile politely but grimly. Here and there dead bodies were lying in the road. A man who was pushing a truck allowed one of the wheels to pass over a corpse that was lying with its head on the curbstone. "Bah!" said he, "it won't do him any harm." The dead and wounded were, however, being carried away as quickly as possible.

The cannon had now ceased roaring, and the fight was still going on close at hand—at the Tuileries doubtless. The townspeople were tranquil and the soldiery disdainful. A strange contrast; all these good citizens smiling and chatting, and the soldiers, who had come to save them at the peril of their lives, looking down upon them with the most careless indifference. My friend reached the Boulevard Haussmann; there the corpses were in large numbers. He counted thirty in less than a hundred yards. Some were lying under the doorways; a dead woman was seated on the bottom stair of one of the houses. Near the church of "La Trinité" were two guns, the reports from which were deafening; several of the shells fell in a bathing establishment in the Rue Taitbout opposite the Boulevard. On the Boulevard itself, not a person was to be seen. Here and there dark masses, corpses doubtless. However, the moment the noise of the report of a gun had died away, and while the gunners were reloading, heads were thrust out from doors to see what damage had been done—to count the number of trees broken, benches torn up, and kiosques overturned. From some of the windows rifles were fired. My friend then reached the street he lived in and went home. He was told during the morning they had violently bombarded the Collège Chaptal, where the Zouaves of the Commune had fortified themselves; but the engagement was not a long one, they made several prisoners and shot the rest.

My friend shut himself up at home, determined not to go out. But his impatience to see and hear what was going on forced him into the streets again. The Pepinière barracks were occupied by troops of the line; he was able to get to the New Opera without trouble, leaving the Madeleine, where dreadful fighting was going on, to the right. On the way were to be seen piled muskets, soldiers sitting and lying about, and corpses everywhere. He then managed, without incurring too much danger, to reach the Boulevards, where the insurgents, who were then very numerous, had not yet been attacked. He worked for some little time at the barricade, and then was allowed to pass on. It was thus that we had met. Just as we were about to turn up the Faubourg Montmartre a man rushed up saying that three hundred Federals had taken refuge in the church of the Madeleine, followed by gendarmes, and had gone on fighting for more than an hour. "Now," he finished up by saying, "if the curé were to return, he would find plenty of people to bury!"

I am now at home. Evening has come at last; I am jotting down these notes just as they come into my head. I am too much fatigued both in mind and body to attempt to put my thoughts into order. The cannonading is incessant, and the fusillade also. I pity those that died, and those that kill! Oh! poor Paris, when will experience make you wiser?

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## Charles Darwin: *The Descent of Man*

Date: 1871

*Charles Darwin, an English biologist, was one of a number of scientists considering theories of evolution. He published On the Origin of Species in 1859 and set forth his theory that animals evolved through variation and natural selection of those most fit to survive in particular environments. In The Descent of Man (1871) he applied his theory directly to the question of human beings. Far from standing aside from the social, racial and religious consequences of his theories, Darwin, as we see below, jumped right into the fray.*

The following segments are excerpts from the original document.

The main conclusion here arrived at, and now held by many naturalists who are well competent to form a sound judgment, is that man is descended from some less highly organised form. The grounds upon which this conclusion rests will never be shaken, for the close similarity between man and the lower animals in embryonic development, as well as in innumerable points of structure and constitution, both of high and of the most trifling importance,—the rudiments which he retains, and the abnormal revisions to which he is occasionally liable,—are facts which cannot be disputed. They have long been known, but until recently they told us nothing with respect to the origin of man. Now when viewed by the light of our knowledge of the whole organic world their meaning is unmistakable. The great principle of evolution stands up clear and firm, when these groups of facts are considered in connection with others, such as the mutual affinities of the members of the same group, their geographical distribution in past and present times, and their geological succession. It is incredible that all these facts should speak falsely. He who is not content to look, like a savage, at the phenomena of nature as disconnected, cannot any longer believe that man is the work of a separate act of creation. He will be forced to admit that the close resemblance of the embryo of man to that, for instance, of a dog—the construction of his skull, limbs and whole frame on the same plan with that of other mammals, independently of the uses to which the parts may be put—the occasional re-appearance of various structures, for instance of several muscles, which man does not normally possess, but which are common to the *Quadrumania*—and a crowd of analogous facts—all point in the plainest manner to the conclusion that man is the co-descendant with other mammals of a common progenitor.

We have seen that man incessantly presents individual differences in all parts of his body and in his mental faculties. These differences or variations seem to be induced by the same general causes, and to obey the same laws as with the lower animals. In both cases similar laws of inheritance prevail. Man tends to increase at a greater rate than his means of subsistence; consequently he is occasionally subjected to a severe struggle for existence, and natural selection will have effected whatever lies within its scope. A succession of strongly-marked variations of a similar nature is by no means requisite; slight fluctuating differences in the individual suffice for the work of natural selection; not that we have any reason to suppose that in the same species, all parts of the organisation tend to vary to the same degree.

By considering the embryological structure of man,—the homologies which he presents with the lower animals,—the rudiments which he retains,—and the reversions to which he is liable, we can partly recall in imagination the former condition of our early progenitors; and can approximately place them in their proper place in the zoological series. We thus learn that man is descended from a hairy, tailed quadruped, probably arboreal in its habits, and an inhabitant of the Old World. This creature, if its whole structure had been examined by a naturalist, would have been classed amongst the *Quadrumania*, as surely as the still more ancient progenitor of the Old and New World monkeys. The *Quadrumania* and all the higher mammals are probably derived from an ancient marsupial animal, and this through a long line of diversified forms, from some amphibian-like creature, and this again from some fish-like animal. In the dim obscurity of the past we can see that the early progenitor of all the *Vertebrata* must have been an aquatic animal, provided with branchiæ, with the two sexes united in the same individual, and with the most important organs of the body (such as the brain and heart) imperfectly or not at all developed. This animal seems to have been more like the larvæ of the existing marine *Ascidians* than any other known form.

The high standard of our intellectual powers and moral disposition is the greatest difficulty which presents itself, after we have been driven to this conclusion on the origin of man. But every one who admits the principle of evolution, must see that the mental powers of the higher animals, which are the same in kind with those of man, though so different in degree, are capable of advancement. . . .

The moral nature of man has reached its present standard, partly through the advancement of his reasoning powers and consequently of a just public opinion, but especially from his sympathies having been rendered more tender and widely diffused through the effects of habit, example, instruction, and reflection. It is not improbable that after long practice virtuous tendencies may be inherited. With the more civilised races, the conviction of the existence of an all-seeing Deity has had a potent influence on the advance of morality. Ultimately man does not accept the praise or blame of his fellows as his sole guide though few escape this

influence, but his habitual convictions, controlled by reason, afford him the safest rule. His conscience then becomes the supreme judge and monitor. Nevertheless the first foundation or origin of the moral sense lies in the social instincts, including sympathy; and these instincts no doubt were primarily gained, as in the case of the lower animals, through natural selection.

The belief in God has often been advanced as not only the greatest but the most complete of all the distinctions between man and the lower animals. It is however impossible, as we have seen, to maintain that this belief is innate or instinctive in man. On the other hand a belief in all-pervading spiritual agencies seems to be universal, and apparently follows from a considerable advance in man's reason, and from a still greater advance in his faculties of imagination, curiosity and wonder. I am aware that the assumed instinctive belief in God has been used by many persons as an argument for His existence. But this is a rash argument, as we should thus be compelled to believe in the existence of many cruel and malignant spirits, only a little more powerful than man; for the belief in them is far more general than in a beneficent Deity. The idea of a universal and beneficent Creator does not seem to arise in the mind of man, until he has been elevated by long-continued culture. . . .

I am aware that the conclusions arrived at in this work will be denounced by some as highly irreligious; but he who denounces them is bound to shew why it is more irreligious to explain the origin of man as a distinct species by descent from some lower form, through the laws of variation and natural selection, than to explain the birth of the individual through the laws of ordinary reproduction. The birth both of the species and of the individual are equally parts of that grand sequence of events, which our minds refuse to accept as the result of blind chance. The understanding revolts at such a conclusion, whether or not we are able to believe that every slight variation of structure,—the union of each pair in marriage,—the dissemination of each seed,—and other such events, have all been ordained for some special purpose.

Sexual selection has been treated at great length in this work, for, as I have attempted to shew, it has played an important part in the history of the organic world. I am aware that much remains doubtful, but I have endeavoured to give a fair view of the whole case. In the lower divisions of the animal kingdom, sexual selection seems to have done nothing: such animals are often affixed for life to the same spot, or have the sexes combined in the same individual, or what is still more important, their perceptive and intellectual faculties are not sufficiently advanced to allow of the feelings of love and jealousy, or of the exertion of choice. When, however, we come to the Arthropoda and Vertebrata, even to the lowest classes in these two great Sub-Kingdoms, sexual selection has effected much. . . .

Sexual selection depends on the success of certain individuals over others of the same sex, in relation to the propagation of the species; whilst natural selection depends on the success of both sexes, at all ages, in relation to the general conditions of life. The sexual struggle is of two kinds; in the one it is between the individuals of the same sex, generally the males, in order to drive away or kill their rivals, the females remaining passive; whilst in the other, the struggle is likewise between the individuals of the same sex, in order to excite or charm those of the opposite sex, generally the females, which no longer remain passive, but select the more agreeable partners. . . .

The main conclusion arrived at in this work, namely that man is descended from some lowly organised form, will, I regret to think, be highly distasteful to many. But there can hardly be a doubt that we are descended from barbarians. The astonishment which I felt on first seeing a party of Fuegians on a wild and broken shore will never be forgotten by me, for the reflection at once rushed into my mind—such were our ancestors. These men were absolutely naked and bedaubed with paint, their long hair was tangled, their mouths frothed with excitement, and their expression was wild, startled, and distrustful. They possessed hardly any arts, and like wild animals lived on what they could catch; they had no government, and were merciless to every one not of their own small tribe. He who has seen a savage in his native land will not feel much shame, if forced to acknowledge that the blood of some more humble creature flows in his veins. For my own part I would as soon be descended from that heroic little monkey, who braved his dreaded enemy in order to save the life of his keeper, or from that old baboon, who descending from the mountains, carried away in triumph his young comrade from a crowd of astonished dogs—as from a savage who delights to torture his enemies, offers up bloody sacrifices, practises infanticide without remorse, treats his wives like slaves, knows no decency, and is haunted by the grossest superstitions.

Man may be excused for feeling some pride at having risen, though not through his own exertions, to the very summit of the organic scale; and the fact of his having thus risen, instead of having been aboriginally placed there, may give him hope for a still higher destiny in the distant future. But we are not here concerned with hopes or fears, only with the truth as far as our reason permits us to discover it; and I have given the evidence to the best of my ability. We must, however, acknowledge, as it seems to me, that man with all his noble qualities, with sympathy which feels for the most debased, with benevolence which extends not only to other men but to the humblest living creature, with his god-like intellect which has penetrated into the movements and constitution of the solar system—with all these exalted powers—Man still bears in his bodily frame the indelible stamp of his lowly origin.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Darwin, Charles. *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex*. New York: Appleton and Co., 1883, pp. 7, 609, 612–614, 618–619.

## Kingdom of Choson (Korea) Treaty

Date: May 22, 1882

*The Kingdom of Choson Treaty was unique in that it was framed not as a relationship between two governments but between two heads of state: “There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the President of the United States and the King of Chosen [Choson],” then secondarily between “the citizens and subjects of their respective Governments.” Scholars regard the treaty as one of the more enlightened documents of 19th-century East-West relations. The treaty was signed by the United States and the kingdom of Choson, at Yin Chuen, Choson (present-day Korea).*

*Korea was the last of the three major Asian empires, after China and Japan, with which the United States established commercial relations. In addition to the customary articles establishing trade and diplomatic relations between the countries, there were articles specifically prohibiting the opium trade and controlling trade in foodstuffs (at critical times), arms and munitions, and an article that encouraged cultural exchange:*

The following entry contains excerpts from the original document.

VII The Governments of the United States and of Chosen mutually agree and undertake that subjects of Chosen shall not be permitted to import opium into any of the ports of the United States, and citizens of the United States shall not be permitted to import opium into any of the open ports of Chosen, to transport it from one open port to another open port, or to traffic in it in Chosen. This absolute prohibition, which extends to vessels owned by the citizens or subjects of either Power, to foreign vessels employed by them, and to vessels owned by the citizens or subjects of either Power, and employed by other persons for the transportation of opium, shall be enforced by appropriate legislation on the part of the United States and of Chosen, and offenders against it shall be severely punished.

VIII Whenever the Government of Chosen shall have reason to apprehend a scarcity of food within the limits of the kingdom, His Majesty may by Decree temporarily prohibit the export of all breadstuffs, and such Decree shall be binding on all citizens of the United States in Chosen upon due notice having been given them by the authorities of Chosen through the proper officers of the United States; but it is to be understood that the exportation of rice and breadstuffs of every description is prohibited from the open port of Yin-Chuen.

Chosen having of old prohibited the exportation of red ginseng, if citizens of the United States clandestinely purchase it for export, it shall be confiscated and the offenders punished.

IX Purchase of cannon, small arms, swords, gunpowder, shot, and all munitions of war is permitted only to officials of the Government of Chosen, and they may be imported by citizens of the United States only under a written permit from the authorities of Chosen. If these articles are clandestinely imported, they shall be confiscated, and the offending party shall be punished.

*A provision was also included that specifically encouraged cultural exchange:*

XI Students of either nationality, who may proceed to the country of the other, in order to study the language, literature, law, or arts, shall be given all possible protection and assistance in evidence of cordial goodwill.

### CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Axelrod, Alan, and Charles L. Phillips. “Kingdom of Choson Treaty.” In *Encyclopedia of Historical Treaties and Alliances: From Ancient Times to the 1930s*. Vol. 1. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2006. Facts On File, Inc. *Modern World History Online*. [www.factsonfile.com](http://www.factsonfile.com).

Primary Source Citation: United States and the Kingdom of Choson (Korea). “Kingdom of Choson Treaty.” In Axelrod, Alan, and Charles L. Phillips. *Encyclopedia of Historical Treaties and Alliances: From Ancient Times to the 1930s*. Vol. 1. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2006.

## Andrew Carnegie: “The Gospel of Wealth”

Date: 1889

*Andrew Carnegie was a successful businessman, with his fortune derived from supplying iron and steel to railroads. Nevertheless, Carnegie recalled his roots as a young radical in Scotland. He developed the idea of the gospel of wealth. As a Social Darwinist, he believed wealth was a natural phenomenon, but he also*

*believed that it imposed a social obligation on those who gained it. He bequeathed much of his fortune to founding libraries and to supporting international efforts to establish peace.*

The following entry contains excerpts from the original document.

The problem of our age is the administration of wealth, so that the ties of brotherhood may still bind together the rich and poor in harmonious relationship. The conditions of human life have not only been changed, but revolutionized, within the past few hundred years. In former days there was little difference between the dwelling, dress, food, and environment of the chief and those of his retainers. . . . The contrast between the palace of the millionaire and the cottage of the laborer with us today measures the change which has come with civilization.

This change, however, is not to be deplored, but welcomed as highly beneficial. It is well, nay, essential for the progress of the race, that the houses of some should be homes for all that is highest and best in literature and the arts, and for all the refinements of civilization, rather than that none should be so. Much better this great irregularity than universal squalor. Without wealth there can be no Maecenas [Note: a rich Roman patron of the arts]. The "good old times" were not good old times. Neither master nor servant was as well situated then as to day. A relapse to old conditions would be disastrous to both-not the least so to him who serves-and would sweep away civilization with it. . . .

We start, then, with a condition of affairs under which the best interests of the race are promoted, but which inevitably gives wealth to the few. Thus far, accepting conditions as they exist, the situation can be surveyed and pronounced good. The question then arises-and, if the foregoing be correct, it is the only question with which we have to deal-What is the proper mode of administering wealth after the laws upon which civilization is founded have thrown it into the hands of the few? And it is of this great question that I believe I offer the true solution. It will be understood that fortunes are here spoken of, not moderate sums saved by many years of effort, the returns from which are required for the comfortable maintenance and education of families. This is not wealth, but only competence, which it should be the aim of all to acquire.

There are but three modes in which surplus wealth can be disposed of. It can be left to the families of the decedents; or it can be bequeathed for public purposes; or, finally, it can be administered during their lives by its possessors. Under the first and second modes most of the wealth of the world that has reached the few has hitherto been applied. Let us in turn consider each of these modes. The first is the most injudicious. In monarchical countries, the estates and the greatest portion of the wealth are left to the first son, that the vanity of the parent may be gratified by the thought that his name and title are to descend to succeeding generations unimpaired. The condition of this class in Europe today teaches the futility of such hopes or ambitions. The successors have become impoverished through their follies or from the fall in the value of land. . . . Why should men leave great fortunes to their children? If this is done from affection, is it not misguided affection? Observation teaches that, generally speaking, it is not well for the children that they should be so burdened. Neither is it well for the state. Beyond providing for the wife and daughters moderate sources of income, and very moderate allowances indeed, if any, for the sons, men may well hesitate, for it is no longer questionable that great sums bequeathed oftener work more for the injury than for the good of the recipients. Wise men will soon conclude that, for the best interests of the members of their families and of the state, such bequests are an improper use of their means.

. . . As to the second mode, that of leaving wealth at death for public uses, it may be said that this is only a means for the disposal of wealth, provided a man is content to wait until he is dead before it becomes of much good in the world. . . . The cases are not few in which the real object sought by the testator is not attained, nor are they few in which his real wishes are thwarted. . . .

The growing disposition to tax more and more heavily large estates left at death is a cheering indication of the growth of a salutary change in public opinion. . . . Of all forms of taxation, this seems the wisest. Men who continue hoarding great sums all their lives, the proper use of which for public ends would work good to the community, should be made to feel that the community, in the form of the state, cannot thus be deprived of its proper share. By taxing estates heavily at death, the state marks its condemnation of the selfish millionaire's unworthy life. . . . This policy would work powerfully to induce the rich man to attend to the administration of wealth during his life, which is the end that society should always have in view, as being that by far most fruitful for the people. . . . There remains, then, only one mode of using great fortunes: but in this way we have the true antidote for the temporary unequal distribution of wealth, the reconciliation of the rich and the poor-a reign of harmony-another ideal, differing, indeed from that of the Communist in requiring only the further evolution of existing conditions, not the total overthrow of our civilization. It is founded upon the present most intense individualism, and the race is prepared to put it in practice by degrees whenever it pleases. Under its sway we shall have an ideal state, in which the surplus wealth of the few will become, in the best sense, the property of the many, because administered for the common good, and this wealth, passing through the hands of the few, can be made a much more potent force for the elevation of our race than if it had been distributed in small sums to the people themselves. Even the poorest can be made to see this, and to

agree that great sums gathered by some of their fellowcitizens and spent for public purposes, from which the masses reap the principal benefit, are more valuable to them than if scattered among them through the course of many years in trifling amounts.

. . . This, then, is held to be the duty of the man of Wealth: First, to set an example of modest, unostentatious living, shunning display or extravagance; to provide moderately for the legitimate wants of those dependent upon him; and after doing so to consider all surplus revenues which come to him simply as trust funds, which he is called upon to administer, and strictly bound as a matter of duty to administer in the manner which, in his judgment, is best calculated to produce the most beneficial result for the community—the man of wealth thus becoming the sole agent and trustee for his poorer brethren, bringing to their service his superior wisdom, experience, and ability to administer—doing for them better than they would or could do for themselves.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Primary Source Citation: Andrew Carnegie. "Wealth." *North American Review* 148, no. 391 (June 1889): 653, 657–662.

## Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum*

Date: May 15, 1891

*The Rerum Novarum (Of New Things) was an encyclical issued by Pope Leo XIII. It was an open letter, passed on to all Catholic bishops, that addressed the condition of the working class. It discussed the relationships between government, business, labor, and the church.*

*It supported the rights of labor to form unions, and rejected socialism, pointing out that, ". . . perpetual conflict necessarily produces confusion and savage barbarity." It spoke directly to the duties and responsibilities of the wealthy owners and masters of labor, or employers. This encyclical is generally accepted to be the founding document of Christian Democracy.*

The following entry contains excerpts from the original document.

### RERUM NOVARUM

#### ENCYCLICAL OF POPE LEO XIII ON CAPITAL AND LABOR

To Our Venerable Brethren the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, and other ordinaries of places having Peace and Communion with the Apostolic See.

#### Rights and Duties of Capital and Labor

That the spirit of revolutionary change, which has long been disturbing the nations of the world, should have passed beyond the sphere of politics and made its influence felt in the cognate sphere of practical economics is not surprising. The elements of the conflict now raging are unmistakable, in the vast expansion of industrial pursuits and the marvellous discoveries of science; in the changed relations between masters and workmen; in the enormous fortunes of some few individuals, and the utter poverty of the masses; the increased self reliance and closer mutual combination of the working classes; as also, finally, in the prevailing moral degeneracy. The momentous gravity of the state of things now obtaining fills every mind with painful apprehension; wise men are discussing it; practical men are proposing schemes; popular meetings, legislatures, and rulers of nations are all busied with it - actually there is no question which has taken deeper hold on the public mind.

#### Highlights of the encyclical

##### Paragraph 19:

The great mistake made in regard to the matter now under consideration is to take up with the notion that class is naturally hostile to class, and that the wealthy and the working men are intended by nature to live in mutual conflict. So irrational and so false is this view that the direct contrary is the truth. Just as the symmetry of the human frame is the result of the suitable arrangement of the different parts of the body, so in a State is it ordained by nature that these two classes should dwell in harmony and agreement, so as to maintain the balance of the body politic. Each needs the other: capital cannot do without labor, nor labor without capital. Mutual agreement results in the beauty of good order, while perpetual conflict necessarily produces confusion and savage barbarity. Now, in preventing such strife as this, and in uprooting it, the efficacy of Christian insti-

tutions is marvellous and manifold. First of all, there is no intermediary more powerful than religion (whereof the Church is the interpreter and guardian) in drawing the rich and the working class together, by reminding each of its duties to the other, and especially of the obligations of justice.

Paragraph 20:

Of these duties, the following bind the proletarian and the worker: fully and faithfully to perform the work which has been freely and equitably agreed upon; never to injure the property, nor to outrage the person, of an employer; never to resort to violence in defending their own cause, nor to engage in riot or disorder; and to have nothing to do with men of evil principles, who work upon the people with artful promises of great results, and excite foolish hopes which usually end in useless regrets and grievous loss. The following duties bind the wealthy owner and the employer: not to look upon their work people as their bondsmen, but to respect in every man his dignity as a person ennobled by Christian character. They are reminded that, according to natural reason and Christian philosophy, working for gain is creditable, not shameful, to a man, since it enables him to earn an honorable livelihood; but to misuse men as though they were things in the pursuit of gain, or to value them solely for their physical powers - that is truly shameful and inhuman. Again justice demands that, in dealing with the working man, religion and the good of his soul must be kept in mind. Hence, the employer is bound to see that the worker has time for his religious duties; that he be not exposed to corrupting influences and dangerous occasions; and that he be not led away to neglect his home and family, or to squander his earnings. Furthermore, the employer must never tax his work people beyond their strength, or employ them in work unsuited to their sex and age. His great and principal duty is to give every one what is just. Doubtless, before deciding whether wages are fair, many things have to be considered; but wealthy owners and all masters of labor should be mindful of this - that to exercise pressure upon the indigent and the destitute for the sake of gain, and to gather one's profit out of the need of another, is condemned by all laws, human and divine. To defraud any one of wages that are his due is a great crime which cries to the avenging anger of Heaven. "Behold, the hire of the laborers... which by fraud has been kept back by you, crieth; and the cry of them hath entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth." (The Bible - James 5:4) Lastly, the rich must religiously refrain from cutting down the workmen's earnings, whether by force, by fraud, or by usurious dealing; and with all the greater reason because the laboring man is, as a rule, weak and unprotected, and because his slender means should in proportion to their scantiness be accounted sacred. Were these precepts carefully obeyed and followed out, would they not be sufficient of themselves to keep under all strife and all its causes?

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Primary Source Citation: Pope Leo XIII. *Rerum Novarum*. The Vatican web site, vatican.va, [http://www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/leo\\_xiii/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_l-xiii\\_enc\\_15051891\\_rerum-novarum\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/leo_xiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_15051891_rerum-novarum_en.html)

## Theodor Herzl: On the Jewish State

Date: 1896

*Jewish leaders had advocated the return of Jews to Palestine for many years before Theodor Herzl wrote, The Jewish State, a pamphlet defining the movement. Herzl's arguments led to a more defined political movement, aiming at the establishment of a homeland in Palestine. Herzl convened the first Zionist Congress in 1897, the year after the publication of his pamphlet. Herzl was willing to consider other locations than Palestine for the homeland, and investigated other possibilities, including lands in what is now the nation of Uganda.*

The following segments are excerpts from the original document.

The idea which I have developed in this pamphlet is a very old one: it is the restoration of the Jewish State. The world resounds with outcries against the Jews, and these outcries have awakened the slumbering idea.

#### WE ARE A PEOPLE—ONE PEOPLE.

We have honestly endeavored everywhere to merge ourselves in the social life of surrounding communities and to preserve the faith of our fathers. We are not permitted to do so. In vain are we loyal patriots, our loyalty in some places running to extremes; in vain do we make the same sacrifices of life and property as our fellowcitizens; in vain do we strive to increase the fame of our native land in science and art, or her wealth by trade and commerce. In countries where we have lived for centuries we are still cried down as strangers, and often by those whose ancestors were not yet domiciled in the land where Jews had already had experience of suffering. The majority may decide which are the strangers; for this, as indeed every point which arises in the relations between nations, is a question of might. I do not here surrender any portion of our prescriptive right, when I make this statement merely in my own name as an individual. In the world as it now is and for an

indefinite period will probably remain, might precedes right. It is useless, therefore, for us to be loyal patriots, as were the Huguenots who were forced to emigrate. If we could only be left in peace. . . .

[However,] oppression and persecution cannot exterminate us. No nation on earth has survived such struggles and sufferings as we have gone through. Jew-baiting has merely stripped off our weaklings; the strong among us were invariably true to their race when persecution broke out against them. . . .

However much I may worship personality—powerful individual personality in statesmen, inventors, artists, philosophers, or leaders, as well as the collective personality of a historic group of human beings, which we call a nation—however much I may worship personality, I do not regret its disappearance. Whoever can, will, and must perish, let him perish. But the distinctive nationality of Jews neither can, will, nor must be destroyed. It cannot be destroyed, because external enemies consolidate it. It will not be destroyed; this is shown during two thousand years of appalling suffering. It must not be destroyed. . . . Whole branches of Judaism may wither and fall, but the trunk will remain.

### THE JEWISH QUESTION

No one can deny the gravity of the situation of the Jews. Wherever they live in perceptible numbers, they are more or less persecuted. Their equality before the law, granted by statute, has become practically a dead letter. They are debarred from filling even moderately high positions, either in the army, or in any public or private capacity. And attempts are made to thrust them out of business also: "Don't buy from Jews!"

Attacks in Parliaments, in assemblies, in the press, in the pulpit, in the street, on journeys—for example, their exclusion from certain hotels—even in places of recreation, become daily more numerous. The forms of persecutions varying according to the countries and social circles in which they occur. . . .

### THE PLAN

Let the sovereignty be granted us over a portion of the globe large enough to satisfy the rightful requirements of a nation; the rest we shall manage for ourselves.

The creation of a new State is neither ridiculous nor impossible. We have in our day witnessed the process in connection with nations which were not largely members of the middle class, but poorer, less educated, and consequently weaker than ourselves. The Governments of all countries scourged by Anti-Semitism will be keenly interested in assisting us to obtain the sovereignty we want.

The plan, simple in design, but complicated in execution, will be carried out by two agencies: The Society of Jews and the Jewish Company.

The Society of Jews will do the preparatory work in the domains of science and politics, which the Jewish Company will afterwards apply practically.

The Jewish Company will be the liquidating agent of the business interests of departing Jews, and will organize commerce and trade in the new country.

We must not imagine the departure of the Jews to be a sudden one. It will be gradual, continuous, and will cover many decades. The poorest will go first 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 labor will create trade, trade will create markets and markets will attract new settlers, for every man will go voluntarily, at his own expense and his own risk. The labor expended on the land will enhance its value, and the Jews will soon perceive that a new and permanent sphere of operation is opening here for that spirit of enterprise which has heretofore met only with hatred and obloquy.

### CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Theodor Herzl. *The Jewish State, An Attempt at a Modern Solution of the Jewish Question*. Edited by Jacob M. Alkow. New York: American Zionist Emergency Council, 1946, pp. 69, 76–77, 79–80, 85, 92–93.

## John Hay: Circular Letter

Date: 1899

*A letter of September 6, 1899, written by U.S. Secretary of State John Hay, that announced the Open Door policy toward China and was an attempt to protect American commercial interests at a time when European nations were establishing spheres of influence in China. Hay's letter instructed U.S. embassies in Germany, Russia, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan to seek assurances that those powers would respect the trading rights of other nations within their spheres of influence, that the Chinese treaty tariff would apply to all spheres of influence and would be collected by the Chinese government, and that discriminatory tariffs and fees would not be applied to any nation. Though the various nations gave evasive replies, on March 20, 1900, Hay announced the acceptance of the Open Door policy as "final and definitive."*

Germany.  
Mr. Hay to Mr. White.  
Department of State, Washington, September 6, 1899.

Sir: At the time when the Government of the United States was informed by that of Germany that it had leased from His Majesty the Emperor of China the port of Kiao-chao and the adjacent territory in the province of Shantung, assurances were given to the ambassador of the United States at Berlin by the Imperial German minister for foreign affairs that the rights and privileges insured by treaties with China to citizens of the United States would not thereby suffer or be in anywise impaired within the area over which Germany had thus obtained control.

More recently, however, the British Government recognized by a formal agreement with Germany the exclusive right of the latter country to enjoy in said leased area an the contiguous "sphere of influence or interest" certain privileges, more especially those relating to railroads and mining enterprises; but, as the exact nature and extent of the rights thus recognized have not been clearly defined, it is possible that serious conflicts of interest may at any time arise, not only between British and German subjects within said area, but that the interests of our citizens may also be jeopardized thereby.

Earnestly desirous to remove any cause of irritation and to insure at the same time to the commerce of all nations in China the undoubted benefits which should accrue from a formal recognition by the various powers claiming "spheres of interest" that they shall enjoy perfect equality of treatment for their commerce and navigation within such "spheres," the Government of the United States would be pleased to see His German Majesty's Government give formal assurances and lend its cooperation in securing like assurances from the other interested powers that each within its respective spheres of whatever influence. . . .

First. Will in no way interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest within any so-called "sphere of interest" or leased territory it may have in China.

Second. That the Chinese treaty tariff of the time being shall apply to all merchandise landed or shipped to all such ports as are within said "sphere of interest" (unless they be "free ports"), no matter to what nationality it may belong, and that duties so leviable shall be collected by the Chinese Government.

Third. That it will levy no higher harbor dues on vessels of another nationality frequenting any port in such "sphere" than shall be levied on vessels of its own nationality, and no higher railroad charges over lines built, controlled, or operated within its "sphere" on merchandise belonging to citizens or subjects of other nationalities transported through such "sphere" than shall be levied on similar merchandise belonging to its own nationals transported over equal distances.

The liberal policy pursued by His Imperial German Majesty in declaring Kiao-chao a free port and in aiding the Chinese Government in the establishment there of a custom-house are so clearly in line with the proposition which this Government is anxious to see recognized that it entertains the strongest hope that Germany will give its acceptance and hearty support.

The recent ukase of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia declaring the port of Ta-lien-wan open during the whole of the lease under which it is held from China, to the merchant ships of all nations, coupled with the categorical assurances made to this Government by His Imperial Majesty's representative at this capital at the time, and since repeated to me by the present Russian ambassador, seem to insure the support of the Emperor to the proposed measure. Our ambassador at the Court of St. Petersburg has, in consequence, been instructed to submit it to the Russian Government and to request their early consideration of it. A copy of my instruction on the subject to Mr. Tower is herewith enclosed for your confidential information.

The commercial interests of Great Britain and Japan will be so clearly served by the desired declaration of intentions, and the views of the Governments of these countries as to the desirability of the adoption of measures insuring the benefits of equality of treatment of all foreign trade throughout China are so similar to those entertained by the United States, that their acceptance of the propositions herein outlined and their cooperation in advocating their adoption by the other powers can be confidently expected. I inclose herewith copy of the instruction which I have sent to Mr. Choate on the subject.

In view of the present favorable conditions, you are instructed to submit the above considerations to His Imperial German Majesty's minister for foreign affairs, and to request his early consideration of the subject.

Copy of this instruction is sent to our ambassadors at London and at St. Petersburg for their information.

I have, etc.,

John Hay.

(Inclosures:) To London, September 6, 1899, No. 205; to St. Petersburg, September 6, 1899, No. 82.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: "Circular Letter, 1899." Facts On File, Inc. *American History Online*. www.fofweb.com.

Primary Source Citation: Hay, John. "Circular Letter, 1899." *Treaties, Conversions, International Acts, Protocols and Agreement Between the United States of America and Other Powers, 1776-1909*. Vol. 1, part 1, New York: Facts On File, Inc. pp. 246-247.



## PRIMARY DOCUMENTS: CRISIS AND ACHIEVEMENT—1900 TO 1950

### Lenin: “What Is to Be Done?”

Date: 1902

*In this essay, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin argued for a socialist party that would be open only to dedicated revolutionaries, rather than to a broad political base of ideological supporters. The more open and democratic model characterized the socialist parties of the period in Europe and the Americas, but Lenin conceived of the party as an apparatus for revolution. When his wing of the Russian Social Democratic Party briefly dominated one meeting, they declared themselves Bolsheviks, or the majority wing, even though the more open wing of the party outnumbered them. The name stuck, and Lenin’s dedicated revolutionary wing of the Social Democrats were henceforth known internationally as Bolsheviks. In this essay, Lenin harshly criticizes other Social Democrats for believing that a middle-class style political victory would be possible in Russia, and instead he urges that the party not use political means but organize itself as a tough, centrally-controlled elite that would work to establish a socialist state in the interests of the wider proletariat.*

The history of all countries shows that the working class, exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade union consciousness, i.e., it may itself realise the necessity for combining in unions, for fighting against the employers and for striving to compel the government to pass necessary labour legislation, etc. The theory of socialism, however, grew out of the philosophic, historical and economic theories that were elaborated by the educated representatives of the propertied classes, the intellectuals. According to their social status, the founders of modern scientific socialism, Marx and Engels, themselves belonged to the bourgeois intelligentsia. Similarly, in Russia, the theoretical doctrine of Social Democracy arose quite independently of the spontaneous growth of the labour movement; it arose as a natural and inevitable outcome of the development of ideas among the revolutionary socialist intelligentsia. At the time of which we are speaking, i.e., the middle of the nineties, this doctrine not only represented the completely formulated programme of the Emancipation of Labour group, but had already won the adherence of the majority of the revolutionary youth in Russia.

It is only natural that a Social Democrat, who conceives the political struggle as being identical with the “economic struggle against the employers and the government,” should conceive of an “organisation of revolutionaries” as being more or less identical with an “organisation of workers.” And this, in fact, is what actually happens; so that when we talk about organisation, we literally talk in different tongues. I recall a conversation I once had with a fairly consistent Economist, with whom I had not been previously acquainted. We were discussing the pamphlet *Who Will Make the Political Revolution?* and we were very soon agreed that the principal defect in that brochure was that it ignored the question of organisation. We were beginning to think that we were in complete agreement with each other—but as the conversation proceeded, it became clear that we were talking of different things. My interlocutor accused the author of the brochure just mentioned of ignoring strike funds, mutual aid societies, etc.; whereas I had in mind an organisation of revolutionaries as an essential factor in “making” the political revolution. After that became clear, I hardly remember a single question of importance upon which I was in agreement with that Economist!

What was the source of our disagreement? The fact that on questions of organisation and politics the Economists are forever lapsing from Social Democracy into trade unionism. The political struggle carried on by the Social Democrats is far more extensive and complex than the economic struggle the workers carry on against the employers and the government. Similarly (and indeed for that reason), the organisation of a revolutionary Social Democratic Party must inevitably differ from the organisations of the workers designed for the latter struggle. A workers’ organisation must in the first place be a trade organisation; secondly, it must be as wide as possible; and thirdly, it must be as public as conditions will allow (here, and further on, of course, I have only autocratic Russia in mind). On the other hand, the organisations of revolutionaries must consist first and foremost of people whose profession is that of a revolutionary (that is why I speak of organisations of revolutionaries, meaning revolutionary Social Democrats). In view of this common feature of the members of such an organisation, all distinctions as between workers and intellectuals, and certainly distinctions of trade and profession, must be obliterated. Such an organisation must of necessity be not too extensive and as secret as possible.

I assert:

- that no movement can be durable without a stable organisation of leaders to maintain continuity;
- that the more widely the masses are spontaneously drawn into the struggle and form the basis of the movement and participate in it, the more necessary is it to have such an organisation, and the more stable must it be (for it is much easier for demagogues to sidetrack the more backward sections of the masses);
- that the organisation must consist chiefly of persons engaged in revolutionary activities as a profession;

that in a country with an autocratic government, the more we restrict the membership of this organisation to persons who are engaged in revolutionary activities as a profession and who have been professionally trained in the art of combating the political police, the more difficult will it be to catch the organisation, and the wider will be the circle of men and women of the working class or of other classes of society able to join the movement and perform active work in it. . . .

The active and widespread participation of the masses will not suffer; on the contrary, it will benefit by the fact that a “dozen” experienced revolutionaries, no less professionally trained than the police, will centralise all the secret side of the work—prepare leaflets, work out approximate plans and appoint bodies of leaders for each urban district, for each factory district and to each educational institution, etc. (I know that exception will be taken to my “undemocratic” views, but I shall reply to this altogether unintelligent objection later on.) The centralisation of the more secret functions in an organisation of revolutionaries will not diminish, but rather increase the extent and the quality of the activity of a large number of other organisations intended for wide membership and which, therefore, can be as loose and as public as possible, for example, trade unions, workers’ circles for self-education and the reading of illegal literature, and socialist and also democratic circles for all other sections of the population, etc, etc. We must have as large a number as possible of such organisations having the widest possible variety of functions, but it is absurd and dangerous to confuse those with organisations of revolutionaries, to erase the line of demarcation between them, to dim still more the masses already incredibly hazy appreciation of the fact that in order to “serve” the mass movement we must have people who will devote themselves exclusively to Social Democratic activities, and that such people must train themselves patiently and steadfastly to be professional revolutionaries.

Aye, this appreciation has become incredibly dim. The most grievous sin we have committed in regard to organisation is that by our primitiveness we have lowered the prestige of revolutionaries in Russia. A man who is weak and vacillating on theoretical questions, who has a narrow outlook who makes excuses for his own slackness on the ground that the masses are awakening spontaneously; who resembles a trade union secretary more than a people’s tribune, who is unable to conceive of a broad and bold plan, who is incapable of inspiring even his opponents with respect for himself, and who is inexperienced and clumsy in his own professional art—the art of combating the political police—such a man is not a revolutionary but a wretched amateur!

Let no active worker take offense at these frank remarks, for as far as insufficient training is concerned, I apply them first and foremost to myself. I used to work in a circle that set itself great and all-embracing tasks; and every member of that circle suffered to the point of torture from the realisation that we were proving ourselves to be amateurs at a moment in history when we might have been able to say, paraphrasing a well-known epigram: “Give us an organisation of revolutionaries, and we shall overturn the whole of Russia!”

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## *The Souls of Black Folk*

Date: 1903

*The Souls of Black Folk* was a landmark 1903 work on the African-American experience by African-American scholar and civil rights activist W. E. B. DuBois. In his writings, DuBois charted the psychological and social toll of historical subjugation on black Americans. His scholarship influenced his militant activism on behalf of equal rights. *The Souls of Black Folk*, a collection of essays detailing the spiritual and psychological underpinnings of black life in turn-of-the-century segregated America, revealed the main currents of DuBois’s thought. In characterizing the aspirations of African Americans, DuBois asserted that what blacks wanted and were entitled to by birth was equal social status and economic opportunity. He spelled out his indictment of black leader Booker T. Washington, whose accommodationist strategy to win black social and economic advancement, DuBois asserted, would achieve only illusory gains while perpetuating the institutions and attitudes of segregation.

The following entry contains excerpts from the original document.

### *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903)

#### The Forethought

Herein lie buried many things which if read with patience may show the strange meaning of being black here in the dawning of the Twentieth Century. This meaning is not without interest to you, Gentle Reader; for the problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the colorline.

I pray you, then, receive my little book in all charity, studying my words with me, forgiving mistake and foible for sake of the faith and passion that is in me, and seeking the grain of truth hidden there.

I have sought here to sketch, in vague, uncertain outline, the spiritual world in which ten thousand Americans live and strive. First, in two chapters I have tried to show what Emancipation meant to them, and what was its aftermath. In a third chapter I have pointed out the slow rise of personal leadership, and criticised candidly the leader who bears the chief burden of his race to-day. Then, in two other chapters I have sketched in swift outline the two worlds within and without the Veil, and thus have come to the central problem of training men for life. Venturing now into deeper detail, I have in two chapters studied the struggles of the massed millions of the black peasantry, and in another have sought to make clear the present relations of the sons of master and man.

Leaving, then, the world of the white man, I have stepped within the Veil, raising it that you may view faintly its deeper recesses,—the meaning of its religion, the passion of its human sorrow, and the struggle of its greater souls. All this I have ended with a tale twice told but seldom written.

Some of these thoughts of mine have seen the light before in other guise. For kindly consenting to their republication here, in altered and extended form, I must thank the publishers of *The Atlantic Monthly*, *The World's Work*, *The Dial*, *The New World*, and the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*.

Before each chapter, as now printed, stands a bar of the Sorrow Songs,—some echo of haunting melody from the only American music which welled up from black souls in the dark past. And, finally, need I add that I who speak here am bone of the bone and flesh of the flesh of them that live within the Veil?

W. E. B. DuBois  
Atlanta, Ga., Feb. 1, 1903.

Herein is Written

## I. OF OUR SPIRITUAL STRIVINGS

O water, voice of my heart, crying in the sand, All night long crying with a mournful cry, As I lie and listen, and cannot understand The voice of my heart in my side or the voice of the sea, O water, crying for rest, is it I, is it I? All night long the water is crying to me.

Unresting water, there shall never be rest Till the last moon droop and the last tide fail, And the fire of the end begin to burn in the west; And the heart shall be weary and wonder and cry like the sea, All life long crying without avail, As the water all night long is crying to me.

Arthur Symons.

Between me and the other world there is ever an unasked question: unasked by some through feelings of delicacy; by others through the difficulty of rightly framing it. All, nevertheless, flutter round it. They approach me in a half-hesitant sort of way, eye me curiously or compassionately, and then, instead of saying directly, How does it feel to be a problem? they say, I know an excellent colored man in my town; or, I fought at Mechanicsville; or, Do not these Southern outrages make your blood boil? At these I smile, or am interested, or reduce the boiling to a simmer, as the occasion may require. To the real question, How does it feel to be a problem? I answer seldom a word.

And yet, being a problem is a strange experience,—peculiar even for one who has never been anything else, save perhaps in babyhood and in Europe. It is in the early days of rollicking boyhood that the revelation first bursts upon one, all in a day, as it were. I remember well when the shadow swept across me. I was a little thing, away up in the hills of New England, where the dark Housatonic winds between Hoosac and Taghkanic to the sea. In a wee wooden schoolhouse, something put it into the boys' and girls' heads to buy gorgeous visiting-cards—ten cents a package—and exchange. The exchange was merry, till one girl, a tall newcomer, refused my card,—refused it peremptorily, with a glance. Then it dawned upon me with a certain suddenness that I was different from the others; or like, mayhap, in heart and life and longing, but shut out from their world by a vast veil. I had thereafter no desire to tear down that veil, to creep through; I held all beyond it in common contempt, and lived above it in a region of blue sky and great wandering shadows. That sky was bluest when I could beat my mates at examination-time, or beat them at a foot-race, or even beat their stringy heads. Alas, with the years all this fine contempt began to fade; for the worlds I longed for, and all their dazzling opportunities, were theirs, not mine. But they should not keep these prizes, I said; some, all, I would wrest from them. Just how I would do it I could never decide: by reading law, by healing the sick, by telling the wonderful tales that swam in my head,—some way. With other black boys the strife was not so fiercely sunny: their youth shrunk into tasteless sycophancy, or into silent hatred of the pale world about them and mocking distrust of everything white; or wasted itself in a bitter cry, Why did God make me an outcast and a stranger in mine own house? The shades of the prison-house closed round about us all: walls strait and stubborn to the whitest, but relentlessly narrow, tall, and unscalable to sons of night who must plod darkly on in resignation, or beat unavailing palms against the stone, or steadily, half hopelessly, watch the streak of blue above.

After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world,—a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness,—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.

The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife,—this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of Opportunity closed roughly in his face.

This, then, is the end of his striving: to be a co-worker in the kingdom of culture, to escape both death and isolation, to husband and use his best powers and his latent genius. These powers of body and mind have in the past been strangely wasted, dispersed, or forgotten. The shadow of a mighty Negro past flits through the tale of Ethiopia the Shadowy and of Egypt the Sphinx. Throughout history, the powers of single black men flash here and there like falling stars, and die sometimes before the world has rightly gauged their brightness. Here in America, in the few days since Emancipation, the black man's turning hither and thither in hesitant and doubtful striving has often made his very strength to lose effectiveness, to seem like absence of power, like weakness. And yet it is not weakness,—it is the contradiction of double aims. The double-aimed struggle of the black artisan—on the one hand to escape white contempt for a nation of mere hewers of wood and drawers of water, and on the other hand to plough and nail and dig for a poverty-stricken horde—could only result in making him a poor craftsman, for he had but half a heart in either cause. By the poverty and ignorance of his people, the Negro minister or doctor was tempted toward quackery and demagoguery; and by the criticism of the other world, toward ideals that made him ashamed of his lowly tasks. The would-be black savant was confronted by the paradox that the knowledge his people needed was a twice-told tale to his white neighbors, while the knowledge which would teach the white world was Greek to his own flesh and blood. The innate love of harmony and beauty that set the ruder souls of his people a-dancing and a-singing raised but confusion and doubt in the soul of the black artist; for the beauty revealed to him was the soul-beauty of a race which his larger audience despised, and he could not articulate the message of another people. This waste of double aims, this seeking to satisfy two unreconciled ideals, has wrought sad havoc with the courage and faith and deeds of ten thousand thousand people,—has sent them often wooing false gods and invoking false means of salvation, and at times has even seemed about to make them ashamed of themselves.

Away back in the days of bondage they thought to see in one divine event the end of all doubt and disappointment; few men ever worshipped Freedom with half such unquestioning faith as did the American Negro for two centuries. To him, so far as he thought and dreamed, slavery was indeed the sum of all villainies, the cause of all sorrow, the root of all prejudice; Emancipation was the key to a promised land of sweeter beauty than ever stretched before the eyes of wearied Israelites. In song and exhortation swelled one refrain—Liberty; in his tears and curses the God he implored had Freedom in his right hand. At last it came,—suddenly, fearfully, like a dream. With one wild carnival of blood and passion came the message in his own plaintive cadences:—

“Shout, O children! Shout, you're free! For God has bought your liberty!”

Years have passed away since then,—ten, twenty, forty; forty years of national life, forty years of renewal and development, and yet the swarthy spectre sits in its accustomed seat at the Nation's feast. In vain do we cry to this our vastest social problem:—

“Take any shape but that, and my firm nerves Shall never tremble!”

The Nation has not yet found peace from its sins; the freedman has not yet found in freedom his promised land. Whatever of good may have come in these years of change, the shadow of a deep disappointment rests upon the Negro people,—a disappointment all the more bitter because the unattained ideal was unbounded save by the simple ignorance of a lowly people.

The first decade was merely a prolongation of the vain search for freedom, the boon that seemed ever barely to elude their grasp,—like a tantalizing will-o'-the-wisp, maddening and misleading the headless host. The holocaust of war, the terrors of the Ku-Klux Klan, the lies of carpet-baggers, the disorganization of industry, and the contradictory advice of friends and foes, left the bewildered serf with no new watch-word beyond the old cry for freedom. As the time flew, however, he began to grasp a new idea. The ideal of liberty demanded for its attainment powerful means, and these the Fifteenth Amendment gave him. The ballot, which before he had looked upon as a visible sign of freedom, he now regarded as the chief means of gaining and perfecting the liberty with which war had partially endowed him. And why not? Had not votes made war and

emancipated millions? Had not votes enfranchised the freedmen? Was anything impossible to a power that had done all this? A million black men started with renewed zeal to vote themselves into the kingdom. So the decade flew away, the revolution of 1876 came, and left the half-free serf weary, wondering, but still inspired. Slowly but steadily, in the following years, a new vision began gradually to replace the dream of political power,—a powerful movement, the rise of another ideal to guide the unguided, another pillar of fire by night after a clouded day. It was the ideal of “book-learning”; the curiosity, born of compulsory ignorance, to know and test the power of the cabalistic letters of the white man, the longing to know. Here at last seemed to have been discovered the mountain path to Canaan; longer than the highway of Emancipation and law, steep and rugged, but straight, leading to heights high enough to overlook life.

Up the new path the advance guard toiled, slowly, heavily, doggedly; only those who have watched and guided the faltering feet, the misty minds, the dull understandings, of the dark pupils of these schools know how faithfully, how piteously, this people strove to learn. It was weary work. The cold statistician wrote down the inches of progress here and there, noted also where here and there a foot had slipped or some one had fallen. To the tired climbers, the horizon was ever dark, the mists were often cold, the Canaan was always dim and far away. If, however, the vistas disclosed as yet no goal, no resting-place, little but flattery and criticism, the journey at least gave leisure for reflection and self-examination; it changed the child of Emancipation to the youth with dawning self-consciousness, self-realization, self-respect. In those sombre forests of his striving his own soul rose before him, and he saw himself,—darkly as through a veil; and yet he saw in himself some faint revelation of his power, of his mission. He began to have a dim feeling that, to attain his place in the world, he must be himself, and not another. For the first time he sought to analyze the burden he bore upon his back, that dead-weight of social degradation partially masked behind a half-named Negro problem. He felt his poverty; without a cent, without a home, without land, tools, or savings, he had entered into competition with rich, landed, skilled neighbors. To be a poor man is hard, but to be a poor race in a land of dollars is the very bottom of hardships. He felt the weight of his ignorance,—not simply of letters, but of life, of business, of the humanities; the accumulated sloth and shirking and awkwardness of decades and centuries shackled his hands and feet. Nor was his burden all poverty and ignorance. The red stain of bastardy, which two centuries of systematic legal defilement of Negro women had stamped upon his race, meant not only the loss of ancient African chastity, but also the hereditary weight of a mass of corruption from white adulterers, threatening almost the obliteration of the Negro home.

A people thus handicapped ought not to be asked to race with the world, but rather allowed to give all its time and thought to its own social problems. But alas! while sociologists gleefully count his bastards and his prostitutes, the very soul of the toiling, sweating black man is darkened by the shadow of a vast despair. Men call the shadow prejudice, and learnedly explain it as the natural defence of culture against barbarism, learning against ignorance, purity against crime, the “higher” against the “lower” races. To which the Negro cries Amen! and swears that to so much of this strange prejudice as is founded on just homage to civilization, culture, righteousness, and progress, he humbly bows and meekly does obeisance. But before that nameless prejudice that leaps beyond all this he stands helpless, dismayed, and well-nigh speechless; before that personal disrespect and mockery, the ridicule and systematic humiliation, the distortion of fact and wanton license of fancy, the cynical ignoring of the better and the boisterous welcoming of the worse, the all-pervading desire to inculcate disdain for everything black, from Toussaint to the devil,—before this there rises a sickening despair that would disarm and discourage any nation save that black host to whom “discouragement” is an unwritten word.

But the facing of so vast a prejudice could not but bring the inevitable self-questioning, self-disparagement, and lowering of ideals which ever accompany repression and breed in an atmosphere of contempt and hate. Whisperings and portents came borne upon the four winds: Lo! we are diseased and dying, cried the dark hosts; we cannot write, our voting is vain; what need of education, since we must always cook and serve? And the Nation echoed and enforced this self-criticism, saying: Be content to be servants, and nothing more; what need of higher culture for half-men? Away with the black man’s ballot, by force or fraud,—and behold the suicide of a race! Nevertheless, out of the evil came something of good,—the more careful adjustment of education to real life, the clearer perception of the Negroes’ social responsibilities, and the sobering realization of the meaning of progress.

So dawned the time of Sturm und Drang: storm and stress to-day rocks our little boat on the mad waters of the world-sea; there is within and without the sound of conflict, the burning of body and rending of soul; inspiration strives with doubt, and faith with vain questionings. The bright ideals of the past,—physical freedom, political power, the training of brains and the training of hands,—all these in turn have waxed and waned, until even the last grows dim and overcast. Are they all wrong,—all false? No, not that, but each alone was over-simple and incomplete,—the dreams of a credulous race-childhood, or the fond imaginings of the other world which does not know and does not want to know our power. To be really true, all these ideals must be melted and welded into one. The training of the schools we need to-day more than ever,—the training of deft hands, quick eyes and ears, and above all the broader, deeper, higher culture of gifted minds and pure hearts. The power of the ballot we need in sheer self-defence,—else what shall save us from a second

slavery? Freedom, too, the long-sought, we still seek,—the freedom of life and limb, the freedom to work and think, the freedom to love and aspire. Work, culture, liberty,—all these we need, not singly but together, not successively but together, each growing and aiding each, and all striving toward that vaster ideal that swims before the Negro people, the ideal of human brotherhood, gained through the unifying ideal of Race; the ideal of fostering and developing the traits and talents of the Negro, not in opposition to or contempt for other races, but rather in large conformity to the greater ideals of the American Republic, in order that some day on American soil two world-races may give each to each those characteristics both so sadly lack. We the darker ones come even now not altogether empty-handed: there are to-day no truer exponents of the pure human spirit of the Declaration of Independence than the American Negroes; there is no true American music but the wild sweet melodies of the Negro slave; the American fairy tales and folk-lore are Indian and African; and, all in all, we black men seem the sole oasis of simple faith and reverence in a dusty desert of dollars and smartness. Will America be poorer if she replace her brutal dyspeptic blundering with light-hearted but determined Negro humility? or her coarse and cruel wit with loving jovial good-humor? or her vulgar music with the soul of the Sorrow Songs?

Merely a concrete test of the underlying principles of the great republic is the Negro Problem, and the spiritual striving of the freedmen's sons is the travail of souls whose burden is almost beyond the measure of their strength, but who bear it in the name of an historic race, in the name of this the land of their fathers' fathers, and in the name of human opportunity.

And now what I have briefly sketched in large outline let me on coming pages tell again in many ways, with loving emphasis and deeper detail, that men may listen to the striving in the souls of black folk.

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## Niagara Movement Declaration of Principles

Date: July 1905

*This declaration was a manifesto issued by the Niagara movement on its formal organization at Niagara Falls, Ontario, in July 1905. African-American intellectuals, led by the sociologist and civil rights activist W. E. B. DuBois, gathered on the Canadian side of Niagara Falls (no hotel on the U.S. side would let them register) to found a black protest movement, a militant forerunner of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). DuBois's 1903 work *The Souls of Black Folk*, a complex historical and psychological examination of the African-American experience of subjugation, provided the intellectual impetus for the movement. The Niagara initiative was a reaction against both the U.S. Supreme Court's landmark 1896 Plessy v. Ferguson ruling, which propounded the segregationist doctrine of “separate but equal,” and black leader Booker T. Washington's accommodationist strategies for black social and economic advancement, as expressed in his 1895 Atlanta Compromise address. The Niagara declaration demanded an end to all forms of racial prejudice and discrimination in the United States and called for equality of economic and educational opportunity. Until such demands were met, the manifesto warned, the movement would protest publicly to dramatize racial injustice.*

#### PROGRESS

The members of the conference, known as the Niagara Movement, assembled in annual meeting at Buffalo, July 11th, 12th and 13th, 1905, congratulate the Negro-Americans on certain undoubted evidences of progress in the last decade, particularly the increase of intelligence, the buying of property, the checking of crime, the uplift in home life, the advance in literature and art, and the demonstration of constructive and executive ability in the conduct of great religious, economic and educational institutions.

#### SUFFRAGE

At the same time, we believe that this class of American citizens should protest emphatically and continually against the curtailment of their political rights. We believe in manhood suffrage; we believe that no man is so good, intelligent or wealthy as to be entrusted wholly with the welfare of his neighbor.

#### CIVIL LIBERTY

We believe also in protest against the curtailment of our civil rights. All American citizens have the right to equal treatment in places of public entertainment according to their behavior and deserts.

**ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY**

We especially complain against the denial of equal opportunities to us in economic life; in the rural districts of the South this amounts to peonage and virtual slavery; all over the South it tends to crush labor and small business enterprises; and everywhere American prejudice, helped often by iniquitous laws, is making it more difficult for Negro Americans to earn a decent living.

**EDUCATION**

Common school education should be free to all American children and compulsory. High school training should be adequately provided for all, and college training should be the monopoly of no class or race in any section of our common country. We believe that, in defense of our own institutions, the United States should aid common school education, particularly in the South, and we especially recommend concerted agitation to this end. We urge an increase in public high school facilities in the South, where the Negro-Americans are almost wholly without such provisions. We favor well-equipped trade and technical schools for the training of artisans, and the need of adequate and liberal endowment for a few institutions of higher education must be patent to sincere well-wishers of the race.

**COURTS**

We demand upright judges in courts, juries selected without discrimination on account of color and the same measure of punishment and the same efforts at reformation for black as for white offenders. We need orphanages and farm schools for dependent children, juvenile reformatories for delinquents, and the abolition of the dehumanizing convict-lease system.

**PUBLIC OPINION**

We note with alarm the evident retrogression in this land of sound public opinion on the subject of manhood rights, republican government and human brotherhood, and we pray God that this nation will not degenerate into a mob of boasters and oppressors, but rather will return to the faith of the fathers, that all men were created free and equal, with certain unalienable rights.

**HEALTH**

We plead for health—for an opportunity to live in decent houses and localities, for a chance to rear our children in physical and moral cleanliness.

**EMPLOYERS AND LABOR UNIONS**

We hold up for public execration the conduct of two opposite classes of men: The practice among employers of importing ignorant Negro-American laborers in emergencies, and then affording them neither protection nor permanent employment; and the practice of labor unions in proscribing and boycotting and oppressing thousands of their fellow-toilers, simply because they are black. These methods have accentuated and will accentuate the war of labor and capital, and they are disgraceful to both sides.

**PROTEST**

We refuse to allow the impression to remain that the Negro-American assents to inferiority, is submissive under oppression and apologetic before insults. Through helplessness we may submit, but the voice of protest of ten million Americans must never cease to assail the ears of their fellows, so long as America is unjust.

**COLOR-LINE**

Any discrimination based simply on race or color is barbarous, we care not how hallowed it be by custom, expediency, or prejudice. Differences made on account of ignorance, immorality, or disease are legitimate methods of fighting evil, and against them we have no word of protest; but discriminations based simply and solely on physical peculiarities, place of birth, color or skin, are relics of that unreasoning human savagery of which the world is and ought to be thoroughly ashamed.

**“JIM CROW” CARS**

We protest against the “Jim Crow” car, since its effect is and must be to make us pay first-class fare for third-class accommodations, render us open to insults and discomfort and to crucify wantonly our manhood, womanhood and self-respect.

**SOLDIERS**

We regret that this nation has never seen fit adequately to reward the black soldiers who, in its five wars, have defended their country with their blood, and yet have been systematically denied the promotions which their abilities deserve. And we regard as unjust, the exclusion of black boys from the military and navy training schools.

**WAR AMENDMENTS**

We urge upon Congress the enactment of appropriate legislation for securing the proper enforcement of those articles of freedom, the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments of the Constitution of the United States.

**OPPRESSION**

We repudiate the monstrous doctrine that the oppressor should be the sole authority as to the rights of the oppressed. The Negro race in America stolen, ravished and degraded, struggling up through difficulties and oppression, needs sympathy and receives criticism; needs help and is given hindrance, needs protection and is given mob-violence, needs justice and is given charity, needs leadership and is given cowardice and apology, needs bread and is given a stone. This nation will never stand justified before God until these things are changed.

**THE CHURCH**

Especially are we surprised and astonished at the recent attitude of the church of Christ—on the increase of a desire to bow to racial prejudice, to narrow the bounds of human brotherhood, and to segregate black men in some outer sanctuary. This is wrong, unchristian and disgraceful to the twentieth century civilization.

**AGITATION**

Of the above grievances we do not hesitate to complain, and to complain loudly and insistently. To ignore, overlook, or apologize for these wrongs is to prove ourselves unworthy of freedom. Persistent manly agitation is the way to liberty, and toward this goal the Niagara Movement has started and asks the co-operation of all men of all races.

**HELP**

At the same time we want to acknowledge with deep thankfulness the help of our fellowmen from the abolitionist down to those who to-day still stand for equal opportunity and who have given and still give of their wealth and of their poverty for our advancement.

**DUTIES**

And while we are demanding, and ought to demand, and will continue to demand the rights enumerated above, God forbid that we should ever forget to urge corresponding duties upon our people:

- The duty to vote.
- The duty to respect the rights of others.
- The duty to work.
- The duty to obey the laws.
- The duty to be clean and orderly.
- The duty to be send our children to school.
- The duty to respect ourselves, even as we respect others.
- This statement, complaint and prayer we submit to the American people, and Almighty God.

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**Treaty of Portsmouth**

Date: September 5, 1905

*Brokered by U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt, the Treaty of Portsmouth (Portsmouth, New Hampshire) ended the Russo-Japanese War, which much to Europe's surprise and chagrin marked the defeat of a world power by a new Asian aggressor. The humiliated Russian czar, his ambitions checked in Asia, and his rule at home seriously destabilized, turned an imperialist eye toward the Balkans. There—where a century's worth of entangling alliances sought to prop up the ailing Austro-Hungarian Empire and hold the line on the crumbling domain of the Ottoman Turks—Russia's face-saving meddling would help to light the fuse for World War I.*

*By the treaty, Russia recognized Japan's conquest of Korea, and Russia transferred to Japan its lease of Port Arthur and the Liaodong Peninsula, in addition to ceding the southern half of Sakhalin. Two of the articles laid the foundation for regulating the two nations' commerce in Manchuria, specifically restricting*

*the use of rail lines built by Japan and Russia to commerce rather than warfare. Not only had Japan gained control of Korea, the Liaodong Peninsula, and Port Arthur (and the South Manchurian Railroad that led to Port Arthur), but a chastened Russia meekly agreed to evacuate southern Manchuria.*

The following entry contains excerpts from the original document

II The Imperial Russian Government, acknowledging that Japan possesses in Korea paramount political, military, and economical interests, engage neither to obstruct nor interfere with the measures of guidance, protection, and control which the Imperial Government of Japan may find it necessary to take in Korea.

It is understood that Russian subjects in Korea shall be treated exactly in the same manner as the subjects or citizens of other foreign Powers—that is to say, they shall be placed on the same footing as the subjects or citizens of the most-favored nation.

It is also agreed that, in order to avoid all causes of misunderstanding, the two High Contracting Parties will abstain, on the Russo-Korean frontier, from taking any military measures which may menace the security of Russian or Korean territory.

And Russia transferred to Japan its lease of Port Arthur and the Liaodong Peninsula, in addition to ceding the southern half of Sakhalin:

V The Imperial Russian Government transfer and assign to the Imperial Government of Japan, with the consent of the Government of China, the lease of Port Arthur, Ta-lien, and adjacent territory and territorial waters and all rights, privileges, and concessions connected with or forming part of such lease, and they also transfer and assign to the Imperial Government of Japan all public works and properties in the territory affected by the above-mentioned lease.

The two High Contracting Parties mutually engage to obtain the consent of the Chinese Government mentioned in the foregoing stipulation. The Imperial Government of Japan on their part undertake that the proprietary rights of Russian subjects in the territory above referred to shall be perfectly respected.

VI The Imperial Russian Government engage to transfer and assign to the Imperial Government of Japan, without compensation and with the consent of the Chinese Government, the railway between Changchun (Kwang-cheng-tsze) and Port Arthur and all its branches, together with all rights, privileges, and properties appertaining thereto in that region, as well as all coal-mines in the said region, belonging to or worked for the benefit of the railway.

The two High Contracting Parties mutually engage to obtain the consent of the Government of China mentioned in the foregoing stipulation . . .

VII Japan and Russia engage to exploit their respective railways in Manchuria exclusively for commercial and industrial purposes, and in nowise for strategic purposes.

It is understood that this restriction does not apply to the railway in the territory affected by the lease of the Liao-tung Peninsula.

VIII The Imperial Governments of Japan and Russia, with a view to promote and facilitate intercourse and traffic will, as soon as possible, conclude a separate convention for the regulation of their connecting railway services in Manchuria.

IX The Imperial Russian Government cede to the Imperial Government of Japan in perpetuity and full sovereignty the southern portion of the Island of Sakhalin and all islands adjacent thereto and public works and properties thereon.

The fiftieth degree of north latitude is adopted as the northern boundary of the ceded territory. The exact alignment of such territory shall be determined in accordance with the provisions of additional Art. II annexed to this treaty.

Japan and Russia mutually agree not to construct in their respective possessions on the Island of Sakhalin or the adjacent islands any fortifications or other similar military works. They also respectively engage not to take any military measures which may impede the free navigation of the straits of La Perouse and Tartary.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

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## Address to the Indian National Congress

Date: 1907

*A group of English-speaking intellectuals in India created the Indian National Congress in 1885. Although originally quite moderate in tone, the group evolved into one demanding self-rule in a more strident tone. A leader of those asking for swaraj, or self-rule, was Bal Gangadhar Tilak. In the following extract from an address by Tilak to the Indian National Congress, he calls for a boycott of British imports. One can see, in Tilak's approach, early evidence of the nonviolent protest and political methods employed later to great effect by Mohandas Gandhi.*

Two new words have recently come into existence with regard to our politics, and they are Moderates and Extremists. These words have a specific relation to time, and they, therefore, will change with time. The Extremists of today will be Moderates tomorrow, just as the Moderates of today were Extremists yesterday. When the National Congress was first started and Mr. Dadabhai's views, which now go for Moderates, were given to the public, he was styled an Extremist, so that you will see that the term Extremist is an expression of progress. We are Extremists today and our sons will call themselves Extremists and us Moderates. Every new party begins as Extremists and ends as Moderates. The sphere of practical politics is not unlimited. We cannot say what will or will not happen 1,000 years hence—perhaps during that long period, the whole of the white race will be swept away in another glacial period. We must, therefore, study the present and work out a program to meet the present condition.

It is impossible to go into details within the time at my disposal. One thing is granted, namely, that this government does not suit us. As has been said by an eminent statesman—the government of one country by another can never be a successful, and therefore, a permanent government. There is no difference of opinion about this fundamental proposition between the old and new schools. One fact is that this alien government has ruined the country. In the beginning, all of us were taken by surprise. We were almost dazed. We thought that everything that the rulers did was for our good and that this English government has descended from the clouds to save us from the invasions of Tamerlane and Chingis Khan, and, as they say, not only from foreign invasions but from internecine warfare, or the internal or external invasions, as they call it. . . . We are not armed, and there is no necessity for arms either. We have a stronger weapon, a political weapon, in boycott. We have perceived one fact, that the whole of this administration, which is carried on by a handful of Englishmen, is carried on with our assistance. We are all in subordinate service. This whole government is carried on with our assistance and they try to keep us in ignorance of our power of cooperation between ourselves by which that which is in our own hands at present can be claimed by us and administered by us. The point is to have the entire control in our hands. I want to have the key of my house, and not merely one stranger turned out of it. Self-government is our goal; we want a control over our administrative machinery. We don't want to become clerks and remain [clerks]. At present, we are clerks and willing instruments of our own oppression in the hands of an alien government, and that government is ruling over us not by its innate strength but by keeping us in ignorance and blindness to the perception of this fact. Professor Seeley shares this view. Every Englishman knows that they are a mere handful in this country and it is the business of every one of them to befool you in believing that you are weak and they are strong. This is politics. We have been deceived by such policy so long. What the new party wants you to do is to realize the fact that your future rests entirely in your own hands. If you mean to be free, you can be free; if you do not mean to be free, you will fall and be for ever fallen. So many of you need not like arms; but if you have not the power of active resistance, have you not the power of self-denial and self-abstinence in such a way as not to assist this foreign government to rule over you? This is boycott and this is what is meant when we say, boycott is a political weapon. We shall not give them assistance to collect revenue and keep peace. We shall not assist them in fighting beyond the frontiers or outside India with Indian blood and money. We shall not assist them in carrying on the administration of justice. We shall have our own courts, and when time comes we shall not pay taxes. Can you do that by your united efforts? If you can, you are free from tomorrow. Some gentlemen who spoke this evening referred to half bread as against the whole bread. I say I want the whole bread and that immediately. But if I can not get the whole, don't think that I have no patience.

I will take the half they give me and then try for the remainder. This is the line of thought and action in which you must train yourself. We have not raised this cry from a mere impulse. It is a reasoned impulse. Try to understand that reason and try to strengthen that impulse by your logical convictions. I do not ask you to blindly follow us. Think over the whole problem for yourselves. If you accept our advice, we feel sure we can achieve our salvation thereby. This is the advice of the new party. Perhaps we have not obtained a full recognition of our principles. Old prejudices die very hard. Neither of us wanted to wreck the Congress, so we compromised, and were satisfied that our principles were recognized, and only to a certain extent. That does not mean that we have accepted the whole situation. We may have a step in advance next year, so that within a few years our principles will be recognized, and recognized to such an extent that the generations who come

after us may consider us Moderates. This is the way in which a nation progresses, and this is the lesson you have to learn from the struggle now going on. This is a lesson of progress, a lesson of helping yourself as much as possible, and if you really perceive the force of it, if you are convinced by these arguments, then and then only is it possible for you to effect your salvation from the alien rule under which you labor at this moment.

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## Theodore Roosevelt: "New Nationalism" Speech

Date: August 31, 1910

*This speech, delivered by former U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt at Osawatomie, Kansas, on August 31, 1910, outlined his progressive New Nationalism program. Breaking with conservatives in his own Republican Party, Roosevelt called for a strong national government, federal regulation of the corporate system, and the protection of human rights over property rights. He argued for the Square Deal (a term he had coined in 1904 to stand for his ideas on government's responsibilities as an even-handed mediator between special interest groups), for equal opportunity for all citizens, for fair wages and working conditions, for a government free of control by special interests, and for prohibitions on corporate funding of political activity. "The object of government," he said, "is the welfare of the people."*

We come here to-day to commemorate one of the epoch-making events of the long struggle for the rights of man—the long struggle for the uplift of humanity. Our country—this great republic—means nothing unless it means the triumph of a real democracy, the triumph of popular government, and, in the long run, of an economic system under which each man shall be guaranteed the opportunity to show the best that there is in him. That is why the history of America is now central feature of the history of the world; for the world has set its face hopefully toward our democracy; and, O my fellow citizens, each one of you carries on your shoulders not only the burden of doing well for the sake of your own country, but the burden of doing well and seeing that this nation does well for the sake of mankind.

There have been two great crises in our country's history: first, when it was formed, and then, again, when it was perpetuated; and, in the second of these great crises—in the time of stress and strain which culminated in the Civil War, on the outcome of which depended the justification of what had been done earlier, you men of the Grand Army, you men who fought through the Civil War, not only did you justify your generation, not only did you render life worth living for our generation, but you justified the wisdom of Washington and Washington's colleagues. If this republic had been founded by them only to be split asunder into fragments when the strain came, then the judgment of the world would have been that Washington's work was not worth doing. It was you who crowned Washington's work, as you carried to achievement the high purpose of Abraham Lincoln.

Now, with this second period of our history the name of John Brown will be forever associated; and Kansas was the theater upon which the first act of the second of our great national life dramas was played. It was the result of the struggle in Kansas which determined that our country should be in deed as well as in name devoted to both union and freedom; that the great experiment of democratic government on a national scale should succeed and not fail. In name we had the Declaration of Independence in 1776; but we gave the lie by our acts to the words of the Declaration of Independence until 1865; and words count for nothing except in so far as they represent acts. This is true everywhere; but, O my friends, it should be truest of all in political life. A broken promise is bad enough in private life. It is worse in the field of politics. No man is worth his salt in public life who makes on the stump a pledge which he does not keep after election; and, if he makes such a pledge and does not keep it, hunt him out of public life. I care for the great deeds of the past chiefly as spurs to drive us onward in the present. I speak of the men of the past partly that they may be honored by our praise of them, but more that they may serve as examples for the future.

It was a heroic struggle; and, as is inevitable with all such struggles, it had also a dark and terrible side. Very much was done of good, and much also of evil; and, as was inevitable in such a period of revolution, often the same man did both good and evil. For our great good fortune as a nation, we, the people of the United States as a whole, can now afford to forget the evil, or, at least, to remember it without bitterness, and to fix our eyes with pride only on the good that was accomplished. Even in ordinary times there are very few of us who do not see the problems of life as through a glass, darkly; and when the glass is clouded by the murk of furious popular passion, the vision of the best and the bravest is dimmed. Looking back, we are all of us now able to do justice to the valor and the disinterestedness and the love of the right, as to each it was given to

see the right, shown both by the men of the North and the men of the South in that contest which was finally decided by the attitude of the West. We can admire the heroic valor, the sincerity, the self-devotion shown alike by the men who wore the blue and the men who wore the gray; and our sadness that such men should have had to fight one another is tempered by the glad knowledge that ever hereafter their descendants shall be found fighting side by side, struggling in peace as well as in war for the uplift of their common country, all alike resolute to raise to the highest pitch of honor and usefulness the nation to which they all belong. As for the veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic, they deserve honor and recognition such as is paid to no other citizens of the republic; for to them the republic owes its all; for to them it owes its very existence. It is because of what you and your comrades did in the dark years that we of to-day walk, each of us, head erect, and proud that we belong, not to one of a dozen little squabbling contemptible commonwealths, but to the mightiest nation upon which the sun shines.

I do not speak of this struggle of the past merely from the historic standpoint. Our interest is primarily in the application to-day of the lessons taught by the contest of half a century ago. It is of little use for us to pay lip loyalty to the mighty men of the past unless we sincerely endeavor to apply to the problems of the present precisely the qualities which in other crises enabled the men of that day to meet those crises. It is half melancholy and half amusing to see the way in which well-meaning people gather to do honor to the men who, in company with John Brown, and under the lead of Abraham Lincoln, faced and solved the great problems of the nineteenth century, while, at the same time, these same good people nervously shrink from, or frantically denounce, those who are trying to meet the problems of the twentieth century in the spirit which was accountable for the successful solution of the problems of Lincoln's time.

Of that generation of men to whom we owe so much, the man to whom we owe most is, of course, Lincoln. Part of our debt to him is because he forecast our present struggle and saw the way out. He said:—

I hold that while man exists it is his duty to improve not only his own condition, but to assist in ameliorating mankind.

Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration.

If that remark was original with me, I should be even more strongly denounced as a communist agitator than I shall be anyhow. It is Lincoln's. I am only quoting it; and that is one side; that is the side the capitalist should hear. Now, let the workingman hear his side.

Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights . . . Nor should this lead to a war upon the owners of property. Property is the fruit of labor . . . property is desirable; is a positive good in the world.

Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built.

It seems to me that, in these words, Lincoln took substantially the attitude that we ought to take; he showed the proper sense of proportion in his relative estimates of capital and labor, of human rights and property rights. Above all, in this speech, as in many others, he taught a lesson in wise kindness and charity; an indispensable lesson to us of to-day. But this wise kindness and charity never weakened his arm or numbed his heart. We cannot afford weakly to blind ourselves to the actual conflict which faces us to-day. The issue is joined, and we must fight or fail.

In every wise struggle for human betterment one of the main objects, and often the only object, has been to achieve in large measure equality of opportunity. In the struggle for this great end, nations rise from barbarism to civilization, and through it people press forward from one stage of enlightenment to the next. One of the chief factors in progress is the destruction of special privilege. The essence of any struggle for healthy liberty has always been, and must always be, to take from some one man or class of men the right to enjoy power, or wealth, or position, or immunity, which has not been earned by service to his or their fellows. That is what you fought for in the Civil War, and that is what we strive for now,

At many stages in the advance of humanity, this conflict between the men who possess more than they have earned and the men who have earned more than they possess is the central condition of progress. In our day it appears as the struggle of free men to gain and hold the right of self-government as against the special interests, who twist the methods of free government into machinery for defeating the popular will. At every stage, and under all circumstances, the essence of the struggle is to equalize opportunity, destroy privilege, and give to the life and citizenship of every individual the highest possible value both to himself and to the commonwealth. That is nothing new. All I ask in civil life is what you fought for in the Civil War. I ask that civil life be carried on according to the spirit in which the army was carried on. You never get perfect justice, but the effort in handling the army was to bring to the front the men who could do the job. Nobody grudged promotion to Grant, or Sherman, or Thomas, or Sheridan, because they earned it. The only complaint was when a man got promotion which he did not earn.

Practical equality of opportunity for all citizens, when we achieve it, will have two great results. First, every man will have a fair chance to make of himself all that in him lies; to reach the highest point to which his capacities, unassisted by special privilege of his own and unhampered by the special privilege of others, can

carry him, and to get for himself and his family substantially what he has earned. Second, equality of opportunity means that the commonwealth will get from every citizen the highest service of which he is capable. No man who carries the burden of the special privileges of another can give to the commonwealth that service to which it is fairly entitled.

I stand for the square deal. But when I say that I am for the square deal, I mean not merely that I stand for fair play under the present rules of the game, but that I stand for having those rules changed so as to work for a more substantial equality of opportunity and of reward for equally good service. One word of warning, which, I think, is hardly necessary in Kansas. When I say I want a square deal for the poor man, I do not mean that I want a square deal for the man who remains poor because he has not got the energy to work for himself. If a man who has had a chance will not make good, then he has got to quit. And you men of the Grand Army, you want justice for the brave man who fought, and punishment for the coward who shirked his work. Is not that so?

Now, this means that our government, national and state, must be freed from the sinister influence or control of special interests. Exactly as the special interests of cotton and slavery threatened our political integrity before the Civil War, so now the great special business interests too often control and corrupt the men and methods of government for their own profit. We must drive the special interests out of politics. That is one of our tasks to-day. Every special interest is entitled to justice—full, fair, and complete,—and, now, mind you, if there were any attempt by mob violence to plunder and work harm to the special interest, whatever it may be, that I most dislike, and the wealthy man, whomsoever he may be, for whom I have the greatest contempt, I would fight for him, and you would if you were worth your salt. He should have justice. For every special interest is entitled to justice, but not one is entitled to a vote in Congress, to a voice on the bench, or to representation in any public office. The Constitution guarantees protection to property, and we must make that promise good. But it does not give the right of suffrage to any corporation.

The true friend of property, the true conservative, is he who insists that property shall be the servant and not the master of the commonwealth; who insists that the creature of man's making shall be the servant and not the master of the man who made it. The citizens of the United States must effectively control the mighty commercial forces which they have themselves called into being.

There can be no effective control of corporations while their political activity remains. To put an end to it will be neither a short nor an easy task, but it can be done.

We must have complete and effective publicity of corporate affairs, so that the people may know beyond peradventure whether the corporations obey the law and whether their management entitles them to the confidence of the public. It is necessary the laws should be passed to prohibit the use of corporate funds directly or indirectly for political purposes; it is still more necessary that such laws should be thoroughly enforced. Corporate expenditures for political purposes, and especially such expenditures by public service corporations, have supplied one of the principal sources of corruption in our political affairs.

It has become entirely clear that we must have government supervision of the capitalization, not only of public service corporations, including, particularly, railways, but of all corporations doing an interstate business. I do not wish to see the nation forced into the ownership of the railways if it can possibly be avoided, and the only alternative is thoroughgoing and effective regulation, which shall be based on a full knowledge of all the facts, including a physical valuation of property. This physical valuation is not needed, or, at least, is very rarely needed, for fixing rates; but it is needed as the basis of honest capitalization.

We have come to recognize that franchises should never be granted except for a limited time, and never without proper provision for compensation to the public. It is my personal belief that the same kind and degree of control and supervision which should be exercised over public service corporations should be extended also to combinations which control necessities of life, such as meat, oil, and coal, or which deal in them on an important scale. I have no doubt that the ordinary man who has control of them is much like ourselves. I have no doubt he would like to do well, but I want to have enough supervision to help him realize that desire to do well.

I believe that the officers, and, especially, the directors, of corporations should be held personally responsible when any corporation breaks the law.

Combinations in industry are the result of an imperative economic law which cannot be repealed by political legislation. The effort at prohibiting all combination has substantially failed. The way out lies, not in attempting to prevent such combinations, but in completely controlling them in the interest of the public welfare. For that purpose the Federal Bureau of Corporations is an agency of first importance. Its powers, and, therefore, its efficiency, as well as that of the Interstate Commerce Commission, should be largely increased. We have a right to expect from the Bureau of Corporations and from the Interstate Commerce Commission a very high grade of public service. We should be as sure of the proper conduct of the interstate railways and the proper management of interstate business as we are now sure of the conduct and management of the national banks, and we should have as effective supervision in one case as in the other. The Hepburn Act, and the amendment to the Act in the shape in which it finally passed Congress at the last session, represent a long step in advance, and we must go yet further.

There is a widespread belief among our people that, under the methods of making tariffs which have hitherto obtained, the special interests are too influential. Probably this is true of both the big special interests and the little special interests. These methods have put a premium on selfishness, and, naturally, the selfish big interests have gotten more than their smaller, though equally selfish, brothers. The duty of Congress is to provide a method by which the interest of the whole people shall be all that receives consideration. To this end there must be an expert tariff commission, wholly removed from the possibility of political pressure or of improper business influence. Such a commission can find the real difference between cost of production, which is mainly the difference of labor cost here and abroad. As fast as its recommendations are made, I believe in revising one schedule at a time. A general revision of the tariff almost inevitably leads to log-rolling and the subordination of the general public interest to local and special interests.

The absence of effective state, and, especially, national, restraint upon unfair money getting has tended to create a small class of enormously wealthy and economically powerful men, whose chief object is to hold and increase their power. The prime need is to change the conditions which enable these men to accumulate power which it is not for the general welfare that they should hold or exercise. We grudge no man a fortune which represents his own power and sagacity, when exercised with entire regard to the welfare of his fellows. Again, comrades over there, take the lesson from your own experience. Not only did you not grudge, but you gloried in the promotion of the great generals who gained their promotion by leading the army to victory. So it is with us. We grudge no man a fortune in civil life if it is honorably obtained and well used. It is not even enough that it should have been gained without doing damage to the community. We should permit it to be gained only so long as the gaining represents benefit to the community. This, I know, implies a policy of a far more active governmental interference with social and economic conditions in this country than we have yet had, but I think we have got to face the fact that such an increase in governmental control is now necessary.

No man should receive a dollar unless that dollar has been fairly earned. Every dollar received should represent a dollar's worth of service rendered—not gambling in stocks, but service rendered. The really big fortune, the swollen fortune, by the mere fact of its size acquires qualities which differentiate it in kind as well as in degree from what is possessed by men of relatively small means. Therefore, I believe in a graduated income tax on big fortunes, and in another tax which is far more easily collected and far more effective—a graduated inheritance tax on big fortunes, properly safeguarded against evasion and increasing rapidly in amount with the size of the estate.

The people of the United States suffer from periodical financial panics to a degree substantially unknown among the other nations which approach us in financial strength. There is no reason why we should suffer what they escape. It is of profound importance that our financial system should be promptly investigated, and so thoroughly and effectively revised as to make it certain that hereafter our currency will no longer fail at critical times to meet our needs.

It is hardly necessary for me to repeat that I believe in an efficient army and a navy large enough to secure for us abroad that respect which is the surest guarantee of peace. A word of special warning to my fellow citizens who are as progressive as I hope I am. I want them to keep up their interest in our internal affairs; and I want them also continually to remember Uncle Sam's interests abroad. Justice and fair dealing among nations rest upon principles identical with those which cannot justice and fair dealing among the individuals of which nations are composed, with the vital exception that each nation must do its own part in international police work. If you get into trouble here, you can call for the police; but if Uncle Sam gets into trouble, he has got to be his own policeman, and I want to see him strong enough to encourage the peaceful aspirations of other peoples in connection with us. I believe in national friendships and heartiest good will to all nations; but national friendships, like those between men, must be founded on respect as well as on liking, on forbearance as well as upon trust. I should be heartily ashamed of any American who did not try to make the American government act as justly toward the other nations in international relations as he himself would act toward any individual in private relations. I should be heartily ashamed to see us wrong a weaker power, and I should hang my head forever if we tamely suffered wrong from a stronger power.

Of conservation I shall speak more at length elsewhere. Conservation means development as much as it does protection. I recognized the right and duty of this generation to develop and use the natural resources of our land; but I do not recognize the right to waste them, or to rob, by wasteful use, the generations that come after us. I ask nothing of the nation except that it so behave as each farmer here behaves with reference to his own children. That farmer is a poor creature who skins the land and leaves it worthless to his children. The farmer is a good farmer who, having enabled the land to support himself and to provide for the education of his children, leaves it to them a little better than he found it himself. I believe the same thing of a nation.

Moreover, I believe that the natural resources must be used for the benefit of all our people, and not monopolized for the benefit of the few, and here again is another case in which I am accused of taking a revolutionary attitude. People forget now that one hundred years ago there were public men of good character who advocated the nation selling its public lands in great quantities, so that the nation could get the most money out of it, and giving it to the men who could cultivate it for their own uses. We took the proper democratic ground that the land should be granted in small sections to the men who were actually to till it and

live on it. Now, with the water power, with the forests, with the mines, we are brought face to face with the fact that there are many people who will go with us in conserving the resources only if they are to be allowed to exploit them for their benefit. That is one of the fundamental reasons why the special interests should be driven out of politics. Of all the questions which can come before this nation, short of the actual preservation of its existence in a great war, there is none which compares in importance with the great central task of leaving this land even a better land for our descendants than it is for us, and training them into a better race to inhabit the land and pass it on. Conservation is a great moral issue, for it involves the patriotic duty of insuring the safety and continuance of the nation. Let me add that the health and vitality of our people are at least as well worth conserving as their forests, waters, lands, and minerals, and in this great work the national government must bear a most important part.

I have spoken elsewhere also of the great task which lies before the farmers of the country to get for themselves and their wives and children not only the benefits of better farming, but also those of better business methods and better conditions of life on the farm. The burden of this great task will fall, as it should, mainly upon the great organizations of the farmers themselves. I am glad it will, for I believe they are all well able to handle it. In particular, there are strong reasons why the Departments of Agriculture of the various states, the United States Department of Agriculture, and the agricultural colleges and experiment stations should extend their work to cover all phases of farm life, instead of limiting themselves, as they have far too often limited themselves, in the past, solely to the question of the production of crops. And now a special word to the farmer. I want to see him make the farm as fine a farm as it can be made; and let him remember to see that the improvement goes on indoors as well as out; let him remember that the farmer's wife should have her share of thought and attention just as much as the farmer himself.

Nothing is more true than that excess of every kind is followed by reaction; a fact which should be pondered by reformer and reactionary alike. We are face to face with new conceptions of the relations of property to human welfare, chiefly because certain advocates of the rights of property as against the rights of men have been pushing their claims too far. The man who wrongly holds that every human right is secondary to his profit must now give way to the advocate of human welfare, who rightly maintains that every man holds his property subject to the general right of the community to regulate its use to whatever degree the public welfare may require it.

But I think we may go still further. The right to regulate the use of wealth in the public interest is universally admitted. Let us admit also the right to regulate the terms and conditions of labor, which is the chief element of wealth, directly in the interest of the common good. The fundamental thing to do for every man is to give him a chance to reach a place in which he will make the greatest possible contribution to the public welfare. Understand what I say there. Give him a chance, not push him up if he will not be pushed. Help any man who stumbles; if he lies down, it is a poor job to try to carry him; but if he is a worthy man, try your best to see that he gets a chance to show the worth that is in him. No man can be a good citizen unless he has a wage more than sufficient to cover the bare cost of living, and hours of labor short enough so that after his day's work is done he will have time and energy to bear his share in the management of the community, to help in carrying the general load. We keep countless men from being good citizens by the conditions of life with which we surround them. We need comprehensive workmen's compensation acts, both state and national laws to regulate child labor and work for women, and, especially, we need in our common schools not merely education in book learning, but also practical training for daily life and work. We need to enforce better sanitary conditions for our workers and to extend the use of safety appliances for our workers in industry and commerce, both within and between the states. Also, friends, in the interest of the workingman himself we need to set our faces like flint against mob violence just as against corporate greed; against violence and injustice and lawlessness by wage workers just as much as against lawless cunning and greed and selfish arrogance of employers. If I could ask but one thing of my fellow countrymen, my request would be that, whenever they go in for reform, they remember the two sides, and that they always exact justice from one side as much as from the other. I have small use for the public servant who can always see and denounce the corruption of the capitalist, but who cannot persuade himself, especially before election, to say a word about lawless mob violence. And I have equally small use for the man, be he a judge on the bench, or editor of a great paper, or wealthy and influential private citizen, who can see clearly enough and denounce the lawlessness of mob violence, but whose eyes are closed so that he is blind when the question is one of corruption in business on a gigantic scale. Also remember what I said about excess in reformer and reactionary alike. If the reactionary man, who thinks of nothing but the rights of property, could have his way, he would bring about a revolution; and one of my chief fears in connection with progress comes because I do not want to see our people, for lack of proper leadership, compelled to follow men whose intentions are excellent, but whose eyes are a little too wild to make it really safe to trust them. Here in Kansas there is one paper which habitually denounces me as the tool of Wall Street, and at the same time frantically repudiates the statement that I am a Socialist on the ground that that is an unwarranted slander of the Socialists.

National efficiency has many factors. It is a necessary result of the principle of conservation widely applied. In the end it will determine our failure or success as a nation. National efficiency has to do, not only

with natural resources and with men, but it is equally concerned with institutions. The state must be made efficient for the work which concerns only the people of the state; and the nation for that which concerns all the people. There must remain no neutral ground to serve as a refuge for lawbreakers, and especially for lawbreakers of great wealth, who can hire the vulpine legal cunning which will teach them how to avoid both jurisdictions. It is a misfortune when the national legislature fails to do its duty in providing a national remedy, so that the only national activity is the purely negative activity of the judiciary in forbidding the state to exercise power in the premises.

I do not ask for overcentralization; but I do ask that we work in a spirit of broad and far-reaching nationalism when we work for what concerns our people as a whole. We are all Americans. Our common interest are as broad as the continent. I speak to you here in Kansas exactly as I would speak in New York or Georgia, for the most vital problems are those which affect us all alike. The national government belongs to the whole American people, and where the whole American people are interested, that interest can be guarded effectively only by the national government. The betterment which we seek must be accomplished, I believe, mainly through the national government.

The American people are right in demanding that New Nationalism, without which we cannot hope to deal with new problems. The New Nationalism puts the national need before sectional or personal advantage. It is impatient of the utter confusion that results from local legislatures attempting to treat national issues as local issues. It is still more impatient of the impotence which springs from overdivision of governmental powers, the impotence which makes it possible for local selfishness or for legal cunning, hired by wealthy special interests, to bring national activities to a deadlock. This New Nationalism regards the executive power as the steward of the public welfare. It demands of the judiciary that it shall be interested primarily in human welfare rather than in property, just as it demands that the representative body shall represent all the people rather than any one class or section of the people.

I believe in shaping the ends of government to protect property as well as human welfare. Normally, and in the long run, the ends are the same; but whenever the alternative must be faced, I am for men and not for property, as you were in the Civil War. I am far from underestimating the importance of dividends; but I rank dividends below human character. Again, I do not have any sympathy with the reformer who says he does not care for dividends. Of course, economic welfare is necessary, for a man must pull his own weight and be able to support his family. I know well that the reformers must not bring upon the people economic ruin, or the reforms themselves will go down in the ruin. But we must be ready to face temporary disaster, whether or not brought on by those who will war against us to the knife. Those who oppose all reform will do well to remember that ruin in its worst form is inevitable if our national life brings us nothing better than swollen fortunes for the few and the triumph in both politics and business of a sordid and selfish materialism.

If our political institutions were perfect, they would absolutely prevent the political domination of money in any part of our affairs. We need to make our political representatives more quickly and sensitively responsive to the people whose servants they are. More direct action by the people in their own affairs under proper safeguards is vitally necessary. The direct primary is a step in this direction, if it is associated with a corrupt practices act effective to prevent the advantage of the man willing recklessly and unscrupulously to spend money over his more honest competitor. It is particularly important that all moneys received or expended for campaign purposes should be publicly accounted for, not only after election, but before election as well. Political action must be made simpler, easier, and freer from confusion for every citizen. I believe that the prompt removal of unfaithful or incompetent public servants should be made easy and sure in whatever way experience shall show to be most expedient in any give class of cases.

One of the fundamental necessities in a representative government such as ours is to make certain that the men to whom the people delegate their power shall serve the people by whom they are elected, and not the special interests. I believe that every national officer, elected or appointed, should be forbidden to perform and service or receive any compensation, directly or indirectly, from interstate corporations; and a similar provision could not fail to be useful within the states.

The object of government is the welfare of the people. The material progress and prosperity of a nation are desirable chiefly so far as they lead to the moral and material welfare of all good citizens. Just in proportion as the average man and woman are honest, capable of sound judgment and high ideals, active in public affairs,—but, first of all, sound in their home life, and the father and mother of healthy children whom they bring up well,—just so far, and no farther, we may count our civilization a success. We must have—I believe we have already—a genuine and permanent moral awakening, without which no wisdom of legislation or administration really means anything; and, on the other hand, we must try to secure the social and economic legislation without which any improvement due to purely moral agitation is necessarily evanescent. Let me again illustrate by a reference to the Grand Army You could not have won simply as a disorderly and disorganized mob. You needed generals; you needed careful administration of the most advanced type; and a good commissary—the cracker line. You well remember that success was necessary in many different lines in order to bring about general success. You had to have the administration at Washington good, just

as you had to have the administration in the field; and you had to have the work of the generals good. You could not have triumphed without that administration and leadership; but it would all have been worthless if the average soldier had not had the right stuff in him. He had to have the right stuff in him, or you could not get it out of him. In the last analysis, therefore, vitally necessary though it was to have the right kind of organization and the right kind of generalship, it was even more vitally necessary that the average soldier should have the fighting edge, the right character. So it is in our civil life. No matter how honest and decent we are in our private lives, if we do not have the right kind of law and the right kind of administration of the law, we cannot go forward as a nation. That is imperative; but it must be an addition to, and not a substitution for, the qualities that make us good citizens. In the last analysis, the most important elements in any man's career must be the sum of those qualities which, in the aggregate, we speak of as character. If he has not got it, then no law that the wit of man can devise, no administration of the law by the boldest and strongest executive, will avail to help him. We must have the right kind of character—character that makes a man, first of all, a good man in the home, a good father, a good husband—that makes a man a good neighbor. You must have that, and, then, in addition, you must have the kind of law and the kind of administration of the law which will give to those qualities in the private citizen the best possible chance for development. The prime problem of our nation is to get the right type of good citizenship, and, to get it, we must have progress, and our public men must be genuinely progressive.

**CITATION INFORMATION:**

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## Balfour Declaration

Date: November 2, 1917

*British Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour sought to gain Jewish support for the Allies in World War I. In a letter to Lord Rothschild, Balfour pledged British support for the creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, the basis for the later creation of the state of Israel. Balfour made it clear that the creation of such a homeland would not prejudice the rights of the non-Jewish residents of Palestine, nor would it suggest that the rights of Jews in any other country would be altered. The letter was published in the Times (London).*

Foreign Office  
November 2nd, 1917

Dear Lord Rothschild:

I have much pleasure in conveying to you on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet:

His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours,  
Arthur James Balfour

**CITATION INFORMATION:**

Text Citation: Axelrod, Alan, and Charles L. Phillips. "Balfour Declaration." In *Encyclopedia of Historical Treaties and Alliances: From Ancient Times to the 1930s*. Vol. 1. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2006. *Modern World History Online*. Facts On File, Inc. www.fofweb.com

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## Woodrow Wilson: "Fourteen Points" Address

Date: January 8, 1918

*This address by U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, delivered to Congress on January 8, 1918, set forth his program for a just and enduring world peace. These points became the basis for negotiating an end to World War I (1914–18). Wilson called for "open covenants of peace, openly arrived at"; absolute freedom of the seas, in peace and war; equality of trade conditions among nations; reductions of national armaments; impartial adjustment of colonial claims; self-determination for Russia and the peoples of the former Austria-Hungary; restoration or adjustments of Belgian, French, Italian, Rumanian, Serbian, and Montenegrin borders; autonomy for nationalities formerly under Turkish rule, but sovereignty for Turkey; opening of the Dardanelles to all nations; establishment of an independent Poland; and the formation of an association of nations to guarantee "political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike."*

Gentlemen of the Congress: Once more, as repeatedly before, the spokesmen of the Central Empires have indicated their desire to discuss the objects of the war and the possible bases of a general peace. Parleys have been in progress at Brest-Litovsk between representatives of the Central Powers, to which the attention of all the belligerents has been invited for the purpose of ascertaining whether it may be possible to extend these parleys into a general conference with regard to terms of peace and settlement. The Russian representatives presented not only a perfectly definite statement of the principles upon which they would be willing to conclude peace, but also an equally definite programme of the concrete application of those principles. The representatives of the Central Powers, on their part, presented an outline of settlement which, if much less definite, seemed susceptible of liberal interpretation until their specific programme of practical terms was added.

That programme proposed no concessions at all either to the sovereignty of Russia or to the preferences of the populations with whose fortunes it dealt, but meant, in a word, that the Central Empires were to keep every foot of territory their armed forces had occupied,—every province, every city, every point of vantage,—as a permanent addition to their territories and their power. It is a reasonable conjecture that the general principles of settlement which they at first suggested originated with the more liberal statesmen of Germany and Austria, the men who have begun to feel the force of their own peoples' thought and purpose, while the concrete terms of actual settlement came from the military leaders who have no thought but to keep what they have got. The negotiations have been broken off. The Russian representatives were sincere and in earnest. They cannot entertain such proposals of conquest and domination.

The whole incident is full of significance. It is also full of perplexity. With whom are the Russian representatives dealing? For whom are the representatives of the Central Empires speaking? Are they speaking for the majorities of their respective parliaments or for the minority parties, that military and imperialistic minority which has so far dominated their whole policy and controlled the affairs of Turkey and of the Balkan states which have felt obliged to become their associates in this war? The Russian representatives have insisted, very justly, very wisely, and in the true spirit of modern democracy, that the conferences they have been holding with the Teutonic and Turkish statesmen should be held within open, not closed doors, and all the world has been audience, as was desired. To whom have we been listening, then? To those who speak the spirit and intention of the Resolutions of the German Reichstag of the ninth of July last, the spirit and intention of the liberal leaders and parties of Germany, or to those who resist and defy that spirit and intention and insist upon conquest and subjugation? Or are we listening, in fact, to both, unreconciled and in open and hopeless contradiction? These are very serious and pregnant questions. Upon the answer to them depends the peace of the world.

But, whatever the results of the parleys at Brest-Litovsk, whatever the confusions of counsel and of purpose in the utterances of the spokesmen of the Central Empires, they have again attempted to acquaint the world with their objects in the war and have again challenged their adversaries to say what their objects are and what sort of settlement they would deem just and satisfactory. There is no good reason why that challenge should not be responded to, and responded to with the utmost candor. We did not wait for it. Not once, but again and again, we have laid our whole thought and purpose before the world, not in general terms only, but each time with sufficient definition to make it clear what sort of definitive terms of settlement must necessarily spring out of them. Within the last week Mr. Lloyd George has spoken with admirable candor and in admirable spirit for the people and Government of Great Britain. There is no confusion of counsel among the adversaries of the Central Powers, no uncertainty of principle, no vagueness of detail. The only secrecy of counsel, the only lack of fearless frankness, the only failure to make definite statement of the objects of the war, lies with Germany and her Allies. The issues of life and death hang upon these definitions. No statesman who has the least conception of his responsibility ought for a moment to permit himself to continue this tragical and appalling outpouring of blood and treasure unless he is sure beyond a peradventure that the objects of the vital sacrifice are part and parcel of the very life of Society and that the people for whom he speaks think them right and imperative as he does.

There is, moreover, a voice calling for these definitions of principle and of purpose which is, it seems to me, more thrilling and more compelling than any of the many moving voices with which the troubled air of the world is filled. It is the voice of the Russian people. They are prostrate and all but helpless, it would seem, before the grim power of Germany, which has hitherto known no relenting and no pity. Their power, apparently, is shattered. And yet their soul is not subservient. They will not yield either in principle or in action. Their conception of what is right, of what is humane and honorable for them to accept, has been stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, a generosity of spirit, and a universal human sympathy which must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind; and they have refused to compound their ideals or desert others that they themselves may be safe. They call to us to say what it is that we desire, in what, if in anything, our purpose and our spirit differ from theirs; and I believe that the people of the United States would wish me to respond, with utter simplicity and frankness. Whether their present leaders believe it or not, it is our heartfelt desire and hope that some way may be opened whereby we may be privileged to assist the people of Russia to attain their utmost hope of liberty and ordered peace.

It will be our wish and purpose that the processes of peace, when they are begun, shall be absolutely open and that they shall involve and permit henceforth no secret understandings of any kind. The day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by; so is also the day of secret covenants entered into the interest of particular governments and likely at some unlooked-for moment to upset the peace of the world. It is this happy fact, now clear to the view of every public man whose thoughts do not still linger in an age that is dead and gone, which makes it possible for every nation whose purposes are consistent with justice and the peace of the world to avow now or at any other time the objects it has in view.

We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secured once for all against their recurrence. What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us. The programme of the world's peace, therefore, is our programme; and that programme, the only possible programme, as we see it, is this:

- I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.
- II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.
- III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.
- IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.
- V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.
- VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest and cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.
- VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.
- VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interests of all.
- IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

XI. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

XIII. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

In regard to these essential rectifications of wrong and assertions of right we feel ourselves to be intimate partners of all the governments and peoples associated together against the Imperialists. We cannot be separated in interest or divided in purpose. We stand together until the end.

For such arrangements and covenants we are willing to fight and to continue to fight until they are achieved; but only because we wish the right to prevail and desire a just and stable peace such as can be secured only by removing the chief provocations to war, which this programme does remove. We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this programme that impairs it. We grudge her no achievement or distinction of learning or of pacific enterprise such as have made her record very bright and very enviable. We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or with hostile arrangements of trade if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing. We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world,—the new world in which we now live,—instead of a place of mastery.

Neither do we presume to suggest to her any alteration or modification of her institutions. But it is necessary, we must frankly say, and necessary as a preliminary to any intelligent dealings with her on our part, that we should know whom her spokesmen speak for when they speak to us, whether for the Reichstag majority or for the military party and the men whose creed is imperial domination.

We have spoken now, surely, in terms too concrete to admit of any further doubt or question. An evident principle runs through the whole programme I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safely with one another, whether they be strong or weak. Unless this principle be made its foundation no part of the structure of international justice can stand. The people of the United States could act upon no other principle; and to the vindication of this principle they are ready to devote their lives, their honor, and everything that they possess. The normal climax of this the culminating and final war for human liberty has come, and they are ready to put their own strength, their own highest purpose, their own integrity and devotion to the test.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

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## Covenant of the League of Nations

Date: April 28, 1919

*Part I of the 1919 Treaty of Versailles enunciated the goals and the organizational framework of the proposed new international body, the League of Nations. Finalized by an Allied committee on April 28, 1919, the covenant became effective in January 1920, with the creation of the league. Its signatories agreed to protect each other against aggression and to accept mediation in settling their disputes. The league was to consist of a general assembly (one representative from each member state), a council (representatives from the five main Allied powers, plus four others chosen by rotation), and a permanent Geneva-based secretariat, headed by a secretary-general. A permanent court of international justice was to be established. Disarmament, labor, health reforms, and international cooperation were other key concerns. In 1946, after World War II, its activities were taken over by the United Nations.*

The High Contracting Parties,

In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security  
 by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war,  
 by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations,  
 by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among  
 Governments, and  
 by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organ-  
 ised peoples with one another,  
 Agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

#### ARTICLE 1

The original Members of the League of Nations shall be those of the Signatories which are named in the Annex to this Covenant and also such of those other States named in the Annex as shall accede without reservation to this Covenant. Such accession shall be effected by a Declaration deposited with the Secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the Covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other Members of the League.

Any fully self-governing State, Dominion or Colony not named in the Annex may become a Member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military, naval and air forces and armaments.

Any Member of the League may, after two years notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this Covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

#### ARTICLE 2

The action of the league under this Covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an Assembly and of a Council, with a permanent Secretariat.

#### ARTICLE 3

The Assembly shall consist of Representatives of the Members of the League.

The Assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require at the Seat of the League or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The Assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

At meetings of the Assembly each Member of the League shall have one vote, and may have not more than three Representatives.

#### ARTICLE 4

The Council shall consist of Representatives of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, together with Representatives of four other Members of the League. These four Members of the League shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the Representatives of the four Members of the League first selected by the Assembly, Representatives of Belgium, Brazil, Spain and Greece shall be members of the Council.

With the approval of the majority of the Assembly, the Council may name additional Members of the League whose Representatives shall always be members of the Council; the Council with like approval may increase the number of Members of the League to be selected by the Assembly for representation on the Council.

The Council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at the Seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The Council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

Any Member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a Representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that Member of the League

At meetings of the Council, each Member of the League represented on the Council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one Representative.

#### ARTICLE 5

Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant or by the terms of the present Treaty, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

All matters of procedure at meetings of the Assembly or of the Council, including the appointment of Committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the Assembly or by the Council and may be decided by a majority of the Members of the League represented at the meeting. The first meeting of the Assembly and the first meeting of the Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

#### **ARTICLE 6**

The permanent Secretariat shall be established at the Seat of the League. The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary General and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

The first Secretary General shall be the person named in the Annex; thereafter the Secretary General shall be appointed by the Council with the approval of the majority Assembly.

The secretaries and staff of that Secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary General with the approval of the Council.

The Secretary General shall act in the capacity at all meetings of the Assembly and of the Council.

The expenses of the Secretariat shall be borne by the Members of the League in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

#### **ARTICLE 7**

The Seat of the League is established at Geneva.

The Council may at any time decide that the Seat of the League shall be established elsewhere.

All positions under or in connection with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

Representatives of the Members of the League and officials of the League when engaged on the business of the League shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

The buildings and other property occupied by the League or its officials or by Representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolable.

#### **ARTICLE 8**

The Members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.

Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.

After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council.

The Members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those Members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The Members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, naval and air programmes and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to war-like purposes.

#### **ARTICLE 9**

A permanent Commission shall be constituted to advise the Council on the execution of the provision of Articles 1 and 8 and on military, naval and air questions generally.

#### **ARTICLE 10**

The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

#### **ARTICLE 11**

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise the Secretary General shall on the request of any Member of the League forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.

It is also declared to be the friendly right of each Member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

**ARTICLE 12**

The Members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the Council.

In any case under this Article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

**ARTICLE 13**

The Members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognise to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration.

Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration.

For the consideration of any such dispute the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the Court agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

**ARTICLE 14**

The Council shall formulate and submit to the Members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. The Court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The Court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly.

**ARTICLE 15**

If there should arise between Members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration in accordance with Article 13, the Members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof.

For this purpose the parties to the dispute will communicate to the Secretary General, as promptly as possible, statements of their case with all the relevant facts and papers, and the Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

The Council shall endeavour to effect a settlement of the dispute, and if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and the terms of settlement thereof as the Council may deem appropriate.

If the dispute is not thus settled, the Council either unanimously or by a majority vote shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

Any Member of the League represented on the Council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the Council, to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

The Council may in any case under this Article refer the dispute to the Assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute to the Council.

In any case referred to the Assembly, all the provisions of this Article and of Article 12 relating to the action and powers of the Council shall apply to the action and powers of the Assembly, provided that a report made by the Assembly, if concurred in by the Representatives of those Members of the League

represented on the Council and of a majority of the other Members of the League, exclusive in each case of the Representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the Council concurred in by all the members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.

#### **ARTICLE 16**

Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13 or 15, it shall ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not.

It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military naval or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

The Members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this Article, in order to minimise the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the Members of the League which are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League.

Any Member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a Member of the League by a vote of the Council concurred in by the Representatives of all the other Members of the League represented thereon.

#### **ARTICLE 17**

In the event of a dispute between a Member of the League and a State which is not a Member of the League, or between States not Members of the League, the State or States not Members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles 12 to 16 inclusive shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the Council

Upon such invitation being given the Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

If a State so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a Member of the League, the provisions of Article 16 shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute when so invited refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, the Council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

#### **ARTICLE 18**

Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any Member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

#### **ARTICLE 19**

The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

#### **ARTICLE 20**

The Members of the League severally agree that this Covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings inter se which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

In case any Member of the League shall, before becoming a Member of the League, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this Covenant, it shall be the duty of such Member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

#### **ARTICLE 21**

Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understanding like the Monroe doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

**ARTICLE 22**

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defence of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League.

There are territories, such as South-West Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilisation, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

In every case of mandate, the Mandatory shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council.

A permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

**ARTICLE 23**

Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the Members of the League:

- (a) will endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women, and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organisations;
- (b) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control;
- (c) will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children, and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs;
- (d) will entrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest;
- (e) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all Members of the League. In this connection, the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war 1914-1918 shall be borne in mind;
- (f) will endeavour to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

**ARTICLE 24**

There shall be placed under the direction of the League all international bureaux already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaux and all commissions for regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the League.

In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general conventions but which are not placed under the control of international bureaux or commissions, the Secretariat of the League shall, subject to the consent of the Council and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.

The Council may include as part of the expenses of the Secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the League.

**ARTICLE 25**

The Members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorized voluntary national Red Cross organizations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

**ARTICLE 26**

Amendments to this Covenant will take effect when ratified by the Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Council and by a majority of the Members of the League whose Representative compose the Assembly.

No such amendment shall bind any Member of the League which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a Member of the League.

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## Mohandas K. Gandhi: *Freedom's Battle*

Date: 1922

*Mohandas K. Gandhi was born in Porbandar, India. A student of Hindu philosophy, Gandhi was committed to truth and nonviolence. He was educated at University College London as a lawyer. In India he became a community organizer in impoverished villages. He rallied others to take pride in themselves, to clean up their villages, and to build schools and hospitals. As a leader, Gandhi was addressed by the people as Bapu (Father) and Mahatma (Great Soul). This is why he is known as Mahatma Gandhi.*

*He, like many, was opposed to the British rule of India and supported Indian independence from Britain. In December 1921 Gandhi became associated with the Indian National Congress, a group in the forefront of the independence movement.*

*Noncooperation and peaceful resistance were Gandhi's weapons in the fight against injustice. Gandhi expanded his nonviolence platform to include the swadeshi policy (an economic strategy) in the boycotting of all foreign-made goods, especially British goods. Gandhi also urged the people to boycott British educational institutions and law courts, to resign from government employment, and to forsake British titles and honors. He led a national campaign of nonviolent mass civil disobedience, organized protests, and strikes.*

*Freedom's Battle is one of the many writings of Gandhi and it represents his philosophy.*

The following entry contains excerpts from the original document.

**I. INTRODUCTION**

After the great war it is difficult, to point out a single nation that is happy; but this has come out of the war, that there is not a single nation outside India, that is not either free or striving to be free.

It is said that we, too, are on the road to freedom, that it is better to be on the certain though slow course of gradual unfoldment of freedom than to take the troubled and dangerous path of revolution whether peaceful or violent, and that the new Reforms are a half-way house to freedom.

The new constitution granted to India keeps all the military forces, both in the direction and in the financial control, entirely outside the scope of responsibility to the people of India. What does this mean? It means that the revenues of India are spent away on what the nation does not want. But after the mid-Eastern complications and the fresh Asiatic additions to British Imperial spheres of action. This Indian military servitude is a clear danger to national interests.

The new constitution gives no scope for retrenchment and therefore no scope for measures of social reform except by fresh taxation, the heavy burden of which on the poor will outweigh all the advantages of any reforms. It maintains all the existing foreign services, and the cost of the administrative machinery high as it already is, is further increased.

The reformed constitution keeps all the fundamental liberties of person, property, press, and association completely under bureaucratic control. All those laws which give to the irresponsible officers of the Executive Government of India absolute powers to override the popular will, are still unrepealed. In spite of the tragic price paid in the Punjab for demonstrating the danger of unrestrained power in the hands of a foreign bureaucracy and the inhumanity of spirit by which tyranny in a panic will seek

to save itself, we stand just where we were before, at the mercy of the Executive in respect of all our fundamental liberties.

Not only is Despotism intact in the Law, but unparalleled crimes and cruelties against the people have been encouraged and even after boastful admissions and clearest proofs, left unpunished. The spirit of unrepentant cruelty has thus been allowed to permeate the whole administration.

### THE MUSSALMAN AGONY

To understand our present condition it is not enough to realise the general political servitude. We should add to it the reality and the extent of the injury inflicted by Britain on Islam, and thereby on the Mussalmans of India. The articles of Islamic faith which it is necessary to understand in order to realise why Mussalman India, which was once so loyal is now so strongly moved to the contrary are easily set out and understood. Every religion should be interpreted by the professors of that religion. The sentiments and religious ideas of Muslims founded on the traditions of long generations cannot be altered now by logic or cosmopolitanism, as others understand it. Such an attempt is the more unreasonable when it is made not even as a bonafide and independent effort of proselytising logic or reason, but only to justify a treaty entered into for political and worldly purposes.

The Khalifa is the authority that is entrusted with the duty of defending Islam. He is the successor to Muhammad and the agent of God on earth. According to Islamic tradition he must possess sufficient temporal power effectively to protect Islam against non-Islamic powers and he should be one elected or accepted by the Mussalman world.

The Jazirat-ul-Arab is the area bounded by the Red Sea, the Arabian Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the waters of the Tigris and the Euphrates. It is the sacred Home of Islam and the centre towards which Islam throughout the world turns in prayer. According to the religious injunctions of the Mussalmans, this entire area should always be under Muslim control, its scientific border being believed to be a protection for the integrity of Islamic life and faith. Every Mussalman throughout the world is enjoined to sacrifice his all, if necessary, for preserving the Jazirat-ul-Arab under complete Muslim control.

The sacred places of Islam should be in the possession of the Khalifa. They should not merely be free for the entry of the Mussalmans of the world by the grace or the license of non-Muslim powers, but should be the possession and property of Islam in the fullest degree.

It is a religions obligation, on every Mussalman to go forth and help the Khalifa in every possible way where his unaided efforts in the defence of the Khilifat have failed.

The grievance of the Indian Mussalmans is that a government that pretends to protect and spread peace and happiness among them has no right to ignore or set aside these articles of their cherished faith.

According to the Peace Treaty imposed on the nominal Government at Constantinople, the Khalifa far from having the temporal authority or power needed to protect Islam, is a prisoner in his own city. He is to have no real fighting force, army or navy, and the financial control over his own territories is vested in other Governments. His capital is cut off from the rest of his possessions by an intervening permanent military occupation. It is needless to say that under these conditions he is absolutely incapable of protecting Islam as the Mussulmans of the world understand it.

The Jazirat-ul-Arab is split up; a great part of it given to powerful non-Muslim Powers, the remnant left with petty chiefs dominated all round by non-Muslim Governments.

The Holy places of Islam are all taken out of the Khalifa's kingdom, some left in the possession of minor Muslim chiefs of Arabia entirely dependent on European control, and some relegated to newly-formed non-Muslim states.

In a word, the Mussalman's free choice of a Khalifa such as Islamic tradition defines is made an unreality.

### THE HINDU DHARMA

The age of misunderstanding and mutual warfare among religions is gone. If India has a mission of its own to the world, it is to establish the unity and the truth of all religions. This unity is established by mutual help and understanding between the various religions. It has come as a rare privilege to the Hindus in the fulfilment of this mission of India to stand up in defence of Islam against the onslaught of the earth-greed of the military powers of the west.

The Dharma of Hinduism in this respect is placed beyond all doubt by the Bhagavat Gita.

Those who are the votaries of other Gods and worship them with faith—even they, O Kaunteya, worship me alone, though not as the Shastra requires—IX, 23.

Whoever being devoted wishes in perfect faith to worship a particular form, of such a one I maintain the same faith unshaken,—VII 21.

Hinduism will realise its fullest beauty when in the fulfilment of this cardinal tenet, its followers offer themselves as sacrifice for the protection of the faith of their brothers, the Mussalmans.

If Hindus and Mussalmans attain the height of courage and sacrifice that is needed for this battle on behalf of Islam against the greed of the West, a victory will be won not alone for Islam, but for Christianity itself. Militarism has robbed the crucified God of his name and his very cross and the World has been

mistaking it to be Christianity. After the battle of Islam is won, Islam and Hinduism together can emancipate Christianity itself from the lust for power and wealth which have strangled it now and the true Christianity of the Gospels will be established. This battle of non-cooperation with its suffering and peaceful withdrawal of service will once for all establish its superiority over the power of brute force and unlimited slaughter.

What a glorious privilege it is to play our part in this history of the world, when Hinduism and Christianity will unite on behalf of Islam, and in that strife of mutual love and support each religion will attain its own truest shape and beauty.

#### AN ENDURING TREATY

Swaraj for India has two great problems, one internal and the other external. How can Hindus and Mussalmans so different from each other form a strong and united nation governing themselves peacefully? This was the question for years, and no one could believe that the two communities could suffer for each other till the miracle was actually worked. The Khilafat has solved the problem. By the magic of suffering, each has truly touched and captured the other's heart, and the Nation now is strong and united. Not internal strength and unity alone has the Khilafat brought to India. The great block in the way of Indian aspiration for full freedom was the problem of external defence. How is India, left to herself defend her frontiers against her Mussalman neighbours? None but emasculated nations would accept such difficulties and responsibilities as an answer to the demand for freedom. It is only a people whose mentality has been perverted that can soothe itself with the domination by one race from a distant country, as a preventative against the aggression of another, a permanent and natural neighbour. Instead of developing strength to protect ourselves against those near whom we are permanently placed, a feeling of incurable impotence has been generated. Two strong and brave nations can live side by side, strengthening each other through enforcing constant vigilance, and maintain in full vigour each its own national strength, unity, patriotism and resources. If a nation wishes to be respected by its neighbours it has to develop and enter into honourable treaties. These are the only natural conditions of national liberty; but not a surrender to distant military powers to save oneself from one's neighbours.

The Khilafat has solved the problem of distrust of Asiatic neighbours out of our future. The Indian struggle for the freedom of Islam has brought about a more lasting "entente" and a more binding treaty between the people of India and the people of the Mussalman states around it than all the ententes and treaties among the Governments of Europe. No wars of aggression are possible where the common people on the two sides have become grateful friends. The faith of the Mussulman is a better sanction than the seal of the European Diplomats and plenipotentiaries. Not only has this great friendship between India and the Mussulman States around it removed for all time the fear of Mussulman aggression from outside, but it has erected round India, a solid wall of defence against all aggression from beyond against all greed from Europe, Russia or elsewhere. No secret diplomacy could establish a better "entente" or a stronger federation than what this open and non-governmental treaty between Islam and India has established. The Indian support of the Khilafat has, as if by a magic wand, converted what was once the Pan-Islamic terror for Europe into a solid wall of friendship and defence for India.

#### THE BRITISH CONNECTION

Every nation like every individual is born free. Absolute freedom is the birthright of every people. The only limitations are those which a people may place over themselves. The British connection is invaluable as long as it is a defence against any worse connection sought to be imposed by violence. But it is only a means to an end, not a mandate of Providence of Nature. The alliance of neighbours, born of suffering for each other's sake, for ends that purify those that suffer, is necessarily a more natural and more enduring bond than one that has resulted from pure greed on the one side and weakness on the other. Where such a natural and enduring alliance has been accomplished among Asiatic peoples and not only between the respective governments, it may truly be felt to be more valuable than the British connection itself, after that connection has denied freedom or equality, and even justice.

#### THE ALTERNATIVE

Is violence or total surrender the only choice open to any people to whom Freedom or Justice is denied? Violence at a time when the whole world has learnt from bitter experience the futility of violence is unworthy of a country whose ancient people's privilege, it was, to see this truth long ago.

Violence may rid a nation of its foreign masters but will only enslave it from inside. No nation can really be free which is at the mercy of its army and its military heroes. If a people rely for freedom on its soldiers, the soldiers will rule the country, not the people. Till the recent awakening of the workers of Europe, this was the only freedom which the powers of Europe really enjoyed. True freedom can exist only when those who produce, not those who destroy or know only to live on other's labour, are the masters.

Even were violence the true road to freedom, is violence possible to a nation which has been emasculated and deprived of all weapons, and the whole world is hopelessly in advance of all our possibilities in the manufacture and the wielding of weapons of destruction.

Submission or withdrawal of co-operation is the real and only alternative before India. Submission to injustice puts on the tempting garb of peace and, gradual progress, but there is no surer way to death than submission to wrong.

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## Adolf Hitler: *Mein Kampf*

Also known as: *My Struggle*; *Alois Schickelgruber*.

Date: 1925

*Mein Kampf* is a two-volume work, written by German Nazi politician Adolf Hitler.

In 1924 Hitler tried to overthrow the Weimar Republic in the Beer Hall Putsch. He was sentenced to five years in Landsberg am Lech prison and was released after serving a sentence of only eight months. The first part of *Mein Kampf* was written while he was in prison in 1924, with the aid of Rudolf Hoess. The second part was written after his release from prison, in the period between 1925 to 1927.

The volumes contained Hitler's vision of the creation of a nationalistic Aryan state, which would be both self-sufficient and racially pure. He stated his concept of a future Germany, returned to greatness after its defeat in World War I. He stated that Austria should become united with Germany, as should other German-speaking lands.

Hitler declared that the Aryan race was in fact the "chosen people," and that they were responsible for advances in science, technology, and culture.

He felt that the Jews were involved in a conspiracy to undermine the Aryans' superiority and that they should be excluded from the nationalist state. He condemned France and Bolshevism, both of which, he wrote, were dominated by Jews.

*Mein Kampf* became the bible of Nazism (National Socialism) and was extremely popular, selling more than 5.2 million copies by 1939.

An excerpt from *Mein Kampf*, Volume 1.: A Reckoning. Chapter 11: Nation and Race.

If we pass all the causes of the German collapse in review, the ultimate and most decisive remains the failure to recognize the racial problem and especially the Jewish menace.

The defeats on the battlefield in August, 1918, would have been child's play to bear. They stood in no proportion to the victories of our people. It was not they that caused our downfall; no, it was brought about by that power which prepared these defeats by systematically over many decades robbing our people of the political and moral instincts and forces which alone make nations capable and hence worthy of existence.

In heedlessly ignoring the question of the preservation of the racial foundations of our nation, the old Reich disregarded the sole right which gives life in this world. Peoples which bastardize themselves, or let themselves be bastardized, sin against the will of eternal Providence, and when their ruin is encompassed by a stronger enemy it is not an injustice done to them, but only the restoration of justice. If a people no longer wants to respect the Nature-given qualities of its being which root in its blood, it has no further right to complain over the loss of its earthly existence.

Everything on this earth is capable of improvement. Every defeat can become the father of a subsequent victory, every lost war the cause of a later resurgence, every hardship the fertilization of human energy, and from every oppression the forces for a new spiritual rebirth can come - as long as the blood is preserved pure.

The lost purity of the blood alone destroys inner happiness forever, plunges man into the abyss for all time, and the consequences can never more be eliminated from body and spirit.

Only by examining and comparing all other problems of life in the light of this one question shall we see how absurdly petty they are by this standard. They are all limited in time - but the question of preserving or not preserving the purity of the blood will endure as long as there are men.

All really significant symptoms of decay of the pre-War period can in the last analysis be reduced to racial causes.

Whether we consider questions of general justice or cankers of economic life, symptoms of cultural decline or processes of political degeneration, questions of faulty schooling or the bad influence exerted on grown-ups by the press, etc., everywhere and always it is fundamentally the disregard of the racial needs of our own people or failure to see a foreign racial menace.

And that is why all attempts at reform, all works for social relief and political exertions, all economic expansion and every apparent increase of intellectual knowledge were futile as far as their results were concerned. The nation, and the organism which enables and preserves its life on this earth, the state, did not grow inwardly healthier, but obviously languished more and more. All the illusory prosperity of the old Reich could not hide its inner weakness, and every attempt really to strengthen the Reich failed again and again, due to disregarding the most important question.

It would be a mistake to believe that the adherents of the various political tendencies which were tinkering around on the German national body - yes, even a certain section of the leaders - were bad or malevolent men in themselves. Their activity was condemned to sterility only because the best of them saw at most the forms of our general disease and tried to combat them, but blindly ignored the virus. Anyone who systematically follows the old Reich's line of political development is bound to arrive, upon calm examination, at the realization that even at the time of the unification, hence the rise of the German nation, the inner decay was already in full swing, and that despite all apparent political successes and despite increasing economic wealth, the general situation was deteriorating from year to year. If nothing else, the elections for the Reichstag announced, with their outward swelling of the Marxist vote, the steadily approaching inward and hence also outward collapse. All the successes of the so-called bourgeois parties were worthless, not only because even with so-called bourgeois electoral victories they were unable to halt the numerical growth of the Marxist flood, but because they themselves above all now bore the ferments of decay in their own bodies. Without suspecting it, the bourgeois world itself was inwardly infected with the deadly poison of Marxist ideas and its resistance often sprang more from the competitor's envy of ambitious leaders than from a fundamental rejection of adversaries determined to fight to the utmost. In these long years there was only one who kept up an imperturbable, unflagging fight, and this was the *Jew*. His Star of David rose higher and higher in proportion as our people's will for self-preservation vanished.

Therefore, in August, 1914, it was not a people resolved to attack which rushed to the battlefield; no, it was only the last flicker of the national instinct of self-preservation in face of the progressing pacifist-Marxist paralysis of our national body. Since even in these days of destiny, our people did not recognize the inner enemy, all outward resistance was in vain and Providence did not bestow her reward on the victorious sword, but followed the law of eternal retribution.

On the basis of this inner realization, there took form in our new movement the leading principles as well as the tendency, which in our conviction were alone capable, not only of halting the decline of the German people, but of creating the granite foundation upon which some day a state will rest which represents, not an alien mechanism of economic concerns and interests, but a national organism.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Kohn, George Childs. "Hitler's *Mein Kampf*." In *Dictionary of Historic Documents*, Rev. ed. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2003. *Modern World History Online*. Facts On File, Inc. www.fofweb.com; Grossman, Mark. "*Mein Kampf*." In *Encyclopedia of the Interwar Years: From 1919 to 1939*. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2000. *Modern World History Online*. Facts On File, Inc. www.fofweb.com.

Primary Source Citation: [www.mondopolitico.com/library/meinkampf/v1c11.htm](http://www.mondopolitico.com/library/meinkampf/v1c11.htm)

## Munich Pact

Date: September 29, 1938

*The Sudetenland had been part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and ethnic Germans were the majority of the population. After World War I, they had proclaimed themselves the German-Austrian province of Sudetenland in October 1918, voting to join the newly declared Republic of German Austria in November 1918. The Sudeten Germans did not wish to become a part of Czechoslovakia.*

*This was forbidden by the Allied powers after the war by the Treaty of Saint-Germain and by the Czechoslovakian government. Most Sudeten Germans rejected the affiliation with Czechoslovakia because they had been refused the right to self-determination, as promised by U.S. president Woodrow Wilson in his Fourteen Points of January 8, 1918.*

*The specter of a new European war loomed in August through September of 1938, as Hitler's Germany contested the Czechoslovakian right to the Sudetenland. Although Czechoslovakia had alliances with both France and the Soviet Union, neither of these was prepared for a war, and the powers in western Europe did not want a war. Adolf Hitler's demands to annex the Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia led to the worst crisis on the European continent since World War I. British prime minister Neville Chamberlain attempted to use appeasement to avoid war in Europe.*

*On September 22, 1938, Chamberlain met Hitler in the German city of Godesberg. Chamberlain found the demands of the German leader unreasonable and postponed all action on a treaty in order to confer with the Allies. He then met Hitler a week later in Munich, where Chamberlain agreed to allow German armies to take the Sudetenland in exchange for a promise that no further territorial possessions would be demanded. Hitler agreed, and the two men signed an understanding, known as the Munich Pact.*

*Britain, France, Germany, and Italy participated in the agreement—the Soviet Union did not. Czechoslovakia was excluded from the conference and later stated that it would resist the Germans, but France and Britain insisted on Czechoslovakia's submission in order to maintain peace in Europe.*

*Chamberlain returned home to jubilant crowds, who thought he had helped to avert a second calamitous war in Europe. But time would tell that Chamberlain's appeasement of Hitler had only emboldened the German dictator. This would lead to the occupation of Czechoslovakia in March 1939 and the outbreak of war in September.*

Munich Pact. Munich, September 29, 1938.

Germany, the United Kingdom, France and Italy, taking into consideration the agreement which has been already reached in principle for the cession to Germany of the Sudeten German territory, have agreed on the following terms and conditions governing the said cession and the measures consequent thereon, and by this Agreement they each hold themselves responsible for the steps necessary to secure its fulfillment:

1. The evacuation will begin on 1st October.
2. The United Kingdom, France and Italy agree that the evacuation of the territory shall be completed by 10th October without any existing installations having been destroyed, and that the Czechoslovak Government will be held responsible for carrying out the evacuation without damage to the said installations.
3. The conditions governing the evacuation will be laid down in detail by an international commission composed of representatives of Germany, the United Kingdom, France, Italy and Czechoslovakia.
4. The occupation by stages of the predominantly German territory by German troops will begin on 1st October. The four territories marked on the attached map will be occupied by German troops in the following order: the territory marked No. I on the 1st and 2nd October; the territory marked No. II on the 2nd and 3rd October; the territory marked No. III on the 3rd, 4th and 5th October; the territory marked No. IV on the 6th and 7th October. The remaining territory of preponderantly German character will be ascertained by the aforesaid international commission forthwith and be occupied by German troops by the 10th October.
5. The international commission referred to in paragraph 3 will determine the territories in which a plebiscite is to be held. These territories will be occupied by international bodies until the plebiscite has been completed. The same commission will fix the conditions in which the plebiscite is to be held, taking as a basis the conditions of the Saar plebiscite. The commission will also fix a date, not later than the end of November, on which the plebiscite will be held.
6. The final determination of the frontier will be carried out by the international commission. This commission will also be entitled to recommend to the four Powers—Germany, the United Kingdom, France and Italy—in certain exceptional cases minor modifications in the strictly ethnographical determination of the zones which are to be transferred without plebiscite.
7. There will be a right of option into and out of the transferred territories, the option to be exercised within six months from the date of this Agreement. A German-Czechoslovak commission shall determine the details of the option, consider ways of facilitating the transfer of population and settle questions of principle arising out of the said transfer.
8. The Czech Government will, within a period of four weeks from the date of this Agreement, release from their military and police forces any Sudeten Germans who may wish to be released, and the Czech Government will, within the same period, release Sudeten German prisoners who are serving terms of imprisonment for political offenses.

Annex

His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the French Government have entered into the above agreement on the basis that they stand by the offer, contained in paragraph 6 of the Anglo-French

proposals of 19th September, relating to an international guarantee of the new boundaries of the Czech State against unprovoked aggression.

When the question of the Polish and Hungarian minorities in Czechoslovakia has been settled, Germany and Italy, for their part, will give a guarantee to Czechoslovakia.

#### Declaration

The heads of the Governments of the four Powers declare that the problems of the Polish and Hungarian minorities in Czechoslovakia, if not settled within three months by agreement between the respective Governments, shall form the subject of another meeting of the heads of the Governments of the four Powers here present.

#### Supplementary Declaration

All questions which may arise out of the transfer of the territory shall be considered as coming within the terms of reference of the international commission.

The four heads of Governments here present agree that the international commission provided for in the Agreement signed by them today shall consist of the Secretary of State in the German Foreign Office, the British, French and Italian Ambassadors accredited in Berlin, and a representative to be nominated by the Government of Czechoslovakia.

*The day after the pact was concluded, Hitler and the British prime minister, Neville Chamberlain, issued a joint declaration:*

Anglo-German Declaration. Munich, 30 September 1938.

We, the German Fuhrer and Chancellor and the British Prime Minister, have had a further meeting today and are agreed in recognizing that the question of Anglo-German relations is of the first importance for the two countries and for Europe.

We regard the agreement signed last night and the Anglo-German Naval Agreement as symbolic of the desire of our two peoples never to go to war with one another again.

We are resolved that the method of consultation shall be the method adopted to deal with any other questions that may concern our two countries, and we are determined to continue our efforts to remove possible sources of difference and thus to contribute to assure the peace of Europe.

[Signed] A. HITLER

[Signed] NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Grossman, Mark. "Munich Crisis–Munich Pact." In *Encyclopedia of the Interwar Years: From 1919 to 1939*. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2000. *Modern World History Online*. Facts On File, Inc. www.fofweb.com; Axelrod, Alan, and Charles L. Phillips. "Munich Pact." *Encyclopedia of Historical Treaties and Alliances: From Ancient Times to the 1930s*. Vol. 1. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2006. *Modern World History Online*.

Primary Source Citation: Germany, Great Britain, Italy, and France. "Munich Pact." In *Encyclopedia of Historical Treaties and Alliances: From Ancient Times to the 1930s*. Vol. 1. Edited by Alan. Axelrod, and Charles L. Phillips. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2006.

## Winston Churchill: "Blood, Toil, Tears and Sweat"

Date: May 13, 1940

*Winston Churchill, appointed prime minister of a coalition government in Britain, gave this speech before the House of Commons and accepted the position. With the continuing uncertainties of the war (World War II [1939–45]) and now a new government, Britain was at a crucial juncture and needed a clear definition*

*of goals and a renewed fighting spirit. Churchill, with his eloquence, provided just that in this speech. Churchill's powerful style of oratory, characterized by clear, short sentences, the use of Anglo-Saxon rather than Latinate forms where possible, and his clear commitment to his ideas, proved a great asset to Britain by holding up morale during World War II.*

On Friday evening last I received from His Majesty the mission to form a new administration. It was the evident will of Parliament and the nation that this should be conceived on the broadest possible basis and that it should include all parties.

I have already completed the most important part of this task.

A war cabinet has been formed of five members, representing, with the Labour, Opposition, and Liberals, the unity of the nation. It was necessary that this should be done in one single day on account of the extreme urgency and rigor of events. Other key positions were filled yesterday. I am submitting a further list to the king tonight. I hope to complete the appointment of principal ministers during tomorrow.

The appointment of other ministers usually takes a little longer. I trust when Parliament meets again this part of my task will be completed and that the administration will be complete in all respects. I considered it in the public interest to suggest to the Speaker that the House should be summoned today. At the end of today's proceedings, the adjournment of the House will be proposed until May 21 with provision for earlier meeting if need be. Business for that will be notified to MPs at the earliest opportunity.

I now invite the House by a resolution to record its approval of the steps taken and declare its confidence in the new government.

The resolution:

“That this House welcomes the formation of a government representing the united and inflexible resolve of the nation to prosecute the war with Germany to a victorious conclusion.”

To form an administration of this scale and complexity is a serious undertaking in itself. But we are in the preliminary phase of one of the greatest battles in history. We are in action at many other points—in Norway and in Holland—and we have to be prepared in the Mediterranean. The air battle is continuing, and many preparations have to be made here at home.

In this crisis I think I may be pardoned if I do not address the House at any length today, and I hope that any of my friends and colleagues or former colleagues who are affected by the political reconstruction will make all allowances for any lack of ceremony with which it has been necessary to act.

I say to the House as I said to ministers who have joined this government, I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears, and sweat. We have before us an ordeal of the most grievous kind. We have before us many, many months of struggle and suffering.

You ask, what is our policy? I say it is to wage war by land, sea, and air. War with all our might and with all the strength God has given us, and to wage war against a monstrous tyranny never surpassed in the dark and lamentable catalogue of human crime. That is our policy.

You ask, what is our aim? I can answer in one word. It is victory. Victory at all costs—Victory in spite of all terrors—Victory, however long and hard the road may be, for without victory there is no survival.

Let that be realized. No survival for the British Empire, no survival for all that the British Empire has stood for, no survival for the urge, the impulse of the ages, that mankind shall move forward toward his goal.

I take up my task in buoyancy and hope. I feel sure that our cause will not be suffered to fail among men. I feel entitled at this juncture, at this time, to claim the aid of all and to say, “Come then, let us go forward together with our united strength.”

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Kohn, George Childs. “Churchill's ‘Blood, Toil, Tears, and Sweat’ speech.” In *Dictionary of Historic Documents*. Revised Edition. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2003. *Modern World History Online*. Facts On File, Inc. [www.fofweb.com](http://www.fofweb.com).

## Axis Pact

Also known as: Tripartite Pact; Pact of the Axis Powers

Date: September 27, 1940

*The Axis Pact, or the Tripartite Pact, as it is sometimes called, served as the primary treaty in the alliance of the three major fascist powers in World War II—Germany, Italy, and Japan. Throughout the war, the world called these three countries—bent on conquest and expansion—the Axis powers, whose unconditional surrender became the goal of the Allied nations.*

The following entry contains the original document without signatories:

The governments of Germany, Italy and Japan, considering it as a condition precedent of any lasting peace that all nations of the world be given each its own proper place, have decided to stand by and co-operate with one another in regard to their efforts in greater East Asia and regions of Europe respectively wherein it is their prime purpose to establish and maintain a new order of things calculated to promote the mutual prosperity and welfare of the peoples concerned. Furthermore, it is the desire of the three governments to extend co-operation to such nations in other spheres of the world as may be inclined to put forth endeavours along lines similar to their own, in order that their ultimate aspirations for world peace may thus be realized.

Accordingly, the governments of Germany, Italy and Japan have agreed as follows:

**ARTICLE 1**

Japan recognizes and respects the leadership of Germany and Italy in establishment of a new order in Europe.

**ARTICLE 2**

Germany and Italy recognize and respect the leadership of Japan in the establishment of a new order in greater East Asia.

**ARTICLE 3**

Germany, Italy and Japan agree to co-operate in their efforts on aforesaid lines. They further undertake to assist one another with all political, economic and military means when one of the three contracting powers is attacked by a power at present not involved in the European war or in the Chinese-Japanese conflict.

**ARTICLE 4**

With the view to implementing the present pact, joint technical commissions, members which are to be appointed by the respective governments of Germany, Italy and Japan will meet without delay.

**ARTICLE 5**

Germany, Italy and Japan affirm that the aforesaid terms do not in any way affect the political status which exists at present as between each of the three contracting powers and Soviet Russia.

**ARTICLE 6**

The present pact shall come into effect immediately upon signature and shall remain in force 10 years from the date of its coming into force. At the proper time before expiration of said term, the high contracting parties shall at the request of any of them enter into negotiations for its renewal.

In faith whereof, the undersigned duly authorized by their respective governments have signed this pact and have affixed hereto their signatures.

Done in triplicate at Berlin, the 27th day of September, 1940, in the 19th year of the fascist era, corresponding to the 27th day of the ninth month of the 15th year of Showa [the reign of Emperor Hirohito].

**CITATION INFORMATION:**

Text Citation: Axelrod, Alan, and Charles L. Phillips. "Axis Pact." In *Encyclopedia of Historical Treaties and Alliances: From the 1930s to the Present*. Vol. 2. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2006. Facts On File, Inc. *Modern World History Online*. [www.factsonfile.com](http://www.factsonfile.com).

Primary Source Citation: Germany, Italy, and Japan. "Axis Pact." In *Encyclopedia of Historical Treaties and Alliances: From the 1930s to the Present*. Vol. 2. Edited by Alan Axelrod and Charles L. Phillips. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2006.

## Franklin Roosevelt: "Four Freedoms" Speech

Also known as: "Four Freedoms" Address; State of the Union Address, 1941

Date: January 6, 1941

*This address was delivered by U.S. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt on January 6, 1941, in his annual message to Congress. Roosevelt called for a world founded on "four essential human freedoms": freedom of speech and expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. Urging citizens to relinquish the false security of isolationism, he described a national policy committed to all-inclusive national defense, full*

*support of other nations trying to preserve democracy, and refusal to buy peace at the cost of other people's freedom. He urged the United States to serve as an arsenal—providing ships, planes, tanks, and guns—for those countries already struggling against international aggression during World War II (1939–45).*

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Seventy-seventh Congress:

I address you, the Members of the Seventy-seventh Congress, at a moment unprecedented in the history of the Union. I use the word "unprecedented", because at no previous time has American security been as seriously threatened from without as it is today.

Since the permanent formation of our Government under the Constitution, in 1789, most of the periods of crisis in our history have related to our domestic affairs. Fortunately, only one of these—the four-year War Between the States—ever threatened our national unity. Today, thank God, one hundred and thirty million Americans, in forty-eight States, have forgotten points of the compass in our national unity.

It is true that prior to 1914 the United States often had been disturbed by events in other Continents. We had even engaged in two wars with European nations and in a number of undeclared wars in the West Indies, in the Mediterranean and in the Pacific for the maintenance of American rights and for the principles of peaceful commerce. But in no case had a serious threat been raised against our national safety or our continued independence.

What I seek to convey is the historic truth that the United States as a nation has at all times maintained clear, definite opposition, to any attempt to lock us in behind an ancient Chinese wall while the procession of civilization went past. Today, thinking of our children and of their children, we oppose enforced isolation for ourselves or for any other part of the Americas.

That determination of ours, extending over all these years. was proved, for example, during the quarter century of wars following the French Revolution.

While the Napoleonic struggles did threaten interests of the United States because of the French foothold in the West Indies and in Louisiana, and while we engaged in the War of 1812 to vindicate our right to peaceful trade, it is nevertheless clear that neither France nor Great Britain, nor any other nation, was aiming at domination of the whole world.

In like fashion from 1815 to 1914—ninety-nine years—no single war in Europe or in Asia constituted a real threat against our future or against the future of any other American nation.

Except in the Maximilian interlude in Mexico, no foreign power sought to establish itself in this Hemisphere; and the strength of the British fleet in the Atlantic has been a friendly strength.

Even when the World War broke out in 1914, it seemed to contain only small threat of danger to our own American future. But, as time went on, the American people began to visualize what the downfall of democratic nations might mean to our own democracy.

We need not overemphasize imperfections in the Peace of Versailles. We need not harp on failure of the democracies to deal with problems of world reconstruction. We should remember that the Peace of 1919 was far less unjust than the kind of "pacification" which began even before Munich, and which is being carried on under the new order of tyranny that seeks to spread over every continent today. The American people have unalterably set their faces against that tyranny.

Every realist knows that the democratic way of life is at this moment being directly assailed in every part of the world—assailed either by arms, or by secret spreading of poisonous propaganda by those who seek to destroy unity and promote discord in nations that are still at peace.

During sixteen long months this assault has blotted out the whole pattern of democratic life in an appalling number of independent nations, great and small. The assailants are still on the march, threatening other nations, great and small.

Therefore, as your President, performing my constitutional duty to "give to the Congress information of the state of the Union," I find it, unhappily, necessary to report that the future and the safety of our country and of our democracy are overwhelmingly involved in events far beyond our borders.

Armed defense of democratic existence is now being gallantly waged in four continents. If that defense fails, all the population and all the resources of Europe, Asia, Africa and Australasia will be dominated by the conquerors. Let us remember that the total of those populations and their resources in those four continents greatly exceeds the sum total of the population and the resources of the whole of the Western Hemisphere—many times over.

In times like these it is immature—and incidentally, untrue—for anybody to brag that an unprepared America, single-handed, and with one hand tied behind its back, can hold off the whole world.

No realistic American can expect from a dictator's peace international generosity, or return of true independence, or world disarmament, or freedom of expression, or freedom of religion— or even good business.

Such a peace would bring no security for us or for our neighbors. "Those, who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety."

As a nation, we may take pride in the fact that we are soft-hearted; but we cannot afford to be soft-headed. We must always be wary of those who with sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal preach the "ism" of appeasement.

We must especially beware of that small group of selfish men who would clip the wings of the American eagle in order to feather their own nests.

I have recently pointed out how quickly the tempo of modern warfare could bring into our very midst the physical attack which we must eventually expect if the dictator nations win this war.

There is much loose talk of our immunity from immediate and direct invasion from across the seas. Obviously, as long as the British Navy retains its power, no such danger exists. Even if there were no British Navy, it is not probable that any enemy would be stupid enough to attack us by landing troops in the United States from across thousands of miles of ocean, until it had acquired strategic bases from which to operate.

But we learn much from the lessons of the past years in Europe—particularly the lesson of Norway, whose essential seaports were captured by treachery and surprise built up over a series of years.

The first phase of the invasion of this Hemisphere would not be the landing of regular troops. The necessary strategic points would be occupied by secret agents and their dupes—and great numbers of them are already here, and in Latin America.

As long as the aggressor nations maintain the offensive, they—not we—will choose the time and the place and the method of their attack.

That is why the future of all the American Republics is today in serious danger.

That is why this Annual Message to the Congress is unique in our history.

That is why every member of the Executive Branch of the Government and every member of the Congress faces great responsibility and great accountability.

The need of the moment is that our actions and our policy should be devoted primarily—almost exclusively—to meeting this foreign peril. For all our domestic problems are now a part of the great emergency.

Just as our national policy in internal affairs has been based upon a decent respect for the rights and the dignity of all our fellow men within our gates, so our national policy in foreign affairs has been based on a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all nations, large and small. And the justice of morality must and will win in the end.

Our national policy is this:

First, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to all-inclusive national defense.

Second, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to full support of all those resolute peoples, everywhere, who are resisting aggression and are thereby keeping war away from our Hemisphere. By this support, we express our determination that the democratic cause shall prevail; and we strengthen the defense and the security of our own nation.

Third, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to the proposition that principles of morality and considerations for our own security will never permit us to acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors and sponsored by appeasers. We know that enduring peace cannot be bought at the cost of other people's freedom.

In the recent national election there was no substantial difference between the two great parties in respect to that national policy. No issue was fought out on this line before the American electorate. Today it is abundantly evident that American citizens everywhere are demanding and supporting speedy and complete action in recognition of obvious danger.

Therefore, the immediate need is a swift and driving increase in our armament production.

Leaders of industry and labor have responded to our summons. Goals of speed have been set. In some cases these goals are being reached ahead of time; in some cases we are on schedule; in other cases there are slight but not serious delays; and in some cases—and I am sorry to say very important cases—we are all concerned by the slowness of the accomplishment of our plans.

The Army and Navy, however, have made substantial progress during the past year. Actual experience is improving and speeding up our methods of production with every passing day. And today's best is not good enough for tomorrow.

I am not satisfied with the progress thus far made. The men in charge of the program represent the best in training, in ability, and in patriotism. They are not satisfied with the progress thus far made. None of us will be satisfied until the job is done.

No matter whether the original goal was set too high or too low, our objective is quicker and better results.

To give you two illustrations:

We are behind schedule in turning out finished airplanes; we are working day and night to solve the innumerable problems and to catch up.

We are ahead of schedule in building warships but we are working to get even further ahead of that schedule.

To change a whole nation from a basis of peacetime production of implements of peace to a basis of wartime production of implements of war is no small task. And the greatest difficulty comes at the beginning of the program, when new tools, new plant facilities, new assembly lines, and new ship ways must first be constructed before the actual materiel begins to flow steadily and speedily from them.

The Congress, of course, must rightly keep itself informed at all times of the progress of the program. However, there is certain information, as the Congress itself will readily recognize, which, in the interests of our own security and those of the nations that we are supporting, must of needs be kept in confidence.

New circumstances are constantly begetting new needs for our safety. I shall ask this Congress for greatly increased new appropriations and authorizations to carry on what we have begun.

I also ask this Congress for authority and for funds sufficient to manufacture additional munitions and war supplies of many kinds, to be turned over to those nations which are now in actual war with aggressor nations.

Our most useful and immediate role is to act as an arsenal for them as well as for ourselves. They do not need man power, but they do need billions of dollars worth of the weapons of defense.

The time is near when they will not be able to pay for them all in ready cash. We cannot, and we will not, tell them that they must surrender, merely because of present inability to pay for the weapons which we know they must have.

I do not recommend that we make them a loan of dollars with which to pay for these weapons—a loan to be repaid in dollars.

I recommend that we make it possible for those nations to continue to obtain war materials in the United States, fitting their orders into our own program. Nearly all their materiel would, if the time ever came, be useful for our own defense.

Taking counsel of expert military and naval authorities, considering what is best for our own security, we are free to decide how much should be kept here and how much should be sent abroad to our friends who by their determined and heroic resistance are giving us time in which to make ready our own defense.

For what we send abroad, we shall be repaid within a reasonable time following the close of hostilities, in similar materials, or, at our option, in other goods of many kinds, which they can produce and which we need.

Let us say to the democracies: "We Americans are vitally concerned in your defense of freedom. We are putting forth our energies, our resources and our organizing powers to give you the strength to regain and maintain a free world. We shall send you, in ever-increasing numbers, ships, planes, tanks, guns. This is our purpose and our pledge."

In fulfillment of this purpose we will not be intimidated by the threats of dictators that they will regard as a breach of international law or as an act of war our aid to the democracies which dare to resist their aggression. Such aid is not an act of war, even if a dictator should unilaterally proclaim it so to be.

When the dictators, if the dictators, are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part. They did not wait for Norway or Belgium or the Netherlands to commit an act of war.

Their only interest is in a new one-way international law, which lacks mutuality in its observance, and, therefore, becomes an instrument of oppression.

The happiness of future generations of Americans may well depend upon how effective and how immediate we can make our aid felt. No one can tell the exact character of the emergency situations that we may be called upon to meet. The Nation's hands must not be tied when the Nation's life is in danger.

We must all prepare to make the sacrifices that the emergency—almost as serious as war itself—demands. Whatever stands in the way of speed and efficiency in defense preparations must give way to the national need.

A free nation has the right to expect full cooperation from all groups. A free nation has the right to look to the leaders of business, of labor, and of agriculture to take the lead in stimulating effort, not among other groups but within their own groups.

The best way of dealing with the few slackers or trouble makers in our midst is, first, to shame them by patriotic example, and, if that fails, to use the sovereignty of Government to save Government.

As men do not live by bread alone, they do not fight by armaments alone. Those who man our defenses, and those behind them who build our defenses, must have the stamina and the courage which come from unshakable belief in the manner of life which they are defending. The mighty action that we are calling for cannot be based on a disregard of all things worth fighting for.

The Nation takes great satisfaction and much strength from the things which have been done to make its people conscious of their individual stake in the preservation of democratic life in America. Those things have toughened the fiber of our people, have renewed their faith and strengthened their devotion to the institutions we make ready to protect.

Certainly this is no time for any of us to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the social revolution which is today a supreme factor in the world.

For there is nothing mysterious about the foundations of a healthy and strong democracy. The basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems are simple. They are:

Equality of opportunity for youth and for others.  
Jobs for those who can work.  
Security for those who need it.  
The ending of special privilege for the few.  
The preservation of civil liberties for all.  
The enjoyment of the fruits of scientific progress in a wider and constantly rising standard of living.

These are the simple, basic things that must never be lost sight of in the turmoil and unbelievable complexity of our modern world. The inner and abiding strength of our economic and political systems is dependent upon the degree to which they fulfill these expectations.

Many subjects connected with our social economy call for immediate improvement.

As examples:

We should bring more citizens under the coverage of old-age pensions and unemployment insurance.

We should widen the opportunities for adequate medical care.

We should plan a better system by which persons deserving or needing gainful employment may obtain it.

I have called for personal sacrifice. I am assured of the willingness of almost all Americans to respond to that call.

A part of the sacrifice means the payment of more money in taxes. In my Budget Message I shall recommend that a greater portion of this great defense program be paid for from taxation than we are paying today. No person should try, or be allowed, to get rich out of this program; and the principle of tax payments in accordance with ability to pay should be constantly before our eyes to guide our legislation.

If the Congress maintains these principles, the voters, putting patriotism ahead of pocketbooks, will give you their applause.

In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want—which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants— everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear—which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.

That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis of the so-called new order to tyranny which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb.

To that new order we oppose the greater conception—the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination and foreign revolutions alike without fear.

Since the beginning of our American history, we have been engaged in change—in a perpetual peaceful revolution—a revolution which goes on steadily, quietly adjusting itself to changing conditions—without the concentration camp or the quick-lime in the ditch. The world order which we seek is the cooperation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society.

This nation has placed its destiny in the hands and heads and hearts of its millions of free men and women; and its faith in freedom under the guidance of God. Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights or keep them. Our strength is our unity of purpose.

To that high concept there can be no end save victory.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: "State of the Union Address, 1941." *American History Online*. Facts On File, Inc. www.fofweb.com.

Primary Source Citation: Roosevelt, Franklin D. "State of the Union Address, 1941." *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*.

## Winston Churchill: "Iron Curtain" Speech

Date: March 5, 1946

*On March 5, 1946, Winston Churchill addressed an assembly at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, accepting an honorary degree. Churchill introduced the phrase "Iron Curtain" to describe the line of division between Western democracies and the satellite states dominated by the Soviet Union. Combined with the announced Truman Doctrine in 1947, these documents represent the beginning of the cold war. A portion of the speech is presented here.*

The United States stands at this time at the pinnacle of world power. It is a solemn moment for the American democracy. For with this primacy in power is also joined an awe-inspiring accountability to the future. As you look around you, you must feel not only the sense of duty done, but also you must feel anxiety lest you fall below the level of achievement. Opportunity is here now, clear and shining, for both our countries. To reject it or ignore it or fritter it away will bring upon us all the long reproaches of the aftertime.

It is necessary that constancy of mind, persistency of purpose, and the grand simplicity of decision shall rule and guide the conduct of the English-speaking peoples in peace as they did in war. We must, and I believe we shall, prove ourselves equal to this severe requirement.

I have a strong admiration and regard for the valiant Russian people and for my wartime comrade, Marshal Stalin. There is deep sympathy and goodwill in Britain—and I doubt not here also—toward the peoples of all the Russias and a resolve to persevere through many differences and rebuffs in establishing lasting friendships.

It is my duty, however, to place before you certain facts about the present position in Europe.

From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia; all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject, in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and in some cases increasing measure of control from Moscow.

The safety of the world, ladies and gentlemen, requires a unity in Europe, from which no nation should be permanently outcast. It is from the quarrels of the strong parent races in Europe that the world wars we have witnessed, or which occurred in former times, have sprung.

Twice the United States has had to send several millions of its young men across the Atlantic to fight the wars. But now we all can find any nation, wherever it may dwell, between dusk and dawn. Surely we should work with conscious purpose for a grand pacification of Europe within the structure of the United Nations and in accordance with our Charter.

In a great number of countries, far from the Russian frontiers and throughout the world, Communist fifth columns are established and work in complete unity and absolute obedience to the directions they receive from the Communist center. Except in the British Commonwealth and in the United States where Communism is in its infancy, the Communist parties or fifth columns constitute a growing challenge and peril to Christian civilization.

The outlook is also anxious in the Far East and especially in Manchuria. The agreement which was made at Yalta, to which I was a party, was extremely favorable to Soviet Russia, but it was made at a time when no one could say that the German war might not extend all through the summer and autumn of 1945 and when the Japanese war was expected by the best judges to last for a further eighteen months from the end of the German war.

I repulse the idea that a new war is inevitable—still more that it is imminent. It is because I am sure that our fortunes are still in our own hands and that we hold the power to save the future, that I feel the duty to speak out now that I have the occasion and the opportunity to do so.

I do not believe that Soviet Russia desires war. What they desire is the fruits of war and the indefinite expansion of their power and doctrines.

But what we have to consider here today while time remains, is the permanent prevention of war and the establishment of conditions of freedom and democracy as rapidly as possible in all countries. Our difficulties and dangers will not be removed by closing our eyes to them. They will not be removed by mere waiting to see what happens; nor will they be removed by a policy of appeasement.

What is needed is a settlement, and the longer this is delayed, the more difficult it will be and the greater our dangers will become.

From what I have seen of our Russian friends and allies during the war, I am convinced that there is nothing they admire so much as strength, and there is nothing for which they have less respect than for weakness, especially military weakness.

For that reason the old doctrine of a balance of power is unsound. We cannot afford, if we can help it, to work on narrow margins, offering temptations to a trial of strength.

Last time I saw it all coming and I cried aloud to my own fellow countrymen and to the world, but no one paid any attention. Up till the year 1933 or even 1935, Germany might have been saved from the awful fate which has overtaken her and we might all have been spared the miseries Hitler let loose upon mankind.

There never was a war in history easier to prevent by timely action than the one which has just desolated such great areas of the globe. It could have been prevented, in my belief, without the firing of a single shot, and Germany might be powerful, prosperous and honored today; but no one would listen and one by one we were all sucked into the awful whirlpool.

We must not let it happen again. This can only be achieved by reaching now, in 1946, a good understanding on all points with Russia under the general authority of the United Nations Organization and by the maintenance of that good understanding through many peaceful years, by the whole strength of the English-speaking world and all its connections.

If the population of the English-speaking Commonwealth be added to that of the United States, with all that such cooperation implies in the air, on the sea, all over the globe, and in science and in industry, and in moral force, there will be no quivering, precarious balance of power to offer its temptation to ambition or adventure. On the contrary there will be an overwhelming assurance of security.

If we adhere faithfully to the Charter of the United Nations and walk forward in sedate and sober strength, seeking no one's land or treasure, seeking to lay no arbitrary control upon the thoughts of men, if all British moral and material forces and convictions are joined with your own in fraternal association, the high roads of the future will be clear, not only for us but for all, not only for our time but for a century to come.

Winston Churchill—March 5, 1946

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: "Iron Curtain' Speech." Facts On File, Inc. *American History Online*. www.fofweb.com.

Primary Source Citation: Churchill, Winston. "Iron Curtain" Speech. Harry S. Truman Library.

## **Rudolf Hoess, Commandant of Auschwitz: Testimony at Nuremburg**

Also known as: Rudolf Franz Ferdinand Höß, Höss, or Hoeß.

Date: April 5, 1946

*Rudolf Hoess joined the Nazi SS in 1934. Hoess became the commander of the extermination center of Auschwitz in 1940. Auschwitz was the German name of the city of Oswiecim, Poland. During World War II, Auschwitz was the largest of the concentration and death camps. It was a vast slave labor and death camp, where an estimated 1.1–1.6 million people were killed. Auschwitz was liberated on January 27, 1945. Many postwar trials of major war criminals were held at Nuremburg, and the following is Hoess's confession of April 5, 1946.*

I, RUDOLF FRANZ FERDINAND HOESS, being first duly sworn, depose and say as follows:

1. I am 46 years old, and have been a member of the NSDAP since 1922; a member of the SS since 1934; a member of the Waffen-SS since 1939. I was a member from 1 December 1934 of the SS Guard Unit, the so-called Death's Head Formation (Totenkopf Verband).

2. I have been constantly associated with the administration of concentration camps since 1934, serving at Dachau until 1938; then as Adjutant in Sachsenhausen from 1938 to 1 May, 1940, when I was appointed Commandant of Auschwitz. I commanded Auschwitz until 1 December, 1943, and estimate that at least 2,500,000 victims were executed and exterminated there by gassing and burning, and at least another half million succumbed to starvation and disease, making a total dead of about 3,000,000. This figure represents about 70% or 80% of all persons sent to Auschwitz as prisoners, the remainder having been selected and used for slave labor in the concentration camp industries. Included among the executed and burnt were approximately 20,000 Russian prisoners of war (previously screened out of Prisoner of War cages by the Gestapo) who were delivered at Auschwitz in Wehrmacht transports operated by regular Wehrmacht officers and men. The remainder of the total number of victims included about 100,000 German Jews, and great numbers of citizens (mostly Jewish) from Holland, France, Belgium, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Greece, or other countries. We executed about 400,000 Hungarian Jews alone at Auschwitz in the summer of 1944.

4. Mass executions by gassing commenced during the summer 1941 and continued until fall 1944. I personally supervised executions at Auschwitz until the first of December 1943 and know by reason of my continued duties in the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps WVHA that these mass executions

continued as stated above. All mass executions by gassing took place under the direct order, supervision and responsibility of RSHA. I received all orders for carrying out these mass executions directly from RSHA.

6. The “final solution” of the Jewish question meant the complete extermination of all Jews in Europe. I was ordered to establish extermination facilities at Auschwitz in June 1941. At that time there were already in the general government three other extermination camps; BELZEK, TREBLINKA and WOLZEK. These camps were under the Einsatzkommando of the Security Police and SD. I visited Treblinka to find out how they carried out their exterminations. The Camp Commandant at Treblinka told me that he had liquidated 80,000 in the course of onehalf year. He was principally concerned with liquidating all the Jews from the Warsaw Ghetto. He used monoxide gas and I did not think that his methods were very efficient. So when I set up the extermination building at Auschwitz, I used Cyclon B, which was a crystallized Prussic Acid which we dropped into the death chamber from a small opening. It took from 3 to 15 minutes to kill the people in the death chamber depending upon climatic conditions. We knew when the people were dead because their screaming stopped. We usually waited about onehalf hour before we opened the doors and removed the bodies. After the bodies were removed our special commandos took off the rings and extracted the gold from the teeth of the corpses.

7. Another improvement we made over Treblinka was that we built our gas chambers to accommodate 2,000 people at one time, whereas at Treblinka their 10 gas chambers only accommodated 200 people each. The way we selected our victims was as follows: we had two SS doctors on duty at Auschwitz to examine the incoming transports of prisoners. The prisoners would be marched by one of the doctors who would make spot decisions as they walked by. Those who were fit for work were sent into the Camp. Others were sent immediately to the extermination plants. Children of tender years were invariably exterminated since by reason of their youth they were unable to work. Still another improvement we made over Treblinka was that at Treblinka the victims almost always knew that they were to be exterminated and at Auschwitz we endeavored to fool the victims into thinking that they were to go through a delousing process. Of course, frequently they realized our true intentions and we sometimes had riots and difficulties due to that fact. Very frequently women would hide their children under the clothes but of course when we found them we would send the children in to be exterminated. We were required to carry out these exterminations in secrecy but of course the foul and nauseating stench from the continuous burning of bodies permeated the entire area and all of the people living in the surrounding communities knew that exterminations were going on at Auschwitz .

8. We received from time to time special prisoners from the local Gestapo office. The SS doctors killed such prisoners by injections of benzine. Doctors had orders to write ordinary death certificates and could put down any reason at all for the cause of death.

9. From time to time we conducted medical experiments on women inmates, including sterilization and experiments relating to cancer. Most of the people who died under these experiments had been already condemned to death by the Gestapo.

10. Rudolf Mildner was the chief of the Gestapo at Kattowicz and as such was head of the political department at Auschwitz which conducted third degree methods of interrogation from approximately March 1941 until September 1943. As such, he frequently sent prisoners to Auschwitz for incarceration or execution. He visited Auschwitz on several occasions. The Gestapo Court, the SS Standgericht, which tried persons accused of various crimes, such as escaping Prisoners of War, etc., frequently met within Auschwitz, and Mildner often attended the trial of such persons, who usually were executed in Auschwitz following their sentence. I showed Mildner throughout the extermination plant at Auschwitz and he was directly interested in it since he had to send the Jews from his territory for execution at Auschwitz.

I understand English as it is written above. The above statements are true; this declaration is made by me voluntarily and without compulsion; after reading over the statement, I have signed and executed the same at Nurnberg, Germany on the fifth day of April 1946.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Karesh, Sara E. and Mitchell M. Hurvitz. “Auschwitz.” In *Encyclopedia of Judaism*. Encyclopedia of World Religions. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2006. *Modern World History Online*. Facts On File, Inc. www.fofweb.com.

Primary Source Citation: Hoess, Rudolf Franz Ferdinand. “Affidavit, 5 April 1946.” In *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Tribunal, Nuremberg, 14 November 1945–October 1946*. Nuremberg: Secretariat of the International Military Tribunal, 1949, Doc. 3868PS, vol. 33, 275–279.

## Truman on Truman Doctrine

Date: March 12, 1947

*In this speech, U.S. President Harry S. Truman asks Congress for support of an aid program to both Greece and Turkey. The document represents a turning point in several ways. It marks the shift away from British hegemony in the region to American influence. Even more striking, it represents the open admission of a state of conflict between the United States and the Soviet-supported communist insurgents in the region. Thus the Truman Doctrine announced in this speech represents one of the first indications of the cold war that existed between the two superpowers for approximately 40 years, from the 1940s to the late 1980s.*

President Harry S. Truman's Address before a Joint Session of Congress, March 12, 1947

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Congress of the United States:

The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today necessitates my appearance before a joint session of the Congress. The foreign policy and the national security of this country are involved.

One aspect of the present situation, which I wish to present to you at this time for your consideration and decision, concerns Greece and Turkey.

The United States has received from the Greek Government an urgent appeal for financial and economic assistance. Preliminary reports from the American Economic Mission now in Greece and reports from the American Ambassador in Greece corroborate the statement of the Greek Government that assistance is imperative if Greece is to survive as a free nation.

I do not believe that the American people and the Congress wish to turn a deaf ear to the appeal of the Greek Government.

Greece is not a rich country. Lack of sufficient natural resources has always forced the Greek people to work hard to make both ends meet. Since 1940, this industrious and peace loving country has suffered invasion, four years of cruel enemy occupation, and bitter internal strife.

When forces of liberation entered Greece they found that the retreating Germans had destroyed virtually all the railways, roads, port facilities, communications, and merchant marine. More than a thousand villages had been burned. Eighty-five per cent of the children were tubercular. Livestock, poultry, and draft animals had almost disappeared. Inflation had wiped out practically all savings.

As a result of these tragic conditions, a militant minority, exploiting human want and misery, was able to create political chaos which, until now, has made economic recovery impossible.

Greece is today without funds to finance the importation of those goods which are essential to bare subsistence. Under these circumstances the people of Greece cannot make progress in solving their problems of reconstruction. Greece is in desperate need of financial and economic assistance to enable it to resume purchases of food, clothing, fuel and seeds. These are indispensable for the subsistence of its people and are obtainable only from abroad. Greece must have help to import the goods necessary to restore internal order and security, so essential for economic and political recovery.

The Greek Government has also asked for the assistance of experienced American administrators, economists and technicians to insure that the financial and other aid given to Greece shall be used effectively in creating a stable and self-sustaining economy and in improving its public administration.

The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists, who defy the government's authority at a number of points, particularly along the northern boundaries. A Commission appointed by the United Nations security Council is at present investigating disturbed conditions in northern Greece and alleged border violations along the frontier between Greece on the one hand and Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia on the other.

Meanwhile, the Greek Government is unable to cope with the situation. The Greek army is small and poorly equipped. It needs supplies and equipment if it is to restore the authority of the government throughout Greek territory. Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy.

The United States must supply that assistance. We have already extended to Greece certain types of relief and economic aid but these are inadequate.

There is no other country to which democratic Greece can turn.

No other nation is willing and able to provide the necessary support for a democratic Greek government.

The British Government, which has been helping Greece, can give no further financial or economic aid after March 31. Great Britain finds itself under the necessity of reducing or liquidating its commitments in several parts of the world, including Greece.

We have considered how the United Nations might assist in this crisis. But the situation is an urgent one requiring immediate action and the United Nations and its related organizations are not in a position to extend help of the kind that is required.

It is important to note that the Greek Government has asked for our aid in utilizing effectively the financial and other assistance we may give to Greece, and in improving its public administration. It is of the utmost importance that we supervise the use of any funds made available to Greece; in such a manner that each dollar spent will count toward making Greece self-supporting, and will help to build an economy in which a healthy democracy can flourish.

No government is perfect. One of the chief virtues of a democracy, however, is that its defects are always visible and under democratic processes can be pointed out and corrected. The Government of Greece is not perfect. Nevertheless it represents eighty-five per cent of the members of the Greek Parliament who were chosen in an election last year. Foreign observers, including 692 Americans, considered this election to be a fair expression of the views of the Greek people.

The Greek Government has been operating in an atmosphere of chaos and extremism. It has made mistakes. The extension of aid by this country does not mean that the United States condones everything that the Greek Government has done or will do. We have condemned in the past, and we condemn now, extremist measures of the right or the left. We have in the past advised tolerance, and we advise tolerance now.

Greece's neighbor, Turkey, also deserves our attention.

The future of Turkey as an independent and economically sound state is clearly no less important to the freedom-loving peoples of the world than the future of Greece. The circumstances in which Turkey finds itself today are considerably different from those of Greece. Turkey has been spared the disasters that have beset Greece. And during the war, the United States and Great Britain furnished Turkey with material aid.

Nevertheless, Turkey now needs our support.

Since the war Turkey has sought financial assistance from Great Britain and the United States for the purpose of effecting that modernization necessary for the maintenance of its national integrity.

That integrity is essential to the preservation of order in the Middle East.

The British government has informed us that, owing to its own difficulties can no longer extend financial or economic aid to Turkey.

As in the case of Greece, if Turkey is to have the assistance it needs, the United States must supply it. We are the only country able to provide that help.

I am fully aware of the broad implications involved if the United States extends assistance to Greece and Turkey, and I shall discuss these implications with you at this time.

One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion. This was a fundamental issue in the war with Germany and Japan. Our victory was won over countries which sought to impose their will, and their way of life, upon other nations.

To ensure the peaceful development of nations, free from coercion, the United States has taken a leading part in establishing the United Nations. The United Nations is designed to make possible lasting freedom and independence for all its members. We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States.

The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta agreement, in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments.

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio; fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

The world is not static, and the status quo is not sacred. But we cannot allow changes in the status quo in violation of the Charter of the United Nations by such methods as coercion, or by such subterfuges as political infiltration. In helping free and independent nations to maintain their freedom, the United States will be giving effect to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

It is necessary only to glance at a map to realize that the survival and integrity of the Greek nation are of grave importance in a much wider situation. If Greece should fall under the control of an armed minority, the effect upon its neighbor, Turkey, would be immediate and serious. Confusion and disorder might well spread throughout the entire Middle East.

Moreover, the disappearance of Greece as an independent state would have a profound effect upon those countries in Europe whose peoples are struggling against great difficulties to maintain their freedoms and their independence while they repair the damages of war.

It would be an unspeakable tragedy if these countries, which have struggled so long against overwhelming odds, should lose that victory for which they sacrificed so much. Collapse of free institutions and loss of independence would be disastrous not only for them but for the world. Discouragement and possibly failure would quickly be the lot of neighboring peoples striving to maintain their freedom and independence.

Should we fail to aid Greece and Turkey in this fateful hour, the effect will be far reaching to the West as well as to the East.

We must take immediate and resolute action.

I therefore ask the Congress to provide authority for assistance to Greece and Turkey in the amount of \$400,000,000 for the period ending June 30, 1948. In requesting these funds, I have taken into consideration the maximum amount of relief assistance which would be furnished to Greece out of the \$350,000,000 which I recently requested that the Congress authorize for the prevention of starvation and suffering in countries devastated by the war.

In addition to funds, I ask the Congress to authorize the detail of American civilian and military personnel to Greece and Turkey, at the request of those countries, to assist in the tasks of reconstruction, and for the purpose of supervising the use of such financial and material assistance as may be furnished. I recommend that authority also be provided for the instruction and training of selected Greek and Turkish personnel.

Finally, I ask that the Congress provide authority which will permit the speediest and most effective use, in terms of needed commodities, supplies, and equipment, of such funds as may be authorized.

If further funds, or further authority, should be needed for purposes indicated in this message, I shall not hesitate to bring the situation before the Congress. On this subject the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government must work together.

This is a serious course upon which we embark.

I would not recommend it except that the alternative is much more serious. The United States contributed \$341,000,000 toward winning World War II. This is an investment in world freedom and world peace.

The assistance that I am recommending for Greece and Turkey amounts to little more than 1 tenth of 1 per cent of this investment. It is only common sense that we should safeguard this investment and make sure that it was not in vain.

The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife. They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life has died. We must keep that hope alive.

The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms.

If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world—and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own nation.

Great responsibilities have been placed upon us by the swift movement of events.

I am confident that the Congress will face these responsibilities squarely.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: "Truman Doctrine." Facts On File, Inc. *American History Online*. [www.fofweb.com](http://www.fofweb.com).

Primary Source Citation: Truman, Harry S. *Truman Doctrine*. The Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States.

## The UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Date: December 10, 1948

*The first section of an International Bill of Human Rights was adopted (by a vote of 48 to 0) and announced by the United Nations General Assembly in Paris on December 10, 1948. Nine members (the Soviet Bloc countries, Saudi Arabia, and South Africa) abstained. Eleanor Roosevelt, chairman of the UN Commission on Human Rights, was instrumental in the drafting of the Declaration of Human Rights, one of the most authoritative documents in world history to have addressed the spectrum of human rights. The significance of its impact on the nations of the world may be compared to what the Bill of Rights and the Constitution represent to the United States. The declaration proclaimed fundamental freedoms and rights as a "common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations," and the United Nations secretary-general was*

*requested to have it disseminated all over the world in various languages. Its 30 articles took the Commission on Human Rights nearly three years to draft. In 1948 the commission began preparing the other two sections of the International Bill of Human Rights—a Convention of Human Rights and its implementation policies. In 1948 the General Assembly also adopted a Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.*

PREAMBLE

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, Therefore THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY proclaims THIS UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3. Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4. No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5. No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6. Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7. All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8. Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10. Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11. (1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

(2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14. (1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

(2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15. (1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16. (1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

(2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

(3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17. (1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19. Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

(2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21. (1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

(2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

(3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22. Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23. (1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

(2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

(3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

(4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24. Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25. (1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

(2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26. (1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27. (1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

(2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28. Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29. (1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

(2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

(3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30. Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: "Universal Declaration of Human Rights." *American History Online*. Facts On File, Inc. www.fofweb.com.

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## Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung): The Chinese People Have Stood Up

Also known as: MaoTse-tung

Date: September 21, 1949

*Mao Zedong attended college in Beijing and was exposed to Marxism. Mao quickly embraced the philosophy, and in 1921 he helped to found the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). At that time China was being united by Nationalist forces under President Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek. The Communists joined them in an unlikely coalition to fight various warlords, until 1927, when Nationalist forces under Chiang suddenly turned and attacked their allies. Mao and his cohorts fled into the interior, where they established the Kiangsi Soviet. Here Mao honed his revolutionary beliefs, which were very different from the industrial proletariat ideals espoused by Vladimir Lenin. Mao originated the idea of a revolutionary peasantry, based in the countryside and not in the city, which would spearhead and perpetuate a communist revolution. In 1934 Nationalist forces drove Mao's guerrillas from their mountain stronghold in Jiangxi (Kiangsi) Province into what became the epic 6,000-mile "Long March" to distant Shaanxi Province. They were spared*

*annihilation when the Japanese attacked China in 1937. Over the next eight years Mao consolidated his stronghold and established friendly contacts with the peasantry, who provided the bulk of his support. And by deliberately fighting the invaders instead of simply defending the interior like the Nationalists, the Communists gained both military expertise and broad popular appeal. World War II ended in 1945, but the following year Mao precipitated the Chinese civil war against Chiang's Nationalists, which ended four years later in a Communist victory. On October 1, 1949, Mao proclaimed the creation of the People's Republic of China, with himself as chairman and Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai) as premier. Against great odds the theory of revolutionary peasantry had triumphed.*

### The Chinese People Have Stood Up!

Opening address at the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

Fellow Delegates,

The Political Consultative Conference so eagerly awaited by the whole nation is herewith inaugurated.

Our conference is composed of more than six hundred delegates, representing all the democratic parties and people's organizations of China, the People's Liberation Army, the various regions and nationalities of the country and the overseas Chinese. This shows that ours is a conference embodying the great unity of the people of the whole country.

It is because we have defeated the reactionary Kuomintang government backed by U.S. imperialism that this great unity of the whole people has been achieved. In a little more than three years the heroic Chinese People's Liberation Army, an army such as the world has seldom seen, crushed all the offensives launched by the several million troops of the U.S.-supported reactionary Kuomintang government and turned to the counter-offensive and the offensive. At present the field armies of the People's Liberation Army, several million strong, have pushed the war to areas near Taiwan, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Kweichow, Szechuan and Sinkiang, and the great majority of the Chinese people have won liberation. In a little more than three years the people of the whole country have closed their ranks, rallied to support the People's Liberation Army, fought the enemy and won basic victory. And it is on this foundation that the present People's Political Consultative Conference is convened.

Our conference is called the Political Consultative Conference because some three years ago we held a Political Consultative Conference with Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang. The results of that conference were sabotaged by Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang and its accomplices; nevertheless the conference left an indelible impression on the people. It showed that nothing in the interest of the people could be accomplished together with Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang, the running dog of imperialism, and its accomplices. Even when resolutions were reluctantly adopted, it was of no avail, for as soon as the time was ripe, they tore them up and started a ruthless war against the people. The only gain from that conference was the profound lesson it taught the people that there is absolutely no room for compromise with Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang, the running dog of imperialism, and its accomplice—overthrow these enemies or be oppressed and slaughtered by them, either one or the other, there is no other choice. In a little more than three years the Chinese people, led by the Chinese Communist Party, have quickly awakened and organized themselves into a nation-wide united front against imperialism, feudalism, bureaucrat-capitalism and their general representative, the reactionary Kuomintang government, supported the People's War of Liberation, basically defeated the reactionary Kuomintang government, overthrown the rule of imperialism in China and restored the Political Consultative Conference.

The present Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference is convened on an entirely new foundation; it is representative of the people of the whole country and enjoys their trust and support. Therefore, the conference proclaims that it will exercise the functions and powers of a National People's Congress. In accordance with its agenda, the conference will enact the Organic Law of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the Organic Law of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and the Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference; it will elect the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and the Central People's Government Council of the People's Republic of China; it will adopt the national flag and national emblem of the People's Republic of China; and it will decide on the seat of the capital of the People's Republic of China and adopt the chronological system in use in most countries of the world.

Fellow Delegates, we are all convinced that our work will go down in the history of mankind, demonstrating that the Chinese people, comprising one quarter of humanity, have now stood up. The Chinese have always been a great, courageous and industrious nation; it is only in modern times that they have fallen behind. And that was due entirely to oppression and exploitation by foreign imperialism and domestic reactionary governments. For over a century our forefathers never stopped waging unyielding struggles against domestic and foreign oppressors, including the Revolution of 1911 led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, our great forerunner in the Chinese revolution. Our forefathers enjoined us to carry out their unfulfilled will. And we have

acted accordingly. We have closed our ranks and defeated both domestic and foreign oppressors through the People's War of Liberation and the great people's revolution, and now we are proclaiming the founding of the People's Republic of China. From now on our nation will belong to the community of the peace-loving and freedom-loving nations of the world and work courageously and industriously to foster its own civilization and well-being and at the same time to promote world peace and freedom. Ours will no longer be a nation subject to insult and humiliation. We have stood up. Our revolution has won the sympathy and acclaim of the people of all countries. We have friends all over the world.

Our revolutionary work is not completed, the People's War of Liberation and the people's revolutionary movement are still forging ahead and we must keep up our efforts. The imperialists and the domestic reactionaries will certainly not take their defeat lying down; they will fight to the last ditch. After there is peace and order throughout the country, they are sure to engage in sabotage and create disturbances by one means or another and every day and every minute they will try to stage a come-back. This is inevitable and beyond all doubt, and under no circumstances must we relax our vigilance.

Our state system, the people's democratic dictatorship, is a powerful weapon for safeguarding the fruits of victory of the people's revolution and for thwarting the plots of domestic and foreign enemies for restoration, and this weapon we must firmly grasp. Internationally, we must unite with all peace-loving and freedom-loving countries and peoples, and first of all with the Soviet Union and the New Democracies, so that we shall not stand alone in our struggle to safeguard these fruits of victory and to thwart the plots of domestic and foreign enemies for restoration. As long as we persist in the people's democratic dictatorship and unite with our foreign friends, we shall always be victorious.

The people's democratic dictatorship and solidarity with our foreign friends will enable us to accomplish our work of construction rapidly. We are already confronted with the task of nation-wide economic construction. We have very favourable conditions: a population of 475 million people and a territory of 9,600,000 square kilometres. There are indeed difficulties ahead, and a great many too. But we firmly believe that by heroic struggle the people of the country will surmount them all. The Chinese people have rich experience in overcoming difficulties. If our forefathers, and we also, could weather long years of extreme difficulty and defeat powerful domestic and foreign reactionaries, why can't we now, after victory, build a prosperous and flourishing country? As long as we keep to our style of plain living and hard struggle, as long as we stand united and as long as we persist in the people's democratic dictatorship and unite with our foreign friends, we shall be able to win speedy victory on the economic front.

An upsurge in economic construction is bound to be followed by an upsurge of construction in the cultural sphere. The era in which the Chinese people were regarded as uncivilized is now ended. We shall emerge in the world as a nation with an advanced culture.

Our national defense will be consolidated and no imperialists will ever again be allowed to invade our land. Our people's armed forces must be maintained and developed with the heroic and steeled People's Liberation Army as the foundation. We will have not only a powerful army but also a powerful air force and a powerful navy.

Let the domestic and foreign reactionaries tremble before us! Let them say we are no good at this and no good at that. By our own indomitable efforts we the Chinese people will unswervingly reach our goal.

The heroes of the people who laid down their lives in the People's War of Liberation and the people's revolution shall live forever in our memory!

Hail the victory of the People's War of Liberation and the people's revolution!

Hail the founding of the People's Republic of China!

Hail the triumph of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference!

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Fredriksen, John C. "Mao Zedong." *Biographical Dictionary of Modern World Leaders: 1992 to the Present*. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2003. *Modern World History Online*. Facts On File, Inc. www.fofweb.com.

## Simone de Beauvoir: *The Second Sex*

Also known as: *Le Deuxième Sexe*

Date: October 28, 1949

*Simone de Beauvoir's existentialist and feminist ideas led her to author many books. In The Second Sex (1949) she undermines the notion that women's lives are tied irrevocably to their maternal function by declaring that it is society that has made women think this. The book's title is a reference to the idea that women throughout history have been defined as the "other" sex.*

*Beauvoir wrote The Second Sex in part to discover the extent to which the course of her own life was determined by the fact that she was born female instead of male. Using her life as a springboard, she goes on to analyze women's roles in society through mythology, political theory, history, and psychology. Her conclusion, stated in the introduction to the section on childhood, is that "A person is not born a woman, a person becomes one." In other words, while an individual may be born female, it is the society in which one lives—through parents, schools, churches, and other social institutions—that turns the female person into a woman. She advises women to pursue interests beyond the home and family, because, in her view, marriage and motherhood render women into "relative beings," that is, individuals whose lives are dependent upon their relationship to others, not upon themselves.*

This is an excerpt from part 2 of *The Second Sex*.

#### On the Master-Slave Relation

Certain passages in the argument employed by Hegel in defining the relation of master to slave apply much better to the relation of man to woman. The advantage of the master, he says, comes from his affirmation of Spirit as against Life through the fact that he risks his own life; but in fact the conquered slave has known this same risk. Whereas woman is basically an existent who gives Life and does not risk her life, between her and the male there has been no combat. Hegel's definition would seem to apply especially well to her. He says: 'The other consciousness is the dependent consciousness for whom the essential reality is the animal type of life; that is to say, a mode of living bestowed by another entity.' But this relation is to be distinguished from the relation of subjugation because woman also aspires to and recognizes the values that are concretely attained by the male. He it is who opens up the future to which she also reaches out. In truth women have never set up female values in opposition to male values; it is man who, desirous of maintaining masculine prerogatives, has invented that divergence. Men have presumed to create a feminine domain – the kingdom of life, of immanence—only in order to lock up women therein. But it is regardless of sex that the existent seeks self-justification through transcendence – the very submission of women is proof of that statement. What they demand today is to be recognized as existents by the same right as men and not to subordinate existence to life, the human being to its animality.

An existentialist perspective has enabled us, then, to understand how the biological and economic condition of the primitive horde must have led to male supremacy. The female, to a greater extent than the male, is the prey of the species; and the human race has always sought to escape its specific destiny. The support of life became for man an activity and a project through the invention of the tool; but in maternity woman remained closely bound to her body, like an animal. It is because humanity calls itself in question in the matter of living—that is to say, values the reasons for living above mere life—that, confronting woman, man assumes mastery. Man's design is not to repeat himself in time: it is to take control of the instant and mould the future. It is male activity that in creating values has made of existence itself a value; this activity has prevailed over the confused forces of life; it has subdued Nature and Woman. We must now see how this situation has been perpetuated and how it has evolved through the ages. What place has humanity made for this portion of itself which, while included within it, is defined as the Other? What rights have been conceded to it? How have men defined it?

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Kuhlman, Erica Ann. "Beauvoir, Simone de." *A to Z of Women in World History*. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2002. *Modern World History Online*. Facts On File, Inc. [www.fofweb.com](http://www.fofweb.com).

## The Freedom Charter

Date: June 26, 1955

*This document, adopted at the Congress of the People at Kliptown, South Africa, on June 26, 1955, established a vision for an alternative to the apartheid-based society that predominated in South Africa.*

*Originally suggested at the Congress of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1953, the idea of creating a statement of fundamental principles for a new South Africa was quickly accepted by the ANC's key allies, the South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured People's Organization, and the South African Congress of Democrats. Over the next several years key principles and statements were worked out.*

*On June 25 and 26, 1955, the Congress of the People met in Kliptown, near Johannesburg. The points of the charter were read aloud and approved by acclamation. As a sign of the difficulties ahead, at the end of the meeting, heavily armed police officers arrived on the scene, and alleging that treason was probably being undertaken, they took the names of the almost 3,000 delegates and ordered them to leave. In this way, at the same time that the announcement of the charter ushered in a vision of a new future for South Africa, the police response indicated the obstacles and tactics that would have to be overcome in order to achieve that future.*

We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;

that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together equals, countrymen and brothers adopt this Freedom Charter;

And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

**The People Shall Govern!**

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

**All National Groups Shall have Equal Rights!**

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

**The People Shall Share in the Country's Wealth!**

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the Banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the wellbeing of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

The Land Shall be Shared Among Those Who Work It!

Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land re-divided amongst those who work it to banish famine and land hunger;

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

All Shall be Equal Before the Law!

No-one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial; No-one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people;

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

All Shall Enjoy Equal Human Rights!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;

Pass Laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

There Shall be Work and Security!

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall be Opened!

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children; Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

There Shall be Houses, Security and Comfort!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space to be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no-one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished, and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

There Shall be Peace and Friendship!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;  
South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation—not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The right of all peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all people who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:

These Freedoms We Will Fight For, Side By Side, Throughout Our Lives, Until We Have Won Our Liberty.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Davis, R. Hunt, ed. "Freedom Charter." In *Encyclopedia of African History and Culture*. Vol. 4, *The Colonial Era (1850 to 1960)*. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2005. *Modern World History Online*. Facts On File, Inc. [www.fofweb.com](http://www.fofweb.com).

## Let Flowers of Many Kinds Blossom

Also Known as: Let One Hundred Flowers Bloom

Date: May 26, 1956

*In this speech delivered by Lu Ting-yi, director of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, on the party's Policy on Art, Literature, and Science, May 26, 1956, the regime of Mao Zedong urged the Chinese people to give free expression to a wide variety of ideas. However, soon after the period of freedom, the Cultural Revolution suppressed dissent throughout China. In this speech, Lu Ting-yi makes clear that freedom of expression is not to extend to counterrevolutionary elements, such as the bourgeoisie.*

The following is an excerpt from the original document.

Mr. Kuo Mo-jo, President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and Chairman of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, has asked me to speak on the policy of the Chinese Communist Party on the work of artists, writers and scientists.

To artists and writers, we say, "Let flowers of many kinds blossom." To scientists we say, "Let diverse schools of thought contend." This is the policy of the Chinese Communist Party. It was announced by Chairman Mao Tse-tung at the Supreme State Conference. . . .

If we want our country to be prosperous and strong, we must, besides consolidating the people's state power, developing our economy and education and strengthening our national defense, have a flourishing art, literature and science. That is essential.

If we want art, literature and science to flourish, we must apply a policy of letting flowers of many kinds blossom, letting diverse schools of thought contend. . . .

"Letting flowers of many kinds blossom, diverse schools of thought contend" means that we stand for freedom of independent thinking, of debate, of creative work; freedom to criticize and freedom to express, maintain and reserve one's opinions on questions of art, literature or scientific research.

The freedom we uphold is not the same as that based on the type of democracy advocated by the bourgeoisie. The freedom advocated by the bourgeoisie really means freedom for only a minority, with little or no freedom for the working people. The bourgeoisie exercises a dictatorship over the working people. Jingos in the United States bellow about the "free world"—a free world in which jingos and reactionaries have all the freedom and every freedom, while the Rosenbergs are put to death because they stand for peace. We, on the contrary, hold that there must be democratic liberties among the people, but that no freedom should be extended to counter-revolutionaries: for them we have only dictatorship. This is a question of drawing a political demarcation line. A clear political line must be drawn between friend and foe.

"Let flowers of many kinds blossom, diverse schools of thought contend": that means freedom among the people. And we urge that, as the people's political power becomes progressively consolidated, such freedom should be given ever fuller scope.

Among the people there are points of agreement and points of difference. Our country has a constitution and it is a public duty to abide by it—this is an agreement among the people. That is to say, the people agree among

themselves that they should love their country and support socialism. But there are other matters on which they do not agree with one another. In ideology there is the difference between materialism and idealism. . . .

Members of the Communist Party are dialectical materialists. We Communists of course stand for materialism and against idealism—nothing can change that. But, precisely because we are dialectical materialists and understand the laws governing the development of society, we hold that a strict distinction must be made between the battle of ideas among the people and the struggle against counter-revolutionaries. Among the people themselves there is freedom not only to spread materialism but also to propagate idealism. Provided he is not a counter-revolutionary, everyone is free to expound materialism or idealism. There is also freedom of debate between the two. This is a struggle between conflicting ideas among the people, but that is quite different from the struggle against counter-revolutionaries. We must suppress and put an end to the activities of counter-revolutionaries. We also have to wage a struggle against backward, idealist ways of thinking among the people. The latter struggle can be quite sharp, too; but we embark on it with the intention of strengthening unity, ending backwardness and creating an ever closer unity among the people. When it comes to questions of ideas, administrative measures will get us nowhere. Only, through open debate can materialism gradually conquer idealism.

There will be diverse opinions, too, on matters of a purely, artistic, academic or technological nature. This is, of course, quite all right. In matters of this sort, there is freedom to voice different opinions, to criticize, counter-criticize and debate.

In short, we hold that while it is necessary to draw a clear political line between friend and foe, we must have freedom among the people. . . .

Let flowers of many kinds blossom, diverse schools of thought contend: that is a policy to mobilize all the positive elements. It is also, therefore, a policy that will in the end strengthen unity.

On what basis are we to unite? On the basis of patriotism and socialism.

What do we unite for? To build a new, socialist China and combat our enemies both at home and abroad.

There are two kinds of unity: one is built on mechanical obedience and the other on our own conscious, free will. What we want is the latter.

Are those engaged in art, literature and science united? Yes, they are. Compare the situation in the days when the Chinese People's Republic was just founded with what we have now and you find we now have a far closer unity among artists, writers and scientists. This has come about as a result of our work for social reforms and changes in our ways of thought. It would be wrong to deny or ignore this. But even so, we cannot say that our unity is all it should be: there is still room for improvement.

In what respect? Well, first and foremost, some Communist Party members have forgotten Comrade Mao Tse-tung's warning about the evils of sectarianism. Success turns some people's heads and they get swelled-headed and sectarian. . . .

As everyone knows, in the past few years we have fought a series of battles in the Party against sectarianism in artistic, literary and scientific circles. We have waged this struggle in organizations dealing with public health and research in the natural sciences, in literature and art, and in the social sciences. We shall go on waging this struggle and we call on all Party members working in these fields to make an end of this sectarianism. . . .

Finish with sectarianism and unite with all who are ready to co-operate, all who possibly can co-operate with us. Put aside the desire to monopolize things. Get rid of unreasonable rules and commandments, and apply the policy of letting flowers of many kinds blossom, letting diverse schools of thought contend. Do not think only of the interests of your own department; try to give more help to others and to other departments. Don't be self-conceited and cocksure. Be modest and discreet and respect others. That is how to rid themselves of the shortcomings which have marred our work in building up unity; that is how to strengthen our unity to the utmost. . . .

In regard to criticism, our policy of letting flowers of many kinds blossom, diverse schools of thought contend means freedom to criticize and freedom to counter-criticize. . . .

There are two kinds of criticism. One is criticism directed against the enemy—what people call criticism that “kills at a blow,” criticism with no holds barred. The other is criticism directed against the honestly mistaken—well-meant, comradely criticism, made in the cause of unity, intended to achieve unity through struggle. In making this kind of criticism, one must always bear the whole situation in mind. The critic should rely on reasoning, and his aim should be to help others. . . .

It is quite common for people to make mistakes in all innocence. There is no such person as a man who never makes mistakes. We must make a sharp distinction between mistakes like this and statements consciously directed against the revolution. Criticism of such mistakes must only be made for the good of others; it must be cool-headed criticism, well reasoned. In making it, we must bear the whole situation in mind and act in a spirit of unity, with the intention of achieving unity. We must do all we can to help those who have made mistakes correct them, and those criticized should have no apprehensions about being criticized.

It is easy to make mistakes. But mistakes should be rectified immediately, the sooner the better. It is sticking to one's mistakes that does the harm. As far as being criticized is concerned, one should stick to what is right, and dissent if others are wrong in their criticism. But if the other party is right you must rectify your mistakes and humbly accept others' criticism. To admit a mistake frankly, to root out the causes of it, to analyse the situation in which it was made and thoroughly discuss how to correct it is, as far as a political

party is concerned, the hallmark of a mature party. As far as the individual is concerned, it is the hallmark of a realist. To accept criticism when one has made a mistake is to accept the help of others. Besides helping the person concerned, that also helps the progress of science, art and literature in our country; and there is certainly nothing wrong with that!

As regards study in general, we must continue to see to it that the study of Marxism-Leninism is organized on a voluntary basis. At the same time, we must acquire a broad range of general knowledge; we must critically study things both past and present, things at home and from abroad, and critically learn from both friends and foes.

Marxism-Leninism is being enthusiastically studied by most of our intellectuals. That is a good thing. The scientific theories of Marx and Lenin are the cream of human knowledge, truth that is everywhere applicable. Once there were people who thought that Marxism-Leninism was not applicable in China; but such ideas have been proved sheer nonsense. Without scientific Marxist-Leninist theory to guide us, it is unthinkable that the revolution could have been victorious in China. It is also unthinkable that we could have achieved the tremendous successes and made the rapid progress that we have in construction and in scientific and cultural work. . . .

As they conic from the people things are often not systematically developed or are crude or lack theoretical explanation. Some of them have more than a bit of the “quack” about them, or a taint of the superstitious. There is nothing surprising about that. It is the duty of our scientists, artists and writers not to despise these things but to make a careful study of them, to select, cherish and foster the good in them, and, where necessary, put them on a scientific basis.

We must have our national pride, but we must not become national nihilists. We oppose that misguided attitude known as “wholesale Westernization.” But that does not mean that we can afford to be arrogant and refuse to learn good things from abroad. Our country is still a very backward one; we can make it prosperous and strong only by- doing our best to learn all we can from foreign countries. Under no circumstances is national arrogance justified.

We must learn from the Soviet Union, from the People’s Democracies, and from the peoples of all lands.

To learn from the Soviet Union—that is a correct watchword. We have already learnt a little, but much remains to be learnt. The Soviet Union is the world’s first socialist state, the leader of the world camp of peace and democracy. It has the highest rate of industrial development. It has a rich experience in socialist construction. In not a few important branches of science it has caught up with and surpassed the most advanced capitalist countries. It stands to reason that it is worth our while to learn from such a country and such a people. It is utterly wrong not to learn from the Soviet Union.

Nevertheless, in learning from the Soviet Union we must not mechanically copy everything in the Soviet Union in a doctrinaire way. We must make what we have learnt fit our actual conditions. That is a point we must pay attention to. Otherwise, we shall run into trouble. . . .

Apart from learning from our friends, we must see what we can learn from our enemies—not to learn what is reactionary in their systems but to study what is good in their methods of management or in their scientific techniques. Our aim in this is to speed the progress of our socialist construction, so as to build up our strength to ward off aggression and safeguard peace in Asia and throughout the world. . . .

Now that this policy—let flowers of many kinds blossom, diverse schools of thought contend”—has been put forward, many problems will crop up one after the other and demand solutions. I hope all of you will do some hard thinking on such questions. Today I have only touched upon some matters of principle, and anything I say is open to correction.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

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## TASS on Eisenhower Doctrine

Date: January 14, 1957

*In this official statement released by TASS, the Soviet news service, the Soviet Union condemns the announcement of the Eisenhower Doctrine, which in effect extended the Truman Doctrine from Greece and Turkey to the Arab countries of the Middle East. The Soviets interpreted Eisenhower’s extension of support for regimes in the area against Communist insurrection or invasion as a new form of colonialism, substituting American influence for that of Britain and France over the region.*

The President of the United States of America, Mr. Dwight D. Eisenhower, on January 5 addressed a special message to Congress on the policy of the United States in the Middle East countries. In his message, which

abounds in anti-Soviet remarks, the President, describing the present situation in the Middle East as “critical,” demanded the authority to use the armed forces of the United States in the Middle East at any moment he might consider it necessary, without asking for the consent of Congress as is envisaged in the country’s Constitution. The President of the United States also demanded that he be empowered to render military and economic “aid” to the countries of the Middle East. It is envisaged, specifically, that 200 million dollars will be spent for “economic support” to countries of that area.

President Eisenhower’s message runs counter to the principles and the purposes of the United Nations and is fraught with grave danger to peace and security in the Middle East area. . . .

In his message to Congress the President of the United States speaks of the sympathy which, he claims, the United States entertains for the Arab countries. Life, however, shows that in actual fact the American ruling circles are setting themselves obviously selfish aims in that area. It is a fact that when Egypt, as a result of the military aggression of Britain, France and Israel, was threatened with the loss of her national independence, the United States refused to pool its efforts with the Soviet Union in the United Nations in order to take resolute measures to cut short the aggression. The primary concern of the United States was not the defense of peace and the national independence of the Arab countries, but the desire to take advantage of the weakening of Britain and France in the Middle East to capture their positions.

At present, when a favourable situation has developed in the Middle East and real possibilities for consolidating peace and settling outstanding issues in that area have been created, the government of the United States has come forward with a programme which envisages flagrant interference by the United States in the affairs of the Arab countries, up to and including military intervention. The aggressive trend of this programme and its colonialist nature with regard to the Arab countries are so obvious that this cannot be disguised by any nebulous phrases about the love for peace and the concern claimed to be shown by the United States for the Middle East countries.

It is permissible to ask: Of what love for peace do the authors of the “Eisenhower doctrine” speak when the threat to the security of the Middle East countries emanates precisely from member-states of N.A.T.O., in which the United States plays first fiddle? What concern for the aforementioned countries can be in question when it is the United States and its N.A.T.O. partners that regard those countries merely as sources of strategic raw materials and spheres for the investment of capital, with the object of extracting maximum profits? Is it not clear that the uninvited “protectors” of the Middle East countries are trying to impose on that area nothing else but the regime of a kind of military protectorate, and to set back the development of these countries for many years? . . .

The United States ruling circles consider that the weakening of the positions of the Anglo-French colonialists in the Middle East and the successes of the Arab countries in consolidating their independence have produced a “vacuum,” which they would like to fill by their military and economic intervention in the internal affairs of those countries. But what “vacuum” can be in question here? Since when do countries which have liberated themselves from colonial oppression and have taken the road of independent national development constitute a “vacuum”? It is clear that the strengthening of the national independence of the Arab countries, the intensification of their struggle against colonial oppression by no means create some kind of “vacuum,” but are a restoration of the national rights of the Middle East peoples and constitute a progressive factor in social development. The United States tries to present its policy as an anti-colonialist one. But it is not difficult to see the falseness of these assertions, clearly designed to blunt the vigilance of the peoples in the Middle East. The programme of the United States insistently stresses that the Middle East must recognize its interdependence with the western countries, that is, with the colonialists—specifically with regard to oil, the Suez Canal, etc. In other words, the United States is stubbornly seeking to impose a “trusteeship” of the colonialists on the peoples of the Middle East countries. . . .

The authors of the colonialist programme try to sweeten it by a promise of economic “aid” to the Middle East countries. Every intelligent person, however, understands that in reality the United States is offering as charity to the peoples of the Arab countries only a small fraction of what the American monopolies have received and are receiving by plundering, by exploiting the natural wealth belonging to those countries. The United States promises the countries of the Middle East 200 million dollars in the financial years of 1958 and 1959, whereas in 1955 alone the American and British oil monopolies extracted 150 million tons of oil in the Middle East at a total cost of 240 million dollars, and made a net profit of 1,900 million dollars on this oil. Such is the real picture of American “philanthropy.” . . .

Seeking to cover up gross intervention in the internal affairs of the Middle East countries and their aggressive policy with regard to these countries, the United States ruling circles resort to inventions about a threat to the Arab countries emanating from the Soviet Union. These slanderous assertions will deceive no one. The peoples of the Middle East have not forgotten that the Soviet Union has always defended the self-determination of peoples, the gaining and consolidating of their national independence. They have learned from experience that in relations with all countries the Soviet Union steadfastly pursues the policy of equality and non-interference in internal affairs. They also know very well that the Soviet Union is actively supporting the right of each people to dispose of its natural wealth and use it at its own discretion.

It was not the Soviet Union, but Britain and France—the United States’ chief partners in the North Atlantic bloc—which committed aggression against Egypt, inflicting great losses and suffering on the Egyptian people. This

is borne out by the fresh ruins of Port Said and other Egyptian cities, as well as by the new plans for United States economic, political and military expansion in the Middle East proclaimed by the American President. These aggressive plans of the American imperialists express their striving for world domination, of which they speak now quite shamelessly, presenting this aspiration as the need for “energetic leadership” of the world by the United States.

In the days of hard trials for the Arab peoples it was the Soviet Union, and no one else, who came out as their sincere friend and, together with the peace loving forces of the whole world, took steps to end the aggression against Egypt. All this is well known. . . .

It is well known that the Soviet Union, as distinct from the United States, does not have and does not seek to have any military bases or concessions in the Middle East with the object of extracting profits, does not strive to gain any privileges in that area, since all this is incompatible with the principles of Soviet foreign policy.

The Soviet Union is vitally interested in the maintenance of peace in the Middle East area, situated as it is in direct proximity to its frontiers. It is sincerely interested in consolidating the national independence of those countries and in their economic prosperity and regards this as a reliable guarantee of peace and security in that area.

In our age the national liberation movement of the peoples is a historical force that cannot be repressed.

The Soviet Union, loyal to the great Leninist principles of recognizing and respecting the rights of peoples, large and small, to independent development, regards as one of its prime tasks the rendering of every assistance and support to the countries fighting to consolidate their national independence and their sovereignty. That is why it welcomes the growing unity of the peoples of the Arab countries in their struggle for peace, security, national freedom and independence.

The Soviet Union opposes any manifestations of colonialism, any “doctrines” which protect and cover up colonialism. It is opposed to unequal treaties and agreements, the setting up of military bases on foreign territories, dictated by strategic considerations, and plans for establishing the world domination of imperialism. It proceeds from the premise that the natural wealth of the underdeveloped countries is the inalienable national possession of the peoples of those countries, who have the full right to dispose of it independently and to use it for their economic prosperity and progress. The need to strengthen peace and security demands the wide development of political, economic and cultural ties between all countries. The development of these ties is an important prerequisite for using the achievements of contemporary science and technology for the good of mankind. The policy of establishing closed aggressive military blocs, such as N.A.T.O., S.E.A.T.O. and the Baghdad Pact, and the raising of artificial economic barriers hampering normal relations between states seriously impairs the cause of peace. The Soviet Union, striving to render assistance to peoples fighting for the consolidation of their national independence and the earliest elimination of the aftermath of colonial oppression, is willing to develop all-round co-operation with them on the principles of full equality and mutual benefit. . . .

Authoritative Soviet circles hold that the steps with regard to the Middle East area outlined by the United States government, which envisage the possibility of employing United States armed forces in that area, might lead to dangerous consequences, the responsibility for which will rest entirely with the United States government.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

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## John F. Kennedy: Inaugural Address

Also known as: “Ask Not What Your Country Can Do for You” Speech

Date: January 20, 1961

*This address was delivered by John F. Kennedy on January 20, 1961, at his inauguration as the 35th president of the United States. Speaking to and for a new generation of Americans, Kennedy announced to the world that the United States would “pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship . . . to assure the survival and the success of liberty.” He pledged loyalty to old allies, support for new ones, and an “alliance for progress” with Latin America. He offered to America’s adversaries a new request for peace and cooperation, and for arms control and inspection. He challenged all Americans to join in a struggle against tyranny, poverty, disease, and war: “Ask not what your country can do for you. Ask what you can do for your country.”*

Mr. Chief Justice, President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, President Truman, reverend clergy, fellow citizens, we observe today not a victory of party, but a celebration of freedom—symbolizing an end, as well as a beginning—signifying renewal, as well as change. For I have sworn before you and Almighty God the same solemn oath our forebears prescribed nearly a century and three quarters ago.

The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life. And yet the same revolutionary beliefs for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe—the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state, but from the hand of God.

We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution. Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans—born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage—and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this Nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world.

Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

This much we pledge—and more.

To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends. United, there is little we cannot do in a host of cooperative ventures. Divided, there is little we can do—for we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder.

To those new States whom we welcome to the ranks of the free, we pledge our words that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far greater iron tyranny. We shall not always expect to find them supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom—and to remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside.

To those peoples in the huts and villages across the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required—not because the Communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.

To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a special pledge—to convert our good words into good deeds, in a new alliance for progress, to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty. But this peaceful revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile powers. Let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas. And let every other power know that this hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house.

To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace, we renew our pledge of support—to prevent it from becoming merely a forum for invective—to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak—and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run.

Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction.

We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.

But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from our present course—both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand to mankind's final war.

So let us begin anew—remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.

Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of laboring those problems which divide us.

Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms—and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations.

Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths, and encourage the arts and commerce.

Let both sides unite to heed in all corners of the earth the command of Isaiah—to “undo the heavy burdens and to let the oppressed go free.”

And if a beachhead of cooperation may push back the jungle of suspicion, let both sides join in creating a new endeavor, not a new balance of power, but a new world of law, where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved.

All this will not be finished in the first 100 days. Nor will it be finished in the first 1,000 days, nor in the life of this administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.

In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than in mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course. Since this country was founded, each generation of Americans has been summoned to give testimony to its national loyalty. The graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe.

Now the trumpet summons us again—not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need; not as a call to battle, though embattled we are; but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in, and year out, “rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation”—a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself.

Can we forge against these enemies a grand and global alliance, North and South, East and West, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind? Will you join in that historic effort?

In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility—I welcome it. I do not believe that

any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it—and the glow from that fire can truly light the world.

And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you: Ask what you can do for your country.

My fellow citizens of the world: Ask not What America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you. With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

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## Secretary-General U Thant: The Congo Problem

Date: August 20, 1962

*The mine-rich province of Katanga sought to secede from the Congo. Although the Congo regime was in chaos as the elected prime minister, Patrice Lumumba, was overthrown by military forces under Joseph Mobutu, the secession of a province, sponsored by outside financial interests, would set a precedent that could lead to the further breakup of African nations into ever-smaller entities. The United Nations worked towards a solution to the problem through the establishment of a federal system for the Congo and through the threat of economic sanctions on Katanga if it did not consent to such an arrangement. Lumumba was murdered under mysterious circumstances in Katanga. Although Katanga was reincorporated in the Congo, the government of Mobutu evolved into one of the most corrupt in the 20th century, and the term kleptocracy was coined to describe a regime based on personal theft of the resources of a nation.*

Comments by Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, August 20, 1962

Since in press and corridor recently there has been much comment and speculation about certain "proposals" which I am said to have in mind, some clarifying words from me on this subject would seem appropriate. . . .

I am instructing my representative in Leopoldville, Mr. Robert Gardiner, to present a programme of measures to Mr. Adoula, the Prime Minister, and, with his agreement, to Mr. Tshombé, the Provincial President of Katanga. These measures have my full support. The main elements of the programme are set forth in the following paragraphs.

A constitution for a federal system of government in the Congo is now in preparation and all provincial governments and interested political groups have been invited to submit their views. The United Nations, on request of the Government of the Congo, is assisting this process by making available international experts in federal constitutional law. It is my hope that work on a draft constitution will be completed in thirty days.

A new law is needed to establish definitive arrangements for the division of revenues between the Central Government and the provincial governments, as well as regulations and procedures for the utilization of foreign exchange. The Central Government should submit such new law to Parliament only after consultations with provincial governments. Until that process is completed, the Central Government and the Provincial authorities of Katanga should agree: (a) to share on a fifty-fifty basis revenues from all taxes or duties on exports and imports and all royalties from mining concessions; (b) to pay to the Monetary Council or institution designated by it, which is acceptable to the parties concerned, all foreign exchange earned by any part of the Congo. The Monetary Council should control the utilization of all foreign exchange and make available for the essential needs of Katanga at least 50 per cent of the foreign exchange generated in that province.

The Central Government should request assistance from the International Monetary Fund in working out a national plan of currency unification, and put such a plan into effect in the shortest possible time.

Rapid integration and unification of the entire Congolese army is essential. A three-member commission of representatives from the Central Government, Katanga Province and the United Nations, should prepare within thirty days a plan to bring this about. Two months thereafter should be adequate to put the plan into effect.

Only the Central Government should maintain government offices or representation abroad.

As an essential aspect of national reconciliation, the Central Government should be reconstituted to provide representation for all political and provincial groups. It is noted that Mr. Adoula, the Prime Minister, has already made certain specific offers in this regard.

Reconciliation should be served by a general amnesty for political prisoners. In addition, all Congolese authorities, national, state, and local, should co-operate fully with the United Nations in its task of carrying out United Nations resolutions.

The proposed steps toward national reconciliation are fully in accord with the statement made on 29 July by Mr. Adoula. They likewise should be acceptable to Katanga and all other provinces of the Congo, judging from recent statements of Congolese leaders. Mr. Tshombé, therefore, should be able to indicate his acceptance promptly. The United Nations, of course, stands ready to give all possible assistance in their implementation. I urge Member Governments to support these approaches by urging Congolese of all sectors and views to accept them forthwith.

While consultations on these approaches are going on I would hope that no actions will be taken to distract from this new effort to achieve agreement. At the same time certain actions are required by the Central Government, by the Provincial authorities of Katanga and by neighbouring States, both to begin putting the proposals into effect, and to prevent any distracting incidents from any quarter. All Member States of the United Nations should take the necessary measures to assure that there are no unauthorized movements to the Congo of mercenaries, arms, war material or any kind of equipment capable of military use.

I believe that the Katanga authorities must consider these proposals and respond to them affirmatively within a quite brief period so that concrete steps can begin, according to a time-table which Mr. Gardiner is authorized to propose. If, however, after this period Katangese agreement is not forthcoming, I will emphatically renew an appeal to all governments of Member States of the United Nations to take immediate measures to ensure that their relations with the Congo will be in conformity with laws and regulations of the Government of the Congo. Further, failing such agreement, as I indicated in my statement of 31 July: "I have in mind economic pressure upon the Katangese authorities of a kind that will bring home to them the realities of their situation and the fact that Katanga is not a sovereign State and is not recognized by any Government in the world as such...this could justifiably go to the extent of barring all trade and financial relations." In pursuance of this, a firm request would be made by me to all Member Governments to apply such a ban especially to Katangese copper and cobalt.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

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## Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.: "Letter from Birmingham Jail"

Date: April, 1963

*This letter was written by the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., during his nine-day imprisonment in Birmingham, Alabama, April 12–20, 1963, for organizing a series of antisegregation demonstrations. The letter was a reply to an appeal that had been issued in January 1963, by eight white Birmingham clergymen. Titled "An Appeal for Law and Order and Common Sense," the clergymen's letter had urged civil rights leaders to seek redress for racial injustice through the courts rather than through mass demonstrations. King responded in biblical terms, likening his activities to those of Old Testament prophets and early Christian apostles. Tracing the failed negotiations that had preceded the demonstrations, King concluded that nonviolent protest was the only possible response to the injustice of legalized racial segregation.*

My Dear Fellow Clergymen:

While confined here in the Birmingham city jail, I came across your recent statement calling present activities "unwise and untimely." Seldom do I pause to answer criticism of my work and ideas. If I sought to answer all the criticisms that cross my desk, my secretaries would have little time for anything other than such correspondence in the course of the day, and I would have no time for constructive work. But since I feel that you are men of genuine good will and that your criticisms are sincerely set forth, I want to try to answer your statement in what I hope will be patient and reasonable terms.

I think I should indicate why I am here in Birmingham, since you have been influenced by the view which argues against "outsiders coming in." I have the honor of serving as President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, an organization operating in every southern state, with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. We have some eighty-five affiliated organizations across the South, and one of them is the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. Frequently we share staff, educational and financial resources with our affli-

ates. Several months ago the affiliate here in Birmingham asked us to be on call to engage in a nonviolent direct-action program if such were deemed necessary. We readily consented, and when the hour came we lived up to our promise. So I, along with several members of my staff, am here because I was invited here. I am here because I have organizational ties here.

But more basically, I am in Birmingham because injustice is here. Just as the prophets of the eighth century B.C. left their villages and carried their "thus saith the Lord" far beyond the boundaries of their home towns, and just as the Apostle Paul left his village of Tarsus and carried the gospel of Jesus Christ to the far corners of the Greco-Roman world, so am I compelled to carry the gospel of freedom beyond my own home town. Like Paul, I must constantly respond to the Macedonian call for aid.

Moreover, I am cognizant of the interrelatedness of all communities and states. I cannot sit idly in Atlanta and not be concerned about what happens in Birmingham. Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly. Never again can we afford to live with the narrow, provincial "outside agitator" idea. Anyone who lives inside the United States can never be considered an outsider anywhere within its bounds.

You deplore the demonstrations taking place in Birmingham. But your statement, I am sorry to say, fails to express a similar concern for the conditions that brought about the demonstrations. I am sure that none of you would want to rest content with the superficial kind of social analysis that deals merely with effects and does not grapple with underlying causes. It is unfortunate that demonstrations are taking place in Birmingham, but it is even more unfortunate that the city's white power structure left the Negro community with no alternative.

In any nonviolent campaign there are four basic steps: collection of the facts to determine whether injustices exist; negotiation; self-purification; and direct action. We have gone through all these steps in Birmingham. There can be no gain saying the fact that racial injustice engulfs this community. Birmingham is probably the most thoroughly segregated city in the United States. Its ugly record of brutality is widely known. Negroes have experienced grossly unjust treatment in the courts. There have been more unsolved bombings of Negro homes and churches in Birmingham than in any other city in the nation. These are the hard, brutal facts of the case. On the basis of these conditions, Negro leaders sought to negotiate with the city fathers. But the latter consistently refused to engage in good-faith negotiation.

Then, last September, came the opportunity to talk with leaders of Birmingham's economic community. In the course of the negotiations, certain promises were made by the merchants—for example, to remove the stores' humiliating racial signs. On the basis of these promises, the Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth and the leaders of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights agreed to a moratorium on all demonstrations. As the weeks and months went by, we realized that we were the victims of a broken promise. A few signs, briefly removed, returned; the others remained.

As in so many past experiences, our hopes had been blasted, and the shadow of deep disappointment settled upon us. We had no alternative except to prepare for direct action, whereby we would present our very bodies as a means of laying our case before the conscience of the local and the national community. Mindful of the difficulties involved, we decided to undertake a process of self-purification. We began a series of workshops on nonviolence, and we repeatedly asked ourselves: "Are you able to accept blows without retaliation?" "are you able to endure the ordeal of jail?" We decided to schedule our direct-action program for the Easter season, realizing that except for Christmas, this is the main shopping period of the year. Knowing that a strong economic-withdrawal program would be the by-product of direct action, we felt that this would be the best time to bring pressure to bear on the merchants for the needed change.

Then it occurred to us that Birmingham's mayoralty election was coming up in March, and we speedily decided to postpone action until after election day. When we discovered that the Commissioner of Public Safety, Eugene "Bill" Connor, had piled up enough votes to be in the run-off, we decided again to postpone action until the day after the run-off so that the demonstrations could not be used to cloud the issues. Like many others, we waited to see Mr. Connor defeated, and to this end we endured postponement after postponement. Having aided in this community need, we felt that our direct-action program could be delayed no longer.

You may well ask: "Why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches, and so forth? Isn't negotiation a better path?" You are quite right in calling for negotiation. Indeed, this is the very purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and foster such a tension that a community which has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored. My citing the creation of tension as part of the work of the nonviolent-resister may sound rather shocking. But I must confess that I am not afraid of the word "tension." I have earnestly opposed violent tension, but there is a type of constructive, nonviolent tension which is necessary for growth. Just as Socrates felt that it was necessary to create a tension in the mind so that individuals could rise from the bondage of myths and half-truths to the unfettered realm of creative analysis and objective appraisal, so must we see the need for nonviolent gadflies to create the kind of tension in society that will help men rise from the dark depths of prejudice and racism to the majestic heights of understanding and brotherhood.

The purpose of our direct-action program is to create a situation so crisis-packed that it will inevitably open the door to negotiation. I therefore concur with you in your call for negotiation. Too long has our beloved Southland been bogged down in a tragic effort to live in monologue rather than dialogue.

One of the basic points in your statement is that the action that I and my associates have taken in Birmingham is untimely. Some have asked: "Why didn't you give the new city administration time to act?" The only answer that I can give to this query is that the new Birmingham administration must be prodded about as much as the outgoing one, before it will act. We are sadly mistaken if we feel that the election of Albert Boutwell as mayor will bring the millennium to Birmingham. While Mr. Boutwell is a much more gentle person than Mr. Connor, they are both segregationists, dedicated to maintenance of the status quo. I have hoped that Mr. Boutwell will be reasonable enough to see the futility of massive resistance to desegregation. But he will not see this without pressure from devotees of civil rights. My friends, I must say to you that we have not made a single gain in civil rights without determined legal and nonviolent pressure. Lamentably, it is an historical fact that privileged groups seldom give up their privileges voluntarily. Individuals may see the moral light and voluntarily give up their unjust posture; but as Reinhold Niebuhr has reminded us, groups tend to be more immoral than individuals.

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor, it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly, I have yet to engage in a direct-action campaign that was "well timed" in view of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word "wait!" It rings in the ear of every Negro with piercing familiarity. This "Wait" has almost always meant "Never." We must come to see, with one of our distinguished jurists, that "justice too long delayed is justice denied."

We have waited for more than 340 years for our constitutional and God-given rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jetlike speed toward gaining political independence, but we still creep at horse-and-buggy pace toward gaining a cup of coffee at a lunch counter. Perhaps it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say, "Wait." But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim; when you have seen hate-filled policemen curse, kick, and even kill your black brothers and sisters; when you see the vast majority of your twenty million Negro brothers smothering in an airtight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society; when you suddenly find your tongue twisted and your speech stammering as you seek to explain to your six-year-old daughter why she can't go to the public amusement park that has just been advertised on television, and see tears welling up in her eyes when she is told that Funtown is closed to colored children, and see ominous clouds of inferiority beginning to form in her little mental sky, and see her beginning to distort her personality by developing an unconscious bitterness toward white people; when you have to concoct an answer for a five-year-old son who is asking, "Daddy, why do white people treat colored people so mean?"; when you take a cross-country drive and find it necessary to sleep night after night in the uncomfortable corners of your automobile because no motel will accept you; when you are humiliated day in and day out by nagging signs reading "white" and "colored" when your first name becomes "Nigger," your middle name becomes "boy" (however old you are) and your last name becomes "John," and your wife and mother are never given the respected title "Mrs."; when you are harried by day and haunted by night by the fact that you are a Negro, living constantly at tiptoe stance, never quite knowing what to expect next, and are plagued with inner fears and outer resentments; when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of "nobodiness" then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait. There comes a time when the cup of endurance runs over, and men are no longer willing to be plunged into the abyss of despair. I hope, sirs, you can understand our legitimate and unavoidable impatience.

You express a great deal of anxiety over our willingness to break laws. This is certainly a legitimate concern. Since we so diligently urge people to obey the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in the public schools, at first glance it may seem rather paradoxical for us consciously to break laws. One may ask: "How can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others?" The answer lies in the fact that there are two types of laws: just and unjust. I would be the first to advocate obeying just laws. One has not only a legal but a moral responsibility to obey just laws. Conversely, one has a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws. I would agree with St. Augustine that "an unjust law is no law at all."

Now, what is the difference between the two? How does one determine whether a law is just or unjust? A just law is a man-made code that squares with the moral law or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of Harmony with the moral law. To put it in the terms of St. Thomas Aquinas: An unjust law is a human law that is not rooted in eternal law and natural law. Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust. All segregation statutes are unjust because segregation distorts the soul and damages the personality. It gives the segregator a false sense of superiority and the segregated a false sense of inferiority. Segregation, to use the terminology of the Jewish philosopher Martin Buber, substitutes an "I-it" relationship for an "I-thou" relationship and ends up relegating persons to the status of things. Hence segregation is not only politically, economically and sociologically unsound, it is morally wrong and sinful. Paul Tillich has said that sin is separation. Is not segregation an existential expression of man's tragic separation, his awful estrangement, his terrible sinfulness? Thus is it that I can

urge men to obey the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court, for it is morally right; and I can urge them to disobey segregation ordinances, for they are morally wrong.

Let us consider a more concrete example of just and unjust laws. An unjust law is a code that a numerical or power majority group compels a minority group to obey but does not make binding on itself. This is difference made legal. By the same token, a just law is a code that a majority compels a minority to follow and that it is willing to follow itself. This is sameness made legal.

Let me give another explanation. A law is unjust if it is inflicted on a minority that, as a result of being denied the right to vote, had no part in enacting or devising the law. Who can say that the legislature of Alabama which set up that state's segregation laws was democratically elected? Throughout Alabama all sorts of devious methods are used to prevent Negroes from becoming registered voters, and there are some counties in which, even though Negroes constitute a majority of the population, not a single Negro is registered. Can any law enacted under such circumstances be considered democratically structured?

Sometimes a law is just on its face and unjust in its application. For instance, I have been arrested on a charge of parading without a permit. Now, there is nothing wrong in having an ordinance which requires a permit for a parade. But such an ordinance becomes unjust when it is used to maintain segregation and to deny citizens the First-Amendment privilege of peaceful assembly and protest.

I hope you are able to see the distinction I am trying to point out. In no sense do I advocate evading or defying the law, as would the rabid segregationist. That would lead to anarchy. One who breaks an unjust law must do so openly, lovingly, and with a willingness to accept the penalty. I submit that an individual who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust, and who willingly accepts the penalty of imprisonment in order to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustice, is in reality expressing the highest respect for law.

Of course, there is nothing new about this kind of civil disobedience. It was evidenced sublimely in the refusal of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego to obey the laws of Nebuchadnezzar, on the ground that a higher moral law was at stake. It was practiced superbly by the early Christians, who were willing to face hungry lions and the excruciating pain of chopping blocks rather than submit to certain unjust laws of the Roman Empire. To a degree, academic freedom is a reality today because Socrates practiced civil disobedience. In our own nation, the Boston Tea Party represented a massive act of civil disobedience.

We should never forget that everything Adolf Hitler did in Germany was "legal" and everything the Hungarian freedom fighters did in Hungary was "illegal." It was "illegal" to aid and comfort a Jew in Hitler's Germany. 'Even so, I am sure that, had I lived in Germany at the time, I would have aided and comforted my Jewish brothers. If today I lived in a Communist country where certain principles dear to the Christian faith are suppressed, I would openly advocate disobeying that country's anti-religious laws.

I must make two honest confessions to you, my Christian and Jewish brothers. First, I must confess that over the past few years I have been gravely disappointed with the white moderate. I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negro's great stumbling block in his stride toward freedom is not the White Citizen's Council or the Ku Klux Klanner, but the white moderate, who is more devoted to "order" than to justice; who prefers a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice; who constantly says, "I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I cannot agree with your methods of direct action"; who paternalistically believes he can set the timetable for another man's freedom; who lives by a mythical concept of time and who constantly advises the Negro to wait for a "more convenient season." Shallow understanding from people of good will is more frustrating than absolute misunderstanding from people of ill will. Lukewarm acceptance is much more bewildering than outright rejection.

I had hoped that the white moderate would understand that law and order exist for the purpose of establishing justice and that when they fail in this purpose they become the dangerously structured dams that block the flow of social progress. I had hoped that the white moderate would understand that the present tension in the South is a necessary phase of the transition from an obnoxious negative peace, in which the Negro passively accepted his unjust plight, to a substantive and positive peace, in which all men will respect the dignity and worth of human personality. Actually, we who engage in nonviolent direct action are not the creators of tension. We merely bring to the surface the hidden tension that is already alive. We bring it out in the open, where it can be seen and dealt with. Like a boil that can never be cured so long as it is covered up but must be opened with all its ugliness to the natural medicines of air and light injustice must be exposed with all the tension its exposure creates, to the light of human conscience and the air of national opinion, before it can be cured.

In your statement you assert that our actions, even though peaceful, must be condemned because they precipitate violence. But is this a logical assertion? Isn't this like condemning a robbed man because his possession of money precipitated the evil act of robbery? Isn't this like condemning Socrates because his unswerving commitment to truth and his philosophical inquiries precipitated the act by the misguided populace in which they made him drink hemlock? Isn't this like condemning Jesus because his unique God-consciousness and never-ceasing devotion to God's will precipitated the evil act of crucifixion? We must come to see that, as the federal courts have consistently affirmed, it is wrong to urge an individual to cease his efforts to gain his basic constitutional rights because the quest may precipitate violence. Society must protect the robbed and punish the robber.

I had also hoped that the white moderate would reject the myth concerning time in relations to the struggle for freedom. I have just received a letter from a white brother in Texas. He writes: "All Christians know that the colored people will receive equal rights eventually, but it is possible that you are in too great a religious hurry. It has taken Christianity almost two thousand years to accomplish what it has. The teachings of Christ take time to come to earth." Such an attitude stems from a tragic misconception of time, from the strangely irrational notion that there is something in the very flow of time will inevitably cure all ills. Actually, time itself is neutral; it can be used either destructively or constructively. More and more I feel that the people of ill will have used time much more effectively than have the people of good will. We will have to repent in the generation not merely for the hateful words and actions of the bad people, but for the appalling silence of the good people. Human progress never rolls in on wheels of inevitability; it comes through the tireless efforts of men willing to be co-workers with God, and without this hard work, time itself becomes an ally of the forces of stagnation. We must use time creatively, in the knowledge that the time is always ripe to do right. Now is the time to make real the promise of democracy and transform our pending national elegy into a creative psalm of brotherhood. Now is the time to lift our national policy from the quicksand of racial injustice to the solid rock of human dignity.

You speak of our activity in Birmingham as extreme. At first I was rather disappointed that fellow clergyman would see my nonviolent efforts as those of an extremist. I began thinking about the fact that I stand in the middle of two opposing forces in the Negro community. One is a force of complacency, made up in part of Negroes who, as a result of long years of oppression, are so drained of self-respect and a sense of "somebodiness" that they have adjusted to segregation; and in part of a few middle-class Negroes who, because of a degree of academic and economic security and because in some ways they profit by segregation, have become insensitive to the problems of the masses. The other force is one of bitterness and hatred, and it comes perilously closed on advocating violence. It is expressed in the various black nationalist groups that are springing up across the nation, the largest and best-known being Elijah Muhammad's Muslim movement. Nourished by the Negro's frustration over the continued existence of racial discrimination, this movement is made up of people who have lost faith in America, who have absolutely repudiated Christianity, and who have concluded that the white man is an incorrigible "devil."

I have tried to stand between these two forces, saying that we need emulate neither the "do-nothingism" of the complacent nor the hatred and despair of the black nationalist. For there is the more excellent way of love and nonviolent protest. I am grateful to God that, through the influence of the Negro church, the way of nonviolence became an integral part of our struggle.

If this philosophy had not emerged, by now many streets of the South would, I am convinced, be flowing with blood. And I am further convinced that if our white brothers dismiss as "rabble-rousers" and "outside agitators" those of us who employ nonviolent direct action, and if they refuse to support our nonviolent efforts, millions of Negroes will, out of frustration and despair, seek solace and security in black-nationalist ideologies—a development that would inevitably lead to a frightening racial nightmare.

Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. The yearning for freedom eventually manifests itself, and that is what has happened to the American Negro. Something within has reminded him of his birthright of freedom, and something without has reminded him that it can be gained. Consciously or unconsciously, he has been caught up by the Zeitgeist, and with his black brothers of Africa and his brown and yellow brothers of Asia, South America, and the Caribbean, the United States Negro is moving with a sense of great urgency toward the promised land of racial justice. If one recognizes this vital urge that has engulfed the Negro community, one should readily understand why public demonstrations are taking place. The Negro has many pent-up resentments and latent frustrations, and he must release them. So let him march; let him make prayer pilgrimages to the city hall; let him go on freedom rides—and try to understand why he must do so. If his repressed emotions are not released in nonviolent ways, they will seek expression through violence; this is not a threat but a fact of history. So I have not said to my people, "Get rid of your discontent." Rather, I have tried to say that this normal and healthy discontent can be channeled into the creative outlet of nonviolent direct action. And now this approach is being termed extremist.

But though I was initially disappointed at being categorized as an extremist, as I continued to think about the matter I gradually gained a measure of satisfaction from the label. Was not Jesus an extremist for love: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you." Was not Amos an extremist for justice: "Let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream." Was not Paul an extremist for the Christian gospel: "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." Was not Martin Luther an extremist: "Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise, so help me God." And John Bunyan: "I will stay in jail to the end of my days before I make a butchery of my conscience." And Abraham Lincoln: "This nation cannot survive half slave and half free." And Thomas Jefferson: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal. . . ." So the question is not whether we will be extremists, but what kind of extremists we will be. Will we be extremists for hate or for love? Will we be extremists for the preservation of injustice or for the extension of justice? In that dramatic scene on Calvary's hill three men were crucified. We must never forget that all three were cruci-

fied for the same crime—the crime of extremism. Two were extremists for immorality, and thus fell below their environment. The other, Jesus Christ, was an extremist for love, truth, and goodness, and thereby rose above his environment. Perhaps the South, the nation, and the world are in dire need of creative extremists.

I had hoped that the white moderate would see this need. Perhaps I was too optimistic; perhaps I expected too much. I suppose I should have realized that few members of the oppressor race can understand the deep groans and passionate yearnings of the oppressed race, and still fewer have the vision to see that injustice must be rooted out by strong, persistent, and determined action. I am thankful, however, that some of our white brothers in the South have grasped the meaning of this social revolution and committed themselves to it. They are still all too few in quantity, but they are big in quality. Some—such as Ralph McGill, Lillian Smith, Harry Golden, James McBride Dabbs, Ann Braden, and Sarah Patton Boyle—have written about our struggle in eloquent and prophetic terms. Others have marched with us down nameless streets of the South. They have languished in filthy, roach-infested jails, suffering the abuse and brutality of policemen who view them as “dirty nigger-lovers.” Unlike so many of their moderate brothers and sisters, they have recognized the urgency of the moment and sensed the need for powerful “action” antidotes to combat the disease of segregation.

Let me take note of my other major disappointment. I have been so greatly disappointed with the white church and its leadership. Of course, there are some notable exceptions. I am not unmindful of the fact that each of you has taken some significant stands on this issue. I commend you, Reverend Stallings, for your Christian stand on this past Sunday, in welcoming Negroes to your worship service on a nonsegregated basis. I commend the Catholic leaders of this state for integrating Spring Hill College several years ago.

But despite these notable exceptions, I must honestly reiterate that I have been disappointed with the church. I do not say this as one of those negative critics who can always find something wrong with the church. I say this as a minister of the gospel, who loves the church; who was nurtured in its bosom; who has been sustained by its spiritual blessings and who will remain true to it as long as the cord of life shall lengthen.

When I was suddenly catapulted into the leadership of the bus protest in Montgomery, Alabama, a few years ago, I felt we would be supported by the white church. I felt that the ministers, priests, and rabbis of the South would be among our strongest allies. Instead, some have been outright opponents, refusing to understand the freedom movement and misrepresenting its leaders; all too many others have been more cautious than courageous and have remained silent behind the anesthetizing security of stained-glass windows.

In spite of my shattered dreams, I came to Birmingham with the hope that the white religious leadership of this community would see the justice of our cause and, with deep moral concern, would serve as the channel through which our just grievances could reach the power structure. I had hoped that each of you would understand. But again I have been disappointed.

I have heard numerous southern religious leaders admonish their worshipers to comply with a desegregation decision because it is the law, but I have longed to hear white ministers declare: “Follow this decree because integration is morally right and because the Negro is your brother.” In the midst of blatant injustices inflicted upon the Negro, I have watched white churchmen stand on the sideline and mouth pious irrelevancies and sanctimonious trivialities. In the midst of a mighty struggle to rid our nation of racial and economic injustice, I have heard many ministers say: “Those are social issues, with which the gospel has no real concern.” And I have watched many churches commit themselves to a completely otherworldly religion which makes a strange, un-Biblical distinction between body and soul, between the sacred and the secular.

I have traveled the length and breadth of Alabama, Mississippi, and all the other southern states. On sweltering summer days and crisp autumn mornings I have looked at the South’s beautiful churches with their lofty spires pointing heavenward. I have beheld the impressive outlines of her massive religious-education buildings. Over and over I have found myself asking: “What kind of people worship here? Who is their God? Where were their voices when the lips of Governor Barnett dripped with words of interposition and nullification? Where were they when Governor Wallace gave a clarion call defiance and hatred? Where were their voices of support when bruised and weary Negro men and women decided to rise from the dark dungeons of complacency to the bright hills of creative protest?”

Yes, these questions are still in my mind. In deep disappointment I have wept over the laxity of the church. But be assured that my tears have been tears of love. Yes, I love the church. How could I do otherwise? I am in the rather unique position of being the son, the grandson, and the great-grandson of preachers. Yes, I see the church as the body of Christ. But, oh! How we have blemished and scarred that body through social neglect and through fear of being nonconformists.

There was a time when the church was very powerful—in the time when the early Christians rejoiced at being deemed worthy to suffer for what they believed. In those days the church was not merely a thermometer that recorded the ideas and principles of popular opinion; it was a thermostat that transformed the mores of society. Whenever the early Christians entered a town, the people in power became disturbed and immediately sought to convict the Christians for being “disturbers of the peace” and “outside agitators.” But the Christians pressed on, in the conviction that they were “a colony of heaven,” called to obey God rather than man. Small in number, they were big in commitment. They were too God-intoxicated to be “astronomically intimidated.” By their effort and example they brought an end to such ancient evils as infanticide and gladiatorial contests.

Things are different now. So often the contemporary church is a weak, ineffectual voice with an uncertain sound. So often it is an arch-defender of the status quo. Far from being disturbed by the presence of the church, the power structure of the average community is consoled by the church's silent—and often even vocal—sanction of things as they are. But the judgment of God is upon the church as never before. If today's church does not recapture the sacrificial spirit of the early church, it will lose its authenticity, forfeit the loyalty of millions, and be dismissed as an irrelevant social club with no meaning for the twentieth century. Every day I meet young people whose disappointment with the church has turned into outright disgust.

Perhaps I have once again been too optimistic. Is organized religion to inextricably bound to the status quo to save our nation and the world? Perhaps I must turn my faith to the inner spiritual church, the church within the church, as the true *ekklesia* and the hope of the world. But again I am thankful to God that some noble souls from the ranks of organized religion have broken loose from the paralyzing chains of conformity and joined us as active partners in the struggle for freedom. They have left their secure congregations and walked the streets of Albany, Georgia, with us. They have gone down the highways of the South on tortuous rides for freedom. Yes, they have gone to jail with us. Some have been dismissed from their churches, have lost the support of their bishops and fellow ministers. But they have acted in the faith that right defeated is stronger than evil triumphant. Their witness has been the spiritual salt that has preserved the true meaning of the gospel in these troubled times. They have carved a tunnel of hope through the dark mountain of disappointment.

I hope the church as a whole will meet the challenge of this decisive hour. But even if the church does not come to the aid of justice, I have no despair about the future. I have no fear about the outcome of our struggle in Birmingham, even if our motives are at present misunderstood. We will reach the goal of freedom in Birmingham and all over the nation, because the goal of America is freedom. Abuse and scorned though we may be, our destiny is tied up with America's destiny. Before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth, we were here. For more than two centuries our forebears labored in this country without wages; they made cotton king; they built the homes of their masters while suffering gross injustice and shameful humiliation—and yet out of bottomless vitality they continued to thrive and develop. If the inexpressible cruelties of slavery could not stop us, the opposition we not face will surely fail. We will win our freedom because the sacred heritage of our nation and the eternal will of God are embodied in our echoing demands.

Before closing I feel impelled to mention one other point in your statement that has troubled me profoundly. You warmly commended the Birmingham police force for keeping "order" and "preventing violence." I doubt that you would so quickly commend the policemen if you were to observe their ugly and inhumane treatment of Negroes here in the city jail; if you were to watch them push and curse old Negro women and young Negro girls; if you were to see them slap and kick Negro men and young boys; if you were to observe them, as they did on two occasions, refuse to give us food because we wanted to sing our grace together. I cannot join you in your praise of the Birmingham police department.

It is true that the police have exercised a degree of discipline in handling the demonstrations. In this sense they have conducted themselves rather "nonviolently" in public. But for what purpose? To preserve the evil system of segregation. Over the past few years I have consistently preached that nonviolence demands that the means we use must be as pure as the ends we seek. I have tried to make clear that it is wrong to use immoral means to attain moral ends. But now I must affirm that it is just as wrong, or perhaps even more so, to use moral means to preserve immoral ends. Perhaps Mr. Connor and his policemen have been rather nonviolent in public, as was Chief Pritchett in Albany, Georgia, but they have used the moral means of nonviolence to maintain the immoral end or racial injustice. As T. S. Eliot has said, "The last temptation is the greatest treason: To do the right deed for the wrong reason."

I wish you had commended the Negro sit-inners and demonstrators of Birmingham for their sublime courage, their willingness to suffer, and their amazing discipline in the midst of great provocation. One day the South will recognize its real heroes. They will be the James Merediths, with the noble sense of purpose that enables them to face jeering and hostile mobs, and with the agonizing loneliness that characterizes the life of the pioneer. They will be old, oppressed, battered Negro women, symbolized in a seventy-two-year-old woman in Montgomery, Alabama, who rose up with a sense of dignity and when her people decided not to ride segregated buses, and who responded with ungrammatical profundity to one who inquired about her weariness: "My feets is tired, but my soul is at rest." They will be the young high school and college students, the young ministers of the gospel and a host of their elders, courageously and nonviolently sitting in at lunch counters and willingly going to jail for conscience' sake. One day the South will know that when these disinherited children of God sat down at lunch counters, they were in reality standing up for what is best in the American dream and for the most sacred values in our Judaeo-Christian heritage, thereby bringing our nation back to those great wells of democracy which were dug deep by the founding fathers in their formulation of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

Never before have I written so long a letter. I'm afraid it is much too long to take your precious time. I can assure you that it would have been much shorter if I had been writing from a comfortable desk, but what else can one do when he is alone in a narrow jail cell, other than write long letters, think long thoughts, and pray long prayers?

If I have said anything in this letter that overstates the truth and indicates an unreasonable impatience, I beg you to forgive me. If I have said anything that understates the truth and indicates my having a patience that allows me to settle for anything less than brotherhood, I beg God to forgive me.

I hope this letter finds you strong in the faith. I also hope that circumstances will soon make it possible for me to meet each of you, not as an integrationist or a civil-rights leader but as a fellow clergyman and a Christian brother. Let us all hope that the dark clouds of racial prejudice will soon pass away and the deep fog of misunderstanding will be lifted from our fear-drenched communities, and in some not too distant tomorrow the radiant stars of love and brotherhood will shine over our great nation with all their scintillating beauty.

Yours for the cause of Peace and Brotherhood, Martin Luther King, Jr.

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## Sayyid Qutb: *Milestones (Ma'alim fi al-Tariq)*

Date: 1964

*Milestones, or Ma'alim fi al-Tariq, is a book that presents the beliefs of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood theorist and Islamist author Sayyid Qutb. The author's theory is that before the onset of Islam, the world lived in ignorance. Sayyid Qutb refers to this as Jahiliyyah. He states that the modern world has lapsed back into this state of ignorance. In Milestones, he lays out a plan to re-create the Muslim world in strict accord with the Qur'an. This ideology is referred to as Qutbism.*

The following are excerpts from chapter 7: "Islam Is the Real Civilization." Original spellings have been retained in this document.

Islam knows only two kinds of societies, the Islamic and the jahili. The Islamic society is that which follows Islam in belief and ways of worship, in law and organization, in morals and manners. The jahili society is that which does not follow Islam and in which neither the Islamic belief and concepts, nor Islamic values or standards, Islamic laws and regulations, or Islamic morals and manners are cared for. . . .

If the family is the basis of the society, and the basis of the family is the division of labor between husband and wife, and the upbringing of children is the most important function of the family, then such a society is indeed civilized. In the Islamic system of life, this kind of a family provides the environment under which human values and morals develop and grow in the new generation; these values and morals cannot exist apart from the family unit. If, on the other hand, 97 free sexual relationships and illegitimate children become the basis of a society, and if the relationship between man and woman is based on lust, passion and impulse, and the division of work is not based on family responsibility and natural gifts; if woman's role is merely to be attractive, sexy and flirtatious, and if woman is freed from her basic responsibility of bringing up children; and if, on her own or under social demand, she prefers to become a hostess or a stewardess in a hotel or ship or air company, thus spending her ability for material productivity rather than in the training of human beings, because material production is considered to be more important, more valuable and more honorable than the development of human character, then such a civilization is 'backward' from the human point of view, or 'jahili' in the Islamic terminology.

The family system and the relationship between the sexes determine the whole character of a society and whether it is backward or civilized, jahili or Islamic. Those societies which give ascendance to physical desires and animalistic morals cannot be considered civilized, no matter how much progress they may make in industry or science. This is the only measure which does not err in gauging true human progress.

In all modern jahili societies, the meaning of 'morality' is limited to such an extent that all those aspects which distinguish man from animal are considered beyond its sphere. In these Societies, illegitimate sexual relationships, even homosexuality, are not considered immoral. The meaning of ethics is limited to economic affairs or sometimes to political affairs which fall into the category of 'government interests'. For example, the scandal of Christine Keeler and the British minister Profumo was not considered serious to British society because of its sexual aspect; it was condemnable because Christine Keeler was also involved with a naval attache of the Russian Embassy, and thus her association with a cabinet minister lied before the British Parliament! Similar scandals come to light in the American Senate. Englishmen and Americans who get involved in

such spying scandals usually take refuge in Russia. These affairs are not considered immoral because of sexual deviations, but because of the danger to state secrets!

Among jahili societies, writers, journalists and editors advise both married and unmarried people that free sexual relationships are not immoral. However, it is immoral if a boy uses his partner, or a girl uses her partner, for sex, while feeling no love in his or her heart. It is bad if a wife continues to guard her chastity while her love for her husband has vanished; it is admirable if she finds another lover. Dozens of stories are written about this theme; many newspaper editorials, articles, cartoons, serious and light columns all invite to this way of life.

From the point of view of 'human' progress, all such societies are not civilized but are backward.

The line of human progress goes upward from animal desires toward higher values. To control the animal desires, a progressive society lays down the foundation of a family system in which human desires find satisfaction, as well as providing for the future generation to be brought up in such a manner that it will continue the human civilization, in which human characteristics flower to their full bloom. Obviously a society which intends to control the animal characteristics, while providing full opportunities for the development and perfection of human characteristics, requires strong safeguards for the peace and stability of the family, so that it may perform its basic task free from the influences of impulsive passions. On the other hand, if in a society immoral teachings and poisonous suggestions are rampant, and sexual activity is considered outside the sphere of morality, then in that society the humanity of man can hardly find a place to develop.

Thus, only Islamic values and morals, Islamic teachings and safeguards, are worthy of mankind, and from this unchanging and true measure of human progress, Islam is the real civilization and Islamic society is truly civilized.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Primary Source Citation: [www.youngmuslims.ca/online\\_library/books/milestones/hold/chapter\\_7.asp](http://www.youngmuslims.ca/online_library/books/milestones/hold/chapter_7.asp)

## U.S. State Department on Vietnam

Date: March 22, 1965

*In 1964 Congress approved the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which gave the president the power to conduct military operations without needing an act of Congress declaring war.*

*There were an estimated 5,000 guerrillas in South Vietnam in 1959. By 1964 this number grew to an estimated 100,000. After an attack on a U.S. Marine barracks in Pleiku on March 2, 1965, the National Security Council recommended an escalation of the bombing of North Vietnam. There were several attacks on U.S. Air Force bases, and on March 8, 1965, 3,500 U.S. Marines were dispatched to South Vietnam. The Marines' assignment was a defensive one. By December the U.S. deployment would be increased to nearly 200,000 men.*

*In this statement from the U.S. State Department, the reasons for the United States's opposition to the establishment of a communist regime in South Vietnam are clearly expressed.*

“Aggression from the North, February 27, 1965” from *Department of State Bulletin*, March 22, 1965

South Vietnam is fighting for its life against a brutal campaign of terror and armed attack inspired, directed, supplied, and controlled by the Communist regime in Hanoi. This flagrant aggression has been going on for years, but recently the pace has quickened and the threat has now become acute.

The war in Vietnam is a new kind of war, a fact as yet poorly understood in most parts of the world. Much of the confusion that prevails in the thinking of many people, and even governments, stems from this basic misunderstanding. For in Vietnam a totally new brand of aggression has been loosed against an independent people who want to make their way in peace and freedom.

Vietnam is not another Greece, where indigenous guerrilla forces used friendly neighboring territory as a sanctuary.

Vietnam is not another Malaya, where Communist guerrillas were, for the most part, physically distinguishable from the peaceful majority they sought to control.

Vietnam is not another Philippines, where Communist guerrillas were physically separated from the source of their moral and physical support.

Above all, the war in Vietnam is not a spontaneous and local rebellion against the established government.

There are elements in the Communist program of conquest directed against South Vietnam common to each of the previous areas of aggression and subversion. But there is one fundamental difference. In Vietnam a Communist government has set out deliberately to conquer a sovereign people in a neighboring state. And to

achieve its end, it has used every resource of its own government to carry out its carefully planned program of concealed aggression. North Vietnam's commitment to seize control of the South is no less total than was the commitment of the regime in North Korea in 1950. But knowing the consequences of the latter's undisguised attack, the planners in Hanoi have tried desperately to conceal their hand. They have failed and their aggression is as real as that of an invading army.

This report is a summary of the massive evidence of North Vietnamese aggression obtained by the Government of South Vietnam. This evidence has been jointly analyzed by South Vietnamese and American experts.

The evidence shows that the hard core of the Communist forces attacking South Vietnam were trained in the North and ordered into the South by Hanoi. It shows that the key leadership of the Vietcong (VC), the officers and much of the cadre, many of the technicians, political organizers, and propagandists have come from the North and operate under Hanoi's direction. It shows that the training of essential military personnel and their infiltration into the South is directed by the Military High Command in Hanoi. In recent months new types of weapons have been introduced in the VC army, for which all ammunition must come from outside sources. Communist China and other Communist states have been the prime suppliers of these weapons and ammunition, and they have been channeled primarily through North Vietnam.

The directing force behind the effort to conquer South Vietnam is the Communist Party in the North, the Lao Dong (Workers) Party. As in every Communist state, the party is an integral part of the regime itself. North Vietnamese officials have expressed their firm determination to absorb South Vietnam into the Communist world.

Through its Central Committee, which controls the Government of the North, the Lao Dong Party directs the total political and military effort of the Vietcong. The Military High Command in the North trains the military men and sends them into South Vietnam. The Central Research Agency, North Vietnam's central intelligence organization, directs the elaborate espionage and subversion effort . . .

Under Hanoi's overall direction the Communists have established an extensive machine for carrying on the war within South Vietnam. The focal point is the Central Office for South Vietnam with its political and military subsections and other specialized agencies. A subordinate part of this Central Office is the liberation Front for South Vietnam. The front was formed at Hanoi's order in 1960. Its principle function is to influence opinion abroad and to create the false impression that the aggression in South Vietnam is an indigenous rebellion against the established Government.

For more than 10 years the people and the Government of South Vietnam, exercising the inherent right of self-defense, have fought back against these efforts to extend Communist power south across the 17th parallel. The United States has responded to the appeals of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam for help in this defense of the freedom and independence of its land and its people.

In 1961 the Department of State issued a report called *A Threat to the Peace*. It described North Vietnam's program to seize South Vietnam. The evidence in that report had been presented by the Government of the Republic of Vietnam to the International Control Commission (ICC). A special report by the ICC in June 1962 upheld the validity of that evidence. The Commission held that there was "sufficient evidence to show beyond reasonable doubt" that North Vietnam had sent arms and men into South Vietnam to carry out subversion with the aim of overthrowing the legal Government there. The ICC found the authorities in Hanoi in specific violation of four provisions of the Geneva Accords of 1954.

Since then, new and even more impressive evidence of Hanoi's aggression has accumulated. The Government of the United States believes that evidence should be presented to its own citizens and to the world. It is important for free men to know what has been happening in Vietnam, and how, and why. That is the purpose of this report . . .

The record is conclusive. It establishes beyond question that North Vietnam is carrying out a carefully conceived plan of aggression against the South. It shows that North Vietnam has intensified its efforts in the years since it was condemned by the International Control Commission. It proves that Hanoi continues to press its systematic program of armed aggression into South Vietnam. This aggression violates the United Nations Charter. It is directly contrary to the Geneva Accords of 1954 and of 1962 to which North Vietnam is a party. It is a fundamental threat to the freedom and security of South Vietnam.

The people of South Vietnam have chosen to resist this threat. At their request, the United States has taken its place beside them in their defensive struggle.

The United States seeks no territory, no military bases, no favored position. But we have learned the meaning of aggression elsewhere in the post-war world, and we have met it.

If peace can be restored in South Vietnam, the United States will be ready at once to reduce its military involvement. But it will not abandon friends who want to remain free. It will do what must be done to help them. The choice now between peace and continued and increasingly destructive conflict is one for the authorities in Hanoi to make.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Primary Source Citation: "Aggression from the North, February 27, 1965." *Department of State Bulletin*, March 22, 1965.

## Black Panther Party Platform and Program

Date: 1966

*This document states the platform of the Black Panther Party, a militant black political rights organization founded by Bobby Seale and Huey Newton in October 1966, in Oakland, California. The 10-point platform made a number of demands for African Americans: full employment, an end to police brutality, decent housing and education, repatriation for slavery, exemption from military service, and the release of all black prisoners from jail. The platform claimed that these prisoners had not received fair treatment from the white-run judicial system and called for new trials with juries made up of members of the black community. Marxist and socialist influences can be felt with regard to the party's position on full employment for blacks. The platform states that if "white American businessmen" deny African Americans meaningful employment, then the "means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people." Although the Panthers advocated revolutionary social and political changes, they were inspired to institute these changes for many of the same reasons that the American colonists broke free from English rule. The party closes its platform by quoting the opening paragraphs of the Declaration of Independence. "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. . . That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men. . . that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government."*

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
Platform & Program  
October 1966

WHAT WE WANT  
WHAT WE BELIEVE

WE WANT freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

WE BELIEVE that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

WE WANT full employment for our people.

WE BELIEVE that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

WE WANT an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community.

WE BELIEVE that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

WE WANT decent housing, fit for the shelter of human beings.

WE BELIEVE that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

WE WANT education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

WE BELIEVE in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

WE WANT all black men to be exempt from military service.

WE BELIEVE that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

WE WANT an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

WE BELIEVE we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

WE WANT freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

WE BELIEVE that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

WE WANT all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

WE BELIEVE that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the “average reasoning man” of the black community.

WE WANT land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature’s God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

WE HOLD these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. \*\*That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.\*\* Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. \*\*But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.\*\*

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: “Black Panther Party Platform and Program.” Facts On File, Inc. *African-American History Online*. [www.fofweb.com](http://www.fofweb.com).

Primary Source Citation: The Black Panther Party. “Black Panther Party Platform and Program.” *The Maoist International Movement*.

## President Nasser: Statement to Members of the Egyptian National Assembly

Date: May 29, 1967

*Egyptian President Gamal Abdul (Abdel) Nasser was the most popular Arab leader of his day. Nasser was seen as the leader of the Arab world, inspiring Arab unity. He pushed for action by Arab states to confront the “imperialist” West. Nasser had allied the Arab states of Syria, Jordan, and Iraq with Egypt in order to enter into a battle for the annihilation of Israel. Nasser called for the withdrawal of United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) troops from the Sinai Peninsula. UN Secretary-General U Thant complied with that demand. Nasser remilitarized the Sinai with Egyptian Forces, and on May 23 he closed the Straits of Tiran to all Israeli ships and set up a blockade of the Israeli port of Eilat.*

*The Egyptians had planned a surprise attack on Israel on May 27 with the intention of destroying it. Israeli intelligence found out about the surprise plan and told the United States, which alerted the Soviets, who in turn told the Egyptian government. Nasser called off the attack.*

*In this speech on May 29, just one week before the Six-Day War, Nasser stated “. . . I have already said in the past that we will decide the time and place and not allow them to decide. . . .”*

*However, on June 5, 1967, Israel stunned the Arabs and the world by responding preemptively and launching a massive air attack on some two dozen Arab airfields, destroying more than 400 Egyptian, Syrian, and Jordanian aircraft on the ground. Israeli ground forces invaded the Sinai Peninsula, Jerusalem’s Old City, Jordan’s West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and the Golan Heights, seizing and occupying these areas.*

Brothers, when Brother Anwar as-Sadat informed me of your decision to meet me I told him that I myself was prepared to call on you at the National Assembly, but he said you were determined to come. I therefore responded to this and I thank you heartily for your consideration.

I was naturally not surprised by the law which Brother Anwar as-Sadat read because I was notified of it before I came here. However, I wish to thank you very much for your feelings and for the powers given me. I did not ask for such powers because I felt that you and I were as one, that we could cooperate and work for the sublime interest of this country, giving a great example of unselfishness and of work for the welfare of all. Thanks be to God, for four years now the National Assembly has been working and has given great examples. We have given great examples in cooperation and unselfishness and in placing before us the sublime and highest objective—the interest of this nation.

I am proud of this resolution and law. I promise you that I will use it only when necessary. I will, however, send all the laws to you. Thank you once again. The great gesture of moral support represented by this law is very valuable to my spirit and heart. I heartily thank you for this feeling and this initiative.

The circumstances through which we are now passing are in fact difficult ones because we are not only confronting Israel but also those who created Israel and who are behind Israel. We are confronting Israel and the West, as well the West which created Israel and which despised us Arabs and which ignored us before and since 1948. They had no regard whatsoever for our feelings, our hopes in life, or our rights. The West completely ignored us, and the Arab nation was unable to check the West's course.

Then came the events of 1956, the Suez battle. We all know what happened in 1956. When we rose to demand our rights, Britain, France and Israel opposed us, and we were faced with the tripartite aggression. We resisted, however, and proclaimed that we would fight to the last drop of our blood. God gave us success and God's victory was great.

Subsequently we were able to rise and to build. Now, eleven years after 1956, we are restoring things to what they were in 1956. This is from the material aspect. In my opinion this material aspect is only a small part, whereas the spiritual aspect is the great side of the issue. The spiritual aspect involves the renaissance of the Arab nation, the revival of the Palestine question, and the restoration of confidence to every Arab and to every Palestinian. This is on the basis that if we were able to restore conditions to what they were before 1956, God will surely help and urge us to restore the situation to what it was in 1948.

Brothers, the revolt, upheaval and commotion which we now see taking place in every Arab country are not only because we have returned to the Gulf of Aqaba or rid ourselves of the UNEF, but because we have restored Arab honour and renewed Arab hopes.

Israel used to boast a great deal, and the Western Powers, headed by the United States and Britain, used to ignore and even despise us and consider us of no value. But now that the time has come—and I have already said in the past that we will decide the time and place and not allow them to decide—we must be ready for triumph and not for a recurrence of the 1948 comedies. We shall triumph, God willing.

Preparations have already been made. We are now ready to confront Israel. They have claimed many things about the 1956 Suez war, but no one believed them after the secrets of the 1956 collusion were uncovered – that mean collusion in which Israel took part. Now we are ready for the confrontation. We are now ready to deal with the entire Palestine question.

The issue now at hand is not the Gulf of Aqaba, the Straits of Tiran, or the withdrawal of the UNEF, but the rights of the Palestine people. It is the aggression which took place in Palestine in 1948 with the collaboration of Britain and the United States. It is the expulsion of the Arabs from Palestine, the usurpation of their rights, and the plunder of their property. It is the disavowal of all the UN resolutions in favour of the Palestinian people.

The issue today is far more serious than they say. They want to confine the issue to the Straits of Tiran, the UNEF and the right of passage. We demand the full rights of the Palestinian people. We say this out of our belief that Arab rights cannot be squandered because the Arabs throughout the Arab world are demanding these Arab rights.

We are not afraid of the United States and its threats, of Britain and its threats, or of the entire Western world and its partiality to Israel. The United States and Britain are partial to Israel and give no consideration to the Arabs, to the entire Arab nation. Why? Because we have made them believe that we cannot distinguish between friend and foe. We must make them know that we know who our foes are and who our friends are and treat them accordingly.

If the United States and Britain are partial to Israel, we must say that our enemy is not only Israel but also the United States and Britain and treat them as such. If the Western Powers disavow our rights and ridicule and despise us, we Arabs must teach them to respect us and take us seriously. Otherwise all our talk about Palestine, the Palestine people and Palestinian rights will be null and void and of no consequence. We must treat enemies as enemies and friends as friends.

I said yesterday that the States that champion freedom and peace have supported us. I spoke of the support given us by India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Yugoslavia, Malaysia, the Chinese People's Republic and the Asian and African States.

After my statements yesterday I met the War Minister Shams Badran and learned from him what took place in Moscow. I wish to tell you today that the Soviet Union is a friendly Power and stands by us as a friend. In all our dealings with the Soviet Union—and I have been dealing with the USSR since 1955—it has not made a single request of us. The USSR has never interfered with our policy or internal affairs. This is the USSR as we have always known it. In fact, it is we who have made urgent requests of the USSR. Last year we asked for wheat and they sent it to us. When I also asked for all kinds of arms they gave them to us. When I met Shams Badran yesterday he handed me a message from the Soviet Premier Kosygin saying that the USSR supported us in this battle and would not allow any Power to intervene until matters were restored to what they were in 1956.

Brothers, we must distinguish between friend and foe, friend and hypocrite. We must be able to tell who is making requests, who has ulterior motives and who is applying economic pressure. We must also know those who offer their friendship to us for no other reason than a desire for freedom and peace.

In the name of the UAR people, I thank the people of the USSR for their great attitude which is the attitude of a real friend. This is the kind of attitude that we expect. I said yesterday that we had not requested the USSR or any other State to intervene because we really want to avoid any confrontation which might lead to a world war and also because we really work for peace and advocate world peace. When we voiced the policy of non-alignment, our chief aim was world peace.

Brothers, we will work for world peace with all the power at our disposal, but we will also hold tenaciously to our rights with all the power at our disposal. This is our course. On this occasion, I address myself to our brothers in Aden and say: Although occupied with this battle, we have not forgotten you. We are with you. We have not forgotten the struggle of Aden and the occupied South for liberation. Aden and the occupied South must be liberated and colonialism must end. We are with them. Present matters have not taken our minds from Aden.

I thank you for taking the trouble to pay this visit. Moreover, your presence is an honour to the Qubbah Palace, and I am pleased to have met you. Peace be with you.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: Phillips, Charles, and Alan Axelrod. "Six-Day War." *Encyclopedia of Wars*. Vol. 1. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2005. *Modern World History Online*. Facts On File, Inc. [www.fofweb.com](http://www.fofweb.com).

Primary Source Citation: Nasser, Gamal. *Address of Gamal Nasser to the Egyptian National Assembly, May, 29 1967*. MidEast Web Historical Documents. [www.mideastweb.org/nasser29may67.htm](http://www.mideastweb.org/nasser29may67.htm)

## Leonid Brezhnev, Soviet Communist Party Secretary, on Prague Spring

Date: 1968

*The Soviet Union adopted a policy of suppressing the democracy movement in Czechoslovakia that developed there under Alexander Dubček. The 1968 liberalization was known as the Prague Spring, and the Soviet response was known as the Brezhnev Doctrine. In November 1968, speaking before an assemblage of Polish workers, Brezhnev gave the following justification for the invasion of Czechoslovakia by Soviet troops.*

### The Brezhnev Doctrine, 1968

In connection with the events in Czechoslovakia the question of the correlation and interdependence of the national interests of the socialist countries and their international duties acquire particular topical and acute importance.

The measures taken by the Soviet Union, jointly with other socialist countries, in defending the socialist gains of the Czechoslovak people are of great significance for strengthening the socialist community, which is the main achievement of the international working class.

We cannot ignore the assertions, held in some places, that the actions of the five socialist countries run counter to the Marxist-Leninist principle of sovereignty and the rights of nations to self-determination.

The groundlessness of such reasoning consists primarily in that it is based on an abstract, nonclass approach to the question of sovereignty and the rights of nations to self-determination.

The peoples of the socialist countries and Communist parties certainly do have and should have freedom for determining the ways of advance of their respective countries.

However, none of their decisions should damage either socialism in their country or the fundamental interests of other socialist countries, and the whole working class movement, which is working for socialism.

This means that each Communist party is responsible not only to its own people, but also to all the socialist countries, to the entire Communist movement. Whoever forget this, in stressing only the independence of the Communist party, becomes onesided. He deviates from his international duty.

Marxist dialectics are opposed to onesidedness. They demand that each phenomenon be examined concretely, in general connection with other phenomena, with other processes.

Just as, in Lenin's words, a man living in a society cannot be free from the society, one or another socialist state, staying in a system of other states composing the socialist community, cannot be free from the common interests of that community.

The sovereignty of each socialist country cannot be opposed to the interests of the world of socialism, of the world revolutionary movement. Lenin demanded that all Communists fight against smallnation narrowmindedness, seclusion and isolation, consider the whole and the general, subordinate the particular to the general interest.

The socialist states respect the democratic norms of international law. They have proved this more than once in practice, by coming out resolutely against the attempts of imperialism to violate the sovereignty and independence of nations.

It is from these same positions that they reject the leftist, adventurist conception of "exporting revolution," of "bringing happiness" to other peoples.

However, from a Marxist point of view, the norms of law, including the norms of mutual relations of the socialist countries, cannot be interpreted narrowly, formally, and in isolation from the general context of class struggle in the modern world. The socialist countries resolutely come out against the exporting and importing of counterrevolution

Each Communist party is free to apply the basic principles of Marxism Leninism and of socialism in its country, but it cannot depart from these principles (assuming, naturally, that it remains a Communist party).

Concretely, this means, first of all, that, in its activity, each Communist party cannot but take into account such a decisive fact of our time as the struggle between two opposing social systems-capitalism and socialism.

This is an objective struggle, a fact not depending on the will of the people, and stipulated by the world's being split into two opposite social systems. Lenin said: "Each man must choose between joining our side or the other side. Any attempt to avoid taking sides in this issue must end in fiasco."

It has got to be emphasized that when a socialist country seems to adopt a "nonaffiliated" stand, it retains its national independence, in effect, precisely because of the might of the socialist community, and above all the Soviet Union as a central force, which also includes the might of its armed forces. The weakening of any of the links in the world system of socialism directly affects all the socialist countries, which cannot look indifferently upon this.

The antisocialist elements in Czechoslovakia actually covered up the demand for so-called neutrality and Czechoslovakia's withdrawal from the socialist community with talking about the right of nations to self-determination.

However, the implementation of such "self-determination," in other words, Czechoslovakia's detachment from the socialist community, would have come into conflict with its own vital interests and would have been detrimental to the other socialist states.

Such "self-determination," as a result of which NATO troops would have been able to come up to the Soviet border, while the community of European socialist countries would have been split, in effect encroaches upon the vital interests of the peoples of these countries and conflicts, as the very root of it, with the right of these people to socialist self-determination.

Discharging their internationalist duty toward the fraternal peoples of Czechoslovakia and defending their own socialist gains, the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist states had to act decisively and they did act against the antisocialist forces in Czechoslovakia.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

Text Citation: *Pravda*, September 25, 1968. Translated by Novosti, Soviet press agency. Reprinted in L. S. Stavrianos, *The Epic of Man*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1971.

## Ronald Reagan: "Tear Down This Wall" Speech

Date: June 12, 1987

*This speech was delivered to the people of West Berlin, yet it was also audible on the east side of the Berlin Wall. The president spoke at 2:20 p.m. at the Brandenburg Gate. In his opening remarks, he referred to West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Prior to his remarks President Reagan met with West German President Richard von Weizsacker and the governing mayor of West Berlin, Eberhard Diepgen, at Schloss Bellevue, President Weizsacker's official residence in West Berlin. Following the meeting, President Reagan went to the Reichstag, where he viewed the Berlin Wall from the East Balcony. President Reagan's speech was made at the Brandenburg Gate in West Berlin, Germany, on June 12, 1987.*

Thank you very much.

Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor Diepgen, ladies and gentlemen: Twenty-four years ago, President John F. Kennedy visited Berlin, speaking to the people of this city and the world at the City Hall. Well, since then two other presidents have come, each in his turn, to Berlin. And today I, myself, make my second visit to your city.

We come to Berlin, we American presidents, because it's our duty to speak, in this place, of freedom. But I must confess, we're drawn here by other things as well: by the feeling of history in this city, more than 500 years older than our own nation; by the beauty of the Grunewald and the Tiergarten; most of all, by your courage and determination. Perhaps the composer Paul Lincke understood something about American presidents. You see, like so many presidents before me, I come here today because wherever I go, whatever I do: Ich hab noch einen Koffer in Berlin. [I still have a suitcase in Berlin.]

Our gathering today is being broadcast throughout Western Europe and North America. I understand that it is being seen and heard as well in the East. To those listening throughout Eastern Europe, a special word: Although I cannot be with you, I address my remarks to you just as surely as to those standing here before me. For I join you, as I join your fellow countrymen in the West, in this firm, this unalterable belief: Es gibt nur ein Berlin. [There is only one Berlin.]

Behind me stands a wall that encircles the free sectors of this city, part of a vast system of barriers that divides the entire continent of Europe. From the Baltic, south, those barriers cut across Germany in a gash of barbed wire, concrete, dog runs, and guard towers. Farther south, there may be no visible, no obvious wall. But there remain armed guards and checkpoints all the same—still a restriction on the right to travel, still an instrument to impose upon ordinary men and women the will of a totalitarian state. Yet it is here in Berlin where the wall emerges most clearly; here, cutting across your city, where the news photo and the television screen have imprinted this brutal division of a continent upon the mind of the world. Standing before the Brandenburg Gate, every man is a German, separated from his fellow men. Every man is a Berliner, forced to look upon a scar.

President von Weizsacker has said, "The German question is open as long as the Brandenburg Gate is closed." Today I say: As long as the gate is closed, as long as this scar of a wall is permitted to stand, it is not the German question alone that remains open, but the question of freedom for all mankind. Yet I do not come here to lament. For I find in Berlin a message of hope, even in the shadow of this wall, a message of triumph.

In this season of spring in 1945, the people of Berlin emerged from their air-raid shelters to find devastation. Thousands of miles away, the people of the United States reached out to help. And in 1947 Secretary of State—as you've been told—George Marshall announced the creation of what would become known as the Marshall Plan. Speaking precisely 40 years ago this month, he said: "Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos."

In the Reichstag a few moments ago, I saw a display commemorating this 40th anniversary of the Marshall Plan. I was struck by the sign on a burnt-out, gutted structure that was being rebuilt. I understand that Berliners of my own generation can remember seeing signs like it dotted throughout the western sectors of the city. The sign read simply: "The Marshall Plan is helping here to strengthen the free world." A strong, free world in the West, that dream became real. Japan rose from ruin to become an economic giant. Italy, France, Belgium—virtually every nation in Western Europe saw political and economic rebirth; the European Community was founded.

In West Germany and here in Berlin, there took place an economic miracle, the Wirtschaftswunder. Adenauer, Erhard, Reuter, and other leaders understood the practical importance of liberty—that just as truth can flourish only when the journalist is given freedom of speech, so prosperity can come about only when the farmer and businessman enjoy economic freedom. The German leaders reduced tariffs, expanded free trade, lowered taxes. From 1950 to 1960 alone, the standard of living in West Germany and Berlin doubled.

Where four decades ago there was rubble, today in West Berlin there is the greatest industrial output of any city in Germany—busy office blocks, fine homes and apartments, proud avenues, and the spreading lawns of parkland. Where a city's culture seemed to have been destroyed, today there are two great universities, orchestras and an opera, countless theaters, and museums. Where there was want, today there's abundance—food, clothing, automobiles—the wonderful goods of the Ku'damm. From devastation, from utter ruin, you Berliners have, in freedom, rebuilt a city that once again ranks as one of the greatest on earth. The Soviets may have had other plans. But my friends, there were a few things the Soviets didn't count on—Berliner Herz, Berliner Humor, ja, und Berliner Schnauze. [Berliner heart, Berliner humor, yes, and a Berliner Schnauze.]

In the 1950s, Khrushchev predicted: "We will bury you." But in the West today, we see a free world that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human history. In the Communist world, we see failure, technological backwardness, declining standards of health, even want of the most basic kind—too little food. Even today, the Soviet Union still cannot feed itself. After these four decades, then, there stands before the entire world one great and inescapable conclusion: Freedom leads to prosperity. Freedom replaces the ancient hatreds among the nations with comity and peace. Freedom is the victor.

And now the Soviets themselves may, in a limited way, be coming to understand the importance of freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of reform and openness. Some political prisoners have been released. Certain foreign news broadcasts are no longer being jammed. Some economic enterprises have been permitted to operate with greater freedom from state control.

Are these the beginnings of profound changes in the Soviet state? Or are they token gestures, intended to raise false hopes in the West, or to strengthen the Soviet system without changing it? We welcome change and openness; for we believe that freedom and security go together, that the advance of human liberty can only

strengthen the cause of world peace. There is one sign the Soviets can make that would be unmistakable, that would advance dramatically the cause of freedom and peace.

General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace, if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, if you seek liberalization: Come here to this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!

I understand the fear of war and the pain of division that afflict this continent—and I pledge to you my country's efforts to help overcome these burdens. To be sure, we in the West must resist Soviet expansion. So we must maintain defenses of unassailable strength. Yet we seek peace; so we must strive to reduce arms on both sides.

Beginning 10 years ago, the Soviets challenged the Western alliance with a grave new threat, hundreds of new and more deadly SS-20 nuclear missiles, capable of striking every capital in Europe. The Western alliance responded by committing itself to a counter-deployment unless the Soviets agreed to negotiate a better solution; namely, the elimination of such weapons on both sides. For many months, the Soviets refused to bargain in earnestness. As the alliance, in turn, prepared to go forward with its counter-deployment, there were difficult days—days of protests like those during my 1982 visit to this city—and the Soviets later walked away from the table.

But through it all, the alliance held firm. And I invite those who protested then—I invite those who protest today—to mark this fact: Because we remained strong, the Soviets came back to the table. And because we remained strong, today we have within reach the possibility, not merely of limiting the growth of arms, but of eliminating, for the first time, an entire class of nuclear weapons from the face of the earth.

As I speak, NATO ministers are meeting in Iceland to review the progress of our proposals for eliminating these weapons. At the talks in Geneva, we have also proposed deep cuts in strategic offensive weapons. And the Western allies have likewise made far-reaching proposals to reduce the danger of conventional war and to place a total ban on chemical weapons.

While we pursue these arms reductions, I pledge to you that we will maintain the capacity to deter Soviet aggression at any level at which it might occur. And in cooperation with many of our allies, the United States is pursuing the Strategic Defense Initiative—research to base deterrence not on the threat of offensive retaliation, but on defenses that truly defend; on systems, in short, that will not target populations, but shield them. By these means we seek to increase the safety of Europe and all the world. But we must remember a crucial fact: East and West do not mistrust each other because we are armed; we are armed because we mistrust each other. And our differences are not about weapons but about liberty. When President Kennedy spoke at the City Hall those 24 years ago, freedom was encircled, Berlin was under siege. And today, despite all the pressures upon this city, Berlin stands secure in its liberty. And freedom itself is transforming the globe.

In the Philippines, in South and Central America, democracy has been given a rebirth. Throughout the Pacific, free markets are working miracle after miracle of economic growth. In the industrialized nations, a technological revolution is taking place—a revolution marked by rapid, dramatic advances in computers and telecommunications.

In Europe, only one nation and those it controls refuse to join the community of freedom. Yet in this age of redoubled economic growth, of information and innovation, the Soviet Union faces a choice: It must make fundamental changes, or it will become obsolete.

Today thus represents a moment of hope. We in the West stand ready to cooperate with the East to promote true openness, to break down barriers that separate people, to create a safe, freer world. And surely there is no better place than Berlin, the meeting place of East and West, to make a start. Free people of Berlin: Today, as in the past, the United States stands for the strict observance and full implementation of all parts of the Four Power Agreement of 1971. Let us use this occasion, the 750th anniversary of this city, to usher in a new era, to seek a still fuller, richer life for the Berlin of the future. Together, let us maintain and develop the ties between the Federal Republic and the Western sectors of Berlin, which is permitted by the 1971 agreement.

And I invite Mr. Gorbachev: Let us work to bring the Eastern and Western parts of the city closer together, so that all the inhabitants of all Berlin can enjoy the benefits that come with life in one of the great cities of the world.

To open Berlin still further to all Europe, East and West, let us expand the vital air access to this city, finding ways of making commercial air service to Berlin more convenient, more comfortable, and more economical. We look to the day when West Berlin can become one of the chief aviation hubs in all central Europe.

With our French and British partners, the United States is prepared to help bring international meetings to Berlin. It would be only fitting for Berlin to serve as the site of United Nations meetings, or world conferences on human rights and arms control or other issues that call for international cooperation.

There is no better way to establish hope for the future than to enlighten young minds, and we would be honored to sponsor summer youth exchanges, cultural events, and other programs for young Berliners from the East. Our French and British friends, I'm certain, will do the same. And it's my hope that an authority can be found in East Berlin to sponsor visits from young people of the Western sectors.

One final proposal, one close to my heart: Sport represents a source of enjoyment and ennoblement, and you may have noted that the Republic of Korea—South Korea—has offered to permit certain events of the 1988 Olympics to take place in the North. International sports competitions of all kinds could take place in both parts of this city. And what better way to demonstrate to the world the openness of this city than to offer

in some future year to hold the Olympic games here in Berlin, East and West? In these four decades, as I have said, you Berliners have built a great city. You've done so in spite of threats—the Soviet attempts to impose the East-mark, the blockade. Today the city thrives in spite of the challenges implicit in the very presence of this wall. What keeps you here? Certainly there's a great deal to be said for your fortitude, for your defiant courage. But I believe there's something deeper, something that involves Berlin's whole look and feel and way of life—not mere sentiment. No one could live long in Berlin without being completely disabused of illusions. Something instead, that has seen the difficulties of life in Berlin but chose to accept them, that continues to build this good and proud city in contrast to a surrounding totalitarian presence that refuses to release human energies or aspirations. Something that speaks with a powerful voice of affirmation, that says yes to this city, yes to the future, yes to freedom. In a word, I would submit that what keeps you in Berlin is love—love both profound and abiding.

Perhaps this gets to the root of the matter, to the most fundamental distinction of all between East and West. The totalitarian world produces backwardness because it does such violence to the spirit, thwarting the human impulse to create, to enjoy, to worship. The totalitarian world finds even symbols of love and of worship an affront. Years ago, before the East Germans began rebuilding their churches, they erected a secular structure: the television tower at Alexander Platz. Virtually ever since, the authorities have been working to correct what they view as the tower's one major flaw, treating the glass sphere at the top with paints and chemicals of every kind. Yet even today when the sun strikes that sphere—that sphere that towers over all Berlin—the light makes the sign of the cross. There in Berlin, like the city itself, symbols of love, symbols of worship, cannot be suppressed.

As I looked out a moment ago from the Reichstag, that embodiment of German unity, I noticed words crudely spray-painted upon the wall, perhaps by a young Berliner: "This wall will fall. Beliefs become reality." Yes, across Europe, this wall will fall. For it cannot withstand faith; it cannot withstand truth. The wall cannot withstand freedom.

And I would like, before I close, to say one word. I have read, and I have been questioned since I've been here about certain demonstrations against my coming. And I would like to say just one thing, and to those who demonstrate so. I wonder if they have ever asked themselves that if they should have the kind of government they apparently seek, no one would ever be able to do what they're doing again.

Thank you and God bless you all.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

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## Nelson Mandela: Speech on Release from Prison

Date: February 11, 1990

*Nelson (Rolihlala Dalibhunga) Mandela cofounded the Youth League of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1944. In 1952 Mandela and Oliver Tambo established the first all-black legal service in South Africa while the African National Congress commenced a campaign of passive civil disobedience. In 1962 Nelson Mandela was convicted of inciting workers to strike and received a sentence of five years in prison. His sentence was changed to life imprisonment after documents later surfaced surrounding his guerrilla activities. Mandela spent the next 27 years behind bars, confined to a seven-by-seven-foot cell.*

*Mandela became the symbol of injustice and of the fight against racial oppression for the anti-apartheid movement. In 1982 a worldwide campaign against apartheid in South Africa began pressuring the South African regime to release Mandela, and other governments backed their words with economic sanctions against South Africa.*

*The tempo of events accelerated with the rise of a new white leader, Frederik W. de Klerk. De Klerk realized that the policies of apartheid were doomed. De Klerk began releasing political prisoners unconditionally in 1989, and on February 2, 1990, Mandela was finally freed. His emergence was greeted by throngs of cheering supporters as the end of apartheid was at hand. Nelson Mandela gave a speech to the world's press. This speech, together with his decades of service to the cause of his people, catapulted him onto the international stage as a world figure.*

*On April 27, 1994, the 75-year-old Mandela was elected as the president of South Africa, after winning 62 percent of the votes cast. In 1993 Mandela shared the Nobel Peace Prize with de Klerk for finally slaying the scourge of apartheid.*

Comrades and fellow South Africans, I greet you all in the name of peace, democracy and freedom for all. I stand here before you not as a prophet but as a humble servant of you, the people. Your tireless

and heroic sacrifices have made it possible for me to be here today. I therefore place the remaining years of my life in your hands.

On this day of my release, I extend my sincere and warmest gratitude to the millions of my compatriots and those in every corner of the globe who have campaigned tirelessly for my release. I extend special greetings to the people of Cape Town, the city which has been my home for three decades. Your mass marches and other forms of struggle have served as a constant source of strength to all political prisoners.

I salute the African National Congress. It has fulfilled our every expectation in its role as leader of the great march to freedom.

I salute our president, Comrade Oliver Tambo, for leading the ANC even under the most difficult circumstances.

I salute the rank-and-file members of the ANC: You have sacrificed life and limb in the pursuit of the noble cause of our struggle.

I salute combatants of Umkhonto We Sizwe (the ANC's military wing) who paid the ultimate price for the freedom of all South Africans.

I salute the South African Communist Party for its sterling contribution to the struggle for democracy: You have survived 40 years of unrelenting persecution. The memory of great Communists like Bram Fisher and Moses Mabhida will be cherished for generations to come.

I salute General Secretary Joe Slovo, one of our finest patriots. We are heartened by the fact that the alliance between ourselves and the party remains as strong as it always was.

I salute the United Democratic Front, the National Education Crisis Committee, the South African Youth Congress, the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses, and COSATU, and the many other formations of the mass democratic movement.

I also salute the Black Sash and the National Union of South African Students. We note with pride that you have endured as the conscience of white South Africans, even during the darkest days of the history of our struggle. You held the flag of liberty high. The large-scale mass mobilization of the past few years is one of the key factors which led to the opening of the final chapter of our struggle.

I extend my greetings to the working class of our country. Your organized strength is the pride of our movement: You remain the most dependable force in the struggle to end exploitation and oppression.

I pay tribute to the many religious communities who carried the campaign for justice forward when the organizations of our people were silenced.

I greet the traditional leaders of our country: Many among you continue to walk in the footsteps of great heroes.

I pay tribute for the endless heroism of youth: You, the young lions, have energized our entire struggle.

I pay tribute to the mothers and wives and sisters of our nation: You are the rock-hard foundation of our struggle. Apartheid has inflicted more pain on you than on anyone else.

On this occasion, we thank the world, we thank the world community for their great contribution to the anti-apartheid struggle. Without your support, our struggle could not have reached this advanced stage.

The sacrifice of the front-line states will be remembered by South Africans forever.

My celebrations will be incomplete without expressing my deep appreciation for the strength that has been given to me during my long and gloomy years in prison by my beloved wife and family. I am convinced that your pain and suffering was far greater than my own.

Before I go any further, I wish to make the point that I intend making only a few preliminary comments at this stage. I will make a more complete statement only after I have had the opportunity to consult with my comrades.

Today, the majority of South Africans, black and white, recognize that apartheid has no future. It has to be ended by our own decisive mass action in order to build peace and security.

The mass campaigns of defiance and other actions of our organizations and people can only culminate in the establishment of democracy.

The apartheid's destruction on our subcontinent is incalculable. The fabric of family life of millions of my people has been shattered. Millions are homeless and unemployed. Our economy lies in ruins and our people are embroiled in political strife.

Our resort to the armed struggle in 1960 with the formation of the military wing of the ANC (Umkhonto We Sizwe) was a purely defensive action against the violence of apartheid. The factors which necessitated the armed struggle still exist today. We have no option but to continue. We express the hope that a climate conducive to a negotiated settlement would be created soon, so that there may no longer be the need for the armed struggle.

I am a loyal and disciplined member of the African National Congress. I am therefore in full agreement with all of its objectives strategies and tactics.

The need to unite the people of our country is as important a task now as it always has been. No individual leader is able to take all this enormous task on his own. It is our task as leaders to place our views before our organization and to allow the democratic structures to decide on the way forward.

On the question of democratic practice, I feel duty-bound to make the point that a leader of the movement is a person who has been democratically elected at a national congress. This is a principle which must be upheld without any exception.

Today, I wish to report to you that my talks with the government have been aimed at normalizing the political situation in the country. We have not yet begun discussing the basic demands of the struggle. I wish to stress that I myself have at no time entered negotiations about the future of our country, except to insist on a meeting between the ANC and the government.

Mr. de Klerk has gone further than any other nationalist president in taking real steps to normalize the situation. However, there are further steps, as outlined in the Harare declaration, that have to be met before negotiations on the basic demands of our people can begin.

I reiterate our call for, inter-alia, the immediate ending of the state of emergency and the freeing of all—and not only some—political prisoners.

Only such a normalized situation, which allows for free political activity, can allow us to consult our people in order to obtain a mandate.

The people need to be consulted on who will negotiate and on the content of such negotiations.

Negotiations cannot take their place above the heads or behind the backs of our people.

It is our belief that the future of our country can only be determined by a body which is democratically elected on a non-racial basis.

Negotiations on the dismantling of apartheid will have to address the overwhelming demands of our people for a democratic, non-racial and unitary South Africa.

There must be an end to white monopoly on political power and a fundamental restructuring of our political and economic systems to ensure that the inequalities of apartheid are addressed, and our society thoroughly democratized.

It must be added that Mr. de Klerk himself is a man of integrity who is acutely aware of the dangers of a public figure not honoring his undertaking.

But as an organization, we base our policy and our strategy on the harsh reality we are faced with, and this reality is that we are still suffering under the policies of the nationalist government.

Our struggle has reached a decisive moment: We call on our people to seize this moment, so that the process toward democracy is rapid and uninterrupted.

We have waited too long for our freedom. We can no longer wait. Now is the time to intensify the struggle on all fronts. To relax our efforts now would be a mistake which generations to come will not be able to forgive.

The sight of freedom looming on the horizon should encourage us to redouble our efforts. It is only through disciplined mass action that our victory can be assured.

We call on our white compatriots to join us in the shaping of a new South Africa. The freedom movement is a political home for you, too.

We call on the international community to continue the campaign to isolate the apartheid regime. To lift sanctions now would run the risk of aborting the process toward the complete eradication of apartheid.

Our march toward freedom is irreversible. We must not allow fear to stand in our way.

Universal suffrage on a common voters roll in a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa is the only way to peace and racial harmony.

In conclusion, I wish to go to my own words during my trial in 1964—they are as true today as they were then:

I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunity. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But, if need be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.

#### CITATION INFORMATION:

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## United Nations Millennium Declaration

Date: September 8, 2000

*United Nations secretary-general Kofi Annan called for a summit of the 2000 Millennium Assembly of the United Nations, with the General Assembly Resolution 202 of December 17, 1998. The Millennium Summit sought to create global goals for the early 21st century. On March 15, 2000, with Resolution 254, the United Nations General Assembly decided that the summit would be composed of plenary sessions and four interactive roundtable sessions. In September 2000 some 8,000 delegates and 4,500 Secretariat employees attended the summit, and 5,500 journalists covered the gathering. The result of this summit would be the United Nations Millennium Declaration, on September 8, 2000.*

*The United Nations Millennium Declaration had eight major objectives: eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; achieve universal primary education; promote gender equality and empower women; reduce child*

*mortality; improve maternal health; combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases; ensure environmental sustainability; and develop a global partnership for development.*

*By the conclusion of the summit, the assembled nations, often with very divergent views about issues such as development and human rights, overwhelmingly approved a declaration of the world's hopes for the 21st century. They agreed on six "fundamental values" essential to international relations: freedom, equality, solidarity, tolerance, respect for nature, and a sense of shared responsibility. The declaration also set specific goals, including to halve by 2015 the number of people living on less than \$1 a day or living in hunger, or those having no access to clean water; to assure that by 2015 all children completed primary school and that there would be no gender inequality in education; to reduce maternal mortality by three-fourths and the deaths of children under five by two-thirds; to stop the spread of HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other infectious diseases; to achieve significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers; to promote gender equality and the empowerment of women; to encourage the pharmaceutical industry to make essential drugs more widely available; and to provide the benefits of new technologies to all the world's peoples.*

*The General Assembly passed a resolution to guide the implementation of the Millennium Declaration on December 14, 2000. At the World Summit of 2005 the implementation of the declaration would be reviewed.*

## United Nations Millennium Declaration

General Assembly resolution 55/2 of 8 September 2000

The General Assembly

Adopts the following Declaration:

United Nations Millennium Declaration

### I. Values and principles

1. We, heads of State and Government, have gathered at United Nations Headquarters in New York from 6 to 8 September 2000, at the dawn of a new millennium, to reaffirm our faith in the Organization and its Charter as indispensable foundations of a more peaceful, prosperous and just world.

2. We recognize that, in addition to our separate responsibilities to our individual societies, we have a collective responsibility to uphold the principles of human dignity, equality and equity at the global level. As leaders we have a duty therefore to all the world's people, especially the most vulnerable and, in particular, the children of the world, to whom the future belongs.

3. We reaffirm our commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which have proved timeless and universal. Indeed, their relevance and capacity to inspire have increased, as nations and peoples have become increasingly interconnected and interdependent.

4. We are determined to establish a just and lasting peace all over the world in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter. We rededicate ourselves to support all efforts to uphold the sovereign equality of all States, respect for their territorial integrity and political independence, resolution of disputes by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, the right to self-determination of peoples which remain under colonial domination and foreign occupation, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for the equal rights of all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion and international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character.

5. We believe that the central challenge we face today is to ensure that globalization becomes a positive force for all the world's people. For while globalization offers great opportunities, at present its benefits are very unevenly shared, while its costs are unevenly distributed. We recognize that developing countries and countries with economies in transition face special difficulties in responding to this central challenge. Thus, only through broad and sustained efforts to create a shared future, based upon our common humanity in all its diversity, can globalization be made fully inclusive and equitable. These efforts must include policies and measures, at the global level, which correspond to the needs of developing countries and economies in transition and are formulated and implemented with their effective participation.

6. We consider certain fundamental values to be essential to international relations in the twenty-first century. These include:

- Freedom. Men and women have the right to live their lives and raise their children in dignity, free from hunger and from the fear of violence, oppression or injustice. Democratic and participatory governance based on the will of the people best assures these rights.

- Equality. No individual and no nation must be denied the opportunity to benefit from development. The equal rights and opportunities of women and men must be assured.

- Solidarity. Global challenges must be managed in a way that distributes the costs and burdens fairly in accordance with basic principles of equity and social justice. Those who suffer or who benefit least deserve help from those who benefit most.

- Tolerance. Human beings must respect one other, in all their diversity of belief, culture and language. Differences within and between societies should be neither feared nor repressed, but cherished as a precious asset of humanity. A culture of peace and dialogue among all civilizations should be actively promoted.

- Respect for nature. Prudence must be shown in the management of all living species and natural resources, in accordance with the precepts of sustainable development. Only in this way can the immeasurable riches provided to us by nature be preserved and passed on to our descendants. The current unsustainable patterns of production and consumption must be changed in the interest of our future welfare and that of our descendants.

- Shared responsibility. Responsibility for managing worldwide economic and social development, as well as threats to international peace and security, must be shared among the nations of the world and should be exercised multilaterally. As the most universal and most representative organization in the world, the United Nations must play the central role.

7. In order to translate these shared values into actions, we have identified key objectives to which we assign special significance.

## II. Peace, security and disarmament

8. We will spare no effort to free our peoples from the scourge of war, whether within or between States, which has claimed more than 5 million lives in the past decade. We will also seek to eliminate the dangers posed by weapons of mass destruction.

9. We resolve therefore:

- To strengthen respect for the rule of law in international as in national affairs and, in particular, to ensure compliance by Member States with the decisions of the International Court of Justice, in compliance with the Charter of the United Nations, in cases to which they are parties.

- To make the United Nations more effective in maintaining peace and security by giving it the resources and tools it needs for conflict prevention, peaceful resolution of disputes, peacekeeping, post-conflict peacebuilding and reconstruction. In this context, we take note of the report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations and request the General Assembly to consider its recommendations expeditiously.

- To strengthen cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations, in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter.

- To ensure the implementation, by States Parties, of treaties in areas such as arms control and disarmament and of international humanitarian law and human rights law, and call upon all States to consider signing and ratifying the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.

- To take concerted action against international terrorism, and to accede as soon as possible to all the relevant international conventions.

- To redouble our efforts to implement our commitment to counter the world drug problem.

- To intensify our efforts to fight transnational crime in all its dimensions, including trafficking as well as smuggling in human beings and money laundering.

- To minimize the adverse effects of United Nations economic sanctions on innocent populations, to subject such sanctions regimes to regular reviews and to eliminate the adverse effects of sanctions on third parties.

- To strive for the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear weapons, and to keep all options open for achieving this aim, including the possibility of convening an international conference to identify ways of eliminating nuclear dangers.

- To take concerted action to end illicit traffic in small arms and light weapons, especially by making arms transfers more transparent and supporting regional disarmament measures, taking account of all the recommendations of the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons.

- To call on all States to consider acceding to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-personnel Mines and on Their Destruction, as well as the amended mines protocol to the Convention on conventional weapons.

10. We urge Member States to observe the Olympic Truce, individually and collectively, now and in the future, and to support the International Olympic Committee in its efforts to promote peace and human understanding through sport and the Olympic Ideal.

## III. Development and poverty eradication

11. We will spare no effort to free our fellow men, women and children from the abject and dehumanizing conditions of extreme poverty, to which more than a billion of them are currently subjected. We are committed to making the right to development a reality for everyone and to freeing the entire human race from want.

12. We resolve therefore to create an environment - at the national and global levels alike - which is conducive to development and to the elimination of poverty.

13. Success in meeting these objectives depends, inter alia, on good governance within each country. It also depends on good governance at the international level and on transparency in the financial, monetary and trading systems. We are committed to an open, equitable, rule-based, predictable and non-discriminatory multilateral trading and financial system.

14. We are concerned about the obstacles developing countries face in mobilizing the resources needed to finance their sustained development. We will therefore make every effort to ensure the success of the High-level International and Intergovernmental Event on Financing for Development, to be held in 2001.

15. We also undertake to address the special needs of the least developed countries. In this context, we welcome the Third United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries to be held in May 2001 and will endeavour to ensure its success. We call on the industrialized countries:

- To adopt, preferably by the time of that Conference, a policy of duty- and quota-free access for essentially all exports from the least developed countries;
- To implement the enhanced programme of debt relief for the heavily indebted poor countries without further delay and to agree to cancel all official bilateral debts of those countries in return for their making demonstrable commitments to poverty reduction; and
- To grant more generous development assistance, especially to countries that are genuinely making an effort to apply their resources to poverty reduction.

16. We are also determined to deal comprehensively and effectively with the debt problems of low- and middle-income developing countries, through various national and international measures designed to make their debt sustainable in the long term.

17. We also resolve to address the special needs of small island developing States, by implementing the Barbados Programme of Action and the outcome of the twenty-second special session of the General Assembly rapidly and in full. We urge the international community to ensure that, in the development of a vulnerability index, the special needs of small island developing States are taken into account.

18. We recognize the special needs and problems of the landlocked developing countries, and urge both bilateral and multilateral donors to increase financial and technical assistance to this group of countries to meet their special development needs and to help them overcome the impediments of geography by improving their transit transport systems.

19. We resolve further:

- To halve, by the year 2015, the proportion of the world's people whose income is less than one dollar a day and the proportion of people who suffer from hunger and, by the same date, to halve the proportion of people who are unable to reach or to afford safe drinking water.
- To ensure that, by the same date, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling and that girls and boys will have equal access to all levels of education.
- By the same date, to have reduced maternal mortality by three quarters, and under-five child mortality by two thirds, of their current rates.
- To have, by then, halted, and begun to reverse, the spread of HIV/AIDS, the scourge of malaria and other major diseases that afflict humanity.
- To provide special assistance to children orphaned by HIV/AIDS.
- By 2020, to have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers as proposed in the "Cities Without Slums" initiative.

20. We also resolve:

- To promote gender equality and the empowerment of women as effective ways to combat poverty, hunger and disease and to stimulate development that is truly sustainable.
- To develop and implement strategies that give young people everywhere a real chance to find decent and productive work.
- To encourage the pharmaceutical industry to make essential drugs more widely available and affordable by all who need them in developing countries.
- To develop strong partnerships with the private sector and with civil society organizations in pursuit of development and poverty eradication.
- To ensure that the benefits of new technologies, especially information and communication technologies, in conformity with recommendations contained in the ECOSOC 2000 Ministerial Declaration, are available to all.

#### IV. Protecting our common environment

21. We must spare no effort to free all of humanity, and above all our children and grandchildren, from the threat of living on a planet irredeemably spoilt by human activities, and whose resources would no longer be sufficient for their needs.

22. We reaffirm our support for the principles of sustainable development, including those set out in Agenda 21, agreed upon at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development.

23. We resolve therefore to adopt in all our environmental actions a new ethic of conservation and stewardship and, as first steps, we resolve:

- To make every effort to ensure the entry into force of the Kyoto Protocol, preferably by the tenth anniversary of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 2002, and to embark on the required reduction in emissions of greenhouse gases.
- To intensify our collective efforts for the management, conservation and sustainable development of all types of forests.
- To press for the full implementation of the Convention on Biological Diversity and the Convention to Combat Desertification in those Countries Experiencing Serious Drought and/or Desertification, particularly in Africa.
- To stop the unsustainable exploitation of water resources by developing water management strategies at the regional, national and local levels, which promote both equitable access and adequate supplies.
- To intensify cooperation to reduce the number and effects of natural and man-made disasters.
- To ensure free access to information on the human genome sequence.

#### V. Human rights, democracy and good governance

24. We will spare no effort to promote democracy and strengthen the rule of law, as well as respect for all internationally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the right to development.

25. We resolve therefore:

- To respect fully and uphold the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- To strive for the full protection and promotion in all our countries of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights for all.
- To strengthen the capacity of all our countries to implement the principles and practices of democracy and respect for human rights, including minority rights.
- To combat all forms of violence against women and to implement the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.
- To take measures to ensure respect for and protection of the human rights of migrants, migrant workers and their families, to eliminate the increasing acts of racism and xenophobia in many societies and to promote greater harmony and tolerance in all societies.
- To work collectively for more inclusive political processes, allowing genuine participation by all citizens in all our countries.
- To ensure the freedom of the media to perform their essential role and the right of the public to have access to information.

#### VI. Protecting the vulnerable

26. We will spare no effort to ensure that children and all civilian populations that suffer disproportionately the consequences of natural disasters, genocide, armed conflicts and other humanitarian emergencies are given every assistance and protection so that they can resume normal life as soon as possible.

We resolve therefore:

- To expand and strengthen the protection of civilians in complex emergencies, in conformity with international humanitarian law.
- To strengthen international cooperation, including burden sharing in, and the coordination of humanitarian assistance to, countries hosting refugees and to help all refugees and displaced persons to return voluntarily to their homes, in safety and dignity and to be smoothly reintegrated into their societies.
- To encourage the ratification and full implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child and its optional protocols on the involvement of children in armed conflict and on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography.

#### VII. Meeting the special needs of Africa

27. We will support the consolidation of democracy in Africa and assist Africans in their struggle for lasting peace, poverty eradication and sustainable development, thereby bringing Africa into the mainstream of the world economy.

28. We resolve therefore:

- To give full support to the political and institutional structures of emerging democracies in Africa.
- To encourage and sustain regional and subregional mechanisms for preventing conflict and promoting political stability, and to ensure a reliable flow of resources for peacekeeping operations on the continent.
- To take special measures to address the challenges of poverty eradication and sustainable development in Africa, including debt cancellation, improved market access, enhanced Official Development Assistance and increased flows of Foreign Direct Investment, as well as transfers of technology.

- To help Africa build up its capacity to tackle the spread of the HIV/AIDS pandemic and other infectious diseases.

#### VIII. Strengthening the United Nations

29. We will spare no effort to make the United Nations a more effective instrument for pursuing all of these priorities: the fight for development for all the peoples of the world, the fight against poverty, ignorance and disease; the fight against injustice; the fight against violence, terror and crime; and the fight against the degradation and destruction of our common home.

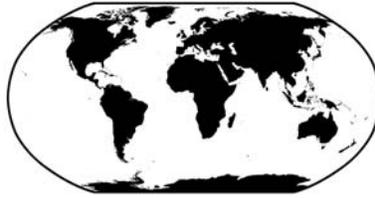
30. We resolve therefore:

- To reaffirm the central position of the General Assembly as the chief deliberative, policy-making and representative organ of the United Nations, and to enable it to play that role effectively.
  - To intensify our efforts to achieve a comprehensive reform of the Security Council in all its aspects.
  - To strengthen further the Economic and Social Council, building on its recent achievements, to help it fulfil the role ascribed to it in the Charter.
  - To strengthen the International Court of Justice, in order to ensure justice and the rule of law in international affairs.
  - To encourage regular consultations and coordination among the principal organs of the United Nations in pursuit of their functions.
  - To ensure that the Organization is provided on a timely and predictable basis with the resources it needs to carry out its mandates.
  - To urge the Secretariat to make the best use of those resources, in accordance with clear rules and procedures agreed by the General Assembly, in the interests of all Member States, by adopting the best management practices and technologies available and by concentrating on those tasks that reflect the agreed priorities of Member States.
  - To promote adherence to the Convention on the Safety of United Nations and Associated Personnel.
  - To ensure greater policy coherence and better cooperation between the United Nations, its agencies, the Bretton Woods Institutions and the World Trade Organization, as well as other multilateral bodies, with a view to achieving a fully coordinated approach to the problems of peace and development.
  - To strengthen further cooperation between the United Nations and national parliaments through their world organization, the Inter-Parliamentary Union, in various fields, including peace and security, economic and social development, international law and human rights and democracy and gender issues.
  - To give greater opportunities to the private sector, non-governmental organizations and civil society, in general, to contribute to the realization of the Organization's goals and programmes.
31. We request the General Assembly to review on a regular basis the progress made in implementing the provisions of this Declaration, and ask the Secretary-General to issue periodic reports for consideration by the General Assembly and as a basis for further action.
32. We solemnly reaffirm, on this historic occasion, that the United Nations is the indispensable common house of the entire human family, through which we will seek to realize our universal aspirations for peace, cooperation and development. We therefore pledge our unstinting support for these common objectives and our determination to achieve them.

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## MASTER INDEX

Index note: page references in **boldface** refer to volume numbers and major topics. Article titles and map titles are in **boldface**. Entries are filed letter-for-letter.

### A

- Aachen, **2:74**, 413  
Aaland Islands, **5:212**  
Aaron, **1:370**  
Abacha, Sani, **6:314**  
**Abahai Khan**, **3:1–2**, 111, 112, 319  
Abaoji (A-po-chi), **2:252**  
Abaqa, **2:35**  
Abba Isaiah, **1:113**  
Abbas. *See* Abbas the Great of Persia  
Abbas, **4:23**, 285  
Abbas III (shah of Persia), **3:262**, **4:339**  
Abbas, Ferhat, **5:6**, 7  
Abbas, Mahmud, **6:212**, 333  
**Abbasid dynasty**, **1:472**, 501, **2:xxxv**, xxxvi, **1–2**, 34, 40, 103, 183, 203–204, 207–208, 262, 353, 363, 401, **3:230**, 291  
**Abbas the Great of Persia**, **3:2**, 293, 340, 341  
Abbott, Elizabeth, **3:178**  
Abboud, Ibrahim, **6:428**  
Abd Allah, **2:116**  
Abd Allah ibn Saad, **1:314**  
Abd al-Malik, **2:46**, 400, 406  
Abd al-Mu'min, **2:11**, 43  
Abd Ar-Rahman I (Umayyad ruler), **2:289**, 394  
Abd ar-Rahman II (Umayyad ruler), **2:87**  
Abd ar-Rahman III (Umayyad ruler), **2:290**  
Abdikassim, Salad Hassan, **6:394**  
Abdu, Muhammad, **5:435**  
'Abduh, Muhammad, **4:8**, **5:12**  
Abdulajanov, Abdumalik, **6:84**  
Abdul Aziz **4: 160**, 277, 279, 409, 451  
Abdullah, **5:22**, 55, 142, 143, 211  
Abdullah II, **6:233–234**  
Abdullah, Muhammad Ahmad, **4:140**, 160  
'Abdullahi, Khalifa, **4:316**  
Abdullah ibn Yasin al-Gazuli, **2:8**  
Abdul Majid I, **4:102**  
Abdurahman, Abdullah, **5:393**  
Abdur Rahman, Amir, **4:32**  
Abdur-Rahman ibn Muljam, **2:103**  
**Abelard, Peter**, **2:2–3**, 42, 266  
Abernathy, Ralph, **6:245**  
Abeyd, Ahmadu, el, **4:10**  
Abgar, **1:30**, 124  
Abhema, **1:142**  
**Abinger, James Scarlett, first baron**, **5:223–225**  
Abiola, Moshood, **6:314**  
Abnaki/Abenaki Indians, **1:297**, **3:138**, 267  
Abolition of Slavery Act, **4:3**

- abolition of slavery in the Americas**, 4:1–5, 52, 168, 417  
 Aboriginal Rights Protection Society (ARPS), 5:60, 263, 264  
 aborigines, 4:40, 5:34  
 abortion, 5:97, 6:150–151, 366–367  
 Aboukir Bay, Battle of, 4:300  
 Abraham (biblical patriarch), 1:xxxvii, 22, 23, 215, 225, 239, 287, 333–334, 355, 367, 368, 474, 3:195  
 Abraham of Kashkar, 1:472  
 Abreha, 1:142, 143  
 Absalom, 1:110  
 absolute morality, 1:435  
**absolutism, European**, 3:2–5, 70, 4:79  
 Abu Ahmad al-Muwaffaq, 2:2  
 Abu al-Abbas, 2:1  
 Abu al-Qasim Nur ad Din, 2:351  
 Abubakar, Abdulsalam, 6:314  
 Abu Bakr (al-Siddiq), 2:3, 8, 9, 41, 68, 102, 287, 397, 403  
 Abu-Jafar, 2:1  
 Abu Lulu-lah, 2:103  
 Abu Nasr al-Farabi, 2:192  
 Abu Nidal, 6:28  
 Abu Qurra', Theodore, 2:97  
 Abu Raihan al-Biruni, 2:263  
 Abu Sa'id, 2:35  
 Abu Talib (ibn Abd al-Muttalib), 2:7, 102, 286  
 abu Tayi, Auda, 5:211  
 Abu Ubayda ibn al-Jarrah, 2:102  
 Abu Ya'qub Yusuf, 2:28  
 Abwehr, 5:47  
**Abyssinia (Ethiopia)**, 4:126–127, 5:58, 94–96, 134, 260, 290, 294  
 academic classicism, 3:38  
**Acadian deportation**, 4:5, 277  
 accelerator mass spectrometry (AMS), 1:149  
 Accessory Transit Company, 4:81, 5:291  
 Accord of Toros de Guisando, 3:132  
 Accords on Indigenous Rights and Culture, 6:374  
 Acehese War, 4:306  
 Achaemenid Empire, 1:103, 153, 437, 507  
 Acheson, Dean, 6:382  
 Acheulean industry, 1:328  
 Achilles, 1:9, 189, 203, 204, 291, 471  
 acid-base-wet oxidation (ABOX-SC), 1:149  
 Acosta, José de, 1:280  
**acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS)**, 6:xxxv, xxxvii, xxxviii, 6–7. *See also* AIDS crisis  
 Acre, 2:247, 248, 249, 325, 343  
 Acres, Birt, 5:252  
 Act for the Abolition of Slave Trade, 4:1  
 Action Directe, 6:108  
 Action for Progress, 6:11  
 Action Française (French Action), 5:102  
 Actium, Battle of, 1:62, 192, 232, 373, 390, 397, 470  
 activism, 3:108  
 Act of Attainder, 3:71  
 Act of Free Choice, 6:124  
 Act of Settlement, 3:148, 233, 234  
 Act of Succession, 3:149  
 Act of Supremacy, 3:70, 120, 163, 233, 330, 390  
 Act of Test, 3:79  
 Act of Toleration, 3:317  
 Act of Uniformity, 3:79, 119, 390  
 Acts of Appeals, 3:330  
 Acts of the Apostles, 1:20, 229, 320  
 Acts of Thomas, 1:448  
 Ada, 1:10  
 Ad Abolendam, 2:245  
 Adachi Yasumori, 2:172  
 Adad-nirari I, 1:34  
 Adad-nirari II, 1:34  
 Adad-nirari III, 1:23  
 Adalberon, 2:71  
 Adam de la Halle, 2:84  
 Adamec, Ladislav, 6:129  
 Adamnan, 1:54, 2:199  
 Adams, Abigail, 4:6, 450  
 Adams, Brooks, 4:7  
 Adams, Charles Francis, 4:6, 7, 22  
 Adams, Gerry, 6:221  
 Adams, Henry, 4:7  
**Adams, John**, 1:84, 3:160, 4:6–7, 22, 98, 99, 109, 110, 135, 176, 202, 203, 260, 261, 309, 331, 450  
 Adams, John (mutineer), 4:289  
**Adams, John Quincy**, 4:6, 7, 200, 281, 332, 413, 441  
 Adams, Samuel, 4:6, 23, 109  
 Adams, Simon, 1:384  
**Adams family**, 4:6–7  
 Addai, 1:124, 448, 472  
**Addams, Jane**, 5:1–2, 256, 261, 415  
 Addis Ababa Agreement, 6:323, 407  
 Additions to Daniel, 1:372  
 Aden, 5:163  
 Aden Abdullah Osman Daar 6: 390  
 Adenauer, Konrad, 6:144, 145, 161, 165  
 Aden Protectorates, 4:33  
 Adhar Midukht, 1:416  
 Adil Shah, 3:262, 356  
 Aditi, 1:478  
 Adler, Alfred, 5:115  
 Adoe, Captain, 3:115

- Adolf II of Holstein, 2:157  
 Adolf, count of Nassau, 2:176–177  
 Adolphus, Gustavus, 3:77  
 Adonis, 1:172, 291  
 Adoptionism, 1:193, 2:6  
 Adovasio, James M., 1:148  
 Adowa, Battle of, 5:94  
 Adrian II, 2:96  
 Adrian VI, 3:211  
 Adrianople, 5:39, 40  
**Adrianople, Battle of, 1:1–2, 402, 404, 405, 460, 2:60**  
 Adur-Narseh, 1:413  
*Adventure*, 4:101, 318  
 Aeacides, 1:375  
 Aedesius, 1:100, 142  
 Aelbert, 2:6  
 Aelius Aristides, 1:420  
 Aelius Donatus, 1:218  
 Aemilius Paullus, 1:248  
 Aeneas, 1:63, 69, 173, 396, 397, 399, 405  
***Aeneid*, 1:2–3, 54, 63, 173, 391, 396, 398, 471**  
 Aengus the Culdee, 1:54  
 Aeschines, 1:113  
 Aeschylus, 1:3, 140, 170, 392, 423, 442  
 Aesop, 1:3–4, 441  
 Æthelred. *See* Ethelred  
 Aetius, 1:67, 205, 242, 405, 2:209  
**Afghani, Jamal al-Din, al- 4:7–8, 33, 175, 367, 5:435**  
**Afghanistan, 1:xxxvi, 44, 45, 103, 153, 177, 235, 240, 263, 429, 478–479, 492, 493, 502, 504, 2:xxxii, 4:31, 32, 101, 114, 282–283, 340, 6:xli, xli, 1–3, 11, 12, 37, 71, 72, 76, 99, 101, 102, 126, 128, 222, 235–236, 322, 375, 395, 412, 418, 419, 440, 462, 463, 475**  
 Afghanistan, Democratic Republic of, 6:235, 236  
**Afghan War(s), 4:8–9, 31, 72, 5:224**  
 Aflaq, Michel, 6:47  
 Afonso I (king of Kongo), 2:333, 3:204  
 Afonso II (king of Kongo), 3:204  
 Afonso IV (king of Portugal), 4:397  
 Afonso V (king of Portugal), 3:12, 2:166  
 Afonso VI (king of Portugal), 3:48, 49  
 Afonso V of Aragon, 2:291  
 Afonso X (king of Portugal), 3:354  
 Afonso Henriques of Portugal (Afonso I), 2:247  
**Africa, 1:xxxvi, 2:xxx–xxxii, xxxv, xxxviii, 3:7, 4:315–316, 367–368, 6:xxxvi, xxxviii, xl, xlii, 6–7, 17–18, 138, 140–141, 344, 381, 425–426**  
 Ashanti kingdom in, 3:23–24  
 exploration of, 4:10–12  
 French Equatorial Africa, 4:140–141  
 imperialism and partition of, 4:12–14  
 Kingdom of Buganda, 4:69–70  
 Kongo kingdom of, 1:xxxiv, 3:5, 204, 281, 361, 4:143  
 Portuguese colonies in, 4:14–18  
 Portuguese in, 3:5–7  
 Salafiyya movement in, 4:367–368  
 slave trade in, 4:121, 385–387  
 Spanish colonies in, 4:396–398  
**Africa and the Mediterranean Region—Major Empires and Kingdoms, 400–1450, 2:M37**  
**Africa and the Mediterranean Region—Major Empires and Kingdoms, 1500–1850, 3:M93**  
 African Americans, 4:xxxii–xxxiii, 53, 140, 237, 238, 240, 310, 335, 349, 350, 5:xlii, 139–140, 168, 261–263, 325, 343–344, 6:xxxvii, 66–67, 73, 93–97, 107, 178, 244–245, 278–280, 285–286, 292, 405  
 African Brotherhood, 5:2  
**African city-states, 1:xxxvi, 4**  
 African diaspora, 3:372  
 African Economic Community, 6:5  
 African Emigration Association, 5:289  
**African Independence, 6:M166**  
 African Lakes Company, 5:277  
**African National Congress (ANC), 5:3, 356, 6:xxxvii, 3–5, 237, 280, 281, 324, 364**  
 African National Youth League, 6:364  
**African religious traditions, 1:5**  
 African Representative Council, 5:320  
**African Slave Trade, The, 15th–19th Centuries, 3: M95**  
 African Student Association, 5:290  
**African Union (AU), 5:290, 6:5. *See also* Organization of African Unity (OAS)**  
 Africanus, Sextus Julius, 1:208  
 Africa Orientale Italia (AOI), 5:94  
 Afrika Corps (Korps), 5:322–323  
**Afrikaners, South Africa, 3:116, 4:394, 395, 5:2–3, 103**  
**Afrique Occidentale Française (French West Africa), 5:112–113**  
 Afshar dynasty, 3:262  
 Afwerki, Isaias, 6:141  
 Afzal Khan, 3:356  
 Agade, 1:128  
**Aga (Agha) Khan, 2:211–212, 5:3–4, 9, 164**  
 Agamemnon, 1:75, 141, 179, 188, 203, 204, 290  
 Agam Sutras, 1:477  
 Agartala Conspiracy Case, 6:359  
 Ağca, Mehmet Ali, 6:231  
 Agenda for Greater Economic Integration, 6:44  
 Age of Consent Act, 4:412

- age of discovery, 3:5  
age of faith, 3:108  
Agiluft, 1:175  
Agincourt, Battle of, 2:166, 184, 187, 328  
Agnelli, Giovanni, 5:240  
Agnesi, Mona, 3:343  
Agnew, Spiro, 6:153, 316, 317, 318  
Agni, 1:478  
agnosticism, 1:435  
**Agra**, 3:35, 102–103, 354  
Agrarian Reform Law, 6:67  
Agrarian Studies Commission, 6:20  
agreements of capitulation, 3:290–291  
Agricola, Rudolphus, 3:329  
Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA), 5:  
xxxii, 271, 272, 326  
agricultural haciendas, 3:159  
Agricultural Marketing Act, 5:154  
agriculture, 1:xxix–xxx, 152, 212, 266, 295, 426,  
506, 2:xxix, 3:xxxii, xxv, xxvi, 8, 345, 4:  
xxv–xxviii, xxxiii, 5:xxxix, 81–82, 6:xxxix,  
182–183, 261  
Agrippa, 1:62, 182, 341, 470  
Aguilar, Jerónimo de, 3:228–229, 245, 247, 409  
**Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio**, 4:398, 5:4–5, 301,  
311, 389  
Aguire Cerda, Pedro, 5:6  
Aguirre, Lope de, 3:280  
Aguiyi-Ironsi, Johnson, 6:64  
**Ahab**, 1:5–6, 23, 35, 197, 216  
Ahasuerus, 1:135  
Ahaz, 1:197  
Ahaziah, 1:6, 24  
Ahd, al- (the Pact), 5:23  
Ahhotepe, 1:208  
*ahimsa*, 5:118, 165  
Ahiqar, 1:487  
Ahmad, Hussein Ait, 6:8  
Ahmad, Imam, 6:467  
Ahmad, Jalal Al-e, 6:216  
Ahmad Gran, 2:113  
Ahmad ibn Buya, 2:2  
Ahmadinejad, Mahmud, 6:214  
Ahmad Khan, 3:262  
Ahmed III, 3:262  
Ahmed, Abdullah Yusuf, 6:394  
Ahmed, Fakhuruddin Ali, 6:158  
Ahmed, Fayez, 6:462  
Ahmed, Shaykh 3:182  
Ahmed al-Mansur, 2:139  
Ahmed Cevdet, Pasha, 4:410  
Ahmed Jamal Pasha, 5:24  
Ahmed Khan, 4:283  
Ahmed Shah Durrani, 3:182  
Ahmed Urabi, 4:69, 284, 424  
Ahmose, 1:208, 307, 308  
Ahriman, 1:347, 348  
Ahuitzotl, 3:31  
Ahura Mazda, 1:347, 507, 508  
Aibak, 2:100, 287  
Aidan (saint), 2:200  
Aidit, Dipa Nusantara, 6:206  
**AIDS crisis**, 6:xxxv, xxxvii, 6–7, 99, 143, 164,  
336, 361, 422, 425, 460. *See also* acquired  
immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS)  
Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC),  
6:316–317  
**Aigun, Treaty of**, 4:18  
Ainu, 5:132  
Air Bridge Denial (ABD), 6:123  
**Air Campaign in Kosovo, March 25–June 20, 1999**,  
6:M192  
airline hijackings, 6:8, 12, 393, 419  
Air Raid Precautions (ARP), 5:66  
**A'isha**, 2:3–4, 8, 69, 102, 103, 286, 364  
Aishwarya, 6:309  
Aistulf, 1:323  
Aither, 1:172  
Aix-la-Chapelle, Congress of, 4:269  
Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of, 2:412, 3:30  
Ajari Eiku, 2:179  
Ajax, 1:189, 203  
Akamatsu Mitsusuke, 2:26  
**Akan States of West Africa**, 3:7–9, 23  
Akayev, Askar, 6:82, 83  
**Akbar**, 3:10, 28, 102–103, 185, 257, 297, 328, 360,  
4:281, 283  
Akbar Khan, 4:8  
Akechi Mitsuhide, 3:279  
**Akhenaten**, 1:5, 6–7, 146, 308, 350, 352, 382,  
383, 458  
Akhetaton, 1:6  
Akhmatova, Anna, 5:361  
Akiba, 1:353  
**Akihito**, 5:146, 6:7–8  
**Akkad**, 1:7–8, 41, 101, 147, 207, 411, 418, 446,  
475, 487  
Akkadian, 1:8  
Akwamu, 3:9  
Ala ad-Din Muhammad (Khawarazm shah), 2:34  
Alais, Peace of, 3:337  
Alalakh, 1:207  
Alamanni, 2:273  
Alamans, 1:242

- Alamo, the, and Texas War of Independence**, 4:411–412
- Alans, 1:242, 2:333
- Alara Kalama, 1:158
- Alaric, 1:2, 243, 384, 405, 482, 2:412
- Alaric II, 1:482
- Alaskan Native Claims Settlement Act, 6:16
- Alaska Purchase**, 4:18–20
- Alauddin Husain, 2:287
- Ala ud-Din Khalji, 2:101
- Alauddin Muhammad, 2:287
- Alaungpaya, 4:71, 380
- Alaungsithu, 2:56
- 'Alawi, Muhammad ibn al-'Arabi al-, 4:368
- Alawi dynasty**, 3:10–11, 5:214, 252, 6:293
- Alawites, 2:365, 5:214, 6:41, 47
- Alba, 2:359
- Albania, 5:104, 133, 6:49, 50–51, 456, 457
- Albany, Treaty of, 3:317
- Albany Movement, 6:96
- Albert I, III, IV, VI. *See* Albrecht
- Albert Edward, Prince. *See* Edward VII
- Albert Achilles (elector of Brandenburg), 2:166
- Alberti, Leon Battista, 2:216, 3:20, 173
- Albert of Brandenburg, 4:184
- Albert of Germany, 3:223
- Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha (Prince Albert), 4:432
- Albert of Saxony, 2:267
- Albert the Bear, 2:157
- Albertus Magnus, 1:28, 2:21, 267, 357
- Albigensian Crusade**, 2:4–5, 46, 71, 89, 168, 196, 245
- Alboin, 1:323
- Albornoz, Cardinal, 2:316
- Albrecht I, 2:153, 177
- Albrecht II, 2:154, 178
- Albrecht III, 2:153, 154, 178
- Albrecht IV, 2:153, 154, 176
- Albrecht V, 2:154
- Albrecht VI, 2:155, 178
- Albrecht of Austria, 2:48
- Albright, Madeleine, 6:99
- Albuquerque, Afonso de**, 3:11–12, 151, 225, 227, 400
- Albuquerque Coimbra, Estácio de, 5:116
- Alcaçova, Treaty of, 3:132
- Alcaeus, 1:254
- alchemy, 1:107, 2:xxxiii, 267
- Alcibiades**, 1:8–9, 291, 303, 322, 343, 447, 448
- Alcman, 1:254
- alcoholism, 2:438, 4:xxxiv
- alcohol prohibition, 5:309–310
- Alcott, Bronson, 4:418
- Alcott, Louisa May, 4:418, 5:254
- Alcuin of York**, 2:5–6, 14, 74, 75, 79, 408
- Alder v. Board of Education of New York*, 6:289
- Aldrin, Edwin, 6:399
- d'Alembert, Jean Le Rond, 3:254
- Alencar Castelo Branco, Humberto de, 5:116
- Alençon, duke of, 2:224
- Aleppo**, 1:9, 41, 105, 248, 260, 430, 2:35, 399, 3:292
- Alesia, Battle of, 1:387, 469, 481, 482
- Alessandri, Arturo**, 5:5–6
- Alessandri, Jorge, 6:10
- Aleuts, 1:297
- Alexander (Cappadocian church leader), 1:67
- Alexander I** (czar of Russia), 4:20, 30, 31, 36, 46, 129, 169, 296, 297, 360, 409, 434
- Alexander II** (czar of Russia), 1:354, 4:xxviii, xxxiii, 31, 36, 113, 189, 206, 234, 329, 360–361, 364, 365
- Alexander III** (czar of Russia), 2:38, 130, 175, 244, 245, 4:32, 361, 5:214
- Alexander IV** (pope), 1:116, 3:56
- Alexander V** (pope), 2:28
- Alexander VI** (pope), 2:128, 327, 3:43, 56, 66, 86, 195, 211, 226, 330, 342, 387, 4:396
- Alexander VII** (pope), 3:77, 135
- Alexander, James, 3:413
- Alexander Mosaic, 1:191
- Alexander of Alexandria, 1:309–310
- Alexander of Hales, 2:257
- Alexander the Great**, 1:xxxvi, xxxviii, 9–11, 12, M17, 27, 58, 73, 75, 86, 87, 102, 115, 126, 131, 153, 190, 191, 192, 204, 248, 256, 263, 333, 345, 372, 408, 410, 421, 437, 444, 490, 507, 2:352, 3:241
- Alexandra (czarina of Russia), 5:331
- Alexandria**, 1:11–12, 13, 26, 65, 80, 81, 90, 141, 143, 165, 194, 200, 222, 248, 254, 265, 286, 306, 310, 320, 321, 355, 373, 2:245, 286
- Alexandrian literature**, 1:12–13
- Alexei (czar of Russia), 3:91, 302, 305
- Alexios I Komennos, 2:58, 65, 198, 356, 409
- Alexios IV, 2:65
- Alexis, 3:304, 307
- Alfonso (Nzinga Mbemba), 3:7
- Alfonso I, 2:86, 89
- Alfonso II, 2:86–87, 89, 288
- Alfonso III, 2:87, 89
- Alfonso IV, 2:87, 89
- Alfonso V, 2:87, 89, 3:132, 133

- Alfonso VI, 2:9, 41, 87, 109  
Alfonso VII, 2:87  
Alfonso VIII, 2:45, 88  
Alfonso IX, 2:88  
Alfonso X, 2:88, 153, 176  
Alfonso XI, 2:88  
Alfonso XII, 4:400  
Alfonso XIII, 4:400, 5:110, 362  
Alfonso Jordan, 2:248  
Alfonso the Magnanimous, 2:411  
**Alfred the Great**, 2:6–7, 15, 17, 98, 110, 309  
Algeciras Conference, 4:140–141  
**Algeria**, 4:10, 14, 21, 209, 368, 413, 5:6–8, 113, 227, 252, 6:xl, 69, 163, 164, 222, 223, 460  
    **under French rule**, 4:21  
**Algerian Revolution**, 6:8–9, 149  
Algerian War, 6:29  
Alghamdi, Saeed, 6:462  
Algiers Accord, 6:198, 216  
Algiers Treaty, 6:218  
Algirdas, 2:255  
Algonquian language group, 1:294, 296  
Algonquin Indians, 1:295, 3:138, 188, 267, 315  
Ali, 3:342  
Ali, Abdurahman Ahmed, 6:393  
Ali, Choudhary Rahmat, 5:10  
Ali, Fateh, 5:3  
Ali, Maulana Muhammad, 5:188  
Ali, Syed Ameer, 5:10  
Ali Beer, 3:366  
**Alien and Sedition Acts, U.S.**, 4:6, 22, 187, 203, 254, 309, 331, 5:266  
Alien Contract Labor Law, 5:90  
Ali Gaji, 2:231  
**Aligarh College and movement, India**, 4:22–23, 5:9  
Ali ibn Abi Talib, 2:104  
**Ali ibn Abu Talib**, 2:4, 7–8, 102  
Ali ibn Muhammad, 2:2  
Ali ibn Yusuf, 2:9  
Ali Khan, Sher, 4:114  
Ali Pasha, 4:171  
Ali Pasha, Mehmed Emin, 4:409  
Ali Suavi, 4:451  
Aliyev, Heydar, 6:32  
Aliyev, Ilham, 6:32  
All Africa Convention (AAC), 6:3  
All-African Peoples' Conference, 6:273  
allegory, 2:81  
Allegory of the Cave, 1:360  
Allen, Anthony D., 4:179  
Allen, Ethan, 4:121  
Allen, William, 3:41  
Allenby, Edmund, 5:84, 405  
**Allende, Salvador**, 5:205, 6:9–10, 317, 339  
All for the Fatherland, 5:102  
Allia, Battle of, 1:73  
Alliance for Labor Action (ALA), 6:15  
**Alliance for Progress**, 6:10, 77  
Alliance of the Democratic Left (SLD), 6:341  
Alliance Party, 6:279  
**alliance system**, 5:8–9  
Allied Command Operations (ACO), 6:322  
Allied Control Council, 6:58, 165  
Allied Occupation Authority, 6:382  
Allied powers, 5:56, 150, 177, 180, 243–244  
Allied Reparation Commission, 5:295  
All India Congress Committee (AICC), 5:165, 6:386  
All-India Khilafat Conference, 5:188  
**All India Muslim League (AIML)**, 4:192, 193, 5:3, 9–11, 162, 164, 165, 166, 182, 288, 329  
All India Trade Union Congress, 5:48  
All Parties Conference, 5:10  
All-Party State League Action Council, 6:359  
All-Russia Extraordinary Commission for the Struggle with Counterrevolution and Sabotage (Cheka), 5:333  
All Russian Fascist Organization (VFO), 5:103  
All-Union Conference of Marxists-Agrarians, 5:274  
**Almagro, Diego de**, 3:12–14, 15, 20, 63, 101, 299, 310, 393  
Almagro the Younger, 3:310  
Alma River, Battle of, 4:31  
Almeida, Francisco de, 3:12, 226  
Almohads, 2:117, 3:41  
**Almoravid Empire**, 2:8–10, 41, 117, 203, 288  
Alnami, Ahmed, 6:462  
Alomari, Aabdul, 6:462  
alpaca, 3:85  
Alp Arslan, 2:363  
alphabets,  
    Armenian, 1:30  
    Coptic, 1:199, 321  
    Cyrillic, 2:96, 285, 349, 355, 420  
    Etruscan, 1:139  
    Greek, 1:xxxiv, 139, 289  
    Latin, 3:74  
    Mycenaean, 1:290  
    Phoenician, 1:xxxiv, 23, 58, 356  
    runic, 2:417–418  
    Thai, 2:383  
    Uighur, 2:135  
Alshehhi, Marawan, 6:461  
Alsheri, Mohald, 6:462  
Alsheri, Wail, 6:462

- Altamira Cave, 1:72  
 Altamirano, Bayardo, 6:383  
 Altamirano Talarera, Luis, 5:5  
**Altan Khan**, 3:14, 248, 6:115  
 Altar of Victory, 1:14  
 Altchek, 2:53  
 alternating current (AC), 5:83–84  
**Alvarado, Pedro de**, 2:338, 3:13, 14–15, 68, 74, 105, 246, 247, 300, 312  
 Álvares, Diogo, 3:50  
 Alvarez, Juan de Yepes, 3:382  
 Álvaro I, 3:204  
 Alvars, 2:43  
 Alvear, Carlos Maria de, 4:140  
 Amadeo I, 4:400  
 Amador, Carlos Fonseca, 5:339  
 Amalasantha, 1:323  
 Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, 6:15  
 Amalric, 2:246, 248, 249  
 Amarna heresy, 1:352. *See also* Akhenaten  
 Amar-Sin, 1:33  
 Amaterasu (Japanese sun goddess), 6:7  
 Ambani, Mukesh, 6:40  
 Amba Sel, Battle of, 3:177  
**Ambedkar, Bhim Rao**, 5:11–12, 6:201  
**Ambrose**, 1:13–14, 37, 38, 189, 321, 355, 405, 461, 474, 2:257, 3:126  
 Amde-Siyon, 2:113  
 Amenemhat I, 1:278  
 Amenemhat III, 1:278, 352  
 Amenemhat IV, 1:279, 352  
 Amenemope, 1:487  
 Amenhotep II, 1:308  
 Amenhotep III, 1:6, 7, 308, 352, 383  
 Amenhotep IV. *See* Akhenaten  
 Amenophis III, 1:458  
 Amer, Abd al-Hakim, 6:438  
**America during the Great Depression**, 5:M148  
 America First, 5:176, 267  
 American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), 5:318, 342–343  
 American Colonization Society (ACS), 4:237, 254  
 American evangelicalism, 4:166–168  
 American Federal Reserve, 5:57  
 American Federation of Labor (AFL), 4:xxxii, 158, 217, 5:78, 127, 128, 168, 217, 394  
**American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organization (AFL-CIO)**, 6:11–13, 388, 405  
 American-French-Italian Multinational Force (MNF), 6:264  
**American Indian Movement (AIM)**, 6:13, 323  
**American Indian Territorial Losses, 1850–1890**, 4:M112  
 American Liberty League, 5:271  
 American Philosophical Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge, 3:346  
 American Popular Revolutionary Alliance, 5:241  
 American Protective Association, 5:266  
 American Railway Union (ARU), 5:78  
 American Red Cross, 4:205, 5:82, 117, 122  
 American Repatriation Committee, 5:153  
**American Revolution (1775–1783)**, 3:46, 124–125, 160, 179, 346, 4:xxv, xxxi, xxxiv, xxxvii, 6, 23–26, 26, 40, 59, 73, 89, 111, 119, 121, 122, 135, 140, 143, 175, 187, 199, 200, 202, 219, 222, 226, 237, 247, 253, 278, 302, 304, 309, 320, 330, 332, 378, 400, 401, 417, 441, 442, 447, 450, 6:41  
 American Right to Life Committee, 6:367  
 American Socialist Labor Party, 4:392  
 American Telephone & Telegraph, 5:xxxiv  
**American temperance movement**, 4:26–27  
 American Temperance Society, 4:26  
 American Volunteer Group (AVG), 5:61  
 American Youth Congress, 5:155  
**Americas**,  
   epidemics in, 3:122–125, 250  
   migration patterns in, 1:279–281  
   *See also* Central America; Latin America; Mesoamerica; North America; South America  
 Americas Watch, 6:106, 385  
 Amesha Spentas, 1:508  
 Amhara, 6:142  
 Amherst, Jeffrey, Lord (first baron Amherst) 3:219, 4:204, 378  
 Amidism, 2:304  
 Amin, Hifzullah, 6:235  
 Amin, Idi, 6:324, 433, 434  
**Amin, Qasim**, 5:12–13  
 Amir, Yigal, 6:358  
*Amistad*, 4:7, 384  
 Amman, Jacob, 3:16  
 Ammar, Abu, 6:29  
 Ammonius Saccas of Alexandria, 1:302  
 Ammun, 1:113  
 Amnesty Acts, 4:352  
 Amnesty International, 6:30, 385  
 amoebic dysentery, 3:85  
 Amon (Amun), 1:227. *See also* Amun-Ra  
*amoraim*, 1:451  
 Amorian dynasty, 2:194  
 Amorites, 1:7, 41, 147, 383  
 Amos, 1:368

- Amr ibn al-'As, 2:69  
**Amritsar Massacre**, 5:13–14, 163  
 Amulius, 1:405  
 Amun, 1:6, 126, 308, 458  
 Amundsen, Roald, 4:319  
 Amun-Ra 1:5, 308  
 Amyntas III, 1:354  
 Amyntas IV, 1:354  
**Anabaptism**, 3:15–16, 42, 255, 256, 296, 6:132  
 Anacletus II, 2:42  
 Anacreon, 1:254  
 Anafesto, Paolo Zucio, 2:412  
*Analects of Confucius*, 1:92, 93–94  
**analytic philosophy**, 5:14–15  
 Ananda, 1:57, 462  
**anarchist movements, in Europe and America**, 5:15–16  
 Anasazi, 2:xxxv  
 Anastase, 1:415  
 Anastasius I, 1:264, 2:52, 62  
 Anastasius II, 2:64  
 Anat, 1:473  
 Anatolius, 1:303  
 Anawratha, 2:55, 280  
 Anaxagoras, 1:343, 366, 434  
 Anaximander, 1:365  
 Anaximenes, 1:365  
 anchorite, 1:286  
**Ancient Egypt, 2795–1640 BCE**, 1:M5  
**Ancient Mesopotamia, 3000–2000 BCE**, 1:M4  
**Ancient Palestine, 925–722 BCE**, 1:M9  
 ANC Youth League, 6:4  
 Andagoya, Pascual de, 3:301  
 Andean Community of Nations (CAN), 6:320  
 Andean Group (AG), 6:xxxviii  
 Anderson, Marian, 5:325  
 Anderson, Sherwood, 5:218  
**Andes**, 2:xxxv, xxxviii, xli, 3:16–17, 63, 82, 99, 333, 360  
     Andean religion, 3:16–18  
     Andean revolts, 4:27–29, 221  
     Neolithic, 1:xxxi, xxxiii, xxxviii, 14–17  
     pre-Inca civilizations, 2:10–11  
 Andhkhud, Battle of, 2:287  
 Andrada e Silva, José Bonifacio de, 4:61, 324  
 Andrade, R. A., 4:230  
 Andrés III, 2:48  
 Andrassy, Julius, 4:234, 235  
 Andreas Capellanus, 2:84  
 Andreev, Mikhail, 1:213  
 Andrés Pérez, Carlos, 6:89  
 Andrew (Apostle), 1:20, 21, 160, 175  
 Andrew (András) I (king of Hungary), 2:435  
 Andrew (András) II (king of Hungary), 2:301  
 Andronicus II Palaeologos, 2:149  
 Andronicus, Lucius Livius, 1:202, 397  
 Andropov, Yuri, 6:72, 73, 173, 198, 457  
 Andros, Edmund, Sir 3:238  
 Anfray, Francis, 1:137  
 Angamos, Battle of, 4:442  
 Ang Duong, 4:142  
 Angkor Thom, 1:257, 2:233, 234  
 Angkor Wat, 1:257, 2:233  
 Angles, 1:242, 244, 2:13  
 Anglican Book of Common Prayer, 3:41  
 Anglican Church, 3:19, 188, 234, 4:66, 6:260  
 Anglo-Afghan War, 5:3  
 Anglo-Boer War(s), 4:395, 396, 5:2  
**Anglo-Chinese Opium Wars**, 3:324, 4:18, 29, 75, 241, 344, 373, 407, 414, 6:192  
 Anglo-Dutch Treaty of London, 4:345  
 Anglo-Dutch War(s), 3:114  
 Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, 4:404  
 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, 5:141, 371, 406  
**Anglo-French Agreement on Siam**, 4:29–30  
 Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC), 5:67, 280, 281, 6:295  
 Anglo-Irish Treaty, 5:174  
 Anglo-Irish War, 6:220  
 Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 4:269, 5:196  
**Anglo-Japanese Treaty**, 5:16–17, 408  
 Anglo-Maratha War, 4:381  
 Anglo-Nepalese War, 6:308  
**Anglo-Norman culture**, 2:13–14  
**Anglo-Russian rivalry**, 4:30–32  
*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 2:16, 17  
**Anglo-Saxon culture**, 2:14–17  
**Anglo-Saxon kingdoms**, 2:17–20  
 Anglo-Saxon law code, 2:7  
 Anglo-Sikh War, 4:381  
 Anglo-Thai Convention, 4:348  
**Angola**, 1:4, 3:204, 4:14, 15, 16, 6:111, 291, 344, 365  
     **Republic of**, 6:17–18  
 Angoulême, House of, 3:392  
 Angra Mainyu, 1:507, 508  
 Anh Eng, 4:85  
 Aniruddha, 2:55  
 Anishinabe Turtle Mountain Reservation, 6:16  
 Ankara, Battle of, 2:271, 318  
**An Lushan (An Lu-Shan) Rebellion**, 1:75, 2:18–19, 296, 392, 394, 395, 397, 405  
 Anna Komnene, 2:58  
*Annals of Spring and Autumn* 1:91, 92, 93, 429  
 Annam, 2:436–437, 3:323, 4:382

- Annam Le Dynasty**, 2:21–22  
**Anne** (queen of Great Britain), 3:19, 278  
 Anne of Austria, 3:217, 306  
 Anne of Bohemia, 2:188  
 Anne of Cleves, 3:163  
 Anne of Denmark, 3:69  
 Annia Galeria Faustina, 1:17, 39  
 Annual, Battle of, 5:321  
*Anschluss*, 5:19–20, 149, 175, 296  
**Anselm**, 2:19–20  
 Anselm of Canterbury, 3:103  
 Anselm of Laon, 2:261  
 Anshan, 1:128  
 Ansud, 1:260  
 Antall, József, 6:128  
*Antares*, USS, 5:298  
 Anthemios of Tralles, 1:182  
 Anthemius, 2:61  
 Anthimus of Tyana, 1:67  
 Anthony, St. 1:xxxiv, 99, 113, 286, 320, 2:272  
 Anthony, Susan B., 4:450, 5:78  
 Antias, Valerius, 1:394  
 Anti-Comintern Pact, 5:149  
**anti-Communist encirclement campaigns, China**,  
     5:17–18, 63, 223  
 Antietam, Battle of, 4:91, 240  
 anti-fascist organizations, 5:31, 6:308  
 Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL), 6:306  
 Antigonus Gonatas, 1:117  
 Antigonus Monophthalmus, 1:10, 87, 116, 117, 375  
 Antigua, 3:373, 4:2  
**anti-Jewish pogroms**, 2:20–21  
 Antimachus, 1:392  
 Antinous, 1:341  
 Antioch, 1:125, 165, 190, 193, 306, 310, 320, 416,  
     421, 429, 449, 2:23, 245, 248, 286  
 Antiochene School, 1:82–83  
 Antiochus I, 1:45, 117, 263  
 Antiochus III, 1:45, 421  
 Antiochus IV, 1:256, 421  
 Antiochus VII, 1:421  
 Antiochus XIII Asiaticus, 1:422  
 Antipater, 1:115, 372, 375, 394  
 Antiphon, 1:173  
 Antiquera, José de, 3:45  
 Antiquities Act, 5:91  
 antiretroviral drugs (ARVs), 6:6, 7  
 Anti-Saloon League, 4:27  
 anti-Semitism, 4:xxxiii, 5:102, 150, 266, 267  
 Antoku (emperor of Japan), 2:231  
 Antolini, Gabriella Segata, 5:125  
 Antonian monasticism, 1:99  
**Antonine emperors**, 1:17  
 Antonine Wall, 1:389, 2:358  
 Antoninus Pius, 1:17, 39, 182, 228  
 Antony, 1:99, 113, 286  
 Antunes, Melo, 6:344  
 Anuradha, 1:74  
 Anushirvan, 1:237  
 Anvari, 1:254  
**Anyang**, 1:17–18, 424–425  
**ANZUS Security Treaty**, 6:14–15, 395  
 Aoun, Michel, 6:264  
 Aouzou Strip, 6:353  
 Apache Indians, 1:296, 3:263, 316, 4:110, 111  
 Apachman, 1:208  
 Apamea, Peace of, 1:421  
 apartheid, 5:2–3, 118, 135, 393, 394, 6:3, 156, 280,  
     362  
 Apedernek, 1:312  
 Apepi, 1:208  
 Aper, 1:118  
 Aphraates, 1:449  
 Aphrodite, 1:24, 63, 172, 189, 191  
 Apocalypse of Abraham, 1:19  
 Apocalypse of John, 1:19  
 Apocalypse of Paul, 1:19  
 apocalyptic eschatology, 1:18–19, 225  
**apocalypticism, Jewish and Christian**, 1:18–19, 225,  
     261, 487  
**Apocrypha, the**, 1:216, 261, 277, 279, 299,  
     371–372, 380  
 Apoko, Osei, 3:23  
 Apollinarianism, 1:129  
 Apollinaris, Sidonius, 1:405  
 Apollo, 1:49, 76, 108, 110, 111, 172, 189, 200, 332,  
     396, 400, 421  
 Apollonius, 1:179, 2:266  
 Apollonius Molo, 1:64  
 Apollonius of Perga, 1:13  
 Apollonius of Rhodes, 1:2, 13  
 Apollonius the Stoic, 1:39  
 Apologists, 1:82  
 Apology to the Augsburg Confession, 3:26–27  
**Apostles, Twelve**, 1:19–21, 81, 221  
 Apostles Creed, 3:126  
 Apostolic Fathers, 1:82, 193  
**Appeasement Era**, 5:18–20  
 Appian, 1:69, 375, 443  
 Appius Claudius, 1:375  
 Appomattox Court House, Confederate surrender at,  
     4:241  
**appropriate technology**, 6:15–16, 45, 422  
 April Thesis, 5:332

- Aprista movement, 5:144, 206  
 Apuleius, 1:249  
 Aqaba, Gulf of, 6:24  
 Aqhat, 1:473  
 Aqqi, 1:8  
 Aqraba, Battle of, 2:102  
**al-Aqsa Intifada**, 6:21, 30, 189, 212–213  
 aqueducts, 1:xxxvii, 139, 400, 460, 468  
 Aquila, 1:51  
**Aquinas, Thomas**, 1:28, 52, 337, 2:21–22, 97, 257, 258, 267, 272, 357, 3:92, 135, 216, 5:97  
 Aquino, Benigno “Ninoy,” Jr., 6:283, 334  
 Aquino, Corazon, 6:276, 383–384, 339  
 Arab Afghans, 6:13  
 Arab cold war, 6:305, 438  
 Arab Deterrent Force, 6:263  
*Arabella*, 3:404  
 Arab Feminist Union, 5:348  
 Arab Higher Command of Palestine, 5:21  
**Arabia, pre-Islamic**, 1:21–22  
**Arabian Peninsula, and British imperialism**, 4:32–33  
**Arab-Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiations**, 6:16–19  
**Arab-Israeli War(s)**, 5:20–23, 138, 142, 258, 339  
   in 1948, 6:133, 304  
   in 1956, 6:19–20, 45  
   in 1967, 6:20–22, 29, 134, 233, 305, 332, 384, 438, 467  
   in 1973, 6:21, 22–23, 328, 384  
   in 1982, 6:23–24  
 Arab League, 6:467  
 Arab Legion, 5:142, 143  
 Arab Liberation Army, 5:21  
 Arab Liberation Front, 6:332  
**Arab nationalism**, 5:23–25  
**Arab reformers and nationalists**, 4:33–35  
 Arab Revolt, 5:21–22, 137, 138, 140  
 Arab Socialist Party, 6:47  
 Arab Socialist Union (ASU), 6:134  
 Arad, Sayfa, 3:209  
**Arafat, Yasir**, 6:17, 18, 24–26, 42, 99, 212, 332, 358  
 Aragon, kingdom of, 2:89–90  
 Arahath Mahinda Thero, 1:74  
 Arajs, Viktor, 5:103  
 Araki, General Sadao, 5:194  
 Aram, 2:100  
**Aramaeans**, 1:6, 22–24, 42, 43, 105, 216, 230, 239, 472, 487  
 Aramburu, Pedro E., 6:293  
 Araquistán, Luis, 5:241  
 Arar, Battle of, 1:156  
**Araucanian Indians (southwestern South America)**, 3:19–20  
 Araujo, Arturo, 5:87  
 Arausio, Battle of, 1:387  
 Arawak Indians, 3:65, 67  
 Arbeau, Thoinot, 2:218  
 Arbenz, Jacobo, 5:396, 6:20, 182  
 Arcadius, 1:402, 461  
**Archaic Greece**, 1:24–25  
 Archaic Tradition, 1:280, 281  
 Archelaus, 1:140, 434  
 Archilochus, 1:24  
 Archimedes, 1:xxxii, 13, 39, 2:266, 3:143, 174  
 Archiochus, 1:254  
**architecture**, 1:84–87, 2:xxxii, xxxvii, 3:20–23, 4:35–37, 5:xl, 26–29, 6:32–38  
 archons, 1:37  
 Arcushin, Raquel, 6:30  
 Ardashir I. *See* Artaxerxes I (Ardashir I)  
 Ardashir II, 1:413  
 Ardashir III, 1:416  
 Ardennes, 5:234  
 Arduin of Ivrea, 2:174  
 Areopagus, 1:37  
 Ares, 1:143, 172, 332  
 Aretas IV, 1:293  
**Arévalo, Juan José**, 6:26  
 Argaeus, 1:354  
**Argentina**, 3:38, 56, 4:xxvi, 61, 150, 225, 279–280, 357–358, 362–363, 371–372, 424, 5:xxxvii, 103, 133, 144, 198, 206, 307, 6:37, 147–148, 257, 259, 292, 338, 420  
   Madres de Plaza de Mayo, 6:27–28  
   urban guerrillas (Montoneros), 6:71, 292–293  
 Argentine Liberation Front, 6:293  
 Argenteratum, Battle of, 1:243  
 Argos, 1:9, 290, 326, 376, 459  
 Argov, Shlomo, 6:28  
 Argyll (John Campbell, second duke of) 3:149  
 Argyll Rebellion, 3:150  
**Arianism**, 1:14, 26, 36, 48, 52, 82, 99, 129, 130, 141, 230, 234, 309–310, 461, 474, 483  
 Arias de Ávila, Pedro, 3:105  
 Arif, Abd al Rahman, 6:219  
 Arif, Abd al-Salam, 6:47, 219  
 Arik Boke, 2:77, 183, 241, 281, 403  
 Ariosto, Ludovico, 2:215  
 Ariovistus, 1:156  
 Aris, Michael, 6:46  
 Aristarchus, 1:xxxii  
 Aristeides, 1:322  
**Aristide, Jean-Bertrand**, 6:28, 125  
 aristocracy, 1:167

- Aristophanes**, 1:26–27, 140, 171, 307, 434  
**Aristotelianism**, 1:28, 52, 302  
**Aristotle**, 1:9, 27–29, 52, 167, 174, 178, 193, 200–201, 203, 248, 254, 302, 358, 361, 364, 376, 433, 434, 435, 443, 487, 2:22, 193, 218, 266, 267, 268, 357, 3:216, 344, 353  
**Ari the Wise**, 2:415  
**Ari Thorhilsson the Wise**, 2:415  
**Aritomo Yamagata**, 4:246  
**Arius**, 1:26, 99, 309–310  
**Ariwara no Narihara**, 1:254  
**Arizona**, USS, 5:299  
**Arjan Dev**, 3:360  
**Ark of the Covenant**, 1:29, 110, 137, 143, 357, 431, 466  
**Arkwright, Richard**, 3:347  
**Armageddon, Battle of**, 4:64, 444  
**Armed Forces Movement (MFA)**, 6:344, 345  
**Armenia**, 1:xxxv, 21, 29–30, 58, 160, 237, 412, 413, 449, 5:296, 6:28–30, 253, 397, 398  
**Armenian Orthodox Church**, 5:25, 214  
**Armenians in the Ottoman Empire**, 5:25–26  
**arms race/atomic weapons**, 6:xl, 18, 30–32, 120–122, 203  
**Armstrong, Neil**, 6:316, 399, 400  
**Army Appropriations Bill**, 5:303  
**Army of National Liberation (EZLN)**, 6:262  
**Arnauld of Villanova**, 2:268  
**Arnold, Benedict**, 4:24, 204  
**Arnold of Brescia**, 2:42  
**Arnoulf**, 2:71  
**Arnstein, Walter**, 4:434  
**Arnulf, bishop of Metz**, 2:74  
**Arnulph**, 2:261  
**Arouet, François-Marie (Voltaire)**, 4:76, 77, 119, 121, 132, 435–436  
**Árpád**, 2:243, 261  
**Arriaga, Camilo**, 5:305  
**Arridaeus**, 1:115  
**Arrow War**, 4:29, 326  
**Arroyo, José Miguel**, 6:276  
**Arses**, 1:32  
**Arsinoe II**, 1:373  
**art**, 1:84–87, 2:199–202, 3:20–23, 4:35–37, 5:26–29, 6:32–38  
**Artabanus V**, 1:412  
**Artatama**, 1:285  
**Artaxerxes (Ardashir I)**, 1:412, 490  
**Artaxerxes I**, 1:30–31, 345, 490  
**Artaxerxes II**, 1:31, 195  
**Artaxerxes III**, 1:31–32  
**Artemios**, 2:64  
**Artemis**, 1:29, 172, 332  
**Artemisia of Caria**, 1:86  
**Artemisium, Battle**, 1:247  
**Arthur**, 2:12  
**Articles of Confederation**, 4:98, 122, 253  
**Articles of Piracy**, 3:384  
**“Articles of the Barons,”** 2:260  
**Artigas, José**, 4:425  
**Arulnandi**, 2:367  
**Arusha Declaration**, 6:324  
**Arverni tribe**, 1:481, 482  
**Aryan age**, 1:479–481  
**Aryan invasion**, 1:xxxv, 32, 408, 478, 2:xxxiv  
**Arya Samaj**, 4:59–60  
**Arzu, Álvaro**, 6:183  
**Asadi Tusi**, 1:254  
**Asaka, Prince (Yasuhito)**, 5:317  
**Asantehene**, 3:23  
**Asantewaa, Nana Yaa**, 5:124  
**Ascanius**, 1:405  
**asceticism**, 1:113, 158–159, 217, 227, 286, 430–431, 479, 2:304  
**Asche, Oscar**, 5:33  
**Asclepion**, 1:357  
**Asclepius**, 1:200, 316  
**Asculum, Battle of**, 1:375–376  
**ASEAN. See Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)**  
**ASEAN Centre for Combating Transnational Crime (ACTC)**, 6:45  
**ASEAN Chiefs of Police (ASEANAPOL)**, 6:45  
**ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA)**, 6:44, 45  
**ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Transnational Crime (AMMTC)**, 6:45  
**ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF)**, 6:45  
**asha**, 1:507, 508  
**Ashanti**, 4:14  
**kingdom in Africa**, 3:8, 23–24  
**Ashanti-Denkyira War**, 5:123  
**Ashcroft, Peggy**, 5:254  
**Asherah**, 1:6, 473, 488  
**Ashikaga Shogunate**, 2:24–27, 121, 316, 317, 3:76, 205, 284  
**Ashikaga Tadayoshi**, 2:25  
**Ashikaga Takauji**, 2:25, 120, 173, 232, 315  
**Ashikaga Yoshiaki**, 3:284  
**Ashikaga Yoshimasa**, 2:24, 26, 316–317  
**Ashikaga Yoshimitsu**, 2:25–26  
**Ashley, Edwina Cynthia**, 6:296  
**Ashoka**, 1:xxxii, 33, 74, 153, 262, 264, 333, 358, 408, 410, 462, 2:234, 372  
**al-Ashraf Khalil**, 2:95

- Ashtiyani, Mirza Hedayat, 6:295  
 Ashurbanipal, 1:35, 43, 128, 228, 270, 346, 458  
 Ashur-dan II, 1:34  
 Ashur-nadin-shumi, 1:43  
 Ashurnasirpal II, 1:35  
 Ashur-resha-ishi I, 1:34  
 Ashur-uballit I, 1:34  
 Asia, Central, 6:81–88  
 Asia in 1700, 3:M83  
 Asian Development Bank (ADB), 6:38–39, 403  
 Asian Empires, 600 BCE, 1:M10  
 Asian migration to Latin America, 4:37–40  
 Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), 6:xxxviii, 39  
 Asian Relations Conference, 6:201  
 Asia: Wars, Political Unrest, and Territorial Disputes, 1945–Present, 6:M178  
*asiento*, 3:363  
 Asiento Privilege, 3:29  
 Asimov, Isaac, 5:219  
 Asiz, Francisco de, 4:400  
 Askari, Jafar Pasha, 5:24  
 Askia Daud, 3:366  
 Askia Ishaq II, 3:341, 366  
 Askia Muhammad Touré, 2:139, 3:366  
 Aslonov, Kadriiddin, 6:84  
 Asociación de Madres de Plaza de Mayo (Association of Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo), 6:30  
 Áspero, site of, 1:14–15  
 ASPIDA, 6:179  
 Asquith, Herbert, 5:66, 220, 269  
 Assad, Bashar, 6:40, 41  
 Assad, Basil, 6:40  
 Assad, Hafez al, 6:22, 40–47, 47, 438  
 Assad, Rifaat, 6:40  
 Assandurea, Battle of, 2:70  
 Assassins, 2:34, 116, 183, 211, 248, 281  
 Asser of Sherborne, 2:7  
 Assiniboia, Council of, 4:356  
 Assis, Dilermando de, 5:73  
 Assize of Clarendon, 2:163  
 Askari, Jafar Pasha Al-, 5:24  
 Associated Power of the Allies, 5:92  
 Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), 5:302, 6:41–42, 278, 389, 408  
 Assyria, 1:xxxvii, xxxviii, xxxix, 6, 22, 23, 33–35, 42–43, 58, 147, 161, 197, 216, 228, 229, 239, 269, 299, 311, 312, 346, 458, 489, 507  
 Assyrian and Babylonian Empires, 950–539 BCE, 1:M11  
 Assyrian Christians, 5:141  
 Assyrian Church, 1:305, 5:25, 6:133  
 Astles, Bob, 6:434  
 Astor, Mary, 5:255  
 astronomy, 1:13, 276, 304, 2:xxxii, 3:103, 143–144, 201, 344, 345, 346  
 Asturias, kingdom of, 2:86–87  
 Asturias, Miguel Angel, 6:258  
 Astyages, 1:103  
 Asunción Silva, José, 5:203  
 Aswān Dam, 6:xxxii, 19, 23, 37, 42, 134, 305, 422  
 Atahualpa, 3:13, 24–25, 63, 64, 299, 300, 310, 4:28  
 Atahualpa, Juan Santos, 4:28  
 Atamans, 3:90  
 Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal, 5:xxxvii, xxxix, 29–31, 162, 188, 296, 373, 432, 6:429  
 Atatürk Dam, 6:19  
 Aten, 1:6, 7, 126  
 Atenism, 1:352  
 Athalaric, 1:323  
 Athaliah, 1:6  
 Athanasios of Trebizond, 2:29  
 Athanasius (of Alexandria), 1:26, 36, 99, 138, 143, 193, 231, 286, 320, 2:99, 3:126  
 Athar, 1:473  
 Athena, 1:29, 85, 172, 189, 204, 330–331, 332  
     Temple of Athena Nike, 1:85  
 Athenagoras, 1:99  
 Athenian predemocracy, 1:36–37  
 Athens, 1:xxxvii, 10, 36–37, 167, 195, 325, 330, 331–332, 342, 344, 347, 434, 440, 447, 448, 459, 489  
 athletics and gymnasium, 1:178–180  
 Athos, Mount, 1:166, 2:27, 64, 149  
 Atlantic Charter, 5:66, 327, 423  
 Atlantic islands of Spain and Portugal, 3:25–26  
 “Atlantic Wall,” 5:76  
 Ato, Osman Ali, 6:394  
 Atomic Energy Act, 6:34  
 Atomic Energy Commission, 5:156  
 atomic weapons/arms race, 5:xlii, 85–86, 146–147, 180, 230, 236–238, 381, 386, 423, 6:xxxiv, 33–35, 120–122, 203, 287, 367, 369  
 Atomists, 1:367  
 Atsbeha, 1:142, 143  
 Atta, Mohammad, 6:462  
 Attalus (general), 1:354  
 Attalus I, 1:248  
 Attar, 1:254  
 Atticist school, 1:420  
 Attila II, 6:114  
 Attila the Hun, 1:xxxvi, 205–206, 242, 247, 323, 405, 2:52, 195  
 Attlee, Clement, 5:67, 146, 167, 385, 6:307  
 Auda abu Tayi, 5:211

- audencias*, 3:44–45, 275, 4:221  
 Auerstädt, Battle of, 4:296  
 Augsburg, Battle of, 2:261, 262  
 Augsburg, Diet of, 3:27  
 Augsburg, League of 3:218, 402  
**Augsburg, Peace of**, 3:27–28, 73  
**Augsburg Confession**, 3:27–28, 242, 6:132, 133  
 Augustus. *See* Caesar, Augustus (Octavian)  
 Augustus II the Strong (king of Poland) of Saxony, 3:194, 219, 303  
 Augustus III, 4:76  
 Augustine, 2:252, 3:126, 196  
 Augustine of Canterbury, 2:76  
**Augustine of Hippo**, 1:xxxvi, 14, 37–38, 79, 174, 193, 246, 249, 262, 337, 2:74, 257, 265, 357  
 Augustinian Order, 3:92, 276  
 Augustulus, Romulus. *See* Romulus Augustulus  
 Augustus, George, 3:149  
 Aulus Plautius, 1:233, 388  
 Aum Shinrikyo, 6:418  
**Aung San**, 5:31–32, 344  
 Aung San-Attlee Agreement, 5:31  
**Aung San Suu Kyi**, 6:42–43, 441  
**Aurangzeb**, 3:28–29, 81, 257, 295, 329, 356, 358, 359, 360, 380, 4:285  
 Aurelia Cotta, 1:63  
 Aurelianus, 1:403  
**Aurelius, Marcus**, 1:xxxix, 17, 38–39, 68, 182, 201, 291, 340, 341, 389, 402, 423, 444, 445, 2:86  
 Aurelius Victor, 1:259  
 Aurobindo, 5:165  
 Auschwitz-Birkenau-Buna, 5:151, 153, 365  
 Austen, Jane, 4:434, 5:254  
 Austerlitz, Battle of, 4:296  
 Austin, Moses, 4:411  
 Austin, Stephen F., 4:200, 411  
 Austin of Bordeaux, 3:22  
**Australia**, 4:xxvi, 40, 187, 5:32–35, 132, 133, 230, 6:18–19, 43, 45, 104, 259, 382  
   **exploration and settlement in**, 4:40–41  
   **self-government to federation of**, 4:41–42  
 Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (“Anzac”), 5:32  
 Australian Capital Territory (ACT), 5:32  
 Australian Expeditionary Force, 5:133  
 Australian Labour Party, 5:32  
*Australopithecus*, 1:327, 328  
*Australopithecus afarensis*, 1:135  
*Australopithecus boisei*, 1:326  
*Australopithecus robustus*, 1:327  
 Austria, 3:230–231, 4:47, 136, 205–206, 234–235, 420, 5:130, 243, 295–296, 6:127, 169  
**Austrian Succession, War of the**, 3:29–30, 55, 149, 158, 167, 219, 311, 4:138, 205, 400  
**Austro-Hungarian Empire**, 4:42–43, 117, 118, 5:24, 244  
 Austro-Prussian War, 4:43, 137, 152  
 Austro-Sardinian War, 4:43, 136  
 authentic macho, 4:232  
 auto-da-fé, 3:207, 410  
 autogestion, 6:9  
 Autun, Battle of, 4:149  
 Auxiliary Territorial Service (ATS), 5:66  
 Ava, Kingdom of, 4:71–72  
 Avaricum, Battle of, 1:481  
 Avars, 1:59, 98, 205, 242, 243, 323, 2:xxxii, 57, 79  
**Averroës**, 1:304, 2:xxxii, 21, 28, 140, 210, 263, 266, 267, 290  
 Avesta, 1:507, 508  
 Avicenna. *See* Ibn Sina  
 Avidius Cassius, 1:39  
**Avignonese Papacy**, 2:31–33, 210, 316  
 Ávila, Pedro Arias de, 3:101  
 Avila Camacho, Manuel, 5:58, 6:208  
 Avitohol, 2:52  
 Aviz dynasty, 2:166  
**Awami League**, 6:43–44, 56, 63, 331, 359, 455, 465  
 Awdah, Salman al, 6:13  
 Axayácatl, 2:396, 3:31, 250  
 Axe, War of the, 4:395  
 Axel Oxensteirna, 3:396  
**Axial Age and cyclical theories**, 1:39–40, 217  
 Axis powers, 5:56, 66, 111, 150, 351, 364  
 Axona, Battle of, 1:156  
**Axum**, 1:xxxv, xxxvi, 4, 5, 40, 137, 142, 240, 273, 313, 2:112, 244  
 Ayacucho, Battle of, 4:228, 403  
 Ayalá, Jesús Ramón, 5:126  
 Ayatollahs, 2:364–365  
 Aydid, Hussein, 6:394  
 Aydid, Mohammad Farrah, 6:393, 394  
 Ayers, Goodwife, 3:405  
 Aylwin, Patricio, 6:340  
**Ayub Khan, Mohammad**, 6:43, 44–45, 63, 207, 331, 359, 387, 413, 414, 465  
 Ayudhya dynasty, 4:85  
 Ayutthaya, 2:370  
 Ayyubid dynasty, 2:33, 183, 351  
 Azaña, Manuel, 5:110, 363, 364  
 Azariah, Eleazar ben, 1:503  
**Azerbaijan**, 6:28–29, 253, 397, 398  
**Al-Azhar**, 2:31, 192  
 Azhari, Abd al-Rahman al, 5:370  
 Aziz, Fahd ibn Abd al-, 6:383, 384

- Aziz, Faisal bin Abd al-, 6:384  
 Aziz, Khaled ibn Abd al-, 6:384  
 Aziz, Saud ibn Abd al-, 6:383, 384  
 Aznar, José Maria, 6:403  
 Azoury, Negib, 5:23  
 Azov, Battle of, 3:303  
**Aztecs**, 1:xxxvii, 275, 456, 2:181, 274, 337, 338, 396, 3:14, 30–32, 49, 61, 89, 105, 123, 228, 229, 244, 245, 247, 250–251, 263, 264, 312, 411, 5:204  
     ritual human sacrifice by, 3:32–33  
 Aztec Triple Alliance, 3:33  
 Azzam, Abd al-Rahman, 5:24  
 Azzam, Abdullah, 6:12  
 Azzouz, Sheikh Ben, 6:223
- B**
- B-52 Stratofortress, 6:34  
 B-47 Stratojet, 6:34  
 Ba, Amadou Hampate, 6:xxxix  
 Baader Meinhof Gang, 6:418  
 Baal, 1:6, 23, 473  
**Ba'ath Party**, 6:41, 47–48, 200, 201, 219, 254, 438  
 Babangida, Ibrahim, 6:314  
 Baba Rabbah, 1:229  
 Babel, Isaac, 5:361  
 Babel, Tower of, 1:xxxvii, 299  
 Babeuf, François, 4:295  
 Babington Plot, 3:121  
**Babur**, 2:341, 3:10, 35, 102, 174, 261, 295, 328  
**baby boom, U.S.**, 6:xxxv, 48, 405  
**Babylon**, 1:xxxvii, 11, 29, 58, 104, 108, 128, 201, 411, 487  
     early period, 1:41–42, 147, 259, 260  
     later periods, 1:42–44, 148  
 Babylonian Captivity, 2:345  
 Babylonian Chronicle, 1:43, 228, 311  
**Babylonian Empire**, c. 1750–c. 1595 BCE, 1:M6  
 Babylonian Talmud, 1:284, 451, 452  
 Bacchus, 1:129, 169, 396  
 Bacchylides, 1:76, 254  
 Bacciochi, Félix, 4:297  
 Bach, Alexander, 4:136  
 Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel, 3:259  
 Bach, Johann Sebastian, 3:39, 258, 259  
 Bache, Benjamin Franklin, 4:22, 309  
 Bachelet, Michelle, 6:xxxvii  
**Bacon, Francis**, 3:36, 252, 345, 346  
 Bacon, Nathaniel, 3:37  
**Bacon, Roger**, 1:28, 2:xxxix, 33, 267  
**Bacon's Rebellion**, 3:37, 55, 179  
**Bactria**, 1:44–45, 103, 116, 153, 207, 240, 421, 504
- Baden, Prince Max von, 4:182  
 Baden, Treaty of, 3:370  
 Badeni, Count Kasimir Felix, 4:43  
 Baden-Powell, Robert, 5:46  
 Badoglio, Marshal Pietro, 5:94  
 Badr, Battle of, 2:201, 286  
 Badr, Muhammad al-, 6:134  
 Baekeland, Leo, 5:xxxv  
 Baganda, 4:14  
 Bagaza, Jean-Baptiste, 6:379  
**Baghdad**, 2:xxxii, xxxvii, 2, 9, 34–36, 183, 288, 3:291, 4:277  
**Baghdad Pact/CENTO**, 6:1, 48–49, 219, 305  
 Bagoas, 1:32  
 bagpipes, 2:361  
 Bagyidaw, 4:71  
 Bahadur, 3:175  
 Bahadur II Gerei, 4:76  
 Bahadur Shah II, 4:190  
 Bahrain, 6:40  
 Bahram I, 1:79, 412–413  
 Bahram II, 1:413  
 Bahram III, 1:413  
 Bahram IV, 1:413, 414  
 Bahram V, 1:414  
 Bahram VI. *See* Bahram Chubin  
 Bahram Chubin, 1:348, 415  
 Bahri rulers, 3:229  
 Baian, 2:53  
 Bai Chongxi (Pai Chung-hsi), 6:272  
 Bailundo Revolt, 4:17  
 Bairan Khan, 3:295  
 Baker, Ella, 6:405  
 Baker, Florence, 4:11  
 Baker, George F., 1:204  
 Baker, James, 6:22  
 Baker, Josephine, 5:99  
 Baker, Samuel, 4:11  
*Baker v. Carr*, 4:122, 6:178  
 Bakewell, Robert, 3:347  
 Bakhtiyar Khalji, 2:293  
 Bakiev, Kurmanbek, 6:83  
 Bakongo, 3:7  
 Bakr, Ahmed Hassan al-, 6:48, 198, 200, 219, 221  
 Al-Bakri, 2:140  
 Baktiar, Shapour, 6:220  
 Bakunin, Mikhail, 4:391, 5:16, 215  
 Balaguer, Joaquín, 6:68  
 Balaklava, Battle of, 4:31, 103, 191  
 Balam, Justo, 3:75  
 Balash, 1:414  
 Balbo, Italo, 5:240

- Balboa, Vasco Núñez de, 3:68, 310, 388, 399, 4:317, 5:291
- Baldassare Castiglione, 2:85
- Baldwin, James, 5:99
- Baldwin, Stanley, 5:19, 66
- Baldwin I, 2:246, 248
- Baldwin II, 2:246, 248
- Baldwin III, 2:246
- Baldwin IV, 2:246
- Baldwin V, 2:246
- Baldwin of Flanders, 2:93
- Balfour, Arthur, 5:37, 51, 408, 409
- Balfour Declaration**, 5:24, 37–38, 51, 137, 189, 339, 349, 373, 411, 440, 6:104
- Balkan and East European insurrections**, 4:45–49
- Balkan League, 5:38, 40
- Balkan Peninsula after the Treaty of Berlin, 1878**, 4:M124
- Balkans, 4:31, 53, 366, 420, 6:49–52, 169
- Balkans after the Serb and Greek Revolutions, The**, 1830, 4:M111
- Balkan Wars**, 3:293, 5:M137, 38–41, 133
- Ball, George, 6:450
- ball games, 1:179, 276
- Balliol, Edward, 2:359
- Ballot Act, 4:160
- Balsamon, Theodore, 2:68
- Baltic States**, 6:52–54, 370, 396
- Baltimore, Lord (George Calvert, first baron Baltimore), 3:54, 234
- Balue, Cardinal, 3:195
- Balzac, Honoré de, 4:390
- Ba Maw, 6:441
- Bamina, Joseph, 6:379
- Bamiyan Buddhas, 6:37
- Bamiyan Valley**, 1:45–46
- Ban Biao (Pan Piao)**, 1:46–47, 184, 430
- Ban Chao (Pan Chao), 1:46, 184
- Banda, Hastings**, 5:278, 290, 6:54–55
- Bandaranaike, Chandrika, 6:404
- bandeirantes*, in Brazil, 3:37–38, 51
- Bandera, Manuel de la, 5:198
- Bandhu, Banga, 6:358
- Bandung Conference (Asian-African Conference)**, 6:55, 201, 305, 475
- Banerji, Surendranath**, 4:49–50, 59
- Bangladesh**, 6:xxxvii, 46–47, 64, 158, 201, 331, 358–359, 455, 465, 476
- People's Republic of**, 6:55–56
- Ban Gu (Pan Ku), 1:46, 184, 430
- Bani-Sadr, Abolhassan, 6:217
- Banks, Joseph, 4:10, 40
- Banks of the United States, First and Second**, 4:50–51, 98, 176, 200, 202, 254, 332
- Banna, Hasan al-**, 4:368, 5:257, 258
- Bantu**, 1:408, 2:xxxv, 36–37, 107, 160, 444–445, 3:6, 4:10, 97, 354, 394–396, 5:278, 6:4, 17, 118, 281
- Banus, 1:227
- Ban Zhao (Pan Ch'ao), 1:46, 184, 430
- Bao Dai (emperor of Vietnam)**, 5:41–42, 6:309, 449
- baptism, 1:225, 262, 483
- Baptiste, Pierre, 4:416
- Barak, 1:230
- Barak, Ehud, 6:22, 30, 99
- Baraka, Amiri, 6:66
- Barakzai clan, 4:114
- Baraona, Pablo, 6:90
- Baravalle, Mirta, 6:30
- Barbados, 3:365, 372, 373, 4:385
- Barbara, 1:262
- Barbarian Invasions and Settlements**, 1:M30
- barbarians, late**, 1:xxxiv, 242–244
- Barbarossa, 3:292
- Barbary Company, 3:341
- barbed wire, 4:xxvi
- Barberi, Dominic, 4:307
- Barbosa, Rui, 4:4
- Barbour, John, 2:361
- Bardesanes, 1:448
- Bardiya, 1:66, 67
- Bardón, Álvaro, 6:90
- Bardylas, 1:354
- Barebone's Parliament, 3:96
- Baring, Evelyn, 4:69
- Baring-Gould, Sabine, 1:157
- Barker, Bernard, 6:458
- Barker, Robert, 3:41
- Bar Kokhba, Simon, 1:182, 216, 223, 228
- Bar Kokhba Revolt, 1:223, 228, 388, 503
- Bar Koziba, 1:223
- Barlaam of Calabria, 2:150
- Bar Lev Defense Line, 6:26
- Barmakid family, 2:1, 140
- Barnabas, 1:82
- Barnes, Albert, 5:140
- Barnes, Djuna, 5:99
- Barnet, Battle of, 3:338, 339
- Barnett, Ross R., 6:95, 96
- baroque tradition**,  
in Europe, 3:38–39  
in Latin America, 4:51–53
- Barquq, 2:192
- Barra, Francisco León de la, 5:158

- Barrault, Jean-Louis, 5:255  
 Barrera Vásquez, Alfredo, 3:75  
 Barrios, José María Reina, 5:93  
 Barrios, Justo Rufino, 5:93  
 Barros Borgono, Luis, 5:5  
 Barrow, Isaac, 3:277  
 Barry, Madame du (Jeanne Becu, comtesse du Barry), 3:219  
 Barth, Karl, 5:46, 98  
 Bartholdi, Frédéric-Auguste, 4:401  
 Bartholomew, 1:20, 21, 30  
 Bartolus of Sassoferrato, 2:213  
 Barton, Clara, 4:205, 312, 448, 5:117, 122  
 Barton, Edmund, 5:32  
**Baruch**, 1:19, 47, 372, 487, 488  
 Baruch, Bernard, 6:99  
 Baruch Plan, 6:120  
 Barzani, Mustafa, 6:221  
**Barzani family**, 6:255–256  
 Basamov, Peter, 3:152  
 Basayev, Shamy, 6:375  
 Bashir al-, Omar, 6:116  
 Bashir al-, Umar Hassan, 6:427  
 Basho Matsuo, 2:231, 3:147, 215  
 Basic Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-Aggression, and Cooperation of Exchanges, 6:250  
*basileus*, 1:36  
 Basil I, 2:58, 64  
 Basil II, 2:54, 64, 421  
 Basil III, 2:286  
 Basilicus, 2:62  
 Basilides, 1:78  
**Basil the Great**, 1:48, 67, 100, 249, 262, 287, 321, 357  
 Bassi, Laura, 3:345  
 Bastille, 4:144, 145, 247, 435  
 Bataan, 5:180, 230, 302, 381, 6:283  
 Batatele, 6:273  
 Batel, Lázaro Cárdenas, 5:59  
 Bathsheba, 1:110, 439  
 Bati Del Wambara, 3:178  
**Batista, Fulgencio**, 5:42, 6:80, 111, 184  
**Battle, José**, 5:42–43  
 Battle y Grau, Lorenzo, 5:42  
 Batoche, Battle of, 4:357  
 Batten, Jean, 5:33  
 “Battle of the Nations,” 4:297  
**Battles and Campaigns of the Hundred Years’ War, 1337–1453**, 2:M58  
 Batts, Elizabeth, 4:100  
 Batu Khan, 2:281, 284, 313, 330, 350  
 Batu Mongke, 3:14  
 Baum, Vicki, 5:254  
 Bautzen, Battle of, 4:297  
 Bavaria, duke of, 2:79  
 Bavarians, 1:242  
 Bavarian Succession, War of the, 3:167, 4:77, 206  
 Bavli, 1:451, 452  
 Bayan, 2:399–400  
 Bayan Khan, 3:14  
 Bayar, Celal, 6:429  
 Baybars, 2:94, 248, 3:230  
 Bayeux Tapestry, 2:309  
**Bayezid I**, 2:37–38, 90, 240, 250, 269, 270, 318, 399  
 Bayezid II, 3:291  
**Bay of Pigs**, 6:56–57, 101, 109, 112, 238  
 Bayonet Constitution, 4:179  
 Bayt al-Hikmah, 2:208  
 Bazaine, Marshal François-Achille, 4:134, 154  
 Bazargan, Mehdi, 6:217  
 Beach, Sylvia, 5:99  
 Beaconsfield, Lord. *See* Disraeli, Benjamin (first earl of Beaconsfield)  
*Beagle*, HMS, 4:109, 110, 186  
 Beamon, Bob, 6:326  
 beans, 1:xxx, 2:xxxi, 3:83, 266, 279  
**Beat movement**, 5:99, 6:57  
 Beaton, Cardinal David, 3:202, 203  
 Beaufort, Edmund, 3:338  
 Beauharnais, Eugène de, 4:297  
 Beauharnais, Joséphine de. *See* Bonaparte, Josephine  
 Beaumont, Gustave de, 4:413  
 Beauvais, bishop of, 2:224  
 Beauvoir, Simone de, 5:97, 6:xxxvi, 149, 151  
 Bebel, August, 4:392  
 bebop, 6:57  
 Beccaria, Cesare, 4:120  
 Beck, Theodore, 4:23  
**Becket, Thomas**, 2:38–39, 163, 306  
 Beckett, Samuel, 5:98  
 Becquerel, Henri, 5:xxxv  
 Bedchamber Crisis of 1839, 4:432  
**Bede**, 2:7, 14, 16, 39, 199  
 Bedouin tribes, 1:21, 53, 379, 5:211, 260  
 Beecher, Catharine, 4:52, 448  
 Beecher, Henry Ward, 4:52  
 Beecher, Lyman, 4:27, 52  
**Beecher family**, 4:52–53  
 Beef Trust, 5:256  
 Beer Hall Putsch, 5:148, 268, 365, 410  
 Beeton, Isabella, 4:448  
 Begendjev, Kurbandurdy, 6:86  
 Begin, Menachem, 5:20, 441, 6:21, 28, 79  
**Beginning of Agriculture, The**, 9000–500 BCE, 1:M2  
 Behaine, Pigneau de, 4:142

- Behrangi, Samad, 6:216  
 Beijing-Moscow Axis, 6:92  
 Beit Giorgis, 2:244  
 Bek, Nasrid-din, 4:364  
 Beknazarov, Azimbek, 6:83  
 Béla I, 2:198  
 Béla IV, 2:48  
 Belalcázar, Sebastián de, 3:193  
 Belarus, 3:52, 6:122, 370, 398  
 Belaúnde Terry, Fernando, 5:144  
 Belcher, Edward, 4:319  
 Belcredi, Count, 4:43  
 Belfort, Battle of, 4:136  
 Belgian Congo, 4:141, 236  
 Belgium, 4:12, 97–99, 141, 236, 5:102, 103, 130, 150, 221, 6:167, 273, 290–292, 379–380  
 Belgrade Conference of the Heads of State of Non-Aligned Countries, 6:277  
 Belgrano, Manuel, 4:280  
 Belhadj, Ali, 6:223  
 Belisarius, 1:234, 2:410  
 Belka, Marek, 6:341  
 Bell, Alexander Graham, 4:xxx, xxxvi, 325, 5:xxxiv  
 Bell, Gertrude, 5:55  
 Bella Coola, 3:170  
 Bellamy, Edward, 4:xxx, 158  
 Bellarmine, Robert, 4:423  
 Bellini, Gentile, 3:241  
 Belshazzar, 1:44, 103–104  
 Beltrán, Louis, 3:110  
 Beltrán, Manuela, 4:97  
 Belzec, 5:152  
 Bembo, Pietro, 2:215  
 Benalcázar, Sebastián de, 3:13, 15, 279, 300  
 Ben Ali, Zine el Abidine, 6:69, 223  
 Ben Arafa, Muhammad, 6:293  
 Benária, Olga, 5:307  
 Ben Barka, Mehdi, 6:295, 296  
 Ben Bella, Ahmad, 6:8, 9  
 Benedek, General von, 4:154  
**Benedict**, 1:xxxiv, 48–49, 100, 176, 287, 321, 2:91, 344  
 Benedict IX, 2:142  
 Benedict XI, 2:326  
 Benedict XII, 2:29, 154, 185  
 Benedict XIII, 2:31, 93  
 Benedict XIV, 1:247  
 Benedictine Order, 2:xxxiii, 79, 236  
 Beneš, Eduard, 5:243  
 Benevento, Prince of. *See* Talleyrand, Charles Maurice de  
 Bengal, 5:10, 67, 164, 165  
 Bengali Liberation War, 6:56  
**Ben-Gurion, David**, 5:21, 23, 43–44, 138, 411, 440, 441, 6:21, 288, 289  
 Ben-Hadad I, 1:239  
 ben Hayyim, Jacob, 3:39  
**Benin**, 2:39–40, 3:7, 127, 5:112  
 Benivieni, Girolamo, 2:327  
 Benjedid, Chadli, 6:9  
 Bennet, Hugh, 5:82  
 Bennett, Harry, 5:394  
 Bennett, James Gordon, 4:309  
 Benoit, George, 5:198  
 Bentham, Jeremy, 3:215, 4:123, 357  
 Bentinck, William, 4:64  
 Benton, Thomas Hart, 5:98  
 Bent Pyramid, 1:316, 351, 374  
 Ben Yehuda, Eliezer, 4:455  
 Ben Yusuf, Muhammad, 6:293  
 Benz, Carl, 4:xxx, 5:xxxiii  
*Beowulf*, 2:13, 14  
 Berardelli, Alessandro, 5:335  
 Berbeo, Juan Francisco, 4:97  
**Berbers**, 1:249, 250, 2:10, 40–42, 116, 139, 192, 289, 290, 406, 5:6, 227  
 Berdymukhamedov, Gurbunguly, 6:86, 87  
 Berendt, Carl Hermann, 3:75  
 Berengar II, 2:164  
 Berengar of Lombardy, 2:261  
 Berezovsky, Boris, 6:377  
 Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, 6:362  
 Bergman, Ingmar, 5:98  
 Bergman, Ingrid, 5:255  
 Bergson, Henri, 5:301  
 Beria, Lavrenty, 5:360, 6:244  
 Bering, Vitus Jonassen, 3:400  
 Beringia, 1:148, 149  
 Bering Strait, 1:148  
 Berke, Khan Kipchak, 2:183–184  
 Berkeley, William, 3:37  
 Berkman, Alexander, 5:125, 126  
 Berlin, Act of 1885, 5:112  
**Berlin, Congress of**, 4:9, 13, 31, 48, 53–54, 113, 117, 141, 160, 234, 236, 366, 420, 421, 5:289  
 Berlin, Treaty of, 5:26, 38, 410  
**Berlin blockade/airlift**, 6:58–60, 164  
 Berlin Conference, 4:13, 5:124, 377  
 Berlin Wall, 6:xl, xli, 60, 74, 101, 127, 145, 167, 243, 440  
 Bermúdez, Enrique, 6:106  
 Bermudo I, 2:86  
 Bermudo II, 2:87  
 Bermudo III, 2:87

- Bernadotte, Folke, 5:22  
 Bernardino, Minerva, 5:225  
 Bernardo I, 3:204  
 Bernard of Chartres, 2:265  
**Bernard of Clairvaux**, 1:357, 2:4, 21, 23, 42, 84, 85, 91, 236  
 Bernays, Martha, 5:114  
 Berner, Elisabeth, 5:255  
 Bernhardt, Sarah, 4:xxxvi  
 Bernini, Giovanni Lorenzo, 3:20, 39  
 Berno, 2:91  
 Bernoulli, Johann, 3:279  
 Bernstein, Carl, 6:317, 458  
 Bernstein, Eduard, 4:392, 393  
 Besant, Annie, 4:412, 5:269  
 Beslan school, 6:377  
 Bessus, 1:45  
**Betancourt, Rómulo**, 6:60–61, 89  
 Betanzos, Pedro de, 3:136  
 Beteta, Gregorio de, 3:110  
 Betjeman, John, 6:38  
 Bevin, Ernest, 5:20, 6:284  
 Beza, Theodore, 3:40, 65, 135, 147  
 Bezzecca, Battle of, 4:149  
 Bhadrabahu, 1:217, 218  
 Bhadravarman, 2:78, 81  
 Bhadravarman II, 2:81  
**Bhagavad Gita**, 1:49–50, 199, 358, 409, 432–433, 2:43, 170, 5:118  
 Bhai Gurudasin, 3:360  
**Bhakti movements (devotional Hinduism)**, 2:42–44  
 Bharata, 1:480  
 Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS), 6:61, 227  
**Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)**, 6:61, 160, 227, 445  
 Bhatta, Nannaya, 1:410  
 Bhimdev II, 2:287  
 Bhoja I, 2:341  
 Bhopal industrial disaster, 6:136  
**Bhumibol Adulyadej (Rama IX)**, 6:61–62, 301  
 Bhutan, 6:201  
**Bhutto, Benazir**, 6:62–63, 64, 297, 331, 332, 476  
 Bhutto, Mir Murtaza, 6:334  
**Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali**, 6:47, 48, 62, 63–64, 211, 331, 465, 475, 476  
 Biacnabato, Pact of, 5:4  
 Biafra, 6:314  
**Biafran War**, 6:5, 64–65  
 Bialstok, 5:151  
**Bible traditions**, 3:39–40  
**Bible translations**, 1:50–52, 135, 3:40–41  
   Gutenberg Bible, 2:151  
   Hebrew Bible in, 1:50–51  
   King James Version, 1:51  
   New Testament of, 1:50–52, 220, 225, 226, 238, 276, 288, 290, 334, 337, 353, 369, 371, 424, 2:39  
   Old Testament of, 1:12, 219, 238, 288, 337, 369, 2:39  
   scholarship of, 1:23–24  
   on true wisdom, 1:487, 488  
   Vulgate version of, 2:6, 74, 188, 411  
**biblical inerrancy**, 6:65  
 biblicism, 3:108  
 Bibracte, Battle of, 1:156  
 Bidatsu, 1:436, 445  
 Bidault, Georges, 6:284  
 Biddle, James, 4:372  
 Biddle, Nicholas, 4:51  
 Bieber, Owen, 5:394  
 Biel, Gabriel, 3:92  
 Bienvenida, Lorenzo de, 3:411  
 Bienville, Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne, sieur de, 3:272  
 Big Freeze event, 1:301  
 Bikila, Abebe, 6:326  
 Biko, Steve, 6:454  
 Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, 6:xxxvii, 19  
 Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom, U.S., 4:202  
 Bill of Rights, U.S., 3:19, 4:99, 224, 307  
 Binaisa, Godfrey, 6:433  
 Binakayan, Battle of, 5:4  
 Binalshibh, Ramzi, 6:14  
 Bindusara, 1:33, 262, 263  
 bin Laden, Osama, 6:2, 3, 9, 11, 12, 357, 362, 412, 418, 428, 429, 462, 463, 464  
 bin Seif, Sultan, 4:15  
 bin Sultan, Imam Seif, 4:15  
 Binswanger, Ludwig, 5:98  
 Bioho, Domingo, 3:232  
 biological weapons, 5:xli  
 biology, 3:344  
 bipedalism, 1:327  
*Birds, The* (Aristophanes), 1:26–27  
 Birendra, 6:308, 309  
 Birindwa, Faustin, 6:291  
 Birney, James G., 4:332  
 birth control, 4:450, 5:97, 125, 414, 6:xxxvi, 134, 140, 151, 366, 446  
*Birth of a Nation* (1915), 5:192, 253, 266  
 Biscop, Benedict, 2:39  
 Bi Sheng (Pi Sheng), 2:334  
 Bishoi, 1:113  
 Bishop, Maurice, 6:181  
 Bishops' Bible, 3:40

- Bismarck, Otto von**, 3:167, 4:12, 31, 54–56, 133, 141, 151, 152, 160, 182, 206, 234, 235, 269, 300, 353, 365, 420, 5:8, 104  
 bison, 1:xxix  
 Bitar, Salah al-Din, 6:47  
 Bizone/Bizonia, 6:48, 49  
 Bjarni Herjólfsson, 2:111  
 Bjorn Ironsides, 2:418  
 Black and Tans, 5:174  
 Black Arts movement, 6:66–67  
 Black Christ, 3:388  
 black codes, 4:350  
**Black Death**, 2:xxx, 44–45, 47, 87, 158, 177, 214, 215, 235, 307, 321, 439, 3:230, 394  
     **in Europe, The, 1347–1352**, 2:M53  
**Black Dragon Society**, 5:44–45, 131, 235  
 “Black Friday,” 6:217  
 Black Hawk, 4:302  
 Black Hawk War, 4:239, 302  
 “Black Hole of Calcutta,” 3:81, 311  
 “Black Legend,” 3:208  
 Black Legion, 5:103, 106  
 Blackmun, Harry, 6:367  
 Black Muslim movement, 6:279  
 black nationalism, 5:120  
**Black Panthers**, 6:67, 97, 163  
 “Black Paper,” 5:52  
**Black Power movement**, 5:80, 6:66–67, 97, 405  
 “Black Saturday,” 6:134  
 Black September, 6:27, 29, 263, 332  
 Black Star Line, 5:121, 290  
 “Black Thursday,” 5:129  
 Black Tigers, 6:413  
 Black Tom Wharf, 5:90  
 “Black Tuesday,” 5:129  
 Blackwater USA Corporation, 6:187  
 Blackwell, Edith, 4:448  
 Blackwell, Henry, 4:449  
 Blackwood, Frederick Temple (marquis of Dufferin and Ava), 4:72  
 Blair, W. Frank, 5:226  
 Blake, Peter, 6:38  
 Blake, William, 4:xxxii  
 Blanc, Louis, 4:391  
**Blanche of Castile**, 2:45–46  
 Blanqui, Louis, 4:323  
 Bleda, 1:206, 242  
 Bleek, Wilhelm, 2:36  
 Blenheim, Battle of, 3:369  
 Bligh, William, 3:400, 4:40, 242, 289  
 Blind Harry, 2:361  
 Blish, James, 5:219  
*blitzkrieg*, 5:19, 167, 322  
 Bloc Québécois, 6:356  
 Bloemfontein, Convention of, 4:66  
 “Bloodless Revolution,” 3:150–151  
 Blood River, Battle of, 4:395  
 Bloody Assizes, 3:188  
 Bloody Sunday, 4:361, 5:174, 330  
 Blücher, Field Marshal Gebhard von, 4:54, 298  
 Blue Nile, 1:4, 4:10  
 blues, 5:140  
 Blum, Léon, 4:392  
 Blunt, Wilfrid Scawen, 4:424  
 Blythe, William Jefferson, III, 6:98  
 Bnon, 1:208  
**Boabdil (Muhammad XI)**, 3:41–42  
 Boas, Franz, 5:115, 140  
 Bobadilla, Nicolas, 3:190  
 Boboyev, Tolib, 6:84  
 Bocarro, Gaspar, 5:277  
**Boccaccio, Giovanni**, 2:43, 46–47, 80, 141, 215, 295  
 Boccanegra, Simone, 2:137  
 Bockelson, Jan, 3:255  
*Bock’s Car*, 5:146, 238  
 Bodawpaya, 4:85  
 Bodhidharma, 1:56, 2:425, 441  
 Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara, 6:115  
*bodhisattvas*, 1:463  
 Bodin, Jean, 3:3  
 Boehm, Martin, 4:63  
**Boers, in South Africa**, 4:xxxviii, 14, 66, 160, 354, 379, 394–396, 5:2–3  
**Boer War**, 4:14, 316, 355, 404, 5:8, 32, 45–46, 118, 190, 211, 220, 354, 356, 392  
**Boethius**, 1:52, 445, 460, 2:7, 15, 74  
 Bogart, Humphrey, 5:253, 255  
 Bogdanovich, Peter, 6:108  
 Bogd Khan (emperor of Mongolia), 5:251  
 Bogomil sect, 2:167  
 Bogotá, 3:192  
 Bogotazo, 6:80, 103, 157  
 Bogyoke Aung San, 6:46  
**Bohemia**, 2:47–49, 145, 153, 174, 188, 256, 329, 4:46, 136, 5:20  
 Bohemian Brotherhood, 2:189  
 Bohemond II, 2:248  
 Bohemond III, 2:248, 249  
 Bohemond IV, 2:248, 249  
 Bohemond V, 2:249  
 Bohemond VI, 2:249  
 Bohemond VII, 2:248  
 Bohler, Peter, 4:446  
 Bohr, Niels, 5:xxxvi

- Boiardo, Matteo, 2:215  
 Boii, 2:47  
 Bo Juyi (Po Chu-i), 2:82, 83  
 Boland, Edward, 6:106  
 Boland Amendment, 6:214  
 Bolesław I, 2:47, 174, 329  
 Bolesław II, 2:47, 329  
 Bolesław III, 2:47, 329  
 Boleyn, Anne, 3:80, 120, 163, 233  
 Bolio, Antonio Mediz, 3:75  
**Bolívar, Simón**, 4:56–58, 78, 227, 228, 402, 6:89  
 Bolivia, 3:136, 137, 4:223, 225, 442, 5:128, 130, 6:1  
**Bolivian Revolution**, 6:67–68  
 Bologna, Concordat of, 3:332  
 Bolshevik Revolution, 6:100, 209  
 Bolsheviks, 4:342, 359, 361, 393, 5:xxxvii, 125, 149, 186, 187, 214, 215, 216, 226, 245, 251, 266, 273, 295, 318, 332, 340, 359, 366, 383, 414  
 Bomberg, Daniel, 3:39  
 Bonaparte, Eugene, 4:300  
 Bonaparte, Jérôme, 4:297  
 Bonaparte, Joseph, 3:44, 46, 4:129, 296, 297, 313, 400  
 Bonaparte, Joséphine, 2:3, 4:296, 297  
 Bonaparte, Louis, 4:305  
**Bonaparte, Louis-Napoleon**, 4:xxxviii, 3, 55, 56, 169, 197, 274, 324, 340, 353, 375, 401, 413. *See also* Napoleon III  
 Bonaparte, Lucien, 4:408  
**Bonaparte, Napoleon**, 1:127, 406, 2:146, 237, 413, 3:44, 116, 166, 4:xxxvii, 10, 20, 54, 57, 58, 66, 111, 120, 147, 174, 204, 228, 248, 267, 294–298, 313, 328, 345, 357, 374, 375, 408, 416, 434. *See also* Napoleon I  
 Bonaventure, 2:253, 268  
**Bondone, Giotto di**, 2:143–144, 214  
**Bonhoeffer, Dietrich**, 5:46–47  
**Boniface**, 1:49, 2:16, 49, 273  
 Boniface VIII, 2:28, 177, 326, 345  
 Boniface IX, 2:31  
 Bonilla, Policarpo, 5:438  
 Bonillas, Ignacio, 5:59, 279  
 Bonn Agreements, 6:3  
 Bonpland, Aime-Jacques-Alexandre Goujoud, 4:184  
 Bonsu, Osei, 5:123  
**Bonus Army**, 5:47–48, 155, 229  
 Bonus March, 5:155, 229  
*Book of Changes*, 1:75, 91, 93, 107  
**Book of Common Prayer**, 3:40, 42, 70, 78, 119, 120, 317, 318, 392  
 Book of Concord, 3:27  
*Book of Han*, 1: 46, 184, 430  
*Book of History or Documents*, 1:91, 93, 429  
 Book of Kells, 2:75, 200  
*Book of Mencius*, 1:92  
*Book of Odes or Poetry*, 1:91, 93  
*Book of Rites*, 1:91–92, 93  
**Book of the Dead**, 1:53, 127  
 Booth, Ballington, 4:368  
 Booth, Catherine, 4:368  
 Booth, Evangeline, 4:369  
 Booth, John Wilkes, 4:92, 241, 350  
 Booth, William, 4:368  
 bootlegging, 5:309  
 Bora, Katherina von, 3:223  
 Bordebois, 3:232  
 Borge, Tomás, 6:310  
 Borge Martínez, Tomás, 6:383  
 Borgia, Cesare, 2:410, 3:43, 195, 214, 226  
 Borgia, Giovanni, 3:43  
 Borgia, Lucretia, 3:43  
 Borgia, Rodrigo, 3:43  
**Borgia family**, 3:43–44  
 Boril, 2:55  
 Boris, 2:305  
 Bořivoj, 2:47  
 Bork, Robert, 6:318  
 Borlaug, Norman F., 6:180  
 Bormann, Martin, 5:277  
**Borobudur**, 2:49–50, 375  
 Borochoy, Ber, 4:455  
 Borodin, Michael, 5:65, 275, 395, 407  
 Borodin, Pavel, 6:348  
 Borodino, Battle of, 4:297, 298  
 Boromaraja I, 2:383  
 Borommaracha I, 2:370  
 Borommaracha II, 2:370  
 Borromeo, Charles, 3:93, 390  
 Borromini, Francesco, 3:39  
 Bosch, Hieronymus, 2:218  
**Bosch, Juan**, 6:68  
 Bosch-Gimpera, P., 1:212  
 Bose, Ananda Mohan, 4:59  
 Bose, Rajnarain, 4:59  
**Bose, Subhas Chandra**, 5:48–49, 119, 120, 166, 423  
 Boshin War, 5:336  
 Bosnia, 4:53, 54, 5:133, 6:37, 222  
 Bosnia-Herzegovina, 4:48, 137, 5:243, 6:49, 51, 470  
 Bosque, Pío Romero, 5:87  
 Bossuet, Jacques-Bénigne, 3:3, 4, 131, 132, 325  
 Boston Massacre, 4:6  
 Boston Tea Party, 4:6, 24  
 Bosworth, Battle of, 3:341  
 Botany Bay, 4:40, 219, 318

- Botha, Louis, 4:67, 5:2, 354, 392  
 Bothwell, earl of (James Hepburn), 3:121, 186  
 Botswana, 4:67  
 Botticelli, Sandro, 2:128  
 Boucicaud, Jean, 2:269  
**Boudicca**, 1:53–54, 73, 209, 388  
 Bougainville, Louis-Antoine de, 3:400, 4:221, 319  
 Boumedienne, Houari, 6:9  
*Bounty*, HMS, 4:42, 290–291  
***Bounty*, mutiny on the**, 4:290–291  
 Bourbon dynasty, 2:73, 3:218, 230, 369, 394, 4:27, 28, 56, 78, 96, 195, 220, 224, 26, 246, 296, 298, 299, 399–400  
     **in Latin America**, 3:44–46, 277  
 Bourbon-Orléans dynasty, 2:73  
**Bourbon restoration, France**, 4:58–59  
**Bourguiba, Habib**, 5:388, 6:68–69, 223  
 Bourmont, General Louis-Auguste-Victor, comte de Ghaisnes de, 4:21  
 Bourne, Randolph, 5:140  
 Bouvines, Battle of, 2:175  
 Boves, José Tomás, 4:403  
 Bow, Clara, 5:253  
 bow and arrow, 1:xxxviii, xxxix, 3:49  
 Bowie, Jim, 4:411  
 Boxer Indemnity, 5:183  
**Boxer Rebellion and Protocol**, 4:93–94, 171, 213, 239, 267, 284, 344, 415, 5:32, 49–50, 183, 283, 430  
 Boyer, Charles, 5:255  
 Boyle, Richard, 3:22  
 Boyle, Robert, 3:215, 346  
**Boyne, Battle of**, 3:46–48, 402  
 Boy Scouts, 5:46  
 Bracciolini, Poggio, 1:349  
**Bracero Program**, 6:69–70, 209, 261  
 Braddock, Edward, 4:377, 443  
 Bradford, William, 3:317, 415  
 Bradley, Omar N., 5:75  
 Bradwardine, Thomas, 2:267  
 Bradwell, Myra, 4:448  
 Brady, Mathew, 4:91  
**Braganza (Bragança), House of**, 3:48–49, 115  
 Brahe, Tycho, 3:201, 345  
**Brahma**, 1:199, 2:42, 50, 56, 335, 366  
 Brahman, 1:70, 480, 2:82  
*Brahmanas*, 1:479, 480  
 Brahmo Marriage Act, 5:263  
**Brahmo Samaj**, 4:59–60  
 Bramante, Donato, 2:216  
 Brand, Adolf, 6:163  
**Brandeis, Louis D.**, 5:37, 50–51  
**Brandenburg, Hohenzollern Dynasty in**, 3:166–167  
 Brandenburg Gate, 6:127, 168  
 Brandon, Charles, 3:236  
 Brandon, Mount, 1:54  
 Brandt, Willy, 6:167  
 Branković, Vuk, 2:250  
 Braque, Georges, 5:xl  
 Brasidas, 1:343  
 Braun, Werner von, 6:399  
 Braverman, Berta, 6:30  
 Bravo, Nicolás, 4:272  
**Brazil**, 3:114, 227, 231, 328, 363, 372, 373, 4:xxvi, xxxiv, 1, 2, 4, 38–39, 63, 94, 95, 223, 228–229, 324–326, 424, 425, 5:72–73, 103, 115–116, 130, 198, 205, 225–226, 307, 378, 6:41, 252, 260, 388, 422  
     *bandeirantes in*, 3:37–38  
     **conquest and colonization of**, 3:49–52  
     **independence to republic of**, 4:60–63  
     **military dictatorships in**, 6:70–71  
     **Pernambuco state in**, 3:298–299  
 brazilwood, 3:61, 298  
 Brazza, Pierre Savorgnan de, 4:12, 141  
**Breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire following World War I**, 5:M145  
 Bréda, Toussaint. *See* Toussaint Louverture  
 Breda, Treaty of, 3:115  
 Breed's Hill, Battle of, 4:24  
 Breitenfeld, Battle of, 3:382  
 Bremer, Paul, 6:186  
**Brendan the Navigator**, 1:54–55, 2:75  
 Brennus, 1:73  
 Brentano, Franz, 5:300  
 Brest-Litovsk, Treaty of, 5:333, 383  
**Brethren movements**, 4:63–64  
 Břetislav I, 2:47  
 Bretton Woods system, 6:144, 164, 209, 461  
 Bretwaldas, 2:16  
 Breuer, Josef, 5:114  
 Breuil, H., 1:135  
**Brezhnev, Leonid Ilyich**, 6:27, 71–73, 104, 121, 347, 391, 392, 443, 457  
 Brezhnev Doctrine, 6:72, 442  
 Brian Boru, 2:314  
 Briand, Aristide, 5:221, 222  
 Bridges, Harry, 5:155  
 Briend, Andre, 6:xxxii  
 Brienne, Charles-Étienne de Loménie de, 4:144  
 Brigid, 2:75  
 Brindamour, Birute Galdikas, 1:326  
 Brinton, Daniel, 3:75  
 Brioni Agreements, 6:470

- Britannicus, 1:233, 305  
**British, French, and Spanish Possessions in North America, 1713, 3:M88**  
 British Association for the Advancement of Science, 4:11  
 British Central Africa Protectorate, 5:278  
**British Colonies in America, 1607-1763, 3:M89**  
 British Commonwealth, 6:104–105. *See also* Commonwealth of Nations  
 British Commonwealth Occupation Force, 5:180  
 British East Africa Company, 4:70, 6:433  
**British East India Company, 3:52, 81, 138, 140, 180, 219, 257, 296, 311, 4:xxxv, 10, 15, 29, 30, 64–65, 66, 71, 83, 159, 163, 190, 191, 255, 283, 285, 305, 344, 345, 348–349, 378, 5:162**  
**British Empire, 1930, 5:M147**  
 British fascist movement, 5:103, 104  
**British governors-general of India, 4:68–69**  
**British in South Asia, The, c.1900, 5:M130**  
**British Mandate in Palestine, 5:51–52, 56, 137**  
 British Mandate of Transjordan, 5:142  
**British North America, 3:52–56, 124, 383, 4:M116**  
 British North America Act, 4:127, 6:356  
 British North Borneo, 6:277  
**British occupation of Egypt, 4:69, 174**  
 British Somaliland, 6:194  
**British South Africa, 4:66–67**  
 British South Africa Company, 5:319, 320  
 British Trade Union Congress, 6:14  
 British Union of Fascists, 5:103  
 British West Charterland Company, 5:224  
 Broadwell, George Aaron, 2:280  
 Brock, Sebastian, 1:448  
 Brodsky, Joseph, 5:362  
 Broglie, Albert, fourth duc de, 4:376  
 Brömsebo Treaty, 3:77  
 Brondsted, Johannes, 2:314, 315  
 bronze, 1:4  
 Bronze Age, 1:xxxi, 29, 72, 76, 102, 152, 155, 207, 213, 215, 259, 289, 384, 437, 471  
 Brook Farm experiment, 4:418–419  
 Brooks, Henrietta Louise Cromwell, 5:229  
 Brooks, Van Wyck, 5:140  
 Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, 5:78  
 Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius, 4:46  
*Browder v. Gayle*, 6:292  
 Brown, Edmund G. “Pat,” 6:155, 316, 318  
 Brown, George, 4:73, 310  
 Brown, Jerry, 6:98  
 Brown, John, 4:90, 91, 384, 433, 5:80  
 Brown, John Clellon, 6:57  
 Brown, Oliver, 6:73  
 Brown, Thomas, 4:258  
 Brownian motion, 5:85  
 Brownrigg, Robert, 4:85  
 Brown Shirts, 5:104, 148, 266, 267  
 Brownson, Orestes A., 4:418  
*Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, 5:262, 6:73–74, 94, 107, 285, 286  
 Brucan, Silviu, 6:130  
 Bruce, Frederick, 4:70  
 Bruce, James, 4:10  
 Bruce, Thomas, 1:332  
 Bruegel, Pieter, 2:218  
 Brundtland Commission, 6:136  
 Brunehild, 2:82  
 Brunei, 6:43, 44  
**Brunelleschi, Filippo, 2:51, 104, 141, 216, 3:20**  
**Bruni, Leonardo, 2:51–52, 121, 213**  
 Brüning, Heinrich, 5:410  
 Bruno, Giordano, 3:88, 347  
 Bruno of Querfurt, 2:253  
 Brunswick Declaration, 4:146  
 Brusilov, Alexei, 5:417  
 Brutus, 1:61, 66, 338, 387, 469, 470  
 Bryan, Alan, 1:148  
**Bryan, William Jennings, 4:xxviii, 332, 5:53, 342–343**  
 Bryant, Louise, 5:140  
 Bryaxis, 1:86  
 Bryusov, Alexander, 1:211  
 bubonic plague, 2:xxx, 43–45, 214, 307, 3:67, 123, 124  
 Bucareli Accords, 5:280  
 Bucer, Martin, 3:418  
 Buchan, John, 5:254  
 Buchanan, James, 4:258  
*Buchanan v. Warley*, 5:313  
 Bucharest, Treaty of, 4:45, 5:40, 41  
 Büchi, Hernán, 6:90  
 Buck, Carrie, 5:96  
 Buck, Pearl S., 5:254  
 Buckingham, duke of (George Villiers), 2:321, 3:335  
*Buck v. Bell*, 5:96, 97  
 Budd, Zola, 6:326  
**Buddha. *See* Gautama Buddha**  
 Buddhaghya, 1:453  
 Buddhism, 1:xxxii, xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxvi, 2:xxxiv, xxxvi, xxxvii, xxxviii, 49, 50, 55–56, 82, 105, 132, 158–159, 235, 293, 303–304, 334, 380–381, 425, 430–431, 438, 441, 3:57, 4:447, 5:12, 6:115–116, 148  
**in China, 1:55–57, 106, 107, 132, 254**  
 founding of, 1:158–159, 241

- Huayan (Hua-Yen), 1:55–56  
**Mahayana**, 1:57, 236, 358, 427, 453, 461–462, 463  
 Pure Land, 1:56  
 spread of, 1:33, 45–46, 74, 177, 263, 496  
**Theravada**, 1:57, 236, 461–463, 468  
 Tiantai (T'ien T'ai), 1:55  
 Vajrayana, 1:408, 453–454, 468  
 Zan (Ch'an) or Zen, 1:56
- Buddhist councils**, 1:33, 56–57, 236, 263, 333
- Buendorf, Larry, 6:154  
 buffalo, 1:xxx  
*Buford*, SS, 5:125
- Buganda, kingdom of, Africa**, 4:69–70
- Bugeaud, Thomas-Robert, 4:21, 209
- Bughra Khan, 2:100
- Buhari, Mohammed, 6:314
- Bukhara, 1:436, 437, 438, 2:352, 4:363, 364
- Bukharin, Nikolai, 5:274, 359, 383
- Bukhar Khudah Tughshada, 1:438
- Bukka, 2:414
- Bulgakov, Mikhail, 5:361, 6:173
- Bulganin, Nikolai, 6:242
- Bulgaria, 4:48, 54, 5:38, 39, 212, 295, 296, 6:49, 100, 102, 129, 145
- Bulgar invasions**, 2:54–55
- Bulgarian Empire**, 2:52–54, 355
- Bulla, 1:444
- Buller, Redvers, 4:67
- Bullins, Ed, 6:66
- Bull Moose Party, 5:91, 308, 329, 412
- Bull of Demarcation**, 3:56
- Bull of Rimini, 2:326
- Bull Run, Battle(s) of, 4:91, 239
- Bultmann, Rudolf, 1:221, 5:98
- Bulwer-Lytton, Robert, 4:9, 32
- Bunche, Ralph, 5:22, 23, 6:20
- Bunin, Ivan, 5:361
- Bunyan, John, 3:40, 212, 5:256
- Buol-Schauenstein, Karl Ferdinand, Count von, 4:136
- Buonarroti, Filippo, 4:295
- Buonarroti, Michaelangelo, 2:214
- Buran, 1:416
- Burchell, William, 4:10
- Bure, Idelette de, 3:65
- Bureau of Immigration, 5:88, 90
- Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), 5:167, 168
- Burey, Vivian, 6:286
- Burger, Warren, 6:366
- Burgevine, Henry A., 4:163
- Burghley, Lord. *See* Cecil, William (first baron Burghley)
- Burgos, Laws of, 3:122
- Burgoyne, John, 4:24
- Burgundians, 1:242, 243, 460, 474, 483, 2:196
- Burgundy, House of, 3:72, 395
- Buridan, Jean, 2:xxxii, 263
- Burji rulers, 3:229
- Burkina Faso, 5:112, 113, 6:19
- Burlingame, Anson**, 4:70–71, 415
- Burlingame Treaty**, 4:70–71
- Burma**, 2:57–58, 3:323, 379, 5:31, 49, 61, 163, 224, 6:46, 123, 305–306, 441
- Burma-Siam railway, 5:381
- Burmese Wars**, 2:278, 4:71–73
- Burnes, Alexander, 4:114
- Burnet, David, 4:411
- Burney, Henry, 4:30
- Burnham, Daniel, 4:87
- Burr, Aaron, 4:175, 176, 177, 261, 279, 331
- Burroughs, Edgar Rice, 5:254
- Burroughs, George, 3:238
- Burroughs, William S., 6:57
- Burrus, 1:233, 422
- Burton, Richard, 4:11, 13
- Burundi**, 6:377–378
- Busbecq, Ogier Ghiselin de, 3:374
- Bush, George H. W.**, 6:13, 16, 74–75, 91, 98, 122, 185, 361, 362
- Bush, George W.**, 6:74–75, 89, 171, 276, 463
- Bush, Jeb, 6:75
- Bushido**, 2:xxxiv, xxxix, 348, 349, 3:57, 268, 337, 385
- Tokugawa period in Japan**, 3:57
- Bushkovitch, Paul, 3:304
- Bushmen, 1:409
- Buss, Mary, 4:448
- Busta Gallorum, Battle of, 1:323
- Bustani, Butrus, 4:34
- Bustillos, Victorino Márquez, 5:126
- Butelezi, Gatsha, 6:4
- Butler, Pierce, 4:99
- Butterfield, Alexander, 6:458
- Butzer, Karl W., 1:273
- Buyid dynasty, 2:2
- Buyoya, Pierre, 6:379
- Byatt, H. A., 5:377
- Byblos**, 1:11, 58, 278, 309, 316, 355
- Byrd, Harry, 6:238
- Byrd Amendment, 6:364–365
- Byron, Lord (George Gordon Byron), 4:170
- Byzantine Empire**, 1:22, 97, 177, 182, 193, 385, 2:xxxii, xxxv, xxxvi, xxxix, M49, 56, 126, 285, 412, 3:172, 4:169
- architecture, culture, and the arts**, 2:56–59
- under Basil II**, 1025, 2:M40

- under Justinian, 527–567, 1:M31  
 political history, 2:60–65  
 Byzantine-Persian wars, 1:58–59, 98  
 Byzantium. *See* Constantinople
- C**
- Caballero, Francisco Largo, 5:363  
 Caballero y Gongora, Antonio, 4:97  
 Cabañas, Lucio, 6:209  
 Cabdulle Xasan, Sayid Maxamed, 5:354  
 Cabeza de Vaca, Álvar Núñez, 3:59–60, 124  
*cabildos*, 4:227  
 Cabinet Mission, 5:11  
 Cabira, Battle of, 1:387  
 Cable, George Washington, 5:218  
 Cabot, John, 2:137, 139, 416, 3:52, 60–61, 400  
 Cabot, Sebastian, 3:60–61, 400  
 Caboto, Giovanni. *See* Cabot, John  
 Cabral, Amílcar, 6:344  
 Cabral, Pedro Álvares, 3:49, 61, 104, 388, 396  
*cacao*, 3:31, 61–62, 83, 4:226  
 Cáceres, Andrés, 4:442  
*caciques*, in Latin America, 3:62–63, 66, 67, 68, 111, 246  
 Cactus Hill site, 1:148  
 Caçuto, 3:204  
 Cadillac, Antoine de la Mothe, sieur de, 3:272  
 Cádiz, 3:354–355  
 Cadorna, Luigi, 5:284  
 Caedmon, 2:14  
 Caen, Herb, 6:57  
 Caepio, 1:70  
 Caesar, Augustus (Octavian), 1:2, 3, 12, 61–63, 155, 231, 249, 304, 338, 384, 386, 388, 390, 456, 470  
 Caesar, Julius, 1:xxxiii, 53, 61–62, 63–66, 71, 73, 84, 156–157, 231, 248, 338, 352, 373, 387, 390, 391, 398, 399, 400, 401, 469, 481–482, 2:195, 4:296  
 Caesarion, 1:470  
 Caesaropapism, 1:165, 239, 2:67–68  
 Caesoninus, Lucius Calpurnius Piso, 1:64  
 Caetano, José das Neves, 6:344  
 Cahokia, 2:xxxv  
 Cai E, 5:438  
 Caimi, Señora De, 6:30  
 Cairo Conferences, 5:38, 55–56, 140, 173, 327, 423  
 Cairo Treaty, 6:467  
 Caius Petronius Arbiter, 1:349  
 Cai Yuanpei, 5:244  
 Cajamarca (Peru), 3:13, 25, 63–64, 299, 300  
 Cajetan, 3:109  
 Cajuns, 4:278  
 Cakchiquel Indians, 3:68, 75  
 Calais, Battle of, 2:307  
 calculus, 1:13  
 Caldera, Rafael, 6:89  
 Calderón, Felipe, 6:209  
 Caleb, 1:138  
 Calef, Robert, 3:239  
 calendrics, 1:xxx, 265, 276, 2:xxxiii, 3:74  
 Calhoun, John C., 4:201  
 Caligula, 1:150, 196, 209, 231, 232–233, 305, 339, 355, 388, 422  
 Caliphs, first four, 2:68–69  
 Calixtines, 2:189  
 Calixtus II, 2:164, 175, 426  
 Calixtus III, 2:244, 411, 3:43  
 Calles, Juan Bautista, 5:57, 126, 355  
 Calles, Plutarco Elías, 5:57–58, 71, 72, 248, 280, 401, 6:208, 290  
 Calley, William, 6:452  
 Callias, Peace of, 1:31, 347  
 Callicrates, 1:84, 85, 331  
 calligraphy, 2:162, 200, 203  
 Callimachus, 1:248, 258  
 Callistus (pope), 1:81, 193  
 Callistus II (pope), 2:164  
 Callistus III (pope), 2:240  
 Callowhill, Hannah, 3:298  
 Calmettes, Pierre, 4:280  
 Calonne, Charles-Alexandre de, 4:144  
 Calpurnia, 1:64  
 Calpurnius Piso, 1:349  
 Calukya dynasty, 2:319  
 Calusa Indians, 3:267  
 Calvert, George. *See* Baltimore, Lord  
 Calvin, Jean, 3:146  
 Calvin, John, 3:64–65, 135, 146, 147, 171, 174, 203, 242, 332, 416, 6:132  
 Calvinism, 3:114, 159, 318, 367, 381, 382, 4:66, 82, 167  
 Cambodia, 2:xxxviii, 4:30, 85, 142, 143, 380, 5:70, 345, 6:8, 44, 72, 191, 204, 205, 317, 340–341, 443, 449, 452  
 Cambon, Paul, 4:421  
 Cambrai, League of, 3:184  
 Cambridge Agreement, 3:237  
 Cambyses I, 1:66  
 Cambyses II, 1:66–67, 103, 104, 108, 194, 273, 346  
 Camel, Battle of the, 2:4, 8, 69, 103  
 camels, 1:xxx, 312  
 Cameron, Duncan, 4:258  
 Cameroon, 5:232, 264

- Caminha, Pero Vaz de, 3:49, 61  
 Campaign for the Reelection of the President (CRP), 6:317  
 Campbell, Colin, 3:21–22, 4:191  
 Campbell, John, 5:219  
 Camp David, Maryland, 6:21, 22, 30  
 Camp David accords, 6:27, 79  
 Campeggio, Lorenzo, 3:26  
 Campo, Estanislao del, 4:151  
 Campos, Roberto, 6:70  
 Campuzano, Josefa, 5:57  
 Camus, Albert, 5:98  
 Canaanites, 1:58, 230, 284, 358, 473  
**Canada**, 2:406, 3:54, 137, 138, 270–273, 400, 4:3, 189–190, 252–253, 310–311, 346, 347, 356–357, 377, 385, 5:95, 96, 130, 133, 210–211, 309, 6:43, 77–79, 104–105, 151, 320–321, 323–324, 354–355, 404, 428  
   **policies on native/First Nations peoples in**, 4:301–304  
   **political parties in**, 4:330–331  
**Canadian Confederation**, 4:73–74, 252, 310, 331, 5:M134  
 Canale, Antonio, 3:20  
 Canaletto, 3:20  
 Cananea Consolidated Copper Company, 4:226  
 Canaris, Admiral, 5:47  
 Canary Island, 3:86  
 Canberra Pact of 1944, 5:35  
 Cancer, Luis, 3:109–110  
 Canek, Jacinto, 4:276  
 Canisius, Peter, 3:93, 390  
 cannon, 2:xxxix, 3:359  
 canon law, 1:91, 2:148  
 Cánovas, Agustín Cue, 4:278  
 Cansu I, 2:56  
 Cansu II, 2:56  
 Cansu IV, 2:56  
 Canterbury, archbishop of, 2:13, 15, 38, 162, 309, 424, 3:70, 80, 163, 188, 234, 370  
**Canton system**, 4:74–75  
 Canudos, War of, 5:73  
**Canute**, 2:15, 16, 17, 19, 69–70, 98, 99, 419  
 Can Vuong movement, 4:142  
 Cao, Diogo, 3:5, 204  
 Cao Cao, 1:254, 464  
 Caonabo, 3:67  
 Cao Pi, 1:254, 464  
 Cao Zhi, 1:254  
 Capella, Martianus, 2:74  
 Capellanus, Andreas, 2:84  
 Cape of Good Hope, 3:61  
**Capet, Hugh**, 2:70–72, 73, 195, 385  
 Capet family, 3:394  
 capitalism, 3:243, 4:265, 389, 390  
 Capone, Al, 5:254, 309  
 Caporetto, Battle of, 5:284  
 Cappadocian Fathers, 1:48  
**Cappadocians**, 1:26, 67–68, 100, 249, 287, 304, 320  
 Capuchin Order, 3:80  
 Caracalla, 1:12, 248–249, 401  
   **Edict of**, 1:68–69  
 Carafa, Gian Pietro, 3:92, 389, 390  
 Caramurú, 3:50  
 Caranus, 1:9, 354  
 Carausius, 1:118  
 Caravaggio, 3:38  
 carbon emissions, 6:xxxiv, 255  
 Carby, Hazel, 6:151  
 Carchemish, Battle of, 1:216  
 Cardenal, José Francisco, 6:106  
**Cárdenas, Lázaro**, 3:97, 4:208, 5:57, 58–59, 206, 207, 247, 6:208, 290  
 Cárdenas Solórzano, Cuauhtémoc, 5:59  
 Cardinals, College of, 2:426  
 Cardozo, Benjamin N., 5:51  
 Carey, Robert, 3:186  
**Caribbean**, 3:231, 245, 327, 372, 4:2, 5:53, 121, 128, 175, 208, 209, 289, 290, 291  
   **conquest of**, 3:65–67, 85, 208, 299  
 Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act (CBERA), 6:77  
 Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Expansion Act (CBI II), 6:77  
**Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI)**, 6:11, 78  
 Caribbean Basin Trade Partnership Act (CBTPA), 6:77  
 Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM), 6:320  
 Carinus, 1:118  
 Carlisle Indian School, 4:303  
 Carloman, 2:72, 79  
 Carlos. See Charles  
 Carlos, Palma, 6:344, 345  
 Carlyle, Thomas, 4:390, 417  
 Carmelite Order, 3:92, 380–381  
 Carmichael, Stokely, 6:66, 97, 405  
 Carnac, Monuments of, 1:301  
 Carnegie, Andrew, 4:157, 205, 389, 5:309  
 Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 5:40, 156  
 Carnovsky, Morris, 5:255  
 Caroline of Anspach, 3:149  
**Carolingian dynasty**, 1:243, 2:7, 71, 72–73, 74, 130, 273, 401, 413

- Carolingian Renaissance**, 2:xxxvi, 5, 74–75, 80  
 carpe diem, 1:411  
 Carracci, Annibale, 3:38  
 carracks, 3:357  
**Carranza, Venustiano**, 5:57, 59–60, 159, 246, 248, 279, 280, 401, 404, 437, 6:290  
 Carranzista, 5:208  
 Carrera, José Miguel, 4:314  
 Carrera, Rafael, 4:78  
 Carrillo Puerto, Felipe, 5:280  
 Carrion, Luis, 6:383  
 Carroll, Charles, 3:234  
 Carrow, Edith, 5:328  
 Carson, Rachel, 6:xxxiv  
 Carter, Howard, 1:352  
**Carter, Jimmy**, 5:291, 6:2, 19, 21, 72, 79–80, 120, 121, 154, 194, 215, 311, 318, 365, 444  
 Carter, Ruth, 6:79  
 Carteret, Philip, 4:318  
**Carthage**, 1:2, 4, 5, 6, 12, 69, 81, 187, 249, 386, 400, 416, 2:63  
 Cartier, George-Étienne, 4:73, 252  
 Cartier, Jacques, 3:270, 271, 383  
 cartography, 4:100–101  
 Cartwright, Edmond, 3:347  
 Carus, 1:118, 397, 413  
 Carvalho, Otelo Saraiva de, 6:344  
 Carver, George Washington, 5:xxxii  
 Casablanca Affair, 5:252  
 Casablanca Conference, 5:327, 423  
 Casado, Segismundo, 5:364  
 Casas, Francisco de las, 3:68  
**Casely Hayford, Joseph Ephraim**, 5:60–61, 263, 264  
 Casement, Roger, 4:98  
 Caseros, Battle of, 4:279  
 Casey, William, 6:214  
 Casimir I, 2:329  
 Casimir II, 2:330  
 Casimir III, 2:257, 231  
 Casimir IV, 2:255, 257, 231  
 Casimir V, 3:182  
 Cassandane, 1:66  
 Cassander, 1:116, 117, 375  
 Cassatt, Mary, 5:98  
 Cassian, John, 1:100, 247, 287  
 Cassin, René, 6:164  
 Cassiodorus, 1:460  
 Cassius, 1:61, 66, 338, 469  
 Cassius Chaerea, 1:339  
 Cassius Dio, 1:69  
 Cassivelaunus, 1:65  
**caste**, 1:70, 119, 417, 480, 2:xxxiv–xxxv, 56, 414, 437–438, 3:328, 360, 4:61, 5:xxxvii, 11–12, 263, 329  
 Castel, Etienne du, 2:328  
 Castello Branco, Humberto, 6:70–71  
 Caste War of Yucatán, 4:274, 278, 6:473  
 Castiglione, Baldassare, 2:85  
 Castile, kingdom of, 2:87–89  
 Castillo, Chema, 6:383  
 Castillo, Ramón, 6:338  
 Castillo Armas, Carlos, 6:182  
 Castlereagh, Viscount (Robert Stewart), 4:434  
 Castor, 1:188, 399  
 Castro, Álvaro de, 3:231  
 Castro, Cipriano, 5:126  
 Castro, Cristóbal Vaca de, 3:13, 300  
 Castro, Raúl, 6:80, 111  
 Castro, Sergio de, 6:90  
**Castro Ruz, Fidel**, 4:79, 105, 231, 262, 5:42, 209, 6:xl, 10, 11, 56, 80–81, 101, 109, 110, 111–112, 153, 157, 183, 238, 258, 259, 361, 279, 293, 310, 319, 344, 383, 414  
 Catalaunian Fields, Battle of, 1:242, 405  
 Cat and Mouse Act, 5:293  
 Cateau-Cambrésis, Peace of, 3:304  
 Catechetical School of Alexandria, 1:98–99  
 Cathar sect, 2:167, 197, 245, 258, 272  
 catharsis, 1:169  
 cathedral schools, 2:265, 408  
 Catherine of Aragon, 3:73, 80, 120, 133, 161, 162, 163, 233, 234, 236  
 Catherine of Siena, 2:30  
 Catherine of Valois, 3:391  
**Catherine the Great**, 3:91, 183, 199, 4:20, 30, 75–77, 119, 120, 121, 123, 329, 359, 360, 365  
 Catholic Action, 5:197  
 Catholic Boy Scouts, 5:197  
**Catholic Church**, 1:14, 264, 482, 483, 2:xxxvi, xxxix, 244, 355, 3:18, 38, 52, 56, 74, 91, 126, 143, 171, 174, 196, 233–234, 252, 265, 276, 316, 331, 345, 347, 389, 417, 4:82, 145, 189, 206, 222, 228, 274, 314, 330, 336, 423, 436, 5:xxxvii, 71, 72, 95, 126, 214, 240, 246, 248, 279, 299, 304, 363, 399, 6:68, 132, 133, 138, 260, 289–290, 312, 446  
     **doctrine of**, 4:321–322  
 Catholic League, 3:384  
**Catholic Reformation in Europe**, 3:43, 91–94  
 Catholic Worker Movement, 6:117  
 Catiline, 1:83  
**Cato, Marcus Porcius**, 1:70–71, 394, 397  
 Caton-Thompson, Gertrude, 2:368  
 Catt, Carrie Chapman, 5:225, 414, 6:139

- cattle, 1:152, 391, 426, 3:84, 85, 4:xxvi, xxvii  
 Catullus, Gaius Valerius, 1:390–391, 392, 396, 397  
 Cauas, Jorge, 6:90  
 Cauchon, Pierre, 2:224  
**caudillos and caudillismo**, 3:63, 4:77–79, 151, 228, 322, 357, 362, 369, 371, 442  
 Caupolicán, 3:20  
 Cavagnari, Louis, 4:9, 32  
 Cavalcanti, Guido, 2:99  
 Cavelier, René-Robert. *See* LaSalle, sieur de  
 Cavell, Edith, 5:253  
 Cavendish, Henry, 3:346  
 Cavendish, William, 3:165  
**cave paintings**, 1:71–72, 121–122, 177, 386, 408  
 Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, 1:121  
**Cavour, Camillo Benso di**, 4:79–80, 136, 195, 197, 431  
 Caxias, Luis Alves de Lima (marquis), 4:280, 322  
 Cayuga Indians, 3:267  
 Cease-Fire Line (CFL), 6:48, 202  
 Ceaușescu, Nicolae, 6:52, 129, 130  
 Cecil, Robert, 3:187, 4:30, 67, 161  
 Cecil, William, (first baron Burghley), 3:120  
 Cecilia, 1:262s  
 Cedillo, Saturnino, 5:58  
 Cédras, Raoul, 6:31  
 Celaya, Battle(s) of, 5:248, 279  
 Celestine I (saint and pope), 1:247, 2:76  
 Celestine II (pope), 2:377  
 Celestine III (pope), 2:195, 330  
 Celsus, 1:80, 249  
**Celt Christianity**, 2:75–76  
 Celtic Church, 2:17  
**Celts**, 1:xxx, xxxviii, 32, 53–55, 72–73, 120, 155, 336, 481, 482, 2:283, 415  
 Cemal Pasha, 5:29, 432  
 Cenobitism, 1:99  
**CENTO/Baghdad Pact**, 6:48–49, 219, 305  
**Central America**, 4:xxv, xxxv, 6:xxxix, xxxvi  
   **conquest of**, 3:14, 61, 67–69, 105, 179, 299  
   ethnic and linguistic groups in, 3:68–69  
   **National War in**, 4:80–81  
 Central American-Dominican Republic-United States  
   Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA-DR), 6:320  
**Central Asia**, 6:81–89  
   **Russian conquest of**, 4:363–364  
 Central European Bank, 6:144  
 Central Intelligence Agency, Korean (KCIA), 6:249, 334  
 Central Intelligence Agency, U.S. (CIA), 6:56, 74, 101, 106, 157, 182, 214, 312, 318, 319, 337  
 Central Worker's Union (CUT), 6:388  
 Cenwulf, 2:17  
 Ceolfrith, 2:39  
 Ceowulf, 2:17, 98  
 Cephas, 1:21  
 ceremonial pipes, 1:295  
 Ceres, 1:395, 396  
 Cerro, Luis Sánchez, 5:103  
 Cervantes, Miguel de, 3:213, 313  
 Cervini, Marcello, 3:389, 390  
 Césaire, Aimé, 5:xxxix, 269, 290, 347, 6:148  
 Céspedes, Manuel de, 5:42  
 Cetewayo, 4:66  
**Ceylon**, 1:xxxvi, 73–74, 145, 462  
   **Dutch to British colony of**, 4:81–84  
 Chacabuco, Battle of, 4:314  
 Chacín, Pedro Itriago, 5:126  
 Chaco War, 6:67  
 Chad, 4:140, 141, 6:291, 353  
 Chad, Lake, 2:160, 230  
 Chadwick, John, 1:250  
 Chaeronea, Battle of, 1:10, 112, 354, 387  
 Chaffee, Roger, 6:399  
 Chagall, Marc, 5:361  
 Chaga's disease, 3:85  
**Chagatai khanate**, 2:77–78, 134, 281, 313, 398, 403  
 Chaippe, Ana, 5:241  
 Chaitanya, 2:43  
**Chakri dynasty**, 4:84–86, 347, 6:61–62  
 Chalcedon, Council of, 1:30, 103, 129–130, 160, 165, 244, 247, 306, 310, 320, 449, 2:67, 4:321  
 Chalcuchima, 3:300  
 Chaldea, 1:103  
 Chaldeans, 1:43  
 Challoner, Richard, 3:41  
 Châlons, Battle of, 2:195  
 Chamberlain, Austin, 5:221, 222  
 Chamberlain, Joseph, 4:30, 67, 396  
 Chamberlain, Neville, 4:9, 5:19, 20, 66, 364, 420  
 Chambers, Whittaker, 5:156  
 Chambord, Henri, comte de, 4:375  
 Chamorro, Violeta, 6:312  
**Champagne, fairs of**, 2:115–116  
**Champa kingdom**, 2:xxx, 78–79, 234, 251, 376  
 Champlain, Samuel de, 3:161, 272, 400  
 Champollion, Jean-François, 1:406  
 Chan, Charlie, 5:254  
 Chanakaya, 1:236–237  
 Chan Buddhism, 2:438  
 Chancellorsville, Battle of, 4:92  
 Chandler, Raymond, 5:219  
**Chandragupta**, 1:74, 177  
**Chandragupta II**, 1:74, 117, 153, 177, 421

- Chandragupta Maurya, 1:33, 217, 236, 262–263, 270, 271, 333
- Chaney, James, 6:405
- Chaney, Lon, 5:253
- Chang'an (Ch'ang-an)**, 1:xxxvi, xxxvii, 55, 75, 121, 132, 176, 183, 251, 252, 385, 428, 437, 466, 2:19, 123, 147, 288, 294, 296, 387, 395, 425, 431
- Change to Win Federation, 6:16
- chanson de geste*, 2:71, 343–344
- Chao In, 4:85
- Chao Praya Srisuriyawongse, 4:347
- Chaos, 1:172
- Chapin, Dwight, 6:459
- Chaplin, Charlie, 5:253, 255
- Chapultepec Peace Accords, 6:135
- charakitai*, 1:13
- Charbonneau, Toussaint, 4:237
- Charcot, Jean-Martin, 5:114
- chariots, 1:xxxv, xxxviii, 284, 319, 383, 425, 506
- Charlemagne**, 1:49, 165, 243, 2:5, 16, 49, 54, 59, 72, 74, 79–80, 86, 194, 195, 265, 273, 316, 324, 401, 408, 410, 3:166, 5:104
- Charles I** (king of England), 3:4, 54, 69–71, 79, 94, 95, 170, 187, 215, 216, 234, 319, 335, 370, 402
- Charles I (king of Spain). *See* Charles V (Holy Roman Emperor)
- Charles I of Anjou, 2:176, 295
- Charles I of Hungary, 2:291
- Charles II** (king of England), 2:155, 291, 3:19, 54, 71–72, 79, 96, 97, 107, 148, 150, 165, 169, 170, 187, 216, 218, 298, 319, 365, 369, 396, 402, 4:74, 112, 184, 220, 399
- Charles II (king of Spain), 3:158
- Charles III (king of Spain), 2:195, 295, 3:45, 158, 4:220, 400
- Charles IV (Holy Roman Emperor), 2:48, 71, 144, 154, 177, 185
- Charles IV (king of Spain), 4:128, 220, 296, 400
- Charles V** (Holy Roman Emperor), 2:81, 155, 177, 3:13, 25, 26, 27, 60, 72–73, 80, 89, 90, 93, 101, 105–106, 110, 119, 122, 123, 133, 134, 154, 157–158, 162, 163, 193, 194, 236, 242, 245, 279, 292, 305, 306, 310, 332, 352, 353, 374, 388, 389, 393, 394, 402, 417, 5:104, 6:132
- Charles V (king of France), 2:177, 186, 327, 328
- Charles VI (emperor of Austria) 4:138, 205
- Charles VI (Holy Roman Emperor), 2:90, 165, 186, 307, 327, 3:29, 158, 370, 394
- Charles VII (king of France), 2:160, 187, 224, 3:216, 395
- Charles VIII (king of France), 2:128, 3:154, 217, 240, 395
- Charles IX (king of France), 3:160, 264, 395
- Charles X (king of France), 4:58, 59, 299
- Charles X Gustavus (king of Sweden), 3:77, 78
- Charles XI (king of Sweden), 3:78
- Charles XII (king of Sweden), 3:91, 304, 305, 4:436
- Charles, George, 5:289
- Charles, Prince of Wales, 6:38
- Charles Albert (king of Sardinia-Piedmont), 4:79, 80, 136, 195, 266, 431
- Charles Felix (king of Sardinia), 4:195
- Charles Martel, 2:49, 72, 117, 273, 289, 400, 407
- Charles of Anjou, 3:236
- Charles of Lorraine, 2:71
- Charles of Navarre, 2:186
- Charles-Philippe, comte d'Artois. *See* Charles X (king of France)
- Charles the Bald, 2:72, 75, 155, 178, 413, 418
- Charles the Bold, 3:216, 376
- Charles Theodore (elector of Bavaria), 4:77
- Charlotte, Princess, 4:431
- Charter of Privileges, 3:298
- Chase, Samuel, 4:22
- Châtelet, Madame (Émilie) du, 4:436
- Châtillon, Battle of, 4:149
- chattel slavery, 4:xxxii, 1, 5
- Chaucer, Geoffrey**, 1:204, 398, 2:80–81, 84, 310
- Chauri Chaura incident, 5:270
- Chauvet, Jean-Marie, 1:71
- Chauvet Cave, 1:71–72
- Chavaillon, Jean, 1:136
- Chavaillon, N., 1:136
- Chávez, Cesar**, 6:70
- Chávez, Hugo**, 4:56, 79, 5:208, 6:60, 88–89, 288
- Chavín culture, 2:15
- Chavín de Huantar, 2:15
- Cheboksarov, N., 1:151
- Chechnya, 6:xlii, 222, 348, 370, 375–376, 378
- Checkpoint Charlie, 6:162
- Chelcicky, Peter, 2:189
- Chelmno, 5:152
- Chelmsford, Lord (Frederic Thesiger), 4:66, 5:162
- chemical weapons, 5:xli
- chemistry, 3:344, 346
- Chen (Ch'en), 1:186
- Chen Duxiu (Ch'en Tu-hsiu), 5:64, 238, 245, 246
- Cheney, Dick, 6:75
- Cheng (Ch'eng), 1:120, 486
- Cheng Hao (Ch'en Hao), 2:299, 300
- Cheng Ho, 4:37

- Cheng Yi (Cheng I), 2:299, 300  
 Cheng-Zhu philosophy, 2:443  
 Chengzu (Ch'eng-tsu), 2:277  
**Chenla**, 2:81–82  
**Chennault, Claire Lee**, 5:56, 61–62, 70, 351, 369  
**Chen Shui-bian**, 6:117  
 Chen Tuan, 2:299  
 Chen Yi, 6:475  
 Chernenko, Konstantin, 6:72, 73, 457  
 Chernobyl nuclear accident, 6:xxxiv, 136, 173  
 Chernomyrdin, Viktor, 6:372, 373, 374, 466  
 Chernykh, Evgeniy, 1:213  
 Cherokee Indians, 1:296, 3:267  
*Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, 4:302  
 Cherry Blossom League, 5:193  
 Chetaka, 1:217  
 Chetty, R. K. Shanmukham, 5:270  
 Chevalier, François, 3:159  
 Chevalier, Maurice, 5:255  
 Chewa, 6:54  
 Chia, Sandro, 6:38  
**Chiang Ching-kuo**, 5:65, 6:89–90, 117, 411  
**Chiang Kai-shek**, 5:17, 18, 56, 61, 62–63, 64, 65, 123, 132, 146, 157, 193, 194, 223, 235, 238, 239, 241, 275, 350, 369, 395, 407, 423, 425, 429, 439, 6:89, 90, 117, 267, 411, 444, 475  
 Chibás, Eduardo, 6:80  
 “Chicago Boys” (Chilean economists), 6:90–97, 340  
**Chicago Fire (1871)**, 4:86–87, 309, 315  
 Chichimecs, 2:396, 3:31  
 Chickasaw Indians, 3:267  
 chicken pox, 1:281  
 Chief of the West, 1:486  
 Chien-chen, 1:154  
 Chikamatsu Monzaemon, 3:148, 214  
**Chilam Balam, Books of (Latin America)**, 3:74–76, 411  
 Childe, V. G., 1:152, 211  
 Childeric, 2:129  
 child labor, 5:169, 225, 247  
 Children’s Crusade, 2:245  
 Chile, 3:13, 19–20, 136, 137, 395, 4:225, 313–314, 442, 5:5–6, 103, 130, 205, 6:10, 41, 43, 90–91, 258, 262, 339–340, 418  
**Chilean economists (“Chicago Boys”)**, 6:90–91, 340  
 Chilembwe, John, 5:278, 6:54  
 Chilpacingo, Congress of, 4:273  
 Chiluba, Frederick, 6:237  
 Chimor Empire, 2:13  
**China**, 1:xxix–xxx, xxxi, xxxvi, xxxvii, xxxix, 2:xxx, xxxii, xxxiv, xxxvi, 294, 3:111–112, 199–200, 214, 269, 334, 336–337, 410–411, 416, 4:xxvi, xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxv, xxxvi, xxxviii, 18, 29, 70–71, 74–75, 93–94, 162–163, 171, 178, 183, 185–186, 204, 209–210, 238–239, 241–242, 251, 287–288, 311, 342–343, 382, 383–384, 402, 407–408, 453–454, 5:xxxii, xxxvii, xxxviii, xxxix, xli, 17–18, 56, 61, 103, 130–131, 132, 134, 145, 157–158, 183–184, 193–194, 196, 213, 223, 228, 235–236, 238–239, 241–242, 244–246, 250–251, 275, 283, 297, 317–318, 347–348, 350–353, 372–373, 6:xxxii, xxxiii, xxxv, xxxvi, 35, 43, 45, 89–91, 103–104, 119, 192, 194–195, 196, 201, 267–269, 390–391, 422–423, 459–460, 475.  
*See also* China, People’s Republic of; China, Republic of (ROC)  
 Buddhism in, 1:55–57, 132–133, 145  
 civil war in, 5:xlili, 63–64, 241, 6:39, 100, 228, 287  
**Communists in, 1934–1949**, 5:M149  
 Confucianism in, 1:92–93, 132, 133  
 dynasties of, 1:132, 183, 250–251, 490–491, 505–507  
**Era of Division**, 1:132–133, 466, 2:294  
**Five Dynasties of**, 2:123–124, 442  
**Foreign Relations, 15th–17th Centuries**, 3:M79  
 golden age of poetry in, 2:82–83, 425  
**Great Leap Forward in**, 6:119, 162, 175, 423  
**Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in**, 6:91, 119, 162, 175–176, 192, 228, 268, 423, 475  
**Great Wall of**, 1:132, 163–165, 184, 186, 251, 257, 272, 378, 466, 492, 3:111, 153–154, 321, 406, 416  
 during the Han dynasty, 202 B.C.E.–250 C.E., 1: M23  
 human rights and dissidents in, 6:91–92  
**Hundred Days of Reform in**, 4:93, 171, 185–186, 344  
**Hundred Flowers Campaign in**, 6:196  
**Hundred Schools of Philosophy**, 1:93, 106, 204–205, 241, 288–289, 507  
 intellectual movement in, 6:196  
 Long March in, 5:18, 63, 65, 223, 239, 307, 395, 425, 439  
**Macartney mission to**, 4:251–252  
 May Fourth Movement, 6:196  
 during the Ming dynasty, c. 1415–1624, 2:M62  
**Muslim rebellions in**, 4:93, 289–290, 344, 415, 454  
**Nian Rebellion in**, 4:288, 311, 344, 415, 453, 454  
 partition of 1895–1914, 5:132  
 rites controversy in, 3:336–337

- scribes and writing culture in, 1:418  
 during the Song dynasty, 1038-1279, 2:M43  
 spheres of influence in, 4:87-88  
 Stilwell mission in, 5:369  
 Taiping Rebellion in, 4:xxxviii, 288, 311, 344,  
 407-408, 414, 415, 453, 454  
 during the Tang dynasty, 626-783, 2:M34  
 Ten States Era of, 2:123  
 Three Kingdoms, 1:464  
 Tiananmen Square massacre in, 6:92, 119,  
 422-423, 460  
 Tongzhi Restoration/Self-Strengthening Movement  
 in, 4:70-71, 93, 171, 238, 344, 414-415,  
 453, 454  
 U.S. relations with, 6:442-443  
 warlord era (1916-1927) in, 5:407-408  
 Warring States era in, 1:447, 486, 492, 505  
 China, People's Republic of (PRC), 5:64, 65, 239,  
 245, 246, 6:35, 90, 91, 92, 100, 115, 164, 175,  
 176, 192, 199, 204, 228, 247, 248, 268, 307,  
 317, 382, 385, 411, 423, 475  
 China, Republic of (ROC), 6:92, 117, 411, 440  
 China—Border Disputes and the Cultural Revolu-  
 tion, 1948-1983, 6:M162  
 Chinchorro culture, 3:17  
 Chindaswinth, 1:483, 2:86  
 Chinese Communist Party (CCP), 5:17, 64-65, 158,  
 238, 239, 241, 245, 275, 351, 369, 373, 395,  
 425, 430-431, 6:89, 90, 91, 92, 117, 119, 162,  
 176, 196, 197, 228, 267, 273, 391, 411, 475  
 Chinese Eastern Railway, 5:183  
 Chinese Engineering and Mining Company, 5:153  
 Chinese Enlightenment, 5:245  
 Chinese Exclusion Act, 4:88-89, 189, 217, 5:266  
 Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT), 5:17, 62, 63, 64,  
 157, 158, 223, 238, 241, 245, 275, 351, 6:89,  
 90, 92, 117, 267, 272, 411, 471  
 Chinese poetry, golden age of, 2:82-83, 425  
 Chinese Soviet Republic, 5:63, 65  
 Chinese-Vietnamese conflict, 6:92-93  
 Chioggia, Battle of, 2:411  
 Chiossone, Edoardo, 4:148  
 Chiricahua Indians, 3:263  
 de Chirico, Giorgio, 6:38  
 Chissano, Joaquim, 6:156  
 Chitrasena, 2:81  
 chivalry, 2:83-85  
 Chiyi (Chih-I), 1:55  
 Chlodio, 2:129  
 Chlorus, Constantius, 1:189  
 Chmielnicki Uprising, 3:194  
 Choctaw Indians, 1:296, 3:267  
 Choibalsan, Khorloogiin, 5:251  
 Choi Chungheon, 2:239  
 Chola kingdom, 2:85-86, 319, 393  
 cholera, 3:67, 4:284, 6:240  
 Choljong 4:211  
 Chomei, 2:304  
 Chongjo, 4:211  
 Chongzhen (Ch'ung-chen), 3:401  
 Chopin, Frédéric, 4:329  
 choregic poetry, 1:75-76  
 chorus, 1:170  
 Choshu clan, 4:327, 373, 414  
 Choson, 1:76-77, 238, 251, 486  
 Choson dynasty, 2:436  
 Chosroes II, 2:65  
 Chotek, Sophie, 4:43  
 Chotusitz, Battle of, 4:138  
 Chou Wen-mu, 4:211  
 Chrétien de Troyes, 2:84  
 Christ Child of Atocha, 3:398  
 Christian, Fletcher, 4:288, 289  
 Christian Century in Japan, 3:76  
 Christian Democratic Union (CDU), 6:127, 168  
 Christian Dualism (Gnosticism), 1:62, 77-80, 81, 90,  
 125, 130, 221, 238, 248, 290, 372, 2:167, 194  
 Christianity, early, 1:xxxv, 80-82, 157  
   Hellenization of, 1:192-193  
   persecutions of the church in, 1:344-345  
   during Roman Empire, 1:403-404  
 Christian II, 3:73, 332-333, 395  
 Christian IV, 3:382  
 Christian IX, 4:152  
 Christian Science Church, 4:118-119  
 Christian states of Spain, 2:88-92  
 Christian Zionists, 5:37  
 Christie, Charles, 4:8  
 Christina Vasa, 3:77-78, 396  
 Christmas slave revolt, 4:3  
 Christophe, (Henry I [king of Northern Haiti]), 4:437  
 Chromatius, 1:219  
 Chrysippus, 1:444, 445  
 Chrysoloras, Manuel, 2:90, 410  
 Chrysostom, John, 1:48, 82-83, 100, 174, 2:68  
 Chuikov, Vasily, 5:368  
 Chulalongkorn, 4:347  
 Chun Doo Hwan, 6:250  
 Chung-cheng, 5:62  
 Chunghye, 2:239  
 Chungnyol, 2:239  
 Chungson, 2:239  
 Chungsum, 2:239  
 Chupas, Battle of, 3:13

- Church, Benjamin, 3:202
- Churchill, John (first duke of Marlborough), 3:19, 148, 150, 188, 367
- Churchill, Leonard Spencer, 5:65
- Churchill, Winston**, 5:19, 30, 41, 46, 55, 56, 65–67, 147, 151, 153, 211, 237, 276, 327, 351, 352, 354, 416, 421, 427, 428, 6:xxxix, 100, 166, 268
- Church of England**, 3:36, 42, 70, 71, 78–80, 96, 106, 119, 161, 163, 233, 255, 317, 318, 319, 332, 367, 391, 392
- Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 4:281–282
- Church of Kiev, 3:52
- Church of Scotland/the Kirk, 3:348, 371
- Church of the Holy Sepulcher, 2:143, 246
- Chwezi dynasty, 4:71
- Ciano, Galeazzo, 5:260
- Ci'an (Tz'u-an) 4:93, 162
- Ciboney Indians, 3:67
- Cicero**, 1:37, 52, 64, 83–84, 131, 194, 248, 390, 391, 394, 445, 470, 2:215, 265, 3:172
- Cicero, Quintus, 1:157
- Cieza de León, Pedro de, 3:123
- Cigar Makers' International Union (CMIU), 5:127
- Çiller, Tansu, 6:431
- Cimabue, 2:142
- Cimon, 1:344, 490
- Cineas, 1:375
- Cinna, Lucius Cornelius, 1:64, 261
- Circus Maximus, 1:305, 399
- Cisalpine Gaul, 1:154–155, 156, 188, 386, 394, 444, 469
- Cisneros, Francisco, 2:217, 3:92, 134, 135
- Cistercian Order, 2:15, 91, 168, 223
- Cities and Economic Life in Europe, c. 1750**, 4:M97
- Ciudad Juárez, Treaty of, 5: 233, 240
- civil disobedience, 5:119, 163, 165, 329
- Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), 5:48, 92, 271
- Civilizations in Europe and Asia, 3500–1500 B.C.E.**, 1:M3
- Civil Liberties Act, 6:360
- Civil Marriage Act, 4:59
- Civil Rights Acts, 4:351, 352, 6:96, 97, 107, 232, 237, 239, 245, 205, 405
- Civil Rights Commission, 5:386
- Civil Rights movement, U.S.**, 5:71, 80, 192, 263, 6:4, 16, 48, 73, 93–97, 107, 150, 155, 250, 231, 245, 285, 292, 396, 405, 418
- Civil War, American**, 4:M122
- Civil War, American (1861–1865)**, 4:xxvi, xxvii, xxviii, xxxii, xxxv, xxxvii, xxxviii, 1, 3, 4, 19, 27, 51, 53, 73, 89–93, 115, 128, 140, 156, 164–165, 189, 194, 201, 205, 216, 237, 239, 259, 269, 273, 275, 277, 279, 281, 299, 302, 309, 312, 314, 332, 335, 349, 360, 363, 386, 398, 448, 5:91, 105, 106, 192, 266, 313
- Civil Works Administration, 5:271
- Cixi (Tz'u-hsi [dowager empress of China])**, 4:93–94, 162, 163, 171, 186, 210, 238, 344, 382, 383, 384, 415, 5:49–50
- Clactonian industry, 1:328
- Clair, René, 5:254
- clans, 1:495
- Clarendon, Constitution of, 2:38
- Clarendon Code, 3:107, 319
- Clark, Septima, 6:94
- Clark, William, 4:203, 238
- classical art and architecture, Greek**, 1:84–87
- Classical Period, Greek**, 1:xxxiii, 87–88
- Claudius, 1:53, 73, 150, 196, 231, 232–233, 305, 388, 392, 2:12
- Claudius Galen, 1:201
- Claudius Ptolemy, 1:13
- Clausewitz, Carl von 3:xxxvi
- Clauzel, General, 4:209
- Clavus of Pavia, 3:316
- Clay, Cassius. *See* Muhammad Ali
- Clay, Henry, 4:51, 200, 201, 237, 332
- Clay, Lucius 6:58
- Clayton, John, 4:445
- Clayton Antitrust Act, 5:308, 412
- Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, 5:291
- clean energy programs, 6:255
- Clearchus, 1:254
- “Clear Grit” Party, 4:331
- Cleisthenes**, 1:37, 88–90, 322
- Clemenceau, Georges**, 5:67–68, 221, 295, 336
- Clement (Irish scholar), 2:75
- Clement I (saint, pope) 4:321
- Clement III, 2:165, 195, 344
- Clement IV, 2:33
- Clement V, 2:29, 89, 236, 326, 327
- Clement VI, 2:177, 4:397
- Clement VII**, 2:31, 3:80–81, 92, 154, 163
- Clement VIII, 3:52, 161, 265
- Clement X, 3:110
- Clement XI, 2:20
- Clement XIV, 3:192
- Clemente, Francesco, 6:38
- Clemente, José, 6:258
- Clement of Alexandria**, 1:81, 82, 90, 99, 244, 248, 320, 321, 355
- Cleomenes, 1:89

- Cleonymus, 1:376  
 Cleopatra VII, 1:2, 9, 12, 62, 65, 273, 338, 352, 372, 373, 470  
 Cleopatra Thea, 1:421–422  
 Clerides, Glafcos, 6:114  
 Cleveland, Grover, 4:401, 5:26, 209  
 Cleyre, Voltairine de, 5:16  
 Clinton, Chelsea, 6:98  
 Clinton, George, 4:254  
 Clinton, Gervase, 3:165  
 Clinton, Henry, 4:24  
**Clinton, Hillary, 6:98–99, 348**  
 Clinton, Roger, 6:98  
**Clinton, William J., 6:16, 22, 43, 48, 74, 77, 98–99, 221, 301, 347, 358, 385, 446**  
 Clinton Foundation HIV/AIDS Initiative (CHAI), 6:98  
 Clinton-Hashimoto Security Declaration, 6:442  
**Clive, Robert, 2:280, 3:81, 140, 311, 4:64, 378**  
 Clodius, 1:71, 83  
 Clotaire II, 2:72  
 Clovis, 1:482, 2:131, 209, 269, 2:129, 209, 273  
 Clovis culture, 1:148, 149, 280  
 Club for the Support of Glasnost and Restructuring, 6:129  
 Clune, Frank, 5:33  
**Cluny, 2:42, 92–93**  
 Clytemnestra, 1:189, 204  
 Cnut. *See* Canute  
 “Coalition of the Willing,” 6:185  
 Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), 6:186, 187  
 Coard, Bernard, 6:182  
**coca, 4:16**  
   in Africa, 3:24  
   in Andes, 3:81–82, 99, 383  
 Cochin China, 5:70  
 cochineal, 3:62  
 Cochrane, Thomas, Lord, 4:228  
 Coddington, William, 3:403  
 Code for the Eastern Churches, 6:230  
 Code of Canon Law, 2:148, 6:230  
**Code of Justinian, 1:91, 249, 2:149**  
 Codex Ramírez, 3:97  
 Codex Theodosianus, 2:61  
 codices, 3:75, 97, 312  
   Mesoamerican, 2:280, 337, 338  
 Codreanu, Corneliu, 5:102–103  
 Codrington, Admiral Sir Edward, 4:170  
 Coe, Michael D., 2:338  
 Coe, Sebastian, 6:326  
 Coelho, Tomás, 5:72  
 coenobite, 1:286  
 Coercion Act, 4:194  
 Coeur, Jacques, 3:395  
 coffee, 3:374, 4:xxvi, 4, 16, 83, 223, 325, 6:xxxii  
**coffee revolution, 4:94–96**  
 Cognac, League of, 3:80  
**Co-hong system, 4:74–75, 251**  
 Cola di Rienzo, 2:30, 212  
 cola nuts, 3:24  
**Colbert, Jean Baptiste, 3:82–83, 138, 217**  
**cold war, 5:64, 71, 80, 128, 156, 175, 177, 210, 231, 234, 302, 318, 338, 381, 386, 387, 423, 429, 6: xxxiii, xxxvi, xxxix, xl, xli, 1, 5, 9, 10, 11, 17–19, 22, 34, 35, 45, 48, 49, 55, 57, 58, 68, 74, 75, 94, 99–102, 107, 109–110, 111, 112, 119, 127, 134, 135, 142, 149, 154, 157, 163, 164, 165, 174, 175, 179, 182, 193, 201, 204, 219, 221, 222, 233, 242, 249, 251, 259, 274, 285, 305, 307, 310, 321, 325, 328, 336, 353, 359, 363, 364–365, 367, 378, 392, 395, 399, 421, 438, 440, 442, 444, 446, 448, 450, 452**  
**Cold War, The, 1946–1991, 6:M161**  
 Cole, USS, 6:14, 412, 462  
 Coleman, Beverly, 5:381  
 Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 4:417  
 Colet, John, 2:217, 3:92, 126  
 Coligny, Gaspard de, 3:160  
**Collapse of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact, The, 1989–1991, 6:M174**  
 collective farming, 6:92  
 collective rights, 4:222–223  
 College of Cardinals, 2:426  
 Colley, George, 4:160, 395  
 Collier, John, 5:167, 168  
 Collins, J. J., 1:19  
 Collins, Michael, 5:174, 399, 6:220, 399  
 Collins, Mike, 1:148  
 Cologne Confederation, 2:158  
**Colombia, 4:xxvi, 95, 5:130, 205, 206, 209, 6:123, 124, 157, 262**  
   **La Violencia, 6:102–103**  
   **War of the Thousand Days (1899–1902), 4:96**  
 colonialism, 3:243–244, 276–277, 327, 328, 329, 330, 4:14–18, 5:94, 123–124, 198, 204, 263, 289, 319–321, 354–355, 6:xli, xlii, 54, 112–113, 151, 239, 344, 441  
**Colonialism in Africa, 1914, 5:M138**  
**Colonialism in Africa, 1924, 5:M146**  
 Colonna, Pietro de, 2:344  
 Colonna family, 2:344–345  
 Colorado Party, 5:42, 43  
 Colson, Charles, 6:458  
 Colt, Jane, 3:254

- Columba, 2:75, 358  
**Columban of Leinster**, 2:75, 92  
**Columbian Exchange**, 3:62, 83–85, 122, 265  
**Columbus, Christopher**, 1:54, 2:137, 416, 3:18, 21, 56, 60, 65, 66, 85–87, 109, 129, 132, 134, 135, 265, 279, 354, 362, 372, 396, 399, 411, 4:37, 396, 397  
Columbus, Diego, 3:66, 67  
Comaneci, Nadia, 6:326  
Comanche Indians, 3:263  
comedy, 1:26, 170. *See also* Middle Comedy; New Comedy; Old Comedy  
Comenius, Johannes Amos, 2:190  
comfort women, 5:134, 317, 381  
Comgall, 2:92  
Cominform, 6:425  
**Comintern**, 5:64, 68–69, 70, 71, 245, 307, 373, 6:191, 425  
Commission for Relief, 5:153  
Commission on International Labor Legislation, 5:127  
Commissions of Eastern Orthodox, 6:134  
Committee of Industrial Organizations (CIO), 5:394  
Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), 5:23, 29, 30  
Committee on Government Contract Compliance (CGCC), 6:92  
Committees of Correspondence, 4:24  
Committee to Aid Homeless Spanish Women and Children, 5:126  
Committee to Reelect the President (CREEP), 6:347–348, 458  
Commodus, 1:17, 39, 340, 341, 389, 402, 423  
**Common Market/European Economic Community (EEC)**, 6:143–144, 145, 167–168. *See also* European Union (EU)  
Commonwealth of Australia, 4:41, 5:32  
**Commonwealth of England**, 3:87  
Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), 6:xxxviii, 370, 398  
**Commonwealth of Nations**, 6:77, 104–106, 382  
Communero Revolt, 3:45  
Communist Bureau of Information (Cominform), 5:69  
Communist Labor Party, 5:71  
**Communist Party**, 5:xxxvii, 3, 68, 142, 226, 240, 241, 273, 6:49, 52, 58, 60, 71–73, 81, 82, 83, 85, 87, 112, 127, 128, 129, 134, 172, 173, 174, 191, 194, 205, 242, 243, 267, 287, 305, 308, 346, 367, 372, 386, 387, 390, 396, 397, 424, 425, 438, 448, 453, 456, 459, 466  
**Chinese**, 5:17, 64–65, 131, 238, 241, 245, 275  
**of Indochina (CPI)**, 5:70–71  
**in United States**, 5:71, 156  
**Communists in China, 1934–1949**, 5:M149  
Community Action Program, 6:178  
Community of Christ, 4:284  
Community of Scrolls, 1:380  
Community Rule, 1:379, 380  
Comnena, Anna. *See* Anna Komnene  
Comnenus, John. *See* John Komnenos  
Comonfort, Ignacio, 4:273, 274  
Compagnie des Indes, 3:219, 4:219  
Company of Pastors, 3:146, 147  
Company of the Massachusetts Bay, 3:237  
Compromise of 1850, 4:4, 271  
Compromise of 1877, 4:352  
computers, 6:xxxiv–xxxv  
Comte, Auguste, 4:232  
**comuneros revolt**, 4:96–97  
concentration camps, 4:69, 5:xlii, 95, 137, 149, 150, 151, 268, 402, 424  
Concert of Europe, 4:111, 112  
Concord, Battle of, 4:23, 109  
Concordat of Bologna, 3:332  
Concordat of London, 2:426  
Concordat of Vienna. *See* Vienna Concordat  
**Concordat of Worms**, 2:164, 175, 244, 426  
Condino, Battle of, 4:149  
Condon, Edward U. 5: 156  
*Condor*, USS, 5:297  
Conemaugh River, 4:204  
Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, 5:16  
Confederate States of America (CSA), 4:xxxiii, xxxv, xxxvii, 4, 89  
Confederation of the Rhine, 4:296, 297  
Confederation of Warsaw, 2:256  
Conference of European Economic Cooperation (CEEC), 6:284  
Confessing Church, 5:47  
**Conflicts in the Qing Empire, 1839–1899**, 4:M120  
**Confucian Classics**, 1:77, 91–92, 93, 184, 253, 429, 2:123, 276, 334, 394, 425, 430, 435, 442, 444  
**Confucianism**, 1:xxxii, 2:430  
    influences and spread of, 1:133, 184, 205, 446, 494, 496  
    as a state ideology (China), 1:92–93  
**Confucius (Kong Fuzi, or K’ung-fu-tzu)**, 1:39, 92, 93–95, 186, 205, 288, 429, 493, 506, 2:222, 242, 425, 430, 3:268, 5:xxxix, 246  
Conghou (Chung-hou), 4:402  
**Congo**, 1:4, 6:273–274, 290–292  
    **Democratic Republic of the**, 2:36, 37, 3:221, 5:252, 6:17, 118–119, 230, 239, 365, 380  
**Congo Free State**, 3:222, 4:97–98, 141, 236  
Congo Reform Association, 4:98

- Congo River, 4:12, 6:118  
 Congo War, First, 6:291  
 Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, 2:197  
 Congress-League Scheme of Reforms, 5:162  
 Congress of Berlin, 5:38  
 Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), 5:217  
 Congress of People's Deputies, 6:370, 371, 372, 396, 466  
 Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), 6:66, 107, 155, 405  
 Congress of the People, 6:4  
 Congress Party, 5:164, 165, 6:227, 445  
 Congress Working Committee, 5:165, 166  
*Conics* (Apollonius), 1:13  
 Conisburgh, Richard, 2:165  
 Connla's Well, 2:199  
 Connor, Eugene "Bull," 6:96  
*Conqueror*, HMS, 6: 147  
 conqueror machos, 4:230  
 Conrad II, 2:70, 174, 329  
 Conrad III, 2:94, 130  
 Conrad IV, 2:153, 176  
 Conrad, duke of Franconia, 2:174  
 Conrad, duke of Lorraine, 2:262  
 Conroy, John, 4:432  
 conscription, 4:xxxvii  
 conservationists, 5:91  
 Conservative Party, 5:66, 67  
 Constance of Sicily, 2:311  
 Constans, 1:36  
 Constans II, 1:264, 2:63  
 Constant, Benjamin, 5:72  
 Constantine II, 1:36, 402, 2:60, 6:179  
 Constantine III, 2:63  
 Constantine IV, 2:53, 63  
 Constantine V, 2:58, 64, 194  
 Constantine VI, 2:64  
 Constantine VII, 2:64  
 Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos, 2:64  
 Constantine VIII, 2:65  
 Constantine IX, 2:65  
 Constantine X, 2:65  
 Constantine Heraclius, 2:65  
 Constantine the African, 2:267  
**Constantine the Great**, 1:xxxv, 12, 26, 36, 81, 95–97, 99, 131, 141, 165, 180, 182, 188, 210, 229, 231, 239, 249, 273, 282, 357, 389, 403, 413, 457, 2:56, 60, 67, 129, 320  
 Constantine the Great of Russia, 2:414  
**Constantinople**, 1:12, 20, 82–83, 96, 97–98, 138, 165, 168, 175, 182, 192, 206, 249, 304, 306, 310, 320, 401, 402, 461, 2:xl, 57, 60, 94, 126, 194, 245, 269, 303, 323, 413, 434, 3:42, 52, 72, 172, 173, 241, 242, 290, 4:31, 54, 113, 170, 234, 5:25, 32, 40  
 Council of, 1:26, 67, 99, 128, 219, 234, 244, 282, 310, 460, 461, 2:67, 4:321  
**massacre of**, 2:58, 93  
 Constantinople Agreement, 5:172  
 Constantius, 1:118, 2:60  
 Constantius II, 1:36, 97, 231, 259  
 Constantius Chlorus, 1:95, 189, 2:129  
**Constitution, U.S.**, 4:1, 4, 6, 22, 50, 89, 98–100, 109, 115, 122, 135, 175, 240, 247, 249, 260, 331, 351, 385  
 Constitutional Army, 5:58  
 Constitutional Convention, U.S., 4:254, 444  
 Constitutional Democrats (Kadets), 5:333  
**constitutionalism**, 4:451–452  
 Constitutionalist Army, 5:59  
 Constitutional Progressive Party, 6:269  
 Constitution of Lothair, 2:320  
 Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, 5:295  
 Constitutions of Clarendon, 2:40  
 Census, 1:395  
 Contades, (Louis-Georges Érasme) marquis de, 3:219  
 containment, U.S. policy of, 6:100, 198, 395  
 Contarini, Domenico, 2:412  
 Contarini, Gasparo, 3:389  
 Conte, Lansana, 6:427  
 Continental army, U.S., 4:xxxvii, 24, 443  
 Continental Congress, U.S., 4:6, 24, 98–100, 135, 253, 320  
 Continental Operational Command (COPCON), 6:349  
 Continho, Fernando, 3:12  
 Continua, Lotta, 6:108  
*contrapposto*, 1:85–86  
**contra war (Nicaragua)**, 6:105–106, 135, 214, 310, 312, 362  
 Convention of Bloemfontein, 4:66  
 Convention of Defensive Alliance, 6:112  
 Convention of Gastein, 4:55  
 Convention of London, 4:305  
 Convention of Versailles, 4:134  
 Convention People's Party (CPP), 6:318  
 conversionism, 3:108  
 Coode, John, 3:234  
**Cook, James**, 3:400, 4:40, 100–101, 179, 184, 242, 318  
 Coolidge, Calvin, 5:57, 153  
 Cooper, Anthony Ashley (first earl of Shaftesbury), 3:215  
 Cooper, James Fenimore, 4:413

- Cop, Nicholas, 3:64  
**Copernicus, Nicolaus**, 1:266, 2:xxxi, 3:87–88, 103, 143, 201, 316, 345  
Coppens, Y., 1:135  
copper, 1:xxxi, 3:286, 4:226  
copperheads, 4:92  
Coppola, Francis Ford, 6:108  
**Coptic Christian Church**, 1:98–100, 320–321, 4:124  
Corbeil, William de, 2:375  
Cordillera Occidental, 1:14  
Córdoba, Francisco de, 3:74, 245, 411  
Corinth, 1:xxxvii, 167, 318, 337, 342, 354  
    League of, 1:354  
Corliss, George H., 4:xxix  
corn, 1:295, 4:xxvi, 5:xxxix  
Cornaro, Vincenzo, 3:212  
Corneille, Pierre, 3:213, 336  
Corn Laws, 4:112  
Corn Mother, 1:295, 296  
Cornwallis, Charles, Lord, 4:25  
**Coronado, Francisco Vásquez de**, 3:88–89, 286  
Corregidor, 5:230, 302  
Cortes (Spanish parliament), 2:88  
**Cortés, Hernán**, 2:xxxix, 181, 182, 276, 337, 338, 339, 390, 3:15, 67, 68–69, 89–90, 97, 105, 228, 245, 251, 264, 279, 286, 299, 310, 312, 399, 4:230, 231, 271, 397  
Corvinus, Matthias, 2:155, 178, 3:173  
Cosby, William, 3:415  
**Cossacks**, 3:90–91, 152, 4:8, 359  
Costa, Miguel, 5:378  
Costa e Silva, Artur, 6:71  
Costa Gomes, Francisco da, 6:347  
Costahas, Lucio, 6:41  
Costa Rica, 4:xxvi, 80, 81, 95  
Coster, William Jacobszoon, 4:82  
Cotán, Juan Sanchez, 3:39  
Côte d'Ivoire, 5:112, 113. *See also* Ivory Coast  
cotton, 4:xxvi, xxvii, xxxv, 89  
Cotton, John, 3:175, 403  
Cotton, Robert, 3:215  
cotton gin, 4:xxvii, 260, 411, 5:83  
Coty, René, 6:163  
Cotyaeum, Battle of, 2:62  
Coubertin, Baron Pierre de, 5:282, 6:325, 327  
Coughlin, Father Charles, 5:103  
Coulmiers, Battle of, 4:134  
**Council for Mutual Economic Assistance**  
    (COMECON), 6:103–104, 166, 342, 346  
Council for New England, 3:237  
Council of Aachen, 2:76  
Council of Basel, 2:190  
**Council of Brest**, 3:52  
Council of Carthage, 2:199  
Council of Clermont, 2:344, 409  
**Council of Constance**, 2:30, 92–93, 168, 178, 188, 346, 428, 3:331  
Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), 6:95  
Council of Ferrara-Florence, 2:286  
Council of Four, 5:295  
Council of Frankfurt, 2:346  
Council of Indies, 3:208  
Council of Mantua, 3:389  
Council of National Defense, 5:127  
Council of Pisa, 2:92  
Council of Regensburg, 2:346  
Council of Rheims, 2:257  
Council of Sens, 2:42  
Council of Seventy, 2:215  
Council of Ten, 2:413  
Council of the European Union, 6:145  
Council of the Indies, 3:45, 231, 274, 313  
Council of Verona, 2:168  
Councils of Regensburg and Frankfurt, 2:340  
**counterculture**, 6:xxxvii, 107–108  
**Counter-Reformation in Europe**, 3:38, 91–94, 134, 135, 158, 171, 212, 221, 333, 4:423  
Courcy, Roussel de, 4:142  
Courtenay dynasty, 2:248  
Coutras, Battle of, 3:160  
Covadonga, Battle of, 2:86  
Covilha, Pero da, 3:6  
Coward, Noel, 5:254  
Cowley, Malcolm, 5:99  
Cowls, Fleur, 4:362  
Cowpens, Battle of, 4:25  
cow protection movement, 5:9  
Cox, Archibald, 6:318, 458  
Cox, Percy, 5:55, 140, 141, 173  
Coxey's Army, 4:131  
Coyote, North American tales of, 1:4  
Cradock, John, 4:395  
Craft, Jan, 1:471  
Crane, Charles R., 5:189  
Cranmer, Thomas, 3:40, 42, 78, 119, 163, 234  
Crannon, Battle of, 1:115  
Crassus, Marcus Licinius, 1:61, 64, 65, 71, 84, 444, 469  
Craterus, 1:115  
Cratippus, 1:195  
Crawford, Joan, 5:253  
Crawford, William, 4:200  
Crazy Horse, 4:301  
Crécy, Battle of, 2:184, 269, 307

- Cree Indians, 1:297  
 Creek Indians, 3:267  
 Creoles, 3:277, 4:57, 61, 78, 132, 180, 221, 226–227, 370  
 Crerar, Henry D. G., 5:75  
*Crescent*, HMS, 4:9  
 Crespel, Emanuel, 3:138  
 Crete, 1:102  
 Crick, Francis, 6:xxxv  
 Crimea Conference, 5:427–429  
**Crimean War**, 4:xxxvi, 31, 47, 56, 80, 101–103, 112, 117, 136, 159, 163, 197, 269, 299, 312, 360, 366, 410, 431, 432, 448  
     **during 1853–1855**, 4:M119  
**Crisis of the Third Century**, 250–271, 1:M26  
 Crisoloras, Manuel, 2:52  
**Cristero Revolt**, 5:57, 71–72, 248, 6:208  
 Critias, 1:442  
 Crixus, 1:444  
 Croatia, 4:46, 47, 48, 49, 6:49, 51, 145, 164, 470  
 Crockett, Davy, 4:411  
 Crocus Field, Battle of, 1:354  
 Croesus, 1:441  
 Cromer, Lord, 4:404, 5:435  
 Crompton, Samuel, 3:347  
**Cromwell, Oliver**, 3:40, 54, 55, 71, 79, 94–97, 187, 319, 371  
 Cromwell, Richard, 3:71  
 Cromwell, Thomas, 3:233  
 Cronin, A. J., 5:255  
 Cronus, 1:172, 318  
 crop rotation, 4:xxvii  
 Crosby, Alfred W., 3:83  
 Crosby, Bing, 5:255  
 Cross, James, 6:354  
 crossbow, 2:xxxviii–xxxix  
 Crowther, Samuel Ajayi, 5:231  
 Crozier, L. N. F., 4:357  
 crucicentrism, 3:108  
**Crusades**, 1:58, 105, 160, 166, 239, 294, 332, 2:xxxvii, 4–6, 20, 23, 24, 35, 54, 57, 58, 84, 90, 94–96, 119, 126, 130, 136, 143–144, 175, 176, 196, 236, 245, 285, 301, 306, 325, 342, 355, 356, 402, 413, 3:230  
**Crusades, The**, 1095–1221, 2:M42  
 Cruse, Harold, 6:66  
 Crush Malaysia, 6:206  
 Cuadra, Sergio de la, 6:90  
**Cuautemoc**, 3:90, 97, 247  
**Cuba**, 3:67, 86, 89, 101, 114, 137, 232, 245, 355, 4:xxxviii, 3, 165, 229, 231, 261–262, 281, 399, 5:42, 79, 110, 128, 198, 199, 205, 207, 208–209, 301, 303, 6:xl, 17–18, 34, 56–57, 102, 135, 141, 238, 243, 257, 258, 261, 279, 311  
     **Ten Years' War in**, 4:103, 262  
     **War of Independence in**, 4:103, 104–105, 262, 398  
**Cuban migration to U.S.**, 6:108–109  
**Cuban missile crisis**, 6:xl, 34, 56, 57, 109–111, 161, 238, 243, 390, 440  
**Cuban revolution**, 6:11, 68, 70, 80, 81, 109, 111–112, 153, 185, 208, 259, 310, 382, 410  
 Cuban Revolutionary Party (PRC), 4:262  
 Cuestas, Juan Lindolfo, 5:43  
 Cugnot, Nicholas, 4:xxx  
 Cullen, Countee, 5:99, 140  
 Culloden Moor, Battle of, 3:30, 149  
 cult of domesticity, 4:448  
 cultural feminists, 6:151  
 cultural imperialism, 4:xxxv, 13  
**Cultural Revolution, China**, 6:91, 92, 119, 162, 176–177, 228, 268, 423, 475  
 Cumberland Road, 4:254  
 cummings, e. e., 5:99  
**cuneiform**, 1:xxxiv, 23, 100–101, 104, 123, 201, 214, 248, 260, 270, 299, 418, 446, 473, 475  
**Cunha, Euclides da**, 5:72–73  
 Cunha, Tristão da, 3:12  
 Cupid, 1:396  
 curacas, 3:62–63  
 Curie, Marie, 5:xxxv–xxxvi  
 Curie, Pierre, 5:xxxv  
 Curtin, Philip, 4:386  
 Curupayty, Battle of, 4:280  
 Curzola, Battle of, 2:136  
 Curzon, George Nathaniel, Lord, 4:161, 5:9, 165  
 Custer, George A., 4:303, 6:16  
 Custozza, Battle of, 4:136, 153, 196  
 Cuthbert, 2:14, 39  
 Cuthwin, 2:39  
**Cuzco (Peru)**, 3:25, 46, 63, 98–99, 299, 300, 388, 393  
 Cyaxares, 1:270  
 Cybele, 1:400  
**Cyclades**, 1:102, 129  
 Cyclops, 1:172, 203  
 Cynosura, 1:172  
 Cyprus, 3:350, 5:20, 190, 6:179, 276–277, 430  
     **independence of**, 6:112–113  
     **Turkish invasion of**, 6:114  
**Cyril and Methodios**, 2:47, 96, 189, 285, 420  
**Cyril of Alexandria**, 1:30, 102–103, 160, 166, 189, 247, 306  
 Cyrus, 1:31, 195

- Cyrus II the Great, 1:xxxv, 30, 44, 66, 103–104, 108, 128, 148, 153, 270, 288, 345, 346, 507  
 Cyrus the Younger, 1:31, 195  
 Czechoslovakia, 5:20, 133, 149, 221, 234, 242–244, 295, 296, 6:xl, 45, 100, 102, 128–129, 190, 346–347, 391, 406, 456, 457  
 Czech Republic, 1:243, 6:190  
 Czolgosz, Leon, 5:125, 328
- D**  
 Da'amat, 1:136–137  
 Dacian Wars, 1:388  
 Dadaji Kondadeb, 3:358  
 Dadu (T'a-tu), 2:437, 438  
 Daendels, Herman Willem, 4:305  
 Dagda, 2:76  
 Dagestan, 6:375  
 Dahab, Abdel Rahman Mohammed Hassan Siwar al-, 6:429  
 Dahomey, 2:40, 5:112, 113  
 Dáil Éireann, 5:174  
 Daimler, Gottlieb, 4:xxx  
 Dai Viet, 2:78, 233  
 Daladier, Édouard, 5:20, 420  
 Dalai Lama, 3:14, 200, 324, 325  
 14th (Tenzin Gyatso), 6:115–116, 307, 423  
 Daley, Richard J., 6:208, 245  
 Dalhousie, marquis of (James Broun Ramsay), 4:64, 71, 381  
 Dalí, Salvador, 6:35  
 Dalindyebo, Jongintaba, 6:280  
 dalits, 5:12  
 Dalzell, Archibald, 2:40  
 Damas, Léon, 5:269, 290  
 Damascene, John, 1:67, 2:68, 97–98, 194  
 Damascius, 1:304  
 Damascus, 1:105, 202, 239, 337, 416, 501, 2:xxxii, xxxvii, xxxviii, 35, 69, 95, 203, 399, 433, 3:291  
 Damascus Document, 1:380  
 Damascus Protocol, 5:24  
 Damasus, 1:219  
 Dampier, William, 3:400  
 Dan (Tan), 1:486  
 Dandanqan, Battle of, 2:139, 262  
 Dandi March, 5:119, 166  
 Dandolo, Enrico, 2:90, 93, 413  
 Danelaw, 2:6, 17, 98–99, 110  
 Daniel, 1:19, 103, 238, 276, 300, 346, 473, 487, 488  
 Daniil of Volhynia, 2:283  
 Danilenko, Valentin, 1:211  
 Danilenko, Vladimir, 1:212  
 Dannoura, Battle of, 2:134, 231  
 Dante Alighieri, 1:204, 2:46, 81, 84, 85, 99–100, 142, 215, 3:212  
 Danton, Georges-Jacques, 4:58, 146  
 Danzan, Soliyn, 5:251  
 Daodejing (*Tao-te Ching*), 106–107, 241–242  
 Daoguang (Tao-kuang), 4:75, 162, 241  
 Daoism (Taoism), 1:55, 93, 106–107, 133, 184, 205, 241, 289, 437, 499, 2:xxxiii, 82, 299, 381, 390, 393, 430  
 Daoud, Mohammed, 6:1, 2, 235  
 Daqiqi, 2:122  
 Dara Shikuh, 3:356  
 Darby, John Nelson, 4:63  
 D'Arcy, William Knox, 5:280, 281  
 Dardanelles, 1:10, 5:30  
 Dare, Virginia, 3:53  
 Darfur, 6:xlii, 116–117  
 Darfur Peace Agreement, 6:407  
 Darío, Rubén, 5:203  
 Darius I, 30, 31, 66, 75, 84, 108–109, 153, 194, 258, 263, 270, 345, 346, 437, 489  
 Darius II, 1:30, 31, 75, 84, 108–109, 153, 194, 263, 270, 346, 258, 489  
 Darius III, 1:11, 32, 45, 191  
 Dark, Eleanor, 5:33  
 Dark Ages, Greek, 1:xxxvi, 24, 167, 190, 2:xxxvi, 76  
 Dark Ocean Society, 5:45  
 Darnley, Henry, Lord, 3:186  
 Darrieux, Danielle, 5:255  
 Darrow, Clarence, 5:53, 78, 261, 342–343  
 Darso, Battle of, 4:149  
 Darweesh, Sayyed, 5:xl  
 Darwin, Charles, 4:xxx, xxxii, 107–109, 157, 184, 185, 388, 5:xxxix, 96, 6:356  
 Darwin, Erasmus, 4:107  
 Darwin affair, 4:34  
 Darwinian evolution, 5:53, 204  
 Darwinism, 4:118  
 Dasa, Purandara, 3:259  
 Dastagir, Sabu, 5:255  
 D'Aubuisson, Roberto, 6:385  
 Daughters of the American Revolution, 5:325  
 Daun, Marshal (Léopold Joseph) von, 4:139  
 Dauphin, 2:184, 185, 3:4  
 Davenport, Charles, 5:96  
 David, 1:22, 23, 29, 96, 109–110, 215, 216, 227, 239, 276, 277, 368, 370, 417, 418, 439  
 David II. *See* Dawit II  
 Davidson, Basil, 4:16  
 Dávila, Gil González, 3:68  
 Dávila, Pedrarias, 3:68

- Davis, Jefferson, 4:91  
 Davis, Richard Harding, 4:205, 310  
 Davos Culture, 6:171  
 Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, 2:281  
 Dawes Act, 4:303, 5:168  
 Dawes Plan, 5:175, 221, 319  
 Dawit II (emperor of Ethiopia), 2:3, 359, 360, 3:209  
 Dawlet Gerei Khan, 3:184  
 Daxue (Ta-hsueh), 2:92  
 Da Xia (Ta Hsia) dynasty, 2:429  
 Day, Benjamin, 4:309  
**Day, Dorothy, 6:117**  
 Dayan, Moshe, 6:25, 26  
 Dayanand Saraswati 4:59, 60  
 Dayton Accords, 6:51, 471  
 D'Azeglio, Massimo, 4:431  
**D-day, 5:xlii, 75–78, 322, 423**  
 DDT, 6:xxxiv  
 Dead Sea Scrolls, 1:19, 50, 133, 222, 225, 238, 261, 277, 288, 290, 372, 379  
 Dean, John, 6:317, 458  
 death camps, 5:137, 149, 150, 151  
 death squads, 6:103, 137, 183, 418  
 Deborah, 1:230, 368  
**Debs, Eugene V., 4:392, 5:78, 92, 318**  
 DeCarava, Roy, 5:140  
 Decebalus, 1:388, 467–468  
 Decius, 1:321, 344, 345  
 Decker, Mary, 6:326  
**Declaration of Independence, U.S., 4:6, 24, 98, 99–111, 122, 135, 145, 202, 320, 450**  
 Declaration of Indulgence, 3:150, 188  
 Declaration of Pilnitz, 4:146  
 Declaration of Principles (DOP), 6:22  
 Declaration of Santiago among Ecuador, Chile, and Peru, 6:447  
 Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, 4:145  
 de Cleyre, Voltairine, 5:16  
 decolonization, 6:5, 105, 164  
**Decolonization in South and Southeast Asia, 1947–2000, 6:M187**  
 de Corbeil, William, 2:371  
 de Courcel, Geoffroy, 6:161  
 deductive methodology, 3:344  
 “Deep Throat,” 6:317  
 Deere, John, 4:xxvi  
 Defence Planning Committee (DPC), 6:321  
 Defiance Campaign, 6:281  
 Defoe, Daniel, 3:149, 213  
 deforestation, 2:xxix, 6:141, 142, 145, 280, 423  
 De Gasperi, Alcide, 6:144, 145  
 Degollado, Santos, 4:273  
 Degrelle, Léon, 5:102  
 Dehalle, Constantine, 3:138  
 Deioces, 1:270, 346  
 Deiphobus, 1:189  
 deism, 3:346–347  
 Déjacque, Joseph, 5:16  
 De Jonge, B. C., 5:143, 265  
 de Klerk, F. W., 6:3, 4, 282  
 de Kooning, Willem, 5:98  
 de la Huerta, Adolfo, 5:57, 58, 60, 248  
 Delaware Indians, 3:267  
 Delcasse, Theophile, 4:420  
**Delhi, India 3:35, 102–103**  
 Delhi Pact, 5:329  
**Delhi Sultanate, 2:100–101, 203–204, 287, 402, 5:9**  
**Delhi Sultanate, 1236–1398, 2:M48**  
 Delian League, 1:84, 86, 342, 347, 5:8  
 deliberative speech, 1:174  
 Delium, Battle of, 1:9  
 Dell, Virginia, 6:98  
 Delors, Jacques, 6:144  
**Delphic oracle, 1:110–112, 326, 356–357, 372, 439, 459**  
 del Rio, Dolores, 5:197, 198  
**Demarcation, Bull of, 3:56**  
 Demarest, Arthur, 1:266  
 Demeter, 1:129, 172, 291, 332  
 Demetrios Phaleron, 1:248  
 Demetrius, 1:116–117, 153, 321, 362, 375  
 Demetrius I, 1:45  
 Demetrius II Nicator, 1:421  
 D’Emilio, John, 6:288  
 DeMille, Cecil B., 5:253, 254  
 Demirel, Süleyman, 6:430  
 Demobilization Bureaus, 5:180  
 Democratic Patriotic Alliance of Kurdistan, 6:254  
**Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), 6:118**  
 Democratic Revolutionary Alliance (ARDE), 6:106  
 Democritus, 1:367  
 demographic catastrophe, 3:123  
**Demosthenes, 1:10, 112–113, 115, 173, 174, 354, 448**  
 Dempsey, Miles, 5:75  
 Denck, Hans, 3:16  
 dengue fever, 5:xxxv  
**Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-P’ing), 4:223, 5:65, 6:xxxii, 91, 92, 119, 176, 192, 194, 199, 228, 423, 475**  
 Denkyira, 3:9  
 Denman, Lady, 5:32  
 Denmark, 2:415, 416–419, 4:4, 386, 387, 5:103, 123, 130, 151, 6:164  
 Denon, Dominique Vivant, Baron, 4:374

- deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA), 6:xxxv  
 “dependency school,” 4:224  
 Derba, Mimi, 5:198  
 Dergue, 6:194  
 Derrida, Jacques, 5:301  
 Desai, Morarji, 6:203, 227  
 Desaix, Louis-Charles-Antoine, 4:10  
 Descartes, René, 3:77, 103–104, 165, 277, 344–345, 346  
 Deschamps, Eliette Brunel, 1:71  
 Deschanel, Paul, 5:68  
 desegregation, 5:386, 6:94, 107, 232  
 Desert Fathers and Mothers, 1:xxxiv, 113, 357, 2:76  
 Desert Fox. *See* Rommel, Erwin  
 Desert Shield, 6:74  
 Desert Storm, 6:74  
 Desiderius, 1:243, 323  
 Desmoulins, Camille, 4:58  
 De Soto, Hernando, 3:101–102, 110, 124, 267  
 Dispenser, Hugh, 2:108  
 Dessalines, Jean-Jacques, 4:174, 437  
 Destour Party, 4:368  
 detention camps, 5:95  
 determinatives, 1:198  
 Dettingen, Battle of, 4:138  
 Deuba, Sher Bahadur, 6:309  
 Deucalion, 1:192  
 Deule, Juan de la, 3:135  
 Deuterocanonical, 1:256, 371, 372  
 Deuteronomy, 1:114, 228, 466, 467  
 de Valera, Éamon. *See* Valera, Eamon de  
 Devens, Fort, 5:171  
 Devereaux, Robert (earl of Essex), 3:36, 121  
 Devoto, G., 1:212  
 Dewey, George, 4:398, 5:301  
 Dewey, John, 5:158, 245  
 Dewey, Thomas, 5:327, 386  
 De Witt regime, 3:402  
 Deza, Diego de, 3:109  
 Dhalip Singh, 4:381  
 Dhana Nanda, 1:236  
 dharma, 1:199, 461, 462  
 Dharmakara, 1:56  
 Dharmasokaraj, 2:370  
 Dharma Sutras, 1:114–115, 199  
 Dhimmi, 2:101–102  
 dhows, 3:357  
 Dhu Nuwas, 1:501  
 Dhuoba, 2:75  
 Di (Ti), 1:288  
 Diadochi, 1:115–117, 248, 256, 372, 421  
 Diagne, Blaise, 5:79  
 Diakonov, Igor, 1:212  
 diamonds, 4:67, 95, 354, 355  
 Diana, 1:396  
 Dias, Bartolomeu, 2:167, 333, 3:104, 144, 399, 4:394  
 Días, Félix, 5:158  
 Dias Lopes, Isidoro, 5:378  
 Díaz, Adolfo, 5:340  
 Diaz, Armando, 5:284  
 Diaz, Félix, 5:233, 279  
 Díaz, Porfirio, 4:xxxii, 38, 78, 110–111, 223, 232, 273, 274, 275, 5:59, 93, 107, 158, 232, 233, 246, 247, 284, 285, 303–305, 400, 403, 436, 6:290  
 Díaz Balart, Mirta, 6:80  
 Díaz del Castillo, Bernal, 3:90, 105, 105, 228  
 Díaz de Solís, Juan, 4:424  
 Díaz Ordaz, Gustavo, 6:209, 410  
 Dicaearchus, 1:151  
 Dickens, Charles, 4:xxxvi, 390, 5:254  
 Dickinson, John, 4:100, 101  
 Dickson, Kennedy Laurie, 5:252  
 Didache, The, 1:82  
 Diderot, Denis, 4:78, 79, 123, 125, 360, 435  
 Diderot, Jean, 3:254  
 Dido, 1:2, 6, 69, 397  
 Didymus, 1:20, 99  
 Diego, Juan, 3:397  
 Diem, Ngo Dinh, 5:41  
 Dien Bien Phu, Battle of, 5:41, 6:xli, 8, 191, 204, 335, 448, 452  
 Dies, Martin, 5:155  
 Dies Committee, 5:155, 156  
 Diesel, Rudolf, 4:xxx  
 Diet of Augsburg, 3:28  
 Diet of Speyer, 3:332  
 Diet of Worms, 3:26, 105–106, 223, 332  
 Diet of Wurzburg, 2:426  
 Dietrich, Marlene, 5:255  
 Diggers, 3:96, 319  
 Digges, Thomas, 3:88  
 Dijon, Battle of, 4:151  
 Dillehay, T. D., 1:148  
 Dillon, Peter, 4:222  
 Dimitri, governor of Kiev, 2:284  
 Dimitri Donkoi, 2:285  
 Dimitri of Moscow, 2:285  
 Dimitrov, George, 5:69  
 Din, Fu’ad Siraq ad-, 5:406  
 Din, Muzzafar ad-, 4:341  
 Al-Din, Khair, 4:421  
 Din, Muzaffar al-, 4:364

- Din, Shaikh Safi al-, 3:342  
Din, Zakariyya Muhi al-, 6:134  
Dinak, 1:414  
Dinescu, Mircea, 6:130  
Dingane, 4:379  
Dingiswayo, 4:378  
Dinh, Khai, 5:41  
Din-I ilahi/Divine Faith, 3:10, 257  
Di Nobili, 3:221  
Dinocrates, 1:11  
Din Shah, Nasir al-, 4:18  
Dio Cassius, 1:420  
Diocles, 1:117–119  
**Diocletian**, 1:58, 117–119, 209, 281, 320, 344, 345, 389, 400, 401, 403, 413, 456, 457, 2:60  
Dio Crassus, 1:222  
Diodore of Tarsus, 1:82  
Diodorus, 1:73, 443  
Diodotus, 1:45  
Diomedes, 1:203  
Dionysius, 1:xxxii, 138, 141  
Dionysius the Areopagite, 1:304  
Dionysius the Pseudo-Dionysius, 1:304  
Dionysus, as Greek deity, 1:3, 27, 87, 99, 129, 169, 170, 171, 174, 191, 291, 306, 332, 443  
Diop, Alioune, 5:290, 347  
Dioscorus of Alexandria, 1:129  
Dioscuri, 1:189, 399, 400  
Dipendra, 6:309  
Diphilus, 1:307  
diphtheria, 3:123  
**diplomatic revolution, European**, 3:219, 4:111–112, 138, 246  
direct current (DC), 5:83  
Di Renjie (Ti Jeh-chieh), 2:427  
Diriangén, 3:68  
Dirksen, Everett, 6:451  
Dirty War(s), 6:31, 72, 292, 293  
**disarmament, nuclear**, 6:120–122  
Disarmament Conference (League of Nations’), 5:213  
Disarmament Protocol, 6:106  
disciples, 1:19–21, 221  
*Discovery*, 3:188, 4:101  
**Discovery, Voyages of**, 3:398–400  
disease, 3:49–50, 67, 72, 85, 122–125, 230, 250, 266, 307, 355, 362, 363, 390, 394, 5:xxxv, 6:xxxv. *See also specific disease or illness*  
Disney, Walt, 5:61, 255  
dispensationalism, 4:64  
displaced persons camps, 5:134  
**Disraeli, Benjamin (first earl of Beaconsfield)**, 4:54, 65, 67, 112–115, 160, 390, 433  
**dissenters in England**, 3:106–107  
Distant Early Warning/DEW Line, 6:323, 324  
Divided Line, 1:359–360  
**Divine Caliphate and the Ummah**, 2:102–104  
**divine faith in Europe**, 3:107–108, 186  
Dix, Dorothea, 4:448  
Dixon, Thomas, Jr., 5:192  
Djamasp, 1:414  
Djedefe, 1:374  
Djibouti, 6:193  
Djindjic, Zoran, 6:51  
Djoser, 1:316  
Długosz, Jan, 2:256  
Dmitri, 3:90  
*Dobam Asiayon*, 5:31  
Dobell, William, 5:33  
Docetism, 1:262  
*doctrinas*, 3:138  
Doctrine of Recollection, 1:359  
*Doctrine of the Mean*, 1:92  
Doenitz, Karl, 5:277  
Dogen, 2:441  
dogs, 1:xxix, 301, 425, 426, 2:xxxii  
Dohnanyi, Hans von, 5:47  
Doihara Kenji, 5:193, 194, 228  
Do Kin Kyi, 6:46  
Dole, Bob, 6:154  
**Dollar Diplomacy**, 5:79–80, 324  
Dollfuss, Engelbert, 5:102, 337  
Dome of the Rock, 2:203, 205, 406, 407  
*Domesday Book*, 2:309  
Domingues, Pedro, 3:38  
Dominican Inquisition, 2:245  
**Dominican Republic**, 5:128, 209, 324, 384–385, 6:68  
**Haitian massacre in**, 5:138–139  
**Dominicans/Dominican Order**, 2:168, 272, 356, 3:109, 128, 208, 223, 330, 336, 337, 343, 352, 353, 389  
**in the Americas**, 3:109–111  
Dominion Lands Act, 4:168  
“domino effect,” 6:xli  
Domitian, 1:17, 20, 150, 151, 340, 345, 388, 393, 398, 400  
Domitius Aurelianus, 1:330  
Donahue, Thomas R., 6:16  
Donaldson, Gordon, 3:348  
**Donatello**, 2:51, 104–105, 141, 216  
Donatism, 1:38  
Dong Chungshu (Tung Chung-shu), 1:184  
Dong Hu, 1:492  
Dong Khanh, 4:142  
Dong Zho (Tung Cho), 1:499

- donkeys, 1:xxx, xxxviii, 4:xxvi  
 Donne, John, 2:85, 3:214  
**Dorgon**, 3:111–112, 249, 321, 322, 406, 407, 416  
 Doria, Andrea, 2:137  
 Dorians, 1:xxxv, 167, 290  
 Dornach, Battle of, 2:178  
 Dorrego, Manuel, 4:362  
 Dos Passos, John, 5:99, 218  
**Dost Mohammed**, 4:8, 31, 114  
 Dostoyevsky, Fyodor, 4:32, 360, 365, 5:97  
 Douai-Reims Bible, 3:40, 41  
 Douglas, Aaron, 5:140  
 Douglas, Helen Gahagan, 6:315  
 Douglas, Hugh, 3:202  
 Douglas, John, 3:348  
 Douglas, Stephen, 4:91, 239  
 Douglas, Thomas, 3:171  
 Douglas, William, 6:366  
**Douglass, Frederick**, 4:92, 114–115, 238, 310, 450  
 Doukid dynasty, 2:65  
 Douris of Samos, 1:86  
 Dou Rong (Tou Jung), 1:255  
 Dover, Treaty of, 3:72  
 Dowla, Suraja, 4:378  
 Dowling, Andrew Jackson, 4:315  
 Doxiadis, Constantinos A., 6:40  
 Doyle, Arthur Conan, 5:219, 254  
 Draco, 1:440, 441  
 Dracula, 2:271  
 dragon bones, 1:18  
 drain theory, 4:293  
**Drake, Francis**, 3:112–113, 121, 228, 355, 367, 368, 400, 4:397  
**Dravidians**, 1:xxxii, xxxv, 119–120, 480–481, 2:319  
*Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 4:90, 238  
 Dreschel, Thomas, 3:15, 296  
 Dresden, Peace of, 3:30  
 Dreyfus, Alfred, 4:xxxiii  
**Dreyfus Affair**, 4:xxxiii, 115–117, 376, 454  
 Drimakos, 1:443  
 Drug Enforcement Agency, 6:316  
**drug wars, international**, 6:122–124, 260, 262  
**Druids**, 1:53, 73, 120, 156, 2:200  
*druj*, 1:507  
 Drummond, Eric, 5:212  
 Drusus, Marcus Livius, 1:70, 163  
 Drusus, Nero, 1:232  
 Druze, 2:365, 5:214, 6:263  
 Dryden, John, 3:215  
 Drysdale, Russell, 5:33  
 Dual Alliance, 4:234, 420, 5:8  
 Duan Qirui, 5:408  
 Duarte, Evita, 6:338  
 Duarte, José Napoleon, 6:135  
 Dubček, Alexander, 6:129, 190, 346, 347  
 Dube, John, 5:3, 356, 393  
**DuBois, W. E. B.**, 5:53, 80, 121, 124, 139, 256, 261, 262, 289, 6:170  
 DuBois Club, 6:155  
 Dubukhu-Adda, 1:123  
 Duchamp, Marcel, 5:84  
 Ducos, Roger, 4:295  
 Ducrot, Auguste, 4:133  
 Dudayev, Dzhokhar, 6:375  
 Dudley, John, 3:119  
 Dudley, Robert, 3:120, 121  
 Dudu, 1:7  
 Duer, William, 4:176  
 Dufferin Commission, 4:69  
 Du Fu (Tu Fu), 2:82, 83, 432  
 Duhm, Bernard, 1:424  
 Dukakis, Michael 6:98  
**Duke of Zhou (Chou)**, 1:92, 93, 94, 120–121, 253, 486, 505, 2:395  
 Dukkali, Abu Shu'ayb al-, 4:368  
 Dulles, John Foster, 6:23, 45, 395, 443, 444  
 Duma, 5:186, 330, 331, 332, 366  
 Dumas, Alexandre, 2:88, 3:335, 5:254  
 du Maurier, Daphne, 5:254  
 Dumont, Gabriel, 4:356  
 Dumont d'Urville, Jules, 4:319  
 Dunand, Maurice, 1:58  
 Dunant, Henri, 4:299  
 Dunawa Dibilani, 2:230–231  
 Dunbar, Battle of, 3:96  
 Dunbar, William, 2:361  
**Dunhuang (Tun-huang)**, 1:121–122, 428, 2:334  
 Dunkirk, Battle of, 5:234, 6:163  
 Dunmore, Lord, 4:25  
 Dunstan, 2:15  
 Dunster, Henry, 3:159  
 Dupleix, Joseph-François, 3:81, 140, 311  
 DuPont de Nemours, Pierre Samuel, 4:22, 249  
 Durand, Mortimer, 4:32  
 Durand Line, 4:32, 6:1  
 Duras, Marguerite, 5:98  
 D'Urban, Benjamin, 4:395  
 Dürer, Albrecht, 2:218, 3:22  
 Durga, 2:43  
 Durham Report, 4:331  
 Dürnkrot and Jedenspeigen, Battle of, 2:153  
 Durrani dynasty, 4:31, 114  
 Dušan, Stephan, 2:250  
**dust bowl**, 5:xxxii, 81–82, 134, 272

- Dutch in Latin America**, 3:114–115  
**Dutch in South Africa**, 3:115–116  
*See also* Netherlands  
**Dutch East India Company (VOC)**, 3:7, 115, 118, 138, 180, 416, 4:15, 40, 82, 304, 345, 394  
**in Indonesia/Batavia**, 3:113–114  
Dutch East Indies, 4:255, 5:132, 134, 298  
Dutch Golden Age, 3:115  
**Dutch New Guinea/West Irian**, 6:124  
Dutch Reformed Church, 3:274  
Dutch United Provinces, 3:218  
Dutch War(s), 3:96  
Dutch West India Company, 3:54, 273, 298  
Duval (French consul), 4:21  
**Duvalier, François (“Papa Doc”)**, 4:438, 6:31, 124  
Duvalier, Jean-Claude (“Baby Doc”), 6:124  
Du Wenxiu (Tu Wen-hsiu), 4:287  
**Dvaravati**, 2:105  
Dwight, Timothy, 4:167  
dyarchy, 5:163  
Dyaus Pitar, 1:478  
Dyer, Reginald E. H., 5:13, 14  
dysentery, 3:124  
Dzhalalov, Abdulhafiz, 6:87
- E**  
*Eagle*, 4:100  
*Eaglet*, 3:169, 170  
Eanes, António Ramalho, 6:344, 345, 346  
Earl Haakon, 2:310, 311  
**East Africa**,  
    city-states, 2:107–108  
    **Omani Empire in**, 3:285  
East Africa Association, 5:188  
East Bank, 6:233  
East Berlin, 6:102  
Easter Uprising, 5:173, 6:220  
**Eastern bloc, collapse of**, 6:M174, 127–130  
Eastern Europe, 2:xxxv, 6:xl, 39, 74, 100, 102, 145, 287, 390, 391, 396  
Eastern Orthodox Church, 3:306  
**Eastern Question**, 4:54, 101, 117–118  
Eastern Rumelia, 4:48  
Eastern Task Force, 5:75  
Eastern Zhou, 1:505, 506  
East Germany, 6:xl, 58–60, 102, 127, 285, 456. *See also* German Democratic Republic  
East India Company, 3:2, 121, 4:10, 29, 30, 71, 163, 190  
Eastman, George, 5:xxxv  
East Pakistan, 6:47, 331, 359  
**East Timor**, 6:130, 343, 408  
Eaton, Nathaniel, 3:159
- Ebadi, Shirin**, 6:xxxvii, 131  
Eban, Abba, 6:25  
Ebeid, Makram, 5:435  
Ebert, Friedrich, 5:409, 410  
Ebionites, 1:229  
**Ebla**, 1:101, 123–124, 248, 411  
**Ecbatana**, 1:103, 104, 116, 269, 270, 345–346  
Ecevit, Bülent, 6:432  
Ecgrith, 2:17  
ECHELON system, 6:102  
Echevarría, Luis, 6:208, 290, 415  
**Eck, Johann Maier von**, 3:117–118, 242  
Eckert, J. Presper, 6:xxxiv  
Eckhart, Meister, 1:197  
Eckholm, Gordon F., 2:181  
eclecticism, 1:337  
Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), 6:132  
**Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA)**, 5:200, 6:131–132  
Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), 5:290, 6:266  
Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), 6:284  
economic liberalism, 4:222  
Economic Opportunity Act, 6:179, 180  
economies, 2:xxxiii–xxxiv, 6:xxxii, xxxviii, 43–44, 74, 171, 172, 204, 261, 276, 374, 421–422  
ECOWAS. *See* Economic Community of West African States  
ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), 6:266  
Ecuador, 3:136, 6:262, 328, 447  
**Ecumenical movement**, 6:132–133  
eddaic poems, 2:418  
Eddy, Asa Gilbert, 4:118  
**Eddy, Mary Baker**, 4:118–119  
Eden, Anthony, 5:151–152, 153, 6:23, 24  
Eden, George, 4:8, 31  
Eden hypothesis, 1:329  
**Edessa**, 1:124–125, 130, 249, 306, 334, 448, 472, 2:23, 248  
Edict of Expulsion, 3:134  
**Edict of Nantes**, 3:47, 160, 172, 218, 264–265, 332, 335, 4:121, 394  
Edict of Restitution, 3:382  
Edington, Battle of, 2:6  
**Edison, Thomas A.**, 4:xxix, xxx, 5:xxxiv, xxxv, 83–84, 108, 252  
Edison Laboratories, 5:252  
Edmund Ironside, 2:70  
**Edo Period in Japan**, 3:118–119, 147, 337, 384  
**education**,  
    medieval, 2:xxxi–xxxii, 5–6, 74, 264–266

- Education Act of 1496, 2:355  
Edward (Duarte; king of Portugal), 2:419, 3:5, 12  
**Edward I**, 2:108, 185, 305, 306, 307, 423, 424  
**Edward II**, 2:108–109, 185, 305, 307  
Edward III, 2:80, 177, 185, 186, 214, 235, 305, 307, 359, 428, 3:338, 394  
Edward IV, 3:161, 216, 338, 339, 391  
**Edward VI**, 3:42, 78, 106, 119–120, 163, 164, 233, 332, 348, 391  
Edward VII, 4:420, 431, 432, 433  
Edward VIII. *See* Wales, Prince of; Windsor, duke of  
Edward Augustus, duke of Kent, 4:431  
Edwards, Jonathan, 3:214, 4:166 167  
Edward the Black Prince, 2:88, 186, 307  
Edward the Confessor, 2:15, 18, 305, 309  
Effingham, Howard of, 3:112  
Effiong, Philip, 6:65  
Egal, Mohammed Ibrahim, 6:392  
Egbeka, 3:127  
Egbert, 2:17  
**Egeria**, 1:125–126, 189, 357, 431  
Eggenberger, David, 2:329, 330  
**Egypt**, 1:xxxii, xxxiv, xxxvi, xxxvii–xxxviii, 4, 5, 11, 100, 126–127, 146, 208, 240, 278–279, 298–300, 350–352, 418, 457–458, 4:xxxvi, xxxv, 13, 33, 160, 170, 194, 300–301, 374–375, 404, 424, 5:12–13, 86–87, 190, 348, 371, 405–406, 6:xxxvi, 19, 21, 23, 25, 41, 45–46, 47, 232, 267, 289, 304–305, 356–357, 422, 437–438  
British occupation of, 4:69, 174  
Coptic Christian Church in, 1:98–100, 320–321  
culture and religion of, 1:126–127  
Egyptian revolution, 5:84, 6:133–135, 304  
khedives of, 4:8  
Mamluk dynasties in, 3:211, 229–230  
Middle Kingdom of, 1:126, 278–279, 312, 457  
Napoleonic conquest of, 4:10, 300–301  
New Kingdom of, 1:126, 307–309, 312, 350, 382, 457, 458  
Old Kingdom of, 1:126, 312, 316–317, 350, 374, 383  
Urabi revolt in, 4:34, 284, 424  
Egyptian Asiatic Empire under Tuthmosis III, 1450 B.C.E., 1:M7  
Egyptian Book of the Dead, 1:53, 127  
Egyptian Feminist Union, 5:348  
Egyptian Israeli Peace Treaty, 6:27, 222  
Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, 6:14  
Ehlers, Tracy, 4:231  
Ehrenberg, Victor, 1:344  
Ehrlich, Paul, 5:xxxv  
Ehrlichman, John, 6:458  
Eiffel, Gustav, 4:401  
Eiffel Tower, 4:xxxvi, 6:9  
Eight Deer, 2:275, 280  
1812, War of 4:xxvii, xxix, xxxiv, xxxvii, 7, 50, 129, 130, 199, 259, 270, 281, 302, 330, 331, 332, 440–441, 5:328  
Eightfold Noble Path, 1:461, 462  
Eighth Frontier War, 4:395  
Einaudi, Luigi, 5:284  
Einhard, 2:75  
**Einstein, Albert**, 5:xxxvi, 85–86, 236  
Eisenhower, Dwight D., 5:75, 77, 229, 231, 262, 396, 6:xxxiii, xli, 20, 24, 56, 74, 98, 100, 101, 111, 238, 243, 288, 322, 442, 444, 450  
Eisenstein, Sergei, 5:253, 361  
Ekklesia, 1:9  
El, 1:473  
**El Alamein**, 5:86–87, 322, 423  
**Elam**, 1:41, 42, 128, 411  
**Elamites**, 1:7, 23, 35, 42, 43, 128, 269–270, 476  
El-Asham, 2:113  
Elchibey, Abulfez, 6:32  
**El Cid**, 2:87, 109–110  
El Dorado, 3:280  
**Eleanor of Aquitaine**, 2:22–24, 46, 84, 163, 306, 327, 342, 376  
Eleatic school of pre-Socratic Philosophy, 1:365, 366–367, 441–442  
electricity, 5:xxxii, xxxiv, 6:xxxiv  
Elementary and Secondary Education Act, 6:179  
*Elements* (Euclid), 1:12, 13  
Eleni, 3:209  
elephants, 1:xxxviii, 4:82, 83  
Eleusinian Mysteries, 1:9, 128, 129, 291  
**Eleusis**, 1:128–129  
El Greco, 3:21, 158  
Eli, 1:229  
Eliade, Mircea, 1:386  
Eliécer Gaitán, Jorge, 5:206  
Elihu, 1:223, 224  
Elijah, 1:6, 21, 23, 39, 225, 226, 368  
Eliot, Charles, 4:241  
Eliot, George, 4:449  
Eliot, John, 3:70, 202, 212  
Eliot, T. S., 5:98, 218  
Elipandus of Toledo, 2:6  
Elis, 1:9  
Elisha, 1:23, 368, 2:223  
**Elizabeth I**, 3:42, 53, 54, 65, 69, 78, 106, 107, 112, 120–121, 148, 152, 157, 163, 169, 170, 184, 186, 203, 233, 329, 348, 367, 368, 370, 383, 391, 392, 4:64

- Elizabeth II, 5:33, 6:76, 105, 419  
*Elizabeth*, HMS, 6:296  
 Elizabethan Age, 3:121  
 Elizabethan Religious Settlement, 3:392  
 Elizabeth of Russia, 4:77, 141  
 Elizabeth of Valois, 3:306  
 Elkesaites, 1:448  
**Ellis Island**, 5:88–91  
 Ellison, Ralph, 5:98  
 Ellsworth, Oliver, 4:99  
 Ellsberg, Daniel, 6:347, 458  
 El Mina, 5:123  
 El Mozote Massacre, 6:385  
 Elphinstone, William, 4:8  
**El Salvador**, 4:80, 81, 95, 5:242, 6:181, 259, 261, 418  
   **La Matanza in**, 5:87–88  
   **revolution and civil war in**, 6:135  
 Eluay, Theys Hijo, 6:124  
 Elysée Treaty, 6:163  
 Elyssa, 1:2  
 Emancipation Act, 4:360  
 Emancipation Proclamation, 4:4, 92, 239, 240  
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 1:50, 2:155, 4:417, 419  
 Emishi, 1:436  
 Empedocles, 1:366  
**Empire of Alexander the Great**, 334–323 B.C.E. 1:M17  
**Empires of Western Africa**, c. 1800, 4:M103  
 empiricism, 3:344  
 Ems Telegram, 4:56  
*encomienda*, in Spanish America, 3:13, 20, 62, 67, 89, 105, 109, 121–122, 158, 208, 275, 276, 283, 300, 311, 333, 352, 361, 393, 411, 4:275  
 Encratites, 1:448  
*Endeavor*, 4:101, 318  
 Endicott, John, 3:237  
 Enforcement Acts, 4:352, 5:192  
**Engels, Friedrich**, 4:xxxii, xxxiii, 262–265, 391, 392  
 Enghien, duc d' (Louis-Antoine-Henri de Bourbon-Condé), 4:294  
**England**, 2:418–419. *See also* Great Britain  
   civil war in, 3:4, 21, 71, 106, 107, 160, 165, 170, 187, 215, 234, 237, 317, 370, 371  
   **dissenters in**, 3:106–107  
 Engle, Jacob, 4:65  
 English Channel, 2:184, 371, 412, 3:376–368, 5:75, 76, 77  
**English common law**, 2:110–111, 306  
 English East India Company, 3:81  
**English Trading Companies**, c. 1550–1770, 3:M72  
 Enheduanna, 1:475  
 Enko Daishi, 2:180  
 enlightened despotism in Europe, 4:119–120  
**Enlightenment**, 1:195, 461–463, 2:441, 3:108, 126, 212, 276, 347, 4:2, 20, 45, 76, 109, 121–123, 132, 134, 139, 167, 181, 205, 207, 220, 222, 226, 232, 317, 320, 360, 386, 387, 391, 435, 447  
 Enlil (god), 1:8  
 Enlil-nadin-ahi (Kassite king), 1:42, 128  
 Ennin, 2:132  
 Ennius, 1:2, 394, 397  
 Enoch, 1:19, 371  
*Enola Gay*, 5:146, 237  
 Enrile, Juan Ponce, 6:284  
 Entebbe Airport, hostage crisis in, 6:434  
 Entente Cordiale, 4:420  
*Enterprise* USS, 6:232  
 “Enuma Elish,” 1:42, 43  
 Enver Pasha, 5:29, 432  
**environment**, 6:xxxiv, 19  
   **disasters in**, 6:M185, 135–136  
   **environmental problems**, 6:81, 136–139, 141, 185  
**environmentalism/conserving nature**, 5:91–92  
 Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), 6:316  
 Epaminondas, 1:354  
 Ephebic Oath, 1:325–326  
**Ephesus**, 1:10, 129, 226  
**Ephesus, Council of**, 1:103, 128–129, 234, 2:67, 4:321  
 Ephialtes, 1:344  
**Ephrem**, 1:125, 130, 320, 449, 472  
 epic poetry, 1:24  
 Epictetus, 1:444, 445  
**Epicureanism**, 1:131, 390, 394, 397  
 Epicurus, 1:131, 362, 435  
 epideictic speech, 1:174  
**epidemics**, 3:85, 307, 363, 4:301  
   **in the Americas**, 3:122–125, 250  
   *See also specific disease or illness*  
 Epimetheus, 1:192  
 Epipaleolithic, 1:300, 330  
 epiphanic, moment of martyrdom, 1:262  
 Epiphanius, 2:97  
 Epiphanius of Salamis, 1:287  
**Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)**, 5:325, 414, 6:xxxvi, 139–140, 149, 151  
 Equatorial Guinea, 4:397  
 equestrians, 1:335–336, 423  
**Era of Division (China)**, 1:132–133, 466, 2:294  
 Era of evangelism, 3:108  
 Era of pietism, 3:108  
 Erasistratus, 1:xxxii  
**Erasmus of Rotterdam**, 1:51, 220, 2:217, 411, 3:40, 41, 64, 92, 117, 125–126, 163, 173, 174, 212, 223, 254, 331, 352, 417

- Eratosthenes, 1:13  
 Erazo, José, 4:403  
 Erbakan, Necmettin, 6:431  
 Ercilla y Zúñiga, Alonso de, 3:20  
 Erdogan, Recep Tayyip, 6:432  
 Erectheum, 1:85  
 Erectheus, 1:85  
 Erfurt, Congress of, 4:297  
 Eriba-Marduk, 1:43  
 Eric Bloodaxe, 2:314  
 Erichthonios, 1:331  
**Ericson, Leif, 2:111–112, 416**  
 Ericsson, Swede L., 5:xxxiv  
 Erie Canal, 4:xxvii, xxix  
 Erik XXV, 3:395  
 Erik the Red, 2:111, 149, 415  
**Eritrea, 6:140–141, 142, 193, 194, 381**  
 Eriugena, Johannes Scotus, 1:304  
 Erk Democratic Party, 6:87  
 Erlach, Johann Fischer von, 3:22, 39  
 Ermanric, 1:323  
 Ermeric, 1:243  
 Ernesto, Pedro, 5:206  
 Ernest the Iron, 2:154  
 Eros, 1:191, 331  
 Erskine, John, 3:148  
 Ertogrul, 2:317  
 Ervin, Sam, 6:317, 458  
 Erwig, 1:483  
 Esarhaddon, 1:35, 43, 147, 148  
 Esdras, 1:372  
 Esen Khan, 3:248  
 Eshkol, Levi, 6:24, 25, 289  
 Esigie (oba of Benin), 3:5  
 Eskimos, 2:149  
 Espín, Vilma, 5:199  
 Espino Negro Accord, 5:340  
 Espinosa, Luisa Amada, 6:311  
**Espionage and Sedition Acts, U.S., 5:78, 92, 125, 6:287**  
**Essenes, 1:133–134, 227, 353, 407**  
**Esther, book of, 1:135, 346, 372, 379, 489**  
 Estienne, Robert, 3:40  
 Estonia, 4:46, 48, 6:52–53, 102, 397, 398, 457  
 Estrada, Joseph, 6:276  
 Estrada, Juan José, 5:438  
**Estrada Cabrera, Manuel, 5:92–93, 391**  
 Estrada Palma, Tomás, 5:303  
 Ethelbald, 2:17  
 Ethelred I, 2:6, 314, 419  
 Ethelred II the Unready, 2:18, 69, 70  
 Ethelwulf, 2:6  
**Ethiopia, 3:6, 177, 209–210, 4:10, 12, 124–125, 5:94–96, 212, 213, 260, 290, 345–346, 6:5, 140, 141, 193, 194**  
**ancient, 1:4, 135–138, 142, 273, 317**  
**Federal Democratic Republic of, 6:141–143**  
*See also* Abyssinia (Ethiopia)  
**Ethiopian Empire, 2:112–113**  
 Ethiopia-Somalia conflict, 6:143  
 ethnic cleansing, 6:xliv, 114, 413, 470  
 ethnocentrism, 4:13  
**Etruscans, 1:xxxix, 138–140, 155, 168, 180, 362, 393, 399, 401**  
 Euclid, 1:xxxv, 12, 13, 358, 2:266, 3:277  
 Eucratides, 1:45  
 Eudes, 2:394  
 Eugene, prince of Savoy, 3:369  
**eugenics, 5:96–97, 266**  
 Eugénie (empress of the French), 4:404  
 Eugenikos, Mark, 2:126  
 Eugenius, 2:61, 169  
 Eugenius III, 2:21  
 Eugenius IV, 2:126  
 Eumenes, 1:116  
 Eumenes II, 1:191, 248  
 Eunapius, 1:259  
 Eunomius, 1:67  
 Euphrates River, 1:xxxiv, xxxvii, 11, 22, 34, 41, 110, 146, 147, 259, 412, 446, 448, 2:8, 69, 6:186  
 Eupompos, 1:86  
 Euric, 1:482, 483  
**Euripides, 1:140–141, 179, 189, 204, 392, 423, 442**  
 euro, 6:145, 169  
 Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC), 6:321  
**Europe,**  
**absolutism in, 3:2–5, 70**  
**baroque tradition in, 3:38–39**  
**Catholic Reformation in, 3:43, 91–94**  
**Counter-Reformation in, 3:38, 91–94, 134, 135, 158, 171, 212, 221, 333**  
**divine faith in, 3:107–108**  
**humanism movement in, 3:172–174**  
**printing press and, 3:212, 258, 315–316, 331**  
**Europe, 1721, 3:M91**  
**Europe after Congress of Vienna, 1815, 4:M106**  
**Europe after World War I, 1919, 5:M144**  
**Europe after World War II, 1949, 5:M160**  
 European Central Bank, 6:145  
 European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), 6:144  
**European Colonial Holdings, c.1700, 3:M87**  
**European Colonialism in the Pacific, 19th Century, 4:M125**

- European Colonies and Exports from the Americas**, 4:M100  
 European Commission, 6:145  
 European Court of Justice, 6:145  
**European Economic Community (EEC)/Common Market**, 6:xxxviii, 143–144, 145, 165–166, 403  
 European Enlightenment, 2:28  
 European Monetary System (EMS), 6:144  
**European Overseas Empires, 1900**, 5:M129  
**European Possessions in Africa and Arabia, 1895**, 4:M126  
 European Recovery Program (ERP), 6:284, 285  
**European Revolutions, 1815–1849**, 4:M110  
 European Space Agency, 6:401  
**European Union (EU)**, 6:xxxviii, 43, 49, 53, 144, 145–146, 164, 167, 169, 190, 341, 342, 346, 418, 421, 432, 436  
 European Union HIV/AIDS Programme, 6:7  
**Europe at War, 1914–1918**, 5:M141  
**Europe before World War I, 1914**, 5:M140  
**Europe in c. 800**, 2:M36  
**Europe in 1648 (Treaty of Westphalia)**, 3:M84  
 Eurymedon, 1:448, 490  
**Eusebius**, 1:26, 36, 67, 90, 96, 99, 141–142, 189, 219, 238, 249, 282, 310, 321, 431, 474, 2:193  
 Eusebius Hieronymus, 1:218  
 Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA), 6:403, 418  
 Eustace of Boulogne, 2:143  
 Eustathius of Sebaste, 1:67, 287  
 Euthydemus I, 1:45  
 Eutropius, 1:259  
 Eutyches of Constantinople, 1:129, 247  
 Evacuation Claims Act of 1948, 5:179  
 Evagrius of Pontus, 2:149  
 Evangelicalism, 6:261, 263  
 Evangelical Theological Society, 6:65  
 Evans, Arthur, 1:102, 250, 282  
 Evans, George Henry, 4:216  
 Evans, Mari, 6:66  
 Evans, Rosalie, 5:279  
 Evarts, William M., 4:351  
 Everest, Mount, 5:33  
 Evers, Medgar, 6:96  
 Evian Accords, 6:162  
 Evren, Kenan, 6:430  
 Ewe, 4:436  
 Ewuakpe (oba of Benin), 3:127  
**Ewuare the Great**, 3:127–128  
 Exclusion Act of 1882, 5:90  
 Exclusion Law of 1924, 5:266  
**exclusion laws in Japan**, 3:128  
 Execestides, 1:440  
 Executive Order 9066, 5:178, 179  
**existentialism**, 5:97–98  
 Exodus, book of, 1:238, 466, 467  
**Expansion of Nazi Germany, 1933–1939**, 5:M151  
**Expansion of Prussia, 1683–1789**, 3:M92  
**Expansion of Qing Dynasty, 1683–1760**, 3:M92  
**expatriates, U.S.**, 5:98–99  
**Explorations of the Pacific, 1768–1788**, 4:M102  
 Eyadéma, Étienne, 6:425  
 Eylau, Battle of, 4:294  
**Ezana**, 1:138, 142–143, 313  
 “Ezeiza massacre,” 6:293  
 Ezekiel, 1:368  
 Ezhov, Nikolai, 5:367  
 Ezra, book of, 1:19, 30, 104, 114, 353, 489
- F**  
 Fabian Society, 4:392, 393  
 Fabre, Michel, 5:99  
 Fabulé, Francisque, 3:232  
 Facta, Luigi, 5:240  
 Fahd, 6:328, 412  
 Fahd Plan, 6:21  
 Fairbanks, Douglas, 5:253  
 Faircloth, Jean Marie, 5:229  
 Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC), 6:93  
 Fairfax, Thomas, 3:71, 95  
**fairs of Champagne**, 2:115–116  
 Faisal. *See* Faysal  
 al-Faisal, Turki, 6:412  
 Falkenhayn, Erich von, 5:416  
 Falkland Islands, 3:46, 4:107  
**Falklands War**, 3:56, 6:147–148, 419, 420  
 Falloux Law, 4:375  
 Fallujah, Battles for, 6:187  
 False Dimitri, 3:152  
**Falun Gong**, 6:148  
 Family Assistance Program (FAP), 6:316  
 Family Laws Ordinance, 6:48  
 famine/starvation, 3:188, 189, 307, 314, 5:xxxii, 6:xxxii, xxxiii, 138, 248, 365, 381, 393  
 Fang Lizhi (Fang Li-tzu), 6:91  
 Fannin, James W., 4:411  
**Fanon, Frantz**, 6:67, 149  
 Fanti peoples, 3:24  
 Fan Zhongyan (Fang Chung-yen), 2:297  
 Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), 6:135, 259  
 Faraday, Michael, 4:xxix  
 Farafelli (Italian admiral), 5:257  
 Faraj, 2:192  
 Far Eastern Commission, 5:180

- Far Eastern Triplice/Dreibund, 4:87, 383  
 Farel, William, 3:64, 146  
 Farhang, Mear Mohammad Siddeq, 6:235  
 Farm Credit Administration, 5:271  
 farming, 2:xxix–xxxi, 3:347, 5:xxxi, 81–82, 6:xxxi, 92, 261  
 Farnese, Giulio, 3:43  
 Farragut, David, 4:92, 279  
**Farthest Extent of the Roman Empire, under Emperor Hadrian, 117–138, 1:M25**  
 Faruk (king of Egypt), 5:22, 406, 6:134, 304, 356  
**fascism, 5:xli, 69, 101–104, 110, 126, 128, 145, 196–197, 239–240, 267, 420**  
**Fascist Europe, 1942, 5:M152**  
 Fascist Party, 5:284  
**Fashoda crisis, 4:13, 127, 141**  
 al-Fasi, ‘Allal, 4:368  
 Fatah, 6:224, 212, 332  
 Fatat, Al- (the Youth), 5:23–24  
 Fath Ali, Shah, 4:339, 340, 341  
 Fatherland–All Russia bloc, 6:375, 376  
 Fatherland Party (Isamaa), 6:53  
 fathers of the church, orthodoxy and writings of, 1:14, 48, 51, 78, 79, 82, 230, 238, 262, 284, 372, 407, 440, 452, 467, 2:22, 91, 97, 149, 194, 257, 303, 324, 3:39, 4:321  
 Fathy, Hassan, 6:19  
 Fatima, Lalla, 4:21  
**Fatimid dynasty, 2:7, 34, 40, 116–117, 203, 210, 289, 310, 363**  
 “Fat Man” (atomic bomb), 5:147, 238, 6:33  
 Fattovich, Rodolfo, 1:137  
 fatwa, 3:290, 4:34, 6:13, 14, 418  
 Faubus, Orval, 6:74, 94, 95  
 Faulkner, William, 5:218  
 Fauser, Arthur Huff, 5:140  
 Fauset, Jessie, 5:140  
 Fawcett, Millicent Garrett, 5:414  
**Fa Xian (Fa-hsien), 1:74, 145, 177, 333, 358, 2:430**  
 Faysal (king of Syria and Iraq), 5:24, 55, 112, 140, 141, 173, 211, 411, 6:328  
 Fazang, 1:55–56  
 February Revolution, 4:266, 5:186  
 Fedayeen, 6:187  
 Federação Brasileira pelo Progresso Feminino (FBPF), 5:199, 225  
 Federal-Aid Highway Act, 6:210  
 Federal Building Program, 5:155  
 Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), U.S., 5:318  
 Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), U.S., 5:271  
 Federal Farm Board, 5:154  
 Federal Farm Loan Act, 5:412  
 Federalist Papers, 4:100  
 Federalist Party, 4:6, 7, 22, 176, 199, 249, 309, 331, 5:266  
 Federal Military Government (FMG), 6:64, 65  
 Federal Project One, 5:271  
 Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), 6:59, 127, 165.  
*See also* West Germany (Federal Republic of Germany)  
**Federal Reserve Banking System, U.S., 5:105–106, 129, 308, 412**  
 Federal Theatre Project, 5:155  
 Federal Trade Commission Act, 5:308  
 Federal Writers’ Project 5:155  
 Federated Malay States (FMS), 4:255–256, 6:275  
 Federation of Arab Republics, 6:351  
 Federation of Cuban Women (FMC), 4:231  
 Federation of Laborers, 5:44  
 Federation of Organized Trade and Labor Unions, 4:217  
 Federation of Trades and Labor Unions (ATLU), 5:127  
**Federation Treaty, Malaya, 4:255–256**  
 Federmann, Nikolaus, 3:193, 279  
 Fedorov, Boris, 6:372  
 Fehmy, Mustafa, 5:435  
 Feishui, Battle of, 1:132  
 Felicity, 1:262, 345, 423  
 Felix of Urgel, 2:6  
 fellaheen, 4:284, 5:190  
 Felt, Mark, 6:317  
**feminism, 5:115, 198–199, 225, 292–294, 348, 6:xxxvi–xxxvii, 107, 140, 366, 406 worldwide, 6:149–152**  
**Fénelon, François de Salignac de la Mothe-, 1:90, 3:131–132, 325**  
 Feng Dao (Feng Tao), 2:334  
 Feng Guozhang, 5:408  
 Feng Yuxiang, 5:407, 408  
 Fenian Brotherhood, 4:128  
**Fenian Raids, 4:73, 127–129, 252**  
 Fedor III, 3:303  
 Ferdinand (czar of Bulgaria), 5:40  
 Ferdinand (Holy Roman Emperor), 2:87, 89, 90, 109, 3:73, 158, 390, 4:136, 269  
 Ferdinand (Holy Roman Emperor), 2:86, 87, 3:158, 240, 381, 4:196, 353  
 Ferdinand (prince of Portugal), 2:291, 342, 3:5  
 Ferdinand III (Holy Roman Emperor), 2:88, 3:158, 354, 382  
 Ferdinand IV, 2:88  
**Ferdinand V of Spain, 3:20, 41, 56, 73, 86, 109, 129, 132–134, 157**

- Ferdinand VI (king of Spain), 3:45, 4:220, 400  
**Ferdinand VII** (king of Spain), 3:44, 4:3, 128–129, 226, 273, 296, 400  
 Ferdinand of Aragon, 2:291, 342, 411, 3:154  
 Ferdinand of Brunswick, 3:219  
 Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, 4:48  
 Ferdinand of Styria, 3:381  
 Ferenczi, Sándor, 5:115  
 Ferghana, 1:493, 504  
 Ferlinghetti, Lawrence, 6:57  
 Fermat, Pierre de, 3:104  
 Fermi, Enrico, 5:xxxvi, 237  
 Fernandes, Álvaro, 3:5  
 Fernández, Emilio “El Indio,” 5:198  
 Fernández de Córdoba, Francisco, 3:105  
 Feroze Tughlaq, 2:396–397  
 Ferrante (Ferdinand) of Naples, 3:240  
 Ferrara Articles of Union, 2:346  
 Ferraro, Geraldine, 6:151, 361  
 Ferreira de Almeida, 4:16  
 Fersen, Count Axel, 4:145  
**Fertile Crescent**, 1:xxix, 6, 29, 42–43, 146–148, 284, 299, 311, 334, 418, 2:1  
 fertility cults, 1:285  
 fertilizers, 4:xxvii, 5:xxxii, 6:xxxii  
 Festival of the Dead, 3:18  
 Feuchtwangen, Siegfried von, 2:326  
**feudalism**, 5:331  
   **Europe**, 2:xxxiii, xxxvi, 117–119  
   **Japan**, 2:xxxvi, 119–121  
 Feurbach, Ludwig, 4:263  
 Feversham, Lord, 3:150  
 Fez, Treaty of, 5:229, 252, 321  
 Fez Plan, 6:21  
 Fianna Fáil, 5:399, 6:220  
**Ficino, Marsilio**, 2:121–122, 127, 327  
 Fielding, Henry, 3:149  
 Field of Lies, 2:414  
 Fifth Crusade, 2:245  
 Fifth Lateran Council, 3:92  
 Fifth Monarchism, 3:79, 96  
 Fifth Republic Movement (MQR), 6:89  
 Figueiredo, João, 6:72  
 Figueroa, Gabriel, 5:198  
 Figueroa Larráin, Emiliano, 5:5  
*filid* class, 2:199  
 Fillmore, Millard, 4:332, 372  
 film industry, Latin America, 5:197–198  
 Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation in Peru, 6:387  
**financial panics in North America**, 4:129–132  
 Finkel, Caroline, 2:268, 270  
 Finland, 3:305, 5:103, 133, 212, 6:100, 164, 285  
**Finney, Charles Grandison**, 4:131–132, 168  
 Fiorelli, Giuseppe, 1:362  
**Firdawsi**, 2:122–123, 139, 364  
 Firmenich, Mario, 6:293  
 Firmilian, 1:67  
**First Americans**, 1:148–150  
 First Bank of the United States, 5:105  
 First Crusade, 2:20, 94, 143, 198, 236, 356, 402, 413  
 First Diadoch War, 1:115–116  
 First Dutch War, 3:96  
 First Geneva Convention, 5:122  
 First Great Awakening, 3:107, 108  
 First Italian War of Independence, 4:431  
 First Lateran Council, 2:420  
 First Lightning, 6:34  
 First Nations, 4:303–304, 6:327  
 First Punic War, 1:69, 386, 397  
 First Reich, 2:73  
 First Temple, 1:370  
 First War of Freedom, 4:395  
 Firuz, 2:394  
 Firuz I, 1:414  
 Firuz II, 1:416  
 Firuz Shah Tughlaq, 2:101, 402–403  
 Fisher, Bishop, 3:163  
 Fisher, John, 3:126  
 Fiske, John, 4:257, 389  
 Fitzgerald, Edward, 2:315  
 Fitzgerald, F. Scott, 5:99, 218  
 FitzRoy, Robert, 4:107  
 Five Classics, 1:91–92, 93  
 Five Cosmic Ages of Humanity, 1:197  
**Five Dynasties of China**, 2:123–124, 373, 442  
 five good emperors, age of the, 1:340–341  
**Five Pillars of Islam**, 2:124–126  
 Five-Power Treaty, 5:376, 408  
**Five-Year Plans**, 6:92, 175, 386  
   **of Soviet Union**, 5:357–358  
 Flaccus, Fulvius, 1:163  
 Flaccus, Quintus Horatius, 1:398  
 Flagstaff War, 4:257  
 Flamsteed, John, 3:278  
**Flavian emperors**, 1:150–151, 339–340  
 Flavian of Constantinople, 1:129, 247  
 Flavius Iovianus, 2:60  
 Flavius Rufinus, 2:61  
 Fleming, Alexander, 5:xxxv  
*Fletcher v. Peck*, 4:263  
 Fleury, Cardinal André Hercule de, 3:219  
 Flinders, Matthew, 4:40

- Flint, Michigan sit-down strike**, 5:106–107, 394  
 Flodden, Battle of, 3:236, 348  
 Flóki Vilgerdardson, 2:415  
**Florence, Council of**, 1:166, 2:68, 90, 126, 3:52, 4:321  
**Florentine Neoplatonism**, 2:127–128  
 Flores, Daniel, 5:242  
**Flores Magón, Ricardo**, 5:107–108, 305  
 Florey, Howard, 5:33  
 Florida, 3:137  
 Florio, John, 3:252  
 Florus, 1:443  
 “Flowery Wars,” 3:32, 33  
 Flying Tigers, 5:56, 61, 351, 369  
 Flynn, Errol, 5:254  
 Foch, Ferdinand, 5:221, 419  
 “foco” theory of revolution, 6:183  
 Foix, Germaine de, 3:134  
 Fondi, duke of, 2:30  
 Foner, Philip S., 4:218  
 Fonseca, Manuel Deodoro da, 4:63  
**Fonseca Amador, Carlos**, 6:152–153, 310, 383  
 Fontainebleau Memorandum, 5:295  
**food gatherers and producers, prehistoric**, 1:151–152  
**food production**, 1:xxix–xxx, 2:xxix–xxx, 3:8, 4:xxv–xxviii, 5:xxx–xxxiii, 6:xxx–xxxiii, 180  
 Foraker Act, 4:398  
 Forbes, Patrick, 4:355  
 Ford, Edsel, 5:108, 109  
**Ford, Gerald**, 6:79, 101, 153–154, 318, 361, 452, 459  
**Ford, Henry**, 5:xxxi, xxxiii, xxxviii, 108–109, 266, 309, 394  
 Ford, William, 5:108  
 Ford Foundation, 6:180  
 Ford Island, 5:299  
**Foreign Possessions in Asia, 1914**, 5:M139  
 Forester, George, 4:184  
 Formosa, 4:212  
 Forms, 1:358–359  
 Forrest, Nathan Bedford, 4:352  
 Fort Jesus, 3:6  
 Fortuna, 1:396  
 47 Ronin. *See* **Ronin**, 47  
 Forward Bloc Party, 5:48  
 Fossey, Dian, 1:326, 6:380  
 Foster, Norman, 6:39  
 Foucault, Michel, 5:301  
 Fouquet, Nicolas, 3:82  
 Four Books, 2:92, 93  
 Four Great Signs, 1:158  
 Four Hundred, Council of, 2:89  
 Fourier, François-Marie-Charles, 4:391, 419  
 Four Modernizations Program, 6:91, 120  
 Fournier, F. E., 4:382  
 Four Noble Truths, 1:159, 461, 462  
 Four-Power Pact, 5:375, 408  
 Fourteen Points Plan, 5:17, 212–213, 412  
 Fourth Crusade, 2:54, 58, 90, 126, 245, 283, 413  
 Fourth Diadoch War, 1:116–117  
 Fourth Lateran Council, 2:195, 224  
 Four Tiger(s), 2:280, 5:63  
 Fox, George, 3:297  
 Fox, Vicente, 6:208, 209, 290  
 Fragoso Carmona, António Óscar de, 5:337  
**France**, 3:140–141, 216–219, 236, 270–273, 4:12, 21, 29–30, 69, 94, 117, 127, 153–155, 187, 189, 246–247, 277–279, 294–300, 375–376, 382, 386, 401–402, 408–409, 413, 421, 434–435, 5:6–7, 30, 67–68, 70, 75–78, 102, 103, 111–112, 150, 221, 222, 233–234, 251–252, 321, 339, 341, 342, 401–403, 6:xli, 8–9, 69, 117–118, 149, 164, 191, 204–205, 263, 291, 293–294, 305, 309, 310, 334–335, 425, 447–448, 449, 450  
     **art and architecture (1750–1900)**, 4:35–36  
     **Bourbon restoration in**, 4:58–59  
     **prehistoric cave paintings in**, 1:71–72  
     **rule of Tunisia**, 4:421  
     **Second Republic of**, 4:3, 375–376  
     **Third Republic of**, 4:375–376, 5:67  
     **Vichy regime of**, 2:221, 4:376, 5:6, 41, 112, 113, 138, 388, 401–403, 421  
 Francesco I, 3:240  
**Francia, José Gaspar Rodríguez**, 4:132–133, 227, 322  
 Francia Media, 2:414  
 Francia Orientalis, 2:414  
 Francis I, 2:217, 3:27, 64, 73, 80, 119, 162, 164, 242, 270–273, 332, 374, 389, 395, 4:246, 268, 297  
 Francis II, 3:158, 264, 348, 4:268, 269  
 Francis IV, 4:195  
 Francis Borgia, St., 3:43  
**Franciscans/Franciscan Order**, 2:33, 272, 356, 3:92, 128, 132, 195, 207, 276, 330, 336, 337, 344, 412  
     **in the Americas**, 3:135–138, 267  
 Francisco I, 3:204  
 Francisco de Aragon, 3:136  
**Francis de Sales**, 3:134–135  
 Francis Joseph. *See* **Franz Josef**  
 Francis of Assisi, 2:272  
**Franco, Francisco**, 4:292, 396, 5:xli, 19, 102, 104, 109–111, 149, 260, 337, 338, 362, 364, 6:38, 343, 402, 460

- Franco-German Accord, 5:252  
 François I. *See* Francis I  
 Franconia, duke of, 2:174  
**Franco-Prussian War**, 3:167, 4:21, 112, 133–134, 137, 149, 155, 156, 189, 197, 234, 267, 323, 365, 375, 420, 431, 5:8, 282  
 Franco-Russian Dual Alliance, 4:420  
 Franco-Soviet Treaty, 5:19  
 Franjeh, Sleiman, 6:263  
 Frankel, Jeffrey, 6:144  
 Frankfurter, Felix, 5:51  
**Frankish tribe**, 2:72, 129–130, 195, 261, 323, 324  
 Frankl, Viktor, 5:98  
**Franklin, Benjamin**, 3:346, 4:xxix, 6, 22, 24, 98, 110, 134–136, 166, 202, 308, 320, 335, 5:xxxiv, 266  
 Franklin, James, 4:308  
 Franklin, John, 4:319  
 Franklin, Miles, 5:33  
 Franklin, Rosalind, 6:xxxv  
 Franks, 1:242, 243, 402, 460, 474, 482, 483  
 Franz (Francis) Ferdinand (archduke of Austria), 4:43, 137, 366, 5:xl, 415  
**Franz Josef** (Francis Joseph [emperor of Austria]), 3:158, 4:47, 56, 136–137, 197, 234, 43, 5:40, 243  
 Franz Karl, 4:136  
 Fraser, Douglas, 5:394  
 Fraser, Peter, 5:33  
 Frederick I, 3:166, 167  
**Frederick I Barbarossa**, 2:47, 94, 132, 154, 157, 174, 210, 240, 242  
 Frederick II Hohenstaufen, 2:153, 157, 175, 176, 245, 247, 295, 311, 320, 3:91, 166, 4:79, 184  
 Frederick III, 2:154, 178, 4:182  
 Frederick IV, 2:154, 155  
 Frederick V, 2:154, 3:187  
 Frederick V, 3:381, 382  
 Frederick VI, 3:166, 4:181  
 Frederick Charles, Prince, 4:154  
 Frederick Christian, 4:76  
**Frederick the Great (king of Prussia)**, 3:29, 30, 150, 167, 219, 4:55, 79, 119, 120, 121, 123, 137–139, 146, 182, 205, 328, 377, 5:104, 342  
 Frederick the Wise, 3:223  
 Frederick William, 3:167  
 Frederick William I, 3:167, 4:119, 137–138, 182  
 Frederick William II, 3:167  
 Frederick William III, 3:167, 4:182, 353  
 Frederick William IV, 3:167, 4:55, 182  
 Free Aceh Movement (GAM), 6:408  
 Freedman, David Noel, 1:114  
 Freedmen's Bureau, 4:350  
 Freedom and People's Rights Era, 6:265  
 Freedom Charter, 6:4  
 Freedom of Information Act, 5:106, 6:459  
 Freedom Rides, 6:405  
 "Freedom Summer," 6:96, 405  
 Free French, 5:7, 113  
 Free French Forces, 6:117, 163  
 Free India, Government of, 5:48  
 Freeman, Cathy, 6:326  
**Freemasonry**, 4:123, 197, 208, 5:110, 150–153  
     **in North and Spanish America**, 4:62, 129, 139–140, 195, 206  
 Free Officers movement, 6:133, 134, 219, 304, 323, 353, 356  
 Free Papua Movement (OPM), 6:124, 408  
 Free-Soil Party, 4:7, 92, 314, 332  
**Free Speech Movement**, 6:107, 154–155, 405  
 Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), 6:320, 321  
 Freja, 2:418  
**FRELIMO**, 6:156  
 Frémont, John C., 4:272  
 French, John, 5:191  
 French Academy of Science, 3:346  
**French and Indian War**. *See* Seven Years' War  
 French Committee for National Liberation, 6:163  
 French Community, 5:113  
**French East India Company**, 3:81, 83, 138–140, 257, 4:378  
**French Equatorial Africa**, 4:12, 140–141, 5:252  
 French Foreign Legion, 5:252  
 French Guinea, 5:112, 113  
**French Indochina**, 4:142–143, 5:176, 283, 344  
**French mandate in Syria and Lebanon**, 5:111–112, 213  
 French National Committee, 6:163  
 French North Africa, 5:87  
 French Resistance, 5:98  
**French Revolution**, 3:3, 46, 218, 219, 383, 4:xxviii, xxxii, xxxvii, 6, 22, 26, 45, 56, 58, 66, 77, 111, 119, 132, 142, 143–147, 169, 173, 176, 195, 203, 206, 220, 222, 226, 251, 263, 299, 320, 324, 375, 392, 394, 401, 413, 417, 423, 436, 444, 447, 5:101  
 French Solidarity, 5:104  
**French West Africa (Afrique Occidentale Française)**, 5:79, 112–113  
 French West India Company, 3:83  
 Frente Democrático Revolucionario (FDR), 6:135  
 Frere, Edward Bartle, 4:66  
 Freud, Anna, 5:114  
**Freud, Sigmund**, 1:352, 5:xxxix, 114–115, 6:356  
 Freyr, 2:418

- Freyre, Gilberto**, 5:115–116  
 Frick, Henry, 4:157, 205, 5:125  
 Friedan, Betty, 6:xxxvi, 140, 150–151  
 Friedel, D., 1:266  
 Friedlingen, Battle of, 3:369  
 Friedman, Milton, 6:90  
 Friedrich Karl, Prince, 4:133  
 Friedrich Wilhelm, Prince, 4:133  
 Friends of Life, 6:367  
 Friends of the Manifesto, 5:7  
 Frigidus, Battle of, 2:61  
 Froben, Johannes, 3:316  
 Frobisher, Martin, 3:121  
 Fromme, Lynette, 6:154  
**Fronde**, 3:140–141  
 Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ), 6:354  
 Front de Libération Nationale (FLN), 6:8  
 Fronto, Marcus Cornelius, 1:39  
 Fröschwiller, Battle of, 4:133  
 Fruela I, 2:86  
 Fruela II, 2:87  
 Frumentius, 1:100, 138, 142, 143  
 Fu, Lady, 1:425  
 Fu, Prince of, 3:249  
 Fuad (sultan and king of Egypt), 5:84, 405, 406  
 Fu'ad II, Ahmad, 6:134  
 Fuad Pasha, Kechejizade Mehmed, 4:409  
 Fuchida, Mitsuo, 5:298, 299, 422  
 Fuchs, Klaus, 6:367, 369  
 Fue Fei, 2:440  
 Fugitive Slave Act, 4:3, 238  
 Fugitive Slave Law, 4:53  
 Fu Hao, 1:18  
 Fujigawa, Battle of, 2:133  
 Fujimori, Alberto, 6:387  
 Fujimori, Naoichi, 4:41  
**Fujiwara clan**, 2:131–132, 161, 229, 288, 298, 388, 397  
 Fujiwara no Katamari, 2:131, 399  
 Fujiwara no Teika, 2:229  
 Fujiwara Seika, 3:268  
 Fujiwara Yoshifusa, 2:131  
 Fukayabu, 2:161  
 Fukuda Takeo, 6:246  
**Fukuzawa Yukichi**, 4:147–148, 5:131  
 Fulani, 3:375, 6:64, 312  
 Fulanis, 2:160  
 Fulbert, canon of Notre-Dame, 2:3  
 Fulda, Abbey of, 2:49  
 Fulin (Fu-lin), 3:111, 407  
 Fulk, count of Anjou, 2:246  
 Fuller, Margaret, 4:418, 447  
 Fulton, Robert, 4:xxix, 279  
 Fulvius Flaccus, 1:163  
 Funan, 2:81  
 Furtado, Celso, 6:131  
 fur trade, 3:169–171, 272, 4:5, 18, 73, 301, 319, 356  
 fusion bomb, 6:34  
 Fust, Johann, 3:315  
 Fusu (Fu-su), 1:272  
 Future Buddha, 1:463  
 Futuwa movement, 5:103  
 Fuxi (Fu-hsi), 1:497, 498–499
- G**
- G8, 6:171  
 Gable, Clark, 5:254  
 Gabon, 1:4, 6:64  
 Gad, 1:368  
 Gaddi, Taddeo, 2:143  
 Gadget, 6:33  
 Gadjah Mada, 2:264  
 Gagarin, Yuri, 6:72, 399  
 Gage, Thomas, 4:24  
 Gagini, Elia, 2:136  
 Gagini, Semenico, 2:136  
 Gaia, 1:110, 172  
 Gaiane, 1:30  
 Gaidar, Yegor, 6:338, 371, 373  
 Gaines, Edmund, 4:441  
 Gaiseric, 1:247  
 Gaitán, Gloria, 6:157  
**Gaitán, Jorge Eliécer**, 5:206, 207, 6:80, 103, 157  
 Gaj, Ljudevit, 4:46  
 Galán, José Antonio, 4:96  
 Galarza, Ernesto, 6:70  
 Galawdewos, 3:177, 210  
 Galaydh, Ali Khalif, 6:394  
 Galba, 1:233, 339, 392  
 Galdan, 3:199  
 Gale, Richard, 5:77  
**Galen**, 1:xxxii, 201, 2:xxxii, 209, 266, 267, 3:174  
 Galen (Blucher), Vassili, 5:65, 395  
 Galerius, 1:281, 282  
**Galileo Galilei**, 1:xxxii, 2:197, 3:87, 103, 143–144, 165, 345, 346, 347  
 Galíndez, Jesūs de, 5:385  
 Galleani, Luigi, 5:125, 335  
 Gallegos, Juan, 3:110  
 Gallegos, Rómulo, 6:60  
 Gallenius, 1:117–118  
 galleys, 3:357  
 Gallicanism, 4:423  
**Gallic Wars**, 1:64–65, 120, 153, 156, 387

- Gallieni, Joseph, 5:227  
 Gallio, Junius Annaeus, 1:422  
 Gallipoli, 5:xli, 30, 32, 33, 66, 191  
 Gallo, Robert, 6:6  
 Galtieri, Leopoldo Fortunato, 6:147  
 Galton, Francis, 4:389, 5:96  
 Galvani, Luigi, 4:xxix  
**Galveston Flood**, 5:117–118  
 Gálvez, Jose de, 3:46  
 Gama, Christovão da, 3:210  
**Gama, Vasco da**, 3:6, 61, 144–146, 177, 195, 225, 226, 388, 399, 4:64, 69, 333, 394  
 Gama, Isabel Maria da, 3:204  
 Gamaliel II, 1:504  
 Gambarov, Isa, 6:32  
 Gambetta, Leon, 4:375  
 Gambia, 5:263, 264  
 Gamkrelidze, T., 1:212  
 Ganapati Festival, 5:165  
**Gandhara**, 1:153–154, 236, 240  
 Gandhi, Feroze, 6:158  
**Gandhi, Indira**, 6:61, 158–159, 201, 202, 205, 227, 282, 290, 414, 418, 445  
**Gandhi, Mohandas K. (Mahatma)**, 1:50, 218, 4:xxxv, 161, 266, 412, 419, 5:xxxvii–xxxviii, xxxix, 10, 11, 12, 46, 48, 67, 118–120, 162, 163, 165, 166, 167, 182, 188, 263, 270, 288, 316, 329, 6:19, 158, 245, 306, 382  
**Gandhi, Rajiv**, 6:158, 159–160, 202, 227, 404, 413  
 Gandhi, Sanjay, 6:158  
**Gandhi, Sonia S.**, 6:158–159, 227, 290  
**Gang of Four**, 6:119, 162, 176, 423  
**Ganjin**, 1:154, 2:296  
 Gao Xianzhi (Kao Hsien-chih), 2:390  
 Gaozong (Kao-tsung), 2:374, 376, 391, 439, 440  
 Gaozu. *See* Liu, Bang  
 Gapon, Georgii, 5:330  
 Garang, John, 6:407  
 Garbo, Greta, 5:255  
 Garcés, Julián, 3:109  
 García, 2:87  
 García, Jose Guillermo, 6:385  
 García, Pedro Antonio Blanco, 6:403  
 García Buelas, Haydée, 6:30  
 García Calderón, Francisco, 4:442  
 García II, 3:282  
 García III, 2:89  
 García Márquez, Gabriel, 6:258  
 García Ordoñez, Count, 2:109  
 Gard, Cándida, 6:30  
 Gard, Julia, 6:30  
 Gard, María Mercedes, 6:30  
 Gardar Svarsson, 2:415  
 Gard de Antokoletz, María Adela, 6:30  
 Garde d'Haïti, 6:125  
**Garibaldi, Giuseppi**, 4:80, 134, 149–150, 195, 266, 353, 426  
 Garibaldi at Sant', Battle of, 4:426  
 Garigliano, Battle of, 2:295  
 Garland, Judy, 6:164  
 Garner, Francis, 4:142  
 Garrastazu Médiçi, Emilio, 6:71  
 Garrigue, Charlotte, 5:243  
 Garrison, William Lloyd, 4:4, 90, 238, 5:261  
**Garvey, Marcus**, 5:80, 120–121, 124, 139, 289–290, 6:172, 278  
 Garza, Mercedes de la, 3:76  
 Garza, René Capistrán, 5:72  
 Gasca, Pedro de la, 3:301  
 Gasparri, Pietro, 5:197  
 Gastone, Gian, 3:241  
 Gates, Bill, 6:xxxvii, 19  
 Gates, Horatio, 4:24  
 Gates, Melinda, 6:xxxvii, 19  
 Gathas, 1:507  
*gauchos*, 3:38, 4:78, 150–151, 372  
 Gaud, William S., 6:182  
 Gauguin, Paul, 5:xl  
**Gaul**, 1:64–65, 154–157, 340, 393, 399, 402, 423, 469, 470, 2:14, 61, 269  
**Gaulle, Charles de**, 5:7, 113, 402, 403, 421, 6:xxxiii, 9, 160–163, 406, 427  
 Gauls, 1:386, 421, 481, 482  
 Gault Site, 1:148  
**Gautama Buddha**, 1:39, 55, 56–57, 67, 108, 158–159, 217, 235, 241, 333, 358, 408, 409, 410, 453, 461, 462, 463, 2:293, 296, 303, 354, 430  
 Gaveston, Piers, 2:307  
**gay liberation movements**, 6:107, 164–166, 361  
 Gay-Lussac, Jean, 3:345  
 Gay-Related Immune Deficiency (GRID), 6:6, 164  
 Gazala, Battle(s) of, 5:322  
 Gaza Strip, 5:22, 257, 6:21, 23, 25, 29, 189, 211, 212, 213, 223, 305, 332, 333, 362, 418  
 Gediminas, 2:254, 255  
 Geertgen tot sint Jans, 2:218  
 Gehry, Frank, 6:38  
 Geisel, Ernesto, 6:71  
 Gemayel, Amin, 6:264  
 Gemayel, Bashir, 6:28, 264  
**Gempei War**, 2:120, 133–134, 172, 228, 389  
 Genda, Minoru, 5:297, 299  
 Genden, Peljidiyn, 5:251  
 gender inclusivity, 6:152

- General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT),** 6:164–165, 320  
*General Belgrano*, ARA, 6:147  
 General Framework Agreement for Peace (Dayton Accords), 6:51  
 General Motors (GM), 5:106, 107, 217  
*General Sherman*, 4:212  
 General Syrian Congress, 5:24  
 General Trades' Union, 4:216  
 General Union of Palestinian Students (GUPS), 6:29  
 Genesis, book of, 1:23, 202, 311, 321, 334, 466, 467, 488  
 genetic engineering, 5:96–97  
**Geneva**, 3:146–147  
 Geneva Accords, 6:309, 447  
 Geneva Bible, 3:40  
 Geneva Conference, 6:204, 340, 394, 449, 475  
**Geneva Conventions**, 5:122  
 Geneva Disarmament Conference, 5:3, 149  
 Geneva Plan, 6:23  
 Geneva Round, 6:164  
 Geneva Summit, 6:121  
 Genevieve, 2:195  
**Genghis (Chinggis) Khan**, 1:437, 2:xxxvii, xxxix, 34, 77, 100, 134–136, 147, 183, 208, 210, 223, 239, 240, 281, 282, 283, 313, 330, 353, 375, 379, 398, 399, 403, 429, 430, 435, 437, 3:14, 35, 102, 153, 184, 261, 262, 4:30, 282  
 Gening, Biktor, 1:211  
 Gennadios, 2:126  
**Genoa**, 2:136–138, 413  
 genocide, 6:123, 182, 183, 340, 380  
 Genovese, Eugene, 4:385  
**Genroku period in Japan**, 3:147–148  
 Genscher, Hans-Dietrich, 6:168  
 Genshin, 2:179  
 Genyosha (Dark Ocean Society), 5:45  
 Geoffrey of Anjou, 2:305–306, 377  
 Geoffrey of Monmouth, 2:14  
*geonim*, 1:451  
 George, 4:379  
**George I**, 3:19, 79, 120, 148–149  
**George II**, 3:30, 54, 148, 149–150, 4:138, 140  
**George III**, 3:216, 4:23, 75, 109, 110, 139, 251, 318, 431  
 George IV, 4:432  
 George V, 6:296  
 George VI, 5:33  
 George, Henry, 4:89, 158  
 George, William, 5:220  
 George of Denmark, Prince, 3:19  
 George Scholarios, 2:126  
 Georges-Picot, François, 5:373  
**Georgia**, 6:253, 398  
   **ancient**, 1:160, 237  
 Georgian Orthodox Church, 1:160  
 Georgius Gemisthos Pletho, 2:90, 410  
 Gerard of Cremona, 2:266  
 Gerber, Henry, 6:165  
 Gerbert of Aurillac, 2:71  
 Gerbillon, Jean-François, 3:269  
 Gerei dynasty, 4:76  
 German-American Bund, 5:103  
 German Bible, 3:40  
 German Communist Party (KPD), 5:226  
 German Democratic Republic (GDR), 6:59, 103–104, 127, 166. *See also* East Germany  
 Germanicus Caesar, 1:232  
 Germanos, 4:171  
 German Red Cross, 5:151  
 German Social Democratic Party, 4:392, 5:226  
 German South-West Africa, 5:2  
**German unification, wars of**, 4:151–155  
 German Workers' Party (DAP), 5:148  
**Germany**, 3:73, 296–297, 4:xxvi, 13, 70, 87, 94, 118, 141, 189, 234–235, 420, 5:xxxvii, xli, 18–20, 101, 102, 128, 130, 131, 134, 145, 208, 212, 221, 222, 233–234, 236, 237, 251–252, 260, 276–277, 295, 297, 319, 341–342, 347–348, 367–369, 6:58–60, 112, 165, 197, 284–285, 303–304, 362, 379–380, 425  
   **National Socialist Workers (Nazi) Party in**, 5:267–268, xxxvii, xli  
   **post-World War II**, 6:165–170  
   **Weimar Republic of**, 5:409–411  
 German Zollverein, 4:155–156  
 germ warfare, 3:124  
 Gernet, Jacques, 2:425  
 Gernicki, Otto von, 3:346  
 Gerry, Elbridge, 4:254  
 Gershwin, George, 5:98  
 Gervasius, 1:14  
 Gestapo (Geheime Staatspolizei), 5:47, 148, 365, 6:229  
 Geta, Publius Septimius Antoninus, 1:68  
 Gettelfinger, Ron, 5:394  
 Gettysburg, Battle of, 4:92  
 Géza, 2:243  
 Ghadi, Ali Mohammed, 6:394  
 Ghamdi, Ahmed al-, 6:462  
 Ghamdi, Hamza, al-, 6:462  
**Ghana**, 2:9, 107, 138–139, 144, 160, 3:375, 4:14, 5:60, 80, 112, 113, 123–124, 263, 290, 6:55, 170–171, 279, 318, 365, 425

- Ghannouchi, Rashid al-, 6:223  
 Ghassanids, 1:22  
**Ghazzali, Abu Hamid Muhammad, al-** 2:8, 191, 375  
 Ghazan Khan, 2:35  
 Ghazi Malik, 2:402  
**Ghaznavids**, 2:100, 139–140, 203, 287  
 Ghent, Peace of, 4:7  
 Ghibelline party, 2:342, 410  
**Ghiberti, Lorenzo**, 2:51, 104, 140–141, 143, 3:20  
 Ghiyasuddin, 2:287  
 Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq, 2:402  
 G.I. Bill of Rights, 5:xxxviii, 48, 6:xxxv, 48  
 Giacommeti, Alberto, 5:98  
 Gia Long, 4:85  
 Gibbon, Edward, 1:340, 2:401, 3:215  
*Gibbons v. Ogden*, 4:261  
 Gibson, Charles, 3:124, 275  
 Gibson, Edmund, 4:446  
 Gideon (Jerubbaal), 1:230  
*Gideon v. Wainwright*, 6:178  
**Giichi, Tanaka**, 5:122–123  
 Gil, Emilio Portes, 5:57, 58  
 Gilbert, Humphrey, 3:53, 329  
 Gildas, 2:12  
**Gilded Age**, 4:156–159, 205, 332  
 Gildersleeves, Virginia, 5:225  
**Gilgamesh**, 1:43, 147, 160–161, 204, 248  
 Gilman, Charlotte Perkins, 5:414  
 Gilmore, Mary, 5:33  
 Gimbutas, Maria, 1:211  
 Gindin, Lev, 1:213  
 Gingrich, Newt, 6:98  
 Ginsberg, Allen, 6:57  
 Gioberti, Abbe Vincenzo, 4:196  
**Giotto di Bondone**, 2:142–143, 216  
 Giovanni, Lorenzo, 3:211  
 Giovanni, Nikki, 6:66  
 Giral, José, 5:363  
 Girondins, 4:146  
 Giscard d'Estaing, Valéry, 6:427  
 Githongo, John, 6:240  
**Giza, pyramids of**, 1:xxxvii, 316, 351, 373–374  
 Gjergj Balsha, 2:250  
*Gjoa*, 4:319  
 Glacier National Park, 5:91  
 gladiators, 1:443–444  
**Gladstone, William**, 4:31, 66, 112, 113, 159–161, 234, 284, 354, 395, 433, 5:224  
 Glaise-Horstenau, Edmund, 5:19  
*glasnost*, 6:32, 52, 102, 136, 175  
 Glaspie, April, 6:184  
 Glassford, Pelham, 5:48  
 Glaucias, 1:375  
 Glendower, Owen, 2:165  
 Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria (GFATM), 6:7  
 Global HIV Vaccine Enterprise, 6:7  
**globalization**, 4:xxxi, 6:xxxii, xxxviii–xxxix, 171–172, 422  
 Global Positioning System (GPS), 6:401  
**Global South**, 6:19, 421–422  
 global warming, 6:255–256  
**Glorious Revolution**, 3:5, 46, 47, 55, 79, 80, 148, 150–151, 216, 218, 234, 238, 318, 319, 402, 4:121, 435  
 Glover, George Washington, 4:118  
 Glubb Pasha, 5:21  
 Gnassingbe, Faure, 6:426  
**Gnosticism**. *See* Christian Dualism (Gnosticism)  
**Goa, colonization of**, 3:146, 151, 190, 194, 257, 334, 355, 400  
 Gobineau, Joseph-Arthur, comte de, 5:101  
 Go-Daigo, 2:24, 26, 120, 173, 232, 315, 316  
 Godard, Jean-Luc, 5:98  
 Goddard, Robert, 6:398  
**Godfrey of Bouillon**, 2:94, 143–144, 246, 248  
 Godolphin, Sidney, 3:19  
 Godoy, Manuel, 4:128, 129  
 Godse, Nathuram, 5:120  
*Godspeed*, 3:188  
**Godunov, Boris**, 3:151–152  
 Godunov dynasty, 4:359  
 Godwin, 2:18  
 Godwin, William, 5:15  
 Goebbels, Joseph, 5:104, 148, 268  
 Goens, Rijkl of van, 4:82  
 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 2:155, 4:171, 5:104  
 Gokcen, Sabiha, 5:30  
**Gokhale, Gopal Krishna**, 4: 161–163, 412, 5:165, 263  
 Golan Heights, 6:25, 26, 42, 233  
 Golconda Sultanate, 3:359  
**gold**, 1:xxxi, 3:6, 7, 8, 56, 69, 86, 279, 287, 292, 4:38, 41, 81, 88, 90, 95, 189, 221, 224, 226, 303, 333, 396, 5:123, 209, 210, 211, 291, 340  
   **kingdom of**, 2:xxxiii, xxxviii, 144, 445  
 “Gold” Beach, 5:77  
 Goldberg, Art, 6:155  
**Gold Coast (Ghana)**, 3:24, 5:60, 123–124, 263, 290, 6:55, 170  
 golden age,  
   of Arabic literature, 2:xxxii, 205–208  
   of Chinese poetry, 2:84–85, 389  
   of Irish monastic scholarship, 2:196–198

- Golden Bull of 1356**, 2:145, 177  
 Golden Crescent, 6:124  
*Golden Hind*, 3:112, 400  
 Golden Horde, 2:77, 252, 253, 281, 283, 284, 302, 330, 399, 403, 3:182, 183, 184, 4:31  
 Golden Law, 4:63  
 Golden Mean, 1:359–360  
 Golden Road, 1:437  
 Golden Square, 5:142  
 Golden Triangle, 6:124  
 Goldie, Charles, 5:33  
**Goldman, Emma**, 4:401, 5:124–126  
 gold standard, 5:79, 131  
 Goldwater, Barry, 6:98, 232  
 Goliad Massacre, 4:411  
 Goliath, 1:109  
 Göllnheim, Battle of, 2:154, 177  
 Golovin, Fedor A., 3:269  
**Gómez, Juan Vicente**, 5:126–127, 6:60  
 Gómez, Laureano, 6:103  
 Gómez, Máximo, 4:103, 104  
 Gómez Farías, Valentín, 4:272  
**Gompers, Samuel**, 4:xxxii, 217, 5:78, 127–128, 6:14  
 Gonçalves, Vasco, 6:344, 345  
**Gong (K'ung), Prince**, 4:18, 71, 93, 162–163, 178, 382, 415  
 Gontram, 2:92  
 González, Abraham, 5:284  
 González, Delicia, 6:30  
 Gonzalez, Felipe, 6:403  
 González, Manuel, 5:304  
 Gonzalez, Virgilio, 6:458  
 González Videla, Gabriel, 5:6  
 González von Mareés, Jorge, 5:103  
 Good, form of, 1:303  
 Good, Sarah, 3:406  
 Goodall, Jane, 1:326  
 Goodman, Andrew, 6:405  
**Good Neighbor Policy, U.S. policy toward Latin America**, 5:128, 208, 209, 303  
 Goodyear, Charles, 4:325  
**Gorbachev, Mikhail**, 6:xli, 2, 52, 72, 73, 81, 83, 84, 85, 87, 102, 122, 127, 167, 172–174, 347, 361, 362, 369, 370, 371, 392, 396, 397, 398, 421, 435, 457, 466  
 Gorbachev, Raisa, 6:172  
 Gorchakov, Alexander, 4:31, 234, 235  
 Gordian III, 1:243, 412  
 Gordius, 1:11  
 Gordon, Andrew, 4:414  
**Gordon, Charles, George**, 3:75, 4:29, 160, 163–164, 170, 238, 284, 5:370  
 Gore, Al, 6:77, 171  
 Gorgasali, 1:30  
 Gorges, Ferdinando, 3:237  
 Gorgias, 1:173, 303, 441  
 Göring, Hermann, 5:148, 268, 277, 369  
 Gorky, Maxim, 5:361  
 Gorky, Arshile, 5:98  
 Gortari, Carlos Salinas de, 6:209  
 Goscinny, Rene, 1:157  
 Go-Shirakawa, 2:134, 232, 389, 390  
 Gospel of John, 1:192–193, 229, 238, 321  
 Gospel of Judas, 1:82  
 Gospel of Luke, 1:229  
 Gospel of Matthew, 1:440  
 Gospel of the Ebionites, 1:229, 372  
 Gospel of the Hebrews, 1:372  
 Gospel of the Nazoreans, 1:372  
 Gospel of Thomas, 1:20, 220, 372, 448  
 Gotami, Mahapajapati, 1:158  
**Gothic and Romanesque styles**, 2:xxxii–xxxiii, 145–147  
 Gothic Bible, 1:474  
 Gothic War, 2:63  
 Goths, 1:xxxvi, 1–2, 36, 49, 242, 243, 259, 402, 404, 405, 456, 460, 474, 2:57, 61, 117, 198, 294  
 Gothus, Johannes Matthiae, 3:77  
 Go-Toba, 2:229  
 Gottwald, Klement, 5:69  
 Go-Uda, 2:232  
 Goulart, João, 6:70  
 “Goulash Communism,” 6:197  
 Gould, John, 4:108  
 Governing Junta of National Reconstruction (JGRN), 6:311  
 Government of Free India, 5:48  
**Government of India Act of 1858**, 4:72, 164  
**Governments of the Middle East and North Africa**, 6:M173  
 Governors and Company of Adventurers Trading, 3:170  
 Govind Singh, 3:360  
 Gowon, Yakuba, 6:64, 313  
 Go-Yozei, 3:57, 356  
 Gozzoli, Benozzo, 3:20  
 Gqokli Hill, Battle of, 4:379  
**Gracchi**, 1:162–163  
 Gracchus, Gaius Sempronius, 1:162, 163  
 Gracchus, Tiberius Sempronius, 1:162, 400  
 Graces, the, 1:197  
 Graham, John, 4:395  
**Graham, William “Billy,”** 6:174–175

- Grameen Bank, 6:19  
 Gran, Mohammed al-, 4:125  
 Granada, Kingdom of, 2:87–89  
 “Grand Alliance,” 5:66  
**Grand Canal**, 2:xxx, 124, 147–148, 155, 183, 227, 277, 381, 438  
 Grand Canyon National Park, 3:89, 5:91  
 “Grand Slam” bomb, 5:237  
 Grange, The, 4:158  
*Granma*, 6:111  
 Grant, Cuthbert, 3:171  
 Grant, James Augustus, 4:11  
 Grant, Madison, 5:266  
**Grant, Ulysses S.**, 4:92, 164–165, 240, 279, 332, 352, 5:91  
**Gratian**, 1:14, 91, 210, 2:60, 61, 148  
 Grau, Miguel, 4:442  
 Graus, Battle of, 2:109  
 Gravelines, Battle of, 3:112, 368  
 Gravelotte, Battle of, 4:154  
 Gray, Elisha, 5:xxxiv  
 Great Arab Revolt, 5:112, 142  
 Great Army, 2:6, 418–419  
**Great Awakening**, 3:107, 108, 160, 214  
   **first and second**, 4:52, 123, 131, 166–168  
 Great Barrier Reef, 4:318  
 Great Britain, 4:xxix, 3, 13, 29–33, 87, 101–103, 127, 393 5:123, 140–142, 149, 150, 172, 173, 221, 231–232, 252, 260, 283, 297, 329, 339, 370–371, 6:23–24, 49, 121, 149–150, 192, 239, 254, 277, 284–285, 305, 307, 308, 313, 364–365. *See also* England; Scotland; United Kingdom; Wales  
   *art and architecture*, 4:35–37  
 Great Cattle Killing, 4:395  
 Great Circle of Life, 1:295, 296  
 Great Compromise, 4:99  
 Great Council, 2:408  
**Great Depression**, 4:129, 255, 260, 369, 5:xxxii, xxxiv, xxxvii, xxxix, xl, 2, 18, 32, 33, 47, 52, 70, 71, 79, 82, 87, 96, 99, 102, 106, 108, 128, 129–131, 145, 148, 154, 155, 156, 168, 175, 186, 193, 199, 200, 206, 217, 222, 229, 266, 268, 270, 281, 290, 303, 316, 318, 325, 326, 366, 414, 420, 6:48, 139, 140, 258, 299, 343, 405  
 Greater Antilles, 3:65  
**Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere**, 5:49, 131–132, 421  
 Great Famine, 4:193  
 Great Fire of London, 3:21, 72  
 Great Game, 4:30, 31, 101, 117, 288, 402  
 Great Hunger, 4:193  
 Great League of Peace, 3:267  
**Great Leap Forward, China**, 5:239, 6:92, 122, 162, 174, 175, 423  
*Great Learning*, 1:92  
 Great Maya Revolt, 3:411  
**Great Migrations**, 5:132–136, 139, 313  
 Great Mississippi Flood, 5:134, 153  
 Great Mosque of Damascus, 2:203  
 Great Nanjing Massacre, 5:317–318  
 Great Northern Railway, 5:78  
 Great Northern War, 3:262, 304  
 Great Patriotic War, 6:172  
 Great Peace, 1:499  
**Great Plains of North America**, 4:168–169, 190, 279  
 Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, 5:239  
 Great Protestation, 3:370  
 Great Railroad Strike, 4:158, 217, 347  
 Great Rebellion, 4:27, 28  
 Great Renunciation, 1:158  
**Great Schism**, 2:M59, 28, 30, 31, 64, 68, 90, 126, 345, 346, 3:52  
 Great Sioux Uprising, 4:303  
**Great Society, U.S.**, 6:16, 177–178, 232, 451, 452  
 Great Sphinx, 1:317, 351–352  
 Great Trek, 4:13, 395, 5:2, 103  
**Great Wall of China**, 1:132, 163–165, 184, 186, 251, 257, 272, 378, 466, 492, 2:xxxix, 18, 124, 252, 277–278, 332, 373, 381, 3:14, 111, 153–154, 321, 406, 416  
 Great Zimbabwe, 1:4, 2:36, 367–368, 445, 3:22  
 Grebel, Conrad, 3:15, 16  
 Greco-Perisan Wars, 1:346–347  
 Greco-Roman philosophy, 1:302  
**Greece**, 5:38, 39, 102, 130, 135, 212, 6:100, 281  
   **ancient Greek drama in**, 1:3, 26, 169–171  
   **Archaic**, 1:24–25  
   **colonization by**, 1:110, 168–169  
   **Greek and Phoenician Routes, c. 500 B.C.E.** 1:M13  
   **Greek city-states**, 1:31, 110, 166–168, 169, 192, 195, 319, 325, 326, 354, 361, 444, 459. *See also* polis  
   **Greek Junta**, 6:178–180, 277  
   **mythology and pantheon**, 1:161, 171–173, 256  
   **oratory and rhetoric**, 1:173–174  
   **during the Peloponnesian War**, 1:M15  
   **Revolution of**, 4:117  
   **War of Independence**, 4:169–171, 285  
**Greek Church**, 1:20, 48, 51, 103, 125, 165–166, 226, 247, 306, 320, 430, 449, 2:67, 68, 90, 194, 198, 311. *See also* Greek Orthodox Church

- “Greek Fire,” 2:xxxix, 63, 270–271  
 Greek medicine, 1:200–201  
 Greek Orthodox Church, 5:25, 214  
 Greeley, Horace, 4:309  
 Green, William, 4:226, 6:15  
 Greenback Labor Party, 4:158, 332  
 Green Belt Revolution, 6:19  
 Greenberg, Joseph H., 2:36  
 Greene, Graham, 5:255  
 Greene, Nathaniel, 4:25  
 Greenglass, David, 6:367, 369  
 greenhouse gas emissions, 6:255–256  
**Greenland**, 2:111, 148–149, 415, 416, 417  
 green line, 6:223  
 Green March, 6:294, 402, 460  
 Green Party, 6:168  
**Green Revolution**, 6:xxxii, 136, 180–182, 204, 421–422  
 Greenstreet, Sidney, 5:255  
 Greer, Germaine, 6:xxxvi  
 Gregorian chant, 1:176  
 Gregorian Reform, 2:175, 426  
 Gregorian Sacrament, 1:176, 2:6  
**Gregory I the Great**, 1:48–49, 1:175–176, 246, 2:67, 76, 92  
 Gregory V, 2:385  
 Gregory VII, 2:47, 91, 163, 175, 195, 243, 426  
 Gregory IX, 2:175, 197  
 Gregory X, 2:153, 176  
 Gregory XI, 2:30, 31  
 Gregory XII, 2:31, 93  
 Gregory, David, 3:278  
 Gregory, James, 3:278  
 Gregory Nazianzus, 1:48, 67–68, 99, 219, 264, 411, 461, 2:97  
 Gregory of Nyssa, 1:48, 67, 219  
 Gregory of Tours, 1:287  
**Gregory Palamas**, 2:149–150  
 Gregory Thaumaturgos, 1:320  
**Grenada, U.S. invasion of**, 6:77, 182, 363  
 Grenville, Richard, 3:329  
 Grey, George, 4:257, 258  
 Grey, Lady Jane, 3:120, 391  
 Griffin, Walter Burley, 5:32  
 Griffins, Martha, 6:140  
 Griffith, D. W., 5:192, 253, 266  
 Griffith-Joyner, Florence, 6:326  
 Grijalva, Juan de, 3:15, 105, 245, 411  
 Grimké, Angelina, 4:450  
 Grimké, Sarah, 4:450  
 Grinnell, George Bird, 5:91  
 Grissom, Virgil, 6:399  
*Griswold v. Connecticut*, 6:151, 366  
 Grivas, Georgios, 6:113  
 Grocyn, William, 3:254  
 Groningen Hypothesis, 1:134  
 Groseilliers, Médard Chouart, sieur des, 3:169  
 gross product redistribution, 5:274  
 Grósz, Károly, 6:128  
 Grotius, Hugo, 3:77  
 Group Areas Act, 6:3, 280  
 Groupe des Dombes, 6:133  
 Groves, Leslie, 5:236  
**Growth of Russia, 1801–1855**, 4:M107  
**Growth of Russia, 1855–1904**, 4:M127  
**Growth of Russia, 1904–1955**, 5:M135  
**Growth of Russia, The, 1551–1700**, 3:M75  
**Growth of the Japanese Empire, 1931–41**, 5:M150  
 Grudzinska, Johanna, 4:329  
 Gruen, David Josef, 5:43  
 Gruhn, Ruth, 1:148  
 Grunewald, Mathias, 2:218  
 Grunitzky, Nicolas, 6:429  
 Grünne, Count, 4:136  
 Grunwald, Battle of, 2:231, 256, 331  
 GSG-9, 6:393  
 Guadalajara, Battle of, 5:364  
**Guadalupe, Virgin of**, 3:397–398  
 Guagamela, Battle of, 1:45  
 Gualpa Indians, 3:137, 267  
 Gualpa, Diego, 3:313  
 Guam, 5:132  
 Guam Doctrine, 6:317  
 Guanajuatos, 3:277  
 Guandi, 1:464  
**Guangwu (Kuang-wu)**, 1:176, 253, 269, 385, 471  
**Guangxu (Kuang-hsu)**, 4:93, 94, 171, 185, 186, 210, 384, 414, 415, 5:49, 50, 433  
 Guangyin (Kuan-yin), 1:56  
 guano industry, 4:224–225  
 Guantánamo Bay, 4:399, 5:303  
*Guan Yu*, 1:464  
 Guarantee and Neutrality, Treaty of, 5:172  
**Guatemala**, 3:69, 4:xxvi, 80, 81, 95, 6:20, 77, 259, 261, 289–290  
     **civil war in**, 6:182–183  
 Gubaru, 1:104  
 Gücülük, 2:379  
 Gudrid, 2:406  
 Guebuza, Armando Emilio, 6:160  
 Guei (Kuei), 3:249  
 Gueiliang (Kuei-liang), 4:162  
 Guelf party, 2:344, 410  
 Güemes, Martín, 4:79

- Guernica, Spain, 5:19, 96, 364  
 Guerra, Donato, 5:158  
 Guerrero, Emilio Constantino, 5:126  
 Guerrero, Vicente, 4:199, 274, 275  
 Guerrero Santiago, Noel, 6:383  
 Guerrilla Army of the Poor (EGP), 6:183  
 guerrilla warfare, 3:68, 367, 411, 4:104–105, 5:46, 72, 190, 193, 211, 257, 307, 321, 377, 438, 6:4, 8, 12, 71, 77, 80, 103, 111, 120, 130, 153, 182, 184, 236, 253, 258, 283–284, 293, 365, 408, 425, 434, 451, 453  
 Guesclin, Bertrand de, 5:104  
**Guevara de la Serna, Ernesto “Che,”** 6:56, 80, 111, 112, 183–184, 259, 383  
**Guicciardini, Francesco,** 3:154–155, 331  
 Guided Democracy, 6:205  
 Guidon, Niède, 1:148–149  
 Guilford Courthouse, Battle of, 4:26  
 Guillaume de Lorris, 2:80, 84  
 Guillaume de Nogaret, 2:326  
 Guillén Vicente, Rafael Sebastián, 6:474  
*Guinn v. United States,* 5:262  
 Güiraldes, Carlos Reyes Ricardo, 4:151  
 Guiscard, Robert, 2:310  
 Guise, Francis (François) duc de, 3:264  
 Gujrat, 3:10  
 Gulag prison camps, 5:358  
 Gulbenkian, Calouste, 5:280  
 Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), 6:xxxviii  
 Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, 6:xli, 232, 450, 451, 452  
**Gulf War**  
     **First,** 6:14, 22, 42, 98, 184–185, 198, 254, 328, 332, 440, 442  
     **Second,** 6:xliv, 185–188, 198, 276, 349  
 Güneş, Turan, 6:114  
 Gungsun Yang (Kung-sun Yang), 1:245  
 gunpowder, 3:128, 190, 4:xxxvi  
 Gunpowder Plot, 3:79  
 guns, 2:xxxix  
 Gunther, John, 5:6, 144  
 Guntram the Rich, 2:152  
**Gupta Empire,** 1:xxxii, xxxvi, 74, 153, 177, 207, 236, 333, 2:105, 158, 159  
 Gurage, 6:142  
 Gurjara clan, 1:207  
 Gurjara-Pratihara Confederacy, 2:341  
 Guru Angad, 3:360  
**Guru Nanak,** 3:359–360  
 Guru Tegh Bahadur, 3:360  
 Gusinsky, Vladimir, 6:377  
 Gusmão, Luísa de, 3:48, 49  
 Gusmão, Xanana, 6:130  
 Gustav Ericsson (Eriksson), 3:395  
 Gustavo Ross, Santa María, 5:5  
 Gustavus Adolphus, 3:xxxvi, 77, 382, 398  
 Gustavus Vasa, 3:335  
**Gutenberg, Johannes,** 2:xxxv, 150–151, 217, 437, 3:39, 212, 315, 331  
 Gutenberg Bible, 2:151, 3:315  
 Guthrie, Malcolm, 2:36  
 Guthrum, 2:6, 7, 98  
 Gutians, 1:7, 8, 446  
 Gutiérrez de Piñeres, Juan Francisco, 4:97  
 Gutiérrez Najera, Manuel, 5:203  
 Gutiérrez Ortiz, Eulalio Mart’n, 5:401  
 Gutman, Herbert, 4:218  
 Gutmacher, Alan, 6:366  
 Gutmacher, Manfred, 6:366  
 Guy de Lusignan, 2:180, 246  
 Guyon, Jeanne-Marie [Bouvier de la Mothe; Madame], 1:90, 3:131, 324, 325  
 Guyuk Khagan, 2:281, 403  
 Guzmán, Abimael, 6:387  
 Guzman, Dominic, 2:272  
 Gwynne, Sarah, 4:446  
 Gyanendra, 6:309  
 Gylippos, 1:448  
**gymnasium and athletics,** 1:178–180, 192, 319  
 Gypsies (Roma), 5:150
- H**  
 Haakon, Earl, 2:314, 315  
 Habakkuk, 1:368, 379  
 Habash, George, 6:332  
 Habibie, Jusuf, 6:408  
 Habitat for Humanity, 6:80  
 Habsburg, Wilhelm von, 2:256  
**Habsburg/Hapsburg dynasty,** 2:48, 153–155, 3:48, 73, 133, 157–158, 217, 230, 293, 306, 367, 369, 376, 381, 395, 4:42, 46, 47, 137, 195, 206, 220, 246, 353, 399, 5:243, 295, 415  
     **in Central Europe,** 1618–1700, 3:M85  
     **Expansion and Contraction,** 1700–1814, 3:M94  
     **Habsburg-Ottoman Frontier, The, 16th Century,** 3:M69  
 Hachiman Taro Yoshiie, 2:27  
*hacienda, in Spanish America,* 3:122, 158–159, 276  
 Hadad-idr of Aram, 1:23  
 Hadassah Medical Organization, 5:441  
 Hades, 1:129, 172  
 Hadith, The, 2:339, 6:356  
 Hadiya, 3:209  
**Hadrian,** 1:17, 38, 39, 181–182, 222, 223, 299, 340–341, 388, 390, 394, 402, 420

- Hadrian's Wall, 1:181, 182, 341, 388, 423, 2:xxxix, 358
- Haeckel, Ernst, 4:108
- Hafid, Abd, al-, 5:252
- Hafid, Mulai, 5:321
- Hafiz**, 2:155, 380
- Haganah**, 5:21, 44, 52, 137–138
- Haggadah, 1:452
- Haggai, 1:368
- Haggard, Ryder, 2:445, 5:254
- Hagia Sophia**, 1:98, 182–183, 234, 430, 440, 2:57, 59, 67, 198, 421
- Hague, The, 5:122, 143, 212, 324
- Hague, Treaty of, The, 3:369
- Hague Agreement, 6:124, 409
- Hague Tribunal, 5:252
- Hahn, Otto, 5:236
- Haig, Alexander, 6:418
- Haig, Douglas, 5:221, 416, 417
- haiku, 3:215
- Haile-Mariam, Mengistu, 6:194
- Haile Selassie**, 4:125, 5:95, 345–346, 6:141, 142, 143, 193. *See also* Ras Tafari
- Haile-Selassie, Yohannes, 1:135, 326
- d'Hainault, Isabelle, 2:325
- Haiti**, 3:373, 4:103, 226, 416, 436–438, 5:128, 209, 385, 6:31–32, 124–125. *See also* Saint-Domingue
- Revolution in**, 4:xxxvii, 3, 26, 173–174, 180, 226, 272, *See also* Saint-Domingue 384, 416
- Haitian Massacre, Dominican Republic, 1937**, 5:138–139
- hajj*, 1:357–358
- Hajj, Messali al-, 5:6
- Hajjah ibn Yusuf al-Thaqafi, 2:406
- Hakim al-, 2:20, 118
- Hakim Amr al-, Abd, 6:134
- Hakluyt, Richard, 3:178, 400
- Halaby, Sulayman al-, 4:301
- Halakhah, 1:452, 488
- Haldeman, H. R., 6:458, 459
- Hales, Robert, 2:321, 322
- Haley, Alex, 6:279
- Halfdan, 2:98
- Half-Way Covenant, 3:318
- Halhyn-gol, Battle of, 5:251
- Hallenbeck, Cleve, 3:59
- Halley, Edmund, 3:278
- Hallstein, Walter, 6:145, 166
- Haly Radoan, 2:266
- Haman, 1:135
- Ham**, 6:22, 23, 30, 189, 212, 223, 224, 333, 418
- Hamid I, Abdul (Abdulhamid I [Ottoman sultan]), 5:26
- Hamid, Abdul II** (Abdulhamid II [Ottoman sultan]), 4:174–175, 234, 277, 365, 451, 452, 5:431–432, 6:112
- Hamilcar Barca, 1:69, 187
- Hamilton, Alexander**, 4:6, 50, 99, 100, 175–177, 202, 253, 279, 309, 331, 444
- Hamilton, Andrew, 3:415
- Hamilton, James, 3:348
- Hammett, Dashiell, 5:219
- Hammond, Richard, 4:16
- Hammurabi**, 1:34, 41–42, 128, 147, 183, 476
- Ham Nghi, 4:142
- Hampshire*, HMS, 5:191
- Hampton Court Conference, 3:187, 318
- han*, 3:385
- Han, Ton-Tai, 5:41
- Hanafi, 2:208
- Hananiah, 1:369
- Hanbali, The, 2:208
- Hancock, John, 3:160
- Handel, George Frideric, 3:39, 258
- Han dynasty**, 1:xxxii, xxxiii, xxxvi, 46, 55, 75, 77, 92, 95, 106, 107, 121, 176, 183–185, 240, 250, 252, 253, 255, 257, 385, 428, 429–430, 464, 466, 485, 486, 492, 494, 499, 501, 504, 2:xxx, xxxix, 3:33, 78, 123, 147, 276, 294, 334, 391, 430
- Han Fei, 1:245, 377, 494
- Hangzhou (Hangchou)**, 2:155–156, 222, 241, 294, 374, 381
- Haniyeh, Ismail, 6:212, 224, 333
- Hanna, Mark, 5:328
- Hanna, Matthew E., 5:355
- Hannibal**, 1:xxxviii, 69, 155, 162, 185–186, 386, 387, 397, 402, 2:324, 410
- Hannington, James, 4:70
- Hanover, House of, 3:149
- Hanseatic League**, 2:156–158, 3:60, 395
- Hanseatic League, The, and the Union of Kalmar, 14th Century**, 2:M50
- Hanshu (Han-shu), 2:46, 184, 430
- Hanukkah, 1:256
- Han Wudi (Han Wu-ti)**, 1:75, 92, 186–188, 493, 504
- Hao, 1:426
- Hao, Jeanette Nguyen Huu, 5:41
- Happold, Edmund, 6:38
- Hara Kei, 5:139, 185, 405
- Harald III (Hardrada), 2:309, 419, 420, 435
- Haram al-Sharif, 6:21, 23, 212
- Haram as-Sharif, 2:407

- Harappa, 1:xxxvii, 285, 358  
 Harar, Takashi, 5:122  
 Harb, Talat, 5:13, 84  
 Hardenberg, Karl August von, 4:434  
 Harding, Warren G., 5:78, 92, 153, 195, 309, 408  
 Hardouin-Mansart, Jules, 3:21, 39  
 Hardrada, Harald. *See* Harald III  
 Hare Krishnas, 2:39  
 Hargovind, 3:360  
 Hargreaves, James, 3:347  
 Harihara, 2:414  
 Hari Singh, Maharaja, 6:201, 206  
 Hariss, Gerald, 2:323  
 Har Karkom, 1:431  
**Harlem Renaissance**, 5:80, 99, 139–140, 269, 290  
 Harmand Treaty, 4:142  
 Harnak, Adolf von, 5:46  
 Harold, 2:14, 19, 303, 305  
 Harold Bluetooth, 2:69  
 Harold Godwinson, 2:12, 13, 17, 307, 309, 419  
 Harold Harefoot, 2:70  
 Harper, Stephen, 6:77, 356  
 Harpers Ferry, 4:90, 384  
 Harrar, Heinrich, 6:115  
 Harriman, W. Averell, 6:284  
 Harriot, Thomas, 3:104  
 Harris, Benjamin, 4:334  
 Harris, Joseph E., 2:107, 384  
**Harris, Townsend**, 4:177, 267, 326  
 Harris, William, 3:403  
 Harrison, Rex, 5:254  
 Harrison, William Henry, 4:332  
 Harry Hotspur, 2:164  
**Harsha Vardhana**, 2:xxxvii, 158–159, 430, 431  
**Hart, Robert**, 4:71, 162, 178  
 Harthacanute, 2:70  
 Hartmann VI of Kyburg, 2:153  
 Harun al-Rashid, 2:1, 2, 159–160, 209  
 Harvard, John, 3:159  
**Harvard College**, 3:159–160, 176, 238  
 Harvey, William, 3:346, 347  
 Hasan, 2:9, 10  
 Hasan Pasha, 3:292  
 Hasdrubal, 2:410  
**Hashemite dynasty**, 6:291, 233–234  
     in Iraq, 5:140–142, 173  
     in Jordan, 5:55, 142–143  
     in Syria, 5:112  
 Hashimoto Kingoro, 5:194  
 Hasina, Sheikh, 6:359  
 Haskins, Charles Homer, 2:264–265  
 Hasmonaeans, 1:256  
 Hassan II, 6:294, 402, 460, 461  
 Hassig, Ross, 2:182  
 Hassan, Abshir Farah, 6:394  
**Hassan El Wazzan**, 3:211  
 Hastein Ironsides, 2:418  
 Hastings, Battle of, 2:xxxix, 12, 235, 309,  
 Hastings, Warren, 4:30, 64  
 Hatoyama Ichiro, 6:265  
 Hatshepsut, 1:136, 308, 457, 458, 3:398  
 Hata Sahachiro, 5:xxxv  
**Hatta, Muhammad**, 5:143, 265, 345  
 Hatti Humayun, 4:410  
 Hatti-Sherif Gulhane, 4:409  
 Hattushili I, 1:201  
 Hattushili II, 1:383  
 Hattushili III, 1:202  
 Hau Hau Movement, 4:259  
 Hauptmann, Bruno, 5:218  
**Hausa**, 4:426, 6:64, 312, 313  
     city-states of, 2:160, 231  
 Haussmann, Baron, 5:203, 205  
 Haut Sénégal–Niger, 5:113  
**Havel, Václav**, 6:129, 190  
**Hawaii**, 4:101, 178–180, 189, 213, 219, 318  
 Hawali, Safar al, 6:13  
 Hawatmeh, Naif, 6:332  
 Hawes-Cutting Act, 5:389  
 Hawking, Stephen, 6:xxxiii  
 Hawkins, Jane, 3:405  
 Hawkins, John, 3:112, 113, 121, 367, 368, 383  
 Hawkins, William, 3:185  
 Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act, 5:130  
 Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 4:419, 448  
 Hay, John, 4:398, 5:283  
**Haya de la Torre, Víctor Raúl**, 5:144–145, 202, 206,  
     241  
 Hayakawa, Sessue, 5:253  
 Hayam Wuruk, 2:264  
 Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty, 5:291  
 Hayden, Casey, 6:406  
 Hayden, Palmer, 5:140  
 Hayden, Tom, 6:405  
 Hayes, J. H., 5:115  
 Hayes, Rutherford B., 4:27, 158, 332, 352  
 Hay-Herrán Treaty, 5:291  
 Haymarket Riot, 4:158, 217, 401, 5:124, 126  
 Hayoshi Tadasu, 5:16, 17  
 Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, 5:291  
 Hazael, 1:22, 23, 24, 239  
 Hazmi, Nawaf al-, 6:462  
 Hazmi, Salem al-, 6:462  
 Haznawi, Ahmed al-, 6:462

- Head Start, 6:177  
 Heaney, Seamus, 2:12  
 Hearne, Samuel, 3:170  
 Hearst, William Randolph, 4:105, 310, 5:353, 6:174  
 Heath, Edward, 6:419  
 Hebe, 1:172  
 Hebe de Bonafini, 6:31  
 Hebrew Bible, 1:12, 19, 50–51, 276  
 Hebron, 1:109, 110  
 Hector, 1:203, 471  
 Hedgewar, K. B., 6:61  
 Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, 4:263, 5:97, 300  
**Heian**, 2:120, 131, 160–162, 288, 296  
 Heidegger, Martin, 5:97, 301  
 Heiden, Eric, 6:316  
 Heiji War, 2:133  
 Heinlein, Robert, 5:219  
 Heizen Gate Incident, 2:173  
 Heke, Hene, 4:257  
 Heke's Rebellion, 4:257  
**Helena**, 1:95, 188–189, 357, 401  
**Helen of Troy**, 1:173, 189–190, 471  
 Helios, 1:172  
 Hellen, 1:192  
 Hellenic art, 1:190–191  
**Hellenistic art**, 1:190–192  
**Hellenistic World**, c. 300 B.C.E., 1:M18  
**Hellenization**, 1:xxxvi, 128, 192–193  
 Hellespont, 1:10  
**Héloïse**, 2:3  
*helots*, 1:443  
 Helvetians, 1:156  
 Hemings, Sally, 4:203  
 Hemingway, Ernest, 5:xxxix, 99, 218, 254  
 Hemiunu, 1:374  
 Hennepin, Louis, 3:138  
 Henreid, Paul, 5:255  
 Henri I (king of Northern Haiti). *See* Christophe, Henry  
 Henrietta-Maria (queen of England), 3:70, 71, 187, 234  
 Henri of Navarre, 3:252  
 Henrique I, 3:204  
 Henrique III, 3:204  
 Henry I, 2:12, 88, 163, 174, 305, 310, 371, 435  
**Henry II**, 2:25, 38, 45, 71, 110, 162–163, 235, 259, 305, 325, 329, 342, 3:28, 119, 234, 395  
 Henry II of Trastamara, 2:88  
 Henry II (Holy Roman Emperor), 2:174  
 Henry III, 2:49, 70, 163, 175, 243, 305, 306, 423, 3:160, 264, 265, 395  
 Henry III the Infirm, 2:88  
 Henry IV (Holy Roman Emperor), 2:143, 426  
 Henry IV (of Castile), 2:89  
 Henry IV (of England), 2:186, 307  
**Henry IV (of Germany)**, 2:163–164, 175, 185, 243, 311, 420, 3:5, 71, 132, 135, 160–161, 172, 187, 240, 252, 265, 4:249, 436  
 Henry V (Holy Roman Emperor), 2:164  
**Henry V**, 2:165–166, 175, 186, 330, 426, 428, 3:395  
 Henry VI, 2:166, 186, 3:338, 339  
 Henry VI Hohenstaufen, 2:24, 130, 175, 195, 295, 306  
**Henry VII**, 2:175, 224, 3:60, 161, 162, 186, 236, 254, 338, 339, 348, 391  
 Henry VII of Luxembourg, 2:154  
**Henry VIII**, 2:13, 3:40, 42, 73, 78, 80, 119, 120, 125, 126, 133, 161, 162–164, 186, 202, 233, 234, 236, 242, 254, 316, 332, 348, 374, 391, 392  
 Henry, Patrick, 4:23, 261  
 Henry FitzEmpress. *See* Henry II (king of England)  
 Henry of Anjou, 2:306  
 Henry of Bavaria, 2:262  
 Henry of Carinthia, 2:48  
 Henry of Guise, 3:160, 265  
 Henry of Navarre, 3:160, 264, 265  
 Henryson, Robert, 2:361  
 Henry the Fowler, 2:73, 262  
 Henry the Lion, 2:130, 157, 175  
**Henry “the Navigator,” Prince**, 2:166–167, 3:5, 104, 398, 399  
 Henry the Younger, 2:39  
 Henshall, Nicholas, 3:5  
 Hepburn, James. *See* Bothwell, earl of  
 Hephaestus, 1:172  
 Hephthalites, 1:414, 415  
 Heptarchy, 2:18  
 Heqin (Ho-chin) Treaty, 1:164, 257, 258, 492, 493, 504  
 Hera, 1:172, 319  
 Heraclas, 1:320  
 Heracles, 1:115, 230, 471  
 Heraclitus, 1:39, 193, 365, 366  
 Heraclius, 1:264, 416, 2:57, 433, 4:339  
 Heraclius Constantine, 2:63  
 Heraclius the Elder, 2:63  
 Heraclius the Exarch, 2:63  
 Heraean Games, 1:319  
**Herculaneum**, 1:362–363  
 Hercules, 1:396, 399  
 Hereros, 4:14  
**heresies**, 1:142, 193–194, 2:4, 93, 97, 245, 3:196, 324, 345, 347  
     **pre-Reformation**, 2:167–169

- Herjólfsson, Bjarni, 2:111  
 Hermann, Friedrich, 3:47  
 Herman of Salm, 2:164  
 Hermes, 1:9, 87, 172–173, 332, 448  
 Hermokrates, 1:448  
 Hernandez, Esequiel, 6:123  
 Hernández, Juan Martínez, 3:75  
 Hernández de Córdoba, Francisco, 3:68, 413  
 Hernández Martínez, Maximiliano, 5:87–88  
**Herod Agrippa I**, 1:20, 120, 196, 344  
**Herod Agrippa II**, 1:196  
**Herod Antipas**, 1:157, 196, 226  
**Herod Archelaus**, 1:157, 196  
 Herodian, 1:420  
**Herodotus**, 1:4, 5, 66, 108, 131, 139, 153, 192, 194–195, 246, 258, 270, 342, 345, 346, 393, 459, 489, 3:126, 179  
**Herods**, 1:195–196  
**Herod the Great**, 1:157, 195–196  
 Herrera, Carlos, 5:93  
 Herrera, Rodolfo, 5:60  
 Herschel, John, 4:109  
 Hertzog, J., 5:2, 6:3  
**Herzl, Theodor**, 4:116, 175, 454–455, 5:43, 339, 439  
 Heshen (Ho-shen), 4:204, 343  
**Hesiod**, 1:172, 196–197, 231, 248, 365, 487  
 Hess, Rudolf, 5:268  
 Hesse, Hermann, 1:50, 5:98  
 Hessians, 4:xxxvii  
 Hestia, 1:172  
 Hesychasts, 2:149  
 heterodoxies. *See* Judaism, early  
 Hetmans, 3:90  
 Hewa Hewa, 4:179  
 Heydrich, Reinhard, 5:365  
 Heyerdahl, Thor, 3:398  
 Heyn, Piet, 3:114  
 Heysen, Hans, 5:33  
 Heytesbury, William, 2:267  
**Hezekiah**, 1:197–198, 216, 227, 440  
 Hicks, William, 4:160, 284  
 Hidalgo Rebellion, 4:180–181, 227, 272, 273, 275  
**Hidalgo y Costilla, Miguel**, 3:398, 4:180–181, 197, 227, 272, 275  
**hieroglyphics**, 1:xxxiv, 53, 127, 198, 201, 240, 282, 312, 316, 350, 406, 418, 3:74  
 Hiero I, 1:76  
 Higher Education Act, 6:177  
 Highland Clearances, 3:171  
 Highly Active Anti-retroviral Therapy, 6:6  
 Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC), 6:143  
 Higuchi, Susana, 4:39  
 Hilarion, 1:113, 287  
**Hildegard of Bingen**, 2:169, 268  
 Hill, Benjamin, 5:279  
 Hill, Ernestine, 5:33  
 Hillaire, Christian, 1:71  
 Hillary, Edmund, 5:34  
 Hillel, 1:228, 353, 452, 503  
 Hiller, Kurt, 6:164  
 Hillman, Sidney, 6:15  
 Hilmi, Abbas, 4:34, 69  
 Himmler, Heinrich, 5:104, 268, 365  
 Hincmar of Reims, 2:304  
 Hind Bint Utba, 2:433  
 Hindenberg, Paul von, 5:148, 268, 410, 411, 418  
**Hindu epic literature**, 2:169–171  
 Hinduism, 1:xxxiv, 50, 74, 177, 236, 431–433, 2:xxx, xxxiv, 43, 3:10, 4:xxxiii, 62, 5:xxxviii, 9, 11, 133, 162, 263, 288, 6:61, 201, 203, 206–208, 227, 445  
**Hindu philosophy**, 1:199, 431–433  
 Hino Tomiko, 2:26  
 hip hop, 6:xxxix  
 Hipparchos, 1:322  
 Hipparchus, 1:76, 89, 341  
 Hippias, 1:37, 89, 341  
 hippie counterculture, 6:xxxvii, xxxix, 48, 57, 108, 228  
 Hippisley, Alfred E., 5:283  
**Hippocrates**, 1:xxxii, 200, 2:xxxii, 267, 3:174  
 Hippokleides, 1:331  
 Hippolytus, 1:78  
 Hira, Mount, 2:286  
*Hirabayashi v. United States*, 5:179  
 Hiraga Tomomasa, 2:172  
**Hirohito**, 5:145–146, 181, 193, 194, 238, 317, 336, 376, 430, 6:7, 8  
**Hiroshima/Nagasaki, atomic bombings of**, 5:xlii, 146–147, 180, 230, 237, 381, 386, 423, 6:33, 34, 120, 367  
 Hirotaki, 2:173  
 Hirschfeld, Magnus, 6:165  
 Hisham, 2:407  
 Hisham II, 2:290  
 Hisham III, 2:290  
 Hispanic Absolutism, 3:274  
 Hispaniola, 3:86  
 Hiss, Alger, 5:156, 387, 6:287, 315  
 Histadrut, 6:288, 289  
 histoplasmosis, 3:85  
 historiography, 1:40, 491  
 Hitchcock, Alfred, 5:254  
**Hitler, Adolf**, 5:xxxv, xxxvi, xli, xlii, 6, 18, 19, 46, 47, 48, 52, 66, 76, 77, 96, 101, 102, 104, 111,

- Hygieia, 1:200  
**Hyksos**, 1:xxxii, 208, 307, 308, 312  
 Hypatia, 1:102  
 Hyperbolos, 1:322  
 Hyperion, 1:172  
 hypothesis, 3:344  
 Hyppolite, Hector, 4:438  
 Hyrcanus, John, 1:229  
 Hystaspes, 1:108
- I**
- Iamblichus, 1:231, 303–304, 442  
 Iaroslav, 2:434–435  
 Ibáñez del Campo, Carlos, 5:5, 6, 6:10  
 Ibbi-Sin, 1:128  
 Ibbi-Zikir, 1:123  
 Iberian Neutrality Pact, 5:337  
 Iberian Pact, 6:343  
 Ibn al Hamdhani, 2:144  
 Ibn al-Khatib, 2:192  
 Ibn al Thumma, 2:307  
 ibn ‘Ashur, Muhammad al-Fadil, 4:368  
 ibn ‘Ashur, Muhammad al-Tahir, 4:368  
 Ibn Badis, ‘Abd al-Hamid, 4:368  
**Ibn Batuta**, 2:100, 107, 191, 207, 332, 353, 383, 3:399  
**Ibn Ghazi, Ahmed**, 3:177–178, 209  
 ibn Idris, Ahmad, 4:371  
 Ibn Ishaq, 2:4  
 Ibn Jahhaf, 2:109  
**Ibn Khaldun**, 2:191–192, 204, 3:230  
 ibn Nusayr, Muhammad, 3:11  
 Ibn Rashid, 5:161  
 Ibn Rushd, 2:xxxii, 24, 30, 190, 206, 262, 288  
**Ibn Saud, Abd al-Aziz**, 5:142, 161  
 Ibn Saud, Muhammad, 4:439  
**Ibn Sina**, 1:28, 304, 2:8, 192–193, 207, 266  
**Ibn Taymiyya**, 2:193, 4:439, 6:14  
 Ibn Tumert, 2:117  
 Ibo. *See* Igbo peoples  
 Ibo, Jhon, 6:124  
 Ibrahim, 3:256, 4:170, 439  
 Ibrahim, Anwar, 6:278  
 Ibrahim, Sultan, 3:294  
 Ibrahim ibn al-Aghlab, 2:160  
 Ibrahim Lodi, 3:35, 256, 292, 295  
 Ibrahim Sinasi, 4:451  
 Ibrium, 1:123  
 Ibsen, Henrik, 5:98, 107  
 Ibycus, 1:254  
 ice age, 1:xxxiv, 280, 296  
 Iceland, 2:415, 417, 6:164  
 Icenii, 1:53–54  
 I Ching, 2:371  
**iconoclasm**, 1:166, 2:57, 58, 64, 68, 193–195, 303  
 Ictinus, 1:84, 331  
 Ideas, 1:358–359  
 ideograms, 1:198  
 ideographs, 1:425  
 Idi Amin Dada, 2:107  
 Idova, 3:128  
 Idriess, Ion, 5:33  
 Idris, 6:353  
 Idris II, 2:41  
 Al-Idrisi, 2:306  
 Iffat, 6:384  
 Igbo peoples, 4:14, 6:64, 312, 313  
 Iglesias, José María, 5:304  
 Ignatiev, Nikolai, 4:18  
 Ignatius, 2:305  
 Ignatius of Antioch, 1:82, 244, 262  
 Ignatius of Loyola. *See* Loyola, Ignatius of  
 Igor, 2:379  
 Igrish-Halam, 1:123  
 “I Have a Dream” speech, 6:96, 98, 245  
 Ikhwan, 5:161, 257–258  
*Iliad* (Homer), 1:xxxix, 2, 24, 167, 173, 189, 202, 203, 290, 365, 457, 471  
**Île de France**, 2:195  
 Iliescu, Ion, 6:50, 130  
 Il-Khan, 3:342  
 illuminated manuscripts, 2:198  
 Imhotep, 1:316  
**immigration**, 4:40, 179, 5:xxxii, xxxix, 88–91, 267, 389, 6:109  
     **into Latin America**, 4:37–40  
     **into North America**, 4:xxvi, 88–89, 187–190, 216  
 Immigration Act, 6:261  
 Immigration Reform Act, 5:267  
 Immigration Reform and Control Act, 6:261  
 Immigration Restriction Act, 5:389  
 Immigration Restriction League, 5:90  
 Immorality Act, 6:3  
 Imperial British East Africa Company, 5:224  
 Imperial Conference, 6:104  
**imperial cult, Roman**, 1:209–210  
 imperialism, 4:xxvi, xxxi, xxxiii, xxxv, xxxviii, 13, 32–33, 81, 5:xxxii–xxxiii, 79, 80  
 Imperial Rescript of 1856, 4:410  
 Imperial Rescript of the Rose Chamber, 4:409  
 Imperial Rule Party, 6:265  
 imperial Shinto, 1:427  
 import-substitution industrialization (ISI), 5:199–200  
 improvised explosive devices (IEDs), 6:187

- Imre, 2:243  
 Inca Empire, 2:10, 11, 3:16–17, 24–25, 63, 64, 98–99, 123, 250, 299, 399  
 Indemnity Ordinance, 6:359  
**indentured servitude**, 4:215, 223  
   in colonial America, 3:37, 54, 178–179, 234, 384  
 independence, wars of, 3:223  
 Independent Labour Party, 5:12  
 Index of Forbidden Books, 3:126, 143, 226, 254, 316, 390  
**India**, 1:xxxii, xxxv, xxxvi, xxxix, 11, 45–46, 177, 217–218, 2:xxx, xxxii, xxxiv, 319, 3:10, 28–29, 151, 174–175, 256, 358–359, 4:xxxv, xxxviii, 22, 59–60, 113, 161–162, 192–193, 291, 348–349, 412, 5:xxxvii–xxxviii, 9–11, 48–49, 132, 135–136, 187–188, 253, 263, 269–270, 6:xlii, 45, 49, 56, 61, 101, 105, 138, 158–159, 180, 181, 201–203, 227, 296, 306–307, 359, 386–387, 389–390, 413–14, 445–446  
   in 1805, 4:M104  
   art and architecture (1750–1900), 4:35  
   British governors-general of, 4:68–69  
   Partitions of, 5:M157, 135  
   Sikh Wars in, 4:381  
**India Act**, 4:163  
   in 1953, 5:162–163  
   Government of 1919, 5:10, 31, 162, 163, 167, 182, 288, 329  
**India Councils Act of 1909/Morley-Minto Reforms**, 5:162, 164  
 Indian Association, 4:49, 50  
 Indian Civilian Conservation Corps, 5:168  
 Indian Defense Association, 5:168  
 Indian Home Rule League, 4:412  
**Indian Mutiny**, 4:64, 65, 72, 114, 163, 190–191, 283, 381  
**Indian National Congress (INC)**, 4:50, 161, 162, 293, 412, 5:xxxviii, 9, 12, 48, 119, 162, 164–167, 182, 263, 269–270, 288, 329, 6:158, 201, 296, 306  
 Indian removal, U.S., 4:200, 302  
**Indian Reorganization Act (IRC)**, U.S., 5:167–168, 271  
 Indian-Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, 6:16  
 Indian Union Muslim League, 5:11  
 Indies Social Democratic Association (ISDV), 5:340, 6:205  
 Indies' Student Society (Indische Vereeniging), 5:143  
 indigenismo, 5:201–203  
 Indigenous Revolutionary Anti-Zapatista Movement (MIRA), 6:472  
**indigo**, 3:62, 179–180, 4:224  
 individuality, concept of, 3:108  
 Indochina, 5:70–71, 132, 176, 283, 344  
**Indochina War**, 6:M163, 191, 202, 204–205, 475  
 Indochinese Communist Party (ICP), 6:191  
 Indochinese Marxist Study Society, 5:70  
**Indo-Europeans**, 1:xxxii, xxxv, 29, 32, 207, 210–213, 478, 479  
 Indonesia, 5:143, 265, 340–341, 6:xl, 12, 43, 44, 130, 408–409  
**Indonesian Communist Party (PKI)**, 5:265, 6:205–206, 408  
 Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), 5:265  
 Indonesian National Education Club, 5:143, 265  
 Indonesian Nationalist Union (PNI), 5:265, 6:205, 409  
 Indonesian Students Association, 5:143  
 Indonesian Union, 5:143  
**Indo-Pakistani War(s)**, 6:48, 49, 63, 158, 204–206, 297, 317, 386, 387, 465  
 Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accords, 6:205  
 Indra, 1:478, 480  
 Indravarman I, 2:233  
 Indravarman II, 2:78, 233  
 inductive methodology, 3:344, 345  
**Indus civilization**, 1:32, 70, 119, 213–214, 285, 479–481  
**Industrial Revolution**, 3:172, 347, 4:xxxv, xxviii, xxix, xxx, xxxi, xxxiii, 94, 176, 191–192, 215, 216, 218, 224, 259, 260, 334, 335, 346, 389, 417, 447, 5:xxxiii, xxxvi, 1, 6:xxxiii  
   in Britain, 1770–1870, 4:M115  
   in Europe, 1850, 4:M114  
**Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)**, 4:218, 5:168–169  
 Indus Water Treaty, 6:48  
 Ine, 2:17  
**influenza**, 3:123, 266  
   Pandemic of 1918, 5:169–171  
 Information Awareness Office (IAO), 6:463  
 Ingstad, Anne Stine, 2:416  
 Ingstad, Helge, 2:416  
 Inkerman, Battle of, 4:31  
 Innocent I, 1:83  
 Innocent II, 2:42, 148, 377  
**Innocent III**, 2:4, 93, 94, 175, 195–196, 244, 306, 330  
 Innocent IV, 2:176, 254  
 Innocent VII, 2:31, 3:195  
 Innocent VIII, 2:327, 3:134, 211  
 Innocent XI, 3:324  
 İnönü, İsmet, 5:30, 6:425

- Inquisition**, 2:167, 196–198, 342, 3:332, 347  
**Roman**, 3:144, 180–181  
**Spanish**, 3:129, 132, 134, 147, 151, 180–181, 194, 299, 324
- Inspection Act, 3:384
- Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI)**, 5:58, 249, 6:208–209
- Instrument of Accession, 6:206
- Integrated Mediterranean Programme (IMP), 6:144
- intellectual revolution/May Fourth Movement**, 5:244–246
- Intelligence Oversight Board (IOB), 6:385
- intendancy system, 4:221
- Inter-Allied Commission, 5:189, 295
- Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IA-CHR), 6:328
- Inter-American Committee Against Terrorism (CICTE), 6:328
- Inter-American Development Bank, 6:312
- Inter-American Drug Abuse Control Commission (CICAD), 6:328
- Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, 6:148
- Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs), 6:34, 120–122
- Interim Iraqi Government, 6:187
- Intermediate-Range Ballistic Missiles (IRBMs), 6:120–122, 238
- Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), 6:120–122, 173
- Internal Revenue Service (IRS), U.S., 6:67
- International AIDS Vaccine Initiative, 6:7
- International Atomic Energy Agency, 6:35
- International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), 6:461
- International Brigades, 5:69
- International Committee for the Nanjing Safety Zone, 5:317
- International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), 5:22, 122
- International Conference for Humanity Against Neoliberalism, 6:474
- International Congress of Women, 5:226
- International Control Commission, 6:201
- International Court of Arbitration, 5:212
- International Court of Justice (ICJ)**, 5:122, 171–172, 294
- International Criminal Court, 6:51, 295
- International Criminal Tribunal, 6:380
- International Fund for Agricultural Development, 6:381
- International Labour Organisation (ILO), 5:33, 127
- International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), 5:51, 382–383, 6:15
- International Military Staff (IMS), 6:322
- International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE), 5:380–381
- International Monetary Fund (IMF)**, 6:xxxvi, xxxviii, 18, 90, 119, 132, 143, 164, 171, 172, 209–210, 233, 240, 251, 314, 374, 388, 403, 427, 429
- International Olympic Committee (IOC), 5:282, 6:327
- International Organizations**, 6:M179
- International Red Cross, 4:299
- International Rice Research Institute, 6:180
- International Socialist Bureau, 5:215
- International Space Station, 6:400, 401
- International Trade Administration, 6:320
- International Trade Organization (ITO), 6:164
- International War Crimes Tribunal, 5:318
- International Women's Day, 5:331, 6:151
- International Women's Union, 5:348
- International Working Men's Association (IWA), 4:392
- Internet, 6:xxxiii
- internment camps, 5:178–179, 6:8, 361
- Interpol, 6:37
- interstate highway system, U.S.**, 6:210–211
- interventionist policy, 5:128
- Intifada**, 6:233, 258  
**al-Aqsa**, 6:30, 189, 212–213  
**first**, 6:211–212
- Intolerable Acts, 4:24
- Inuit, 1:297, 6:323
- Inukai, Ki, 5:194
- Inukai, Tsuyoshi, 5:186
- investigative journalism, 5:256
- Investiture Controversy, 2:164
- Ioannidis, Dimitrios, 6:179
- Ionians, 1:xxxv
- Ionian school, 1:364, 365–366
- Ionic column, 1:24
- Ipató, Oro, 2:412
- Ipiranga, Grito de, 4:61
- Ipuwer, 1:317
- Iqbal, Muhammad**, 4:192–193, 5:10
- Iran**, 1:xxxv, 7, 270, 347–349, 413, 429, 478, 507, 4:339, 5:280, 281, 6:40, 49, 75, 123, 133, 190, 213–214, 215, 241–242, 253, 295
- Iran-contra affair**, 6:105, 214–215, 217, 319, 363
- Iran hostage crisis**, 6:9, 79, 101, 215–216, 242, 361
- Iranian revolution**, 6:79, 216–218, 222, 418, 430
- Iran-Iraq Treaty of International Boundaries and Good Neighborliness, 6:198

- Iran-Iraq War, 6:184, 198, 211, 213, 214, 215, 216, 218–219, 242, 328, 362
- Iran-Soviet relations, 5:172
- Iraq, 1:413, 429, 5:55, 103, 281, 296, 6:10, 14, 25, 47, 48, 49, 74, 75, 76, 198–199, 241, 253, 254, 328, 440
- Hashemite dynasty in, 5:140–142
- invasion and war in, 6:184–188
- 1920 rebellion, 5:140, 173
- 1958 revolution in, 6:198, 219–220
- Iraqi constitution, 6:187
- Iraq Survey Group (ISG), 6:187
- Iraq War, 6:220
- Iraq War Resolution, 6:99
- Ireland, 1:336, 388, 2:198–201, 235–236, 314, 3:46, 47, 70, 96, 120, 121, 149, 151, 331, 4:xxvi, 127–128, 188–189, 5:133, 173–174. *See also* Northern Ireland
- Irish Famine (1846–1851), 4:127, 188, 193–195
- Irish Independence, 5:173–174
- Irenaeus, 1:78, 82, 4:321
- Irene, 2:64, 81, 194, 198, 303
- Ireton, Henry, 3:95, 96
- Irgun Zvai Leumi, 5:20, 21, 22, 137, 138, 441
- Irian Jaya. *See* West Irian/Dutch New Guinea
- Irish Church, 2:76
- Irish Guards, 3:48
- Irish Monastic Scholarship, Golden Age of, 2:198–201
- Irish Republican Army (IRA), 6:220–221, 296, 418, 420
- Irkab-Damu, 1:123
- iron, 1:xxxix, 4
- Iron Act, 4:xxxix
- Iron Age, 1:xxxviii, 58, 72, 73, 120, 215, 384, 398, 2:333, 417
- Iron Curtain, 5:67, 6:xl, 74, 100, 251
- Ironsides, Bjorn, 2:418
- Ironsides, Hastein, 2:418
- Iroquois Confederacy, 1:294, 295, 296, 3:55, 267, 273, 4:302
- Iroquois Indians, 1:281, 2:xxxv, 3:271, 273
- irrigation, 4:xxvii
- Iruka, 1:436, 446
- Irwin, Lord (James Charles Wood), 5:119, 166, 329
- Isaac, 1:215, 287, 355
- Isaac I Komnenos, 2:65
- Isaac II, 2:65
- Isabel, 2:86, 89, 90, 4:63
- Isabella I of Spain, 2:86, 89, 90, 111, 183, 291, 342, 3:20, 41, 56, 73, 86, 129, 132–134, 157
- Isabella II, 4:56
- Isabella of France, 2:185, 307
- Isabella of Portugal, 3:305
- Isagoras, 1:37, 89
- Isaiah, 1:19, 39, 238, 277, 368, 379, 423–424
- Servant Songs of, 1:423–424
- Isanvarman I, 2:81
- Isaurian War, 2:62
- Isfahan (Pensia), 1:412, 3:2, 181–182, 343
- Ishar-Damu, 1:123
- Ishbi-Erra, 1:128, 476
- Ishida Mitsunari, 3:57
- Ishmael, 1:215, 287, 334
- Ishme-Dagan, 1:34
- Ishtar, 1:xxxvii, 207, 311
- Isidore, Metropolitan, 3:52
- Isidore of Miletos, 1:182
- Isidore of Seville, 2:74, 260
- Isis, 1:5
- Iskandarov, Akbarsho, 6:84
- Al-Iskandariyya, 1:11
- Islam, 1:xxxv, 5, 28, 51, 100, 105, 154, 230, 239, 249, 306, 314, 357–358, 416, 437, 507, 2:xxxii, xxxiii, xxxiv–xxxv, xxxviii, xl, 1, 3, 40, 43, 97, 102, 116, 138, 201–202, 311, 339, 402, 421, 5:187–188, 263, 6:xxxvii, xxxix, 2, 9
- art and architecture in the golden age, 2:202–205
- Five Pillars of, 2:124–126, 138, 201, 287
- literature and music during golden age, 2:205–208
- science and technology during golden age, 2:208–210
- Sixth Pillar of, 2:125–126
- Islam, Sheik al, 3:289, 292, 5:432
- Islambuli, Khaled al-, 6:222
- Islamic Association (Sarekat Islam), 5:340–341, 6:205
- Islamic Charter Front (ICF), 6:428
- Islamic feminists, 6:152
- Islamic Group, 6:222
- Islamic Jihad, 6:212, 214
- Islamic law/sharia, 2:8, 31, 101, 193, 210, 3:257, 4:410, 5:13, 6:255, 384, 407, 428
- Islamic Liberation Organization, 6:222
- Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), 6:81, 85
- Islamic Oikya Jot, 6:56
- Islamic Party of Liberation, 6:85, 88
- Islamic Renaissance Movement, 6:87
- Islamic Renaissance Party, 6:85
- Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, 6:236
- Islamic Republic of Iran, 6:213–214
- Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas), 6:189
- Islamic Revival Party, 6:84
- Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), 6:223
- Islamic Tendency Movement (ITM), 6:223

- Islamic World, The  
 c. 600–750, 2:M35  
 c. 800–1200, 2:M38
- Islamist movements, 6:87, 221–224, 294, 353–354
- Ismail, Khedive, 4:113, 160, 194, 405, 424
- Isma'il, Mawlay, 3:11
- Isma'ilis, 2:34, 116, 183, 211–212, 287, 365, 5:3
- Isocrates, 1:441
- isolationism of United States, 5:79, 154, 175–176, 266, 412
- isolation laws, 3:128
- Israel, 5:43–44, 6:xlii, 14, 20–23, 190, 231, 233–234, 264, 288–289, 305, 358, 362  
 Following the 1967 War, 6:M168  
 and Judah, 1:109, 114, 197, 215–216, 229, 299, 420
- Israeli-Arab-Palestinian peace negotiations, 6:20–23
- Israel Defense Forces (IDF), 5:21, 44, 52, 138, 441, 6:192
- Israel's Workers Party, 5:44
- Issei, 5:178
- Issus, Battle of, 1:11, 191
- Ita, 1:54
- Italian city-states, 2:212–213
- Italian Fascist Party, 5:101
- Italian Renaissance, 1:191, 390, 2:90, 127, 142, 213–219, 311, 327, 410, 3:240
- Italian school of pre-Socratic philosophers, 1:366
- Italian Socialists (PSI), 5:239, 240
- Italian Somaliland, 6:194
- Italian Wars, 2:155, 178, 213, 3:134
- Italy, 4:xxxviii, 13, 47, 79–80, 88, 149–150, 189–190, 265–266, 420, 431, 5:xli, 30, 94–96, 101–104, 110, 111, 128, 131, 145, 212, 213, 221, 258–260, 283–284, 290, 294, 346, 6:140  
 art and architecture (1750–1900), 4:37  
 nationalism/unification, 4:197–199
- Ito Hirobumi, 4:150, 383, 5:185, 336, 430
- Ito Jinsai, 3:268
- Iturbide, Agustín de, 4:197–198, 271, 273, 370
- Ivan III (Ivan the Great), 2:286, 3:182–183
- Ivan IV (the Terrible), 3:4, 152, 183–184, 350, 4:359
- Ivan Alexander, 2:55
- Ivan Asen II, 2:55
- Ivanov, Vyacheslav, 1:212
- Ivan Shishman, 2:55
- Ivan Stratsimir, 2:55
- Ivar the Boneless, 2:98
- Ivory Coast, 6:64. See also Côte d'Ivoire
- Ivy Mike, 6:34
- Iwafuji, Shisetsu, 5:253
- Iwasaki, Yataro, 5:250
- Ixin (I-hsin), 4:162
- Iyad, Abu, 6:29
- Izanagi, 1:428
- Izanami, 1:428
- J**
- Jaali, 1:314
- Jabotinsky, Ze'ev, 5:44, 441
- Jacinto Canek Revolt, 6:473
- Jackson, Andrew, 4:xxxvii, 7, 50, 51, 122, 199–201, 278, 302, 330, 332, 441, 5:106
- Jackson, Angela, 6:66–67
- Jackson, Helen Hunt, 5:167
- Jackson, Jesse, 6:245
- Jackson, Thomas "Stonewall," 4:92
- Jackson-Vanik Amendment, 6:102
- Jacob, 1:23, 215, 287, 334, 335, 355, 357, 371, 472
- Jacobins, 3:149, 4:23, 60, 102, 147, 149, 294, 5:101
- Jacob of Edessa, 1:449
- Jacob of Nisibis, 1:125
- Jacob of Sarug, 1:125, 449
- jade, 1:425, 426
- Jadid, Salah, 6:41
- Jadwiga, 2:253, 255, 331, 3:182
- Jagiello. See Jogaila
- Jagiellon dynasty, 3:251
- Jagrata Muslim Janata Bangladesh (JMJB), 6:56
- Jaguar Claw, 2:280
- Jahandar Shah, 3:329
- Jahangir, 3:103, 185–186, 257, 355
- Jainism, 1:177, 217–218, 263, 477, 481, 2:xxxiv, 3:10, 252, 5:118
- Jakeš, Miloš, 6:129
- Jakot, 4:379
- Jalal-ad-Din Mengubirdi, 2:280
- Jalal al-Din Rumi, 2:380
- al-Jalis, Anis, 4:34
- Jallianwalla bagh massacre, 5:119, 270
- Jamaica, 3:365, 373, 4:2, 3, 385, 6:282
- Jamaica Letter, 4:57
- James (Apostle), son of Alphaeus, 1:20, 227, 2:288, 3:135
- James I, 3:4, 21, 36, 70, 79, 103, 148, 186–187, 188, 212, 318, 330, 370, 383, 392
- James I the Conqueror, 2:89
- James II, 3:3, 19, 46, 47, 54, 79, 148, 149, 150, 187–188, 216, 218, 373, 404, 4:396, 435
- James II the Just, 2:89
- James IV, 3:186, 236
- James V, 3:348
- James VI, 3:4, 69, 121, 186, 348, 349, 391
- James, C. L. R., 5:290

- James, duke of Monmouth, 3:188  
 James, duke of York, 3:72  
 James, Henry, 5:98  
 James, son of Zebedee (Apostle), 1:20, 196  
 Jameson, Leander Starr, 4:67, 355  
 Jameson Raid, 4:67, 355, 396, 5:45, 353  
**Jamestown**, 3:37, 54, 187, 188–189, 214, 237, 266, 314, 315, 383, 4:301  
 James Webb Space Telescope, 6:400  
 Jamrud, Battle of, 4:114  
 Jan II Kazmirez (Casimir) Vasa, 3:194  
**Janata Party**, 6:159, 203, 227  
 Jane de Chantel, St. 3:165  
 Janequin, Clement, 2:218  
**janissaries**, 2:xl, 269, 3:190, 289, 292, 362, 4:284, 301  
*janjawiid*, 6:116–117, 407  
 Jansenist sect, 3:218  
 Janssens, Jan Willem, 4:305  
 Janszen, Leendert, 3:39  
 Janus, 1:395, 396  
**Japan**, 1:55, 56, 154, 226, 426–428, 495–497, 2:  
 xxx, xxxii, xxxvi, xxxviii, 133–134, 237–238,  
 295–296, 315–317, 387, 3:164, 194, 205–206,  
 214–215, 259, 263, 268, 284, 386–387, 4: xxvi,  
 xxxiv–xxxv, xxxviii, 87, 88, 89, 147–149, 177,  
 212–213, 245–246, 255, 267–269, 326–327,  
 372–374, 383–384, 415, 5:xxxviii, xli, xlii, 4,  
 16–17, 35, 41, 44–45, 48–49, 56, 58, 61, 63, 65,  
 70, 96, 122–123, 128, 131–132, 134, 143,  
 145–147, 149, 150, 154, 167, 176, 191,  
 193–194, 196, 212, 230–231, 236, 237–238,  
 241, 249–250, 251, 275, 295, 297–299, 302,  
 305–307, 317–318, 330, 336, 344, 345,  
 347–348, 369, 375–377, 378–381, 6:  
 xxxvii–xxxviii, xli, 7–8, 40, 43, 45, 164, 191,  
 196, 204, 243, 246–247, 248, 267, 277,  
 283–284, 334, 363, 382, 389, 418, 442, 468  
**Bushido Tokugawa period in**, 3:57  
**Christian Century in**, 3:76  
**Constitution and Meiji Era in**, 4:267–269  
 constitution of 1947, 5:177  
**Edo period in**, 3:118–119, 337, 384  
**exclusion laws in**, 3:128  
**feudal system in**, 2:xxxiv, xxxvi, 119–121, 230  
 47 Ronin of, 3:337–338  
**Genroku period in**, 3:147–148  
**Heian period of**, 2:160–162  
**invasion of Korea**, 3:205–206  
**Liberal Democratic Party in**, 6:265–266  
 Lytton Commission and report on, 5:228  
**Major Battles in Medieval and Early Modern Japan**,  
 2:M55  
**Meiji Restoration in**, 4:267–269  
**Neo-Confucianism in**, 3:268  
 Ordinances for the Military Houses of, 3:385, 387  
**Osaka as capital**, 3:289  
 political parties in, 5:184–186  
**Shimabara Rebellion in**, 3:356  
 in Sino-Japanese War, 5:350–352  
**Tokugawa Bakufu-Han System in**, 3:382–384, 387  
**Tokugawa Shogunate in**, 4:413–414  
 Twenty-One demands of, 5:388–389  
 ultranationalist societies, 5:44–45, 131, 235  
 U.S. occupation of, 5:180–182  
 Warring States Era in, 3:205, 384, 387  
**Japan at the Time of Commodore Perry, 1853**,  
 4:M118  
 Japanese Imperial Law, 1:427  
**Japanese internment in United States**, 5:178–179  
 Jarama Valley, Battle of, 5:364  
 Jaramillo, Juan de, 3:228, 229  
 Jaromir, 2:47  
 Jarrah, Ziad, 6:462  
 Jarring, Gunnar, 6:26  
 Jaruzelski, Wojciech, 6:128, 391–392  
 Jaspers, Karl, 1:39, 5:98  
 Jatakas, 1:159  
 Jaunutis, 2:255  
 Jaurès, Jean, 4:392  
 Java, 2:375–376, 3:139  
 Jawanshir, 1:416  
 Jawhar al-Rumi, 2:116  
 Jaworski, Leon, 6:458  
 Jay, John, 4:98, 100, 135, 253, 444  
 Jayadevi, 2:81  
 Jayakatwang, 2:264  
 Jayavarman I, 2:233  
 Jayavarman II, 2:82, 233  
 Jayavarman III, 2:233  
 Jayavarman VII, 2:233–234  
 Jayavarman VIII, 2:234–235  
 Jayavarman Paramesvar, 2:370  
 Jaychandra, 2:287  
 Jay Cooke and Company, 4:130  
 jazz, 5:xl, 139, 140, 6:xxxix, 57, 301  
 Jazeera, Al-, 6: 9–10, 189  
 Jazzar, Pasha, 4:300  
 Jean, Michaëlle, 6:77  
 Jean de Meun, 2:80, 84  
 Jebe, 2:283, 379  
 Jeddah, Treaty of, 5:161  
 Jedenspeigen and Dükrot, Battle of, 2:153  
 Jedidiah, 1:439  
 Jeduda ben Moses Cohen, 2: 88

- Jefferson, Thomas**, 1:84, 3:346, 4:xxv, xxviii, 6, 7, 22, 50, 89, 90, 99, 110, 121, 128, 176, 184, 202, 201–203, 236, 249, 253, 254, 261, 278, 281, 302, 309, 319, 320, 321, 331, 389, 444
- Jehoram**, 1:24
- Jehovah**, 1:431
- Jehovah's Witness**, 4:444, 445, 5:150–153
- Jehu**, 1:23, 24
- Jellicoe, John**, 5:417–418
- Jemal, Ahmed, Pasha**, 5:24
- Jena, Battle of**, 4:296
- Jenkins, Esau**, 6:94
- Jenné-jeno**, 1:5
- Jenner, Edward**, 3:347
- Jennings, Sarah**, 3:19
- Jeong Jung-bu**, 2:239
- Jeremiah**, 1:39, 47, 227, 299, 368, 369
- Jeroboam**, 1:215
- Jeroboam III**, 1:24
- Jerome**, 1:47, 51, 99, 100, 218–220, 227, 249, 262, 287, 320, 321, 355, 357, 431, 2:6, 39, 265, 411, 3:40, 126
- Jerome of Prague**, 2:93
- Jerusalem**, 1:xxxvii, 160, 165, 182, 216, 256, 310, 311, 334, 357, 368, 379, 416, 431, 2:20, 94, 144, 175–176, 198, 203, 205, 236, 245, 248, 286, 287, 6:23, 25,
- Jerusalem Talmud**, 1:284
- Jesuits**, 2:168, 3:38, 43, 45, 51, 76, 92, 93, 111, 128, 137, 220–221, 225, 228, 248, 263, 269, 273, 276, 330, 333, 380, 4:221–222, 275, 423, 435  
in Asia, 3:190–192, 334, 336–337, 356
- Jesus (Christ) of Nazareth**, 1:xxxix, 19, 30, 38, 48, 63, 67, 78, 80, 124, 130, 165, 189, 193, 196, 219, 220–222, 225, 227, 229, 238, 244, 261, 277, 282, 283, 288, 306, 320, 337, 357, 363, 369, 372, 392, 401, 424, 440, 467, 474, 2:58, 97, 150, 6:65
- Jesus movement**, 6:228
- Jesús Troncoso, Manuel de**, 5:385
- Jewish Agency**, 5:439, 6:289
- Jewish Battalions**, 5:44
- Jewish Commonwealth**, 1:227
- Jewish Council**, 5:151
- Jewish Law**, 1:419
- Jewish National Fund**, 5:440
- Jewish populations**, 2:20, 3:133–134, 299, 4:xxxiii, 115–116, 189, 5:xliv, 51, 103, 134, 137–138, 149, 150–153, 175, 189, 266, 267–268, 276, 296, 320, 365, 6:169  
expulsion from Spain and Portugal, 3:129
- Jewish revolts**, 1:12, 150, 222–223, 283, 388, 421
- Jewish scriptures**, 1:xxxv, xxxvii, 23, 50–51, 80, 135, 216, 224, 230, 287, 290, 299, 311, 333, 334, 337, 355, 357, 369, 431, 439, 503, 2:128, 217, 3:39
- Jewish Self-Defense Force**, 5:52
- Jewish Temple**, 1:388
- Jewish Zealots**, 6:413
- Jezebel**, 1:5–6, 216
- Jiang Qing (Chiang Ch'ing)**, 5:239, 255, 6:160, 176
- Jiang Zemin (Chiang Tse-min)**, 6:228–229, 423, 460
- Jianwen (Chien-wen)**, 2:250, 436
- Jiaqing (Chia-Ch'ing), Emperor**, 4:204
- Jicarilla Indians**, 3:263
- Jie**, 1:425, 490, 491
- Jien**, 2:304
- jihad**, 2:125, 179, 230, 3:11, 4:114, 364, 426, 427, 439, 5:24, 112, 6:12, 14, 222, 418
- Jihad, Abu**, 6:29
- Jilani, Abd al-Qadir al-**, 4:426
- Jim Crow laws/system**, 4:xxxiii, 5:53, 117, 133, 261, 262, 344, 6:244, 292
- Jiménez de Quesada, Gonzalo**, 3:192–193
- Jimmu**, 1:495, 6:7
- Jin (Chin) dynasty**, 1:132, 464, 466, 506, 2:124, 135, 156, 221–223, 227, 253, 282, 294, 313, 374, 379, 429, 430, 438, 439, 3:281, 321
- Jing (Ching)**, 1:185
- Jinheung**, 2:371
- Jinnah, Mohammed Ali**, 4:192, 193, 5:10, 13, 120, 62, 163, 166, 182, 288, 6:241, 296, 306
- Jinqing (Chia-ch'ing)**, 4:343
- Jinzheng (Chin-ch'eng)**, 2:391
- Jito**, 2:238
- Joachim of Flora**, 2:223–224
- Joan I**, 2:295
- Joan II**, 2:295
- Joanna of Naples**, 2:30
- Joan of Arc**, 2:184, 187, 197, 224–225, 3:395, 4:434
- João**, 4:60, 61
- João I**, 2:168 3:204
- João II**, 3:5, 12, 56, 86, 104, 129, 132, 204: 136, 391
- João III the Pious**, 3:50, 146, 190, 193–194, 204
- João IV**, 3:48
- João V**, 3:49
- João VI**, 3:48, 115, 4:60, 61, 228, 229, 324, 325
- Job**, 1:175, 488  
book of, 2:39  
and theodicy, 1:223–224
- Job Corps**, 6:177
- Jodo Shinsu**, 2:365
- Jodo Shu**, 2:179
- Joel**, 1:368
- Joffe, Adolf**, 5:17, 64, 238, 373, 395

- Jogaila (Jagiello), 2:253, 255, 256, 331, 3:90  
 Jogiches, Leo, 5:226  
 Johannine Christology, 1:192, 193  
 Johanson, Donald, 1:326  
 John II (king of France), 2:177, 186, 195, 3:5, 12, 56, 86, 104, 129, 132, 204, 4:136, 396  
**John III (king of Poland)**, 3:194–195, 397  
 John VI, 4:324, 325  
 John VIII (pope), 2:96, 283  
 John VIII Palaeologos (Byzantine emperor), 2:126  
 John XII (pope), 2:164, 174  
 John XIII (pope), 2:385  
 John XVI (pope), 2:71  
 John XXII (pope), 2:22, 29, 177, 255  
 John XXIII (pope), 2:31, 92, 6:38, 230, 446  
 John Company, 4:64  
 John Chrysostom, 1:126  
 John Fastolf of Meung, 2:224  
 John Hyrcanus, 1:229  
 John Komnenos, 2:249  
 John Lackland, 2:71  
 John Duns Scotus, 2: 257, 357, 358  
 John of Antioch, 1:129  
 John of Brienne, 2:247  
 John of England, 2:259–260, 305, 325  
 John of Ephesus, 1:449  
 John of Gaunt, 2:81, 88, 307  
 John of Luxembourg, 2:48, 330–331  
 John of Nepomuk, 2:48  
 John of Ravenna, 2:304  
 John of Saxony, 3:297  
**John of the Cross**, 3:94, 380–381  
**John Paul II**, 3:76, 4:327, 6:117, 229–231, 312, 341, 416, 446  
 John Scotus Eriugena, 2:75  
 John Sigismund (elector of Brandenburg) 3:166  
**Johnson, Andrew**, 4:19, 71, 128, 281, 332, 350, 351  
 Johnson, Ben, 6:326  
 Johnson, Charles S., 5:139  
 Johnson, Hiram, 5:308  
 Johnson, James Weldon, 5:139, 140, 269  
 Johnson, Lady Bird, 6:231  
**Johnson, Lyndon B.**, 5:394, 6:xli, 25, 96, 97, 177, 204, 231–232, 238, 239, 245, 246, 286, 310, 316, 317, 364–365, 450–451, 452  
 Johnson, Malvin G., 5:140  
 Johnson, Michael, 1:148  
 Johnson, Sam Ealy, Jr., 6:231  
 Johnson, William H., 5:140  
*Johnson v. McIntosh*, 4:302  
 Johnston, Eric, 6:287  
**Johnstown Flood**, 4:204–205  
**John the Baptist**, 1:157, 196, 221, 225–226, 227, 2:142, 143  
 John the Faster, 1:165  
 John the Good, 3:394  
 Joint Declaration, 3:197  
 Joint Defence and Economic Cooperation Treaty, 5:25  
 Joint Task Force 6 (JTF-6), 6:123  
 Joint UN Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), 6:6, 7  
 Jokyu disturbance, 2:229  
 Joliot-Curie, Frédéric, 5:xxxvi  
 Joliot-Curie, Irène, 5:xxxvi  
 Jolliet, Louis, 3:272  
**Jomon culture**, 1:226, 427, 498  
 Jonah, book of, 1:311, 368, 488  
 Jonathan, 1:256  
 Jones, Inigo, 3:21  
 Jones, LeRoi, 6:66  
 Jones, “Mother Mary,” 4:218  
 Jones, William, 1:210  
 Jones Act, 4:398, 5:311, 345, 389  
 Jonson, Ben, 3:213  
 Joram, 1:6  
**Jordan**, 1:xxxvii, 5:21, 257, 6:21, 22, 25, 27, 47, 263, 305  
     **Hashemite monarchy in**, 5:142–143, 6:233–234  
 Joscelin II, 2:248  
 Joscelin III, 2:248  
 José, 3:49  
 Joseph, 1:63, 157, 215, 287, 335, 355  
 Joseph I, 3:158, 369  
**Joseph II**, 3:158, 4:77, 120, 136, 205–206, 248  
 Joseph, Akiba ben, 1:223, 228  
 Joseph, Keith, 6:420  
 Joseph Ferdinand of Bavaria, 3:369  
 Joséphine [de Beauharnais] (empress of the French).  
     *See* Bonaparte, Josephine  
 Joseph of Arimathea, 2:12  
**Josephus, Flavius**, 1:6, 23, 29, 30, 133, 134, 196, 208, 220, 222, 225, 226–227, 277, 288, 353, 364, 407, 467  
 Joshua, 1:230, 356  
**Josiah**, 1:29, 114, 197, 216, 227–228, 440  
 Jouhar, Maulana Muhammad Ali, 5:10  
 Jovian, 1:259, 2:60  
 Jowers, Loyd, 6:246  
 Joyce, James, 1:204, 5:84, 218  
 Juan I, 2:90, 91  
 Juan II, 2:90, 91  
 Juana Ines de la Cruz. *See* Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz  
 Juana La Beltraneja, 3:132  
 Juana of Castile, 3:73, 132–133  
 Juan Carlos (king of Spain), 4:400, 5:364, 511, 6:400

- Juan of Aragon, 3:132  
**Juárez, Benito**, 4:110, 111, 206–208, 271, 273, 275, 299, 5:59, 304, 437  
 Juárez, Ley, 4:274  
 Jubilees, 1:19  
 Juchacz, Marie, 5:414  
**Judah ha-Nasi**, 1:228–229, 283, 284, 452  
 Judaism,  
   Diaspora, 1:xxxv, 80, 291, 418, 424, 452  
   early (heterodoxies), 1:xxxv, 216, 229–230  
   Essenes sect of, 1:133–134  
   rabbinic, 1:19, 223, 256, 276, 277, 290, 355, 380, 407, 440, 488, 503–504  
   scribes and writing culture in, 1:418–419  
 Judas Iscariot, 1:20, 21, 256  
**Judges**, 1:215, 230, 256, 368, 417  
 Judges, book of, 2:39  
 judicial speech, 1:174  
 Judith, book of, 1:300, 372  
 Jugurtha, 1:387  
 Jugurthine War, 1:387  
 Juhayna, 1:314  
 Juji Kahn, 2:77, 134  
 Julia, 1:64, 71  
 Julian of Eclanum, 1:247  
**Julian the Apostate**, 1:36, 48, 58, 96, 130, 230–231, 259, 262, 282, 291, 304, 2:60  
**Julio-Claudian emperors**, 1:231–233, 339  
 Julius I, 1:36  
**Julius II**, 2:214, 347, 3:92, 195, 226, 331  
 Julius III, 3:3, 331, 387, 388  
 Julius Constantius, 2:60  
 Julius Nepos, 1:315  
 July Ordinances, 4:58  
 July Revolution of 1830, 4:195  
 Junejo, Muhammad Khan, 6:476  
 Jung, Carl, 1:50, 5:115  
 Jungingen, Konrad von, 2:326  
 Junín, Battle of, 4:403  
 Junkers, 4:55  
 junks, 3:357  
 Juno, 1:155, 396  
 Juno Beach, 5:77  
 Junot, General Jean-Andoche, 4:294  
 Junta of National Salvation, 6:344  
 Jupiter, 1:395, 396, 399, 478  
 Jurchens, 2:135, 156, 182, 221–223, 227, 239, 253, 294, 374, 429, 436, 3:1, 280, 321, 401  
 Justice of the Peace, 2:307  
**Justification by Faith**, 3:64, 195–197, 242, 390, 418  
 Justin, 1:82, 233–234  
 Justin II, 2:63  
 Justina, 1:14  
**Justinian I**, 1:91, 98, 165, 182, 205, 233–234, 237, 243, 244, 249, 321, 322, 323, 384, 415, 431, 439, 440, 483, 2:57, 62–63, 148, 320, 410  
 Justinian II, 2:53, 63  
 Justin Martyr, 1:81, 226, 262  
 Jutes, 1:242, 244, 2:13  
 Juturna, 1:400  
 Juvenal, 1:247, 390, 393, 396, 397, 398
- K**  
 Ka, 1:350  
 Ka'ba, 1:22  
 Kabbalah, 2:327  
 Kabila, Joseph, 6:118, 119  
 Kabila, Laurent-Désiré, 6:118, 119, 291  
 Kabir, Amir, 4:341  
 Kaczynski, Jarosław, 6:341–342  
 Kaczynski, Lech, 6:342  
 Kádár, János, 6:128, 197, 456  
**Kader ibn Moheiddin al-Hosseini, Abdul**, 4:14, 21, 209  
 Kadesh, Battle of, 1:202, 383  
 Kaffir Wars, 4:66  
 Kafka, Franz, 5:98  
 Kagame, Paul, 6:291, 380  
 Kaga Shogunate, 2:232  
 Kaghan Ku-li p'ei-lo, 2:405  
 Kaghan Mo-ye-ch'o, 2:405  
 Kahina al-, 1:250  
 Kaidu Khan, 2:77, 241  
**Kaifeng (K'ai-feng)**, 2:123, 156, 221, 227–228, 313, 374, 439, 442  
**Kaikhta, Treaty of**, 3:199–200, 410  
 Kaiqubad, 2:101  
 Kajiwarra Kagetoki, 2:171  
 Kalakaua, King, 4:179  
 Kalala Ilunga, 3:222  
 Kalama, Alara, 1:158  
 Kali, 2:43, 5:165  
 Kalka River, Battle of, 2:330  
 Kalman, 2:198  
 Kalmar Union, 2:251  
 Kalmbach, Herbert, 6:459  
 Kaloyan, 2:54–55  
**Kamakura shogunate**, 2:24, 119–120, 134, 171, 228–230, 282, 354  
*Kama Sutra*, 1:235  
 Kambuja, 2:81  
 Kambujadhiraj, 2:370  
 Kambu Svayambhuva, 2:81  
 Kamehameha the Great, 4:179

- Kamenev, Lev, 5:359, 360, 366, 384  
*kami*, 1:426–428, 446, 498, 2:296  
 kamikaze raids, 5:230  
 Kamil, al-, 2:243  
 Kammu, 2:161  
 Kamose, 1:208, 307–308  
**Kanem Bornu**, 2:160, 230–231  
 Kangjong, 2:239  
 Kangri, Gurukul, 4:60  
**Kangxi (K'ang-hsi)**, 3:199, 200, 269, 322, 337, 407, 410, 4:342, 343  
**Kang Youwei (K'ang Yu-wei)**, 4:171, 185, 209–210, 5:157  
**Kanishka**, 1:154, 235–236, 240  
*kanji* and *kana*, 2:132, 162, 231  
 Kanjurab, 5:251  
 Kankan Musa, 2:383  
 Kansas-Nebraska Act, 4:239  
 Kant, Immanuel, 4:123, 5:300  
 Kantamanto, Battle of, 5:124  
 Kanua, Battle of, 3:328  
 Kaoru Inoue, 4:148  
 Kapila, 1:433  
 Kapodistrias, Ioannis, 4:169, 170  
 Kapport, I., 1:210  
 Karadžić, Radovan, 6:470  
 Karageorgevich dynasty, 4:45  
 Kara Hulagu, 2:77  
 Karakhan, Leo, 5:183  
**Karakhan Declaration, First and Second**, 5:183  
 Kara Kum Canal, 6:85  
 Karamanlis, Constantine, 6:113, 114, 179  
 Karamat, Jehangir, 6:297  
 Karameh, Battle of, 6:29  
 Kara Mustafa [Pasha] 3:205  
 Karari, Battle of, 4:316  
 Kara Yussuf, 2:269  
 Karbala. *See* Kerbala  
 Kargil War, 6:203  
 Karim Aga Khan IV, 2:211–212  
 Karimov, Islam, 6:87–88  
 Karim Zai Khan, 4:339  
 Karl I, 4:137  
 Karlowitz, Treaty of, 3:293  
 Karlsbad, Congress of, 4:269  
 Karlsefni, 2:416  
 karma, 1:199, 218, 481  
**Karmal, Babrak**, 6:235–236  
 Karnak, 1:457, 458  
 Kartvelians, 1:160  
 Karzai, Abdul Ahad, 6:236  
 Karzai, Ahmed Wali, 6:236  
**Karzai, Hamid**, 6:3, 236  
 Kasavubu, Joseph, 6:273, 291  
**Kashmir**, 6:xliv, 203, 206–207, 297, 307, 331, 414, 445  
 Kashtiliash IV, 1:34, 42  
 Kasserine Pass, Battle of, 5:322  
 Kassites, 1:34, 42, 128  
 Kasyanov, Mikhail, 6:377  
 Kasyapa, 2:441  
 Kataeb, 6:28  
 Katanga Army, 6:291  
 Katayama, Tetsu, 6:468  
 Kathavatthu, 1:57  
 Katipunan revolutionary society, 5:4  
**Kato Takaaki**, 5:184, 185  
 Katsura Taro, 5:184, 185  
 Katsuragi clan, 1:436  
 Katte, Hans von, 4:138  
 Kaufman, Irving R., 6:287  
 Kaufman, K. P. von, 4:32, 402  
**Kaunda, Kenneth**, 6:237  
 Kaunitz, Wenzel von, 3:219  
**Kautilya**, 1:xxxviii, 236–237, 263, 264  
 Kautsky, Karl, 4:392  
 Kavadh I, 1:237, 414–415  
 Kavadh II, 1:59, 416  
 Kawakibi, Abd al-Rahman al-, 4:34  
 Kawakji, Fawzi al-, 5:21, 22  
 Kawamura, 5:145  
 Kawashima, Yoshiko, 5:251  
 Kawus, 1:415  
 Kay, John, 3:347  
 Kayibanda, Grégoire, 6:379  
 Kazakhstan, 6:81–82, 121, 398  
 Kazantzakis, Nikos, 1:204  
 Kazhegeldin, Akezhan, 6:82  
 Kazim, Musa al-, 5:3  
 Kazimierz. *See* Casimir  
 Keane, John, 4:8  
 Kearney, Dennis, 4:88, 89, 217  
 Kearney, Stephen W., 4:270  
 Keating-Owen Act, 5:308, 412  
 Keaton, Buster, 5:253  
 Keble, John, 4:307  
 Kedah, Sultan of, 4:30  
 Keitel, Wilhelm, 5:77, 277  
 Keith, George, 3:298  
 Keith, Minor, 5:93  
 Ke (K'o), 1:271  
 Kellogg-Briand Pact, 5:123, 228, 235  
 Kells, Book of, 2:75, 200  
 Kelly, Elizabeth, 3:405

- Kelly, Florence, 6:139  
*Kelly*, HMS, 6:296  
 Kelly, Ned, 5:253  
 Kelly, Roberto, 6:90  
 Kelvin, Lord (William Thomson, first baron Kelvin),  
     4:xxx  
**Kemmu Restoration**, 2:24, 173, 231–232, 296  
 Kempis, Thomas à, 3:92  
 Kennan, George F., 5:386  
 Kennedy, Caroline Bouvier, 6:237  
 Kennedy, Edward, 6:347  
 Kennedy, Jacqueline Bouvier, 6:237  
**Kennedy, John F.**, 5:231, 262, 325, 6:xl, 11, 16, 56,  
     57, 77, 97, 98, 101, 109, 110, 116, 153, 164,  
     177, 206, 231, 237–239, 245, 279, 315, 322,  
     336, 395, 423  
 Kennedy, John F., Jr., 6:237  
 Kennedy, Joseph P., 6:237  
 Kennedy, Patrick Bouvier, 6:237  
 Kennedy, Robert F., 6:232, 316  
 Kennedy, Rose, 6:237  
 Kennedy Round, 6:164  
 Kenneth I, 2:359  
 Kennewick Man, 1:149, 150  
**Kenseikai Party**, 5:184–186  
 Kent, William, 3:22  
 Kent State, 6:402  
 Kentucky Resolution, 4:203  
**Kenya**, 6:xxxvi, 19, 239–240, 365, 393, 419, 422  
*Kenyanthropus platyopsa*, 1:326  
**Kenyatta, Jomo**, 5:188, 290, 6:170, 239, 240  
 Kenzong (Jen Tsung), 2:424  
**Kepler, Johannes**, 1:266, 3:88, 201, 346  
 Kerbala, Battle of, 2:406  
**Kerensky, Alexander Fyodorovich**, 5:186–187, 332,  
     333  
 Kerouac, Jack, 5:98, 6:57  
 Keroularios, Michael, 2:355, 356  
 Kerr, Clark, 6:154, 155  
 Kershner, Jacob, 5:124  
 Kertanagara, 1:453–454, 2:264  
 Kertajasa Jayawardhana, 2:264  
 Kestutis, 2:255  
 Key, Francis Scott, 4:237, 441  
 KGB, 6:73, 348, 366, 394  
 Khafra, 1:317, 351–352, 373, 374  
 Khai Dinh (emperor of Annam), 5:41  
 Khair ad Din. *See* Barbarossa  
 Khajeh Shamseddin Mohammad Shirazi, 2:155  
 Khalaf, Salah, 6:29  
 Khalid ibn al-Walid, 2:433  
 Al-Khalifah clan, 4:34  
 Khalq, Fedayin al-, 6:218  
 Khameini, Ali al-, 6:213  
 Khamudi, 1:208  
 Khan, Ghulam Ishaq, 6:333  
 Khan, Karim Zand, 4:339  
 Khan, Khair Mohammed, 6:238  
**Khan, Liaquat Ali**, 5:11, 6:240–241  
 Khan Asparuh, 2:53  
 Khan Boris, 2:54  
 Khan Ghazi Gerei II, 3:152  
 Khan Kardam, 2:53  
 Khan Krum, 2:53–54  
 Khan Kubrat, 2:53  
 Khan Omurtag, 2:54  
 Khan Tervel, 2:53  
 Kharijites, 2:8, 103, 116  
 Kharrack Singh, 4:381  
 Khasbulatov, Ruslan, 6:370  
 Khatun, 1:438  
**Khayr al-Din**, 4:33, 210–211  
 Khazars, 1:59, 416, 2:xxxix, 261, 349, 384–385, 421  
 Khidr, Muhammad, 6:8  
**Khilafat Movement**, 5:119, 162, 187–188  
 Khirbet Qumran, 1:379  
 Khitan, 2:238, 251, 392, 429, 435, 442  
 Khiva, 4:363, 364  
 Khmel'nitsky, Bohdan, 3:91  
 Khmer Issarack, 5:345, 6:204  
**Khmer kingdom**, 2:105, 233–235, 369–370  
 Khmer Rouge, 6:95, 191, 205, 340–341  
 Khodorkovsky, Mikhail, 6:373  
**Khoi tribe**, 1:408–409, 2:444, 3:116, 4:394  
**Khomeini, Ayatollah Ruhollah**, 3:261, 6:81, 103, 213,  
     215, 216, 217, 218  
 Khonsu, 1:458  
**Khosrow I (Anushirvan)**, 1:207, 237, 415, 2:122  
**Khosrow II**, 1:59, 416, 2:63  
**Khosrow III (Parwiz)**, 1:416  
**Khosrow IV**, 1:416  
 Khotan, 1:504  
 Al-Khoury, Bishara, 5:213  
**Khrushchev, Nikita**, 5:362, 367, 6:xxxiii, xl, 32, 57,  
     71–72, 100, 102, 104, 109, 110, 120, 166, 172,  
     175, 196, 197, 238, 242–243, 315, 346, 375,  
     390  
 Khufu, 1:316, 317, 351, 373, 374  
 Khurram, 3:355  
 Khurshah, 2:35  
 Khwaja Salimullah, 5:9  
 Khwarazm, 2:135  
 Khwarazm Shah, 2:34  
 Khyber Pass, 4:9

- Kibaki, Mwai, 6:239, 240  
 kibbutzim, 5:44, 137  
 Kierkegaard, Søren, 5:97  
 Kievan Church, 3:52  
 Kievan Rus, 2:347–350, 379, 419–420, 434  
 Ki Hwon, 2:238  
**Kija**, 1:77, 237–238  
 Kikuyu, 2:xxxv, 37, 6:240  
**Kikuyu Central Association (KCA)**, 5:188–189  
 Kildare Abbey, 2:76  
 Kilimanjaro, Mount, 5:377  
**Kilkenny, Statutes of**, 2:235–236  
 Killy, Jean-Claude, 6:326  
 Kilo Sera 2, 6:309  
 Kimathi, Dedan, 6:239  
 Kim Bu-sik, 2:370  
 Kim Dae Jung, 6:248, 250, 251  
 Kim Eung Woo, 4:212  
**Kim II Sung**, 4:212, 6:39, 243–244, 247, 248, 272, 334, 363  
**Kim Jong II**, 6:243–244, 247, 248, 251, 272  
 Kim Jong Pil, 6:250  
 Kimmei, 1:436, 445  
 Kimmel, Husband E., 5:298  
 Kim Naemul, 2:371  
 Kimon, 1:322  
 Kim Young Sam, 6:250  
 Kim Yu-shin, 2:371–372  
 Kindattu, 1:128  
 Kindir, al-, 2:xxxiii  
 King, Alberta Williams, 6:244  
 King, Coretta Scott, 6:244  
 King, Dexter, 6:246  
 King, Ernest, 5:230  
 King, Henry Churchill, 5:189  
 King, James Saunders, 4:379  
 King, John, 5:198  
**King, Martin Luther, Jr.**, 4:419, 5:80, 346, 6:xxxvii, 66, 94, 96, 97, 98, 107, 232, 244–246, 286, 292, 405  
 King, Martin Luther, Sr., 6:244  
 King, Mary, 6:405  
 King, Rodney, 6:97  
**King Crane Commission (1919)**, 5:189–190  
**Kingdom of God**, 1:221, 238–239, 488  
 Kingdon, Robert M., 3:147  
 King Foundation, 6:244  
 King James Bible, 3:40, 79, 187, 212, 318  
 King Movement, 4:258  
**King Philip's War**, 3:55, 201–202, 403  
 kingpin strategy, 6:122  
 Kings, book of, 1:23, 24, 227  
 Kingsford Smith, Charles, 5:33  
**King's Highway and Way of the Sea**, 1:239  
 Kingsley, Charles, 4:308  
 King William's War, 3:267  
 Kinross, Lord, 2:269  
 kinships, 1:495  
 Kiowa, 3:263  
 Kipling, Rudyard, 4:8, 13, 30, 5:254, 255  
 Kir, 1:23  
 Kirchner, Néstor, 6:388  
 Kirdir, 1:413  
 Kirghiztan, 6:398  
 Kirienko, Sergei, 6:374, 375  
 Kirina, Battle of, 2:138  
 Kirkland, Lane, 6:16  
 Kirman, 1:412  
 Kirov, Sergei, 5:359, 367  
 Kirta epic, 1:473  
 Kitar, Ikki, 5:131–132  
 Kissinger, Henry, 4:435, 6:21, 27, 317, 385, 443  
 Kiszczak, Czesław, 6:128  
 Kitaj, R. B., 6:38  
 Kitasato Shibasaburo, 2:44  
 Kitbuqa, 2:35  
 Kitchener, Henry, 5:190  
**Kitchener, Horatio Herbert**, 4:67, 127, 284, 316, 404, 5:2, 46, 190–191, 220, 370  
 Kitchlew, Saif-ud-Din, 5:13, 14  
 Kittenensteijn, Jacob van, 4:82  
 Kiumarth, 1:347, 348  
 Kiyohara no Motosuke, 2:161  
 Klamath, 1:297  
 Kléber, General, 4:300  
 Kleberg, Richard, 6:235  
 Kleidion, Battle of, 2:65  
 Kneller, Godfrey, 3:21  
**Knights Hospitallers**, 2:180, 236–237, 330  
 Knights of Labor, 4:xxxii, 158, 217  
 Knights of Malta, 1:102, 2:237, 4:21, 295  
 Knights of St. John, 3:291  
 Knights of the White Camellia, 5:192  
**Knights Templar**, 2:29, 84, 89, 166, 180, 236–237, 326, 331  
 Knipperdollinck, 3:255  
 “Know-Nothing” Party, 4:332  
 Knox, Hugh, 4:175  
**Knox, John**, 3:70, 146, 202–203, 332, 348  
 Knox, Philander, 5:438  
 Knut, 2:413  
 Kobilic, Miloš, 2:245  
 Kobyla, Andrei, 4:359  
 Koch, H. W., 2:330, 331

- Koch, Robert, 4:xxxii  
 Kocharyan, Robert, 6:33  
 Kodjo, Edem, 6:426  
 Kodo Ha movement, 5:194  
 Kofun period, 1:495, 498  
 Kogaku school of thought, 3:268  
 Kogugwon, 1:77  
 Koguryo kingdom, 1:464–465, 496  
 Kohl, Helmut, 6:168  
 Koi, 1:465  
 Koirala, G. P., 6:309  
 Koiso, Kuniaki, 5:380  
**Koizumi Junichiro**, 6:246–247  
**Kojiki and Nihon Shoki**, 2:237–238  
 Kojima, Battle of, 2:134  
 Kojong, 2:239, 4:213, 245  
 Koken, 1:154  
 Kolbin, Gennady, 6:81  
 Kollontai, Aleksandra, 5:383  
 Köln, Battle of, 4:138  
 Kolokotronis, Theodoros, 4:170  
 Komarov, Vladamir, 6:399  
 Komei, 4:373, 414  
 Komura, Jutarō, 5:306  
 Komyo, 1:154  
 Kong Fuzi (K'ung-fu-tzu). *See* Confucius  
 Kongmin, 2:239  
**Kongo kingdom of Africa**, 1:xxxiv, 3:5, 204, 281, 363, 4:143  
 Königgrätz, Battle of, 4:136, 153  
**Konoe, Fumimaro**, 5:186, 191  
 Konrad of Masovia, 2:330  
 Koornhof, Piet, 6:454  
 Koprülü, Fazil Ahmed, 3:205  
 Koprülü, Husayn, 3:205  
 Koprülü, Mohammad, 3:204  
 Koprülü, Mustapha, 3:205  
**Koprülü family**, 3:204–205, 289, 292  
 Koran, *See* Qur'an  
 Korbut, Olga, 6:326  
 Korda, Alexander, 5:254  
**Korea**, 1:xxxvi, 76, 77, 237, 251–252, 486, 496, 2:xxx, xl, 232, 238–240, 282, 362–363, 370–372, 3:164, 248, 323, 409–410, 4:87, 148, 245–247, 268, 373, 383–384, 5:17, 132, 133, 180, 235, 306, 6:xxxii, xxxviii, xl, 100, 243–244, 247. *See also* Choson; Korea, North; Korea, South  
**Democratic People's Republic of (DPRK)**. *See* Korea, North  
**Japanese invasion of**, 3:205–206  
**late Yi dynasty of**, 4:211–213  
**Republic of (ROK)**, 6:45, 250–253  
**Three Kingdoms of**, 1:464–465  
**Yi dynasty in**, 3:409–410  
 Korea, North, 5:231, 6:76, 100, 103–104, 232, 243–244, 247–248, 249, 334, 411, 442, 443  
 Korean Air Flight 007, 6:102  
 Korea, South, 5:231, 6:xxxii, 43, 104, 248–251, 333–334, 362–363, 411, 443–444  
**Korean War**, 6:xli, 18–19, 39, 94, 100, M164, 244, 248, 249, 251–252, 268, 287, 362, 390, 426, 438, 439  
*Korematsu v. United States*, 5:179  
 Korfmann, Manfred, 1:471  
 Kornilov, Lavr, 5:187  
 Kornilov Affair, 5:332  
 Korovin, Konstantin, 5:361  
**Koryo dynasty**, 2:238–240, 252, 372  
 Kościuszko, Tadeusz, 4:328  
 Kosola, Vihtori, 5:103  
 Kosovo, 6:49, 51–52, 471  
**Kosovo, Battle of**, 2:37, 240, 249, 250, 265, 317, 318, 4:365  
 Kossina, G., 1:212  
 Kossuth, Louis, 4:257, 353  
 Kosygin, Alexei, 6:48, 72, 206, 387, 413  
 Kothar wa-Hasis, 1:473  
 Kotian, 2:283  
 Kotosh, 2:15  
 Kotrag, 2:53  
 koumiss, 2:438  
 Kountouriotis, Georgios, 4:170  
 Kowloon Peninsula, 6:192  
 kowtow, 3:334, 401  
 Krapp, Katharina, 3:242  
 Kravchuk, Leonid, 6:435  
 Krenz, Egon, 6:127, 168  
 Krestinsky, Nikolai, 5:360  
 Krevo Union, 2:256  
*Kriegsmarine*, 5:19  
 Krim, Abd el-, 5:110, 227, 321  
 Krim, Belkacem, 6:8  
 Krishna, 1:49–50, 257, 2:170  
*Kristallnacht*, 5:175, 268, 320  
 Krok, 2:47  
 Kronstadt Rebellion, 5:16, 383  
 Kropotkin, Peter, 5:16, 107  
 Kruger, Paul, 4:67, 395, 5:2, 45, 354  
 Krupskaya, Nadezhda, 5:214, 215  
 Kuala Lumpur declaration, 6:44  
 Kubert, 2:53  
**Kubilai Khan**, 2:xl, 77, 148, 173, 183, 239, 240–242, 264, 280, 281, 331, 398, 399, 403, 436, 437, 438, 3:14, 4:287, 6:423

- Kubitschek, Juscelino, 6:252**  
 Kuchma, Leonid, 6:436  
 Kuchuk, Fazil, 6:113  
 Küçük Kaynarca Treaty, 4:47  
 Kufuor, John, 6:170  
 Kujo Kanezane, 2:179, 228  
 Kujo Yoritsine, 2:172  
 Kukai, 2:161  
**Ku Klux Klan (KKK), in the United States, 4:352,**  
     5:192–193, 266, 413, 6:95, 96, 278  
 Kulikovo, Battle of, 2:286  
 Kulottunga I, 2:55  
 Kulov, Feliks, 6:83  
 Kumaragupta I, 1:177  
 Kun, Béla, 5:69  
 Kunaev, Dinmukhamed, 6:81  
 Kung Ye, 2:238, 372  
 Kunitz, Maria Eleanora, 4:268  
 Kuomintang (KMT), 5:17, 62, 63, 64, 157, 158, 193,  
     223, 238, 241, 245, 275, 351, 372–373, 395,  
     430–431, 6:89, 90, 92, 117, 267, 272, 411, 475  
 Kuprin, Alexander, 5:361  
 Kura, 1:124  
 Kurans, 2:261  
**Kurdish Worker's Party (PKK), 6:253, 418**  
 Kurdistan, 6:253, 430, 431  
**Kurd populations, 5:25, 26, 30, 141, 173, 6:185, 187,**  
     198, 199, 219, 253–254, 429, 431  
 Kurigalzu I, 1:42, 476  
*Kursk, 6:349*  
**Kush, 1:5, 206, 208, 235, 236, 240, 272, 311**  
**Kushan Empire, 1:45, 177, 235, 240, 312, 389, 412,**  
     437, 438, 501  
 Kusumey, Djipto, 5:265  
 Kusunoki Masashige, 2:232  
 Kutahya Convention, 4:285  
 Kutir-Nahhunte, 1:128  
**Kuwait, 6:xxxvi, 13, 22, 40, 74, 184, 198, 199, 219,**  
     254–255, 328, 412, 422, 440, 468  
 Kwalik, Kelly, 6:124  
 Kwanggaet'o, 1:464  
**Kwantung Army, 5:193–194, 228, 235, 350, 379**  
 Kwasniewski, Aleksander, 6:341  
 Kyakhtar, Treaty of, 5:250  
 Kyanzittha, 2:56  
 Ky Hoa, Battle of, 4:142  
 Kyongdok, 2:371  
 Kyong Taesung, 2:239  
 Kyon Hwon, 2:238, 372  
 Kyoshisha (Pride and Patriotism Society), 5:45  
**Kyoto Protocol and CO2 Emissions, The, 6:M181**  
**Kyoto Treaty, 6:255–256**  
 Kyrgyzstan, 6:81, 82–83, 85  
 Kyrion II, 1:160
- L**  
 Labbaeus, 1:20  
 Labienus, 1:470, 481  
**labor, 3:121–122, 159, 178–179, 250, 283–284, 361,**  
     362–363, 372–374, 384, 4:xxxii, 16, 42, 88–89,  
     131, 157–158, 334, 347, 448, 5:xxxvi, 16, 44,  
     51, 106–107, 127–128, 168–169, 207, 217, 247,  
     289, 330, 382–383, 394, 6:14–16, 69–70, 388,  
     391–392, 422  
     **unions and labor movements in U.S., 4:205,**  
     215–218  
 Labor Code, 6:20  
 Labor-Management Relations Act, 5:386  
 Labor Party, 5:67  
 Labor's Great Upheaval, 4:217  
 Labor Zionism, 5:44  
 Laboulaye, Edouard-René Lefebvre de, 4:401  
 Labour Party, 4:xxxii  
 Lacombe, Father, 3:324, 325  
 Lactantius, 1:262, 282  
**Ladislav (king of Hungary), 2:198, 243–244, 295**  
 Ladislav Posthumus, 2:178  
 Ladislaus (king of Poland). *See also* Władysław  
 Ladislaus (Vladislav) II, 2:47, 3:182  
 Ladislaus IV, 2:176  
 Ladislaus II Jagiello, 3:182  
 Ladislaus II of Lithuania and III (Władysław ) of  
     Poland, 3:91, 291  
 Laenas, Publius Popillius, 1:163  
 Lafaye, Jacques, 3:398  
 Lafayette, marquis de, 4:59, 145, 248, 413  
 Lafitte, Jean, 4:278  
 Lafitte brothers, 5:253  
**LaFollette, Robert M., 5:195, 308**  
 Laforgue, Paul, 5:215  
 Lahore Declaration, 6:203, 208  
 Lahore Resolution, 5:288  
 Laibach, Congress of, 4:269  
 Laika, 6:398  
 Lainez, Diego, 3:390  
 Laing, Alexander Gordon, 4:11  
 Laing, R. D., 5:98  
*laissez-faire, 4:387, 389*  
 Lake Champlain, Battle of, 4:441  
 Lake Poets, 4:242  
 Lakhmid, 1:22  
**Lalibela, 2:244**  
 Lal Singh, 4:381  
 Lama, Ridrigo da, 3:209

- Lama Buddhism, 2:438, 439  
Lamakhos, 1:447, 448  
Lamartine, Alphonse de, 4:451  
*La Matanza*, 5:87–88  
Lambda Istanbul, 6:164  
Lambton, John, earl of Durham, 4:330  
Lamentations, 1:370  
Lamian War, 1:115  
Lampson, Miles, 5:406  
Lancashire North England Suffrage Society, 5:293  
Lancaster, duke of, 2:428  
Lancaster, House of, 3:338–339  
**Landa, Diego de**, 3:207–208, 312, 412, 413  
Land Act, 6:3  
Landgrave, 3:27  
Landgrave, Lord, 4:xxxvii  
Landini, Francesco, 2:216  
Landon, Alfred, 5:327  
Landsbergis, Vytautas, 6:397  
Lands Bill, 5:60, 264  
Landsteiner, Karl, 5:xxxv  
Landulf, Count, 2:21  
Lanfranc, 2:20, 309  
Langley, Samuel P., 5:xxxiii  
Langson, Battle of, 4:382  
Langton, Stephen, 2:306  
languages, 1:xxxiv, xxxv, 8, 21, 201, 210, 280, 329–330  
Languedoc, Canal of, 3:83  
Lanling Xiaoxiao Sheng, 3:214  
Lansdale, Edward, 5:41  
Lansdowne, Lord (Henry Charles Keith Petty-Fitzmaunce, fifth marquis of Lansdowne), 5:16, 17  
L’Anse aux Meadows, 2:111, 149, 416  
Lansing, Robert, 5:196, 243  
**Lansing-Ishii Agreement**, 5:196  
Laomedon, 1:471  
Laos, 2:xxxviii, 3:323, 4:85, 142, 380, 6:8, 44, 123, 191, 204, 205, 238, 334–335, 449  
Lao Thai, 2:383  
**Laozi (Lao-Tzu)**, 1:39, 55, 106, 107, 241–242  
**La Pérouse, Jean-François de Galoup, comte de**, 4:219–220, 319  
Laplace, Pierre, 3:346  
Laporte, Pierre, 6:354  
Lapua Movement, 5:103  
Lares, 1:139, 395  
La Rocque, François de, 5:102  
Larsen, Nella, 5:140  
LaSalle, sieur de (René-Robert Cavelier), 3:272, 400  
**Las Casas, Bartolomé de**, 3:15, 109, 122, 123, 208–209, 352, 353  
Lascaux Cave, 1:72, 386  
Laski, Harold, 6:282  
Las Navas de Tolosa, Battle of, 2:342  
Las Salinas, Battle of, 3:300, 393  
Lassalle, Ferdinand, 4:392  
Lasseter, Harold, 5:33  
Lasus, 1:254  
László. *See* Ladislas  
**late barbarians**, 1:242–244  
lateralization, 1:328  
**Lateran Councils**, 1:264, 2:xxxix, 148, 164, 168, 195, 224, 257, 426  
    Fifth, 3:92  
    **Third and Fourth**, 2:244–246  
**Lateran Treaty**, 5:196–197, 259  
Latifi, Otakhon, 6:84  
**Latin America**, 3:208–209, 327, 4:xxxii, xxxv, 77–79, 94–96, 5:103, 128, 6:11, 30, 39, 101, 111, 133–134, 361, 362  
    **art and architecture (1750–1900)**, 4:35  
    **Asian migration to**, 4:37–40  
    **baroque culture in**, 4:51–52  
    **Bourbon dynasty in**, 3:44–46, 277  
    **Bourbon reforms in**, 4:220–222  
    **caciques in**, 3:62–63, 66, 67, 68, 111, 246  
    *Chilam Balam, Books of*, 3:74–76, 412, 413  
    **cinema of**, 5:197–198  
    **cultures in**, 6:257–258  
    **Dutch influences in**, 3:114–115  
    **economic and political liberalism in**, 4:222–223  
    **export economies in**, 4:224–226  
    **feminism and women’s suffrage in**, 5:198–199  
    **honor ideology in**, 3:168–169  
    **import substitution of**, 5:199–200  
    **independence in**, 4:xxv, 3, 57, 226–229  
    *indigenismo* of, 5:201–203  
    **machismo and marianismo in**, 4:229–231  
    **modernism in**, 5:203–204  
    **nationalism in**, 5:204–205  
    **obrajes in colonial**, 3:159, 250, 276, 283–284, 361  
    **politics of**, 6:258–259  
    **populism in**, 5:206–207  
    **positivism in**, 4:232  
    **social issues in**, 6:260–263  
    **United States interventions in**, 5:208–210  
    **urbanism in**, 4:232–233  
    **U.S. Good Neighbor Policy toward**, 5:128  
**Latin America, 19th Century**, 4:M108  
Latin American Ground School (LAGS), 6:384  
Latin American Trade Union Conference, 5:241  
Latin American Youth Conference, 6:157  
Latin Bible, 3:40

- Latin Church**, 1:xxxiv, 21, 48, 51, 52, 83, 103, 166, 244, 246, 247, 306, 320, 336, 449, 472, 474, 2:68, 126, 196
- Latini, Bruno, 2:101
- Latin States of the Crusades**, 2:246–249
- Latin Vulgate, 3:41, 212
- Lattimore, Richmond, 1:202, 203
- Latvia, 4:46, 48, 6:52–53, 102, 173, 397, 398, 457
- Lauchen, Georg Joachim von, 3:88
- Laud, William, 3:70, 71, 370, 371
- Launay, Bernard, marquis de, 4:144, 247
- Launay, Claudio Garbiele de, 4:431
- Laurier, Wilfrid**, 4:190, 331, 5:210–211
- Lausanne, Treaty of, 5:30, 296, 319
- Lausanne Covenant, 6:65
- Lausanne Treaty, 6:112, 253
- Lautaro, 3:20, 394
- Laval, Pierre, 5:213, 401, 402, 403
- Lavalle, Juan, 4:362
- La Violencia, Colombia**, 6:102–103, 157
- Lavoisier, Antoine, 3:346, 4:xxx
- Law, Bonar, 5:220
- Law, Edward, 4:9
- Law, John, 3:218, 219
- Law Code of Gortyn, 1:283
- law of free trade, 3:46
- law of gravitation, 3:346
- Law of the Free Womb, 4:4, 62, 322
- Law of Twelve Tables, 1:401
- Law Reforming the Penal Code, 5:57
- Lawrence, Henry, 4:190
- Lawrence, T. E.**, 1:203, 5:55, 211–212, 349
- Laws of Burgos, 3:122
- Laws of the Three Seals, 4:85
- Lay, Horatio, 4:178
- Lay, Robert, 4:162
- Lazarevitch, Stephen, 2:269, 270
- Lazar I**, 2:240, 249–250, 264
- Lazarus, Emma, 4:401
- Lazio, Rick, 6:99
- League against Imperialism, 5:143
- League Covenant, 5:213, 295
- League for the Independence of Vietnam (Vietnam Doc Lap Dong Minh Hoi), 5:70, 6:191, 204
- League of Arab States, 5:24
- League of Christian Defense, 5:102
- League of Defense, 1:346
- League of Nations**, 4:435, 5:xli, 3, 18, 33, 51, 55, 94, 95, 111, 127, 132, 141, 142, 149, 162, 171, 175, 189, 212–213, 222, 228, 260, 289, 294, 326, 338, 346, 348, 350, 354, 364, 375, 410, 412, 420, 6:303, 375, 435
- League of Three Emperors**, 4:234–235, 365, 366
- League Working Committee, 5:11
- Leakey, Louis, 1:136, 326
- Leakey, Louise, 1:326
- Leakey, Mary, 1:326
- Leakey, Meave, 1:326
- Leakey, Richard, 1:136, 326–327, 6:240
- Lean, David, 5:254
- Lebanon**, 5:103, 138, 189, 296, 339, 349, 6:47, 190–191, 223, 253, 362, 418
- civil war in, 6:28, 41–42, 190, 263–265, 438
- Confessional System of, 5:213–214
- French mandate in, 5:111–112
- independence of, 5:213–214
- Lebna Dengel**, 3:177, 209–210
- Le Brun, Charles, 3:21
- Lechfeld, Battle of, 2:174, 262, 329
- Lechín, Juan, 6:67, 336
- Leclant, Jean, 1:137
- Lecomte, Claude, 4:323
- Leda, 1:189
- Le Duan, 6:204
- Le Duc Tho, 6:317
- Le dynasty of Annam**, 2:250–251
- Le dynasty of Vietnam**, 3:210–211
- Lee, Henry, 4:444
- Lee, Richard Henry, 4:109
- Lee, Robert E., 4:91, 165, 240
- Lee Kuan Yew, 6:389
- Lee Teng-hui, 6:118, 411
- Leeuwenhoek, Antoni van, 3:344, 345
- Lefebvre, Marcel, 6:231
- Legalism**, 1:xxxii, 95, 184, 205, 245, 377, 378, 379, 494, 506, 2:425
- Legal Services Program, 6:177
- legionaries**, 1:245–246
- Legion of the Archangel Michael, 5:102
- Legnano, Battle of, 2:175
- Legu'a, Augusto, 5:144, 241
- Lehzen, Baroness, 4:432
- Leibnitz, Gottfried Wilhelm von, 3:149, 278, 4:428
- Leibowitz, Samuel, 5:344
- Leicester, earl of (Robert Dudley), 3:367
- Leigh, Vivien, 5:254
- Leigh-Mallory, Trafford, 5:75
- Leipzig, Battle of, 4:297, 298
- Leipzig Interim, 3:242
- leishmaniasis, 3:85
- LeJeune, Father, 1:297
- Le Loi, 2:251, 3:210
- Lemos*, 3:61
- Lend-Lease aid, 5:56, 61, 352, 369, 6:284

- Lenin, Vladimir**, 4:12, 361, 392, 393, 5:68, 69, 71, 186, 187, 214–217, 251, 273, 318, 332, 333, 359, 361, 366, 383, 6:173, 423  
 Lenin Peace Prize, 6:73  
 Lenni Lenape, 3:298  
 lentivirus, 6:6  
 Lentulus, 1:444  
 Leo I, 1:166, 2:61  
 Leo II, 2:62  
 Leo III, 1:385, 2:64, 72, 81, 194, 302, 324  
 Leo IV, 2:64, 194, 304  
 Leo V, 2:64, 194  
 Leo VI, 2:64, 68  
 Leo IX, 2:310, 355, 356  
**Leo X**, 3:80, 105, 135, 154, 211, 223, 332  
**Leo XIII**, 1:103, 322, 2:22, 39, 4:235–236  
**Leo Africanus (Hassan El Wazzan)**, 3:211–212  
 Leochares, 1:86  
 Leonardo da Vinci, 2:216, 3:20, 43, 6:38  
 León, kingdom of, 2:87  
 Léon de la Barra, Francisco, 5:233, 248  
**Leonidas**, 1:246–247, 347, 489  
 Leonov, Aleksei, 6:399  
 Leonowens, Anna, 4:347  
 Leontios, 2:63  
 León Toral, José de, 5:280  
 Leopold, 4:154, 171, 432  
 Leopold I, 3:158, 369  
**Leopold II**, 3:158, 222, 4:12, 13, 97–98, 141, 146, 206, 236  
 Leopold III, 2:154  
 Leopold, Aldo, 5:91, 92  
**Leo the Great (pope)**, 1:129, 206, 247, 2:97  
 Leo the Isaurian, 2:57, 97  
 Leovigild, 1:483  
 Lepanto, Battle of, 2:237, 3:21, 293, 306, 350  
 Lepidus, 1:61, 62, 64, 65, 84, 338, 387, 391, 470  
 Le Puy, Guy, 2:401  
 Le Qui Ly, 2:251  
 LeQuire, Allen, 1:333  
 Leslie, David, 3:71  
 Lesseps, Ferdinand de, 4:404, 5:291  
 Lesser Antilles, 3:65, 66, 372  
 Letelier, Orlando, 6:414  
 Le Tellier, Michel, 3:82, 217  
 Le Thai To, 3:210  
 Le Thanh Tong, 2:251, 3:210  
 Lettow Vorbeck, Paul Emil von, 5:379  
 Leucippus, 1:367  
*Leusdan*, 3:364  
 Levant, 1:146, 147, 299, 300, 356, 419, 2:119, 144  
 Levant Company, 3:121  
 Le Vau, Louis, 3:21, 39  
 levellers, 3:79, 96, 319  
 Lever Act, 5:153  
 Lévesque, René, 6:354  
 Levin, M., 1:151  
 levirate society, 2:252  
 Leviticus, book of, 1:466  
 Lewes, Battle of, 2:423  
 Lewinsky, Monica, 6:99  
 Lewis, Carl, 6:326  
 Lewis, Edwin, 4:34  
**Lewis, John L.**, 4:218, 5:217, 394, 6:15, 96  
 Lewis, Meriwether, 4:168, 203, 237  
 Lewis, Sinclair, 5:218  
**Lewis and Clark Expedition**, 4:184, 236–237, 278, 320  
 Lexington, Battle of, 4:24, 109  
 Ley, Robert, 5:277  
 Ley Juárez, 4:273  
 Liang Qichao (Liang Chi'i-ch'iao), 4:185, 210  
**Liao dynasty**, 2:155, 182–183, 221, 251–253, 429, 430, 435, 438  
 Liaquat Ali Khan. *See* Khan, Liaquat Ali  
 Libanius, 1:82, 231, 404  
 Liberal Alliance, 5:5  
**Liberal Democratic Party, Japan**, 6:246, 247, 265–266  
 liberalism, 4:222–223  
 Liberal Party, 5:220  
 Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA), 6:17  
 liberation theology, 6:260, 263  
 Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), 6:159, 404, 412  
**Liberia**, 4:12, 5:121  
     civil wars in, 6:266–267  
     colonization of, 4:239–240  
 Liberius, 4:321  
*Liberty*, USS, 6:25  
 Li Bo (Li Po), 2:82, 431  
**libraries, ancient**, 1:xxxiv, 13, 247–249, 473  
**Libya**, 1:249–250, 316, 4:13, 5:86, 94, 133, 256–257, 322, 6:xxxvi, 213, 267, 327, 353–354, 362, 434  
 Licinian-Sextian Laws, 1:401  
 Licinius, 1:282  
 Li Dazao (Li Ta-chao), 5:64, 65, 238  
 Liddy, G. Gordon, 6:348, 458  
 Li dynasty, 4:383  
 Liebenfels, Lanz von, 5:148  
 Liebknecht, Karl, 5:226  
 Liebknecht, Wilhelm, 5:215  
 Li-Fournier Agreement, 4:382  
 light bulbs, 5:83

- Ligny, Battle of, 4:298  
 Li Guangli (Li-Kuang-li), 1:185, 186, 2:431  
 Li Hong, 2:431  
**Li Hongzhang (Li Hung-Chang)**, 4:162, 163, 178, 238–239, 246, 311, 382, 383, 415, 454, 5:50, 372  
 Li Hongzhi, 6:148  
*Li jing (Li Ching)*, 1:91–92, 93  
 Likud Party, 6:22, 23, 28  
 Li Lianying (Li Lien-ying), 4:93  
 Liliuokalani, 4:179  
 Li-Lobanov Agreement, 4:246  
 Li Longji (Li Lung-chi), 2:431  
 Lilov, Alexander, 6:129  
 Limantour, José, 4:111  
*limpieza de sangre*, 3:327  
 Lin, 1:499  
 Lin, Charles, 4:160  
 Linacre, Thomas, 3:254  
**Lin Biao (Lin Piao)**, 5:239, 6:176, 267–268  
**Lincoln, Abraham**, 4:xxviii, 4, 7, 19, 89, 91, 92, 115, 156, 165, 206, 239–241, 332, 350, 419, 5:315  
 Lincoln, Battle of, 2:377  
 Lind, Jenny, 4:xxxvi  
 Lindbergh, Anne Morrow, 5:57  
**Lindbergh, Charles**, 5:xxxiii, xxxviii, 57, 176, 217–218  
 Lindbergh, Charles A., Jr., 5:218  
 Lindisfarne, 2:201, 417  
 Lindolfo Cuestas, Juan, 5:43  
 lineage slavery, 3:8  
**Linear A and B**, 1:250, 283, 289–290  
 Line of Control (LOC), 6:201, 207  
 Line of Demarcation, 3:56  
 lingua franca, 1:13, 23, 42, 101, 293  
 Linlithgow, Lord (Victor Alexander John Hope), 5:163  
 Linnaeus, Carolus, 4:xxx  
**Lin Zexu (Lin Tse-Hsu)**, 4:29, 75, 241–242  
*Lion*, HMS, 6:296  
 Lionel of Clarence, 2:235  
 Lion of Tarapacá, 5:5  
 Lipan, 3:263  
 Lipany, Battle of, 2:48, 190  
 Li Peng, 6:423  
 Lisboa, Antonio Francisco, 4:52  
 Lisbon Protocol, 6:122  
 Li Shimin (Li Shih-min), 2:390, 431  
 Li Si (Li Ssu), 1:245, 272, 377, 378, 491, 494  
 List, Georg Friedrich, 4:156  
 Listven, Battle of, 2:420  
 Liszt, Franz, 4:xxxvi  
 Li Taibo (Li T'ai-po), 2:82  
**literature**, 3:212–215, 5:xxxix, 6:268–272  
   **Alexandrian**, 1:12–13  
   **American**, 4:243, 5:218–219, 6:269–270  
   Asian writers, 6:271–272  
   Australian writers, 4:244  
   British writers, 4:242–243, 6:268–269  
   **during 1750–1900**, 4:242–245  
   European and South American writers, 6:270–271  
   French writers, 4:244  
   German writers, 4:244  
   from India and Asia, 4:244–245  
   **international**, 5:219–220  
   Japanese and Chinese writers, 4:245  
   of Middle East and India, 6:271  
   other authors in English, 6:270  
   Russian writers, 4:244  
**Lithuania**, 2:253–257, 4:46, 47, 48, 6:52–53, 102, 173, 396, 397, 398, 457  
 Little Bighorn, Battle of, 4:303  
 “Little Boy,” 5:146, 237, 6:33  
 Little Ice Age, 2:149, 6:138  
**Liu Bang (Liu Pang)**, 1:164, 183, 184, 250–251, 252, 257, 258, 471, 491, 492, 504, 2:276, 391  
 Liu Bei, 1:464  
 Liu Binyan (Liu Ping-yen), 6:91, 197  
 Liu Ji (Liu Chi), 1:250  
 Liu Shaoqi (Liu Shao-ch’i), 5:65, 431, 6:120, 176, 267, 268  
 Liu Song (Liu Sung), 4:447  
 Liu Yuan, 1:132  
 Livingston, Robert R., 4:110, 202, 249  
 Livingstone, David, 4:11, 12, 6:54  
 Livonian Sword Brothers, 2:301  
 Livonian War, 3:184  
 Livy, 1:139, 155, 339, 375, 391, 393, 394, 443  
 Li Yuan, 2:390, 431  
 Li Yuanhao (Li Yuen-hao), 2:429  
 Lizard Point, 3:368  
 Li Zhi, 3:214  
 Li Zhizao (Li Chih-tsao), 3:334  
 Li Zicheng (Li Tzu-ch’eng), 3:248, 249, 407, 416  
**Li Zongren (Li Tsung-jen)**, 5:64, 6:272–273  
 llamas, 1:xxx, 2:xxx, 3:85  
 Lleras Camargo, Alberto, 6:103  
 Lleras Restrepo, Carlos, 6:103  
 Llosa, Mario Vargas, 6:208  
 Lloyd, George, Lord, 5:405  
 Lloyd, Richard, 5:220  
**Lloyd George, David**, 5:66, 174, 188, 220–221, 295, 339, 354, 393  
 Llywelyn, 2:423

- Loaisa, Rodrigo de, 3:313  
loan-for-supervision, policy of, 5:79  
Lobanov-Rostovskii, Aleksei, 4:246  
**Lobanov-Yamagata Agreement (1896)**, 4:245–246  
**Locarno agreements (Locarno Pact)**, 5:18, 212, 221–222, 410  
*Lochner v. New York*, 6:139  
Locke, Alain, 5:139, 140  
**Locke, John**, 3:215–216, 4:110, 121, 122, 123, 320, 435  
locomotives, 4:xxx  
Locsin, Leandro V., 6:40  
Lodge, Henry Cabot, 4:389, 5:212, 412, 6:237  
Lodi, Ibrahim, 3:35, 297  
Lodi dynasty, 2:101, 3:256  
logic, study of, 1:28  
logograms, 1:123, 198  
logographs, 1:265, 425  
Logos (divine wisdom), 1:36, 40, 90, 129, 160, 193, 303, 355  
logos (reason), 1:40, 193, 355, 444–445  
**Lo-lang**, 1:251–252, 464  
Lollards, 2:165, 188, 428  
**Lombard, Peter**, 2:21, 257–258, 266  
Lombard League, 2:175, 176  
**Lombards**, 1:49, 175, 234, 242, 243, 323–324, 384, 474, 2:79, 136, 194, 198, 294, 310, 320, 323, 412  
Lome Peace Accord, 6:266  
London, Concordat of, 2:426  
London, England, 6:xlii  
London, Treaty of, 3:369, 5:40, 342  
London Abolition Committee, 4:386  
London Company, 3:188  
London Conference, 6:58  
London Naval Conference, 5:154  
**Long, Huey**, 5:222–223, 267, 271  
Long Count, 1:265, 269  
Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, 4:5  
Longford, Elizabeth, Lady 4:434  
**Long March**, 5:18, 63, 65, 223, 239, 307, 395, 425, 439, 6:120, 267, 272, 475  
Longmen caves, 1:254, 466  
Longshan culture, 1:490  
Long Strike, 4:217  
Longwu (Lung-wu), 3:416  
Lon Nol, 6:205  
López, Francisco Antonio, 4:279–280  
López, Mar'a, 4:276  
López, Santos, 6:383  
López, Victor Tirado, 6:383  
López Mateos, Adolfo, 6:209  
López Pérez, Rigoberto, 5:355  
López Portillo, José, 6:209  
López Velarde, Ramón, 5:203  
Lord of Miracles, 3:398  
Lord of the Conquest, 3:398  
Lorenzetti, Ambrogio, 2:213  
Lorraine, duke of, 2:258  
Los Alamos National Laboratory, 6:287  
“Lost Generation,” 5:218  
Lot, 1:239  
Lothair, 2:73, 74, 407, 408, 412  
Lothair, Constitution of, 2:316  
Lothair II, 2:75, 157, 304, 305, 330  
Lothar II, 2:175  
Loudon, Marshal, 4:139  
Louis I, 2:72, 75, 79, 80, 174, 413, 418, 4:400  
Louis II, 2:66, 300, 408  
Louis IV, 2:154  
Louis V, 2:71  
Louis VI, 2:23  
Louis VII, 2:94, 163, 325  
Louis VIII, 2:46, 71  
**Louis IX**, 2:21, 46, 71, 247, 258  
Louis X, 2:71  
**Louis XI**, 2:347, 3:195, 216–217, 395  
Louis XII, 3:162, 226, 394, 395  
Louis XIII, 3:5, 70, 161, 187, 217, 240, 272, 335, 336, 382  
**Louis XIV**, 3:4, 5, 19, 38, 46, 47, 49, 72, 82, 83, 131, 132, 138, 139, 140, 141, 150, 158, 172, 187, 188, 217–218, 230, 265, 272, 325, 336, 369, 382, 402, 4:136, 173, 247, 399, 423, 435, 436  
**Louis XV**, 3:140, 218–219, 4:138, 219, 246, 247, 400, 436  
**Louis XVI**, 4:58, 77, 120, 144, 145, 219, 246–248, 295, 298, 321, 408  
Louis XVII, 4:146  
Louis XVIII, 4:58, 129, 298, 299, 434  
**Louisiana Purchase**, 3:273, 4:xxxvii, 4, 50, 89, 168, 203, 237, 248–249, 249, 254, 270, 278, 296, 319–320, 411  
Louis-Joseph, marquis de Montcalm, 3:170  
Louis of Anjou, 2:295  
Louis of Hungary, 2:255, 3:73  
Louis of Orléans, 2:224  
Louis-Philippe, 4:59, 79, 195, 299, 375, 408  
Louis the Child, 2:174  
Louis the German, 2:75, 414  
Louis the Pious, 1:49, 2:75, 174, 418  
Louverture, Toussaint. *See* Toussaint Louverture  
Louvre, 2:195  
Love Canal, 6:xxxiv

- Lovecraft, H. P., 5:219  
 Lowell, Francis Cabot, 4:xxix  
 Lowry, L. S., 6:38  
 loyalty test, 5:178–179  
**Loyola, Ignatius of**, 3:92–93, 128, 190, 220–221  
 Loyola, Martín García de, 3:20  
**Lu**, 1:183, 185, 251, 252, 257–258, 506  
**Luba-Lunda**, 3:221–222  
 Lubomirski Rebellion, 3:194  
 Lu Buwei (Lu Pu-wei), 1:377  
 Lucan, 1:349, 390, 392, 398  
 Lucas Notaras, 2:346  
 Lucceius, Lucius, 1:469  
 Luce, John L., 1:471  
 Lucero, Gonzalo, 3:110  
 Lucero, Plutarco Elías, 5:57  
**Lucian**, 1:248, 252–253  
 Luciani, Albino, 6:229  
 Lucian of Antioch, 1:310  
 Lucilius, 1:397  
 Lucilla, 1:38  
 Lucius III, 2:241  
 Lucius Quietus, 1:222  
 Lucius Verus, 1:17, 39, 182  
 Lucknow Pact, 4:412, 5:165, 269  
 Lucretius, 1:2, 131, 390, 396  
 Lucullus, 1:387  
 “Lucy,” 1:326  
 Luddites, 4:xxx  
 Ludendorff, Erich, 5:418, 419  
 Ludolf, 2:262  
 Ludwig IV Wittelsbach, 2:177  
 Lueger, Karl, 5:148  
*Luftwaffe*, 5:19, 277  
**Lugard, Frederick**, 4:70, 5:223–225, 6:317  
 Lugo, Pedro de, 3:192, 193  
 Luhan, Mabel Dodge, 5:167  
 Luhan, Tony, 5:167  
 Luisa Amada Espinosa Nicaraguan Women’s Association (AMNLAE), 6:315  
 Luisi, Paulina, 5:225  
 Luke, book of, 1:20, 277  
 Lukka, 1:419  
 Lullubi, 1:7  
 Lumière brothers, 5:xxxv, 197, 252  
 Lummis, Charles, 5:167  
**Lumumba, Patrice**, 6:273–275, 291  
 Luna, Álvaro de, 2:89  
 Luna y Arellano, Tristán de, 3:110  
 Lundy’s Lane, Battle of, 4:441  
 Lunyu (Lun-yu), 1:92, 93–94  
 Luo Jialun, 5:244  
**Luoyang (Loyang)**, 1:47, 75, 121, 122, 132, 176, 183, 253–254, 377, 428, 466, 472, 499, 505, 506, 2:29, 123, 148, 222, 294, 405, 432  
 Lupus of Ferrières, 2:74, 75  
 Luque, Hernando de, 3:101, 299  
 Lushan Conference, 6:175  
*Lusitania*, 5:1, 53, 418  
 Lutetia, Battle of, 1:157  
 Luther, Hans, 5:221  
**Luther, Martin**, 1:337, 2:42, 167, 257, 3:15, 26, 40, 64, 92, 105–106, 117, 125, 126, 163, 166, 171, 174, 196, 212, 222–224, 242, 243, 296, 297, 315–316, 331–332, 352, 416, 417, 6:132  
 Lutheran Church, 3:28, 223, 242, 318, 6:132, 260  
 Lutheran World Federation, 6:133  
 Lutuli, Albert, 6:4  
**Lutz, Bertha**, 5:199, 225–226  
 Lutzen, Battle of, 3:77, 382, 4:297  
 Luwum, Janani, 6:434  
 Luxembourg, 6:165  
**Luxemburg, Rosa**, 4:392, 5:226  
 Luxor, 1:457, 458  
 Luzavorich, Gregory, 1:29–30  
 “Luzia,” 1:149  
**Lyautey, Louis-Hubert**, 5:226–228, 252, 321  
*lycée*, 1:178  
 Lyceum, 1:27  
 Lycurgus, 1:167  
 Lydia, 1:103  
 Lyell, Charles, 4:xxx  
 Lygdamis, 1:194  
 lynchings, 5:261–262, 314  
 Lyon, Mary, 4:448  
 Lyon, Matthew, 4:22  
 Lyons, Council of, 1:66, 2:68, 126, 175  
 Lyons, Joseph, 5:33  
 Lyons martyrs, 1:345  
**lyric poetry**, 1:24, 254, 411  
 Lysander, 1:343  
 Lysias, 1:173  
 Lysimachus, 1:9, 116–117, 375  
 Lysippos, 1:86–87, 191  
 Lytton, Lord (Victor Bulwer-Lytton), 5:213, 228, 235  
**Lytton Commission and Report**, 5:213, 228, 350
- M**  
**Ma**, 1:269, 472  
**Ma, Yuan**, 1:255  
 Maastricht Treaty, 6:144, 145  
 Maathai, Wangari Muta, 6:xxxvi, 19  
 Mabuco, Joaquim, 4:62  
 Macadam, John, 4:xxix

- MacAlpin, Kenneth, 2:359, 360  
**Macao**, 3:334, 4:74, 219, 6:275, 347  
     Portuguese in, 3:225  
 Macapagal, Diosdado, 6:275  
**Macapagal-Arroyo, Gloria**, 6:275–276  
 Macarius of Egypt, 2:149  
**MacArthur, Douglas**, 5:48, 155, 177, 180, 181, 191, 229–231, 238, 302, 312, 350, 380, 381, 387, 423, 6:251, 382  
 Macartney, George, Lord, 3:324, 4:75, 204, 343  
**Macartney mission to China**, 4:204, 251  
**Macaulay, Herbert**, 5:231–232, 274, 275  
**Maccabees**, 1:216, 255–256, 261, 293, 372, 421  
 Mac Dang Dong, 2:251  
**Macdonald, John A.**, 4:73, 252–253, 331, 356, 5:210  
 MacDonald, Ramsay, 5:329  
 MacDonald clan, 3:402  
 Macdonald-Wright, Stanton, 5:98  
 Macdonough, Thomas, 4:441  
 Macedonia, 1:9–10, 354, 408, 4:54, 6:49, 51  
**Macedonia under Philip II**, 359–336 B.C.E., 1:M16  
 Macedonian Renaissance, 2:58  
 Maceo, Antonio, 4:103  
 Maceo, José, 4:104  
 Machado, Gerardo, 5:42  
 Machado, Salvador, 5:437  
 Machel, Samora, 6:156  
**Machiavelli, Niccolò**, 1:236, 2:213, 215, 3:43, 89, 154, 173, 214, 226, 331  
 Machinist, Peter, 1:288  
**machismo**, 4:229–230  
 Maciel, Antônio Vicente Mendes (Antônio Conselheiro), 5:73  
 Mack, Alexander, 4:64  
 Mackenzie, Alexander, 3:170, 4:319, 331  
 Mackenzie, William Lyon, 4:310, 330, 331  
 MacLean, George, 5:124  
 MacMahon, Patrice, 4:133, 154, 300, 323, 376  
 MacMichael, Harold, 5:20  
 Macmillan, Harold, 6:419  
 MacMurrough, Dermot, 2:235  
 Macnaghten, William, 4:8, 31  
 MacQuarie, Lachlan, 4:40  
 Madagascar, 5:227, 316–317  
 Madani, Abbas, 6:223  
**Maddox, USS**, 6:205, 451  
**Madero, Francisco**, 4:111, 5:57, 58, 59, 158, 232–233, 247, 279, 284, 285, 305, 400, 436–437  
 Madhubuti, Haki, 6:66  
 Madhva, 1:433  
 Madiba, 6:280  
 Madieros, Celestino, 5:336  
 Madikizela, Noam Weinberg, 6:281  
**Madison, James**, 4:7, 50, 51, 99, 100, 176, 203, 253–254, 261, 441  
 madrasas, 6:222  
**Madres de Plaza de Mayo, Argentina**, 6:30–31  
 Madrid, Miguel de la, 6:209  
 Madrid, terrorist attacks in, 6:xlii, 403, 415  
 Madrid, Treaty of, 3:45, 56  
 Madrid Conference, 6:212  
 Maecenas, 1:391  
 Maeon, 1:202  
 Maetsuyker, Jan, 4:82  
 Magadha, 1:263  
 Magd, Kamal Abul, 6:223  
 Magdalena, 3:110  
 Magdalena River, Battle of the, 4:96  
**Magellan, Ferdinand**, 3:60, 226–227, 307, 388, 399, 4:37, 317  
 Maghili, Muhammad ibn Abd al-Karim, al-, 4:427  
 Magi, 1:508  
**Maginot line**, 5:xli, 233–234, 421  
**Magna Carta**, 2:108, 110, 145, 259–260, 306  
 Magnaghi, Alberto, 3:397  
 Magnesia, Battle of, 1:387  
 Magnus, Gnaeus Pompeius. *See* Pompey  
 Magnus, Philip, 4:159  
 Magón, Margarita, 5:107  
 Magruder, Jeb, 6:458  
 Magsaysay, Ramon, 5:302, 6:196  
**Magyars**, 2:xxxiii, 8, 243–244, 285, 4:46, 47, 49  
     invasions, 2:260–262  
 Mahabat Khan, 3:186  
**Mahabharata**, 1:49, 153, 199, 256–257, 263, 358, 381, 408, 409, 480, 2:43, 169  
 Mahamaya, 1:158  
 Mahan, Alfred Thayer, 4:389  
 Mahapajapati Gotami, 1:158  
 Maharlikas, 6:283–284  
 Mahasthamaprapta, 1:56  
 Mahathammaracha I, 2:383  
 Mahathammaracha II, 2:383  
 Mahathammaracha III, 2:383  
 Mahathammaracha IV, 2:383  
 Mahathir, Mohamed, 6:278  
**Mahayana Buddhism**, 1:57, 236, 358, 427, 453, 461–462, 463, 2:161, 234, 293  
 Mahdi, 4:14  
 Mahdi, Sadiq al-, 6:428  
 Mahdi al-Sanusi, Muhammad Idris al-, 5:257  
 Mahendra, 6:308  
 Mahendravarman, 2:81  
 Mahfuz of Haran, 3:209

- Mahidol, Ananda, 6:62  
 Mahmoud, 3:261  
 Mahmoud bin Yehya al-Wasiti, 2:204  
 Mahmud, 2:139, 263  
 Mahmud II, 4:169, 170, 285, 409  
 Mahmud, Shah, 6:1  
 Mahmud al-Kati, 2:139  
 Mahmudi, Abdul Rahman, 6:235  
 Mahmud Khan, 2:402  
**Mahmud of Ghazni**, 2:100, 122, 139, 262–263, 287  
 Maia, 1:396  
 Maimon, Moses ben, 2:263  
**Maimonides**, 2:128, 263–264, 266  
*Maine*, USS, 4:107, 398, 5:209, 301  
 Maitreya Buddha, 1:463  
 maize, 1:xxx, 2:xxxi, 3:83, 244, 248, 266, 280, 4:344  
**Majapahit kingdom**, 2:264  
 Majid, Abd al-, 4:409  
 Majilesi, Mohammed Baqir, 3:261  
 Major, John, 6:221, 417  
**Major Battles in Medieval and Early Modern Japan**, 2:M55  
**Major Battles of the American Civil War, 1861–1865**, 4:M122  
**Major Battles of the Revolutionary War, 1775–1783**, 4:M99  
 Major League Baseball, 6:94  
**Major Regional Trading Groups**, 6:M180  
**Major Religions in the Eastern Hemisphere, c. 600 C.E.**, 1:M32  
**Major Religions in the Eastern Hemisphere, c. 1500**, 3:M65  
**Major Terrorist Attacks since 1979**, 6:M189  
 Majuba Hill, Battle of, 4:160  
 Makarezos, Nicholas, 6:179  
**Makarios III**, 6:113, 114, 179, 276–277  
 Makeda, 1:137  
 Makhanda Nxele, 4:395  
 Makhkamov, Kakhar, 6:83  
 Makoko of Teke, 4:141  
**Malacca**, 3:139  
     Portuguese and Dutch colonization of, 3:227–228, 400  
 Malachi, 1:368  
 Malaka, Tan, 6:207  
 Malamir, 2:54  
 Malan, D. F., 5:3  
 malaria, 3:85, 123, 322, 364, 397, 4:22, 5:xxxv, 225, 6:xxxviii, 17, 240  
 Malawi, 5:277–278, 6:54  
**Malaya**, 5:48–49, 180, 298, 345. *See also* Malaysia  
**Malaya, Treaty of Federation**, 4:255–256  
**Malaysia**, 6:40, 43, 44, 385  
     Federation of, 6:277–278  
**Malcolm X**, 5:346, 6:66, 97, 278–280, 286  
 Maldon, Battle of, 2:12  
 Malenkov, Georgy, 6:242  
 Malevich, Kazimir, 5:361  
**Mali**, 2:107, 138–139, 144, 160, 383–384, 3:375  
 Malik Firuz Khalji, 2:101  
 Maliki, 2:9, 208  
 Malik Shah, 2:315, 363  
**Malinche, La (Doña Marina)**, 3:228–229, 245, 247, 4:231  
 Malinke, 6:427  
 Mallory, John, 1:211  
 Malory, Thomas, 2:154, 3:213  
 Malplaquet, Battle of, 3:369  
 Malthus, Thomas, 4:108, 187  
**Mamluks**, 1:314, 2:xl, 94–95, 184, 192, 248, 4:10, 22, 210–211, 300  
     **dynasties in Egypt**, 3:211, 229–230, 291  
 Ma'mun, al-, 2:205, 206  
 Manahoac, 3:314  
 Manar, Al-, 6:190  
 Manassas, Battle of, 4:91  
 Manchu dynasty, 3:321, 4:186, 204, 343  
**Manchukuo**, 5:63, 213, 235–236, 251, 297  
 Manchuria, 4:243–246, 383, 5:xli, 44, 63, 96, 103, 123, 132, 133, 134, 154, 186, 193, 212, 213, 228, 238, 283, 305, 306, 379, 382, 6:247  
**Manchurian Incident and Manchukuo**, 5:63, 123, 228, 235–236, 350, 421  
 Mancinus, Gaius Hostilius, 1:162  
 Manco Cápac, 3:98  
 Manco Inca, 3:300, 311  
 Mandaeans, 1:78, 79, 226, 448  
 mandala, 1:454  
 Mandan, 1:297  
 Mandate Authority, 5:111  
 Mandate of Heaven, 1:486  
 Mandatories of the League, 5:294  
**Mandela, Nelson**, 5:3, 346, 6:xxxvii, 3, 4, 99, 280–282  
 Mandinke peoples, 2:138  
 Manetho, 1:126, 208, 352  
**Manhattan Project**, 5:xxxvi, xlii, 86, 156, 236–238, 6:33, 34, 367  
 Mani, 1:37, 52, 79, 137, 413, 448  
 Manichaeism, 1:37, 38, 52, 78, 79, 81, 130, 226, 429, 2:405–406, 430, 3:196  
**Manifest Destiny**, 4:74, 90, 256–257, 269, 270, 272  
 Manila, Rape of, 5:381  
 Manila Pact, 6:394–395

- Manin, Daniel, 4:196  
 Manin, Lodovico, 4:293  
 manioc, 3:84  
 Manishtushu, 1:7, 33, 311  
 Manitoba Act, 4:356  
**Manley, Michael**, 6:282  
 Manley, Norman, 6:282  
 Man Lulan, 2:55  
 Mann, Horace, 4:335, 372  
 Manning, Henry, 4:308  
 Manpower Development and Training Act, 6:177  
 Mansa Musa, 2:138–139, 4:11  
 Mansart, Jules. *See* Hardouin-Mansart, Jules  
 Mansfield, Katherine, 5:33  
 Mansilhas, Francisco, 3:190  
 Man Singh 3:257  
 Manson, Charles, 6:154  
 Ma'mum al-, 2:205, 206  
 Al-Manar, 6:192  
 Mansur, Ahmad al-, 2:1, 36, 3:11, 341, 366  
 Mantinea, Battle of, 1:9, 343  
 Manuel I, 2:198, 3:12, 61, 104, 133, 146, 194, 204, 226, 306  
 Manuel I Palaeologus, 2:90  
 Manuel II Palaeologus, 2:269, 270  
 Manuel of Portugal, 3:129  
 Manzoni, Alessandro, 4:195  
 Maori Land Court, 4:259  
 Maoris, 4:101, 108  
**Maori Wars**, 4:257–259, 440  
**Maotun (Mao-t'un)**, 1:164, 251, 252, 257–258, 492, 501  
**Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung)**, 1:93, 5:xlili, 18, 63, 64, 65, 223, 238–239, 255, 351, 387, 395, 431, 439, 6:xxxi, xxxvi, 39, 66, 91, 92, 115, 120, 162, 175, 176, 196, 267, 268, 271, 308, 316, 386, 387, 390, 421, 423–424, 442, 475  
 Maqrizi, al-, 2:140  
 Mara, 1:159  
 Maratha Confederacy, 3:28, 295, 359, 4:30, 283  
**Marathon, Battle of**, 1:3, 75, 76, 84, 109, 167, 258, 346, 459, 489  
 Maravi (Bantu people), 5:278  
 Marburg Colloquy, 3:26, 196, 418  
*Marbury v. Madison*, 4:261  
 Marcantonio, Vito, 6:319  
 Marcel, Gabriel, 5:97  
**Marcellinus, Ammianus**, 1:258–259  
 Marcellus, 1:193  
 Marchand, Jean-Baptiste, 4:127, 142, 5:190  
 Marcher Lords, 2:423  
**March on Rome**, 5:102, 239–240, 259  
 March on Washington, 6:96  
 Marcian, 1:129, 2:61  
 Marcinkiewicz, Kazimierz, 6:345  
 Marcion, 1:78–79, 320  
 Marcionism, 1:78–79, 130  
 Marcius, Ancus, 1:399  
 Marco, 1:232  
 Marcomanni, 1:17, 39  
 Marconi, Guglielmo, 4:xxx, 5:xxxv  
**Marco Polo Bridge incident**, 5:63, 191, 194, 240, 317, 351, 395, 425  
**Marcos, Ferdinand**, 6:196, 283–284, 338  
**Marcos, Imelda**, 6:40, 283–284  
 Marcos, sub-commander, 6:473, 474  
 Marduk, 1:42, 44, 128, 299, 489  
 Marduk-nadin-ahhe, 1:42  
 Marengo, Battle of, 4:296  
 Margaret of Anjou (queen of England), 3:336, 337  
 Margaret Tudor 3:186, 236  
 margrave of Brandenburg, 2:157, 158, 178  
 Margueron, Jean, 1:259  
**Mari**, 1:8, 41, 124, 146, 207, 259–260, 472  
 Maria I, 4:228  
 Maria II, 4:325  
 Maria Christina Alexandra. *See* Christina Vasa  
 Maria Cristina (queen of Spain), 4:400  
 Maria Eleanor of Brandenburg, 3:77  
 Maria-Francisca of France (queen of Portugal), 3:49  
 Maria Leopoldina, 4:324, 325  
 Maria Luisa, 4:128  
 Mariana of Austria, 3:230  
*marianismo*, 4:229–231  
 Maria of Aragon, 3:133, 194  
 Maria of Portugal, 3:306  
 Maria-Sophia-Elizabeth of Neuberg, 3:49  
**Mariátegui, José Carlos**, 5:240–241  
**Maria Theresa of Austria**, 3:29–30, 158, 167, 219, 4:77, 119, 120, 138, 139, 205, 246, 259  
 Maricort, Pierre de, 2:267  
 Marie I of Sedang, 4:143  
 Marie Antoinette, 4:58, 145, 146, 246  
 Marie de France, 2:84  
 Mariel boatlift, 6:109  
 Marie Louise of Austria (empress of the French), 4:268, 297  
 Marie Leszcynska, 3:219  
**Marie-Thérèse of Austria** (queen of France), 3:218, 230–231  
 Marighela, Carlos, 6:71  
 Mariño, Santiago, 4:403  
 Marion, Francis, 4:25  
 maritime foundations of Andean civilizations (MFAC), 1:15

- Marius**, 1:63–64, 260–261, 387, 469  
 Mariut, Lake, 1:11  
 Mark (Saint), 1:98, 100, 2:412  
 Mark Antony, 1:xxxiii, 61–62, 65, 66, 84, 232, 338, 352, 373, 387, 391, 397, 400, 469–470  
**market revolution in United States**, 4:201, 259–260, 448  
 Mark Eugenikos, 2:126  
 Marlborough, duke of. *See* Churchill, John  
 Marley, Bob, 6:182  
 Marlowe, Christopher (Kit), 3:121, 213  
 Marne, Battle(s) of the, 5:342  
 Maro, Publius Vergilius, 1:397  
 Maronite Christians, 5:213, 214, 6:27, 28, 263  
**Maroon societies, in the Americas**, 3:51, 115, 231–233  
 Marozzi, Justin, 2:270  
 Marquette, Jacques, 3:272  
 Márquez Bustillos, Victorino, 5:126  
 Marrakesh, 2:9  
 Married Woman's Property Act, 4:450  
 Married Women's Property Bill(s), 5:292  
 Marroquin, José Manuel, 4:96  
 Mars, 1:338, 395, 396, 406, 6:401  
 Marsa, Convention of, 4:421  
 Marsh, Ngaio, 5:33  
**Marshall, George**, 5:63, 230, 241–242, 297, 386, 6:58, 284, 411, 475  
**Marshall, John**, 1:213, 285, 4:260–261  
**Marshall, Thurgood**, 5:262, 6:73, 74, 285–286  
**Marshall Plan**, 5:338, 386, 424, 6:11, 165, 284–285, 346  
 Marsilius of Padua, 2:30, 177, 213  
 Marston Moor, Battle of, 3:71, 94, 371  
 Martel, Charles, 2:49, 72, 117, 273, 289, 394, 407  
**Martí, Agustín Farabundo**, 5:88, 242  
**Martí, José**, 4:104, 261–262, 5:203  
 Martial, 1:390, 392, 396, 398  
 Martialis, Marcus Valerius, 1:398  
 Martianus Capella, 2:74  
 Martin, 1:49  
 Martin, Gregory, 3:41  
 Martin, W. A. P., 4:72  
 Martineau, Harriet, 4:108  
 Martínez, Boris, 6:426  
 Martínez, Eugenio, 6:458  
 Martínez, María Estela, 6:338  
 Martínez, Maximiliano Hernández, 5:87–88  
 Martínez Barrio, Diego, 5:363  
 Martinique, 3:365  
 Martins, Oliveira, 4:16  
 Martin the Humane, 2:89  
 Martin V, 2:93, 177  
 Martius Turbo, 1:222  
 Martov, Pavel, 4:361  
**martyrologies**, 1:261–262  
 Martyrs Synod, 3:16  
 Maruts, 1:478  
 Marvell, Andrew, 3:214  
 Marwan, 2:407  
**Marx, Karl**, 4:xxxii, 262–265, 354, 391, 392, 393, 5:107, 156, 214, 6:356  
**Marxism**, 4:264–267, 361, 390, 455, 6:258–259  
 Mary (mother of Jesus), 1:20, 63, 103, 129, 157, 219, 2:58, 76, 4:230–231  
**Mary I**, 3:78, 233–234, 236, 306, 348, 367, 391  
**Mary, Queen of Scots**, 3:36, 79, 120, 121, 186, 203, 235–236, 348, 367  
 Maryam, Ba'eda, 3:209  
 Maryannu, 1:284  
**Maryland**, 3:54, 124, 234–235, 384  
 Mary of Guise, 3:202, 203, 332  
 Mary of Modena, 3:150, 188  
**Mary Tudor** 3:233, 235–236  
 Masaccio, 3:20  
 Masai, 2:37  
 Masaliev, Absamat, 6:82  
 Masamura, 2:173  
**Masaryk, Tomáš Garrigue**, 5:242–244  
 Mascate War, 3:299  
 Masham, Francis, 3:216  
 Mashayana, 1:348  
 Mashona, 4:14  
 Mashya, 1:348  
 masked macho, 4:230  
 Maskhadov, Aslan, 6:375  
 Masoller, Battle of, 5:43  
 Mason, A. E., 5:254  
 Mason, Mrs. R. Osgood, 5:140  
 Masonic movement, 4:121, 129, 139–140, 195, 206  
 Masoretic Text, 1:50, 369, 3:39  
**Massachusetts Bay Colony**, 3:54, 236–238, 317, 404  
 Massachusetts Bay Company 3:237  
 Massey, William Ferguson, 5:33  
 Massias, John, 3:110  
 mastodons, 1:xxix  
 Masud, 2:139, 248  
 Matabele, 4:14, 355  
**Matanza** (Massacre), 6:135  
**Mathematical Syntaxis** (Ptolemy), 1:13  
 mathematics, 1:xxxii, 13, 86, 127, 265, 276, 303–304, 358, 359, 366, 376, 2:xxxii, xxxvii, 210, 266, 3:103, 143–144, 165, 201, 277–279, 344, 345  
**Mather, Cotton**, 3:214, 238–239

- Mather, Increase**, 3:238–239, 4:26  
 Mather, Richard, 3:238  
 Mathias I, 3:158  
 Mathran, 1:508  
 Matilda (Maude), 2:23, 305, 376, 377  
 Matsuoka Yosuke, 5:131  
 Matteotti, Giacomo, 5:259, 284  
 matter, defined, 1:27  
 Matthew, 1:20  
 Matthiae, Paolo, 1:123  
 Matthias, 1:78  
 Matthys, Jan, 3:255  
 Matyushin, Gerald, 1:212  
 Mauch, Carl, 2:368  
 Mauchly, John W., 6:xxxiv  
 Maude. *See* Matilda  
 Maugham, Somerset, 5:254  
 Mau Mau Rebellion, 5:67, 189, 6:239  
 Mauregato, 2:86  
 Mauretania, 1:4, 5  
 Maurice, 1:59, 384, 415, 2:63  
 Maurice of Nassau, 3:298  
 Maurice of Saxony, 3:27, 390  
 Maurin, Peter, 6:117  
 Mauritania, 6:460  
 Maurras, Charles, 5:102  
**Mauryan Empire**, 1:xxxvi, M21, 33, 153, 177, 217, 236, 262–264, 270, 333, 2:xxx, 330  
**Mauryan Empire, The**, 325–260 B.C.E., M21  
 Mausolus, 1:86  
 Mavalhas, 3:257  
 Mawlay Isma'il, 3:11  
 Mawlay Rashid, 3:11  
 Max, Burle, 6:41  
 Maximian, 1:118, 389, 457  
 Maximilian, 2:155, 178, 179, 3:73, 4:137, 275, 299–300, 5:246, 304  
 Maximilian I, 3:157, 226, 236, 382  
 Maximilian II, 3:158  
 Maximilian Joseph, 4:77  
 Maximinus Thrax, 1:67  
 Maximus of Tyre, 1:420  
**Maximus the Confessor**, 1:264, 420, 2:61, 68  
**Maya** (Mayans), 1:xxxiv, xxxvi, 2:xxxiii, xxxv, xli, 181, 273, 275, 278, 337, 3:32–33, 74–75, 109–110, 207–208, 229, 264, 411, 412, 4:272, 275, 6:262, 473, 474  
     **Classic Period**, 1:264–267  
     **Preclassic Period**, 1:267–269  
 Maya insurrection, 4:276  
 Mayakovsky, Vladimir, 5:361  
 Mayardit, Salva Kiir, 6:407  
 Mayarí Indians, 3:67  
 Maybach, Wilhelm, 4:xxx  
 Mayer, E., 1:212  
 Mayerling incident, 4:137  
*Mayflower*, 3:317  
**May Fourth Movement/intellectual revolution**, 5:64, 244–246, 395  
 Mayhew, John, 4:122  
 Maynooth Grant, 4:112  
 Mayorga, Silvio, 6:383  
**Master Index** 335  
 Mayréna, Marie, 4:143  
 May Revolution, 4:227  
 Maysalun Pass, 5:24  
 Ma Yuan. *See* Ma  
 Mazanet, Damian, 3:137  
 Mazarin, Cardinal Jules, 3:82, 140, 141, 217, 230, 231, 336, 382  
 Mazdak, movement of, 1:414–415  
 Mazen, Abu, 6:212  
 Mazeppa, Ivan, 3:91  
 Mazière, Lothar de, 6:168  
 Mazowiecki, Tadeusz, 6:128  
 Mazrui family, 3:286, 4:315  
**Mazzini, Giuseppe**, 4:195, 196, 257, 265–266, 353  
 Mbatian, 5:188  
 Mbeki, Thabo, 6:4  
 Mbopa, 4:379  
 McAdoo, William, 5:353  
 McAvoy, Joseph, 1:148  
 McCarran Internal Security Act, 5:387  
 McCarthy, Eugene, 6:316  
 McCarthy, Joseph, 5:71, 156, 387, 6:154, 237, 287–288, 357  
**McCarthyism**, 6:287–288  
 McClellan, George B., 4:91, 92, 240  
 McCloy, R. C., 5:297, 298  
 McClure, Robert John, 4:319  
 McCord, James, Jr., 6:458  
 McCormick, Cyrus, 4:xxvi  
 McCormick, Sarah, 6:366  
 McCorvey, Norma, 6:366, 367  
 McCulloch, James, 4:51  
*McCulloch v. Maryland*, 4:51, 261  
 McDonald, Ramsey, 5:19  
 McGovern, George, 6:79, 98  
 McKay, Claude, 5:99, 140, 290  
 McKinley, William, 4:105, 131, 179, 257, 332, 398, 5:4, 53, 125, 209, 291, 302, 308, 328  
 McLaren, Charles, 1:471  
 McLuhan, Marshall, 6:171  
**McMahon, Henry**, 5:189, 339, 348–349

- McMahon, Thomas, 6:296  
 McMahon Line, 6:307  
 McNamara, Robert, 6:450, 451  
 Meade, George G., 4:92  
 Meadowcroft Rockshelter, 1:148  
 Meany, George, 6:15, 16  
 measles, 1:281, 3:67, 85, 123, 124, 266  
 Meaux, siege of, 2:166  
 Mecca, 1:xxxv, 22, 105, 239, 358, 501, 2:xxxviii, 125, 138, 201, 202, 286, 287, 3:10, 292, 4:7, 175, 439, 5:133, 161, 348, 349, 6:279, 383  
 mechanical engineering, studies of, 2:210  
 Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations of Philadelphia, 4:215  
 mechanization, 6:181  
**Medes, 1:269–270**  
 Media, 1:103, 269  
 Medicaid, 6:177  
 Medicare, 6:177  
 Medici, Cosimo de', 2:90, 121, 122, 3:239, 240  
 Medici, Giovanni di Bicci de', 3:239  
 Medici, Johannes Leo de', 3:211  
 Medici, Lorenzo de', 2:215, 295, 327, 345, 347, 3:80, 154, 211, 226, 343  
 Medici, Piero de', 2:104, 3:240  
 Medici, Salvestro de', 3:239  
**Medici family, 3:80, 143, 154, 226, 239–241, 344, 396**  
 medicine, 1:xxxi, 200–201, 2:xxxii, 28, 209, 210, 266–268, 3:174, 347, 4:103, 5:xxxv, 6:xxxiii, xxxv  
 Médicis, Catherine de, 3:160, 264  
 Médicis, Marie de, 3:71, 161, 240, 335, 336  
**medieval Europe,**  
   **educational system in, 2:264–266**  
   **fairs in, 2:115–116**  
   **sciences and medicine during, 2:266–268**  
**Medieval European Universities and the Spread of Printing, 11th–15th Century, 3:M67**  
 Medieval Warm Period, 2:111, 416, 6:138  
 Medill, Joseph, 4:309  
 Medina, 1:105, 2:xxxviii, 125, 201, 202, 286, 3:292, 4:177, 439, 5:161, 349, 6:383  
 Medina-Sidonia, duke of, 3:368, 4:396  
 Meech Lake Accord, 6:354  
 Meese, Edwin, 6:320  
 Megabyzus, 1:31  
 Megacles, 1:89, 341  
 megafauna, 1:300  
**Megasthenes, 1:74, 263, 270–271, 333**  
 Mehmed (son of Suleiman), 3:362  
**Mehmed I, 2:268–271, 318**  
**Mehmed II, 2:237, 410, 3:183, 241, 291**  
 Mehmed IV, 3:292  
 Meiji (emperor of Japan), 5:44, 146, 350, 375, 6:8  
 Meiji Constitution, 5:177, 181, 184  
**Meiji Restoration, 1:427, 2:134, 161, 172, 354, 3:119, 4:xxxiii, 147, 148, 171, 177, 185, 267–268, 327, 373, 374, 383, 414, 5:131, 249, 336, 430, 6:7–8, 265**  
**Meir, Golda, 6:288–289, 358**  
 Meitoku Rebellion, 2:25  
 Mela, Annaeus, 1:422  
**Melancthon, Philip, 3:26, 27, 174, 242–243, 418**  
 Melba, Nellie, 4:xxxvi, 5:33  
 Melbourne, Lord (William Lamb, second viscount Melbourne), 4:432  
 Meleager, 1:115  
 Méliès, Georges, 5:252  
 Melitius of Antioch, 1:82  
 Melito of Sardis, 1:357  
 Melkites, 1:320, 449  
 Melvill, Mike, 6:401  
 Melville, Andrew, 3:348  
 Melville, Herman, 4:419  
 Memmius, 1:390, 397  
 Memnon of Ephesus, 1:129  
 Memnon of Rhodes, 1:10  
 Memphis, 1:316  
 Menander, 1:153, 307  
**Menchú, Rigoberta, 6:xxxvii, 289–290**  
 Menchú, Vicente, 6:289  
**Mencius, 1:92, 241, 271–272, 493, 494, 2:425, 444, 3:268**  
 Mencken, H. L., 5:140, 343  
 Mendel, Gregor, 5:96  
 Mendeléev, Dmitri, 4:xxx  
 Menderes, Adnan, 6:113, 429, 430  
 Méndez, Juan Carlos, 6:90  
**mendicants, 2:271–273, 356**  
 Mendive, Rafael María, 4:262  
 Mendoza, Antonio de, 3:88, 90, 283  
 Mendoza, Pedro de, 3:85, 399  
 Menelaus, 1:117, 189, 203  
 Menelik I, 1:30, 137, 2:113  
 Menelik II, 4:125, 5:345, 346  
 Menendez, Mario, 6:148  
 Menes, 1:126, 350  
 Mengele, Joseph, 5:365  
 Mengrai, 2:369  
**Meng Tian (Meng T'ien), 1:163, 251, 257, 272, 378, 491, 492**  
 Mengzi (Meng Tzu). *See* Mencius  
 Menkaure, 1:317, 373

- Menoecus, 1:131  
Menominee peoples, 6:16  
Menou, General Jacques-François, 4:301  
Mensheviks, 4:361, 393, 5:215, 226, 333, 383  
Mentuhotep II, 1:278, 457  
Mentuhotep III, 1:278  
Mercado, Salvador, 5:286  
**mercantilism**, 3:55, 243–244, 275, 4:223, 388  
Mercator, Nicolaus, 3:278  
Mercer, Lucy, 5:325, 326  
Mercury, 1:396  
Meredith, James, 6:95, 107  
Merenre Nemtyemsaf II, 1:352  
Meriam Report, 5:168  
Merici, Angela, 3:92  
Merkel, Angela, 6:167  
Merleau-Ponty, Maurice, 5:98  
Merneptah, 1:215, 309, 384, 419  
Mernissi, Fatima, 6:xxxvii  
Merodach-baladan II, 1:35, 43  
Meroë, 1:4, 5, 138, 240, 272–273, 312, 313  
Merovich, 2:129  
**Merovingian dynasty**, 1:243, 460, 2:72, 74, 129, 273  
Merovius, 2:273  
Merpert, Nikolay, 1:213  
Meru, Mount, 2:233  
Mesannepada, 1:475  
Mescalero Indians, 3:263  
Meseveni, Yoweri, 6:291  
Meshaal, Khaled, 6:189  
Mesha Stela, 1:216  
Meskalamdug, 1:475  
**Mesoamerica**, 1:xxxiii, xxxvi, xxxviii, 2:xxxv, xl–xli, 181–182, 3:244, 263, 312  
    **Archaic Period**, 1:273–274  
    **Classic Period**, 1:275–276  
    **Postclassic Period**, 2:273–275  
    **Preclassic Period**, 1:274  
    **southeastern periphery**, 2:275–276  
Mesoamerican Codices, 3:312  
Mesolithic age, 1:152, 211, 213, 226, 300–302, 327  
Mesopotamia, 1:xxix–xxx, xxxiv, xxxv, xxxvii, xxxix, 6, 7, 33, 34, 41, 42, 100, 101, 102, 108, 146, 207, 222, 231, 237, 239, 259, 260, 284, 334, 412, 413, 418, 423, 446, 448, 2:34  
Mesplet, Fleury, 4:310  
Mesrob Mashtot, 1:30  
Messali, Hadj Ben Ahmed, 5:6  
Messalina, Valeria, 1:422  
**Messianism**, 1:276–277, 288  
*mestizos*, 3:276, 277, 327, 4:28, 150, 5:201, 202  
**Metacom's (King Philip's) War**, 3:55, 201–202, 403  
metallurgy, 2:xxxiii  
Metalworkers' Union of Croatia, 6:425  
Metaxas, Ioannis, 5:102  
Metellus Scipio, 1:65, 69, 71  
**Methodios and Cyril**, 2:49, 98, 187, 283, 414  
Methodism, 4:2, 445  
Methodist Church, 3:108, 6:280  
Methodius, 1:166, 4:46  
Métis, 3:171, 4:74, 303, 356  
“metropolitan revolution,” 5:206  
**Metternich, Prince Clemens**, 4:42, 111, 136, 268–269, 353, 434, 435  
**Mexica**, 3:30–32  
**Mexican-American War (1846–1848)**, 3:264, 4:xxxv, 7, 90, 130, 165, 188, 207, 239, 256, 269–271, 272, 273, 302, 332, 370, 418, 5:208, 291, 304  
**Mexican Constitution**, 5:201, 246–247, 248  
**Mexican Revolution**, 4:110, 226, 5:53, 57, 59, 93, 144, 158, 198, 246, 247–249, 279, 284, 403, 436, 6:208, 290, 473  
**Mexico**, 1:xxxvi, 2:xxxv, xxxix, 3:136, 4:xxv, xxxv, xxxviii, 53, 110–111, 180–181, 197–198, 206–208, 226, 309, 346, 347, 369–370, 5:57–60, 71–72, 93, 103, 107–108, 128, 158–159, 198, 201, 203, 205, 206, 208, 232–233, 279–280, 284–285, 303–305, 6:xxxii, 41, 43, 69–70, 122, 123, 180, 208–209, 261, 262, 263, 320–321, 414–415, 473–475  
    **agrarian reforms in**, 6:290  
    **Basin of**, 3:31, 105, 244, 276, 361, 398  
    **conquest of**, 3:14, 15, 32, 33, 49, 61, 67, 68, 84, 89, 105, 123, 228, 244, 245–247, 250, 286, 299, 361, 397, 411  
    **early republic of (1823–1855)**, 4:271–272  
    **Great Pyramid in**, 3:31  
    **independence of**, 4:272–273  
    **from La Reforma to Porfiriato**, 4:273–274  
    **New Spain revolts in**, 4:275–276  
    **as Viceroyalty of New Spain**, 3:44, 276–277  
Meyerson, Martin, 6:154  
Meykandar, 2:367  
Mezezius, 2:63  
Mhlangana, 4:379  
Mhlatuze River, Battle of, 4:379  
Micah, 1:368  
Michael I, 2:64  
Michael II, 2:64, 194  
Michael III, 2:64, 96, 194  
Michael IV, 2:65  
Michael V, 2:65  
Michael VI, 2:65  
Michael VIII Palaeologus, 2:58, 90, 126

- Michelangelo, 2:216 3:20, 43, 81  
 Michiko (empress of Japan), 6:8  
 Michimalonco, 3:393–394  
 Mickiewicz, Adam, 4:329  
 Micombero, Michael, 6:379  
 Middle Ages, 1:218, 286, 294, 307  
 Middle Comedy, 1:26, 307  
**Middle East**, 5:55–56, 103, 294, 295, 6:xxxii, xxxvi, xlii, 11–14, 101, 233  
     **after World War I**, c.1920, 5:M143  
     **oil industry in**, 5:280–281  
     **Sykes-Picot Agreement and**, 5:373  
 Middle East Treaty Organization (METO), 6:48  
**Middle Kingdom, Egypt**, 1:126, 278–279  
 Middleton, Alice, 3:254  
**Midhat Pasha**, 4:174, 276–277, 451  
 Midway, Battle of, 5:xlii, 299  
 Mieszko I, 2:329  
 Mieszko II, 2:329  
 Mieszko III, 2:174  
 Mietner, Lise, 5:236  
**migration patterns of the Americas**, 1:279–281  
 Mihailović, Draža, 6:425  
 Mihama nuclear accident, 6:136  
 Mihdhar, Khalid al-, 6:462  
 Mikhail Romanov (czar), 4:359, 361  
 Miklas, Wilhelm, 5:19  
 Milan, duke of, 3:418  
**Milan, Edict of**, 1:95, 99, 281–282, 404  
 Milesian school, 1:364–365  
 Miletus, 1:25  
 Milíc, Ján, 2:48  
*Miliken v. Bradley*, 6:97  
 Miliokov, Paul, 5:332  
 Military Bases Agreement, 5:302  
 “military communism,” 5:273  
 Militas Populares Anti-Sandinistas (MILPAS), 6:105, 106  
 Mill, Harriet Taylor, 4:449  
 Mill, John Stuart, 4:449  
 Millennium Democratic Party (MDP), 6:251  
 Millennium Summit, 6:xxxviii, 422  
 Miller, Arthur, 6:288  
 Miller, Helen Hill, 2:12  
 Miller, Henry, 5:99  
 Miller, William Ian, 3:169  
 millet system, 3:289, 5:25, 51  
 Milner, Alfred, 4:67, 396, 5:2  
 Milner Mission, 5:84  
 Milošević, Slobodan, 2:269, 6:51, 469–470, 471  
 Miloš Obilić, 2:240, 249, 268–269  
 Miltiades, 1:258, 346  
 Milton, John, 3:214  
 Mil Wais, 3:261  
 Mimaki-iri-hiko, 1:428  
 Mimamsa school, 1:432  
 Minnermus, 1:254  
 Min, Queen, 4:213, 245  
 Minamoto clan, 2:131, 161, 228, 232, 3:164  
 Minamoto Sanetomo, 2:172, 229  
 Minamoto Yoriie, 2:228–229  
 Minamoto Yorimasa, 2:389  
 Minamoto Yoritomo, 2:133, 134, 228, 316  
 Minamoto Yoritoto, 2:120, 354  
 Minamoto Yoshiie, 2:24, 248  
 Minamoto Yoshinaka, 2:134, 389  
 Minamoto Yoshitomo, 2:172, 389  
 Minamoto Yoshitsune, 2:134, 172  
 Minangkabau Sultan Sjahrir, 5:143  
 Minatogawa, Battle of, 2:232  
 Minaya, Bernardino de, 3:110  
 Min Bao (Min Pao), 5:157  
 Mindanao, 5:132  
 Mindaugas, 2:254, 331  
 Mindon Min, 4:72  
 Minerva, 1:396  
 Mingdi (Ming Ti), 1:55  
**Ming dynasty**, 2:xxxiv, xxxix, 107, 149, 239, 276–278, 294, 364, 425, 436, 442, 3:1, 14, 22, 153, 205, 206, 225, 227, 247, 280, 321, 323, 336–337, 401, 406, 411, 4:37, 74, 251, 343, 383, 6:423  
     **late**, 3:248–249  
     **Southern**, 3:247  
 Minghuang (Ming-huang), 2:82, 431–432  
 Mingsha, Mount, 1:121  
**Ming Taizu (Ming T'ai-Tsu)**, 2:391–392, 436  
 Mining Corporation of Bolivia (COMIBOL), 6:67  
 ministrante solution, 6:30  
 Ministry of Agricultural Development and Agrarian Reform (MIDINRA), 6:311  
**Minoans**, 1:xxxv, 102, 250, 282–283, 290  
 Minos, 1:250  
**Minseito Party**, 5:184–186  
 Minto, Lord (Gilbert Elliot-Murray-Kynmound, fourth earl of Minto), 4:305, 345, 5:9, 164  
 Mintz, Sidney, 4:94  
 Miraflores, Battle of, 4:442  
 Miranda, Francisco de, 3:46, 4:313  
*Miranda v. Arizona*, 6:178  
 Mircea of Wallachia, 2:264, 265  
 Mir Hussain, 2:398  
 Mirian, 1:160  
 Mir Jaffa, 3:311

- Mir Wais, 3:261  
 Mirza, Abbas, 4:340  
 Mirza, Ahmad, 5:287  
 Mirza Hasan Shirazi, 4:341  
 Mirza Husayn Khan, 4:341  
 Mirza, Iskander, 6:48  
**Mishnah**, 1:228, 277, 283–284, 288, 451, 452, 467, 503  
 Misri, Aziz Ali al-, 5:23, 24  
 Missionaries of Charity, 6:416  
 Missionary Society, 4:66  
*Mississippi*, 4:372  
 Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), 6:96  
**Mississippi River**, 4:xxvii, 277–279  
*Missouri*, USS, 5:230, 238, 386, 423  
 Missouri Compromise, 4:4, 90  
 Mistral, Gabriela, 6:258  
 MISURASATA, 6:106  
**mita labor in the Andean Highlands**, 3:250, 361, 388, 4:28  
 Mitchell, John, 6:454  
 Mitchell, Margaret, 5:254  
 Mithraism, 1:80  
 Mithras, 1:236, 389, 396  
 Mithridates I, 1:421  
 Mithridates VI of Pontus, 1:63, 261, 387  
 mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA), 1:xxxiv, 148, 149, 302  
 Mitra, 1:478  
**Mitre, Bartolomé**, 4:227, 279–280, 322  
**Mitsubishi, House of**, 5:249, 250  
**Mitsui, House of**, 5:249–250  
 Mitsui Takatoshi, 5:250  
**Mittani**, 1:34, 42, 147, 202, 207, 208, 284–285  
 Mitterrand, François, 6:148, 162  
 Miura Yoshizumi, 2:390  
 Miwa, Mount, 1:428  
 Mix, Tom, 5:253  
 Mixcóatl, 2:274  
**Mixtecs**, 1:317, 2:273, 274–275, 278–280, 390  
 Mixtón War, 3:15  
 Mizushima, Battle of, 2:134  
 Mkabayi, 4:379  
 Mladenov, Patur, 6:129  
*mlolongo* voting system, 6:239  
 Mlynar, Zdenek, 6:172  
 Mnesicles, 1:84, 85  
 Moabite Stone, 1:6  
 Moawad, René, 6:264  
**Mobutu Sese Seko (Joseph)**, 6:123, 275, 290–292  
 Moche culture, 3:16  
**Moctezuma II**, 2:181, 337, 3:89, 97, 105, 228, 245, 246, 247, 250–251, 286, 3:250  
 modalism, 1:193  
 Model Cities Act, 6:177  
 Moderate Labor Party, 5:186  
 modernism, 5:203–204  
 Modoc, 1:297  
 Modrow, Hans, 6:168  
 Mogollon culture, 2:xxxv  
**Mohács, Battle of**, 2:256, 3:251, 291, 374  
 Mohamed, Mahathir, 6:280  
 Mohammad, Mawlay, 3:11  
 Mohammed, Khalid Sheikh, 6:14, 462  
 Mohammed, Murtala, 6:64, 314  
 Mohammed, Zahir-ud-din, 3:256  
 Mohammed II, 2:346  
 Mohammed IV (Ottoman Sultan), 3:91  
 Mohammed V (Ottoman sultan), 3:11, 6:294  
 Mohammed Reza Pahlavi (shah of Iran), 5:288, 6:49, 198, 213, 218, 241. *See also* Pahlavi dynasty (of Iran)  
 Mohammed Shah (Mughal emperor), 3:262, 4:285  
 Mohammed the Great, 3:366  
 Mohawk Indians, 3:267  
 Mohegan Indians, 3:202  
**Mohenjo-Daro**, 1:xxxvii, 119, 213, 214, 285, 358  
 Moi, Daniel arap, 6:239, 240  
 Moism/Moists, 1:205, 271, 289  
 Mojmir I, 2:285  
 Mojmir II, 2:285  
 Mokrani, 4:21  
 Mola, Emilio, 5:363  
 Moldavia, 6:397, 398  
 Molière (Jean-Baptiste Poquelin), 3:217  
 Molinos, Miguel de, 3:324  
 Moloch, 1:5  
 Molotov, Vyacheslav M., 6:284  
 Molotov–von Ribbentrop Pact, 5:367, 429  
 Moltke, General Helmuth von, 4:55, 133, 134, 153, 5:342  
 Momigliano, Arnaldo, 1:402  
 “mommy track,” 6:151  
**Mon**, 2:107, 280–281  
 Monacan Indians, 3:314  
 Monaldeschi, Giovanni, 3:78  
 Monarchianism, 1:81, 193  
 monarchy, 3:2  
 Monash, John, 5:33  
 Monastery of the Holy Cross, 1:160  
**monasticism**, 1:xxxiv, 113, 125, 219, 286–287, 320, 2:27, 236, 3:222  
 monastic schools, 2:264  
 Moncada, José María, 5:355  
 Monck, General, 3:97

- Mondale, Walter, 6:98, 361  
Mondlane, Eduardo, 6:156  
Monenin, Amir al-, 4:209  
Monet, Claude, 5:98  
**Mongke Khan**, 2:34, 77, 183, 240–241, 281–282, 284, 302, 403  
Mongkut, 4:347, 348  
Mongolia, 3:14, 153, 323, 5:123, 283, 379, 6:103–104  
Mongolian Huns, 1:205  
**Mongolian People's Republic**, 5:250–251  
**Mongols**, 1:105, 2:xxx, xxxiv, xxxvi, xxxvii, xxxviii–xli, 172, 183–184, 192, 208, 209, 227–228, 229–230, 232, 235, 239, 240–242, 276, 277, 278, 285, 301–302, 330, 350, 375, 429, 430, 436, 437–439, 3:182, 321, 6:423  
    **invasions of Japan**, 2:282  
    **invasions of Russia, 12th–13th Centuries**, 2:M47  
    **rule of Russia**, 2:282–284  
“Monkey Trial,” 5:xxxix, 342–343  
Monmouth Rebellion, 3:150  
Mononabe, 1:496  
Monophysites, 1:320, 449, 2:67  
monotheism, 1:277  
Monothelitism, 1:264, 2:68  
Monroe, James, 4:203, 238, 254, 280–281, 331, 5:323  
**Monroe Doctrine**, 4:xxxv, 7, 274, 280–281, 5:128, 208  
    **Roosevelt Corollary to**, 5:128, 323–324, 328  
Mons, 4:380  
Montagnier, Luc, 6:6  
Montagu, Edwin, 5:37, 162  
Montagu, John, 4:179  
Montagu-Chelmsford Reform, 6:306  
Montagu-Chelmsford Report, 5:162, 270  
**Montaigne, Michel Eyquem de**, 3:252–253  
Montañés, Juan Martínez, 3:355  
Montanism, 1:81, 194  
Montanus, 1:193–194  
Montcalm, Louis-Joseph, marquis de 3:170  
Monte, Cardinal Gian Maria del. *See* Julius III  
Montefeltro, Bonconte de, 2:410  
Montefeltro, Federico of, 2:410  
Montefeltro, Guidobaldo da, 2:410  
Monteferrato, Teodoro di, 2:137  
Montejo, Francisco de, 3:74, 411  
Montenegro, 4:49, 6:49, 51–52  
Monte Saello, Battle of, 4:149  
Montesinos, Antonio de, 3:208  
**Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat, baron de la Brède et de**, 3:253–254, 4:99, 119, 121, 254, 360  
Montet, Pierre, 1:58  
Monteverdi, Claudio, 3:258  
Montfort, Simon de, 2:4–5, 89, 245, 306, 423  
**Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott**, 6:94, 244, 292  
Montgomery, Bernard L., 5:75, 86, 87  
**Montoneros (Argentine urban guerrillas)**, 6:71, 259, 292–293  
Montreux Convention, 5:406  
Monts, Pierre de Gua, sieur de, 3:161  
Montt, Efraín Ríos, 6:385  
Montu, 1:278  
Montufar, Carlos, 4:185  
Moody, Dwight L., 4:64  
Mookerjee, Syama Prasad, 6:441  
Moolk, Shah Shujah al-, 4:114  
Moon landing, 6:238, 316, 399, 400  
Moore, Fred, 5:336  
Moore, Henry, 6:38  
Moore, Jeremy, 6:148  
Moore, Sara Jane, 6:154  
*Moore v. Dempsey*, 5:262  
Moqued, Majed, 6:462  
Morais, Prudente de, 4:63  
Morales, Evo, 6:384  
**Moravia**, 2:96, 176, 189, 284–285, 313, 324, 355, 4:45  
Moravian Church, 2:190  
Moravians, 3:318, 4:123, 446  
Mordechai, 1:135  
More, John, 3:254  
**More, Thomas**, 3:92, 126, 163, 174, 212, 254–255  
Moreira, Eudóxia, 5:72  
Morel, E. D., 4:98  
Morelos, José, 4:140, 272–273  
Moreno, Juan Nepomuceno, 4:79  
Moret Law, 4:3  
Mor Gabriel, 1:472  
Morgan, Daniel, 4:25  
Morgan, Frederick, 5:75  
Morgan, Henry, 4:140  
Morgan, J. P., 5:xxxiv, 57  
Morgan, Michèle, 5:255  
Morgan, William, 4:445  
Morgarten, Battle of, 3:376  
Morgenthau, Henry, 5:383  
Mori, Kaku, 5:123  
Morillo, Apolimar, 4:403  
*Moriscos*, 3:134  
Moritoki, 2:173  
Morley, John, 5:164  
Morley, Lord, 3:64  
**Morley-Minto Reforms**, 4:162, 5:162, 164

- Mormonism**, 4:167, 281–282  
**Moroccan Crises**, 5:251–252  
**Morocco**, 3:341–342, 366–367, 6:8, 293–294, 402, 460  
     **Alawi dynasty in**, 3:10–11  
**Moroni**, 4:281  
**Morotaki**, 2:173  
**Morris, Robert**, 4:99  
**Morris, William**, 1:203  
**Morrow, Dwight**, 5:57, 72  
**Morse, Edward S.**, 1:226  
**Morse, Samuel F. B.**, 4:xxx  
**Mortimer, Edmund**, 2:165, 166  
**Mortimer, Roger**, 2:109  
**Mortimer's Cross, Battle of**, 3:338  
**Moscow: Third Rome**, 2:56, 285–286  
**Moscow-Beijing Axis**, 6:400  
**Moscow Declaration**, 5:276  
**Moscow Summit**, 6:122  
**Moseley, Michael E.**, 1:15  
**Moses**, 1:21, 23, 29, 51, 105, 110, 114, 125, 215, 222, 225, 228, 229, 230, 239, 283, 287–288, 290, 335, 337, 344, 355, 367, 368, 370, 424, 431, 452, 466  
**Moses, Robert**, 6:95  
**Mosley, Oswald**, 5:104  
**mosques**, 2:202  
**Mossadeq, Mohammad**, 5:67, 6:295  
**Most, Johann**, 5:125  
**Mostar Bridge**, 3:22, 6:37, 39  
**Mother Goddess**, 1:102, 129  
**Mothers of the Foundling Line**, 6:31  
**motion picture industry**, 5:xxxv, xxxix, 197–198, 252–255, 6:xxxviii–xxxix  
**Mott, Lucretia Coffin**, 4:450  
**Moulin, Jean**, 6:163  
**mound-building cultures**, 1:281, 296, 297  
**mountain gorillas**, 6:380  
**Mountbatten, George**, 6:296  
**Mountbatten, Louis, Lord (earl Mountbatten of Burma)**, 5:11, 75, 167, 6:201, 206, 220, 295–296, 307, 418  
**Mouskos, Mikhailis Khristodoulou**, 6:276–277  
**Mousterian industry**, 1:329  
**Movement de la Revolution (MPR)**, 6:291  
**Movement of Arab Renaissance**, 6:47  
**Mowinckel, S.**, 1:277  
**Moyne, Lord (Walter Guinness)**, 5:20, 441  
**Mozambique**, 4:14, 15, 16, 333, 6:111, 156, 344, 365  
**Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus**, 4:206  
**Mozi (MoTzu)**, 1:288–289  
**Mpande**, 4:379  
**Mstislav**, 2:434  
**Mstislavsky, Theodore**, 3:152  
**Mstislav Staryi of Kiev**, 2:283  
**Mstislav Udaloj of Galaciam**, 2:283, 284  
**Mthethwa**, 4:378  
**Muaw'iyah**, 2:8, 69, 103, 364, 406, 433  
**Mubarak, Hosni**, 6:21, 222  
**Mucius Scaevolia**, 1:83  
**muckraking**, 5:50, 256  
**Mueller, Johannes**, 3:87  
**Muenster Commune**, 3:15, 255–256  
**Mugabe, Robert**, 2:367, 6:296–297, 365  
**Mughal Empire**, 3:10, 28–29, 35, 81, 174, 175, 185, 256–257, 311, 328, 329, 355, 360, 4:64, 71, 190, 191, 282–283, 378, 5:164  
     **at the Death of Akbar**, 1605, 3:M81  
**Múgica, Carlos**, 5:246  
**Muhammad V**, 4:175, 6:293–294  
**Muhammad VI**, 6:461  
**Muhammad XI (Boabdil)**, 3:41–42  
**Muhammad XII**, 3:41  
**Muhammad, Ali Mahdi**, 6:393, 394  
**Muhammad, Elijah**, 6:279  
**Muhammad, Prophet**, 1:xxxv, 22, 314, 334, 384, 416, 439, 507 2:1, 3, 57, 68, 102, 113, 124, 201, 205, 286–287, 339, 364, 3:11, 342, 4:284, 371, 5:3, 142  
**Muhammad, Sayyid Ali**, 4:341  
**Muhammad, Shaikh Nur**, 4:192  
**Muhammad, Sultan**, 5:3  
**Muhammad Ali (athlete)**, 6:326  
**Muhammad Ali (khedive of Egypt)**, 4:xxvi, xxix, 33, 69, 170, 194, 284–285, 301, 409, 439, 5:370  
**Muhammad al-Darazi**, 2:365  
**Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab**, 2:193  
**Muhammad ibn Qasim**, 2:373  
**Muhammad ibn Tumart**, 2:10  
**Muhammad al-Jadiq**, 4:421  
**Muhammad al-Mahdi**, 4:284  
**Muhammad Mirza**, 4:34  
**Muhammad of Ghur**, 2:287–288, 341  
**Muhammad Tughluq**, 2:191  
**Muhammed-bin-Tughluq**, 2:397  
**Mühldorf, Battle of**, 2:154, 177  
**Muhyiddin ibn 'Arabi**, 2:380  
**Muir, John**, 5:91, 92  
**Muis, Abdul**, 5:340  
**Mu'izzad-Din Bahram Shah**, 2:100  
**mujahideen**, 6:222, 418  
**Mujuba Hill, Battle of**, 4:395  
**Mukden Incident**, 5:228, 235–236  
**Mukherjee, Shyama Prasad**, 6:227

- Mukhtar, Omar**, 5:256–257, 6:267  
 Mulamba, Leonard, 6:291  
 Mulder, Connie, 6:454  
 mules, 5:xxxii  
 Mulk, Nawab Mohsin ul-, 5:9  
 Mulk, Nawab Viqar ul-, 5:9  
 Muller, Max, 1:210  
*Muller v. Oregon*, 5:51, 6:139  
 Mulroney, Brian, 6:327  
 Multi-Country HIV/AIDS Program (MAP), 6:7  
 multiculturalism, 6:171  
 multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles (MIRVs), 6:121  
 Muluzi, Bakili, 6:55  
 Mumineen, Amir al-, 4:426  
 mummification, 3:17–18  
 mumps, 3:124  
 Mumtaz Mahal, 3:103, 355, 356, 380  
 Munda, Battle of, 1:65  
 Mundo, 1:234  
 Mundzuk, 1:242  
 Munenobu, 2:173  
 Muni, Paul, 5:255  
 Munich Conference, 5:149  
 Munich Olympics, 6:332, 393, 418  
**Munich Pact**, 5:20, 257  
**Münster Commune**, 3:15, 16, 256–258  
 Müntzer, Thomas, 3:15, 16, 296, 297, 332  
 Munweis, Paula, 5:44  
 Murad I, 2:240, 249, 249–250, 268, 317, 318, 3:190  
 Murad II, 2:126, 318, 3:241, 290  
 Murad III, 3:292  
 Murad V, 4:174, 277, 5:432  
*muraji*, 1:496  
 Muraoka Chotaro, 5:193  
**Murasaki Shikibu**, 2:132, 161, 288–289  
 Murat, Joachim, 4:195, 295  
 Muraviev, Nikolai, 4:17, 18  
 Murdock, George P., 2:36  
 Murillo, Bartolomé Estebán, 3:21, 39, 354, 355  
 Muromachi Shogunate, 2:25  
 Murphy, Frank, 5:107, 394  
 Murra, John, 1:16  
 Murray, Donald Gaines, 6:286  
 Murray, Philip, 6:15  
 Murrow, Edward R., 6:288  
 Murshili I, 1:42, 124, 201  
 Murshili III, 1:383  
 Musa al-Hadi, 2:159  
 Musa Chelebi, 2:270  
 Musa ibn Nusayr, 2:41  
 Musaylimah, 2:102  
 Muscovy Company, 3:60, 400  
 Muset, Battle of, 2:89  
 Museveni, Yoweri, 6:434, 435  
**Musharraf, Pervez**, 6:297  
 Mushezib-Marduk, 1:43  
 Mushkh-i-Alam, 4:9  
**music**, 3:258–260, 5:xxxix, xl, 6:xxxix, 108, 257, 298–302  
     **during 1750–1900**, 4:285–287  
     African influences in, 4:287  
     of Arab and Islamic influences in, 4:287  
     of Austria and Germany, 4:285  
     in Britain and Europe, 4:286–287  
     classical and stage, 6:298–299  
     during the Enlightenment, 4:285–286  
     fusion, 6:299–300  
     popular styles, 6:301–302  
     romantic period of, 4:286  
     songwriters and artists, 6:300–301  
 Muskogee, 1:296  
**Muslim Brotherhood**, 4:368, 5:257–258, 406, 6:29, 42, 133–134, 221, 304–305, 356, 428  
 Muslim law/sharia, 2:4, 10, 103, 191, 208, 3:257, 4:410, 5:13, 6:257, 382, 405, 426  
 Muslim League, 5:3, 11, 182, 288, 6:241, 307  
 Muslim populations, 4:xxxiii, 76, 124, 5:9–11, 162, 188, 6:xxxix, 1, 87, 201, 203, 206–207  
**Muslim rebellions in China**, 4:93, 287–288, 344, 415, 454  
**Muslim Spain**, 2:5, 289–291  
 Muslim Students League, 6:359  
**Mussolini, Benito**, 5:xli, 16, 19, 20, 58, 94, 96, 101, 102, 104, 149, 150, 175, 196, 197, 213, 239, 240, 257, 258–260, 284, 337, 346, 363, 364, 406, 420, 423  
 Mustafa, 2:271  
 Mustafa II, 3:205  
 Mustafa III, 4:76, 365  
 Mustafa Fazil, Pasha, 4:451  
 Mustafa Kemal, 4:69  
 Mustafa Nahhas, 5:405, 406, 436, 6:133  
 Mut, 1:458  
 Mutalibov, Ayaz, 6:32  
 Mutapa Empire, 2:445  
 Mutasim, 2:2  
 Mutawakkil al-, 3:291  
 Mutesa, Edward, 6:433  
 Muqtadir al-, 2:2, 111  
 Musta'sim al-, 2:37, 181  
**mutiny on the *Bounty***, 4:40, 288–289  
 Mutsuhito. *See* Meiji  
 Mutual Defense Treaty, 5:177, 6:411

- mutually assured destruction (MAD), 6:xl, 34–35, 101, 102
- Muwatalli, 1:383
- Muye, Battle of, 1:505
- Muyeol, 2:371, 372
- Muzorewa, Abel, 2:367, 6:365
- Mwanga II, 4:70
- Mwenemutapa Kingdom, 4:15
- Mwinyi, Ali Hassan, 6:324
- Myanmar, 2:55, 56, 280, 5:31, 344, 6:44, 46, 201, 306, 441
- Mycale, Battle of, 1:489
- Mycenae**, 1:xxxv, xxxvii, 75, 167, 190, 250, 289–290, 419
- My Lai, 6:452
- Myo Cheong, 2:239
- Myrdal, Alva, 6:19
- Myrdal, Gunnar, 6:19
- Myron, 1:86, 179
- mystery cults**, 1:90, 128–129, 244, 290–291, 337
- mysticism, 2:271, 380
- N**
- NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund (LDF), 6:286
- Na'aman, 1:207
- Nabataeans**, 1:239, 293–294, 306
- Nabiyev, Rakhmon, 6:84
- Nabokov, Vladimir, 5:361
- Nabonassar, 1:43
- Nabonidus, 1:44, 103, 476
- Nabopolassar, 1:44, 299
- Nabuco, Joaquim, 4:4
- Naddodd, 2:415
- Nadim, Abdullah al-, 4:34
- Nadir Shah**, 3:103, 261–262, 343, 4:285, 339
- Naemul, 1:465
- Naevius, Cornelius, 1:397
- Naevius, Gnaeus, 1:393–394
- Nafels, Battle of, 3:376
- Nagako, 5:145, 6:8
- Nagasaki**, 3:118, 128, 194, 263, 356, 386  
atomic bombing of, 5:xlii, 146–147, 180, 230, 238, 381, 386, 423, 6:33, 34, 121, 364
- Nagatoki, 2:173
- Nag Hammadi codices**, 1:78, 79, 81, 372  
*See also* **Christian Dualism (Gnosticism)**
- Nagoe Mitsutoki, 2:172
- Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, 6:32
- Naguib, Muhammad, 6:134, 304, 305
- Nagumo, Chuichi, 5:297, 299
- Nagy, Imre, 6:197–198, 346, 356
- Nahor, 1:23
- Nahua (Nahuatl)**, 3:263–264
- Nahum, 1:368
- Al Nahyan, Khalifa bin Zayed, 6:437
- Al Nahyan, Zayed bin Sultan, 7:437
- Naidu, Govindarajulu, 5:263
- Naidu, Sarojini**, 5:xxxviii, 263
- Naiman Kitbuqa, 2:184
- Naivasha Treaty, 6:407
- Najera, Manuel Gutiérrez, 5:203
- Najibullah, Mohammad, 6:236
- Naka, 1:496
- Nakatomi Kamatari, 1:496; 2:131
- Nakba, al-, 5:22
- Nakhon Si Thammarat, 4:380
- Nalanda**, 2:293
- Namangani, Juma, 6:81
- Nambokucho War, 2:232
- Namibia**, 6:303–304
- Namik Kemal, 4:451
- Nam Phuong (empress of Vietnam), 5:41
- Nanak Dev, 3:359
- Nan Chao, 2:369
- Nana, Sahib, 4:65
- Nandi, 4:378
- Nanjing (Nanking)**, 2:276, 294, 400, 436, 439, 442, 5:18, 63, 65, 157, 235, 275  
**Rape of**, 5:xli, 194, 317–318, 351, 381, 421
- Nantes, Edict of**, 3:47, 160, 172, 218, 264–265, 332, 335
- Naoroji, Dadabhai**, 4:293, 5:165, 182
- Napier, Charles, 4:31
- Naples**, 2:46, 176, 294–295
- Napoleon I**, 3:273, 4:30, 60, 129, 268, 278, 294–298, 305, 365, 375, 394, 400, 450. *See also* Bonaparte, Napoleon
- Napoleon II, 4:102, 299
- Napoleon III**, 4:21, 56, 80, 133, 134, 136, 152, 197, 275, 281, 298–300, 323, 375, 382, 404, 413, 431. *See also* Bonaparte, Louis-Napoleon
- Napoleonic conquest of Egypt**, 4:300–301
- Napoleonic Wars**, 3:46, 217, 4:3, 7, 10, 42, 58, 83, M105, 113, 130, 226, 251, 255, 268, 299, 305, 328, 329, 340, 400, 434, 436, 441
- Nara**, 2:133, 179, 295–296
- Nara Fe Maghan, 2:383
- Naram-Sin, 1:7, 8, 41, 42, 124, 128, 207, 411
- Narapatisithu. *See* Cansu II
- Narasimhapati. *See* Cansu IV
- Narcissus, 1:392
- Narmer, 1:146
- Narragansett Indians, 3:202

- Narsai, 1:449  
 Narseh, 1:413  
 Narses, 1:323  
 Narukiho Higashikuni, Prince, 5: 191  
 Narváez, Pánfilo de, 2:339, 3:59, 246  
 Naryshkin, Ivan, 3:303  
 Naseby, Battle of, 3:71, 371  
 Naser ud-din Muhammad, 2:403  
 Nasir al-Din, Shah 4:8, 341  
 An-Nasir, Yusuf, 2:37, 183  
 Nasir-ud-Din Khusro, 2:402  
 Nasir ud-Din Mahmud, 2:100  
 Nasjonal Samling (National Union), 5:102  
 Nasrallah, Sheikh Hassan, 6:223  
 Nassau-Siegen, Johan Maurits van, 3:115  
 Nasser, Gamal Abdel, 2:31, 4:405, 5:22, 258, 371, 6:20, 23, 24, 25, 41, 45, 47, 55, 133, 170, 219, 222, 233, 308–309, 323, 351, 356, 438  
 Natal Indian Congress, 5:118  
 Natchez, 1:296  
 Nathan, 1:368  
 Nathaniel, 1:20  
 Nation, Carrie, 4:27  
 National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL), 6:366  
 National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC), 6:151  
 National Advancement Party (PAN), 6:183  
 National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 6:97  
 National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), 6:xxxiii, 400, 401  
 National African Company, 6:313  
 National African Union of Independent Mozambique, 6:156  
 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 5:80, 121, 139, 256, 261–263, 289, 315, 344, 6:66, 73, 74, 94, 97, 245, 285, 286, 292  
 National Association of Colored Women, 5:261  
 National Association of Evangelicals, 6:65, 174  
 National Banking Act, 5:105  
 National Bank of Agricultural Credit, 5:57  
 National Bloc, 5:112  
 National Cancer Institute, 6:6, 316  
 National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation, 6:340  
 National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA), 5:60, 61, 263–265  
 National Congress of Nigeria Citizens (NCNC), 5:275  
 National Consultative Council (NCC), 6:130  
 National Council for Resistance, 6:163  
 National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC), 5:232  
 National Day of Protest (NDP), 6:281  
 National Defense Commission (NDC), 6:247  
 National Defiance Campaign, 6:4  
 National Democratic Alliance (NDA), 6:227  
 National Democratic Union of Mozambique, 6:156  
 National Farmworkers Association, 6:70  
 National Federation of Cuban Women (FCW), 5:199  
 National Foundation Society, 5:235  
 National Grange, 4:xxviii  
 National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), 5:51, 217, 270, 271, 326–327  
 National Institute of Agrarian Reform, 6:184  
 National Islamic Front (NIF), 6:13, 407  
 nationalism, 5:204–205  
 Nationalist Party of Indonesia (PNI), 5:143, 265  
 Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA), 6:135  
 National Labor Relations Act, 5:272, 327  
 National Labor Union, 4:217  
 National League for Democracy (NLD), 6:46  
 National League for the Defense of Religious Liberty (LNDLR), 5:72  
 National Liberation Front (FLN), 6:223  
 National Negro Congress, 5:262  
 National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), 6:316  
 National Opposition Union (UNO), 6:312  
 National Organization for Women (NOW), 6:140, 151, 366  
 National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA), 6:113, 277, 430  
 National Origins Act, 5:90, 266  
 National Pact (Al-Mithaq al-Watani), 5:213, 214  
 National Pact of 1943, 5:112  
 National Parks, U.S., 5:91–92  
 National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), 6:266  
 National Peasant Confederation (CNC), 6:208, 290  
 National Progress Party, 6:87  
 National Rainbow Coalition, 6:239  
 National Recovery Administration (NRA), 5:271, 272, 327  
 National Revolutionary Army, 5:65  
 National Roundtable Talks, 6:128  
 National Salvation Front (NSF), 6:50, 130  
 National Security Decision Directive 17, 6:106  
 National Services Act, 5:66  
 National Socialist German Workers Party (NSDAP).  
     *See* Nazi Party  
 National Socialist Workers Party, 5:276

- National Society for the Rapid Realization of Korean Independence, 6:363
- National Student Strike Committee, 6:414
- National Typographical Union, 4:216
- National Union for Promoting the Higher Education of Women, 4:448
- National Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), 6:17
- National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG), 6:311
- National Unity Movement, 6:84
- National Urban League, 5:139
- National Volunteers Corps (RSS), 6:227
- National War Labor Board, 5:127
- National Women's Party (NWP), 6:139, 140
- National Youth Administration, 6:231
- National Youth Movement (NYM), 5:274
- Nation of Islam, 6:279
- Native Affairs Commission, 5:2
- Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), 1:150
- Native Americans, 3:37, 55, 124, 160, 171, 252, 265–268, 327, 353, 383, 384, 394, 4:xxxiv, xxxvi, xxxviii, 168, 200, 5:167–168, 6:16–17, 41, 323
- chronologies and peoples**, 1:294–296
- migration patterns of, 1:279–281
- Nations Prior to European Colonization**, 3:M71
- Population Loss in North America, 1500–1700**, 3:M90
- regional adaptations by**, 1:296–298
- U.S. policies on**, 4:301–304
- Native Lands Act, 4:259
- Native Representative Council, 6:3
- Natives (Urban Areas) Act, 5:3
- Natives' Land Act, 5:3
- Natives' Trust and Land Act, 5:3
- nativism, in United States**, 5:265–267
- NATO Individual Partnership Action Plan, 6:32
- NATO Partnership for Peace, 6:32, 51
- NATO-Russia Joint Council, 6:321
- Natufian culture, 1:300–301
- Natural and Manmade Environmental Disasters**, 6:M185, 139–140
- Naturalism, 3:38
- Naturalization Act, U.S., 4:187
- natural philosophy, 2:267
- Naungdawgyi, 4:380
- Navajo, 1:295, 296
- Navajo Long Walk, 4:303
- Navarino, Battle of, 4:170, 285
- Navarre, Henri, 6:204
- Navarre, Kingdom of, 2:89–90
- Navarro, F., 5:285
- Navigation Act, 3:55, 96, 243, 384, 4:xxxiv
- Navy-Marine Corps Relief Society, 5:325
- Nayaks, 2:393
- Nayanars, 2:43
- Nazarbayez, Nursultan, 6:81, 82
- Nazarenes, 1:229
- Nazca culture, 1:16
- Nazianzus, Gregory, 1:48, 67–68, 219, 264, 461, 2:97
- Nazib, Battle of, 4:23
- Nazi Party**, 4:376, 5:xxxvii, xli, 2, 19, 47, 66, 97, 101, 102, 135, 145, 147, 150, 155, 156, 267–268, 320, 365, 420
- Nazi-Soviet Pact, 5:70, 6:52, 397
- Ndebele, 4:355
- Ndongo, 3:7
- Ndwandwe, 4:379
- Neanderthals, 1:386, 2:333
- Nearchus, 1:115
- Near Eastern Crisis**, 4:365–366
- Neau, Elias, 4:335
- Nebty, 1:350
- Nebuchadnezzar I**, 1:42, 128, 298, 299
- Nebuchadnezzar II**, 1:44, 104, 114, 216, 298–300, 420, 476
- Necker, Jacques, 4:144, 247
- Neco, 1:299
- Neco II, 1:44, 228
- Nefer-Nefru-Aten, 1:6
- Nefertari, 1:309, 383, 458
- Nefertiti**, 1:6–7, 146, 300, 308
- negative eugenics, 5:96
- Negrin, Juan, 5:364
- “negrismo,” 5:269
- négritude**, 5:xxxix, 269, 290, 347, 6:149
- Negus, 4:125
- Nehemiah, 1:30–31, 114
- Nehru, Jawaharlal**, 5:10, 119, 162, 163, 166, 269, 270, 6:55, 115–116, 160, 161, 201, 202, 207, 271, 296, 305, 306–307, 386, 421
- Nehru, Motilal**, 5:10, 119, 163, 166, 167, 269–270, 6:306
- Nehru Peace Award, 6:46
- Nehru Report, 5:10, 163, 166, 270, 6:306
- Nekhet, 1:126, 350
- Nekhtenebef, 1:31
- Nelson, Horatio (first viscount Nelson), 4:147, 267, 295, 296, 300, 366
- Nemanyich dynasty, 2:246
- Nemean Games, 1:318
- Nemesis, 1:189

- Neocles, 1:458
- Neo-Confucianism**, 1:56, 92, 93, 2:161, 230, 276, 296–301, 374, 438  
     **in Japan**, 3:118, 268
- Neo-Daoism, 1:106, 107, 2:297
- Neo-Destour Party, 6:69
- Neo-Guelfs, 4:197
- Neolithic age**, 1:152, 213, 226, 282, 300–302, 311, 312, 327, 426, 490, 2:xxxix
- Neo-Orthodox Movement, 5:46
- Neoplatonism**, 1:37, 48, 52, 82, 95, 230, 248, 302–304, 355, 2:121–122, 127, 192, 327
- Neoptolemus, 1:354
- Neoptolemus II, 1:375
- Nepal**, 6:201  
     **civil war in**, 6:307–309
- Neptune, 1:396
- Nerchinsk, Treaty of**, 3:199–200, 269
- Nergal-ushezib, 1:43
- Neriah, 1:47
- Nero**, 1:54, 150, 222, 231, 233, 304–305, 339, 345, 349, 388, 392, 395, 398, 400, 422, 444, 445,
- Neruda, Pablo, 6:259
- Nerullinus, Marcus Suillius, 1:422
- Nerva, 1:151, 340, 388, 400, 467
- Nervi, Pier Luigi, 6:38
- Nestorian Church**, 1:305–306, 429
- Nestorianism, 1:230, 2:92, 183, 430
- Nestorius**, 1:102–103, 125, 129, 247, 305–306, 2:61
- Netanyahu, Binyamin, 6:22
- Netherlands**, 4:3, 386, 5:103, 123, 150, 265  
     **revolt against Spanish rule**, 3:269–270
- Netherlands East Indies**, 4:304–306
- Neuhaus, Kety, 6:30
- Neuilly-sur-Seine Treaty, 5:294
- Neumann, Balthasar, 3:39
- Neumann, John von, 6:xxxix
- Neutrality Acts, 5:175, 176
- Neves, Tancredo, 6:71
- Neville, Charles (sixth earl of Westmorland), 3:121
- Neville, Richard (earl of Salisbury and of Warwick), 3:338, 339
- Nevsky, Alexander**, 2:301–302
- New Amsterdam, 3:299, 371
- New Christian Right, 6:228
- New Comedy**, 1:26, 306–307
- Newcomen, Thomas, 3:347, 4:xxviii
- New Culture Movement, 5:158, 245
- New Deal, U.S.**, 4:260, 5:xxxvii, 50, 82, 92, 106, 127, 131, 134, 155, 167, 175, 217, 222, 270–273, 6:15, 16, 177
- New Economic Policy, Soviet Union**, 5:216, 273–274, 357, 361
- New England, 3:238, 332, 4:1
- Newfoundland, 2:416, 3:329
- New France**, 3:54, 137–138, 170, 267, 270–273, 4:187
- New Frontier, 6:238
- New Haven Railroad, 6:279
- New Ilium, 1:471
- Ne Win**, 5:31, 6:46, 305–306
- New Islamists, 6:223
- New Jersey Plan, 4:99
- New Jewel Movement, 6:181
- New Kingdom, Egypt**, 1:126, 307–309
- Newlands Resolution, 4:180
- New Laws, 3:122, 352, 353
- New Left, 6:57
- Newly Emerging Forces (NEF), 6:411
- Newman, John Henry**, 4:235, 306–308
- New Model Army, 3:71, 94, 95, 96
- New Negro movement, 5:139, 140
- New Netherland**, 3:54, 237, 273–274, 384
- New Orleans**, 4:xxvii, xxxvii, 92, 203, 248, 277–279  
     **Battle of**, 4:199, 441
- New Ottomans**, 4:451–452
- New Society, 6:287–288
- New South, 4:349
- New South Wales, 4:40
- New Spain**, 3:247, 333  
     **colonial administration of**, 3:274–276  
     **Viceroyalty of (Mexico)**, 3:276–277
- newspapers, in North America**, 4:308–311
- New Sweden, 3:274
- New Territory, 6:192
- New Testament, 1:12, 51–52, 142, 202, 219, 220, 225–226, 238, 276, 288, 290, 334, 337, 353, 364, 369, 371, 424, 474, 3:39, 40
- Newton, Huey, 6:66
- Newton, Isaac**, 3:87, 201, 215, 277–279, 316, 346, 347, 4:109, 317, 5:xxxvi
- Newtonian physics, 5:85
- New York, 3:54, 273
- New Zealand**, 4:xxvi, 187, 257–259, 440, 5:32–35, 132, 133, 6:18–19, 43, 45, 104, 382
- New Zealand Company, 4:257
- New Zealand Land Wars, 4:257–259
- Ney, Marshal Michel, 4:298
- Nezami, 1:254
- Nez Perce, 1:297
- Ngendandumwe, Pierre, 6:379
- Nghe-Tinh Soviet, 5:70
- Ngo Dinh Diem**, 5:41, 6:xli, 204, 238, 309, 310, 449, 450

- Ngo Dinh Nhu, 6:238  
 Ngoni (ethnic group), 5:277  
 Ngqika, 4:395  
 Nguyen Ai Quoc, 5:70, 6:191  
 Nguyen Anh, 4:142  
 Nguyen Cao Ky, 6:310, 449  
 Nguyen Huu Tho, 6:206  
 Nguyen Trai, 3:210, 211  
**Nguyen Van Thieu**, 6:310, 449, 450  
 Nguyen Vinh, 5:41  
 Niagara Movement, 5:80, 261, 289  
**Nian Rebellion, China**, 4:93, 238, 290, 311, 344, 415, 453, 454  
**Nicaea, Council of** 1:26, 36, 82, 96, 98, 99, 128, 141, 166, 234, 309–310, 321, 402, 460, 461, 474, 2:61, 67, 97, 194, 302–303  
 Nicanor, 1:116  
**Nicaragua**, 1:xxxvi, 3:69, 4:80, 81, 95, 5:93, 128, 210, 339–340, 355–356, 6:111, 137, 154–155, 181, 214–215, 259  
     **contra war in**, 6:105–106, 137, 214, 310, 312, 362  
     **revolution in**, 6:105, 310–312  
 Nicene Creed, 1:26, 141, 310, 2:126, 355  
 Nicephorus I, 2:56  
 Nicetas, 2:167–168  
**Nicheren**, 2:299–300  
**Nicholas I**, 2:195, 304–305, 4:8, 18, 31, 46, 102, 329, 360, 364  
**Nicholas II** (czar of Russia), 2:310, 320, 4:246, 359, 361, 5:xli, 12, 186, 329, 330, 331, 332, 383  
**Nicholas IV**, 2:33, 345  
**Nicholas V**, 2:177, 305, 411  
 Nichols, Mike, 6:108  
 Nicodemus of Vatopedi, 2:149  
 Nicolas of Damascus, 1:227  
 Nicolls, Richard, 3:274  
 Niemeyer, Oscar, 6:41  
 Nietzsche, Friedrich, 5:xxxix, 97, 101, 258  
 Nigantha Nataputta, 1:217  
**Niger**, 5:112, 113  
**Nigeria**, 1:4, 5, 2:36, 4:14, 5:224, 231–232, 263, 264, 6:5, 64, 266, 279, 312–315  
**Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP)**, 5:232, 274–275  
**Niger River**, 4:10  
**Nightingale, Florence**, 4:xxxvi, 311–312, 448  
 Night Riders, 5:192  
***Nihon Shoki** and **Kojiki***. *See Kojiki and Nihon Shoki*  
 Nikephoros I, 2:54, 64  
 Nikephoros II (Phokas), 2:64, 68, 385  
**Nikias**, 1:322, 447, 448  
     Peace of, 1:447  
**Nikiphor**, 2:385  
**Nikkei**, 5:178  
**Nikon**, 5:250  
**Nile Basin Dispute**, 6:147  
**Nile River**, 1:xxix, xxxii, xxxvii, 7, 11, 13, 146, 273, 316, 350, 351, 419, 457, 4:10, 127, 141, 404  
**Nimi**, 3:204  
**Nimitz, Chester**, 5:230  
**Nimr, Faris**, 4:34  
**Nimrod**, 1:311  
***Niña***, 3:86  
**Nine Divine Muses**, 1:197  
**9/11 Commission**, 6:461  
**9/11 terrorist attacks**. *See* September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks  
**Nine-Power Treaty**, 5:376, 408–409  
**Ninety-Day Detention Laws**, 6:281  
**Nineveh**, 1:34, 43, 44, 147, 161, 207, 248, 270, 311, 416  
**Nineveh, Battle of**, 2:63  
**Nino**, 1:160  
**Niño, Peralonso**, 3:396  
**Nintoku**, 3:288  
**nirvana**, 1:158, 159, 217, 461  
**Nisei**, 5:178  
**Nishi-Rosen Agreement**, 4:246  
**Nisibis**, 1:124–125, 130, 231, 249, 259, 306, 412, 448, 472  
**Nitiqret**, 1:352  
**Nitta Yoshisada**, 2:24, 173, 232  
**Nitti, Francesco**, 5:284  
**Nivelle, Robert**, 5:227  
**Nixon, Richard M.**, 5:156, 385, 6:10, 16, 27, 56, 72, 92, 97, 121, 122, 153, 236, 238, 310, 315–318, 347, 364–365, 385, 386, 442, 452, 458–459, 475  
**Nixon, Thelma Catherine “Pat,”** 6:315  
**Nixon, Tricia**, 6:315  
**Nixon Doctrine**, 6:317  
**Niyazov, Saparmurat**, 6:85–87  
**Niza, Marcos de**, 3:136  
**Nizam al-Mulk**, 2:8, 363  
**Njegosh, Petar**, 4:46  
**Njord**, 2:418  
**Nkomo, Joshua**, 6:296–297, 364  
**Nkrumah, Kwame**, 5:60, 124, 290, 6:5, 55, 170, 282, 318, 427  
**Noah**, 1:23  
**Nobel Prize**, 4:59, 5:xxxv, xxxix, 1, 2, 218, 222, 237, 306, 328, 352, 6:xxxvii, 4, 19, 30, 46, 79, 116,

- 128, 131, 173, 245, 251, 258, 268, 269, 271, 289–290, 317, 355
- Nobili, Roberto de, 3:191
- Nobilior, Marcus Fulvius, 1:397
- Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor, 4:217
- Noble Eightfold Path, 1:461, 462
- No Conscription League, 5:125
- Noetus, 1:193
- Nogueira, A. F., 4:16
- Noia, Pepa, 6:30
- Nolan, Sidney, 5:33
- Noman-b-Mundhar, 1:415
- nomen, 1:350, 382
- nominalism, 2:2
- Nonaligned Movement, 6:55, 202, 312
- Nonconformist London Missionary Society (LMS), 4:395
- Nonconformists, 3:106
- nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), 6:xxxvii, 117, 422
- Nongqawuse, 4:395
- Non-Recognition Doctrine, 5:228
- Nonsuch*, 3:169, 170
- Noriega, Manuel, 6:322–324, 385, 426
- Norman Conquests, 2:M41, 12, 15, 110, 305, 307–310, 423
- Norman Kingdoms,
  - of Italy and Sicily, 2:310–311
  - of Sicily, 1059–1154, 2:M44
- Norman kings of England, 2:305–307
- Norodom I, 4:142
- Norodom Sihanouk, 6:163, 164, 205, 388, 416, 443
- Norris v. Alabama*, 5:344
- Norse sagas, 2:415
- North, Oliver, 6:215
- North, Thomas, 3:213
- North Africa, 4:37, 5:87, 256, 322
  - as city-state, 1:xxxvi, 4
- North America, 2:xxxv, 416, 417, 3:327
  - art and architecture (1750–1900), 4:36
  - British North America in, 3:52–56, 124, 383
  - financial panics in, 4:129–131
  - Freemasonry in, 4:139–140
  - Great Plains of, 4:168–169
  - immigration into, 4:187–190
  - migration patterns in, 1:279–281
  - natives of, 3:37, 55, 124, 160, 265–268
  - public education in, 4:334–337
  - Puritanism in, 3:317–318
  - railroads in, 4:346–347
- North American Agreement on Environmental Cooperation (NAAEC), 6:320
- North American Agreement on Labor Cooperation (NAALC), 6:320
- North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), 6:xxxviii, 43, 77, 210, 320–321, 473
- Northampton, Battle of, 3:338
- Northampton, Council of, 2:38
- North Atlantic Council (NAC), 6:321
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 5:111, 338, 364, 387, 6:xl, 18, 34, 35, 49, 50, 51, 53, 100, 113, 150, 164, 166, 169, 179, 190, 321–322, 341, 342, 344, 349, 377, 403, 430, 436, 443–444, 456, 457, 462, 471
- North Black Sea hypothesis, 1:211
- Northern Alliance, 6:2
- Northern Expedition, 5:17, 65, 157, 193, 238, 275, 350, 395, 407, 6:272
- Northern hunting tradition, 1:295–296
- Northern Ireland, 5:133, 174, 6:220
- Northern People's Congress (NPC), 5:275
- Northern Rebellion, 3:121
- Northern Rhodesia, 5:133, 319–321
- Northern Wei, 1:465–466
- North German Confederation, 4:56
- Northumbrian Renaissance, 2:14
- Northwest Ordinance of 1787, 4:1
- Northwest Passage, 3:60, 170, 270–273, 4:319
- Northwest Rebellion, 4:74, 252
- Norway, 2:416–419, 5:102, 103, 150, 151, 6:164
- Norwich, John Julius, 2:271
- Noth, Martin, 1:114
- Notker, 2:75
- Notre-Dame, Cathedral of, 2:195
- Novais, Paulo Dia de, 3:7
- Novara, Battle of, 4:136, 196
- Nova Scotia, 4:5, 277
- Novgorod the Great, 3:182
- Novotný, Antonín, 6:346
- Ntare V Ndizeye, 6:379
- Nubia, 1:126, 142, 208, 240, 272, 278, 307, 311–314, 316
- nuclear disarmament, 6:120–122
- nuclear energy, 6:xxxiv
- Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NNPT), 6:35, 120, 214, 248
- Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, 6:238
- nuclear weapons, 5:85, 236–238, 6:xl, 18, 101, 109–110, 120–122, 248, 322, 367, 369
  - See also* atomic weapons/arms race
- Nujomo, Sam, 6:303
- Nullification Crisis, 4:200, 201
- Numbers, book of, 1:466, 467
- Numeiri, Jaafar, 6:322–323, 407, 428

- Numerian, 1:118  
 Numidia, 1:4, 5  
 Numitor, 1:405  
**Nunavut Territory, Canada**, 6:77, 323–324  
 Nuñez, Carlos, 6:383  
 Nuqrashi, Mahmud, 5:258  
 Nur al-Din (Nuraddin), 1:105, 2:248, 249  
 Nur-Daggal, 1:8, 412  
**Nuremberg Laws**, 5:149, 268, 276  
**Nuremberg Trials**, 5:xlili, 276–277, 381, 403, 424  
**Nurhaci**, 3:1, 112, 280, 321, 401  
 Nur Jahan, 3:186, 355  
 Nur Muhammad, Shaikh, 4:192  
**Nyasaland (Malawi)**, 5:277–278, 6:54  
 Nyaya school, 1:432  
**Nyerere, Julius Kambarage**, 6:170, 282, 324, 435  
 Nystadt, Treaty of, 3:305  
 Nzinga-a Cuum, 3:204  
**Nzinga Mbandi**, 3:281–282
- O**  
 Oates, Titus, 3:72  
 Oath of Salisbury, 2:308  
 Oath of Strasbourg, 2:414  
**Obadiah**, 1:368  
 Oba Esigie, 3:5  
 Oba Ewuakpe, 3:127  
 Obando, José María, 4:403  
 Oba Osemwede, 3:127  
 Oba Ozolua, 3:127  
 obas, 2:42  
 Obasanjo, Olusegun, 6:314  
 Obilić, Miloš, 2:240, 249, 268, 269  
 Obote, Apollo Milton, 6:431, 432  
**obrajés, in colonial Latin America**, 3:159, 250, 276, 283–284, 361  
**Obregón, Álvaro**, 5:57, 60, 108, 159, 246, 248, 279–280, 401, 6:290  
 Obregon, Emilio, 4:38  
 Obrenovich, Milosh (Miloš Obrenović), 4:45, 47, 48, 365  
 Observant Reform, 3:135  
 Ocalan, Abdullah, 6:253, 418, 430  
 Ocampo, Melchor, 4:273  
 Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts, 3:19  
 Occupied Territories, 6:25, 26, 29, 30, 332, 333, 358  
 Ochino, Bernardino, 3:92  
 Ochoa, Lorenzo, 2:181  
 Ochuka, Hezekiah, 6:239  
 Ochus, 1:31–32  
 O'Connor, Richard, 5:86  
 O'Connor, Rory, 2:235  
 O'Connor, Sandra Day, 6:361  
 Octavia Minor, 1:62  
 Octavian. *See* **Caesar, Augustus**  
 Octavius, Marcus, 1:162  
 October Manifesto, 5:330  
 October Revolution, 5:64, 183, 187, 226, 332, 359, 361  
 October War, 6:206  
**Oda Nobunaga**, 2:27, 121, 317, 3:76, 128, 263, 284–285  
 Odawa, 1:279  
 Odaynath, 1:330  
 Odes of Solomon, 1:448  
 Odin, 2:418  
 Odo, 2:309  
 Odo of Blois, 2:71  
**Odovacar**, 1:315–316, 384, 389–390, 402, 460  
 Odumegwu-Ojukwu, Chukwuemeka, 6:64  
 Odumegwu-Ojukwu, Emeka, 6:314  
 O'Dwyer, Michael, 5:13, 14  
 Odysseus, 1:189, 203–204  
*Odyssey* (Homer), 1:2, 24, 173, 188, 190, 189, 202, 203–204, 290, 349, 365, 3:131  
 Oecolampadius, Johannes, 3:418  
 Oedipus, 1:392, 443  
 Oei Rebellion, 2:25  
 Oenomaus, 1:444  
 Offa, 2:17  
 Office of Minority Business Enterprise, 6:316  
 Official Languages Act, 6:77, 354  
 Oglethorpe, James, 3:54  
 Oglethorpe, Owen, 3:120  
 Ogma, 2:199  
 Ogoni, 6:314  
**Ogotai Khan**, 2:34, 77, 134, 135, 136, 227, 240, 241, 302, 313–34, 379, 403, 435  
*O'Higgins*, 4:314  
**O'Higgins, Bernardo**, 4:228, 313–314  
*O'Higgins, Pedro Demetrio*, 4:314  
*O'Higgins, William (Guillermo)*, 4:313  
 Ohio Company, 4:376, 377  
 Ohrid Peace Accords, 6:51  
 oikist, 1:168  
 oil/oil industry, 4:20, 159, 5:58, 67, 87, 126, 127, 128, 132, 133, 161, 172, 195, 256, 280–281, 6: xxxi, xxxvi, xxxviii, xlii, 9, 17, 23, 32, 40, 64, 74, 75, 111, 147, 208, 219, 241, 255, 260, 262, 263, 295, 315, 327–328, 362, 374, 377, 384, 437, 467  
**Oil Supply and Demand**, 6:M183  
 Ojeda, Alonso de, 3:396  
 Ojibwa, 1:279  
 Ojukwu, Odumegwu, 6:314

- Okalik, Paul, 6:323  
 Okello, Bazilio, 6:435  
 Okello, Tito, 6:435  
 Oklahoma City, terrorist bombing in, 6:418, 462  
 Okuma Shigenobu, 4:148  
**Olaf I**, 2:111, 314–315  
 Olaf II, 2:70  
 Olaf Skötkonung, 2:314  
 “Old Age Revolving Pension,” 5:271  
 Old Assyrian Period, 1:33–34  
 Oldcastle, John, 2:165, 168  
 Old Comedy, 1:26, 170, 307  
 Oldenburg, House of, 4:152  
**Old Kingdom, Egypt**, 1:126, 316–317  
 Olds, Ransom, 4:xxx  
 Old Testament, 1:12, 202, 219, 238, 288, 337, 369, 3:39  
 Olduvai Gorge, 1:326  
 Olduwan industry, 1:328  
 O’Leary, Mrs., 4:87  
 Oleg, 2:281, 349  
 Olga, 2:349, 384, 420  
 Olglethorpe, General, 4:446  
 Olid, Cristóbal de, 3:68–69  
 oligarchy, 1:167  
 Oliveira Salazar, António de, 6:343  
**Olmecs**, 1:268, 273, 274, 275, 317–318, 2:338  
 Olmert, Ehud, 6:23, 213  
 Olmstead, A. T., 1:31  
**Olmsted, Frederick Law**, 4:314–315  
 Olod Mongols, 3:199, 269, 322, 410  
 Olympias, 1:9, 116  
**Olympic Games**, 1:75, 76, 178, 179, 318–320, 5:282, 6:2, 34, 37, 38, 91, 195, 229, 325–327, 332, 393, 410, 414  
 Olympio, Sylvanus, 6:425  
 Omaha Beach, 5:75, 77, 78  
**Omani Empire**, 4:315–316  
   in East Africa, 3:285  
 Omar, 2:68–69, 433  
 Omar, Mullah, 6:236, 418  
 Omari, Al-, 2:115  
**Omar Khayyam**, 1:254, 2:315  
**Omdurman, Battle of**, 4:67, 141, 284, 316, 404  
 “Omega Point,” 6:415  
 Ometo, 6:142  
*omi*, 1:496  
 Omononushi, 1:428  
 Omri, 1:216  
 Omura Sumitada, 3:263  
**Oñate, Juan de**, 3:267, 285–287  
 ONE, Inc., 6:164  
 Oneida Indians, 3:267  
 O’Neill, Eugene, 1:3  
 Onesimus, 3:239  
**Onin War in Japan**, 2:25, 26, 121, 315–317  
 Onondaga Indians, 3:267  
 Onqoy, Taki, 3:302  
 ontological argument, 2:20  
 Opechancanough, 3:55, 314–315  
**Open Door Policy**, 4:89, 5:196, 283  
 Open Housing Act, 6:178  
 Operaio, Potere, 6:108  
*Operation Abolition* (1960), 6:154  
 Operation Alba, 6:51  
 Operational Command for the Restoration of Security and Order (Kopkamtib), 6:206  
 Operation Anvil, 6:239  
 Operation Blacklist, 5:180  
 Operation *Blau*, 5:367  
 Operation Bojinka, 6:462  
 Operation Desert Claw, 6:215  
 Operation Desert Sabre, 6:185  
 Operation Desert Shield, 6:184  
 Operation Desert Storm, 6:185  
 Operation Enduring Freedom, 6:464  
 Operation Fortitude, 5:77  
 Operation Gibraltar, 6:48, 207  
 Operation Greenhouse, 6:34  
 Operation Iraqi Freedom, 6:185  
 Operation Just Cause, 6:320  
 Operation Neptune, 5:75  
 Operation Overlord, 5:xlii, 75, 423  
 Operation Pantomime, 6:157  
 Operation Uranus, 5:368  
 Operation “Vittles,” 6:59  
 “Operation Wetback,” 6:70  
 Operation Whirlwind, 6:197  
 Operation Z, 5:297  
 opium, 4:xxxiv, 76, 241, 344, 6:3, 123, 124  
**Opium Wars**, 4:18, 29, 36, 75, 241, 344, 373, 407, 414, 6:194  
 Opletal, Jan, 6:129  
 Oppenheimer, J. Robert, 5:xxxvi, 236, 237  
 optically stimulated luminescence (OSL), 1:148  
*optimates*, 1:63, 65, 469  
 oracle bones, 1:17–18, 425–426, 486, 491  
 oracles, 3:17  
 oral tradition, 2:199–200, 205–206  
 Orange Free State, 4:14, 66, 395  
 Orange Order, 4:356  
 Orange Revolution, 6:436  
 Orazov, Hudaiberdi, 6:86  
 orchestra, 1:169

- Orchomenus, Battle of, 1:387  
 Orczy, Baroness, 5:254  
 Ordas, Diego de, 3:279  
 Order Friars Minor Capuchin, 3:135, 136  
 Order of Christ, 2:166  
 Order of Fiore, 2:223  
 Order of Friar Minor, 2:272, 3:135  
 Order of St. Francis of Assisi, 3:80–81  
 Order of the Chrysanthemum, 6:362  
 Order of the Knights Templar, 2:31, 89  
 Order of the White Rose, 5:192  
 Ordinances for the Military Houses, 3:385, 387  
 Ordoño I, 2:87  
 Ordoño II, 2:87  
 Ordoño III, 2:87  
 Ordoño IV, 2:87  
 Orellana, Francisco de, 3:280  
 Orellana, José, 5:93, 391  
 Oresme, Nicolas, 2:267  
 Orestes, 1:315  
 Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 6:136  
 Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), 6:33, 83  
 Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), 6:284  
 Organization of African Unity (OAU), 4:125, 5:290, 346, 6:4, 5, 291, 314, 318, 324, 353, 434. *See also* African Union (AU)  
 Organization of American States (OAS), 5:205, 6:106, 328–329, 385  
 Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC), 6:327  
 Organization of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS), 6:259  
 Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), 6:71, 101, 184, 327–328, 384, 422, 437  
 Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), 6:221  
 Orhan, 2:317  
 Oriental Orthodox Churches, 1:165, 320–321, 440, 449, 472, 2:76, 6:133  
 Origen, 1:48, 51, 67, 81, 90, 99, 141, 248, 249, 304, 320, 321–322, 355, 407, 431, 3:39, 126  
 Orlando, Vittorio Emanuele, 5:283–284, 295  
 Orléans, Gaston, duc d', 3:338  
 Orléans, Louis d', 2:328  
 Orlov, Alexei, 4:75  
 Orlov, Gregori, 4:75  
 Ormazd, 1:347, 348, 349  
 Orobiru, 3:127  
 Oromo, 6:142  
 Orontes Valley, 1:6  
 Orosius, Paulus, 2:7  
 Orozco, José Clemente, 5:xl  
**Orozco, Pascual**, 5:158, 159, 233, 247, 248, 284–286  
 Orpheus, 1:291  
 Orsini family, 2:344–345  
 Ortega, Daniel, 5:339, 6:311, 312, 383  
 Ortega, Humberto, 6:383  
 Orteig, Raymond, 5:218  
 Orthodox Church, 2:xxxvi, 68, 126, 355, 3:52, 91, 152, 6:51, 435, 437  
 Orthodox Party, 6:80  
 Ortigão, Ramalho, 4:62  
 Ortiz Rubio, Pascual, 5:58, 401  
 Orwell, George, 6:99  
 Osachi, Hamaguchi, 5:123  
**Osaka**, 3:118, 147, 164, 287–288  
 Osaka Action Agenda, 6:43  
 Osborne, Sarah, 3:406  
 Osborne, Thomas, 3:188  
 Osei Apoko, 3:23  
 Osei Tutu, 3:9, 23  
 Osemwede, Oba, 3:127  
 Osiander, Andreas, 3:88  
 Osiris, 1:53, 278, 316  
 Oslac, 2:6  
 Oslo Accords, 6:22, 28, 30, 212, 223, 332, 358  
 Osman, 2:317  
 Osman Pasha, 4:366  
 Osmena, Sergio, 5:302, 311, 312  
 Ospina Pérez, Mariano, 6:103, 157  
 Osroes, 1:388  
 Ostend Manifesto, 5:208–209  
 Ostmark, 2:79  
**ostracism**, 1:322, 344  
**Ostrogoths**, 1:1, 52, 234, 242, 315, 323, 390, 460, 2:57, 60, 320  
 O'Sullivan, John L., 4:256  
 Oswald, 2:200  
 Oswald, Lee Harvey, 6:238–239  
 Oswy, 2:16  
 Otan Party, 6:82  
 Otermin, Antonio de, 3:317  
 Otho, Marcus Salvius, 1:233, 339, 392  
 Otokar I, 2:47  
 Otokar II, 2:48, 153, 176  
 Otrar Incident, 2:379  
 Otto (king of Greece), 4:171  
 Otto I, 2:70, 74, 153, 164, 174, 261, 262, 320, 329, 385, 3:166  
 Otto II, 2:153, 174, 320, 329, 385  
 Otto III, 2:71, 174, 195, 314, 320, 329, 386  
 Otto IV (Otto of Brunswick), 2: 30, 175, 321

- Otto, Kristin, 6:326
- Ottoman, Arab and European Presence in Africa, 1830, 4:M109**
- Ottoman Empire, 1:166, 183, 2:xxxix, xxx, xxxix, xl, 37, 57, 59, 126, 178, 211, 240, 249–250, 253, 256, 268–269, 317–318, 399, 413, 3:2, 29, 42, 90, 182, 190, 194, 204, 241, 251, 288–293, 305, 306, 342, 350, 374, 4:xxxiii, xxxv, xxxvi, 21, 30–32, 45, 46, 47, 48, 53, 76, 101, 113, 117–118, 169, 174–175, 210–211, 234, 276–277, 284, 295, 328, 339, 365, 404, 439, 454, 5:23, 25–26, 29–31, 38–39, 55, 94, 95, 111, 112, 133, 142, 161, 187–188, 189, 211, 256, 257, 294, 338, 348–349, 431–432, 6:112, 140, 184, 253, 263**
- and constitutionalism, 4:451–452**
- during 1359–1520, 2:M57**
- Tanzimat in, 4:409–410**
- Ottoman Land Law, 4:277, 410
- Ottoman-Safavid wars, 3:2, 293**
- Otto of Brunswick, 2:33, 174
- Otto of Savoy, 2:163
- Otto the Merry, 2:154
- Ouchi Masahiro, 2:317
- Ouchi Yoshihiro, 2:25
- Oudenarde, Battle of, 3:369
- Oufkir, Mohammad, 6:294
- Our Lady of Atocha, 3:398
- Outerbridge, William W., 5:298
- Outer Space Treaty, 6:102
- Ouyang Xiu, 2:297
- Ovando, Nicolás de, 3:208
- Overseas Empires of Spain and Portugal, c. 1550, 3:M70**
- Overseas Workers Association, 6:191
- Ovett, Steve, 6:326
- Ovid, 1:339, 390, 391, 395, 396, 397, 398
- Owen, Margaret, 5:220
- Owen, Richard, 4:108
- Owen, Robert, 4:391
- Owens, Jesse, 5:282, 6:326
- oxen, 4:xxvi
- Oxenstierna, Axel, 3:77, 396
- Oxford Movement, 4:307
- Oxyrhynchus, 1:195, 372
- Oyomeigaku School of Thought, 3:268
- Özal, Turgut, 6:430, 431
- Ozman, Agnes, 5:299
- Ozymandias, 1:384
- P**
- Pacheco y Obes, Manuel, 5:43
- Pachomius, 1:99, 113, 286, 2:27
- Pacific**
- exploration/annexation, 4:317–320**
- War of the (1877–1883), 4:227, 441–442**
- Pact of Biacnabato, 5:4
- Pact of Locarno, 5:221
- Pact of Plombières, 4:197
- “Pact of Steel,” 5:149, 260, 420
- Pact of Tarentum, 1:470
- “Pact of the Embassy,” 5:248
- Pact of Zanjón, 4:103
- Padilla, García de, 3:136
- Padilla, Juan de, 3:137
- Padmasambhaa, 1:453
- Padmore, George, 5:290
- Paekche kingdom, 1:464–465, 496
- Páez, José Antonio, 4:78, 228
- Pagan Min, 4:71, 72
- pagan schools, 2:199–200
- Page, Horace, 4:89
- Pahlavi dynasty (of Iran), 4:342, 5:xxxvii, 172, 287–288**
- paideia*, 1:325–326**
- Paine, Thomas, 4:109, 121, 135, 320–321, 447**
- Paiute, 1:297
- Pak Hyeokgeose, 2:370
- Pakistan, 1:xxxvii, 153, 177, 235, 285, 454, 492, 504, 5:10, 11, 120, 135, 136, 163, 167, 182, 6:xliv, 1, 2, 49, 56, 61, 62–64, 123, 180, 201, 203, 222, 240–241, 296, 297, 307, 390, 412, 413–414, 446, 465, 475–476
- Pakistan Muslim League, 5:11
- Pakistan People’s Party (PPP), 6:47, 48, 62, 63, 331–332, 465**
- Pakistan Resolution, 5:10, 11, 288**
- Pak-jong, 2:371
- Pal, Bipin Chandra, 4:59
- Palach, Jan, 6:130, 190
- Palacky, František, 4:46
- Palaeologan Mannerism, 2:58
- Palaeologus, Constantine, 3:183
- Pale Faces, 5:192
- palenques*, 3:231, 232
- paleoanthropology, 1:326–327**
- Paleo-Arctic culture, 1:301
- paleogeography, 1:379
- Paleo-Indians, 1:148, 280
- Paleolithic age, 1:152, 213, 300–302, 327–330**
- Palestine, 5:20–23, 37, 55, 188, 189, 190, 296, 339**
- British Mandate in, 5:51–52, 56, 137**
- and Israel after 1948–1949 War, 5:M158**
- at the Time of Christ, 1:M22**

- Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)**, 6:21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 42, 211, 212, 215, 223, 233, 264, 305, 332–333, 418
- Palestinian-Israeli-Arab peace negotiations**, 6:20–23
- Palestinian populations, 4:455, 6:20–23, 189, 211–213, 223, 233, 264
- Palestinian Talmud, 1:451–452
- Palestrina, Giovanni da, 2:216–217
- Pali, 1:462
- palladium, 1:29
- Palladius, 1:99, 336
- Pallava kingdom**, 2:319, 393
- Palliser, Hugh, 4:100
- Pallu Inca, 3:311
- Palma, Susana, 5:5
- Palmach, 6:358
- Palmares, 3:51
- Palmer, A. Mitchell, 5:125, 318, 335
- Palmer, Frederic, 5:93
- Palmerston, Lord (Henry Temple, third viscount Palmerston), 4:164
- Palmyra**, 1:330
- Palonegro, Battle of, 4:96
- Pammenes, 1:354
- Pampas, 2:414, 4:150–151, 225
- Pamphilus, 1:141
- Pamplona, Francisco de, 3:136
- Pan, 1:191
- panacas*, 3:18
- Panacea, 1:200
- Panaetius, 1:445
- Pan African Congress, 6:240, 318, 324
- Pan African Freedom Movement, 6:281
- Pan-Africanism**, 5:60, 80, 121, 124, 263, 265, 288–290, 6:5, 55, 170, 313
- Panama, 3:13, 4:96, 5:128, 205, 209, 6:318–320, 426
- Panama Canal**, 4:39, 404, 5:xxxiii–xxxiv, xxxv, xxxviii, 67, 205, 291–292, 328, 6:404, 426, 440
- Pan-American Conference, 5:128
- Pan-American Conference on Women, 5:225
- Pan-American Federation of Labor, 5:127
- Pan-Americanism, 5:42
- Pan-American Union, 6:80, 328
- Pan-Arabism, 6:48, 55, 233, 353, 438
- Panathenaic Festival**, 1:330–331, 332
- Panchen Lama, 6:115, 423
- Panchen Rimpoche, 6:115
- Pandora, 1:192, 197
- Pandyas kingdom, 2:393
- Pané, Ramón, 3:135, 136
- Pan-Germanism, 5:148
- Panglong Agreement, 5:31
- Panhellenic Liberation Movement, 6:179
- panic of 1819, 4:51, 129, 200, 201
- panic of 1837, 4:51, 216
- panic of 1857, 4:130–131, 6:108
- panic of 1873, 4:217
- panic of 1893, 4:131
- panic of 1907, 5:105
- Panipat, Battles of**, 3:35, 102, 256, 257, 295–296
- Pan-Islamic movement, 4:8, 175
- Panium, Battle of, 1:421
- Pankhurst, Christabel, 5:293, 294
- Pankhurst, Emmeline, 4:450, 5:292–294, 413
- Pankhurst, Richard, 5:292
- Pankhurst, Sylvia, 5:293, 294
- Pankhursts**, 5:292–294
- Pan-Slavism, 4:46, 54, 76, 365, 420
- Pantaenus, 1:90, 99
- Pantauchus, 1:375
- Panthay Rebellion, 4:287
- Panther*, SMS, 5:252
- Paoli, Pasquale, 4:294
- Papadopoulos, Georgios, 6:179
- Papal Bull(s), 3:56, 134, 4:425
- papal infallibility, doctrine of**, 4:321–322, 327
- Papal Schism, 2:177
- Papal States**, 2:31, 72, 153, 164, 320–321
- Papandreou, Andreas, 6:179
- Papandreou, George, 6:178, 179
- Papen, Franz von, 5:410, 411
- papermaking, 1:xxxix, 418, 2:xxxix, xxxix, 204, 334, 6:137
- Papineau, Louis-Joseph, 4:330
- Papuan Customary Council Assembly, 6:124
- Papua New Guinea (PNG), 6:43, 124
- papyrus/papyri, 1:xxxix, 13, 51–52, 58, 75, 127, 195, 248, 321, 362, 418
- Paraguay, 4:132–133, 5:103, 133, 198
- Paraguayan War**, 4:62, 232, 322, 325, 372
- Paraitacene, Battle of, 1:116
- parallax effect, 3:88
- Parameshvara. *See* Jayavarman I
- Paramessu. *See* Ramses I
- parchment, 2:74, 200
- Parham, Charles F., 5:299
- Paris, 1:189, 203, 471
- Paris, Gaston, 2:84
- Paris, Peace of, 4:103, 136, 366
- Paris, Treaty of, 2:185, 3:45, 219
- Paris Commune**, 4:136, 148, 236, 323, 375, 392, 5:101
- Paris Peace Accords, 6:232, 449
- Paris Peace Agreements, 6:205, 335

- Paris Peace Conference and Treaties**, 5:38, 64, 68, 127, 132, 162, 165, 174, 183, 191, 196, 211, 221, 283, 284, 289, 294–297, 301, 336, 389, 420, 435  
 Paris Revolution, 4:299  
 Park, Mungo, 4:10, 11  
**Park Chung Hee**, 6:249, 333–334  
 Parker, Theodore, 4:418  
 Parkes, Harry Smith, 4:29  
 Parkes, Henry, 4:42  
 Parks, Rosa, 6:94, 292  
 Parliament Act, 5:220  
 parliaments, 3:3–4  
 Parma, duke of, 3:367, 368  
 Parmenides, 1:39, 303, 366, 367, 442  
 Parmenio, 1:10  
 Parmenter, Frederick, 5:335  
 Parnassus, Mount, 1:110, 356  
 Parr, Catherine, 3:163  
 Parra, Francisco de la, 3:136  
 Parris, Betty, 3:406  
 Parris, Samuel, 3:406  
 Parsis, 1:507  
**Parthenon**, 1:xxxvii, 84–85, 331–333  
**Parthia and the Sassanian Empire**, 114–628, 1:M28  
 Parti Bleu, 4:331  
 Partecipazio, Giustiniano, 2:412  
 Partido Nacional Revolucionario, 5:57, 58  
 Parti National, 5:210  
 Parti Québécois (PQ), 6:355  
 Parti Rouge, 4:331, 5:210  
**Partition of China, 1895–1914**, 5:M132  
**Partition of India**, 5:135, M157  
 Party of the Mexican Revolution, 5:58  
 Parvati, 2:43  
 Pascal, Blaise, 3:345, 5:97  
 Paschal II, 2:148, 164  
 Paschal III, 2:244  
 Pashtuns, 6:1  
 Pasternak, Boris, 5:362, 6:173  
 Pasteur, Louis, 4:xxvii, xxxi  
 Pasteur Institute, 6:6  
 Pastora, Edén, 6:106  
 pastoral haciendas, 3:159  
 pastoralism, 2:xxx–xxxxi  
 Pastry War, 4:272  
 Pasztory, E., 1:455  
**Pataliputra**, 1:33, 57, 74, 177, 236, 263, 270, 333, 2:431  
 Patapan, 2:375  
 Patarine sect, 2:245  
 Patel, Vallabhbhai, 6:201  
 Patenôtre Treaty of Protectorate, 4:142  
 Paterson, Banjo, 5:33  
 Pathé, Charles, 5:xxxv  
**Pathet Lao**, 5:345, 6:191, 204, 334–335, 395  
 Patman, Wright, 5:48  
**Patriarchs, biblical**, 1:23, 215, 287, 288, 333–335, 355, 417, 2:355  
**patricians**, 1:71, 315, 335–336, 401  
**Patrick**, 1:336, 474, 2:75, 76, 200  
 Patriotic Burmese Forces, 5:31  
 Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), 6:254  
 patripassianism, 1:193  
 Patrocinio, Jose do, 4:62  
 Patroclus, 1:189  
 Pattakos, Stylianos, 6:179  
 Patterson, Daniel, 4:118  
 Patton, George, 5:229  
**Paul (of Tarsus)**, 1:68, 80, 165, 196, 221, 229, 277, 305, 337–338, 353, 422, 424, 431, 449, 467, 2:92, 412, 3:195  
 Paul I, 2:344  
 Paul II, 2:326, 347  
 Paul III, 2:197, 3:93, 109, 196, 221, 333, 353, 389, 390  
 Paul IV, 3:93, 333, 390  
 Paul VI, 2:197, 3:43, 6:229, 230, 446  
 Paul, Alice, 5:414, 6:139, 151  
 Paul, Micer, 3:190  
 Paul, Robert William, 5:252  
 Paul of Samosata, 1:193  
 Paul the Deacon, 2:74, 75, 80  
 Paulus, Friedrich, 5:368, 369  
 Paulinus, 1:219  
 Pausanias, 1:290, 354  
 Pavelić, Ante, 5:103  
 Pavlova, Anna, 5:361  
 Pavon, Battle of, 4:279  
**Pax Romana**, 1:xxxvi, 17, 38, 61, 121, 184, 338–341, 389, 429  
 Pax Tatarica (Tatar Peace), 2:438  
 Payart, Jan Thyssen, 4:82  
 Payne-Aldrich tariff, 5:195  
 Paz, Octavio, 5:203, 6:258, 414  
**Paz Estenssoro, Victor**, 6:67–68, 335–336  
 Pazzi Conspiracy, 3:240  
**Peace and Truce of God**, 2:395–396  
 peace churches, 4:63  
 Peace Congress of Paris, 4:80  
**Peace Corps, U.S.**, 6:177, 336–337  
 Peace Democrats, 4:92  
 Peace of Alais, 3:337  
**Peace of Augsburg**, 3:27–28, 73

- Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, 3:308  
Peace of Dresden, 3:30  
Peace of Ramla, 2:351  
Peace of Rueil, 3:141  
Peace of San Germano, 2:176  
Peace of Stralsund, 2:158  
Peace of Utrecht, 3:167  
peanuts, 4:344, 5:xxxii  
**Pearl Harbor**, 5:xl, 56, 150, 176, 178, 230, 236, 250, 297–299, 327, 351, 369, 394, 422, 6:357, 389  
Pearson, Lester B., 6:428  
Peasant Crusade, 2:94  
Peasant International (Krestintern), 6:191  
**Peasants' Revolt**, 2:81, 307, 321–323  
**Peasant's War**, 3:15, 296–297, 332  
Peasant Union Committee (CUC), 6:289  
Pechenegs, 2:260–261, 356, 384, 385, 434  
Peck, Jedidiah, 4:22  
Peckham, John, 2:424  
Pedra Furada site, 1:148–149  
**Pedro I**, 2:88, 89, 192, 3:204, 4:61, 230, 231, 324–325  
**Pedro II**, 2:89, 3:48, 49, 4:61, 62, 63, 228, 229, 322, 325–326  
**Pedro III**, 2:89  
**Pedro IV**, 2:89  
**Pedro VII**, 3:204  
Peel, Robert, 4:112, 159, 432  
Peel Commission, 5:52  
Pei, I. M., 6:38, 39  
**Peisistratus**, 1:37, 89, 341–342, 361, 435, 441  
Peithon, 1:116  
Peixoto, Mario, 5:198  
Peking Convention, 4:29  
Peking Man, 6:415  
Pelagianism, 1:38, 3:196  
Pelagius, 1:38  
Pelagius II, 1:175  
Pelayo, 2:86  
*Pelican*, 3:400  
Peloponnesian League, 1:9, 86, 167, 342, 5:8  
**Peloponnesian War**, 1:8, 9, 26, 31, 86, 97, 140, 167, 307, 342–343, 344, 361, 434, 447  
Pelosi, Nancy, 6:151  
Peltier, Leonard, 6:16  
*Pembroke*, 4:100  
Pembroke, Richard de Clare, earl of, 2: 235  
Penda, 2:17  
Pendzhikent, 1:436, 437, 438  
Penelope, 1:203  
Pencun, General, 3:269  
Peninsular War, 4:400  
Penn, Arthur, 6:108  
**Penn, William**, 3:54, 55, 297–298, 4:335  
*Pennsylvania*, USS, 5:299  
Pentagon, 5:231, 6:xl, xlii, 99, 412, 462  
Pentagon Papers, 6:452  
Pentateuch, 1:114, 466, 467  
**Pentecostalism**, 5:299–300, 6:260–261  
Pentheus, 1:141  
Peopheung, 2:371  
People Power Movement, The, 6:284  
People's Communes, 6:175  
People's Congress, 6:166  
People's Democratic Party, 6:87  
People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), 6:235  
Peoples First Party, 6:118  
People's Front for Democracy and Justice, 6:141  
People's Guerrilla Army, 6:297  
People's Liberation Army (PLA), 5:63, 6:93, 196, 267  
People's Party, 4:xxviii, 5:141, 144  
People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), 6:259  
Pepe, Guglielmo, 4:195  
Pepi II, 1:352  
**Pepin, Donation of**, 2:323–324  
Pepin I, 2:72  
Pepin II, 2:72, 414  
Pepin III, 2:72  
Pepin the Short, 1:323, 2:79, 273, 320, 324, 413  
Pequot Indians, 3:202  
Peralonso, Battle of, 4:96  
Percy, Thomas, 3:121  
Percys of Northumberland, 2:165  
Perdiccas, 1:115–116  
Perdiccas III, 1:354  
Pereira, Candido, 5:225  
Pereira, Thomas, 3:269  
Pereira de Sousa, Washington Luís, 5:400  
Peres, Shimon, 6:22, 30, 358  
*perestroika*, 6:52, 82, 87, 102, 136, 172, 173  
Pérez, Juan Bautista, 5:126  
Pérez Godoy, Ricardo, 5:144  
Pérez Jiménez, Marcos, 6:60  
Pergamum, 1:190, 191, 248, 421  
Peri, Jacopo, 3:258  
**Pericles**, 1:xxxvii, 9, 167, 170, 307, 331, 342, 343–344, 366, 434, 442  
Perkins, Frances, 5:155, 383, 415  
Perkunas, 2:249  
Permanent Court of Arbitration, 5:122  
**Pernambuco (Recife, Brazil)**, 3:50, 114, 298–299

- Perón, Eva Duarte (Evita), 4:362, 5:111, 135, 206, 255
- Perón, Juan, 4:81, 362, 5:xxxvii, 103, 111, 135, 206, 207, 255, 6:293, 338
- Perot, H. Ross, 6:75
- Perpetua, 1:262, 345, 423
- Perry, Matthew, 3:119, 4:xxxiv, 177, 326–327, 372, 414
- Perry, Oliver Hazard, 4:441
- Perry, William, 2:354
- persecutions of the church, 1:344–345
- Persephone, 1:129, 172
- Persepolis, 1:11, 345–346
- Perses, 1:197
- Perseus, 1:173, 248
- Pershing, John J., 5:59, 248, 404
- Pershing II missiles, 6:322
- Persia, 3:261–262
- Persian Cossack Brigade, 5:287
- Persian Gulf, 5:141, 6:2
- Persian Gulf War, 1991, 6:M175
- Persians, 1:xxxv, xxxvi, 10–11, 58, 103, 269–270, 349
  - invasions by, 1:75, 346–347, 361
  - mythology of, 1:347–349
  - Persian Empire, The, 1:M12
- Persian Wars, 1:M14, 194, 346–347
- Persius, 1:397
- Pertinax, 1:423
- Peru, 3:63–64, 82, 136–137, 313, 387–388, 393, 4:28, 39, 223, 224–225, 442, 5:103, 130, 144–145, 201, 202, 205, 206, 240–241, 6:43, 259, 262, 387, 418
  - Cajamarca in, 3:13, 25, 63–64, 299, 300
  - conquest of, 3:12, 14, 63, 68, 84, 109, 123, 280, 299–301, 310, 313
  - Cuzco in, 3:25, 46, 63, 98–99, 299, 300, 388, 393
  - Potosí silver mines in, 3:82, 250, 302, 313, 354, 360
  - as Viceroyalty of New Spain, 3:44, 45, 304, 302
- Peru current (Humboldt), 4:184, 185
- Perusia, Battle of, 1:2
- Pesharim, 1:380
- Peshitta, 1:50, 51, 124, 449
- pesticides, 4:xxvii, 6:xxxii, 180, 181
- Petacci, Claretta, 5:260
- Pétain, Marshal Henri-Philippe, 5:103, 227, 401, 402, 403, 421, 6:163
- Petar, 2:54
- Petén Indians, 3:69
- Peter, 1:79, 130, 165, 175, 196, 219, 305, 400, 449, 2:92
- Peter I (the Great), 3:22, 91, 199, 262, 302–305, 4:185, 359, 363, 365
- Peter II, 4:139
- Peter III, 3:91, 4:75
- Peter (Petr) Chelčický, 2:189
- Peter of Cluny, 2:21
- Peter of Dusburg, 2:249
- Peter of Ghent, 3:136
- Peters, Carl, 4:70
- Peters, Louise Otto, 4:449
- Peter the Hermit, 2:21
- Peter the Iberian, 1:160
- Petra, 1:293–294, 306
- Petrarch, 2:30, 46, 47, 85, 137, 177, 214–215, 295, 324–325, 352, 3:172
- Petronius, 1:349–350
- Petrovich, George, 4:45, 46
- Peugeot, 4:xxx, 5:xxxiii
- Peynado, Hacinto, 5:385
- peyote, 3:383
- Pfeiffer, Heinrich, 3:297
- Pfefferkorn, 3:173, 174
- Phagspa script, 2:397, 438
- Phalange, 6:28
- Phalange movement, 5:103
- phalanx, 1:xxxviii, 354
- Phalke, Dadasaheb, 5:253
- Pham Van Dong, 6:205
- Phan Boi Chau, 4:143
- pharaoh, 1:xxxii, xxxvi, xxxvii, 6, 34, 42, 53, 58, 66, 126, 146, 200, 216, 228, 272, 278–279, 285, 286, 288, 299, 308, 312, 316, 335, 350–352, 382, 383, 439, 457
- Pharisees, 1:133, 221, 227, 229, 353, 407, 503
- pharmacology, 2:209
- Pharnaces II, 1:65
- Pharnaspes, 1:66
- Pharsalia, Battle of, 1:469
- Pheidippides, 1:258
- phenomenology, 5:300–301
- Phidias, 1:84, 85, 332, 343
- Philaster Treaty, 4:142
- Philemon, 1:307
- Philiki Etairia (Friendly Society), 4:169
- Philip (the Apostle), 1:20, 79
- Philip II (of Spain), 3:21, 48, 73, 112, 120, 121, 157, 158, 203, 234, 265, 267, 286, 305–307, 332, 352, 367, 368, 388
- Philip II Augustus, 2:24, 46, 71, 94, 195, 246, 259, 325–326, 343, 351
- Philip III (of Spain), 3:158, 187, 288, 308, 396
- Philip III the Bold, 2:71, 324, 326

- Philip IV (the Fair)**, 2:28, 71, 154, 177, 185, 195, 326–327, 236  
 Philip IV (of Spain), 3:48, 158, 218, 230  
 Philip V (of Spain), 3:44, 45, 218, 369, 4:220, 399, 400  
 Philip VI (king of France), 2:154, 185, 3:394  
 Philip, Arthur, 4:40  
 Philip, duc d'Anjou, 3:369  
 Philip of Edinburgh, 6:296  
 Philip of Hesse, 3:27, 297, 417  
**Philip of Macedon (Philip III)**, 1:9, 27, 32, 86, 112, 115, 168, 188, 190, 354  
 Philip of Swabia, 2:175  
 Philip Prospero, 3:230  
 Philip the Arab, 1:412  
 Philip the Good, 3:216  
 Philip the Handsome, 3:133  
 Philippa Roet, 2:80  
 Philippe II (duke of Orléans and regent of Louis XV), 3:218, 4:435  
 Philippi, Battle of, 1:61  
 Philippikos, 2:63  
 Philippine Autonomy Act, 5:311  
**Philippines**, 4:xxxviii, 398–399, 5:4, 53, 56, 79, 110, 132, 229, 230, 298, 303, 311–312, 344, 345, 6:42, 43, 44, 196, 275, 283–284, 382, 389  
     **revolution of**, 6:338–339  
     **Spanish colonization of**, 3:307–308  
     U.S. occupation of, 5:301–302  
 Philippine Sea, Battle of, 5:379  
 Philips, Miles, 3:283  
 Philistines, 1:417, 420  
 Phillips, David Graham, 5:256  
 Phillips, Wendell, 4:4  
**Philo**, 1:90, 133, 248, 277, 288, 320, 355, 364, 431, 467  
 philosophy, 3:345  
 Philotheus of Pskov, 2:286  
 Philoxenus of Mabbugh, 1:125, 449  
 Phips, William, 3:238, 406  
 Phoebus Apollo, 1:326  
**Phoenicia**, 1:xxxv, xxxix, 5–6, 23, 58, 147, 239, 2:333, 3:398  
     **colonies of**, 1:249, 355–356  
 Phokas, 1:59, 2:63  
 Pho Khun Bang Klang, 2:383  
 Pho Khun Ban Muang, 2:383  
 Pho Khun Pha Muang, 2:383  
 phonemes, 1:316  
 phonograms, 1:198  
 Photinus, 1:193  
 Photius, 2:67, 96, 305  
 Phrygia, 1:9  
 Phya Thaksin, 4:85  
 physics, 3:143–144, 344, 345  
 Piano, Renzo, 6:38  
 Piasecki, Boleslaw, 5:102  
 Pibul Songgram, 5:344  
 Picasso, Pablo, 5:xl  
 Pickering, Timothy, 4:22  
**Pico della Mirandola**, 2:127–128, 327  
 Picot, François-Georges, 5:373  
 pictograms, 1:101  
 pictographs, 1:xxxiv, 425  
 Pictor, Q. Fabius, 1:394  
**Picts**, 1:120, 181, 423, 2:358  
 Pierce, Franklin, 4:177, 256, 5:210  
 Pierluigi, Giovanni, 3:258  
 Piero della Francesca, 2:410, 3:20  
 Piérola, Nicolás de, 4:442  
 Pietism, 4:123  
 Pietro II Orseolo 2:413  
 pigs, 3:84  
 Pijl, Laurens, 4:82  
 Pike, Zebulon, 3:171, 4:278  
**Pilate, Pontius**. *See* Pontius Pilate  
**pilgrimage**, 1:125–126, 189, 229, 239, 263, 334, 356–358, 429, 431, 2:xxxviii, 8, 14, 50, 70, 125, 197, 201, 286, 3:220, 291, 366, 4:7, 175, 284  
 Piłsudski, Józef, 5:102  
 Pima, 1:296  
 Pimenta da Cunha, Manuel Rodrigues, 5:72  
 Pinchincha, Battle of, 4:403  
 Pinchot, Gifford, 5:91  
 Pinckney, Charles, 4:99, 254  
 Pindar, 1:75–76, 179, 254  
 Piñera, José, 6:90  
 Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, 6:16, 17  
 Pinilla, Gustavo Rojas, 6:103  
 Pinkie, Battle of, 3:119  
**Pinochet Ugarte, Augusto**, 5:103, 6:10, 90, 299, 317, 339–340, 418, 421  
 Pino Suárez, José María, 5:233  
*Pinta*, 3:86  
 Pinzón, Martín Alonso, 3:86  
 Pinzón, Vicente Yáñez, 3:86  
 Piperno, M., 1:136  
 Pippin the Middle, 2:400  
**pirates/piracy**, 1:102, 384, 2:136, 137, 237, 3:308–310, 4:203, 278  
 Pirelli, Alberto, 5:240  
 Pires, Tomé, 3:225  
 Pisano, Andrea, 2:140–141

- Piso, 1:305, 422, 469  
 Pit-Grave culture, 1:211, 212  
 Pitt, William, 3:150, 219, 4:163, 378  
 Pitti, Luca, 3:240  
 Pittsburgh Convention, 5:244  
**Pius II**, 2:328, 345, 346  
 Pius IV, 3:93, 333, 390  
 Pius V, 3:367  
 Pius V, 3:79, 4:145, 295, 408  
**Pius IX**, 4:79, 196, 235, 266, 327, 423, 428, 429  
 Pius X, 2:197  
 Pius XI (pope), 5:197, 240  
 Pius XII, 4:322, 6:229, 369  
 Pius, Antoninus, 1:182, 341, 389, 400, 420  
**Pizan, Christine de**, 2:328–329  
**Pizarro, Francisco**, 3:13, 18, 24–25, 63–64, 89, 99, 101, 109, 136, 193, 280, 287, 299, 300, 310–311, 313, 393, 399  
 Pizarro, Gonzalo, 3:13, 20, 279, 300, 310  
 Pizarro, Hernando, 3:13, 63, 300, 310  
 Pizzano, Tommaso di Benvenuto da, 2:328  
 Plaatje, Sol, 5:356, 357  
 plague, 1:281, 344, 2:xxx, 43–45, 214, 215, 235, 307, 321, 439, 3:67, 72, 85, 123, 124, 230, 355, 390, 394, 5:225  
 Plan de San Diego Revolt, 5:59  
 planetary motion, 3:88  
 Planned Parenthood of America, 6:366  
 Plan of Barranquilla, 6:60  
**Plantagenet Kings of England**, 2:73, 162, 305–310  
 plantations, 3:26, 179, 232, 4:xxv, xxxiv, 3, 4, 16, 62, 82, 83, 84, 96, 143, 173, 180, 306, 385  
**Plassey, Battle of**, 3:81, 140, 311, 4:190  
 Plataea, Battle of, 1:85, 347, 489  
 Plater, Emilia, 4:329  
 Plato, 1:xxxviii, 8, 27, 28, 39, 79, 173, 174, 179, 195, 302, 304, 358–359, 392, 433, 434, 435, 441, 487, 2:127, 3:172, 173  
**Platonism**, 1:302, 355, 358–361  
 Platt, Orville, 5:303  
**Platt Amendment**, 4:105, 5:128, 209, 303, 6:111  
 Plauen, Heinrich, 2:236  
 Plautianus, Gaius Fulvius, 1:68  
 playboy machos, 4:232  
 plebeians, 1:xxxiii, 62, 71, 335–336  
 Pleistocene Extinction Event, 1:300  
 Plekhanov, Georgi, 4:360, 5:214, 226  
*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 4:352, 5:262, 313, 6:73, 286  
 Pliny, 1:133, 137, 192, 345, 390, 392, 468, 2:262  
 Plotinus, 1:248, 302–303, 2:121, 127  
 pluralism, 2:217  
 Pluralists, 1:366  
 Plutarch, 1:8, 9, 30, 71, 84, 113, 162, 248, 304, 344, 345, 375, 441, 443, 481, 482, 3:213  
 Pluto, 1:396  
 plutocracy, 1:167  
 plutonium bomb, 5:146, 6:33  
 Plymouth, 3:202, 238, 317  
*Plymouth*, 4:372  
 pneumonic plague, 2:43, 3:124  
 Poalei Tzion, 5:43, 44  
 Pocahontas, 3:266, 314  
 Podgorny, Nikolai, 6:72  
 Poe, Edgar Allan, 5:219  
 Poemen, 1:113  
**poetry**,  
     choregic, 1:75–76  
     lyric, 1:254, 411  
 pogroms, 2:21, 4:xxxiii, 5:133, 149, 330  
 Poincaré, Raymond, 5:68  
 Poindexter, John, 6:214  
 Poitiers, Battle of, 2:269, 3:394  
**Poland**, 2:253, 329–331, 3:193–194, 395–396, 4:20, 45, 47, 296, 297, 434, 5:xli–xlii, 20, 102, 150, 151, 212, 215, 221, 226, 234, 260, 6:xl, 72–73, 100, 102, 130, 168, 340–341, 362, 391–392  
     **and Lithuania**, 1386–1470, 2:M63  
     **partitions of**, 4:76, 139, 182, 206, 328  
     **revolutions in**, 4:328–330  
 Pole, Reginald, 3:120, 389  
 Polemon of Athens, 1:420  
 Polignac, Jules-Armand, prince de, 4:58  
 poliomyelitis, 5:325, 326, 6:xxxv  
**polis**, 1:25, 28, 111, 166–167, 168, 290, 361–362, 447, 448. *See also* Greek city-states  
 Polish-Prussian pact, 4:328  
 Polish Succession, War of the, 3:45, 219, 4:400  
 Política, Anarguía, 5:5  
 Political Consultative Conference, 5:63  
 political liberalism, 4:222  
 Polk, James K., 4:90, 239, 256, 270  
 Pollio, Asinius, 1:394  
 Pollock, George, 4:9  
 Pollock, Jackson, 5:98  
 Pollux, 1:399  
**Polo, Marco**, 1:429, 2:xxxvi, 136, 156, 183, 331–333, 334, 353, 411, 437, 3:399  
 Polovsti, 2:282  
**Pol Pot**, 6:341–342  
 Poltava, Battle of, 3:304, 305  
 polyandry, 1:206  
 Polybius, 1:45, 259, 393  
 Polycarp of Smyrna, 1:262, 345  
 Polyclitus, 1:86, 87

- Polycrates of Samos, 1:66  
 Polydeuces, 1:188  
 polygamy, 1:xxxii, 206, 492, 2:286, 3:204, 4:59, 282  
 Polynesians, 4:179  
 Polyperchon, 1:116  
 Pomares, Germán, 6:383  
*pombeiros*, 4:17  
 Pomona, 1:395  
 Pompadour, Madame de (Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson, comtesse de Pompadour), 3:219  
**Pompeii**, 1:191, 340, 362–363, 2:294  
 Pompeius Strabo, 1:83  
**Pompey**, 1:61, 64, 65, 71, 83, 84, 363, 373, 384, 387, 422, 444, 469  
 Pompey, Sextus, 1:470  
 Pompilius, Numa, 1:399  
 Ponce de León, Juan, 3:101, 102, 267  
 Ponce Vaides, Jorge, 5:392  
 Ponte Novo, Battle of, 4:294  
 Pontiac, 4:23, 302  
**Pontius Pilate**, 1:196, 221, 222, 225, 363–364, 388, 392  
 Pontos, 1:172  
 Poo, Fernão do, 4:397–398  
 Poole, Reginald, 3:233  
 Poona Pact, 5:12, 329  
 Poor Men of Lyons, 2:168, 244  
 Pope (Tewa leader), 3:137, 267, 316  
 Pope, Alexander, 3:213  
 Pope's Rebellion, 4:276  
 Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PDFLP), 6:332  
*populares*, 1:63  
 Popular Front, 5:6, 69, 70, 110  
 Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), 6:332  
 Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine–General Command, 6:332  
 Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola National (MPLA), 6:17  
 Popular Revolutionary American Party (APRA), 5:144, 145  
 Popular Sandinista Army (EPS), 6:311  
 Popular Unity, 6:10  
**Population Density in Europe, c. 1600**, 3:M77  
 Population Registration Act, 6:3  
 populist movement, 4:xxviii, xxxiii, 51, 346, 347, 5:206–207  
**Popul Vuh**, 3:75, 312  
 porcelain, 2:xxxii–xxxiii, xxxvii  
**Porfiriato**, 4:273–274, 5:303–305  
 Porphyry, 1:28, 52, 303  
 Porres, Martín de, St., 3:110  
 Porritt, Arthur, 5:33  
 Porter, Edwin S., 5:252  
 Porter, Herbert, 6:459  
 Portes Gil, Emilio, 5:57, 58  
 Port Huron Statement, 6:405  
**Portsmouth, Treaty of**, 5:193, 305–307, 330  
**Portugal**, 2:40, 87, 166, 333, 400, 445, 3:48–51, 56, 85–86, 151, 194–195, 225, 248, 281–282, 285, 298, 341, 355, 365, 4:xxxiv, 3, 14–18, 251, 333–334, 396, 397, 425, 5:337–338, 6:164, 275, 313, 342–346  
     colonies in Africa, 4:14–18, 141  
     empire in Africa, 3:5–7  
     expulsion of Jews from, 3:129  
 Portuguese Cacheau Company, 3:363  
 Porus, 1:11  
 Poseidon, 1:85, 173, 203, 204, 332  
 Posidonus, 1:445  
 positivism, 4:232  
 post-structuralism, 6:151  
 Postumus, 1:232, 2:131  
**Post–World War II Occupation Zones of Germany**, 5:M159  
 Potala Monastery, 6:115  
 potatoes, 3:84, 4:xxxvi, 193–194  
 Potawatomi, 1:279  
 Potemkin, Grigori, 4:76  
**Potosí (silver mines of colonial Peru)**, 3:82, 250, 302, 313, 354, 360, 4:28  
 Potsdam Conference, 5:41, 423, 427, 6:58  
 Potsdam Declaration, 5:146, 237, 238  
 Potter, John, 4:446  
 pottery, 1:xxxii, 25, 152, 191–192, 266, 274, 301–302, 356, 420, 498, 2:xxxii, xxxvii  
 Pottinger, Henry, 4:8  
 Pound, Ezra, 1:411, 5:98, 218  
 Poussin, Nicolas, 3:21  
 poverty, 6:xxxii, xxxvi, 42, 177, 245, 260, 262, 263, 390  
 Poverty Point culture, 1:280–281  
 Powderly, Terence, 4:217  
 Powell, James M., 2:195  
 Powell, Richard, 1:204  
*Powell v. Alabama*, 5:344  
 Powhatan, 3:55, 188, 266  
**Powhatan Confederacy**, 1:297, 3:266, 314–315  
 Pozsgay, Imre, 6:128  
 Prabhakaran, Velupillai, 6:404, 413  
 Prabhakaravardhana, 2:158  
 Prachanda, 6:308, 309  
 Pradesh Congress Committee (PCC), 5:165  
 praenomen, 1:350, 382

- Praetorian Guard, 1:62–63, 232, 233, 338, 340, 364, 423  
 Prague, Battle of, 4:138  
 Prague, Treaty of, 3:382  
**Prague Spring**, 6:72, 129, 172, 190, 346–347, 406  
 Praja Krushsk Party, 5:10  
 Prakrits, 1:480  
 Prasad, Rajendra, 6:201  
 Prasutagus, 1:53–54  
 Praxiteles, 1:86, 87, 191  
**prazeros**, 4:333–334  
 Prebisch, Raúl, 5:200, 6:131  
**Pre-Columbian Civilizations in Central and South America**, 1200 B.C.E.–1542 C.E., 2:M64  
 predestination, 2:428  
 Premadasa, Ranasinghe, 6:404  
 Přemysl, 2:47  
 Presbyterian Church, 3:347  
 Prescott, William, 3:105  
**presidential impeachment, U.S.**, 6:347–348  
 President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy, 6:239  
 President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, 6:336  
**pre-Socratic philosophy**, 1:364–367, 376  
 Pressian, 2:54  
 Prester John, 2:113, 166, 4:125  
**Prestes, Luís Carlos**, 5:307  
 Preston Pans, Battle of, 3:95  
 Pretorius, Andries, 4:395  
 Preveza, Battle of, 3:292  
 Prez, Josquin des, 3:258  
 Priam, 1:189, 203, 471  
 Pride, Colonel, 3:95  
 Pride's Purge, 3:95  
 Pridi Phanomyong (Thai statesman), 5:344  
 Priestley, Joseph, 3:344, 345, 4:xxx  
 Prieto, Guillermo, 4:273  
 primates, 1:327  
 Primaticcio, Francesco, 2:217  
 Primo de Rivera, José Antonio, 5:102, 104, 110  
 Primo de Rivera, Miguel, 4:400, 5:362  
*princeps*, 1:2, 208, 401, 456, 457, 467  
 Princip, Gavriilo, 4:366  
**printing**, 2:151–152, 217, 437  
     **invention in China**, 2:xxx, 334  
**printing press**, 3:39, 212, 258, 315–316, 331  
 Priscus Attalus, 1:243  
 prisoner of war camps, 6:387  
 Prithviraj III, 2:287, 341  
 Probus, 1:118  
 Proclamation Line, 4:23  
 Proclus Diadochus, 1:304  
 Procopius, 1:234, 404, 2:43, 60, 189–190  
 Prodicus, 1:442  
 Progressive Social Party, 6:252  
**Progressivism, in U.S.**, 4:158, 159, 346, 347, 5:1, 91, 96, 105, 117, 195, 256, 307–308, 328  
**Prohibition, North America**, 5:53, 98, 309–310, 353  
 Prohibition Party, 4:26, 27  
 Project Alberta, 5:237  
 Prokop, Andreas, 2:189  
 Prometheus, 1:192, 197  
 Propertius, Sextus Aurelius, 1:397  
**prophets**, 1:xxxiv, 216, 219, 367–369, 417  
 Propylaea (Proserpina), 1:84, 85  
 Proserpine, 1:396  
*proskenion*, 1:171  
 Protogoras, 1:173, 441, 442  
 Protasius, 1:14  
 Protazanov, Yakov, 5:253  
 Protected West African Conference, 5:264  
 Protesilaus, 1:204  
 Protestant churches, 6:132, 138, 260, 263  
 Protestant Reformation, 3:64. *See also* Reformation  
 Protevangelium of James, 1:372  
 Protocols of London, 4:117  
 Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph, 4:391, 5:15  
 Proverbs, 1:488  
 “Provisional IRA,” 6:220  
 Provisions of Oxford, 2:108  
 Prudentius, Aurelius Clemons, 1:398  
**Prussia**, 4:47, 76, 137–139  
     **Hohenzollern dynasty in**, 3:166–167  
**Psalms**, 1:219, 238, 369–371, 379, 488  
 Psamtik III, 1:66  
 Psellos, 1:304  
**Pseudepigrapha**, 1:216, 222, 238, 261, 277, 299, 371–372, 380, 488  
 Pseudo-Dionysius, 2:357  
 pseudo-fascist groups, 5:101  
 Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor, 1:449  
 psychoanalysis, 5:114–115  
 Ptahhotep, 1:316  
 Ptolemaic canon, 1:43  
**Ptolemies**, 1:xxxvi, 5, 11, 51, 65, 75, 99, 248, 256, 372–373, 421  
 Ptolemy, 1:87, 115, 116, 117, 126, 2:266, 3:87  
 Ptolemy I Soter, 1:11, 99, 200, 372, 375  
 Ptolemy II Philadelphus, 1:75, 117, 137, 373  
 Ptolemy III, 1:137  
 Ptolemy V, 1:127, 387, 406  
 Ptolemy VII, 1:373  
 Ptolemy XII, 1:469  
 Ptolemy XIII, 1:65

- Ptolemy Keraunos, 1:117, 421  
Ptolemy Philadelphus, 1:117  
Ptyerum, Battle of, 1:103  
Pu-Abi, 1:475  
Public Against Violence, 6:129  
**public education in North America**, 4:334–337  
Publicola, 1:444  
Public Proclamation Number 21, 5:179  
Public Works Administration (PWA), 5:271  
Pucará, 1:15, 16  
Puebla, Battle of, 4:274  
*Pueblo*, USS, 6:232  
Pueblo Indians, 3:267, 287  
**Pueblo Revolt**, 3:137, 267, 316–317, 4:275  
Puerto Rico, 4:xxxviii, 386, 5:79, 110, 301  
Pugachev, Emelian, 3:91, 4:76, 120  
Pu-i (P'u-yi [emperor of China]), 5:228, 235, 236, 433  
Pujo, Arsène P., 5:105  
Pukuveras, 2:254  
Pulci, Luigi, 2:215  
Pulitzer, Joseph, 4:118, 310, 401  
Pulitzer Prize, 5:218, 6:237, 270  
Pullman, George, 5:78  
Pullman Strike, 4:131, 218  
**Punic Wars**, 1:M19, 69, 187, 373, 386, 387, 393, 397, 400, 443, 2:333  
**Puranas**, 1:119, 218, 481, 2:50, 169, 171, 334–335, 366  
Purandar, Treaty of, 3:359  
Purandaradas, 2:43  
Pure Food and Drug Act, 5:xxxii, 308, 328  
Pure Land Buddhism, 1:56, 2:132, 161, 179, 365  
Purified National Party, 5:2  
**Puritanism**, 3:40, 41, 238–239  
    **in North America**, 3:317–318  
**Puritans**, 3:40, 42, 79, 96, 106, 159, 165, 175, 202, 237, 238, 274, 318–319, 403, 4:26, 166  
Purple Gang, 5:309  
Purva Mimamsa School, 1:432  
Purveyor's Party, 4:280  
Pusey, Edward, 4:307  
Pushkin, Alexander, 4:360  
**Putin, Vladimir**, 6:122, 348–349, 369, 375, 376, 467  
Put-In Bay, Battle of, 4:441  
Puzur-Inshushinak, 1:128  
Pydne, Battle of, 1:387  
pygmies, 1:408, 2:36  
Pyongyang, Battle of, 4:213  
pyramids, 4:374  
    Bent Pyramid, 1:316, 351, 374  
    of Giza, 1:xxxvii, 146, 316, 351, 373–374  
    Mesoamerican, 1:269, 454, 3:31  
    Red Pyramid, 1:351, 374  
    Step Pyramid of Djoser, 1:316  
Pyramids, Battle of the, 4:295, 300  
Pyrenees, Treaty of, 3:230  
Pyrrha, 1:192  
Pyrrho, 3:252  
**Pyrrhus**, 1:117, 375–376  
**Pythagoras**, 1:xxxi, 86, 358, 366, 376  
Pythagorean school, 1:366  
Pythia, 1:111, 112  
Pythian Games, 1:318  
Pythius, 1:86  
Python, 1:356–357
- Q**  
**Qaddafi, Muammar**, 6:327, 353–354, 435  
Qadir, al, 2:109  
Qadisiyyah, Battle of, 2:69  
**Qaeda, al-**, 6:xxix, 2, 3, 88, 189, 222, 224, 322, 352–356, 403, 412, 418, 419, 440, 462  
Qahtaniyya al, 5:23  
Qaitbay, 2:31, 3:230  
**Qajar dynasty**, 3:343, 4:339–342  
Qalawun, 2:248  
Qaluyu culture, 1:15  
Qaradawy al, Yusuf, 6:223  
Qarqar, 1:6  
Qassem, Abdul Karim, 6:198, 219, 253  
Qaylani al, Rashid Ali, 5:142  
Qi (Chi), 1:490, 497, 506  
Qiang (Ch'iang), 1:121, 269, 2:397  
**Qianlong (Ch'ien-lung)**, 3:322, 323, 337, 410, 4:75, 204, 251, 290, 342–343  
*qigong*, 6:148  
**Qin (Ch'in) dynasty**, 1:xxxii, 92, 94, 183, 205, 245, 250, 252, 257, 272, 377–379, 429, 471, 491, 492, 2:xxxix, 147, 380  
**Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty**, 1:493, 2:425, 3:1, 111, 225, 269, 280, 336, 401, 406, 416, 4:xxxiii, xxxiv, 18, 74, 93, 159, 162, 163, 171, 183, 185, 204, 210, 238, 251, 287, 288, 311, 342, 343–344, 382, 402, 407, 414, 447, 453, 5:xxxvii, 49, 62, 157, 228, 235, 250, 283, 305, 372, 407, 430, 432, 6:267, 423  
    **rise and zenith of**, 3:199, 200, 321–323  
    **tributary system of**, 3:323–324  
Qin Gui (Ch'in K'uei), 2:374, 439, 440  
Qin Shihuangdi (Ch'in Shih-huang-ti), 1:377–378  
Qinzong (Ch'in-tsung), 2:183, 221, 374  
Qizi (Chi Tzu). *See* Kija  
Qoheleth, 1:488

- Quadi, 1:17, 39  
 Quadricycle, 5:108  
 Quadrigarius, Q. Claudius, 1:394  
 Quadruple Alliance, 4:269  
 Quakers, 3:54, 55, 96, 237, 274, 297–298, 318, 4:2, 26, 335, 386  
 Qu'Appelle settlement, 4:356  
 Quartodecimans, 1:310  
 Quattrocento, 2:213–219  
*qubbah*, 1:29  
 Qudu, 2:379  
 Quebec (Québec), 3:169, 402, 4:252, 330, 331, 413, 6:77, 138, 164, 428  
     sovereignty movement in, 6:355–356  
 Queen Anne's War, 3:371  
 Quercia, Jacopo della, 2:141  
 Querol Lombardero, José Francisco, 6:403  
 Quesada, Gonzalo Jiménez de, 3:280  
 Quesada, Hernán Pérez de, 3:280  
 Quesnay, François, 4:387  
 Quetzalcoatl, 1:275, 454, 455, 456, 2:181, 274, 337–338, 3:32, 245  
 Quetzaltenango, Battle of, 3:68  
 Quevendo, Juan de, 3:136, 208  
 Quezon, Manuel, 5:4, 229, 302, 311–312, 389–390  
 Quiché Maya, 2:338–339  
 Quietism, 3:131, 324–325  
 Quietus, Lucius, 1:222  
 Quilombos, 3:231  
 Quimby, Phineas P., 4:118  
 quinine, 3:322  
 Quintilian, 1:3, 390, 392  
 Quintuple Alliance, 4:58  
 Quintus, 1:83  
 Quirinus, 1:395, 396  
 Quiroga, Juan Facundo, 4:79, 372  
 Quisling, Vidkun, 5:102, 103  
 Quit India Movement, 5:11, 67, 120, 163, 167, 263  
 Qumran, 1:19, 50, 133, 134, 216, 222, 225, 238, 277, 288, 353, 369, 371, 379–380  
*Qunqiu (Ch'un-Chi'iu)*, 1:91, 92, 93, 429  
 Quota Law, 5:90  
 Quraishi, Zeenat, 6:236  
 Qur'an (Koran), 1:xxxv, 333, 334, 2:103, 193, 201, 203, 286, 339, 398, 4:22, 284, 367, 439, 6:14, 356, 384  
 Quraysh tribe, 1:22  
 Qutaiba ibn Muslim, 2:353  
 Qutb, Sayyid, 6:14, 221, 356–357  
 Quwatli Shukri, al-, 6:438  
 Qutuz, 2:184
- R**  
 Ra, 1:53, 126, 308  
 Rabban, 1:503–504  
 Rabbani, Burhauddin, 6:236  
 Rabe, John, 5:317  
 Rabemananjara, Jacques, 5:316  
**Rabin, Yitzhak**, 6:21, 22, 30, 211, 358  
 race/racism, in the Americas, 3:327–328, 5:313–315  
 Rachmaninoff, Sergei, 5:361  
 racial euthanasia, 5:130, 150  
 racial segregation and race riots, U.S., 3:329–330, 5:313–315  
**Racial Unrest and Segregation in America, 1965–1968**, 6:M169  
 Racine, Jean, 3:213  
 racism, 4:13, 5:6, 101, 266  
 Radbot of Klettgau, 2:153  
 Radek, Karl, 5:360  
 Radetzky, Field Marshal Joseph, 4:136  
 radiation, 5:147  
 Radical Party, 5:67  
 Radical Reconstruction, 5:192  
 Radical Republicans, 4:332, 350  
 radio, 5:xxxv, xxxix  
 Radio Free Europe, 6:197  
 Radio Marina, 6:193  
 Radisson, Pierre Esprit, 3:169  
 Radulph, 2:21  
**Raffles, Thomas**, 4:305, 345–346, 6:388–389  
 Rafsanjani, Ali Akbar, 6:213  
 Ragnar, 2:98  
 Ragoza, Michael, 3:52  
 Rahman, Abdul, 6:277, 278  
**Rahman, Sheikh Mujibur**, 6:47, 48, 56, 63, 207, 331, 355–356, 455, 465  
 Rahman, Ziaur, 6:455, 476  
 Rahula, 1:158  
 Rai, Lajpat, 5:165  
**railroads**, 4:xxvii, xxviii, 41, 86, 118, 130, 131, 157, 158, 175, 190, 217, 245, 246, 252, 347, 348, 388, 5:78, 133, 193, 194, 211, 228, 235, 291, 306, 381–382  
     **in North America**, 4:346–347  
 Railway Workers' Movement, 6:414  
 Rainer, Luise, 5:255  
 Rains, Claude, 5:255  
 Raj, Lalal Lajpat, 5:163  
 Raja Raja I, 2:85, 391  
 Rajendra I, 2:391  
 Rajendra II, 2:85  
 Raje Sambhaji, 3:359

- Rajk, László, 5:69, 6:197  
**Rajput Confederacies**, 2:341  
**Rajputs**, 3:10, 28, 328–329  
 Rajyavardhana, 2:159  
 Rakhmonov, Emomali, 6:84, 85  
 Rákosi, Mátyás, 5:69, 6:197  
 Rakovsky, Christian, 5:360  
**Ralaimongo, Jean**, 5:316–317  
**Raleigh, Sir Walter**, 3:53, 121, 329–330, 383  
 Rama, 1:381  
**Rama I**, 4:84–86  
 Rama II, 4:86  
**Rama V**, 4:347–348, 5:344  
 Rama VI, 4:348  
 Rama IX. *See* Bhumipol Adulyadej  
 Ramadan War, 6:26  
 Rama Khamheng, 2:370, 383  
 Ramalho, João, 3:50  
 Râmaññadesa (kingdom), 2:280  
 Ramanuja, 1:433  
 Ramatacha, 2:370  
 Rama Tibodi I, 2:383, 4:85  
*Ramayana*, 1:49, 263, 358, 381–382, 409, 481, 2:169, 171  
 Rambouillet Conference, 6:471  
 Ramesuan, 2:370  
 Ramillies, Battle of, 3:369  
 Ramiro I, 2:87, 89  
 Ramiro II, 2:87, 89  
 Ramiro III, 2:87  
**Ram Mohan Roy**, 4:61, 348–349  
 Ramon Berenguer II, 2:109  
 Ramon Berenguer IV, 2:89  
 Ramos, Fidel V., 6:284  
 Ramot Gilead, 1:24  
**Ramses I**, 1:382, 383  
**Ramses II**, 1:202, 309, 382, 383–384, 458  
 Ramses III, 1:419, 420, 458  
 Ramses VI, 1:458  
 Ramses XI, 1:309  
 Ranade, Mahadev Govind, 4:161  
 Rana Sanga, 3:328  
 Rancagua, Battle of, 4:314  
 Randall, Dudley, 6:66  
 Randolph, A. Philip, 5:139, 6:93, 96  
 Randolph, Edward, 3:237  
 Randolph, Thomas Jefferson, 4:203  
 Ranjit Singh. *See* Singh, Ranjit  
 Rank, Otto, 5:98  
 Ranters, 3:96  
 Rantissi, Abdel Aziz al-, 6:189, 212  
 Rao, P.V. Narasimha, 6:205, 389  
**Rape of Nanjing (Nanking)**, 5:xli, 194, 317–318, 351, 381, 421  
 Raphael, 3:43, 81  
 Raphia, Battle of, 1:373  
 Raseta, Joseph, 5:316, 317  
**Al-Rashid**, 2:8–9  
 Rashidun al-, 2:102  
 Rasputin, 5:331  
 Rassamakin, Yuriy, 1:211  
 Rassemblement du Peuple Français (RPF), 6:163  
 Râs Shamra, 1:473  
 Ras Tafari. *See* Haile Selassie  
 Rastafarianism, 5:346, 6:282, 306  
 Rastatt, Treaty of, 3:370  
 Rastislav, 2:283  
 Ratebzad, Anahita, 6:235  
 Rathbone, Basil, 5:254  
 rationalism, 2:391  
 “Ratlines,” 5:135  
 Raulston, John T., 5:343  
 Rauschenbusch, Walter, 4:158  
 Ravasco, 3:6  
**Ravenna**, 1:206, 384–385, 389, 460, 2:413, 3:212  
 Ravoahangy, Joseph, 5:316, 317  
 Rawlings, Jerry, 6:170  
 Ray, James Earl, 6:246  
 Ray, Man, 5:98  
 Rayburn, Sam, 6:231  
 Raymond II, 2:248  
 Raymond III, 2:246, 248, 249  
 Raymond of Poitiers, 2:23  
 Raymond of Saint-Gilles (Raymond IV), 2:248  
 Raymond VI of Toulouse, 2:4–5, 143  
 Raymond-Ruben of Armenia, 2:249  
 Al-Razi, 2:209  
 Razi, David, 5:441  
 Razin, Stenka, 4:359  
 Razin, Stephan, 3:91  
 Reader, John, 1:272, 2:40, 230, 439  
 Reagan, Nancy, 6:360  
**Reagan, Ronald**, 5:156, 255, 6:xli, 11, 18, 28, 35, 74, 75, 77, 79, 90, 100, 101, 102, 105, 106, 122, 123, 135, 154, 155, 173, 181–182, 214, 215, 216, 217, 246, 310, 312, 320, 323, 354, 359–362, 412, 420  
 Reagan Doctrine, 6:362  
 “realized eschatology,” 1:238  
 Rebel Armed Forces (FAR), 6:183  
 Reccared, 1:483  
 Recceswinth, 1:483  
 Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, 5:128  
**Reconquest of Spain (Reconquista)**, 2:86, 110, 342, 3:41, 354, 380

- Reconstruction, United States**, 4:332, 349–352, 5:192, 261, 313, 314, 315  
 Reconstruction Finance Corporation, 5:155  
*Record of the Historian*, 2:46, 184, 429, 430  
 Red Army, 5:62, 65, 150, 153, 236, 239, 251, 334, 366, 367, 431, 6:108, 199, 242  
 Red Brigades, 6:108, 418  
 Red Cliff, Battle of, 1:464  
 Red Crescent, 4:299, 5:122, 6:29, 333  
 Red Cross, 5:96, 117, 122, 260, 6:281  
**Red Eyebrow Rebellion**, 1:176, 385, 485  
 Red Fort, 3:358  
 Red-Green coalition, 6:168  
 Red Guard, 5:239, 333, 6:160, 176, 424  
 Red Lion and Sun, 5:122  
 Red Mask, 6:474  
 Red Monk, 2:316  
 “red power,” 6:16–17  
 Red Pyramid, 1:351, 374  
 Red River, 1:471, 472  
 Red River Rising, 4:74  
**Red Scare**, 4:401, 5:71, 90, 99, 125, 266, 318, 6:367  
 Red Shirts, 4:149, 197  
 “Red Special Train,” 5:78  
 Red Square, 6:73, 75  
 Red Turbans, 2:191  
**Reducciones (Congregaciones)**, in colonial Spanish America, 3:45, 330, 389, 412  
 “reeducation,” 6:176  
 Refah, 6:431, 432  
 Reforma, La, 4:272, 273–274  
 Reform Act, 5:292  
**Reformation**, 2:306, 409, 428, 3:15, 27, 40, 42, 43, 53, 64, 70, 73, 78, 105, 106, 117, 125, 146, 157, 163, 166, 171, 173, 195, 196, 212, 223, 234, 242, 256, 265, 296, 331–333, 343, 348, 389, 391, 417, 6:132, 138  
**Reformation, The**, 1517–1560, 3:M68  
 Reform bill(s), 4:112, 113, 159, 160, 432  
 Reform War, 5:304  
 Reggio, Battle of, 4:149  
 Reginald of Chartres, 2:220  
 Reginald of Châtillon, 2:179  
 “Regulations and Royal Tariffs for Free Trade between Spain and the Indies,” 4:221  
 Rehnquist, William, 6:366, 367  
 Rehoboam, 1:216, 439  
 Reich, Wilhelm, 5:115  
 Reich Citizenship Law, 5:276  
 Reichsrat, 5:243  
 Reina Barrios, José María, 5:93  
 Reinecke, Ed, 6:459  
 Reinhardt, Max, 5:255  
 Reinhart, Anna, 3:417  
 Reinsurance Treaty, 5:8  
 relativity, 5:85  
 Religion, Wars of, 3:21  
**Religion and Scholarship in Medieval Europe**, 1100–1300, 2:M45  
**Religion in the Modern World**, 6:M188  
**Religions in Europe, c. 1600**, 3:M74  
**religious inclinations, prehistory**, 1:386  
 Remarque, Erich Maria, 5:254  
 Remington, Frederic, 4:310  
 Rembrandt, 3:22  
 Remus, 1:396, 406  
 Renaissance, 1:50, 249, 3:20, 21, 125, 212, 391  
 Renan, Ernest, 1:58, 4:8  
 Renaud, Jean, 5:104  
 Renaud of Châtillon-sur-Loing, 2:249  
 Renders, Adam, 2:368  
 Rendon, Silvia, 3:75  
 René of Anjou, 2:295  
 Renfrew, Colin, 1:212  
 Rensselaer, Kiliaen van, 3:274  
 Renzong (Jen-tsung), 2:297  
**reparations, after World War I**, 5:18, 175, 319  
**repartimiento, in Spanish America**, 3:122, 250, 311, 333–334, 4:28  
 Report for Indian Constitutional Reform, 5:162  
 Report of the Guatemalan Commission for Historical Clarification, 6:182  
 Republican Party, U.S., 4:239, 254  
 Republic of Korea (ROK). *See* Korea, South  
 Reshid, Mustafa, 4:409  
*Resolution*, 4:101, 221, 318, 319  
 “resource wars,” 6:139  
 Restrepo, Carlos Lleras, 6:103  
 retrovirus, 6:6  
**Return of the Sinai to Egypt, 1975–1982**, 6:M172  
 Reuchlin, Johannes, 2:217, 3:173, 174  
 Reuter, Ernst, 6:58, 59  
 Reuter, Julius de, 4:341  
 Reuther, Walter, 5:394, 6:15  
 Revelation, book of, 1:18, 20, 344  
 Revelation of John, 1:192–193  
 Revenue Act of 1932, 5:155  
 Revisionist movement, 5:52  
 Revisionist Zionists, 5:20  
**Revolt of the Netherlands, 1555–1609**, 3:M76  
 Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARN), 6:106  
 Revolutionary Command Council (RCC), 6:134, 304, 323, 353

- Revolutionary France, 1789–1794, 4:M101**  
 Revolutionary Leftist National Union (UNIR), 6:157  
 Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (MNR), 6:67, 339  
 Revolutionary National Party (PNR), 6:208  
 Revolutionary Organization of Armed People (ORPA), 6:183  
 Revolutionary United Front (RUF), 6:266  
 Revolution of Tuxtepec, 4:110  
**Revolutions of 1848, 4:189, 353–354, 375, 413**  
 Rex, Quintus Marcius, 1:400  
 Rexist Party, 5:102  
 Reyes, Bernardo, 5:59, 158, 233  
 Reyes, Victor Román, 5:355  
 Reykjavik Summit, 6:121  
 Reynaud, Paul, 5:402  
 Reynolds, Albert, 6:221  
 Reza, Sayyid, 6:253  
 Reza Qouli, 3:262  
 Reza Shah Pahlavi (Reza Khan), 4:342, 5:xxxix, 172, 280, 287, 6:295. *See also* Pahlavi dynasty (of Iran)  
**Rhee, Syngman, 2:363, 4:213, 6:249, 334 359–360, 443**  
 Rheticus, 3:88  
 Rhineland Pact, 5:221  
 Rhipsime, 1:30  
**Rhodes, Cecil, 4:13, 67, 127, 354–356, 396, 5:319**  
 Rhodes, Herbert, 4:354  
**Rhodesia, 4:13, 5:133, 135, 278, 319–321, 6:296–297, 364–365, 453, 454**  
 Rhuddlan, Statute of, 2:424  
 Riace Bronzes, 1:85–86  
 Riario, Girolamo, 3:240  
 Ribaude, Gabrielle de la, 3:138  
 Ribeiro, Solon, 5:73  
 Ribera, Jusepe, 3:21  
**Ricci, Matteo, 3:191, 221, 334, 402**  
 Riccobaldo (of Ferrara), 2:143  
 rice, cultivation of, 1:xxix–xxx, 427, 2:xxx, 3:365, 385, 4:83, 5:xxxi, 6:180  
 Rice, Peter, 6:38  
 rice riots, 5:184  
**Richard I, 2:94, 186, 246, 259, 305, 306, 321, 342–343, 351**  
 Richard II, 2:165, 305, 307, 321  
 Richard III, 3:161, 236, 339  
 Richard, duke of York, 3:338  
 Richard of Normandy, 2:69  
 Richardson, Elliot, 6:318, 458  
 Richardson, Henry Handel, 5:33  
**Richelieu, Armand-Jean du Plessis, duc and cardinal de, 3:5, 171, 217, 272, 332–334, 380**  
 rickettsial fevers, 3:85  
 Rida, Muhammad Rashid, 4:34, 368  
 Rida, Rashid, 4:34  
*Ridda wars, 2:68, 102*  
 Ridgeway, William, 1:169  
 Ridgway, Matthew, 5:387  
 Riebeck, Jan van, 4:394  
 Riedeman, Peter, 3:16  
 Riefenstahl, Leni, 5:255, 267, 282  
 Riego, Rafael, 4:273  
 Riego y Núñez, Rafael del, 4:129  
 Riego Revolt, 4:197, 273  
**Riel, Louis, 4:74, 252, 303, 356–357**  
 Rieu, E. V., 1:202, 203  
**Rif Rebellion, 5:227, 321**  
 Rigaud, André, 4:174, 416  
 “Righteous and Harmonious Fists,” 5:49  
 Right Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs), 5:333  
*Rig-Veda, 1:32, 70, 119, 478, 480, 507*  
 Riis, Jacob, 4:158, 5:256  
 Rikken Kaishinto, 6:265  
 Rikken Seiyukai, 5:336, 376  
 Rimini, Bull of, 2:330  
 Rim-Sin, 1:41  
 Rimush, 1:7  
 Rinchendrub, Buton, 1:453  
 Ringaudas, 2:254  
 Rio Branco Law, 4:4, 62  
 Rio Pact, 6:148  
 Ríos, Pedro Pablo, 6:383  
 Río Salado, Battle of, 2:88  
 Ríos Montt, Efraín, 6:183  
 Ríos Morales, Juan Antonio, 5:6  
 Riot Act, 3:149  
 Ripley, George, 4:418, 419  
**Rise of Constantine, The, 306–324, 1:M29**  
**Rise of European Nation-States, The, c. 16th Century, 3:M66**  
 Rishabhadeva, 1:477  
 Risorgimento, Il, 4:79–80 5:94  
**rites controversy in China, 3:336–337**  
 ritual texts, 3:75  
 Riurikid dynasty, 2:349–350, 420, 434, 3:152  
**Rivadavia, Bernardino, 4:78, 357–358, 362**  
 Rivera, Brooklyn, 6:106  
 Rivera, Diego, 5:xl, 249, 384, 6:41, 258  
 Rivers, Conrad, 6:66  
 River War, 4:279  
 Rivière, Henri, 4:142  
 Rivonia Trial, 6:4, 281  
 Rizaemon, Minomura, 5:250  
 Roanoke, colony of, 3:329

- Robert I, 2:185, 308  
 Robert II (duke of Normandy), 2:310  
 Robert II of Scotland, 2:359  
 Robert II the Pious (king of France), 2:71  
 Robert III, 2:359  
 Robert, abbot of Molesme, 2:91  
 Robert, king of Naples, 2:177  
 Robert de Sorbon, 2:46  
 Robert Guiscard, 2:310  
 Robert of Anjou, 2:46  
 Robert of Geneva, 2:30  
 Roberts, Frederick Sleigh, first earl of Kandahar, 4:9, 32, 67, 72  
 Roberts, Issachar, 4:183  
 Roberts, Oral, 6:41  
 Robert the Bruce, 2:306–307, 359  
 Robespierre, Maximilien, 4:58, 146, 147, 294, 6:417  
 Robinson, Bernice, 6:94  
 Robinson, Jackie, 6:94  
 Robinson, Walter, 6:443  
 Rochambeau, comte de (Jean-Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur), 4:26  
 Rockefeller, John D., 4:157, 5:125, 256, 280, 309  
 Rockefeller, Nelson, 6:154  
 Rockefeller Foundation, 6:180  
 Rocker, Rudolf, 5:16  
 Rockhill, W. W., 5:283  
 Roderic, 1:483  
 Rodney, Walter, 4:16, 6:131  
 Rodrigo, 1:483  
 Rodrigues, Simão, 3:190  
 Rodríguez, Abelardo L., 5:58  
 Rodriguez, Manuel, 4:314  
 Rodríguez, Martín, 4:357  
 Rodríguez, Nicolás, 5:103  
 Rodriguez Zapatero, Jose Luis, 6:403  
 Rodzaevsky, Konstantin, 5:103  
 Roe, Thomas, 3:103, 185  
 Roentgen (Röntgen), Wilhelm, 5:xxxv  
*Roe v. Wade*, 6:107, 150–151, 361, 366–367  
 Roger I, 2:310  
 Roger II, 2:207, 210, 295, 312, 313  
 Roger, Robert, 4:378  
 Roger of Salerno, 2:248  
 Rogers, John, 3:40  
 Rogers, Richard, 6:38  
 Rogers, William, 6:26, 443  
 Rohan, chevalier de (Guy-Auguste de Rohan-Chabot), 4:435  
 Roh Moo-hyun, 6:251  
 Roh Tae Woo, 6:250  
 Rojas Pinilla, Gustavo, 6:103  
 Roland, Pauline, 4:450  
*Roland, Song of*, 2:343–344  
 Roldán, Pedro, 3:355  
 Rolfe, John, 3:54, 266, 314, 383  
 Rollo, 2:195  
 Roman, 2:284  
 Roman Catholic Relief Act, 3:107  
**Roman Empire**, 1:165, 232–233, 386–390, 402–405  
**Roman Empire under the Tetrarchy, The**, c. 300, 1: M27  
**Romanesque and Gothic styles**, 2:xxxi–xxxii, 145–146  
**Roman Expansion**, 240 B.C.E–30 C.E. 1:M20  
**Roman golden age**, 1:390–391  
**Roman historians**, 1:393–395  
 Romania, 4:47, 48, 54, 420, 6:49, 50, 100, 102, 129–130, 145, 285, 457  
**Roman Inquisition**, 3:144, 180–181  
 Romanism, 4:423  
 Romanos II, 2:64  
 Romanos III, 2:65  
 Romanos IV Diogenes, 2:363  
 Romanov, Grand Duke Constantine Pavlovich, 4:329  
 Romanov, Nikita, 3:184  
 Romanova, Anastasia Zakharyina, 3:183, 184  
**Romanov dynasty**, 3:91, 152, 183, 303, 4:8, 76, 329, 359–361, 5:332  
**Roman pantheon and myth**, 1:182, 395–396  
**Roman poetry**, 1:396–398  
**Roman silver age**, 1:390, 392–393  
 romanticism, 6:258  
**Rome**,  
   **buildings, engineers in**, 1:398–401  
   **decline and fall of**, 1:xxxvi, 1, 401–405  
   **founding of**, 1:405  
   **government of**, 1:xxxiii, 405–406  
   Great Fire of, 1:305, 400  
   **medieval**, 2:344–345  
   **papacy in Renaissance in**, 2:345–347  
   sack of, 1:402, 482, 3:154, 211  
 Romero, Oscar, 6:135, 386  
 Romero Bosque, Pío, 5:87  
**Rommel, Erwin**, 5:76, 86, 87, 322–323, 406  
 Romulus, 1:396, 398, 399, 405, 406  
 Romulus Augustulus, 1:315, 323, 390, 401, 402, 460, 2:195, 323  
**Ronin**, 47, 3:337–338  
 Ronsard, Pierre de, 2:85  
 Roosevelt, Eleanor, 5:2, 48, 155, 324–325, 326, 415

- Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, 4:444, 5:xxxii, xxxiv, xxxv, 41, 48, 50, 51, 53, 56, 61, 66, 85, 92, 128, 131, 134, 151, 155, 161, 168, 175, 178, 208, 217, 218, 222, 230, 236, 270–273, 276, 297, 303, 310, 312, 324, 325–327, 351, 352, 369, 385, 421, 427, 429, 441, 6:xxxv, xxxix, 93, 99, 165, 210
- Roosevelt, Theodore, 4:268, 281, 398, 5:xxxii, xxxiv, 90, 91, 92, 96, 128, 167, 195, 210, 256, 291, 303, 306, 308, 311, 323, 324, 326, 328–329, 412, 6:363
- Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, 4:281, 5:128, 323–324, 328
- Root, Elihu, 5:303
- Root, John Wellborn, 4:87
- Rosario, 3:112
- Rosas, Encarnación, 4:362
- Rosas, Juan Manuel Ortiz de, 4:78, 107, 279, 362–363, 372, 426
- Rose, Andrew, 6:144
- Rose, Guy, 5:98
- Rose, Hugh, 4:65
- Roseberry, Lord (Archibald Philip Primrose, fifth earl of Roseberry), 4:70
- Rosen, Carl Gustay von, 6:64
- Rosenberg, Ethel, 6:287, 367–368
- Rosenberg, Julius, 6:287, 367–368
- Rose of Lima, St., 3:110
- Roses, Wars of the, 3:21, 161, 338–339
- Rosetta Stone, 1:198, 350, 406, 4:301, 374–375
- Ross, John, 4:302
- Ross, John Hume, 5:211
- Rossbach, Battle of, 4:138
- Rossellini, Roberto, 5:255
- Rossellino, Bernardo, 2:52
- Rosso, Giovanni, 2:217
- Ross Santa María, Gustavo, 5:5
- Rostislav of Great Moravia, 2:96
- Rostow, Walter, 6:11, 131
- Rothmann, Bernard, 3:255, 256
- Rothschild, Walter, Lord, 5:37
- Round Table Conferences, 5:12, 166, 263, 329
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 4:110, 121, 122, 123, 132, 294, 320, 389, 5:15
- Row, John, 3:348
- Rowlandson, Mary, 3:202
- Rowlatt Acts, 5:13, 119, 165, 263
- Roxane, 1:11, 115, 116
- Roxas, Manuel, 5:302
- Roy, Ram Mohan, 4:59, 348–349
- royal absolutism, 3:2–3
- Royal African Company, 3:365
- Royal Canadian Mounted Police, 4:303
- Royal Geographic Society, 4:11
- Royal Lao Government (RLG), 6:334
- Royal Marriages Act, 4:432
- Royal Navy, 3:367–368
- Royal Niger Company, 5:224, 6:313
- Royal Road, 1:437
- Royal Society of London, 3:346
- Roys, Ralph L., 3:75
- Rua (Rugila), 1:242
- rubber, 4:13, 62, 84, 143, 255, 306, 325
- Rubens, Peter Paul, 3:38
- Rubicon River, 1:65, 71, 155, 384, 395, 469
- Ruby, Jack, 6:239
- Rucci, Jose, 6:293
- Ruckelshaus, William, 6:458
- Rudaki, 1:254
- Rudolf, Prince, 4:137
- Rudolf I, 2:48, 153, 176, 3:158
- Rudolf II, 2:153
- Rudolf III, 2:174
- Rudolf IV the Founder, 2:154
- Rudolf of Swabia, 2:164
- Rudravarman, 2:81
- Rueil, Peace of, 3:141
- Rufino Barrios, Justo, 5:93
- Rufinus, 1:99, 100, 189, 219
- Rufus, Publius Suillius, 1:422
- Ruga, 1:206
- Ruge, Arnold, 4:264
- Ruggieri, Michele, 3:191, 334
- Ruguzinski, Sava Vladislavich, 3:199
- Ruiz, Faustino, 6:383
- Ruiz, Henry, 6:383
- Ruiz, Hernán, 3:354
- Ruizong (Jui-tsung), 2:431, 432
- Rukn ad-Din Firuz Shah, 2:100
- Rukn ad-Din Kurshah, 2:181
- Rule of St. Benedict, 2:15, 42, 91
- Rumiantsev, Peter, 4:76
- Rum Rebellion, 4:40
- Rundstedt, Gerd von, 5:75, 322
- rune poems, 2:418
- Rupert (count Palatine of the Rhine), 2:178, 3:94, 170
- Rural Electrification, 5:xxxii
- rural Shinto, 1:427
- rural-urban migration, 6:261
- Rural Workers Association (ATC), 6:311
- Rus, 2:xxxiv, 157, 248, 282–284, 347–350, 379, 419–430
- Rush, Benjamin, 4:26

- Rush, Tom, 5:117  
 Rush-Bagot Agreement, 4:254  
 Ruskin, John, 5:118  
 Russell, Bertrand, 5:xxxix, 14, 15, 245  
 Russell, Charles Edward, 5:256  
 Russell, Charles Taze, 4:444  
 Russell, John, 4:112, 159, 160  
 Russell, Morgan, 5:98  
 Russell, Richard, 6:451  
**Russia**, 3:151–152, 199–200, 269, 302–305, 4:xxxviii, 18, 18–20, 20, 30–32, 47, 75–77, 87, 101–103, 117–118, 206, 234–235, 245–246, 268, 297, 329, 359–361, 402, 5:xxxvii, xli, 149, 150, 172, 214–217, 251, 318, 341, 342, 383–384, 6:43, 121, 248, 255–257, 348–349  
 art and architecture (1750–1900), 4:36  
 conquest of Central Asia, 4:363–364  
 growth in, 3:M75, 4:M107, M127, 135  
 Orthodox Church, 4:77, 5:133, 215, 361, 366  
 revolution in, 4:393  
*See also* Rus; Soviet Union  
**Russian Civil War**, 5:64, 133, 193, 250, 329–330, 333  
**Russian Fascist Party (VFP)**, 5:103  
**Russian Federation**, 6:369–379, 370  
**Russian Revolution**, 5:2, 16, 17, 71, 80, 214, 215, 243, 250, 329–330, 331–334, 6:424  
**Russian Revolution and Civil War**, 5:M142  
**Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic**, 6:369, 370  
 Russkaia Pravda, 2:349  
 Russo-Austrian War, 4:236  
**Russo-Japanese War, 1904–1905**, 4:213, 246, 267, 420, 5:17, 122, 132, M133, 184, 185, 193, 305, 328, 330, 375, 382  
**Russo-Ottoman Wars**, 4:365  
 Russo-Polovsti alliance, 2:282  
**Russo-Turkish War**, 4:31, 45, 170, 360, 365–366, 5:25  
 Rustichello of Pisa, 2:331, 332  
 Rustin, Bayard, 6:96  
 Ruthenian Church, 4:235  
 Rutherford, Ernest, 5:33  
 Rutherford, Joseph, 4:444  
 Ruskoi, Aleksandr, 6:372  
 Rwagsore, Louis, 6:379  
**Rwanda**, 6:xliv, 118, 119, 291, 379–380  
 Rybkin, Ivan, 6:373  
 Rye House Plot, 3:72  
 Rykov, Alex, 5:360  
 Rykov, Nikolay, 5:274  
 Ryoma, Sakamoto, 4:414  
 Ryswick, Treaty of, 3:373
- S**  
 SA (Sturmabteilung), 5:267, 268  
 Sá, Mem de, 3:50  
 Al-Sabah family, 4:33, 6:186, 256–257  
 Sabellianism, 1:26, 52, 141, 193, 194  
 Sabellius, 1:193  
 Sabin, Albert, 6:xxxv  
 Sabinus Julianus, 1:118  
 Sabis, Battle of, 1:156  
 Sabotage Act, 6:281  
 Sacagawea, 4:237  
 Sacasa, Benjamin Lacayo, 5:355  
 Sacasa, Roberto, 5:437  
 Sacco, Fernando (Nicola), 5:335–336  
**Sacco-Vanzetti Trial**, 5:78, 335–336  
 Sackville, George, Viscount, 3:219  
 Sacred Congregation of the Universal Inquisition, 2:197  
 Sacy, Samuel de, 4:451  
 Sacy, Sylvestre de, 4:451  
 Sadaaki, 2:173  
 Sada-akira, 2:179  
 Sadat, Anwar el-, 5:406, 6:21, 22, 23, 42, 79, 134, 222, 328  
 Sadatoki, 2:173  
 Saddawi, Nawal al, 6:xxxvii  
**Sadducees**, 1:133, 229, 353, 407–408, 503  
 Sade, marquis de, 5:98  
 Sadiavahe resistance movement, 5:316  
**Sa'did dynasty**, 3:11, 292, 341–342  
 Sadik Bifat Pasha, 4:451  
 Sadiq, Bey Muhammad al-, 5:387  
 Sadiq, Jafar as-, 5:3  
 Sadoleto, Jacopo, 3:146, 389  
 Safar, Bashir, 4:368  
**Safavid Empire**, 3:2, 181, 257, 261, 262, 291, 293, 342–343, 4:339  
**Safavid-Ottoman wars**, 3:293  
 Saffah al-, 2:1  
 Safonov, Viktor, 1:212  
 Sagi, Samguk, 1:465  
 Sahampati, 1:159  
**Sahel, ecological crisis in**, 6:381  
 al-Sahili, 2:139  
 Sahure, 1:136  
 Saicho, 1:55, 2:161  
 Said (khedive of Egypt), 4:404–405  
 Said, Nuri al-, 5:141, 142, 6:219  
 Sa'id, Sheikh, 6:253  
 Saigon, fall of, 6:153, 205  
 Saigo Takamori, 4:373  
 Saint. *See also* St.

- Saint-Domingue, 3:373, 374, 4:173, 226, 386, 416  
 Saint-Just, Louis-Antoine de, 4:147  
 Saint-Simon, Henri de, 4:391  
**Saionji Kimmochi**, 3:191, 5:336  
 Saishu, 1:427  
 Saisset, Bernard, 2:326  
 Sakhalin Island, 4:219, 5:56, 306  
 Sakharov, Andrey, 6:72  
 Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought, 6:31, 46  
 Sakkarin, 4:143  
 Sakura, 2:138  
 Sakyamuni Buddha, 1:55, 453  
**Sakyas**, 1:408  
**Saladin (Salah ad Din, Yusuf)**, 1:105, 2:94, 180–181, 183, 246, 249, 263, 343, 351–352  
**Salafyya movement (Africa)**, 4:367–368  
 Salamis, Battle of, 1:75, 76, 167, 346, 347, 434, 442, 459, 489  
 Salamon, 2:243  
**Salazar, António de Oliveira**, 5:104, 109, 337–338, 363  
 Salazar, Domingo de, 3:110  
 Saleh, Ali al Saleh, 6:468  
 Salesian Order, 6:31  
 Salic law, 3:394, 4:138, 205, 400  
 Salim (Selim), 3:185  
 Salim, Hadji Agus, 5:340  
 Salinas, Carlos, 6:473  
 Salisbury, Lord (Robert Gascoyne-Cecil, third marquis of Salisbury), 4:70  
 Salisbury (sixth earl) and Warwick (16th earl). *See* Neville, Richard  
 Salitis, 1:208  
 Salk, Jonas, 6:xxxv  
 Sallust, 1:259, 394, 443  
 Salmerón, Francisco, 3:390  
 Salossa, J. P., 6:124  
 SALT. *See* Strategic Arms Limitation Talks and Treaties (SALT I/SALT II)  
**salt, kingdom of**, 2:xxxviii, 144, 445  
 Saltykov, Sergei, 4:75  
**Salutati, Coluccio**, 2:52, 90, 213, 352  
 Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS), 5:88  
**Salvation Army**, 4:368–369  
 Salviati, Maria, 3:154  
 Salza, Hermann von, 2:326  
 Samaj, Brahmo, 5:263  
 Samala, 2:280  
 Samanid dynasty, 2:139, 263  
 Samara, 1:5, 6  
 Samaritans, 1:50, 234  
**Samarkand**, 1:436, 437, 438, 2:77, 135, 289, 315, 352–353, 392, 389, 398, 3:262  
 Sambhaji, Raje, 3:359  
 Samguk Sagi, 1:465  
 Samkhya school, 1:433  
 Samoa, 4:119  
 Samson, 1:230  
 Samsuiluna, 1:42  
 Samudragupta, 1:177  
 Samuel, book of, 1:23, 109, 368, 370, 417  
 Samuel, Herbert, 5:55  
 Samuil, 2:54  
**samurai**, 2:xxxiv, xxxix, 119, 161, 172, 173, 230, 232, 354–355, 388, 3:118, 384–385, 4:373, 414  
 San Andrés Accords, 6:474  
 Sánchez, Iván, 6:383  
 Sánchez, José María, 5:279  
 Sánchez, Miguel, 3:398  
 Sanchez, Sonia, 6:66  
 Sánchez Cerro, Luis, 5:103, 144  
 Sancho I, 2:87, 89  
 Sancho II, 2:109  
 Sancho III, 2:87, 88  
 Sancho IV, 2:88  
 Sancho Ramirez, 2:109  
 Sanclemente, Manuel Antonio, 4:96  
 Sancroft, William, 3:188  
 Sanders, Liman von, 2:269  
**Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN)**, 6:105, 135, 152–153, 182, 259, 310, 311, 312, 378–379  
 Sandinista revolution, 6:77, 105, 106, 111  
**Sandino, Augusto**, 5:210, 339–340, 355, 6:153, 310, 383  
 Sands, Bobby, 6:220  
**San Francisco, Treaty of**, 6:382  
 Sanfuentes, Emilio, 6:90  
 Sanger, Margaret, 5:97, 414, 6:151  
*sangha*, 1:159  
*sangre limpia*, 3:134  
 Sanhedrin, 1:222, 503  
 San Ildefonso, Treaty of, 3:46  
 San Juan, Battle of, 4:442  
 San Juan Tewa, 1:279  
 Sanjurjo, José, 5:110  
 Sankara, 1:199  
 Sankoh, Foday, 6:266  
 San Martín, José de, 4:140, 227, 228, 314  
**San Remo Treaty**, 5:38, 51, 55, 140, 173, 338–339, 373  
**Sanskrit**, 1:xxxii, xxxv, 32, 49, 55, 70, 119, 145, 177, 199, 210, 213, 218, 235, 236, 256, 358, 381, 409–410, 468, 478, 480–481, 2:xxxvii, 42, 82, 159, 169, 206, 362, 3:191, 4:348

- Santa Anna, José Antonio López de**, 4:78, 197, 207, 269, 272, 273, 274, 369–370, 411, 412, 5:304  
 Santa Fé, 3:317  
*Santa María*, 3:86  
 Santarosa, Santorre di, 4:195  
**Santeria**, 4:370–371  
 Santos, Gabriel Vargas, 4:96  
 Santos, Juan, 3:45  
 Santos, Juan de los, 3:136  
 Santos-Dumont, Alberto, 5:xxxiii  
 Santo Tomás, Domingo de, 3:313  
**San tribe**, 1:408–409  
 Sanusi, Muhammad ibn 'Ali al-, 4:371  
**Sanusiya**, 4:371, 5:257  
 Sanussi, Sayyid Idris, 6:267  
 Sanzio, Raphael, 2:216  
 Saoshyanth, 1:348  
 Sapa Inca Pachacutic, 3:98  
 Sapieha, Adam, 6:229  
 Sapoa Accord, 6:106  
**Sappho**, 1:24, 254, 410–411  
 Sarabia, Juan, 5:305  
 Saracens, 2:20  
 Saragossa, Emir of, 2:289  
 Sarah, 1:113  
*Sarah Constant*, 3:188  
 Saraswati, 2:50  
*Saratoga*, 4:372  
 Saravia, Aparicio, 5:43  
 Sarawak, 6:277  
 Sarbah, John Mensah, 5:60  
**Sarekat Islam (Islamic Association)**, 5:340–341, 345  
 Sargent, John Singer, 5:98  
 Sargon II, 1:35, 43, 269  
**Sargon of Akkad**, 1:7, 8, 124, 147, 288, 411–412, 446, 475  
 sarin gas, 6:418  
 Sariputta, 2:293  
*sarissa*, 1:9, 10, 354  
**Sarmiento, Domingo Faustino**, 4:151, 235, 371–372  
 Sarraj, Abd al-Hamid, 6:434  
 Sarría, Juan Gregorio, 4:403  
 Sarrien, Jean, 5:68  
 Sarruf, Yacoub, 4:34  
 Sarsfield, Patrick, 3:47  
 Sartre, Jean-Paul, 5:97, 98, 269, 301, 347, 6:9  
 Sasanka, 2:159  
**Sassanid Empire**, 1:22, 58, 96, 117, 130, 138, 154, 207, 231, 240, 305, 348, 412–416, 456, 507, 508, 2:62, 69, 102  
 Satgas Papua, 6:124  
 satire, 1:170–171  
 Satsuma Clan, 4:327, 373, 414  
**Satsuma Rebellion**, 4:267, 372–374  
 Sattler, Michael, 3:16  
 Saturn, 1:395, 396, 399  
 Saturninus, 1:260  
 Satyapal, Dr., 5:13, 14  
 Satyrs, 1:191  
 Satyrus, 1:86  
**Saudi Arabia**, 3:350 5:142, 161, 6:xxxix, 21, 28, 40, 134, 222, 279, 305, 383–384  
 Saudi Basic Law of 1992, 5:161  
 Sauer, Carl, 3:59  
**Saul**, 1:109, 215, 230, 256, 417  
 Saussure, F. de, 1:213  
 Savage, Augusta, 5:140  
 Savage, Michael, 5:33  
 SAVAK (secret police), 6:217  
**savants/Rosetta Stone**, 4:374–375  
 Savimbi, Jonas, 6:18  
 Savio, Mario, 6:154, 155  
 Savitr, 1:478  
**Savonarola, Girolamo**, 2:195, 3:331, 343–344  
 Saw, U, 5:31  
 Sawyer, Pierre-Guillaume, 4:356  
 Saxe, Marshal Maurice de, 3:150, 219  
 Saxons, 1:242, 244, 2:13, 273  
 Saxony, duke of, 2:130, 157  
 Sayani, Rahimtulla M., 5:9  
*sayyid*, 2:8  
 Sayyid Ahmad Khan, 4:22  
 Sayyid dynasty, 2:101  
 Sayzana, 1:142, 143  
 Scaevinus, 1:349  
 scalawags, 4:351  
 scaldic verse, 2:418  
 Scandenbeg, 3:43  
 Scannabecchi, Lamberto, 2:426  
 Scarlatti, Alessandro, 3:259  
 Scarlatti, Domenico, 3:259  
 Scarparelli, Umberto, 5:255  
 Sceptics, 1:394  
 Schafter, Fort, 5:298  
 Schechter, Solomon, 1:380  
*Schechter Poultry Corp. v. United States*, 5:51, 271  
 Scheduled Castes' Federation, 5:12  
 Scheer, Reinhard, 5:418  
 Scheidler, Joseph, 6:367  
 Schenck, Charles, 5:92  
*Schenck v. United States*, 5:92  
 Schiller, Friedrich, 4:170  
**Schism of 1054**, 2:355–356  
 Schlafly, Phyllis, 6:140, 151

- Schleicher, August, 1:210  
 Schleicher, Kurt von, 5:411  
 Schleiermacher, Friedrich, 5:46  
 Schleswig-Holstein, 4:55  
 Schlieffen, Alfred von, 5:341–342, 415  
**Schlieffen Plan**, 5:9, 341–342  
 Schliemann, Heinrich, 1:471  
 Schmalkaldic League, 3:27  
 Schmandt-Besserat, Denise, 1:100  
 Schmitt, Jack, 6:400  
 Schoelcher, Victor, 4:3  
 Schoeps, H. J., 1:503  
 Schöffner, Peter, 3:315  
 Scholarios, George, 2:126  
 Scholastica, St., 1:49, 2:344  
**Scholasticism**, 2:22, 75, 257, 264, 327, 356–358, 428, 3:126, 135  
 Schomberg, Charles de, 3:47, 48  
 Schönberg, Nicholas von, 3:87  
 Schönerer, Georg Ritter von, 5:148  
 School of Americas Watch (SOA Watch), 6:385  
 School of Study of Ancient Meaning, 3:268  
**School of the Americas**, 6:319, 380–381, 422  
 Schreiner, W. P., 5:356  
 Schröder, Gerhard, 6:167  
 Schultz, John Christian, 4:356  
 Schuman, Robert, 6:144, 145  
 Schuschnigg, Kurt, 5:19  
 Schwarzenberg, Prince Felix, 4:136  
 Schwerner, Michael, 6:401  
 Scialoja, Vittorio, 5:221  
 science and technology, advances in, 1:xxxix, 2: xxxi–xxxiii, xxxvii, 208–210, 266–267, 3:344–347, 4:xxviii–xxxix, 5:xxxiii–xxxvi, 6: xxxiii–xxxv  
 science fiction, 5:219  
**Scientific Revolution**, 3:36, 344–347  
 Scillitan martyrs, 1:345  
 Scipio Aemilianus, 1:162  
 Scipio Africanus, 1:162, 187, 188, 2:324  
 Scofield, C. I., 4:64  
 Scopes, John Thomas, 5:343  
**Scopes Trial**, 5:xxxix, 53, 78, 342–343  
 Scorsese, Martin, 6:108  
**Scotland**, 2:185, 186, 306, 358–362, 3:4, 46, 69, 70, 147, 149, 151, 186, 202, 236, 332, 370, 402  
 Scots Confession of Faith, 3:349, 350  
 Scott, Giles Gilbert, 6:38  
 Scott, Thomas, 4:356  
 Scott, Walter, 2:85, 3:216  
 Scott, Winfield, 4:165, 273, 441  
 Scottish Covenanting Army, 3:71  
**Scottish Reformation**, 3:347–349  
**Scottsboro Boys**, 5:343–344  
 Screen Actors Guild (SAG), 5:156, 255, 6:360  
 scribes, 1:316, 417–419, 487  
 scriptorium, 2:198  
 Scrope, Henry, 2:165  
 Scrovegni, Enrico, 2:142  
 Scullin, James, 5:33  
 scurvy, 3:364  
 Seaga, E. P. G., 6:282  
 Seale, Bobby, 6:66  
 Seamus Heaney, 2:13  
**Sea Peoples**, 1:xxxix, 58, 309, 419–420  
**SEASIA**, 5:344–345  
 Sea Tigers, 6:409  
 Sebastião (king of Portugal), 3:48  
 Sebastião II, 4:397  
 Sebond, Raymond, 3:252  
 Sebuk-Tigin, 2:139, 263  
 Second Adventist Movement, 5:294  
 Second Athenian Confederacy, 1:195  
 Second Balkan War, 5:38, 40  
 Second Bank of the United States, 5:106  
 Second Crusade, 2:21, 23, 94, 130  
 Second Diadoch War, 1:116  
 Second Dutch War, 3:170  
 Second Ecumenical Council, 1:461  
**Second French Republic**, 4:375–376  
 Second Great Awakening, 3:107  
 Second Karakhan Declaration, 5:183  
 Second Mithridatic War, 1:387  
 Second Persian War, 1:458  
 Second Punic War, 1:69, 187, 397, 400, 443  
 “Second Reconstruction,” 5:192  
 “Second Roman Empire,” 5:257  
 Second Settlement, 1:62  
**Second Sophistic**, 1:174, 420–421  
 Second Temple, 1:19, 80, 276, 370  
**Second Vatican Council**, 4:308, 321, 424, 6:132, 229, 230, 231, 446  
 Second War of Freedom, 5:2  
 Second Wave Feminism, 6:149, 151  
 Secret Army Organization (OAS), 6:9  
 Seddon, Richard “King Dick,” 5:32  
**Sedition and Alien Acts, U.S.**, 4:22, 5:92  
 Seeberg, Reinhold, 5:46  
 Sefuwa dynasty, 2:230  
 segregation, 5:313–315  
 Sei Shonagon, 2:132, 161  
**Seiyukai Party**, 5:184–186  
 Sejanus, 1:232, 364  
**Sejong**, 2:362–363

- Sekigahara, Battle of**, 2:121, 3:118, 349–350, 356, 384, 385, 387
- Selective Service Act of 1917, 5:229
- Seleucid Empire**, 1:29, 44, 45, 137, 216, 256, 263, 293, 330, 333, 346, 387, 388, 421–422
- Seleucus I Nicator, 1:45, 87, 115, 116, 117, 263, 270, 333
- Seleucus IV Philopator, 1:421
- Self-Defense Forces, 5:181
- Self-Determination Era, 6:16
- Self-Strengthening Movement, China**, 4:185, 238, 344, 414–415
- Selig Company, 5:253
- Seligman, Edwin R. A., 5:115
- Selim (Salim), 3:10
- Selim I, 3:291, 374
- Selim II**, 3:292, 350–351, 362, 374, 375
- Seljuk dynasty**, 1:472, 2:94, 139, 198, 203, 263, 317, 356, 363, 3:181
- Selkirk Settlement, 3:171
- Seme, Pixley, 5:3, 356
- Seminole Indians, 6:17
- Sempach, Battle of, 3:376
- Semple, Robert, 3:171
- Sen, Arartya, 6:180
- Sen, Keshab Chandra, 4:59
- Senanayake, Don Stephen, 6:403
- Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, 6:317
- Seneca**, 1:131, 233, 248, 305, 390, 392, 398, 422–423, 444, 445, 2:266, 4:442
- Seneca Falls Convention, 6:139, 149
- Seneca Indians, 3:267
- Senegal, 5:79, 112, 113, 347
- Senghor, Leopold Sédar**, 5:xxxix, 269, 290, 347
- Sengoku Jidai**, 3:351–352
- Senior Officials Meeting on Transnational Crime (SOMTC), 6:45
- Sennacherib, 1:xxxvii, 35, 43, 148, 216, 311
- Senusret I, 1:278
- Senusret II, 1:278
- Senusret III, 1:278
- Senzangakona, 4:378, 379
- Separate Administrative Region (SAR), 6:229
- Sephardic Jews, 3:129
- Sepoy Mutiny, 5:162
- seppuku*, 2:119
- September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks**, 6:xlii, 9, 41, 75, 85, 88, 99, 102, 185, 236, 276, 297, 309, 322, 349, 384, 394, 412, 440, 462–464
- septicemic plague, 2:43
- Septimania, 1:483
- Septimus Severus**, 1:228, 249, 423, 2:195, 294
- Septuagint, 1:12, 50, 51, 99, 219, 337, 355, 371
- Sepúlveda, Juan Ginés de**, 3:208–209, 352–354
- Sequenre Taa, 1:208
- Sequeira, Diogo Lopes de, 3:226
- Sequoyah, 4:302
- Serapio, Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, 1:163
- Serbelloni, Gabrio, 3:20
- Serbia, 2:240, 249–250, 269, 271, 4:45, 47, 48, 49, 137, 366, 420, 5:9, 38, 39, 40, 104, 133, 295, 6:49, 51–52, 469–471
- Serbian Orthodox Church, 2:250
- Seredniy Stig culture, 1:211, 212
- serfs/serfdom, 2:xxix–xxx, xxxiv, 3:90, 4:xxviii, xxxii, 360, 5:331
- Seripando, Girolamo, 3:389
- Serra, Junípero, 3:137
- Serrano-Súñer, Ramón, 5:110
- Sertorius, 1:468
- Servants of India Society, 4:161
- Servant Songs of Isaiah**, 1:423–424
- Servetus, Miguel, 3:147
- Service Employees International Union (SEIU), 6:16
- Services Bureau (Makhtab al-Khidimat, MAK), 6:12
- Servile War, 1:70
- Servius, Tullus, 1:399
- Servius Sulpicius Galba, 1:233
- Seth, 1:350
- Seti I, 1:382, 383
- Settlement Act, 4:431
- Seven Days' Campaign, 4:91
- Sevensers sect, 2:211
- Seven Oaks, Battle of, 3:171
- “Seven Orders of Wisdom,” 2:200
- Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove, 1:107
- Seventeen-Point Agreement, 6:115, 423
- 17th of October group, 6:297
- Seventh Frontier War, 4:395
- Seven Weeks' War, 4:154, 155
- Seven Years' (French and Indian) War**, 3:45, 81, 91, 149, 219, 311, 4:xxxiv, xxxvii, 5, 6, 23, 64, 73, 75, 77, 135, 138, 139, 182, 219, 220, 242, 246, 248, 277, 301, 309, 328, 376–378, 385, 400, 413, 436, 442
- Seven Years' War in Europe, The**, 1756–1763, 4:M98
- Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS), 6:460
- Severus, Alexander, 1:456
- Severus, Sextus Julius, 1:223
- Seville (Sevilla)**, 3:352–353
- sevoraim*, 1:451, 452

- Sèvres, Treaty of, 5:30, 188, 294, 296, 6:253  
 Sewale, John, 2:321  
 Seward, William H., 4:19, 71, 239, 336  
 Sextus Empiricus, 1:442  
 Sextus Julius Africanus, 1:208  
 Sextus Pompeius, 1:65  
 Sextus Roscius, 1:83  
 Seymour, Edward, 3:119  
 Seymour, Horatio, 4:352  
 Seymour, Jane, 3:119, 163, 233  
 Seymour, William J., 5:299  
 Seyss-Inquart, Arthur, 5:19  
 Seyyid Said, 4:315  
 Sforno, Obadiah, 2:217  
 Sforza, Caterina, 3:226  
 Sforza, Galeazzo Maria, 3:240  
 Sforza, Muzio Attendolo, 3:240  
 Shaaba Farms, 6:190, 223  
**Shaarawi, Huda**, 5:84, 348  
 Shabaka, 1: 240, 312  
 Shaba Wars, 6:291  
 Shabazz, el-Hajj Malik el-, 6:278  
 Shafi'i, 2:208  
 Shafik, Doria, 6:xxxvi  
 Shagari, Shehu, 6:314  
 Shahbuddin. *See* Muhammad of Ghur  
 Shah Durani, 3:296  
 Shahin, 1:416  
 Shah Isma'il, 3:291, 293, 342  
**Shah Jahan**, 3:28, 102, 103, 186, 257, 329, 355–356, 360, 380, 4:285  
**Shahnamah**, 2:364  
 Shahrbaraz, 1:416  
 Shaista Khan, 3:358  
**Shaka Zulu**, 4:10, 14, 378–380, 394  
 Shakespeare, William, 1:204, 307, 2:3, 85, 166, 3:121, 213, 254  
 Shakkanakku, 1:260  
 Shakkur, Yusuf, 6:26  
 Shalmaneser I, 1:34, 202, 285, 311  
 Shalmaneser III, 1:23, 35, 216  
 Shalmaneser V, 1:35, 43  
 shamanism, 2:247, 438  
 Shamash-shuma-ukin, 1:35, 43  
 Shamir, Yitzhak, 6:22  
 Shammai, 1:353, 452, 503  
 Shamshi-Adad I, 1:34, 41, 43, 260  
 Shams ud-Din Iltutmish, 2:100  
**Shandong (Shantung) Question**, 5:347–348, 408  
 Shang, Lord (deity), 1:377  
 Shangdi (Shang-ti), 1:18, 425, 486  
 Shangdu (Shang-tu), 2:438  
**Shang dynasty**, 1:xxxix, xxxii, xxxvii, 17–18, 91, 120–121, 238, 418, 424–426, 490, 499, 505, 2:397  
**Shanghai Communiqué**, 6:317, 385–386, 443  
 Shang Yang, 1:245, 377  
 Shankara, 1:432–433  
 Shan-tao, 2:179  
 Shapur I, 1:412, 413  
 Shapur II, 1:413  
 Shapur III, 1:30, 413  
 Sharaf ad-din Ali Yazdi, 2:269–270  
 Shardana, 1:419  
 sharecroppers, 4:xxviii, 5:6, 262  
 “Share the Wealth” program, 5:267, 271  
 sharia/Islamic law, 2:4, 10, 103, 191, 210–211, 3:256, 4:410, 5:13, 6:255, 384, 407  
 Shari'ati, Ali, 6:216  
 Sharif, Mawlay Ali al-, 3:11  
 Sharif, Nawaz, 6:203, 208, 301  
 Shar-kali-sharri, 1:7, 8, 41  
 Sharm al-Sheikh, 6:24  
 Sharon, Ariel, 6:23, 26, 28, 212, 213  
 Sharpeville Massacre, 6:4, 281  
**Shastri, Lal Bahadur**, 6:48, 158, 202, 207, 386–387, 413, 414  
 Shaukat Ali, Maulana, 5:188  
 Shaw, George Bernard, 4:393, 5:254  
 Shaw, Irwin, 5:99  
 Shaw, T. E., 5:212  
*Shaw*, USS, 5:299  
 Shaw Brothers, 5:255  
 Shawnee Indians, 3:267  
 Shaykh, Muhammad al-, 3:341  
 Shays's Rebellion, 4:98, 99, 444  
 Shazly, Saad el-, 6:26  
 Shcharansky, Anatoly, 6:72  
 Sheba, queen of, 1:499, 4:124  
 sheep, 3:84, 85, 4:xxvi  
*Sheffield*, HMS, 6:147  
 Al Shehri, Walid, 6:462  
 Sheikh Bedreddin, 2:271  
 Shelley, Mary, 5:15  
 Shelley, Percy Bysshe, 4:170  
 Shem, 1:23  
 Shengnong (Sheng-nung), 1:498–499  
 Shenoute of Atripe, 1:286  
 Shephard, Alan B., 6:399  
 Shepherd of Hermas, 1:82  
 Sher Ali, Amir, 4:9, 32  
 Sheridan, Philip, 4:87, 241, 300  
 Sherif, Ghazi, 5:141  
**Sherif Husayn McMahon Correspondence**, 5:24, 37, 55, 189, 348–349, 373

- sherifs*, 2:7  
 Sher Khan, 3:175  
 Sherman, Roger, 4:99, 110, 202  
 Sherman, William T., 4:92, 241  
 Sherman Antitrust Act, 4:157, 218, 5:308, 396  
 Shermarke, Abdirashid Ali, 6:393  
 Sher Shah, 3:175, 297  
 Sherwood, Marcella, 5:13  
 Shi'a Islam, 2:201. *See also* Shi'ism  
**Shidehara, Kijuro**, 5:349–350  
 Shi'i Imam, 3:342  
**Shi'ism**, 2:4, 8, 34, 116, 183, 201, 204, 263, 364–365, 3:2, 11, 175, 261, 293, 342, 356, 4:341, 439, 5:133, 141, 173, 213, 214, 287, 6:27, 28, 32, 83, 190, 191, 199, 213, 214, 217, 219, 222, 241, 253, 263, 264, 417, 429  
 Shiji (Shin-chi), 1:46, 184, 429, 430, 491  
*Shi Jing (Shi Ching)*, 1:91, 93  
 Shikhmuradov, Boris, 6:86  
**Shimabara Rebellion, Japan**, 3:356  
 Shimashki dynasty, 1:476  
**Shimonoseki, Treaty of**, 4:87, 383–384  
 Shimonoseki Affair, 4:373  
 Shin Arhan, 2:55  
**Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso)**, 6:259, 262, 387, 418  
**Shinran**, 2:179, 304, 365–366  
 Shinsengumi, 4:414  
**Shintoism**, 1:426–428, 2:132, 160–161, 296, 354, 369  
**ships/shipping**, 3:357–358  
 Shire Highlands Protectorate, 5:277  
 Shirreff, Emily, 4:448  
 Shirreff, Maria, 4:448  
 Shiruya, 1:416  
**Shiva**, 1:214, 235, 2:42, 50, 85, 335, 366–367, 414, 2:56, 82  
 Shiva, Vandana, 6:180  
**Shivaji**, 3:28, 295, 358–359, 4:283  
 Shizong, 2:222  
 shogunates, 2:24–27, 119–120, 133–134, 171–174, 228, 232, 388  
 Shoin Yoshida, 4:414  
 Shomu, 1:154  
**Shona**, 2:367–368  
 Short, Walter, 5:297  
 Shoshone Indians, 1:297, 3:263  
**Shotoku Taishi**, 1:436, 445, 446, 496, 2:237, 368–369, 387, 388, 397  
 Shou, 1:486, 505  
 Showa, 5:145  
 Shrewsbury, Battle of, 2:165  
 shrine Shinto, 1:427  
 Shriver, Sargent, 6:336  
 Shu-Durul, 1:7  
 Shu Han, 1:464  
 Shuja, Shah, 4:9, 31  
*Shu Jing (Shu Ching)* 1:91, 93, 429  
 Shukairy, Ahmed, 6:332  
 Shulgi, 1:147, 476  
 Shultz, George, 6:214  
**Shun**, 1:91, 94, 490, 493, 497, 499  
 Shunzi (Shun-chih), 3:111, 322, 407, 416  
 Shuppiluliuma I, 1:202  
 Shurutura, 4:319  
 Shushigaku School of Thought, 3:268  
 Shutargardan Pass, Battle of, 4:9  
 Shutruk-Nahhunte, 1:128  
 Siad Barre, Mohamed, 6:194, 393  
**Siam**, 4:29–30, 5:134  
     **Anglo-French Agreement on**, 4:29–30  
     **Siam-Burmese War**, 4:380  
**Siamese invasion of Khmer kingdom**, 2:369–370  
 Siberian Expedition, 5:122  
 Siculus, 1:73  
 Sidamo, 6:142  
 Sidon, 1:11  
 Sidonia, Medina, 3:48  
 sieges in warfare, 1:xxxviii–xxxix  
 Siegfried Line, 5:234  
 Sierra, Juan Roa, 6:157  
 Sierra, Justo, 4:232  
 Sierra Club, 5:91, 92  
 Sierra Leone, 5:263, 264, 6:270  
 Sieyès, Emmanuel Joseph, 4:295  
 Siffin, Battle of, 2:8, 69, 103  
 Sifton, Clifford, 4:190  
 Siger of Brabant, 2:267  
 Sigismund, 2:37, 48, 49, 90, 92, 93, 154, 178, 3:166, 396, 4:181  
 Sigismund, John, 3:166  
 Sigismund III, 3:52  
 Sihanouk. *See* Norodom Sihanouk  
 Sikander, 3:256  
**Sikhism**, 3:359–360  
 Sikhs, 3:257, 359–360, 4:8, 31, 114, 190, 283, 6:159, 160, 203, 390, 418, 445  
 Sikhunyane, 4:379  
**Sikh Wars, India**, 4:8, 31, 381  
 Silent Trade, 3:375  
 Siles Zuazo, Hernán, 6:69, 338  
**Silk Road**, 1:xxxiii, xxxvi, 45, 46, 55, 74, 105, 132, 145, 153, 177, 184, 186, 206, 240, 330, 428–429, 436, 501, 2:xxix, xxxvi, xxxviii, 77, 334, 352, 392, 431, 3:262, 4:288, 344

- Silla dynasty**, 1:464–465, 496, 2:238, 296, 370–373, 386  
**Silo**, 2:86  
**Silva, João**, 3:204  
**Silva, Luiz Inácio Lula da**, 6:388  
**Silva, Pire**, 3:204  
**Silva Bernardes, Artur da**, 5:307  
**Silvanus**, 1:259  
**Silva y Velázquez, Diego Rodríguez de**. *See* Velásquez, Diego  
**silver**, 1:xxxix, 3:287, 292, 301, 393, 4:226  
   **in the Americas**, 3:360–362  
**Sima Dan (Ssu-ma T'an)**, 1:429  
**Sima Guang (Ssu-ma Kuang)**, 2:297  
**Sima Qian (Ssu-ma Ch'ien)**, 1:46, 164, 184, 272, 429–430, 491, 2:425  
**Sima Yuan**, 1:464  
**Simeon**, 2:54, 149, 261  
**Simeon the Stylite**, 1:286, 321, 430–431  
**Simmons, Menno**, 3:16  
**Simmons, William**, 5:192, 266  
**Simon**, 1:256  
**Simon Commission**, 5:10, 163, 166, 270  
**Simon de Montfort**, 2:4–5, 89, 245, 306, 423  
**Simonides**, 1:76, 254, 347  
**Simon Magus**, 1:78  
**Simon Peter**, 1:20, 21  
**Simon the Cananaean**, 1:20–21  
**simony**, 2:217, 385, 3:212  
**Sin**, 4:380  
**Sin, Jaime**, 6:288, 343  
**Sinai, Mount**, 1:29, 110, 114, 125, 288, 431, 466  
**Sinai Peninsula**, 6:21, 24  
**Sinan, Abdul-Menan**, 3:351, 362, 374  
**Sinclair, Upton**, 5:xxxii, 218, 256  
**Sind, Arab conquest of**, 2:372–373, 5:3  
**sinecures**, 2:217  
**Sinell**, 2:92  
**Singahsari dynasty**, 2:264  
**Singapore**, 5:49, 345, 6:xxxviii, 43, 44, 165, 277, 388–389  
**Singh, Manmohan**, 6:160, 203, 389–390  
**Singh, Mirza Raja Jai**, 3:358  
**Singh, Ranjit**, 4:114, 381–382  
**Singh, Vishwanath Pratap**, 6:203  
**Singh, Zail**, 6:159  
**Single-Article Bill**, 6:295  
**Single European Act**, 6:144  
**Sinhala Only Act**, 6:404  
**Sinhalese**, 4:82, 83  
**Sin Ik-hui**, 6:360  
**Sinjong**, 2:239  
**Sin-leqe-unnini**, 1:161  
**Sinn Féin**, 5:173, 174, 399, 6:220, 221  
**Sino-French War**, 4:178, 239, 382  
**Sino-Indian War**, 6:202, 206, 383  
**Sino-Japanese Treaty**, 5:409  
**Sino-Japanese War**, 4:87, 148, 171, 210, 239, 245, 246, 267, 383–384, 415, 5:65, 157, 194, 235, 239, 283, 305, 350–352, 408, 421, 430, 433, 6:272  
**Sino-Portuguese Joint Liaison Group**, 6:275  
**Sino-Soviet Border War**, 6:440  
**Sino-Soviet Treaty of 1950**, 5:183, 6:390–391  
**Sipple, Billy**, 6:154  
**Siqueiros, David**, 5:xl, 6:41, 258  
**Sirach**, 1:90, 372, 488  
**Siraj-ud-Daula**, 3:81, 311  
**Sirica, John**, 6:458  
**Siricius**, 1:219  
**Sirleaf, Ellen Johnson**, 6:xxxvii  
**Sirmium, archbishop of**, 2:98  
**Sisavang Vong**, 4:143  
**Sisebut**, 1:483  
**Sisowath**, 4:143  
**Sisters of Loretto**, 6:416  
**Sisulu, Walter**, 5:3  
**sit-down strikes**, 5:168  
**sit-in movement**, 6:95  
**Sitting Bull**, 4:303  
**Siva**. *See* Shiva  
**Six-Day War**, 6:5  
**Six Pillars of Islam**, 2:126  
**Six Schools of Classical Hindu Philosophy**, 1:431–433  
**Sixth Crusade**, 2:175–176  
**Sixth Frontier War**, 4:395  
**Sixtus III**, 1:247  
**Sixtus IV**, 2:345, 346–347, 373, 3:183, 195, 240  
**Sixtus VI**, 3:134  
**Sixty Years' War**, 4:xxxvii  
**Six Weeks' War**, 4:56  
**Sjahrir, Minangkabau Sultan**, 5:143  
**Skamandronymos**, 1:410  
*skene*, 1:171  
**Skopas**, 1:86, 191  
**Skotkonung, Olaf**, 2:314  
**Skoufas, Nikolaos**, 4:169  
*skraeling*, 2:416  
**Skrynski, Alexander**, 5:221  
**Slater, Samuel**, 4:xxix  
**SLATE student party**, 6:154, 155  
**slaves/slavery**, 2:xl, 415, 416, 3:7, 8, 9, 19, 23, 24, 25, 38, 49, 51, 54, 55, 59, 69, 90, 114–115, 116, 122, 137, 139, 178–179, 204, 222, 231,

- 281, 285, 352, 353, 361, 367, 372–374, 384, 4:xxxv, xxxii, xxxiv, xxxviii, 15, 16, 17, 26, 66, 81, 83, 88–92, 94, 114–115, 135, 165, 167–168, 187, 190, 202, 215, 223, 228, 229, 237–238, 256, 270, 315, 322, 325, 334, 350, 351, 394, 416, 5:xxxvii, 80, 112, 115, 116, 123, 277, 346, 370, 437, 6:54, 137, 151, 255, 313, 396, 425  
**abolition of**, 4:1–5, 52, 95, 417  
**African slave trade of**, 3:364–367, 4:121, 385–387  
**slave revolts in**, 3:231, 4:103, 104, 173, 226, 384–385  
**transport and trade of**, 3:362–365  
Slavs, 1:59, 166, 205, 402, 2:57, 157, 174, 193, 285  
Slayer of Foes, 1:263  
Sluys, Battle of, 2:307  
Smalcald Articles, 3:27, 242  
smallpox, 1:281, 2:xxxii, 3:67, 85, 97, 123, 124, 239, 247, 266, 267, 273, 322, 364, 369, 4:xxvi, 24, 308, 419, 5:188, 6:xxxv  
Small Sword Society, 4:178  
smashing of the Gang of Four, 6:160  
Smenkhare, 1:352  
Smerdis, 1:66  
**Smith, Adam**, 1:365, 4:xxxix, 121, 157, 176, 386, 387–388  
**Smith, Alfred E.**, 5:309, 326, 352–353, 383, 415  
Smith, Emma, 4:281  
Smith, Gerald L. K., 5:267  
Smith, Harry, 4:395  
Smith, Hyrum, 4:282  
Smith, Ian, 6:296–297, 364, 365, 453, 454  
Smith, James, Jr., 5:412  
Smith, John, 3:189, 214  
Smith, Joseph, 4:281–283  
Smith, Margaret Bayard, 4:184  
Smith, Walter Bedell, 5:75  
Smith, William, 3:415  
*Smith v. Alright*, 5:262  
Smoot-Hawley Tariff Bill, 5:154  
**Smuts, Jan Christiaan**, 5:2, 3, 118, 353–354, 392, 6:3  
Sneevliet, Henk, 6:205  
Sneferu, 1:316, 351, 374  
Snell, Willebrod, 3:104  
Snell's law, 3:104  
Snorri, 2:416  
Snorri Sturluson, 2:418  
Snow, Edgar, 5:431  
Snowy Mountain Scheme, 5:134  
Soares, Lopo, 3:12  
Soares, Mário, 6:345, 346  
Sobchak, Anatoly, 6:348  
Sobekhotep IV, 1:279  
Sobekneferu, 1:279, 352  
Sobell, Morton, 6:367  
Sobibór, 5:151  
Soccer War, 6:135  
So Chae-p'il, 4:213  
**Social Darwinism**, 4:xxxii, 108, 157, 158, 232, 388–389, 5:96, 101, 258, 343  
Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland, 6:128  
Social Democratic Hnchag (“Clarion”) Party, 5:26  
Social Democratic Party (SPD), 6:60, 169  
Social Gospel movement, 4:160, 5:308  
**socialism**, 4:xxxii, 389–393, 5:101, 206, 215, 216, 226  
Socialist Independence of India League, 5:48  
Socialist Labor Party, 4:217  
Socialist Party, 5:71, 92, 131, 240, 241  
Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahariya, 6:354  
Socialist Revolutionaries, 5:333  
Socialist Revolutionary Party, 5:186  
Socialist Unity Party (SED), 6:58, 127  
Socialist Youth Union, 6:129  
Social Security Act, 5:272, 327  
Social Security Law, 6:20  
Social War, 1:83, 155, 387  
Society for Human Rights, The, 6:164  
Society of Friends, 3:54, 297–298, 318, 4:386  
**Society of Jesus**, 3:38, 43, 45, 51, 76, 92, 128, 190, 220–221, 337, 4:221, 435  
Society of Patriots, 6:265  
Society of Saint Francis de Sales (Salesians), 6:31  
Society of the Cherry, 5:235  
Society of the Friends of the Blacks (Société des Amis des Noirs), 4:3  
Society of the Muslim Brothers, 5:257–258  
**Socrates**, 1:9, 19, 28, 39, 168, 171, 179, 195, 307, 349, 358, 433–435, 441, 442, 452, 487  
Sodré, Jeronymo, 4:4  
**Soga clan**, 1:436, 445, 496, 2:136, 369, 388, 397, 398  
Soga Iname, 1:436  
Soga Umako, 1:436, 446, 496  
**Sogdians**, 1:103, 389, 436–438, 493, 504, 2:406  
Soil Conservation Service, 5:82  
Sokullu, Mehmet, 3:350  
Sokolnikov, Grigori, 5:360  
Solano, Francis, 3:137  
Solano López, Francisco, 4:322  
Solh, Riyad, Al-, 5:213  
**Solidarity Movement**, 4:329, 6:73, 130, 168, 341, 362, 391–392, 457  
**Solomon**, 1:xxxvii, 23, 29, 109, 197, 215, 216, 229, 239, 320, 370, 371, 419, 439–440, 467, 487, 2:113, 136, 244, 368, 407, 4:124  
odes of, 448  
wisdom of, 488

- Solon**, 1:37, 89, 90, 167, 341, 440–441, 4:99  
 Solway Moss, Battle of, 3:348  
 Soma, 1:478  
**Somalia**, 3:177–178, 5:94, 95, 6:13, 143, 193, 194, 222, 392–394  
**Somaliland**, 5:94, 95, 133, 354–355  
 Somerset, Charles, 4:395  
 Some Works of the Law, 1:380  
 Somme, 5:xli  
 Somocistas, 6:106  
 Somoza, Luis, 6:152  
 Somoza Debayle, Anastasio, 6:135, 152, 311, 379  
**Somoza García, Anastasio**, 5:210, 339, 355–356  
 Sonderbund, 3:377  
**Song (Sung) dynasty**, 1:92, 2:xl, 123, 124, 147, 156, 221, 227, 238, 241, 252, 277, 281, 294, 334, 373–375, 424, 429, 430, 437, 438, 439, 442, 443, 4:447  
 Songgotu, 3:269  
**Songhai**, 2:107, 138–139, 144, 160, 5:112  
**Songhai Empire**, 3:341, 366–367, 375–376  
**Song Huizong (Sung Hui-Tsung)**, 2:182–183, 221, 227, 374  
 Songjong, 2:239  
 Song of Solomon and Qoheleth, 1:439  
 Song Ping, 6:194  
 Song Taizu (Song T'ai-tsu), 2:124, 373, 436  
 Sonjo, 3:205  
 Son Ngoc Thanh, 6:204  
 Sonnino, Sidney, 5:295  
 Sons and Daughters of Liberty, 4:24  
 Sons and Daughters of the Covenant, 1:448  
 Sons of Liberty, 4:6  
 Sonthonax, Leger-Félicité, 4:174  
 Soong Mei-ling (Madame Chiang Kai-shek), 5:56, 61  
 Sophia (Russian regent), 3:303  
**sophism**, 1:28, 173, 195, 441–442, 487. *See also* Second Sophistic  
**Sophocles**, 1:140, 170, 179, 392, 423, 442–443  
 Sorghaghtani Beki, 2:240, 281, 403  
 sorghum, 2:438  
 Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz, 3:398  
 Sotelo, Leopoldo Calvo, 6:403  
 Soto, Domingo de, 3:390  
 Soubise, Marshal (Charles de Rohan, prince de Soubise), 3:219, 4:138  
 Souder, Mark, 6:123  
 Sout, Marshal (Jean-de-Dieu Sout, duc de Dalmatie), 4:298  
 Souphanouvong, 6:204, 205, 335  
 Sousa, Martím Afonso de, 3:50  
 Sousa, Tomé de, 3:50  
**South Africa**, 4:xxxv, xxxviii, 12, 187, 316, 393, 5:2–3, 45–46, 103, 118, 133, 135, 190, 220, 290, 353–354, 392–394, 6:3, 5, 7, 41, 64, 99, 156, 280–282, 303, 453–454  
     under Apartheid, 6:M170  
     **Bantu in**, 4:394–396  
     **Boers in**, 4:354, 394–396  
     **British Empire in**, 4:66–67  
     **Dutch influences in**, 3:115–116  
**South African Native National Congress**, 5:3, 356–357  
 South African War, 4:396  
 South Africa Party, 5:2  
**South America**, 4:xxv, xxxv, 6:xxxix, xxxii, xxxvi  
     **Araucanian Indians in**, 3:19–20  
     **art and architecture (1750–1900)**, 4:37  
     **conquest of northwestern**, 3:279–280  
 Southampton Plot, 2:165  
 South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), 6:403  
**Southeast Asia**, 5:56, 167, 344–345  
**South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)**, 5:302, 6:394–395, 446  
 Southern African Develop Coordination Council (SADCC), 5:290  
 Southern African Development Community (SADC), 5:290  
 Southern Agrarian tradition, 1:295–296  
**Southern Baptist Convention (SBC)**, 6:396  
 Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), 6:94, 96, 245, 292, 405  
 Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR), 6:320  
 Southern Poverty Law Center, 5:192  
**Southern Rhodesia**, 5:319–321  
 Southern Rhodesian African National Congress, 6:364  
 South Lebanon Army (SLA), 6:27, 190, 264  
 South Manchurian Railway (SMR), 5:193, 194, 228, 235, 306  
 South Sea Company of Great Britain, 3:363  
 South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), 6:303  
 Souvanna Phouma, Prince, 6:335  
 Sovereign Military Order of Malta, 2:237  
 Soviet-German Boundary Treaty, 5:429  
 Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Treaty, 5:56  
 Soviet-Mongolian treaty, 5:251  
 Soviet Republics of Central Asia, 6:81  
 soviets, 5:70  
**Soviet Union**, 5:xxxii, xxxvi, xxxvii, xxxviii, xli, 62, 65, 66, 68–69, 75, 96, 147, 151, 155, 156, 157,

- 172, 183–184, 191, 194, 210, 236, 237, 238, 239, 251, 253–254, 287, 307, 327, 366–367, 6: xxxi, xxxiii, xxxix, xli, 1, 2, 11, 12, 17, 22, 24, 27, 32, 34, 35, 39, 41, 52, 57, 58–60, 71–73, 93, 99–102, 103–104, 109–110, 111–112, 127, 128, 134, 135, 136, 141, 142, 143, 145, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 169, 172, 173, 174, 175, 191, 192, 196, 197, 198, 199, 222, 235–236, 238–239, 242–243, 247, 248, 249, 251, 285, 361–362, 367–368, 382, 390–391, 412, 413–414, 418, 421, 442, 448, 456–457, 475  
collapse and dissolution of, 6:M174, 99, 396–398  
Five-Year Plans of, 5:xxxiv, 357–358  
New Economic Policy of, 5:273–274  
social and cultural developments in, 5:360–362  
Stalin's purges in, 5:359–360  
*See also* **Rus; Russia**
- Soweto Uprising, 6:4  
soybeans, 5:xxxii  
Soyinka, Wole, 6:xxxix  
space exploration, 6:xxxiii–xxxiv, 34, 238, 316, 398–402, 401
- Spain**, 1:72, 482–483, 3:56, 305–307, 4:3–4, 13, 128–129, 187, 5:102, 104, 209, 321, 6:161, 343, 398–399  
art and architecture (1750–1900), 4:38  
Christian states of, 2:86–90  
civil war in, 6:38, 421  
colonies in Africa, 4:396–398  
colonization of Philippines by, 3:307–308  
expulsion of Jews from, 3:129  
Reconquest of, 2:86, 110, 342, 3:41, 192, 354, 380
- Spain and Portugal in the Americas, 1750**, 3:M96
- Spanish Abolitionist Society, 4:3
- Spanish America**, 4:221–222  
*encomienda* in, 3:20, 62, 67, 89, 105, 109, 121–122, 158, 208, 275, 276, 283, 300, 311, 333, 352, 361, 393, 411  
Freemasonry in, 4:139–140  
hacienda in, 3:122, 158–159, 276  
*reducciones (congregaciones)* in, 3:45, 330, 388, 412  
*repartimiento* in, 3:122, 250, 311, 333–334
- Spanish-American War**, 4:xxxv, xxxviii, 105, 112, 257, 310, 398–399, 5:1, 4, 53, 110, 301, 311, 328
- Spanish Armada**, 3:53, M73, 112, 121, 157, 329, 367–368
- Spanish Bourbons**, 4:399–400
- Spanish civil war, 1936–1939**, 4:400, 5:xli, 16, 58, 69, 79, 102, 109, 110, 111, 126, 149, M153, 175, 260, 294, 337, 362–364
- Spanish Constitution, 4:233
- Spanish Foreign Legion, 5:110
- Spanish influenza, 5:169
- Spanish Inquisition**, 2:342, 3:129, 132, 134, 147, 151, 180–181, 194, 299, 324
- Spanish March, 2:79
- Spanish Succession, War of the**, 3:19, 29, 55, 148, 158, 218, 273, 277, 369–370, 402
- Sparta, 1:8, 10, 31, 37, 84, 86, 167, 189, 195, 246, 258, 325, 342, 343, 344, 376, 387, 434, 443–444, 447, 448, 489, 5:8
- Spartacus**, 1:xxxiii, 61, 70, 443–444, 469
- Spartakusbund, 5:226
- Spathary, Nicolai G., 3:269
- Special Administrative Region (SAR), 6:192
- Speke, John Hanning, 4:10, 11, 12, 72
- Spence, Lewis, 3:312
- Spencer, Herbert**, 4:xxxii, 157, 232, 388–389
- Spencer, Philip, 1:411
- Spengler, Oswald, 5:258
- Spenser, Edmund, 3:213
- Spenser, Sarah, 3:405
- Speyer, Diet of, 3:332
- spheres of influence, 4:13, 87–88
- Sphinx, 1:317, 351–352
- Spice Islands, 3:138, 190, 227
- spice trade, 4:64, 82, 83, 94
- Spichern, Battle of, 4:133
- Spilberg, George, 4:81
- Spínola, António de, 6:344, 345
- Spinoza, Baruch de, 1:304, 3:115, 4:121, 122
- Spirit of St. Louis*, 5:218
- Spitz, Lewis W., 3:316
- Spitz, Mark, 6:326
- Spooner, Lysander, 5:16
- sports, organized, 5:xl
- Spotsylvania, Battle of, 4:92
- Spottiswoode, John, 3:348
- Spread of Democracy and Women's Suffrage, The**, 6: M190–191
- Spriggs, Ed, 6:68
- Sprigs, Elizabeth, 3:178
- Spring, Howard, 5:255
- Spurs, Battle of, 3:236
- Sputnik*, 6:xxxiii, xl, 57, 243, 394
- squash, 1:xxx, 2:xxx, 3:83, 266, 279
- Sri Indraditya, 2:370
- Sri Lanka**, 4:81–82, 6:159, 203, 399–400, 409.  
*See also* Ceylon
- Srindravarman, 2:235
- Srivijaya kingdom**, 2:86, 375–376
- SS (Schutzstaffel), 5:148, 268, 365

- St. Andrews, archbishop of, 3:348  
 St. Bartholomew's Day massacre, 3:171, 265, 332  
 St. Germain-en-Laye Treaty, 5:294  
 St. Lawrence River, 3:270, 272, 327, 4:5  
**St. Lawrence Seaway**, 6:400  
 St. Mark's Basilica, 2:412  
 Stack, Lee, 5:370, 435  
 Stadtholder of Holland, 3:46  
 stagflation, 6:79  
**Stalin, Joseph**, 5:xxxii, xli, xlii, 41, 56, 65, 66, 69, 71, 75, 149, 183, 215, 217, 237, 239, 251, 274, 275, 276, 334, 352, 357, 358, 359–360, 361, 362, 366–367, 368, 382, 383, 386, 395, 420, 425, 427, 428, 429, 431, 6:xxxix, 32, 52, 71, 81, 89, 100, 102, 104, 165, 173, 197, 242, 243, 244, 255, 288, 390, 424  
**Stalingrad, Battle of**, 5:367–369  
 Stamp Act, 4:309  
 Standish, Robert, 4:38  
 Stanford, Leland, 4:157  
 Stanislas II Augustus, 4:76  
 Stanley, Edward, 4:112, 160  
 Stanley, Henry Morton, 4:12, 70, 97, 236  
 Stanton, Edwin, 4:351  
 Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, 4:450  
 Star Chamber, 3:161  
 Star of North Africa, 5:6  
 Starr, Ellen, 5:1  
 Starr, Kenneth, 6:348  
 “Star-Spangled Banner,” 5:154  
 START. *See* Strategic Arms Reduction Talks and Treaties  
 Star Wars. *See* Strategic Defense Initiative  
 State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), 6:46, 306  
 Statement of Policy on Palestine, 5:52  
 State Peace and Development Council (SPDC), 6:46  
 Statius, 1:3, 390, 392, 398  
**Statue of Liberty**, 4:xxxvi, 158, 310, 401–402  
 Statute of Laborers, 2:323  
 Statute of Rhuddlan, 2:424  
 Statute of Westminster, 5:2, 34, 6:104  
**Statutes of Kilkenny**, 2:235–236  
 Stauffenberg, Claus von, 5:47  
 Staurakios, 2:64  
 steam engine, 4:xxix–xxx, xxxvi  
 Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC), 5:217  
 Steffen, Lincoln, 5:256  
 Stein, Gertrude, 5:98, 218  
 Stein, Leo, 5:98  
 Steinbeck, John, 5:82, 218  
 Steinmetz, Karl F. von, 4:133, 154  
 Stepashin, Sergei, 6:348, 375  
 Stephanus, 3:40  
 Stephen, 2:301, 306  
**Stephen I of Blois**, 2:163, 243, 305, 310, 376–377  
 Stephen II, 2:344  
 Stephen III, 2:324  
 Stephen V, 2:96  
 Stephen of Sponheim, 2:169  
 Stephenson, D. C., 5:192  
 Step Pyramid of Djoser, 1:316  
 Stern, Andrew, 6:16  
 Stern, Avraham, 5:441  
 Stern Gang (LEHI), 5:20, 21, 22, 137, 138, 441  
 Steseichorus, 1:254  
 Steuben, Friedrich von, 4:24  
 Stevens, Evelyn, 4:231  
 Stevens, Thaddeus, 4:350, 351  
 Stevenson, Robert Louis, 5:254  
 Stewart, James, 3:186  
 Stewart, Potter, 6:366  
 Sthulabhadra, 1:217, 218  
 Stilicho, 1:405, 2:61  
 Stilwell, Joseph, 5:56, 352, 369  
**Stilwell Mission**, 5:369  
 Stimson, Henry L., 5:146, 154, 228, 237, 312, 383  
 Stimson Doctrine, 5:154, 228, 283  
 Stirling, Matthew W., 1:317  
 Stirner, Max, 5:16  
 Stockton, Robert, 4:237  
 Stoddard, Lothrop, 5:266  
 Stoeckl, Edouard de, 4:19  
**stoicism**, 1:38, 39, 52, 70, 193, 261, 355, 394, 422, 444–445, 2:22  
 “Stolen Generation, The,” 5:34  
 Stolietov, General, 4:31  
 Stone, Lucy, 4:449  
 Stone Age, 1:300–302  
 Stonehenge, 1:120, 301  
 Stonewall Riots, 6:164  
 Stopes, Marie, 5:97, 414  
 Storch, Nicolas, 3:15, 296  
 Storm Troopers (SA), 5:148  
 Stoughton, William, 3:406  
 Stowe, Calvin, 4:53  
 Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 4:52, 53, 90, 5:414  
 Strabo, Walafrid, 1:58, 155, 2:75  
 Strachey, Lytton, 4:434  
 Straits of Gibraltar, 5:228  
 Straits Settlement, 5:345  
 Strassmann, Fritz, 5:236  
 Strategic Arms Limitation Talks and Treaties (SALT I/SALT II), 6:2, 18, 35, 72, 121, 122, 317

- Strategic Arms Reduction Talks and Treaties (START), 6:35, 122
- Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), 6:xli, 35, 101, 102, 362
- Strategic Influence, The Office of, 6:76
- Strategic Offensive Reduction Treaty, 6:122
- Strauss, Richard, 1:3
- Stravinsky, Igor, 5:361
- Straw, Jack, 2:321
- Streeton, Arthur, 5:33
- Streltsi, 3:303
- Stresemann, Gustav, 5:221, 222
- Stroessner, Alfredo, 5:103
- Stroh, Julius, 5:309
- Strong, Josiah, 4:257
- Strongbow, 2:235
- Stuart, Charles Edward (Bonnie Prince Charlie), 3:30, 149
- Stuart, House of (England)**, 3:19, 46, 54, 69, 79, 106, 119, 148, 319, 370–371, 392, 4:121
- Stuart, James Edward, 3:149
- Stuart, James Francis Edward, 3:19
- Stuart, John Todd, 4:241
- Stuart, Mary. *See* Mary, Queen of Scots
- Stübner, Mark Thomas, 3:15, 296
- Student Christian Association, 6:280
- student movements, U.S.**, 6:xxxvii, 48, 95, 405–406, 414
- Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 6:95, 96, 97, 154, 405
- Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), 6:154, 405
- Sturgis, Frank, 6:458
- Stuyvesant, Peter, 3:273, 274
- Styron, William, 5:99
- Suarez, Adolfo, 6:402–403
- Suárez, Hugo Banzer, 6:336
- Suárez, Inés de, 3:393
- Subandhu, 1:236
- submarines, 5:xlii, 297–299
- Subotai**, 2:227, 283, 284, 302, 313, 330, 378–380
- suburbanization, U.S.**, 6:48, 402–403
- Sucre, Antonio José de**, 4:228, 402–403
- Sudan**, 1:4, 5, 3:9, 375, 4:14, 127, 140, 5:84, 112, 113, 190, 224, 370–371, 406, 6:xlii, 13, 116–117, 279, 322–323, 412, 428–429
- civil wars in**, 6:407–408
- condominium in**, 4:404
- Sudanic Africa, 2:230–231
- Sudbury, Archbishop, 2:321, 322
- Suddhodana, 1:158
- Suetonius, 1:54, 61, 305, 390, 393, 394, 395, 470
- Suevi, 1:242, 243, 474, 483, 2:333
- Suez Canal**, 4:xxvi, xxxv, 13, 32, 37, 113, 160, 194, 374, 404–405, 5:37, 55, 86, 87, 405, 406, 6:23, 26, 45, 134, 305
- Suez Canal Crisis, 1956**, 6:M165
- Sufism**, 2:140, 271, 380, 3:241, 4:192, 209, 367, 371, 426, 439, 5:30, 257, 6:253
- Sugami, Satam, 6:458
- sugar, plantations and trade of**, 3:26, 50, 51, 55, 84, 114, 115, 180, 298, 299, 362, 372–374, 4:xxvi, xxxiv, 42, 94, 95, 173, 224, 385, 386
- Suharto, Haji Mohamed**, 5:265, 6:44, 208, 408, 409
- Suhrawardy, H. S., 6:46
- suicide attacks/bombings, 6:22, 23, 28, 189, 413, 419
- Sui dynasty**, 1:55, 75, 465, 466, 2:147, 155, 237, 369, 380–382, 388, 393
- Suiko**, 1:436, 445–446, 496, 2:234
- Sui Wendi (Sui Wen-ti), 2:147, 380
- Sukarno, Ahmed**, 5:143, 265, 345, 6:55, 124, 205, 408–409
- Sükhbaatar, Damdin, 5:251
- Sukhothai**, 2:234, 370, 382–383
- Sukhra, 1:414
- Suleiman, 2:237, 269
- Suleiman I (the Magnificent)**, 3:2, 22, 73, 205, 251, 291, 292, 293, 350, 362, 374–375
- Sulla**, 1:63–64, 83, 140, 261, 387, 469, 471
- Sully, Maurice de, 2:252
- The Sullivans*, USS, 6:14
- Sulpicius Severus, 1:189
- Sultan Yusuf, 4:15
- Sumanguru, 2:138
- Sumatra, 2:375
- Sumer**, 1:xxx, 8, 41, 101, 147, 161, 207, 270, 386, 411, 418, 446–447, 475, 487
- Sumiyoshi, 1:428
- Summon, Helen, 6:281
- Sumner, Charles, 4:19, 90, 165, 350, 351
- Sumner, William Graham, 4:xxxii, 157, 158, 389
- Sumu-abum, 1:41
- Sumu-Yaman, 1:260
- Sun Bin, 1:447
- Sunderland, Charles Spencer, 3:19
- Sundiata**, 2:xl, 138, 383–384
- sun goddess (Japanese), 1:495. *See also* Amaterasu
- Sunjo, 4:211
- Sunjong, 4:213
- Sun King, 3:4
- Sun Myung Moon, 4:39
- Sunni Ali**, 3:366, 375–376
- Sunni Baru, 3:366
- Sunni dynasty, 2:139

- Sunni Muslims, 2:4, 8, 9, 34, 41, 116, 140, 183, 193, 203, 204, 259, 287, 317, 363, 398, 3:2, 10, 261, 288, 293, 342, 4:7, 341, 5:141, 173, 213, 214, 6:11, 27, 42, 83, 187, 252, 429, 460  
 “Sunni Triangle,” 6:187  
 Sun Quan, 1:464  
 Sunshine Policy, 6:248  
 Sun Wu, 1:205  
**Sun Yat-sen**, 4:186, 210, 344, 5:17, 62, 64, 65, 157, 238, 245, 275, 372–373, 395, 407, 408, 431, 433, 6:192, 272, 475  
**Sunzi (Sun Tzu)**, 1:236, 447  
 Suplicius Rufus, 1:261  
 Suppiluliumas, 1:285  
 Supreme Allied Command, 5:75  
 Supreme Council for National Reconstruction (SCNR), 6:334  
 Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE), 6:322  
 “surge model,” 1:211  
*Surprise*, 4:211  
 Surya, 1:381, 478  
 Suryavarman II, 2:233  
**Susa**, 1:11, 128, 345–346, 489, 490  
**Su Shi (Su Shih)**, 2:377–378  
 Sushun, 1:436, 445, 446  
*Susquehanna*, 4:372  
 Susquehannock Indians, 3:37  
 Sutan Sjahrir, Minangkabau, 5:265  
 sutras, 1:409  
*suttee*, 4:348  
 Sutter’s Mill, 4:88  
 Suyat, Cecilia, 6:286  
 Suzong (Su-tsung), 2:20, 405  
 Suzuki Harunobu, 3:147  
 Sven, 2:419  
**Sviatoslav**, 2:349, 384–385, 400  
 Svoboda, Ludwig, 6:346  
 Svyatopolk the Accursed, 2:434  
*swadeshi*, 5:165  
 Swahili coast, 3:286  
*Swallow*, HMS, 4:318  
 Swanson, Gloria, 5:253  
 Swaraj Party, 5:119, 270  
 Sweden, 2:416–419, 3:304, 395–397, 4:3, 5:123, 130, 131, 151, 212, 6:164  
**Swedish Empire, The**, 1560–1721, 3:M86  
 Sweeney, Charles, 5:146, 238  
 Sweeny, John J., 6:16  
 sweet potatoes, 3:248, 4:344, 5:xxxii  
 Swettenham, Frank, 4:255  
 Sweyn Forkbeard, 2:69, 314, 419  
 Swift, Jonathan, 3:213  
 Swineshead, Richard, 2:267  
 Swiss Brethren, 3:16  
**Swiss Confederacy**, 3:376–377  
 “Sword” Beach, 5:77  
 Sybil of the Rhine, 2:169  
 Sydney, Lord (Thomas Townshend, first viscount Sydney), 4:40  
 Syed, Ahmed Khan, 5:9  
 Sykes, Mark, 5:373  
**Sykes-Picot Agreement**, 5:24, 38, 142, 189, 349, 373  
 Syllaeum, Battle of, 2:63  
 syllogism, method of, 1:434–435  
**Sylvester II**, 2:71, 243, 385–386  
 Sylvestre, General Manuel, 5:321  
 Symmachus, 1:14, 51  
 Syncretica, 1:113  
 syncretic religion, 4:370  
 syncretism, 1:126–127  
 Synod of Aachen, 2:304  
 Synod of Arles, 2:402  
 Synod of Metz, 2:304  
 Synod of Whitby, 2:14, 16  
*synodos*, 1:13  
 Synoptic Gospels, 1:20  
 syphilis, 3:85, 154, 184, 5:xxxv  
**Syracuse**, 1:76, 139, 168, 447–448  
**Syria**, 5:24, 103, 138, 140, 188, 189, 211, 213, 257, 339, 6:21, 24–26, 27, 41–42, 47, 134, 189, 213, 233, 253, 264, 289, 433–434  
 French mandate in, 5:111–112  
**Syriac culture and church**, 1:20, 30, 50, 51, 130, 249, 286, 306, 448–449, 472  
 Syrianus, 1:304  
 Szálasi, Ferenc, 5:102, 104  
 Szek, Teleki von, 4:12  
 Szilard, Leo, 5:236  
 Szumborski, Bernard, 2:331
- T**  
 Taaffe, Count Eduard, 4:43  
 Taba proposals, 6:22  
 Tabatabai, Sayyid Zia, 5:287  
**Tabin Swehti**, 3:379  
 Tablet Houses, 1:418  
 Taborites, 2:189  
 Tachibana clan, 2:161  
 Tacitus, 1:73, 259, 390, 392, 394, 422, 3:174  
 tactical nuclear weapons (TNWs), 6:122  
 Tae Han Empire (Korea), 4:213  
 T’aejo, 1:464, 2:238  
 Taft, Robert, 5:231

- Taft, William Howard, 5:51, 53, 91, 195, 302, 308, 324, 329, 389
- Taft-Hartley Act, 5:386, 6:14, 15
- Tagalog, 5:4
- Tagore, Debendranath, 4:61
- Tagore, Rabindranath, 5:xxxix
- Tahiti, 4:288–289
- Tahmasp I, 3:174, 242, 293
- Tahmasp II, 3:262, 343
- Tahtawi, Rifa'a al-, 4:33
- Taif Accord, 5:214
- Taif Agreement, 6:28, 264
- Taiho Code, 2:387–388
- Taika Reforms, 1:496–497, 2:131, 388
- Taima Taima Project, 1:148
- Taino Indians, 3:65, 66, 67
- Taiping Rebellion, 4:xxxviii, 18, 93, 163, 238, 288, 311, 344, 407–408, 414, 415, 453, 454
- Taira clan, 2:131, 161, 231, 388
- Taira Kiyomori, 2:120, 389
- Taira Koremori, 2:133
- Taira Masakado, 2:120
- Taira-Minamoto Wars, 2:24, 133–134, 388–390
- Taira Munemori, 2:389
- Taira Sadamori, 2:171
- Taira Tomomori, 2:133
- Taira Yoritsuna, 2:173
- Taisho, 5:145, 375–376
- Taisho Democracy, 6:265
- Taisuke, Itagaki, 6:265
- Tait brothers, 5:253
- Taiwan Relations Act, 6:442
- Taiwan (Republic of China), 6:xxxviii, 43, 118, 192, 385–386, 411–412
- Taizong (T'ai-tsung), 2:252, 373, 430, 431, 442, 3:322
- Taizu ([Ming] T'ai-Tsu), 2:391–392, 436
- Taizu ([Song or Sung] T'ai-tsu), 2:124, 373, 436
- Tajikistan, 1:436, 6:1, 81, 83–85, 398
- Taj Mahal, 3:22, 103, 357, 382, 4:283
- Tajuddaula Khursav Malik, 2:287
- Takahashi Kuichi, 5:298
- Takatoki, 2:173
- Takht, Sikh Akal, 6:159
- Talabani, 6:255, 256, 430
- Talal, 5:143
- Talas River, Battle of, 2:392, 394
- Talat Pasha, 5:29, 432
- Talavera, Louis Altamirano, 5:5
- Talbot, Richard, 3:47
- Talha ibn Ubayd Allah, 2:103
- Taliban, 1:45, 6:2, 3, 13, 85, 99, 222, 223, 236, 322, 412, 418, 419, 464
- Talleyrand, Charles-Maurice de, 4:249, 268, 408–409, 434
- Talmud, 1:220, 228, 277, 283, 284, 288, 407, 451–453, 467, 504, 2:21
- Talpuš-atili, 1:207
- Tamati Waka Nene, 4:257
- Tambapanni, 1:74
- Tambo, Oliver, 5:3, 6:280, 281
- Tamerlane, 1:437, 438, 2:2, 35, 38, 77, 101, 192, 205, 240, 265, 266, 269, 270, 318, 353, 392, 398–399, 403, 3:102, 261, 262, 290, 4:282
- Tamil culture, 1:74, 2:85, 319, 392–393, 3:214, 4:84
- Tamil Nadu 6:386
- Tamil Tigers, 6:163, 402, 410–411, 416
- Tanaka, Giichi, 5:193
- Tanakh, 1:50
- Tancred, 2:175, 248, 295
- Taney, Roger B., 4:51, 90
- Taneyev, Sergey, 1:3
- Tanganyika, 4:70, 315, 5:377
- Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), 6:324
- Tangaxoan II, 2:396
- Tang (T'ang) dynasty, 1:56, 75, 107, 429, 465, 2:xxx, xxxvii, 18, 82, 123, 147, 162, 237, 250, 277, 278, 288, 296, 334, 354, 369, 372, 373, 380, 387, 388, 392, 393–395, 397, 405, 429, 430, 438, 442, 3:416
- Tangier crisis, 5:252
- Tang (T'ang) the Successful, 1:18, 425
- Tan'gun, 1:76, 238
- Tangut, 2:429
- Tang Xuanzong (T'ang Hsuan-tsung), 2:18, 82, 392, 431–432
- tannaim*, 1:451
- Tannenburg, Battle of, 5:342
- Tantric Buddhism, 2:391, 6:115
- Tantrism, 1:453–454
- Tanzania, 5:277, 6:64, 324
- Tanzimat in Ottoman Empire, 4:34, 101, 210, 409–410, 451
- Taoism. *See* Daoism
- Taos Rebellion, 4:303
- Tappan, Arthur, 4:131
- Tappan, Lewis, 4:131
- Tarahumara Indians, 3:263
- Tarai, Battle of, 2:287
- Taraki, Nur Mohammad, 6:235
- Tarankai War(s), 4:258, 259
- Taranto, Battle of, 2:413, 3:12
- Tarascans, 2:396
- Tarasius, 2:303
- Tarbell, Ida, 5:256

- Targums, 1:50, 51  
 Tariff Act of 1857, 4:130  
 Tariq ibn al-Ziyad, 2:40  
 Tarquin dynasty, 1:139, 155, 386, 399  
 Tartars, 3:182  
 Taruc, Luis, 6:196  
**Tashkent Agreement**, 6:48, 202, 207, 331, 383, 413–414  
 Tasman, Abel, 3:400, 4:40  
 Tasmania, 4:40  
 Tasso, Torquato, 2:215  
 Tatar Peace (Pax Tatarica), 2:438  
 Tatekawa, Yoshitsugu, 5:194  
 Tati, Jacques, 5:255  
 Tawil, Suha, 6:29  
 Taylor, Charles, 6:266  
 Taylor, Claudia Alta, 6:231  
 Taylor, Frederick Winslow, 5:xxxiii  
 Taylor, Robert, 5:156  
 Taylor, William B., 4:276  
 Taylor, Zachary, 4:165, 271  
 Tchaikovsky, Piotr Ilyich, 4:360  
 tea ceremony (Japan), 2:26  
 Teachers' Movement, 6:414  
 Teamsters Union, 6:15, 16  
 Teapot Dome scandal, 5:195  
 Te Atiawa, 4:258  
 tea trade, 4:83–84, 94  
 Tecumseh, 4:302, 440  
 Tecún Umán, 3:68  
 Tedder, Arthur, 5:75  
 Tedlock, Dennis, 2:275, 3:312  
 Teheran (Tehran) Conference, 5:326, 423, 427  
**Teilhard de Chardin, Pierre**, 6:415  
 Teixeira, Tristão Vaz, 2:166, 3:5  
 Tejada, Miguel Lerdo de, 4:273, 274, 5:304  
 Tejada, Sebastián Lerdo de, 4:110  
 Tejero, Antonio, 6:403  
 Tej Singh, 4:381  
 Tekebaev, Omurbek, 6:83  
 Te Kooti's War, 4:259  
 Telamon, Battle of, 1:155  
 Tel Dan Stela, 1:22, 216  
 Telegin, Dmitry, 1:211  
 telegraph, 4:xxx, 17, 347, 5:xxxiv  
 Tel-el-Amarna, 1:5  
 Tel-el-Kebir, Battle of, 4:69, 424  
 Telemachus, 1:203, 204  
 telephone, 4:325, 5:xxxiv–xxxv  
 Teller Amendment, 5:303  
 Temmu, 2:387  
 temperance movement, 4:26–27, 332, 450  
 Tempier, Etienne, 2:267  
 Temple, Henry. *See* Palmerston, Lord (Henry Temple, third viscount Palmerston)  
 Temple of the Mount, 2:407  
 Temple Scroll, 1:380  
 temporal authority, principle of, 3:4  
 Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, 5:326  
 Temporary Security Zone, 6:141  
 Temuchin, 2:34, 134, 135. *See also* Genghis Khan  
 Temur Oljeitu, 2:399, 438  
 Tench, Charles P., 5:180  
**Tenchi**, 2:380, 388, 396–397  
 Ten Commandments, 1:431  
**Tenente Rebellion**, 5:377  
 Ten Lost Tribes (of Israel), 1:229  
 Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), 5:xxxii, 92, 134, 271, 327  
 Tennis Court Oath, 4:144  
 Tennyson, Alfred, Lord, 2:85  
 Tenochtitlán, 3:15, 31, 97, 123, 228, 246, 247, 251, 399  
 Tenure of Office Act, 4:351  
**Ten Years' War**, 4:3, 103, 104, 262, 6:108  
**Tenzin Gyatso/Dalai Lama, 14th**, 6:115–116  
 Teoloyucan, Treaty of, 5:58  
**Teotihuacán**, 1:xxxvi, xxxvii, 266, 274, 275, 454–456, 2:xxxv, xxxviii, 274, 275, 278, 3:33, 244  
 Tepaneca, 3:31  
 Teresa, 2:88  
**Teresa of Ávila**, 3:94, 380–381  
**Teresa of Calcutta, Mother**, 6:415–416  
 Teresa of Jesus, 3:94  
 Tereshkova, Valentina, 6:399  
 Ter-Petrosyan, Levon, 6:33  
 Terrell, Mary Church, 5:261  
**terrorism**, 3:184, 6:xlii, 8, 12, 22, 23, 45, 75, 76, 85, 99, 185, M189, 222, 236, 266, 277, 308, 326, 359, 384, 414, 417–419, 438, 440, 462–464  
 Tertullian, 1:30, 81, 82, 193, 194, 262  
 Teschen, Peace of, 4:77  
 Tesla, Nikola, 4:xxix, 5:xxxiv, 83–84  
 Test Act, 3:107, 150, 187, 319  
 Test Ban Treaty, 6:121  
 “test tube” babies, 6:xxxv  
 Tetisheri, 1:208  
 Tet Offensive, 6:232, 316, 451, 452  
 tetralogy, 1:171  
**Tetrarchy**, 1:96, 118, 119, 456–457  
 Tetzels, 3:223  
 Teudile, 3:245

- Teutonic Knights**, 2:xxxiii, 189, 233, 236, 254, 255, 256, 286, 301, 302, 330–331, 397, 4:55, 182, 233  
 Teutonic Order, 3:166  
 Tewa, 1:296  
 Tewa Indians, 3:287, 316  
 Tewfik, 4:69, 424  
 Tewkesbury, Battle of, 3:339  
**Texas**, 3:137  
**Texas War of Independence**, 4:270, 411–412  
 Texcoco, Lake, 1:454  
 textiles, 1:xxxi, 2:xxxvii, 3:139, 283–284, 4:215, 260, 267, 363, 448  
 Textus Receptus, 3:39  
 Thaddaeus (Judas), 1:20, 21  
 Thailand (Siam), 2:382–383, 4:29–30, 84–86, 142, 347–348, 5:132, 134, 6:43, 44, 61–62, 123  
 Thales, 1:364–365  
 Thanarat, Sarit, 6:64  
 Thani, Hamad bin Khalifa al-, 6:9  
 Thani clan, 4:33  
 Thanksgiving Hymns Scroll, 1:380  
 Thapsus, Battle of, 1:71  
 Thatcher, Dennis, 6:419  
**Thatcher, Margaret** (baroness Thatcher of Kesteven), 6:90, 101, 192, 220, 418, 419–421  
 Thaumaturgos, Gregory, 1:320  
 Thayer, Webster, 5:335  
**Thebes**, 1:10, 66, 136, 141, 146, 167, 195, 278, 290, 307, 341, 354, 457–458  
 Thembu, 6:280  
 Themistius, 1:404  
**Themistocles**, 1:76, 347, 458–459, 489  
 Theobald of Bec, 2:38  
 Theocritus, 1:391  
 Theodhad, 1:323  
 Theodora, 1:98, 234  
 Theodore, 2:16, 4:125  
 Theodore I, 3:152  
 Theodoret, 1:189  
 Theodore the Stoudite, 2:68, 194  
**Theodoric**, 1:52, 315, 316, 323, 384, 460  
 Theodoric II, 1:482  
 Theodorus, 1:358  
 Theodosia, 1:384  
**Theodosius I**, 1:1, 14, 30, 67, 206, 243, 282, 291, 389, 402, 405, 414, 460–461, 2:61, 62, 67  
 Theodosius II, 1:58, 129, 2:61  
 Theodosius III, 2:64  
 Theodotion, 1:51  
 Theodotus, 1:193  
 Theognis, 1:254  
 Theogonies, 1:172  
 theology, 1:52  
 Theophilus, 2:64, 194  
 Theophilus, 1:13, 83, 102  
 Theophrastus, 1:27  
 Theotokos of Vladimir, 2:58  
**Theravada Buddhism**, 1:57, 236, 461–463, 468, 2:55–56, 235, 280, 293, 383  
 Theresienstadt, 5:151  
 Thermidorean Reaction, 4:147  
 thermodynamics, 4:xxx  
 thermonuclear bomb, 6:34  
 Thermopylae, 1:246, 347, 489  
 Theron, 1:76  
 Theseus, 1:331  
 Thespian, 1:169  
 Theudas, 1:225  
 Thibaw Min, 4:72  
 Thiene, Gaetano, 3:92  
 Thierry, 2:92  
 Thiers, Louis-Adolphe, 4:323  
 Thileuin Man, 2:55  
 Thiong’o, Ngugi wa, 6:xxxix  
 Third Communist International (Comintern), 5:64  
 Third Crusade, 2:24, 94, 130, 175, 301, 325, 342, 356  
 Third Diadoch War, 1:116  
 Third Lateran Council, 2:168  
 Third Macedonian War, 1:387  
 Third Punic War, 1:187, 188, 387  
 Third Reich, 6:165  
 Third-Wave Feminism, 6:151–152  
**Third World**, 6:19, 417, 421–422, 461  
 Thirteen Saints, 1:160  
 Thirteen Years’ War, 2:256, 331  
 “Thirty Comrades,” 5:31  
 38th parallel, 6:249, 251  
 Thirty-nine Articles, 3:78  
 Thirty Years’ Peace, 1:344  
**Thirty Years’ War**, 2:158, 190, 3:22, 48, 70, 77, 91, 140, 141, 149, 158, 171, 187, 336, 381–383, 4:111, 436, 5:243  
 Thomas (Apostle), 1:20, 124, 125, 472  
 Thomas, Gospel of, 1:79, 220, 448  
 Thomas, J. Parnell, 5:155, 156  
 Thomas Christians, 1:449  
 Thompson, David, 3:170  
 Thompson, Dorothy, 4:434  
 Thompson, E. P., 4:218  
 Thompson, Virgil, 5:98  
 Thor, 2:418  
 Thoreau, Henry David, 4:91, 418, 419, 5:16, 91, 118

- Thorhilsson, Ari the Wise, 2:415  
 Thorkell, 2:419  
 Thorpe, Jim, 5:282  
 Thorvald, 2:112  
 Thoth, 1:418  
 Thrace, 1:10  
 Thrasymachus, 1:441  
 Three Alligator, 2:280  
**Three Emperors League**, 4:54, 236–237, 420, 5:8  
 Three Feudatories, Rebellion of, 3:200, 269, 322, 407  
 Three Gorges Dam, 6:xxxii, 19, 422  
**Three Kingdoms, China**, 1:464  
**Three Kingdoms, Korea**, 1:464–465  
 Three Kings, Battle of, 3:341, 4:397  
 Three Men on a Flying Trapeze, 5:61  
 Three Mile Island nuclear accident, 6:xxxiv, 136  
 Three Sage Rulers, 1:490, 493, 497  
 Three Sisters, 1:295, 296  
 Three Years' War, 2:27  
 Throckmorton, Elizabeth, 3:330  
**Thucydides**, 1:8, 167, 194–195, 259, 342, 344, 393, 447  
 Thugees, 6:417  
 Thuriot de la Rosière, Jacques-Alexis, 4:144  
 Thurman, Wallace, 5:140  
 Thurmond, Strom, 6:73, 320  
 Thutmose I, 1:308, 350–351  
 Thutmose II, 1:308  
 Thutmose III, 1:207, 308, 458  
 Thutmose IV, 1:285, 308  
 Tian (T'ien), 1:486  
 Tiananmen Square, 4:402, 5:246, 6:39  
**Tiananmen Square massacre**, 6:92, 120, 195, 422–423, 460  
 Tiantai (T'ien T'ai) Buddhism, 1:55  
 Tibbets, Paul W., 5:146, 237  
 Tiberias, 2:180  
 Tiberinus, 1:406  
 Tiberios III, 2:63  
**Tiberius Caesar Augustus**, 1:63, 196, 209, 231–232, 388, 399, 422, 2:xxxii, 294  
 Tiberius Claudius Nero, 1:231–232  
 Tiberius II Constantine, 2:63  
 Tibesius, 1:237  
**Tibet**, 1:453–454, 3:323, 6:101, 115, 195  
   Buddhism in, 3:14, 200  
   kingdom of, 2:397–398, 405  
 Tibetan Book of the Dead, 1:53  
**Tibetan Revolt**, 6:423–424  
 Tierra del Fuego, 4:318  
 Tigellinus, 1:349  
 Tigermen, 6:293  
 Tiglath-pileser I, 1:22, 34, 42, 311  
 Tiglath-pileser III, 1:23, 24, 35, 43, 216, 269, 420  
 Tigranes, 1:422  
 Tigray Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF), 6:194  
 Tigre, 6:141  
 Tigris River, 1:xxxiv, xxxvii, 11, 34, 104, 146, 207, 284, 311, 413, 421, 446, 448, 2:69  
**Tilak, B(al) G(angadhar)**, 4:161, 412, 5:165  
 Till, Emmett, 6:94  
 Tillich, Paul, 5:98  
 Tilsit, Treaty of, 4:31  
 Tilton, Theodore, 4:53  
 Timbuktu, 3:211, 341, 366, 367, 375, 4:11  
 time zones, 4:347  
 Timor-Leste, Democratic Republic of, 6:130  
 Timoshenko, Julia, 6:436  
 Timotheus, 1:86  
 Timur, 2:103  
 tin, 4:226, 255  
 Tintoretto, 3:20  
 Tipitapa, Treaty of, 5:340  
 Tipu (sultan), 4:30  
 Tiridates, 1:413  
 Tiridates III, 1:30  
 Tirpitz, Alfred von, 5:418  
 Tirpitz Plan, 4:182  
 Tisin, Juan de, 3:135  
*Titanic*, RMS, 5:133  
 Titans, 1:172  
 Titian, 3:43  
 Titicaca, Lake, 1:15–16, 2:10  
 Tito, Dennis, 6:401  
**Tito, Marshal (Josip Broz)**, 6:55, 72, 198, 309, 424–425, 469  
 Titokowaru's War, 4:259  
 Tituba, 3:406  
 Titus, 1:150, 196, 388, 392, 393, 398, 400  
 Titus Flavius Clemens Alexandrinus, 1:90  
 Titus Flavius Domitianus. *See* Domitian  
 Titus Petronius Niger, 1:349  
 Tiwana, Khizr Hayat, 5:11  
 Tiwanaku, 1:16  
 Tiy, 1:6, 7, 352  
 Tizoc, 3:31  
 Tizón, Aurelia, 6:338  
 Tjokroaminoto, Umar Sayed, 5:340  
 Tjokrosujoso, Abikusno, 5:340  
 Tlaloc, 1:455  
 Tlass, Mustafa, 6:41  
**Tlatelolco Massacre**, 6:209, 414–415  
 Toba, 2:294

- tobacco, 1:295, 2:396, 3:37, 114, 178, 188, 189, 234, 248, 314, 365, 4:xxv, xxvi, xxviii, 94, 95, 221, 224, 259, 284  
in colonial British America, 3:54, 383–384
- Toba (T'o-pa) dynasty, 1:254, 465–466
- Tobit, 1:372
- Tobruk, 5:86, 322
- Tocqueville, Alexis de, 4:xxxii, xxxv, 309, 413
- Toghon Temur Khan, 2:399–400, 439
- Toghrulbeg, 2:34
- Togo, 6:425–426
- Togoland, 5:264
- Tojo Hideki, 5:103, 191, 194, 378–380, 421
- Toka, Salchack, 5:251
- Tokaimura nuclear accident, 6:136
- Tokés, László, 6:129
- Tokimune, 2:173
- Tokiyori, 2:173
- Tokugawa *bakuhán* system, Japan, 3:128, 339, 382–384
- Tokugawa Hidetada, 3:356, 385, 386
- Tokugawa Iesada, 4:373
- Tokugawa Ieyasu, 2:27, 121, 3:57, 76, 118, 128, 164, 205, 263, 268, 284, 356, 384, 385, 386–387
- Tokugawa Shogunate, 3:118, 356, 4:147, 177, 267, 326, 327, 373, 413–414, 6:265
- Tokugawa Tsunayoshi, 3:147
- Tokugawa Yoshinobu, 4:267, 414
- Tokyo International Court, 5:194, 380–381
- Tokyo Round, 6:164
- Toledo, Council of, 1:483
- Toledo, Francisco de, 3:250, 301, 302, 313, 387–388
- Toleration, Edict of, 1:282, 3:337
- Toleration Act, 3:79, 107
- Tolle, John, 6:363
- Tolosa, Diego de, 3:110
- Tolsa, Juan de, 3:361
- Tolstoy, Leo, 4:360, 5:1, 16, 53, 118
- Toltecs, 2:274, 337, 3:31, 33, 263, 264
- Tomás, Américo, 5:338
- Tomic, Radomiro, 6:10
- Tondibi, Battle of, 3:367
- Tonga, 5:277
- Tongchak Insurrection, 4:383
- Tongmeng hui (T'ung-meng hui), 5:157
- Tongzhi (T'ung-chih) Restoration, 4:70–71, 93, 171, 238, 344, 408, 414–415, 453, 454
- Ton-Tai Han, 5:41
- Ton That Thuyet, 4:142
- Toomer, Jean, 5:139
- Topaz, 4:289
- Topper Site, 1:148
- Toqtamish, 2:399
- Toqto'a-beki, 2:379
- Torah, 1:114, 221, 228, 229, 283, 288, 337, 369, 407, 431, 451, 452, 466–467, 2:263
- Toral, Francisco de, 3:208
- Tordesillas, Treaty of, 3:6, 50, 56, 61, 66, 86, 134, 302, 307, 363, 388–389, 399, 4:396, 397, 425
- Toribio, Saint, 3:110
- Tories, 3:19, 79, 150, 187, 188, 371
- Tornabuoni, Lucrezia, 3:240
- Toro, Battle of, 3:132
- Torquemada, Tomás de, 3:134
- Torrijos, Omar, 5:291–292, 6:319, 426
- Tory Party, 4:112, 159, 160, 161, 330
- Toscandli, Polo Pozzo, 2:51
- Tosefta, 1:283
- Tostig, Earl, 2:309
- totalitarianism, 5:101
- Totila, 1:49, 323
- Toumen, 1:257, 492
- Toungoo dynasty, 3:379
- Touré, Askia Mohammed, 3:368, 4:427
- Touré, Ahmed Sékou, 6:426–427
- Touré, Samory, 6:427
- Tours, Battle of, 2:72, 86, 273, 400–401, 407
- Toussaint Louverture, 4:3, 174, 416, 437, 5: 209
- Tower Commission, 6:215
- Tower of Babel, 1:xxxvii, 299
- Townsend, Francis, 5:271
- Townshend, Charles, 3:148, 347
- Towton, Battle of, 3:338
- Toya, 1:427
- Toyama Mitsuru, 5:45
- Toynbee, Arnold, 2:192
- Toynbee Hall, 5:1
- Toyotomi Hideyori, 3:164
- Toyotomi Hideyoshi, 2:26, 121, 3:76, 128, 205, 249, 263, 284, 288, 354, 387
- Trade in Europe, c. 1300, 2:M52
- Trade Routes in Southeast Asia, 1500–1800, 3:M82
- Trade Routes of the First Century C.E., 1:M24
- Trade Routes of the Mycenaeans and Minoans, 1:M8
- Trade Routes under the Shoguns, 1542–1854, 3:M80
- Trades and Labour Confederation, 5:32
- Trafalgar, Battle of, 4:267, 296, 366
- Traidenis, 2:254
- Trails of Tears, 4:302
- Trajan, 1:181, 220, 222, 239, 248, 262, 293, 340, 345, 384, 388, 393, 400, 420, 467–468, 501
- Tran dynasty, 2:78
- Tranquillus, Gaius Suetonius, 1:394
- Transalpine Gaul, 1:155, 156, 157, 388

- transcendentalism**, 4:52, 90–91, 417–420, 447  
 transit camps, 5:151  
 Transjordan, 5:55, 142, 211, 296  
 Trans-Karakoram Tract, 6:207  
 transmigration of the soul, 1:481  
 Transoxiana, 1:436, 437  
 transportation, advances in, 4:xxvii, xxix–xxx, 260  
**Transportation and Infrastructure in the Modern World**, 6:M184  
**Trans-Siberian Railway**, 5:xxxviii, 381–382  
 Transvaal, 4:14, 17, 66, 355, 395, 396, 5:2, 45, 118, 133, 353, 392  
 Trappists/Trappistines, 2:91  
 Travis, William B., 4:411  
 Treaty of Adrianople, 4:46, 117, 171  
**Treaty of Aigun**, 4:18  
 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 3:30, 4:138  
 Treaty of Albany, 3:317  
 Treaty of Alcáçovas, 3:132, 4:397  
 Treaty of Alliance, 6:113  
 Treaty of Amiens, 4:83, 296, 301, 304, 394  
 Treaty of Amity and Cooperation, 6:44  
 Treaty of Amritsar, 4:381  
 Treaty of Ancón, 4:442  
 Treaty of Augsburg, 3:158  
 Treaty of Baden, 3:372  
 Treaty of Bardo, 4:421  
**Treaty of Beijing**, 4:17, 70, 71, 162, 414, 415, 6:192  
 Treaty of Belgrade, 4:365  
 Treaty of Berwick, 2:359  
 Treaty of Breda, 3:115  
 Treaty of Brétigny, 2:307  
 Treaty of Campo Formio, 4:295, 296  
 Treaty of Constance, 2:210  
 Treaty of Dover, 3:72  
 Treaty of Dresden, 4:138  
 Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton, 2:359  
 Treaty of Establishment, 6:113  
**Treaty of Federation, Malaya**, 4:2551–256  
 Treaty of Finkelstein, 4:340  
 Treaty of Fontainebleau, 4:297  
 Treaty of Fort Laramie, 4:303  
**Treaty of Frankfurt**, 4:133–134, 154, 155  
 Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance, 6:456–457  
 Treaty of Gastein, 4:152  
 Treaty of Gelibolu, 2:270  
 Treaty of Ghent, 4:xxxvii, 254  
 Treaty of Greenville, 4:302  
 Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, 4:271  
 Treaty of Gulistan, 4:340  
 Treaty of Hubertusberg, 4:139  
 Treaty of Jassy, 4:120  
**Treaty of Kaikhta**, 3:199–200, 412  
 Treaty of Kanagawa, 4:373  
 Treaty of Karlowitz, 3:294, 4:365  
 Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji, 4:365  
 Treaty of Lahore, 4:381  
 Treaty of Lambeth, 2:46  
 Treaty of Livadia, 4:402  
 Treaty of Lunéville, 4:296  
 Treaty of Madrid, 3:45, 56  
 Treaty of Meaux, 2:5  
 Treaty of Mersen, 2:414  
 Treaty of Montevideo, 4:426  
 Treaty of Montgomery, 2:423  
 Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security, 6:442  
 Treaty of Nanjing (Nanking), 4:29, 75, 178, 6:192  
**Treaty of Nerchinsk**, 3:199–200, 200, 269, 4:18  
 Treaty of Nystadt, 3:307  
 Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation, 6:207  
 Treaty of Prague, 3:384, 4:56  
 Treaty of Pressburg, 4:296  
 Treaty of Purandar, 3:361  
 Treaty of Rastatt, 3:372  
 Treaty of Rome, 6:143, 144, 145  
 Treaty of Ryswick, 3:375  
 Treaty of Saigon, 4:142, 382  
**Treaty of San Francisco**, 6:380  
 Treaty of Sangyuan, 2:252  
 Treaty of San Ildefonso, 3:46  
 Treaty of San Stefano, 4:48, 54, 113, 234, 366, 420  
 Treaty of Saragossa (Zaragoza), 3:307, 389  
 Treaty of Schönbrunn, 4:268, 297  
**Treaty of Shimonoseki**, 4:87, 185, 210, 213, 383–384  
**Treaty of St. Petersburg**, 4:402, 454  
 Treaty of Tafna, 4:209  
 Treaty of the Hague, 3:371  
 Treaty of the Pyrenees, 3:230  
 Treaty of Thorun, 2:331,  
**Treaty of Tianjin (Tientsin)**, 4:29, 70, 162, 382, 383  
 Treaty of Tilsit, 4:30, 340  
 Treaty of Tipitapa, 5:340  
**Treaty of Tordesillas**, 3:6, 50, 56, 61, 66, 86, 134, 304, 309, 365, 390–391, 401, 4:396, 397, 425  
 Treaty of Troyes, 2:166, 187  
 Treaty of Utrecht, 3:19, 29, 55, 273, 372, 404, 4:5, 111, 220, 400  
 Treaty of Venice, 4:329  
 Treaty of Verdun, 2:72, 413–414  
 Treaty of Wallingford, 2:306  
 Treaty of Washington, 4:252  
 Treaty of Wedmore, 2:6  
 Treaty of Westminster, 2:377

- Treaty of Yandabo, 4:71  
Treaty of Zaragoza (Saragossa), 3:307, 389  
Treblinka, 5:151  
Trebonius, 1:66  
Trench, Battle of the, 2:201  
trench warfare, 5:191  
**Trent, Council of** 1:220, 2:149, 3:27, 43, 93, 126, 196, 242, 258, 333, 335, 389–391, 4:423  
Tressard, Jean, 2:225  
Trevithick, Richard, 4:xxx  
Trezel, General, 4:209  
**Triangle Shirtwaist Fire**, 5:352, 382–383, 415  
“triangular trade,” 4:xxxiv  
Trianon Treaty, 5:294  
Triballian kingdom, 1:10  
Tribonian, 1:91, 2:63  
Tribuana Tungadewi, 2:264  
*tribunicia potestas*, 1:39  
tributary system, 3:323  
tribute system, 4:251  
trigonometry, 1:13  
Trimalchio, 1:248  
Trinidad, 4:2  
Trinitarian Christianity, 1:483  
Trinity test site, 5:237, 6:29  
Triopli, 5:29  
Tripartite Pact, 5:297, 421  
**Tripitaka**, 1:57, 236, 468  
**Triple Alliance, War of**, 3:218, 4:282, 322, 420, 5:9  
“Triple A” paramilitary group, 6:293  
**Triple Entente**, 4:342, 420, 5:9, 240  
Tripolitsa massacre, 4:170  
Tritton, Lydia, 5:187  
*Triumph of the Will* (1936), 5:255, 267  
**Triumvirate (First and Second)**, 1:61–62, 71, 84, 338, 387, 391, 468–470  
Trochu, Louis-Jules, 4:375  
Trojan Horse, 1:189, 471  
Trojan War, 1:3, 141, 173, 189, 190, 204, 290, 443, 471  
tropic of Capricorn, 4:318  
**Trotsky, Leon**, 5:62, 217, 359, 366, 383–384  
Trotter, William Monroe, 5:261  
Trotula of Salerno, 2:268  
Trouillot, Mildred, 6:31  
**Troy**, 1:2, 69, 75, 97, 173, 189, 203, 289, 305, 391, 396, 397, 471  
Trubachev, Oleg, 1:213  
Trubetskoy, Nikolay, 1:213  
**Truce and Peace of God**, 2:401–402  
Trudeau, Margaret, 6:428  
Trudeau, Pierre, 6:428  
True Cross, 1:189  
True Pure Land Buddhism, 2:365–366  
**Trujillo, Rafael**, 5:138, 209, 384–385, 6:63, 70  
Trujillo y Molina, Hector Bienvenido, 5:385  
**Truman, Harry S.**, 5:xlii, 63, 146–147, 156, 217, 230, 231, 237, 241, 242, 325, 385–387, 411, 441, 6:15, 58, 93, 94, 100, 164, 251, 284  
Truman Doctrine, 5:386, 6:429  
Trumbo, Dalton, 5:156, 255  
Trumka, Richard, 6:16  
Trung Nhi, 1:471, 472  
**Trung sisters**, 1:255, 471–472  
Trung Trac, 1:471, 472  
Truth Commission Report on El Salvador, 6:385  
Tryggvason, Olaf, 2:314  
Tryggve Olafsson, 2:314  
Tsakalof, Athanasios, 4:169  
Tsang, Donald, 6:192  
Tseyon, Andre, 3:209  
Tshombe, Moïse, 6:273, 291  
Tsiolkovskii, Konstantin, 6:398  
Tsouras, Peter G., 2:181  
tsunamis, 6:404  
Tsunetoki, 2:172  
Tsushima Straits, Battle of, 5:306  
Tsvangirai, Morgan, 6:365  
tuberculosis, 3:85, 391  
Tucca, 1:398  
Tucker, Benjamin, 5:16  
Tucker, Robert, 4:265  
Tudeh Party, 6:216  
Tudhaliya II, 1:201–202  
Tudjman, Franjo, 6:51, 470  
Tudor, Edmund, 3:391  
Tudor, Owen, 3:391  
**Tudor dynasty**, 3:36, 65, 69, 120, 148, 161, 186, 233, 236, 338, 339, 370, 391–392  
**Tughlaq dynasty**, 2:101, 402–403  
Tughril, 2:363  
Tukhachevsky, Mikhail N., 5:360  
Tukulti-Ninurta I, 1:34, 42, 43  
“Tulip Revolution,” 6:83  
Tull, Jethro, 3:347  
Tu Long, 3:214  
Tulsidas, Gosvami, 3:214  
**Tului Khan**, 2:77, 134, 223, 240, 281, 313, 403  
Tumbuka, 5:277, 6:54  
Tungan Rebellion, 4:290  
Tung Chee-hwa, 6:192  
**Tunisia**, 4:69, 117, 210–211, 368, 5:387–388, 6:8, 12, 68–69  
French rule of, 4:14, 421

- Tunner, William H., 6:59  
 Tupac Amaru, 3:46, 297, 299, 386, 4:28  
 Tupac Amaru II, 3:299, 4:28  
 Tupac Amaru Rebellion, 3:46  
 Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA), 6:387  
 Tupac Huallpa, 3:298, 300  
 Tupac Katari, 4:28  
**Turabdin**, 1:320, 472  
**Turabi**, Hassan 'abd Allah al, 6:13, 223, 412, 428–429  
 Turbay, Gabriel, 6:157  
 Turbo, Martius, 1:222  
 Turenne, Marshal Henri de, 3:187  
 Turgot, Anne-Robert-Jacques, 4:144, 247, 387  
 Turkana Boy, 1:326  
**Turkey**, 4:47, 5:xxxvii, 188, 296, 388, 6:32, 49, 127, 147, 164, 223, 238, 253, 277, 418, 429–432  
 Turkish-Italian treaty, 5:257  
 Turkmenistan, 6:1, 81, 85–87, 398  
 Turnbull, S. R., 2:232, 389  
 Turner, Nat, 4:238  
*Turner Joy*, USS, 6:451  
 Turoyo, 1:472  
 Tuscarora Indians, 3:267  
 Tutankhamun, 1:7, 308, 352, 458  
 Tutsis, 6:291, 379  
 Tutu, Osei, 3:9, 23  
 Tuyuti, Battle of, 4:280  
 Tvrtko of Bosnia, 2:250  
 Twain, Mark, 4:118, 156, 159, 279, 281, 5:218  
 Tweed, William Marcy, 4:309  
 Twelver Shi'i, 2:211, 364, 3:342  
**Twenty-one Demands**, 5:196, 244, 347, 377, 388–389, 433  
 21 Points of Communist Party, 5:69  
 26th July Movement, 4:105, 6:80, 111, 153, 183, 293, 383, 414  
 Twosret, 1:309  
 Tyabji, Badruddin, 5:9  
**Tydings-McDuffie Act**, 5:302, 311, 389–390, 6:196  
 Tyler, John, 4:270  
 Tyler, Wat, 2:321, 322  
 Tyndale, William, 3:40  
 Tyndareus, 1:189  
 typhoid, 4:205  
 typhoons, 2:232, 239, 241, 282  
 typhus, 3:67, 85, 123, 124  
 tyranny, 1:167  
 Tyranowski, Jan, 6:229  
 Tyrconnell, James, 3:48  
 Tyre, 1:xxxvii, 11  
 Tyrrhenos, 1:139  
 Tzeltal (Maya) Revolt, 4:276, 6:473  
 U  
 U (king of Koryo), 2:239  
 U Aungzeya, 2:280  
 'Ubaydallah of Nehri, Sheikh, 6:253  
 Ubbi, 2:98  
**Ubico y Castañeda, Jorge**, 5:92, 391–392, 6:20  
 Uesugi Kenshi, 2:316  
**Uganda**, 5:224, 6:291, 379, 433–435  
**Ugarit**, 1:xxxiv, 207, 248, 419, 473–474  
 Ugo, 1:486  
 Uhud, Battle of, 2:201  
**Uighur empire**, 2:379, 392, 397, 405–406, 4:288  
 Uitlanders, 5:2–3, 45  
*ukiyo-e*, 3:147  
**Ukraine**, 4:46, 47, 49, 6:122, 370, 398, 435–437  
 Ulan Bator, 5:251  
 Ulbricht, Walter, 6:166  
 Ulema, Nahdatul, 6:206  
**Ulfilas**, 1:474  
 Uli, 2:384  
 Ulrich, 2:47, 331  
**Ultramontanism**, 4:423–424  
 ultranationalism, 5:44–45, 235  
 Ultraquists, 2:189  
 Ulysses, 1:75, 203–204  
 Uma, 1:478  
 Umako, 1:436, 446  
 Umar II, 2:407  
 Umar, Mullah Muhammad, 6:412  
 Umar ibn al-Khattab, 2:40, 102–103  
**Umayyad dynasty**, 1:472, 501, 2:1, 8, 34, 40, 69, 97, 102, 103, 116, 203, 206–207, 286, 289, 353, 400, 406–408  
 Umkonto we Sizwe (MK), 6:4, 291  
 Ummah, 2:102  
 Unas, 1:53  
 Underground Railroad, 4:190, 5:80  
 Understanding on Emergency Action (Safeguards), 6:320  
 Underwood Tariff Act, 5:302  
 Underzo, Albert, 1:157  
 Unequal Treaties, 4:29, 148  
 UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), 6:xxxix, 37, 311  
 UNESCO World Heritage Sites, 1:362, 2:296, 372, 416  
 Ungern-Sternberg, Baron von, 5:251  
 Uniate Church, 3:90  
 Unification Cult, 4:41

- Unification of Italy, 1859–1870, 4:M121**  
 Union Carbide, 6:xxxiv, 136  
 Union Federation of Bolivian Tin Workers (FSTMB), 6:67  
 Union Leagues, 4:351  
 Union Nationale des Forces Populaire (UNFP), 6:294  
 Union of Lublin, 2:256, 3:90  
 Union of Palestinian Students, 6:29  
 Union of Popular Forces, 6:84  
 Union of Right-Wing Forces, 6:33  
**Union of South Africa, 5:2, 392–394**  
 Unión Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Union), 5:103  
 Union Treaty, 6:394  
 Unitarians, 4:2  
 Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, 5:143  
 United Alliance, 5:157  
**United Arab Emirates (UAE), 6:40, 437**  
**United Arab Republic (UAR), 6:41, 47, 134, 219, 279, 305, 437–438**  
 United Australia Party, 5:33  
**United Auto Workers (UAW), 5:107, 217, 394, 6:15, 16**  
 United Cigar Makers, 5:127  
 United Democratic Front (UDF), 6:4  
 United Farmworkers of America (UFW), 6:70  
**United Front(s), 5:17, 65, 238, 239, 351, 373, 395, 426**  
**United Fruit Company, 5:93, 121, 210, 395–396, 6:20**  
 United Indochinese Front, 6:205  
 United Kingdom, 6:104  
 United Malays National Organization (UNMO), 6:277  
 United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), 4:218, 5:217, 394  
 United Mine Workers (UMW), 6:15  
 United National Independence Party (UNIP), 6:237  
**United Nations (UN), 4:435, 5:xliii, 3, 21, 23, 31, 52, 56, 63, 111, 116, 143, 153, 171, 172, 200, 208, 213, 225, 226, 231, 276, 325, 346, 352, 423, 427, 6:xxxvii, xli, 5, 18, 20, 21, 29, 31, 37, 52, 61, 63, 65, 74, 92, 100, 101, 106, 115, 117, 119, 120, 121, 123, 129, 130, 141, 142, 151, 165, 179, 182, 183, 184, 185, 190, 193, 201, 207, 211, 213, 214, 218, 221, 231, 247, 264, 266, 267, 273, 279, 291, 303, 307, 309, 343, 359, 362, 370, 379, 380, 385, 393, 403, 407, 408, 413, 425, 429, 438–440, 443, 460, 462, 466, 470**  
 UN Atomic Energy Commission, 6:99, 120  
 UN Charter, 6:439, 440  
 UN Climate Change Conference, 6:99  
 UN Convention Against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances, 6:123  
 UN Convention to Combat Desertification (UNCCD), 6:381  
 UN Economic and Social Council Resolution 106(VI), 6:131  
 UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organizations. *See* UNESCO  
 UN General Assembly, 6:182, 267, 439, 440  
 UN Human Rights Commission, 6:30  
 UN India-Pakistan Observation Mission (UNIPOM), 6:414  
 UN Interim Force in Lebanon, 6:264  
 UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP), 6:414  
 UN Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISSET), 6:130  
 UN National Conference on the Human Environment, 6:136  
 UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR), 6:470  
 UN Resolution 242, 6:22, 25, 26  
 UN Sahelian Office (UNSO), 6:381  
 UN Security Council, 6:xl, 27, 35, 48, 100, 182, 185, 251, 387, 439, 440,  
 UN Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA), 6:124  
 UN Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), 6:130  
**United Nations and the World, The, 6:M176–177**  
 United People's Front (UPF), 6:308  
 United Progressive Grand Alliance, 6:313  
**United States, 4:4, 70–71, 103, 104, 239–241, 346, 398–399, 401–402, 5:xxxviii, xxxix, 71, 88–91, 6:xxxiii, xxxix, 18–19, 43, 58–60, 242, 248, 249, 255, 284–285, 320–321, 380–381, 404, 446, 450–452**  
 Agency for International Development, 6:180  
 Army Caribbean School, 6:384  
 Army School of the Americas (SOA), 6:385  
**art and architecture (1750–1900), 4:36–37**  
**Banks of the, 4:256**  
 Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), 4:302, 303, 6:16  
 Coast Guard, 6:123  
**Constitution of, 4:1, 4, 6, 22, 50, 89, 98–100, 109, 115, 122, 240, 5:51, 325, 414, 6:73, 139, 151**  
**Declaration of Independence, 4:109–110**  
 Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA), 6:123  
 Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), 6:246, 287, 357  
 Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), 6:76

- financial panics in**, 4:129–131  
**First and Second Banks of the**, 4:50–51, 98, 176, 200, 202, 254  
**Gilded Age in**, 4:156–159  
**internment of Japanese in**, 5:178–179  
**Louisiana Purchase by**, 4:xxxvii, 50, 89, 168, 203, 237, 248–249, 254, 270, 278, 294, 319–320, 411  
**market revolution in**, 4:201, 261–262, 448  
**National Security Agency**, 6:76  
**National Security Council (NSC)**, 6:214  
**political parties in**, 4:331–332  
**President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEP-FAR)**, 6:7  
**Public Health Service**, 5:88, 171  
**racial segregation and race riots in**, 5:313–315  
**Reconstruction in**, 4:349–352  
**relations with China**, 6:442–443  
**Supreme Court decisions**, 4:201, 218, 260–261, 302, 6:73, 139, 151, 178, 245, 285, 288, 292, 366–367  
**United States–Japan Security Treaty**, 6:382  
**United States–ROC Mutual Defense Treaty**, 6:118  
*United States v. Nixon*, 6:458  
**U.S.–Japan Mutual Defense Treaty**, 6:441–442  
**U.S.–Republic of Korea Mutual Defense Treaty**, 6:443–444  
**U.S.–ROC Mutual Defense Treaty**, 6:118, 444  
**U.S.–Taiwan Mutual Defense Treaty**, 6:444  
**USA PATRIOT Act**, 6:76, 463  
**Western Expansion of (1787–1912)**, 4:M113  
*See also* **Great Depression; New Deal**  
**United States Banking Act**, 5:105  
**United States Civil Service**, 5:328  
**United States Constitution**, 5:309, 310, 414  
**“United States Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan,”** 5:180  
**United States Supreme Court**, 5:96, 308, 327  
**United Tajik Opposition (UTO)**, 6:84, 85  
**Unity of the Brethren**, 2:190  
**Universal Colored People’s Association**, 6:66  
**Universal Declaration of Human Rights**, 5:325, 6:5, 440  
**Universal Land Tax**, 4:144  
**Universal Manhood Suffrage Law**, 5:377  
**Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA)**, 5:80, 120, 139, 289  
**universities, European**, 2:408–409  
**University Reform Movement**, 5:144  
**untouchables**, 5:12  
**U Nu**, 6:441  
**Upali**, 1:57  
**Upanishads**, 2:169  
**Upper Paleolithic**, 1:329  
**Upward Bound**, 6:178  
**’Uqayr conference**, 5:141  
**Ur**, 1:xxxvii, 128, 147, 161, 334, 346, 446, 474–476  
**Ur III dynasty**, 1:207, 446  
**uranium**, 5:236, 237, 6:33  
**Uranus**, 1:172, 396  
**Urban II**, 2:23, 65, 94, 198, 344, 356, 401, 409–410  
**Urban VI**, 2:31  
**Urban VIII**, 3:48, 144, 336  
**urbanization**, 1:xxxvii, 3:8, 4:232–233, 5:397–398, 6:xxxv, 263  
**of Europe, 1850**, 4:M117  
**of Europe, 1910**, 5:M136  
**urban schools**, 2:265  
**Urbino**, 2:410  
**Uribe, Rafael**, 4:96  
**Ur-Nammu**, 1:128, 147, 475, 476  
**Urquiza, Justo José de**, 4:363  
**Urrea, José**, 4:411  
**Urriolagoitia, Mamerto**, 6:335  
**Ursicinus**, 1:259  
**Ursúa, Martín de**, 3:74  
**Ursúa, Pedro de**, 3:280  
**Ursulines**, 3:92, 93  
**Uruguay**, 4:198, 424–426, 5:42–43, 307, 6:164, 257  
**Uruma no Tokikumi**, 2:179  
**U.S. and Latin America, The, 1900–1935**, 5:M131  
**U.S. and Latin America, The, 1954–2000**, 6:M167  
**Usas**, 1:478  
**U Saw**, 5:31  
**Usman Abdulahi**, 4:426  
**Usman Dan Fodio**, 2:162, 4:367, 426–427  
**Usman Muhammadu Bello**, 4:426  
**Ustaša (Insurgence) movement**, 5:103  
**Utah Beach**, 5:75, 77  
**Ute Indians**, 1:297, 3:263, 6:16  
**U Thant**, 6:24  
**Uthman**, 2:4, 8, 69, 339  
**Uthman ibn al-Affan**, 2:102, 103  
**Uthman ibn Naissa**, 2:394  
**Uto-Aztecan**, 3:263  
**utopian movements**, 4:391  
**Utrecht, Treaty of**, 3:19, 29, 55, 167, 273, 370, 402, 4:5, 111  
**Uttrick, R. C.**, 5:298  
**Utzon, Jørn**, 6:40  
**Uwaifiokun**, 3:127  
**Uzbekistan**, 1:436, 6:1, 81, 87–98, 173

## V

- Václav, 2:47  
 Václav II, 2:48  
 Václav III, 2:48  
 Václav IV, 2:48, 177  
 Vaikuntha, Mount, 2:233  
 Vaisheshika school, 1:432  
 Vaisvilkas, 2:255  
 Vajiravudh, 5:344  
**Vajpayee, Atal Bihari**, 6:207–208, 227, 445–446  
 Vajrayana, 6:115  
 Vajrayana Buddhism, 1:408, 453–454, 468, 2:397  
 Vakhtang Gorgasali, 1:160  
 Valdemar IV, 2:157  
 Valdés, Miguel Alemán, 6:208, 209  
 Valdes, Peter, 2:168  
 Valdés Leal, Juan de, 3:355  
**Valdivia, Pedro de**, 3:20, 393–394  
 Valdivia culture, 3:82  
 Valens, 1:1, 36, 48, 98, 259, 402, 404, 405, 2:60  
 Valentinian I, 1:259, 2:60  
 Valentinian II, 1:14, 2:61  
 Valentinian III, 1:405  
 Valentinianism, 1:78  
 Valentinianus, 1:404  
 Valentino, Rudolph, 5:253, 6:257  
 Valentinus, 1:78  
**Valera, Eamon de**, 5:174, 399, 6:220  
 Valerian (Roman emperor), 1:117, 344  
 Valerian (bishop), 1:219  
 Valerius Flaccus, 1:261  
 Valerius of Antium, 1:394  
 Vales, Pedro de, 3:112  
 Valignano, Alessandro, 3:191, 221, 334  
 Valkyries, 2:418  
**Valla, Lorenzo**, 2:411–412  
 Vallandigham, Clement L., 4:92  
 Valle, Frederico, 5:198  
 Valle, Juan José, 6:293  
 Vallejo, César, 5:144  
 Valley of the Kings, 1:458  
 Valley of the Queens, 1:458  
 Vallière, Jean, 3:171  
 Vallois, H., 1:135  
 Valmiki, 1:381, 409, 2:170–171  
 Valmy, Battle of, 4:146  
 Valois, Georges, 5:102  
**Valois dynasty**, 2:71, 73, 3:157, 394–395  
 Valverde, Vincent, 3:110  
 Vanara Sena, 6:158  
 Van Buren, Martin, 4:51, 332  
 Vance, Cyrus, 6:217  
 Vancouver, George, 3:125  
 Vandals, 1:242, 243, 246, 249, 315, 405, 456, 460, 474, 2:117, 328  
 van den Bergh, H. J., 6:454  
 Vanderbilt, Cornelius, 4:81, 5:291  
 van der Meijden, Adriaan, 4:82  
 Vandervelde, Emile, 5:221  
 Van Der Zee, James, 5:140  
 Van Dyck, Anthony, 3:21  
 van Eyck, Hubert, 3:22  
 van Eyck, Jan, 3:22  
 Van Gaden, Doctor, 3:303  
 van Gogh, Vincent, 5:xl  
 Van Vechten, Carl, 5:140  
 Vanzetti, Bartolomeo, 5:335–336  
 Vázquez Gómez, Francisco, 5:233  
 Vardhamana, Nataputta, 1:217  
**Vardhamana Mahavira**, 1:217, 477  
 Varela, Jose, 5:363  
 Vargas, Diego de, 3:317  
**Vargas, Getúlio**, 5:206, 225, 307, 399–400, 6:252  
 Vargas Llosa, Mario, 4:39  
 Varius, 1:398  
*varna*, 1:70  
 Varna, Battle of, 2:126, 256, 318  
 Varro, Marcus Terentius, 1:394, 395  
 Varuna, 1:478  
**Vasa dynasty**, 3:395–396  
 Vasari, Giorgio, 2:142–143  
**Vasconcelos, José**, 5:201, 400–401  
 Vásquez, Horacio, 5:384  
**Vatican I Council (1869–1870)**, 4:308, 321, 327, 423, 429–430  
**Vatican II Council**, 3:196, 4:308, 321, 424, 6:132, 229, 230, 231, 446  
 Vatsayana, 1:235  
 Vautrin, Wilhemina, 5:317  
 Vaux, Calvert, 4:315  
 Vavilov, Nikolai Ivanovich, 3:83  
 Vázquez de Ayllón, Lucas, 3:109  
 Vedanta school, 1:432, 433  
**Vedas**, 1:32, 114, 199, 381, 409, 478–479, 2:50, 3:191  
**Vedic age**, 1:xxxii, xxxv, 70, 409, 432, 479–481, 2:50, 169, 4:59, 60  
 Vega Real, Battle of, 3:67  
 Veidt, Conrad, 5:255  
 Veil, Nicholas, 3:138  
 Vela, Blasco Núñez de la, 3:301  
 Velarde, Ramón López, 5:203  
**Velasco Ibarra, José**, 5:206, 207, 6:447  
 Velásquez, Diego, 3:21, 67, 68, 89, 245, 246

- Velásquez, Fidel, 6:209  
 Velázquez, Diego, 3:39, 158, 357  
 Velez, Lupe, 5:197  
 Velho, Gonçalo, 2:166  
 vellum, 2:74, 200  
 Velvet Revolution, 6:129, 190  
 Venecia, Jose, 6:276  
 Venetian Golden Book, 2:413  
 Venezuela, 4:xxvi, 56, 95, 5:126–127, 205, 208, 323, 324, 6:60–61, 88–89, 89, 262, 263  
**Venice**, 2:90, 412–413  
 Venn, Henry, 3:108  
 “Venona Cables,” 6:364–365  
 Venus, 1:63, 396, 400  
*Venus de Milo*, 1:191  
 Venus figurines, 1:329–330  
 Vera, Pedro de, 3:59  
 Vercellae, Battle of, 1:387  
**Vercingetorix**, 1:65, 73, 157, 387, 469, 481–482  
 Verdun, Battle of, 5:xli, 6:163  
**Verdun, Treaty of**, 2:74, 407–408  
 Vereeniging, Battle of, 4:67  
 Vereeniging, Treaty of, 5:2, 46, 354  
 Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC), 3:113–114, 115–116  
 Vermeer, Jan, 3:22  
 Vermeer, Johannes, 3:39, 115  
 Vermigli, Pietro Martire, 3:92  
 Vernazza, Ettore, 3:92  
 Veroneo of Venice, 3:22  
 Verrazano, Giovanni di, 3:270–273  
 Versailles, Treaty of, 4:142, 5:xli, 18–20, 68, 130, 148, 149, 175, 196, 240, 244, 294, 295, 297, 319, 338, 348, 409, 410, 412, 420, 438, 6:382  
 Versailles Peace Conference, 5:33, 172  
 vertical archipelago, 1:16  
 Verus, 1:38, 39, 341  
 Verwoerd, Henrik Frensch, 6:453  
 Vesalius, Andreas, 1:201, 3:346, 347  
 Vespasian, 1:150, 227, 233, 248, 339, 388, 393, 400, 503  
**Vespucci, Amerigo**, 3:49, 82, 396–397, 399  
 Vesta, 1:395, 396, 406  
 Vesuvius, Mount, 1:362–363, 444, 2:294  
 Viana, Javier de, 4:151  
 Vibhajjavada, 1:57  
**Viceroyalty of Mexico**, 3:276–277  
**Viceroyalty of New Spain**, 3:44, 275, 276–277, 302  
**Viceroyalty of Peru**, 3:44, 45, 275, 302  
**Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata**, 3:45, 275  
**Vichy France**, 2:225, 4:376, 5:6, 41, 112, 113, 138, 388, 401–403, 421  
 Victor IV, 2:244  
 Victor Emmanuel I, 4:195  
**Victor Emmanuel II**, 4:80, 196, 299, 327, 431  
 Victor Emmanuel III, 5:196, 197, 240, 259, 283–284  
**Victoria**, 4:8, 55, 66, 72, 112, 113, 161, 182, 241, 252, 284, 291, 366, 400, 431–434, 440, 5:211  
 Victoria, Guadalupe, 4:273  
 Victoria, Lake, 1:4  
 Victoria of Hesse 6: 295  
 Victory Stela, 1:42, 128  
 Vides Casanova, Carlos Eugenio, 6:385  
**Vienna, Congress of**, 4:45, 155, 182, 195, 268, 434–435  
 Vienna Concordat, 2:154, 178  
 Vientiane, Laos, 4:85  
 Vientiane Action Program, 6:45  
 Vietcong, 6:xli, 205, 278  
 Vietnam, 6:191, 447, 448, 450  
**Vietnam**, 1:xxxvi, 471, 472, 4:142–143, 211, 212, 5:41–42, 70, 134, 344, 345, 387, 6:xl, xli, 8, 40, 43, 44, 72, 92–93, 97, 111, 117, 157, 164, 191–192, 204–205, 232, 238, 317, 341, 395, 452–453  
**Democratic Republic of**, 2:xxx, xxxviii, 250, 6:447–449  
**Le dynasty of**, 3:210–211  
**Republic of**, 6:166, 449–450  
 Vietnam, North, 6:103–104, 191, 205, 206, 278, 317, 396, 447–448, 450, 451  
 Vietnam, South, 6:205, 309, 310, 449–450, 450  
**Vietnamese-Chinese conflict**, 6:92–93  
**Vietnam War**, 4:419, 5:99, 267, 394, 6:xxxvii, xli, 11, 75, 100, 101, 107, M171, 191, 204–205, 231, 245, 250, 278, 299, 316, 335, 395, 405, 406, 418, 440, 442, 443, 450–452  
 Vigilius, 4:321  
 Vignaud, Jean, 2:3  
 Vijaya, 1:73–74  
 Vijayabahu, 2:55  
**Vijayanagara Empire**, 2:414–415  
 Vikelas, Demetrius, 5:282  
**Vikings**, 2:xxxiii, xxxvi, xl, 6, 7, 98, 117, 148, 157, 174, 195, 314, 315, 349, 358, 434, 3:52, 398  
**Iceland, Icelandic Saga**, 2:415  
**in North America**, 2:416  
**in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark**, 2:416–419  
**in Russia**, 2:419–420  
 trade, settlements, and raids, c. 1000, 2:M33  
 Vilchis, Segura, 5:280  
 Vilela, Gaspar, 3:289  
**Villa, Francisco “Pancho,”** 4:38, 226, 5:57, 59, 158, 198, 208, 233, 248, 279, 285, 286, 403–404, 437

- Villaflor Devinenti, Azucena, 6:30  
 Villard, Oswald Garrison, 5:261  
 Villarzá, Juan, 6:90  
 Villaseca, Lord of, 3:398  
 Villiers, George. *See* Buckingham, duke of  
 Vilna, 5:151  
 Vimalamitra, 1:453  
*Vincennes*, USS, 6:216  
 Vincent, Sténio, 5:138, 139  
 Vincent de Paul, St. 3:135  
 Vining, Elizabeth Gray, 6:8  
 Vinland, 2:416  
 Vio, Tomasso de, 3:92, 109  
 Vionville, Battle of, 4:154  
 Viren, Lase, 6:326  
 Virgil, 1:2–3, 63, 139, 339, 349, 390, 391, 392, 395, 397, 398, 399, 471  
 Virginia Company, 3:178, 188, 189  
 Virginia Resolution, 4:203  
**Virgin of Guadalupe**, 3:397–398, 4:181, 230  
 Virgin of San Juan de los Lagos, 3:398  
 Virgin of Talpa, 3:398  
 Virgin of Zapopán, 3:398  
 Viriathus, 2:333  
 Visconti, Filippo Maria, 2:137  
 Visconti, Giovanni, 2:137  
 Vishnu, 1:49, 257, 433, 2:42, 50, 56, 233, 335, 366  
**Visigoths**, 1:1, 157, 175, 323, 384, 405, 460, 474, 2:60, 62, 273, 289, 290, 333, 412  
   **kingdom of Spain**, 1:482–483, 2:86  
 Visnugopa, 2:319  
 Vitellius, 1:233, 339, 392, 393  
 Vitoria, Francisco de, 3:109, 353  
 Vivaldi, Antonio, 3:39, 259  
**Vladimir I the Great**, 2:54, 59, 64, 280, 285, 314, 349, 420–421, 434  
 Vladimir II Monomach, 2:349  
 Vladimir of Suzdal, 2:283  
 Vladimirovna, Maria, 4:361  
 Vladislav II, 2: 47, 3:182  
 Vlad the Impaler, 2:271  
 Voegelin, Eric, 1:40  
 Voitinsky, Grigorii, 5:64  
 Volmar, 2:169  
 Volstead Act, 5:309  
 Volta, Alessandro, 4:xxix  
**Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet)**, 3:126, 4:76, 77, 119, 121, 132, 139, 294, 360, 435–436  
 Volturno, Battle of, 4:149  
 Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), 6:177  
**Vo Nguyen Giap**, 6:204, 448, 451, 452–455  
 Jungingen, Konrad von, 2:326  
 Vonsiatsky, Anastasy, 5:103  
**Voodoo (Vodun), Haitian**, 4:370, 436–438  
 Voorhis, Jerry, 6:315  
 Voroshilov, Kliment, 6:71–72  
**Vorster, B. J.**, 6:449–450  
 vote/voting, 4:350, 351, 393, 5:xxxviii, 53, 78, 181, 198–199, 225–226, 262, 287, 292–294, 315, 348, 413–415, 6:97, 107, 405  
 Voting Rights Act, 6:97, 107, 245, 405  
 Vouille, Battle of, 2:273  
**voyages of discovery**, 3:396–398  
**Voyages of Ibn Battuta, 1325–1354**, 2:M56  
**Voyages of the Polos in Asia, 1260–1295**, 2:M51  
 Voyer, Pierre de, 3:169  
 Vramshapuh, 1:414  
 Vuk Branković, 2:249, 250  
 Vulcan, 1:396  
 Vulgate translation, 1:50, 51, 219, 2:6  
 Vytenis, 2:254  
 Vy Vato Sakelika (VVS), 5:316
- W**  
 Wace of Caen, 2:12  
 Waczenroade, Lucas, 3:87  
 Wada Yoshimori, 2:172  
 Wade, Henry, 6:366  
 Wade, Thomas, 4:180  
 Wadjet, 1:126, 350  
**Wafd Party (Egypt)**, 5:84, 257, 348, 405–406, 435, 6:133  
 Wagner, Richard, 5:101  
 Wagner, Robert F., 5:383  
 “Wagner” Act, 5:107, 327  
 Wahhab, Muhammad Ibn Abd al-, 4:367, 439  
**Wahhabi movement**, 2:193, 4:284, 367, 410, 439, 5:161, 6:222  
 Walid al-, 2:401  
 Wahid, Abdurrahmam, 6:208  
 Waikato War, 4:258, 259  
 Wailing Wall, 6:23  
 Wainwright, Jonathan, 5:230  
 Wairau Massacre, 4:257  
**Waitangi Treaty**, 4:257, 440  
**Wajed, Sheikh Hasina**, 6:47, 455  
 Wakatsuki Reijiro, 5:194  
 Wakefield, Battle of, 3:338  
 Walafrid Strabo, 2:75  
 Walbrook, Anton, 5:255  
 Walden Pond, 5:91  
 Waldensians, 2:168, 196, 244  
 Waldo, Peter, 2:244  
 Waldorf Statement, 6:287

- Waldseemüller, Martin, 3:396  
**Wales**, 2:186, 306  
     **English conquest of**, 2:423–424  
 Wales, Prince of, 5:6, 119  
 Wałęsa, Lech, 6:73, 128, 341, 391, 392  
 Walewska, Marie, 4:296  
 Walker, William, 4:80, 81, 5:210, 437  
 Wallace, Alfred Russell, 4:xxx, 108  
 Wallace, George, 6:96, 316  
 Wallace, Henry, 5:251, 369  
 Wallace, William, 2:306, 359  
 Wallenberg, Raoul, 5:152  
 Wallenstein, Albrecht von, 3:382  
 Wallis, Samuel, 4:317, 318, 319  
 Wall Street, 5:105, 154, 326  
 Walpole, Robert, 3:148, 149  
 Walshingham, Francis, 3:121  
 Walter Map, 2:12  
 Walter the Penniless, 2:21  
 Waltham System, 4:xxix, 215  
 Walworth, William, 2:323  
 Wamala, 2:280  
 Wambara, Bati Del, 3:178, 210  
 Wampanoag Indians, 3:202  
**Wang Anshi (Wang An-shih)**, 2:222, 297, 298–299, 424–425  
 Wangari Muta Maathai, 6:19  
 Wang Cheng-jun (Wang Cheng-chun), 1:485  
 Wang Chonggu (Wang Chung-ku), 3:14  
 Wang Hongwen (Wang Hung-wen), 6:160, 176  
**Wang Jingwei (Wang Ching-Wei)**, 5:62–63, 157, 275, 351, 406–407  
 Wang Ko, 2:238  
 Wang Kon, 2:238, 372  
**Wang Mang**, 1:75, 176, 185, 252, 269, 385, 485  
**Wang Yangming (Wang Yang-ming)**, 2:425, 3:268  
 Wang Zhen (Wang Chen), 3:248  
**Wanli (Wan-Li)**, 3:248, 249, 334, 401–403  
 Wanyan Aguda (Wan-yen A-ku-ta), 2:221, 222, 253  
 Wanyang clan, 2:222  
*wapantakes*, 2:98–99  
 war criminals, 5:380–381  
 Ward, Frederick, 4:163  
 Ward, Henry, 4:53  
 warfare, 1:xxxviii–xxxix, 2:xxxiii, xxxviii, 3:124, 266, 357, 367, 411, 4:xxxvi–xxxviii, 104–105, 5:xl–xliii, 6:xxxix–xlii  
 Warham, Archbishop, 3:126  
 Warlimont, Walther, 5:363  
**Warlord Era in China (1916–1927)**, 5:407–408, 6:272  
 War Measures Act, 6:352  
 Warner, Charles Dudley, 4:156  
 Warner, Jack, 5:156  
 War of Devolution, 3:231  
 War of Independence, 5:138  
 War of Jenkins’s Ear, 3:29, 45, 55  
 War of St. Sabas, 2:248  
 War of the Grand Alliance, 3:218  
**War of the Pacific (1877–1883)**, 4:227, 441–442  
 War of the Polish Succession, 3:45, 219, 4:400  
 War of the Reforms, 4:112, 209, 225, 275  
**War of the Spanish Succession**, 3:19, 29, 55, 148, 158, 218, 273, 277, 369–370, 402, 4:5, 113, 222, 400  
 “War of the Thousand Days,” 6:103  
**War of Triple Alliance**, 4:282, 322  
 “War on Drugs,” 3:82, 6:103  
 War on Terror (Terrorism), 6:75, 102, 276, 297, 309, 349, 394, 403, 463, 464  
 War Refugee Board, 5:152  
 War Relocation Authority (WRA), 5:178  
 Warren, Earl, 6:73, 231, 239, 286  
 Warren, Josiah, 5:16  
 Warren, Robert Penn, 5:223  
 Warren Commission, 6:153, 239  
 Warring States era, 1:447, 486, 492, 505  
 Warsaw, 5:151, 152  
**Warsaw Pact**, 6:xl, 34, 72, 100, 128, 166, M174, 198, 321, 322, 346, 347, 392, 396, 406, 456–457  
 Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO), 6:456  
 Wars of Apostasy, 2:102  
**Wars of German Unification, 1864–1871**, 4:M123, 153–157  
 Wars of Independence, 4:223  
 Wars of Religion, 3:21, 160, 161, 187, 264, 335, 395  
 Wars of Scottish Independence, 2:359  
 Wars of the League of Augsburg, 3:402  
**Wars of the Roses**, 2:305, 307, 3:21, 161, 338–339, 391  
 Wars of Three Henries, 3:265  
 Washington, Booker T., 5:80, 261, 328  
**Washington, George**, 3:22, 125, 219, 4:xxxvii, 6, 24, 89, 98, 134, 140, 175, 176, 202, 260, 320, 331, 377, 442–444, 5:327  
 Washington, Martha, 4:443  
**Washington Conference and Treaties**, 5:17, 175, 228, 283, 375, 376, 408–409  
 Washington Summit, 6:122  
 Washington Temperance Society, 4:27  
 Washington Treaty, 6:321, 322  
 Watan Party, 4:69  
**Watch Tower Society**, 4:444–445  
 water buffalo, 4:xxvi

- Watergate scandal**, 6:154, 317–318, 347–348, 452, 458–459  
 Waterloo, Battle of, 4:54, 58, 298, 299, 434  
 Waters, Walter, 5:48  
 Watson, Chris, 5:32  
 Watson, James, 6:xxxv  
 Watt, James, 3:347, 4:xxviii  
 Watteau, Jean-Antoine, 3:21  
 Wavell, Archibald, 5:86  
 wave theory, 3:346  
 Wayna Daga, Battle of, 3:178  
 Way of Five Bushels of Rice, 1:107  
**Way of the Sea and King's Highway**, 1:239  
 Wazir, Khalil al-, 6:29  
 weaponry, advances in, 4:xxxvi  
**Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs)**, 6:M186, 185, 187  
 Weathermen, 6:406, 418  
 Weather Underground, 6:406  
 Weaver, James B., 4:xxviii  
 Webb, Beatrice Potter, 4:393  
 Webb, Sidney, 4:393  
 Webb, Walter Prescott, 4:168, 169  
 Webb, William, 5:381  
 Webster, Daniel, 4:237  
 Webster, Noah, 4:135  
 Wedemeyer, Albert, 5:242, 352, 369  
 Wegaf Khutawyre, 1:279  
*Wehrmacht*, 5:19, 150  
 Wei, 1:186, 464  
 Wei dynasty, 1:132, 464  
 Wei Jingsheng, 6:91  
**Wei Man (Wiman)**, 1:76–77, 251, 486  
**Weimar Republic**, 5:xli, 18, 130, 148, 221, 267, 409–411  
 Weinberg, Bill, 6:474  
 Weinberg, Jack, 6:107, 155  
 Weinberger, Caspar, 6:214  
 Wei Qing (Wei Ch'ing), 1:185  
 Weiss, Carl Austin, 5:222  
 Weissenburg, Battle of, 4:133, 154  
**Weizmann, Chaim**, 4:455, 5:21, 37, 38, 51, 411, 439, 440  
 Weland, 2:418  
 Welch, Joseph, 6:288  
 Welf of Bavaria, 2:243  
 Welles, Orson, 5:255  
 Wellington, duke of (Arthur Wellesley), 4:7, 54, 131, 296  
 Wells, H. G., 4:393  
 Wells, Ida B., 5:256  
**Wen**, 1:94, 120, 486, 505  
 Wenceslaus. *See* Václav I  
 Wendi, 1:75  
**Wen Jiabao**, 6:459–460  
 Wentworth, Thomas, 3:70, 71, 371  
 Wenxian (Wen-hsian), 2:380  
 Wenxiang (Wen-hsiang), 4:162, 163  
 Wenzheng (Wen-ch'eng), 2:397  
 Werner I, 2:153  
 Werner, A. G., 4:184  
 Wernert, P., 1:135  
 Werror, Moses, 6:124  
 Wescott, B. F., 3:40  
**Wesley, Charles**, 4:123, 445–446  
**Wesley, John**, 1:90, 337, 3:108, 4:123, 386, 445–446  
 West, Nathanael, 5:218  
**West Africa**, 4:14, 426–427, 5:123  
     **Akan States in**, 3:7–9  
 West African Frontier Force, 5:224  
 West African Student Union (WASU), 5:290  
 West Bank, 5:143, 6:29, 211, 212, 233, 332, 358, 363, 418  
 West Berlin, 6:101  
 Western Balkans, 6:49  
**Western Expansion of the United States, 1787–1912**, 4:M113  
 Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHISC), 6:385  
**Western Saharan War**, 6:460–461  
 Western Task Force, 5:75  
 Western Union, 5:xxxiv  
 Western Zhou, 1:505–506  
 West Germany (Federal Republic of Germany), 6:58–60, 165, 166, 285, 456  
 West India Company (WIC), 3:114, 115  
 Westinghouse, George, 5:xxxiv  
**West Irian/Dutch New Guinea**, 6:124  
 Westminster Confession and Catechisms, 3:319  
 Westmoreland, William, 6:232, 451  
 West Pakistan, 6:359  
 Westphalia, Peace of, 3:77, 91, 141, 382, 396, 4:111  
 West Timor, 6:408  
 “wet-foot/dry-foot” policy, 6:109  
 Weyler, Valeriano, 4:105  
 whaling ships, 4:xxxiv  
 Wharton, Edith, 5:98, 218  
 wheat, 5:xxxv  
 Wheaton, Henry, 4:71  
 Wheatstone, Charles, 4:xxx  
 Wheeler, Hugh, 4:190  
 Wheeler Airfield, 5:298, 299  
 Wheeler-Howard Act, 5:167  
 Wheelock, Jaime, 6:311, 383

- Whigs, 3:19, 79, 148, 150, 187, 188, 371, 4:90, 91, 112, 121, 159, 160, 239, 330, 5:106, 210
- Whiskey Rebellion, 4:444
- Whiskey Tax, 4:176
- Whistler, James McNeill, 5:98
- White, Byron, 6:366, 367
- White, Edward, 6:399
- White, Frank D., 6:98
- White, John, 3:237
- White, Walter, 5:262
- Whitefield, George, 4:123, 166
- White Hand, 6:183
- White Horse Monastery, 2:427
- White House Drug Control Policy Office, 6:124
- White Huns, 1:204, 207
- White Lotus Rebellion**, 4:204, 447
- White Lotus Society, 5:49
- White Mountain, Battle of, 3:382
- White Nile, 1:4, 4:10, 11
- White Paper, 5:137
- White Revolution, 6:218
- White Russians, 4:48, 5:103, 133, 250, 294, 334
- white supremacists, 5:192, 266, 314, 6:107
- Whitfield, George, 3:108
- Whitman, Walt, 4:205, 419
- Whitney, Courtney, 5:177
- Whitney, Eli, 4:xxvii, xxxvi, 411
- Whittinton, Robert, 3:255
- Whyntoun, 2:361
- Wichita Indians, 3:89
- Widmanstadt, Johan, 3:87
- Wiermu Kingi, 4:258
- Wilberforce, William, 4:2, 159
- Wilder, Thornton, 5:99
- Wilderness, Battle of, 4:92
- Wilderness Society, 5:91
- Wilhelm I, 4:70, 133, 134, 234, 300
- Wilhelm II, 4:32, 118, 234–235, 393, 420, 5:xli, 252, 295, 401
- Wilkins, Maurice, 6:xxxv
- Willard, Emma, 4:447
- Willard, Frances F., 4:27
- William I, 2:175, 295, 305, 3:167, 4:56, 154, 182
- William II, 2:295, 305, 310, 311, 4:56, 182
- William III (king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and prince of Orange)**, 2:175, 3:19, 46, 47, 79, 148, 150, 188, 218, 332, 371, 402
- William IV, 2:71, 4:431, 432
- William V, 2:163, 4:304
- William IX, 2:23, 84
- William X, 2:22
- William de Corbeil, 2:377
- William E. Harmon Foundation, 5:140
- William J. Clinton Foundation, 6:99
- William Jordan of Cerdagne, 2:248
- William of Champeaux, 2:3
- William of Conches, 2:267
- William of Malmesbury, 2:12, 344
- William of Nogaret, 2:29
- William of Normandy, 2:18
- William of Ockham, 2:177, 357, 358, 3:92
- William of Saint-Thierry, 2:42
- William Rufus, 2:359
- Williams, Abigail, 3:406
- Williams, Eric, 3:373
- Williams, Henry, 4:440
- Williams, Hosea, 6:96
- Williams, Roger**, 3:54, 175, 237, 403
- Williams, William, 5:90
- Williamson, John, 5:377
- Williamson, Stephen, 4:131
- William the Aethling, 2:376
- William the Ambitious, 2:154
- William the Conqueror, 1:244, 2:xxxix, 12, 308, 423
- Willkie, Wendell, 5:217, 327
- Willock, John, 3:348
- Wilmot, David, 4:90
- Wilmot-Horton, Robert, 4:83
- Wilmot Proviso, 4:90, 91, 239
- Wilson, Arnold, 5:173
- Wilson, Henry Lane, 5:248
- Wilson, James, 4:99
- Wilson, Woodrow**, 4:51, 5:17, 51, 53, 78, 92, 93, 106, 108, 127, 153, 159, 165, 169, 174, 175, 189, 192, 195, 196, 208, 209, 212–213, 221, 243, 256, 294, 297, 308, 311, 319, 326, 329, 338, 404, 412–413, 415, 420, 6:99
- Wilson Act, 5:396
- Wimpffen, Emmanuel de, 4:133–134
- Win, Ne, 5:31
- Windischgrätz, 4:136
- Windscale nuclear accident, 6:136
- Windsor, duke of, 5:6. *See also* Wales, Prince of
- Wingate, Reginald, 4:316, 404, 5:84, 370, 405, 435
- Winram, John, 3:348
- Winthrop, John**, 3:54, 124, 159, 237, 403–404, 405
- Wisconsin*, 4:96
- “Wisconsin Idea,” 5:195
- Wisdom, 1:372
- wisdom literature**, 1:487–488
- Wisdom of Solomon, 1:488
- Wishart, George, 3:202, 203
- witchcraft**, 3:238, 404–406, 4:419

- Witenagemots/Witans, 2:17, 69–70  
 without papers (“WOPs”), 5:89  
 Witiges, 1:323  
 Witte, Serge, 5:306, 330  
 Wittelsbach, House of, 4:171  
 Wittgenstein, Ludwig, 5:14, 15  
 Władislaus II, 2:331  
 Władysław I Herman, 2:329–330  
 Władysław II, 2:253, 256, 331. *See also* Jogaila  
 Władysław III. *See* Ladislas III  
 Władysław IV. *See* Ladislas IV  
 Władysław Lokietek, 2:250, 326  
 Wobblies, 4:218, 5:168, 169  
 Woden, 2:13  
 Wojtyła, Karol Józef, 6:229  
 Wolfe, James, 3:170, 4:378  
 Wolfensohn, James, 6:88  
 Wolff, Christian, 4:428  
 Wollstonecraft, Mary, 4:447  
 Wolseley, Colonel Garnet, 4:356  
 Wolsey, Thomas, 3:162, 163, 236  
 Women’s Auxiliary Air Force (WAAF), 5:66  
 Women’s Christian Temperance Union, 4:27  
 Women’s Emergency Brigade, 5:106  
 Women’s Franchise League, 5:293  
 Women’s March on Versailles, 4:145  
 Women’s Party, 5:293  
 Women’s Royal Naval Service, 5:66  
 Women’s Social and Political Union (WSPU), 5:293  
 women’s suffrage and rights, 4:xxxiii, 53, 115, 401, 447–450, 5:xxxviii, 53, 78, 181, 198–199, 225–226, 287, 292–294, 348, 413–415, 6:xxxvi, 41, 69, 134, 139–140, 149–152, 289  
 Women’s Suffrage Bill, 5:292  
 Women’s Trade Union League, 5:127  
 Women’s Transport Service (FANY), 5:66  
 Women’s Zionist Organization, 5:441  
 Wonsong, 2:371  
 Wood, Leonard, 5:229  
 Woodcock, Leonard, 5:394  
 Woodhull, Victoria, 4:448  
 Woodland culture, 1:281  
 Woodstock, 6:xxxix  
 Woodstock, Battle of, 3:382  
 Woodward, Bob, 6:317, 458  
 Woolf, Virginia, 5:414  
 Woolley, C. Leonard, 1:474, 5:211  
 Worcester (ship), 4:10  
 Worcester v. Georgia, 4:302  
 Wordsworth, William, 4:417  
 Worker’s Party (PT), 6:388  
 Working Men’s Party, 4:215, 217  
 Workingmen’s Party, 4:88, 89  
 Works Progress Administration (WPA), 5:155, 272  
 World, The: From Prehistory to 10,000 B.C.E., 1: M1  
 World AIDS Conference, 6:7  
 World Bank, 6:xxxvi, xxxviii, 7, 19, 43, 56, 81, 88, 119, 125, 164, 171, 180, 209, 240, 314, 388, 403, 436, 461  
 World Bank Group, 6:461  
 World Christian Missionary Conference, 6:132  
 World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), 6:136  
 World Congress of Students and Youth for Peace and Friendship, 6:152  
 World Council of Churches, 5:xxxix, 6:132, 133  
 World Court, 5:171  
 World Economic Forum, 6:171, 172  
 World Health Organization (WHO), 6:6, 37  
 World Heritage sites, 2:296, 372, 416, 6:37  
 world’s fairs, 4:xxxvi  
 World Social Forum, 6:172  
 World Trade, 19th Century, 4:M128  
 World Trade Center (WTC), 6:xlii, 41, 99, 412, 462–464  
 World Trade Organization (WTO), 6:xxxviii, 61, 82, 171, 172, 181, 210, 229, 320, 321, 436  
 World War I, 2:269, 3:166, 4:xxxix, 12, 49, 59, 112, 138, 159, 255, 342, 369, 376, 400, 412, 420, 434, 5:xxxix, xxxii, xxxiv, xxxix, xl, 1, 18, 23, 26, 32, 43, 44, 47, 51, 53, 55–56, 58, 61, 68, 78, 79, 80, 90, 92, 94, 95, 98, 102, 106, 113, 125, 127, 133, 137, 139, 140, 142, 148, 153, 161, 162, 165, 169, 172, 173, 186, 189, 193, 195, 208, 211, 212, 214, 216, 217, 226, 227, 229, 233, 243, 267, 284, 289, 293, 308, 313–314, 319, 325, 331, 415–419, 6:186, 415, 424  
 World War II, 4:12, 89, 138, 255, 376, 5:xxxii, xxxix, xl, xlii, 2, 4, 6, 11, 12, 20, 24, 31, 34, 48, 52, 56, 61, 63, 71, 75–78, 86, 90, 96, 98, 99, 101, 103, 112, 120, 122, 124, 131, 134–136, 138, 145, 146–147, 149, 150, 155, 156, 158, 161, 167, 168, 175, 177, 188, 194, 200, 205, 207, 212, 217, 218, 235, 241, 260, 266, 288, 315, 320, 420–424, 6:xxxii, xxxiii, 1, 19, 34, 37, 58, 97, 100, 101, 133, 134, 139, 191, 254, 259, 265, 293, 299, 343, 360, 382, 389, 392, 397, 411, 415, 424  
 in Europe and the Middle East, 1939–1945, 5: M154  
 Pacific Theater, 1941–1945, 5:M155  
 World War Foreign Debt Commission, 5:153

- World Youth Days, 6:231  
World Zionist Organization (WZO), 4:455, 5:37, 44, 339, 411, 439  
Worms, Concordat of, 2:164, 175, 244, 426  
Diet of, 3:26, 105–106, 223, 332  
Worth, Battle of, 4:156  
Wounded Knee, South Dakota, 5:167, 6:16  
Wren, Christopher, 3:21, 39, 278  
Wright, Benjamin, 4:133  
Wright, Judith, 5:33  
Wright, Orville, 5:xxxiii  
Wright, Richard, 5:99, 269, 290  
Wright, Wilbur, 5:xxxiii  
writing systems, 1:xxxix, xxxiv, xxxv, 2:xxxvii, 23, 30, 58, 100–101, 139, 199, 289, 290, 321, 356  
Wu, 1:77, 92, 94, 120–121, 183–184, 186, 251, 253, 255, 428, 430, 486, 502, 504, 505  
Wu, Harry, 6:91  
Wudi (Wu-ti). *See* Han Wudi  
Wuding (Wu-ting), 1:18, 425, 426  
Wulfila, 1:474  
Wurzburg, Diet of, 2:426  
Wu Sangui (Wu San-kuei), 3:111, 200, 249, 321, 406–407, 416  
Wusun (Wu-sun), 1:504  
Wu Yi-Tang, 5:225  
Wu Zhao (Wu Chao), 2:82, 431, 426–428  
Wyatt, Thomas, 3:233  
Wyatt's Rebellion, 3:120  
Wycliffe, John, 2:93, 167, 168, 188, 428, 3:40, 106, 329  
Wye Memorandum, 6:22  
Wyman, Jane, 6:360  
Wynfrith, 2:14
- X
- Xanthippus, 1:343  
Xanthos, Emmanuel, 4:169  
Xavier, Francis, 3:43, 76, 93, 128, 151, 190, 221, 228, 263  
Xenophanes, 1:254, 365  
xenophobia, 5:101, 104  
Xenophon, 1:195, 311, 325, 434, 489  
Xerxes I, 1:xxxix, 30, 75, 84, 108, 109, 135, 194, 258, 346, 489–490  
Xerxes II, 1:490  
Xhosa peoples, 4:66, 354, 395, 6:280, 281  
Xia (Hsia), duke of, 2:429  
Xia (Hsia) dynasty, 1:425, 490–491, 497, 499, 505  
Xiandi (Hsien-ti), 1:499  
Xianfeng (Hsien-feng), 4:18, 93, 162  
Xiang (Hsiang), Duke, 1:377  
Xiang Yu (Hsiang Yu), 1:183, 250, 491–492  
Xianshou (Hsien-shou), 1:55  
Xi'an (Sian) Incident, 5:425–426  
Xiao (Hsiao), 2:431  
Ximénez, Francisco, 3:312  
Xin dynasty, 1:385, 485  
Xinjiang (Sinkiang) rebellion, 4:287  
Xiongnu (Hsiung-nu), 1:xxxiii, xxxvi, 121, 164, 176, 183, 185, 251, 252, 254, 255, 257, 258, 378, 428, 430, 485, 492–493, 501, 504, 2:294  
Xixia (Hsi Hsia), 2:135, 429–430  
Xuande (Hsuan-te), 2:443, 3:248  
Xuanton (Hsuan-tung), 4:171  
Xuan Zang (Hsuan Tsang), 1:45, 333  
Xuanzang (Hsuan-tsang), 2:159, 293, 386, 389, 430–431  
Xuanzong (Hsuan-tsung), 2:18, 82, 392, 431–432  
Xueliang, Zhang, 5:193  
Xunzi (Hsun Tzu), 1:92, 94, 245, 493–494  
Xu Shucheng, 5:250  
Xu Zhonglin, 3:214  
XYZ affair, 4:260
- Y
- Yagoda, Genrikh, 5:359  
Yague, Juan de, 5:363  
Yahdun-Lim, 1:260  
Yahweh, 1:23, 223, 370, 431  
Yahya Khan, Muhammad, 6:47, 48, 63, 317, 331, 359, 465  
Yajnavalkya, 1:115  
Yakob, Zara, 3:209  
Yakovlev, Posnik, 3:22  
yaks, 4:xxxvi  
Yakub Beg, 4:288, 402, 454  
Yakub Khan, 4:9, 32  
yakuza, 5:44–45  
Yalta Agreement, 6:243–244, 249  
Yalta Conference, 5:66, 327, 352, 423, 427–429, 6:xxxix, 165  
Yamada Otozo, 5:194  
Yamagata Aritomo, 5:429–430  
Yamamoto Gonnohyoe, 5:122  
Yamamoto Isoruku, 5:176, 297, 422  
Yamamoto Tsunetomo, 3:57  
Yamana Mochitoyo, 2:26  
Yamana Sozen, 2:316  
Yamani, Ahmad Zaki, 6:327  
Yamaoka George, 5:381  
Yamasaki Minoru, 6:41  
Yamashita Tomoyuki, 5:230, 379

- Yamato clan and state**, 1:427–428, 436, 446, 495–497, 2:237  
**Yan (Yen)**, 2:273, 294, 436  
**Yan'an (Yenan) Period of the Chinese Communist Party**, 5:430–431  
**Yandabo, Treaty of**, 4:71  
**Yang, Lady**, 2:18, 83, 384  
**Yanga**, 3:232  
**Yangdi (Yang-ti)**, 2:147, 155, 381  
**Yang Guang (Kuang)**, 2:381  
**Yang Jian (Yang Chien)**, 1:132, 2:380  
**Yang Kil**, 2:238  
**Yang Qian**, 1:466  
**Yang Shang**, 6:423  
**Yang Xiuqing (Yang Hsiu-ch'ing)**, 4:407  
**Yanukovych, Viktor**, 6:349, 436  
**Yao**, 1:91, 94, 490, 493, 497, 499, 6:54  
**Yao Wenyuan (Yao Wen-yuan)**, 6:162, 176  
**Ya'qubi al-**, 2:140  
**Yaquí Indians**, 3:263, 4:111, 275  
**Yarim-Lim**, 1:260  
**Yarmuk, Battle of**, 2:63, 69, 433–434  
**Yaroslav**, 2:284  
**Yaroslav the Wise**, 2:301, 329, 420, 434–435  
**Yasa, Mongolian law code of**, 2:77  
**Yashovarman**, 2:233  
**Yasmah-Adad**, 1:34, 41, 260  
**Yasodhara**, 1:158  
**Yassin, Sheikh**, 6:189, 212, 223  
**Yaubidi of Hamath**, 1:35  
**Yavneh**, 1:503–504  
**Yayoi culture**, 1:226, 427, 498  
**Yazdadjird I**, 1:414  
**Yazdadjird II**, 1:414  
**Yazdadjird III**, 1:416  
**Yeager, Chuck**, 6:xxxiii  
**Yellow Emperor (Huangdi, or Huang Ti)**, 1:107, 241, 430, 497, 498–499  
**yellow fever**, 3:123, 362, 5:xxxv, 225  
**Yellow Hat Sect of Tibetan Buddhism**, 3:14, 200  
**yellow journalism**, 4:105, 310, 398, 5:209  
**Yellow River**, 1:xxix, xxxvi, xxxvii, 18, 186, 238, 253, 272, 301, 302, 385, 425, 485, 490, 492, 499, 505, 2:xxx, 18, 123, 147, 222, 227, 430, 439, 5:49  
**Yellowstone National Park**, 4:165, 5:91  
**Yellow Turban Rebellion**, 1:464, 499  
**Yeltsin, Boris**, 6:104, 122, 173, 174, 348, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 375, 378, 397, 398, 466–467  
**Yelu Chucai**, 2:135, 227, 313, 435–436  
**Yelu clan**, 2:252  
**Yemen**, 1:xxxv, 21, 237, 500–501, 3:348, 6:13, 47, 134, 141, 419, 438, 467–468  
**Yen Chia-kan**, 6:90  
**Yen Xishan**, 5:408  
**Yepes Alvarez, Juan de**, 3:380  
**Ye Qun (Yeh Chun)**, 6:176  
**Yersin, Alexandre**, 2:44  
**Yerushalmi**, 1:451–452  
**Yesenin, Serhey**, 5:361  
**Yesugei**, 2:134  
**Ye Ting**, 5:395  
**Yezhov, Nikolai**, 5:359  
**Yi dynasty, Korea**, 1:76, 499, 2:238, 362, 436, 3:407–408, 4:211–213  
**Yihe chuan (I-ho chuan)**, 5:49  
**Yihuan (I-huan)**, 4:93  
***Yi Jing (I Ching)***, 1:75, 91, 93, 107  
**Yin**, 1:486  
**Yinchen (Yin-chen)**, 3:200  
**Yin dynasty**, 1:91, 238, 424, 425, 426  
**Yingzong (Ying Tsung)**, 2:424, 425  
**Yi Song-gye**, 2:240  
**Yi Sun-sin**, 3:164, 205  
**Yi Ui-bang**, 2:239  
**yogas**, 1:50  
**Yoga school**, 1:433  
**Yokich, Stephen**, 5:394  
**Yokosuka Navy Base**, 5:180  
**Yomei**, 1:436, 445  
**Yom Kippur War**, 6:26, 79, 289, 317, 358  
**Yongle (Yung-lo)**, 2:107, 250, 276, 294, 436–437, 442, 443, 3:153, 154, 247, 248  
**Yongyan (Yung-yen)**, 4:204  
**Yongzheng (Yung-Cheng)**, 3:199, 320, 335, 408–409, 4:342, 343  
**York, House of**, 3:336–337  
**Yorktown, Battle of**, 4:26  
**Yoruba**, 4:370, 5:274, 6:64, 312, 314  
**Yosemite National Park**, 5:91, 92  
**Yoshida Shigeru**, 6:265, 440, 468  
**Yoshitake Kimura**, 4:147  
**Yoshitaro Amano**, 4:39  
**Yoshito (crown prince of Japan)**, 5:145  
**Young, Alice**, 3:408  
**Young, Arthur**, 3:349  
**Young, Brigham**, 4:282  
**Young Algerians**, 4:21  
**Young Communist League**, 6:71  
**Young Egypt**, 5:103  
**Younger Dryas event**, 1:301  
**Young Europe**, 4:266  
**Young Germany**, 4:196, 266

- Young Ireland, 4:127  
 Young Italy, 4:195–197, 266  
 Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), 4:xxxv  
**Young Ottomans**, 4:277, 410, 451–452  
 Young Plan, 5:175, 319  
 Young Poland, 4:196, 266  
**Young Turks**, 4:175, 5:23, 26, 29, 38, 431–432, 6:253  
 Yousef, Ramzi, 6:462  
 Youth for Christ, 6:174  
 Youth League, 5:3  
 Ypsilanti, Alexander, 4:46, 169  
 Yrigoyen, Hipolito, 5:198  
**Yu**, 1:91, 94, 490, 491, 493, 497, 499, 505  
 Yuandi (Yuan-ti), 1:485  
**Yuan dynasty**, 2:xxxiv, M54, 77, 147, 238, 241, 276, 278, 280, 282, 294, 331, 334, 399, 429, 436, 437–439, 3:153, 4:343, 6:423  
 Yuan Hung-Tao, 3:214  
**Yuan Shikai (Yuan Shih-k'ai)**, 4:93, 172, 383, 5:49, 50, 157, 347, 372, 388, 408, 432–433  
**Yucatán, conquest of**, 3:409–411  
 Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang, 6:124  
**Yue Fei (Yueh Fei)**, 2:222, 374, 439–440  
**Yuezhi (Yueh-chih)**, 1:177, 206, 235, 258, 437, 492, 501–502, 504  
**Yugoslavia**, 6:xlii, 39, 103–104, 424–425  
     **during 1945–2006**, 6:M182  
     **breakup and war in**, 6:468–471  
 Yukon Territory, 5:211  
 Yu Ku (Ugo), 1:77  
 Yun Po-Sun, 6:334  
 Yupanqui, Francisco Tito, 3:18  
 Yuri, 2:284  
 Yéryaku, 1:436  
 Yuschenko, Viktor, 6:436  
 Yusuf, Allal al-, 6:293  
 Yusuf al-Fihri, 2:289  
 Yusuf Asaf Yathar, 1:501  
 Yusuf Dhu Nuwas, 1:138  
 Yusuf ibn Tashfin, 2:9, 41
- Z**  
 Zacatecas, 3:277, 359  
 Zaccaria, Anthony Maria, 3:92  
**Zaghlul, Sa'd**, 5:13, 84, 405, 435–436  
 Zaghlul, Safia, 5:84, 435, 436  
 Zagros Mountains, 1:42, 128, 146, 147, 207, 212, 269, 346, 386, 6:253  
 Zagwe dynasty, 2:113, 244  
 Zahir, Mohammad, 6:235  
 Zahir Shah, Mohammed, 6:1, 2  
 Zahir ud-Din Muhammad Babur, 2:101  
*zaibatsu*, 5:123, 131, 181, 249  
 Zaidan, Jurji, 4:35  
**Zaire**, 6:118–119, 291  
 Zaitian (Tsai-t'ien), 4:93, 171  
**Zakkai, Yohanan ben**, 1:228, 288, 353, 452, 503–504  
 Zaldívar, Juan de, 3:288  
 Zaldívar, Vicente de, 3:287  
 Zama, Battle of, 1:4, 69, 162, 187, 249, 386  
 Zambezia Company, 4:334  
 Zambia, 6:17, 64, 237  
 Zamora, Alcala, 5:363  
 Zamora, Niceto Alcala, 5:363  
 Zan (Ch'an) Buddhism, 1:56  
 Zangi, 2:244  
 Zangid dynasty, 2:351  
 Zanj rebellion, 2:2  
 Zanzibar, 4:315–316  
 Zaotar, 1:508  
**Zapata, Emiliano**, 5:59, 158, 233, 247, 248, 404, 436–437  
**Zapatistas**, 6:262, 290, 320, 473–474  
**Zapotecs**, 1:317, 2:273, 273–276, 274, 396, 3:33  
 Zappas, Evangelis, 5:282  
 Zarathustra, 1:39, 507  
 Zar'a Ya'kob, 2:113  
 Zarco, João Gonçalves, 2:166, 3:5  
 Zardari, Asif Ali, 6:62  
 Zarmehr, 1:414  
 Zarqawi, Abu Musab al-, 6:187  
 Zavala, Joaquín, 5:437  
 Zawahiri, Ayman al-, 6:13, 357  
 Zaydi dynasty, 2:365  
 Zealots, 1:503  
 Zebedee, 1:20, 196  
 Zechariah, 1:xxxviii, 368  
 Zedillo, Ernesto, 6:211, 474  
 Zela, Battle of, 1:65  
**Zelaya, José Santos**, 5:93, 437–438  
 Zeledon, Benjamin F., 5:438  
 Zemsky, Sobor, 3:305  
 Zen, 1:56  
**Zen (Ch'an) Buddhism**, 2:161, 230, 354, 441, 443, 3:57  
 Zeng (Cheng), 1:377  
**Zenger, John Peter**, 3:413, 4:310  
**Zeng Guofan (Tseng Kuo-fan)**, 4:162, 183, 238, 311, 402, 408, 415, 453–454, 5:408  
 Zeng Jize (Tseng Chi-tse), 4:402, 454  
 Zennichi, 2:303  
 Zeno, 1:315, 323, 384, 430, 442, 444, 445, 460, 2:54, 64  
 Zenobia, 1:330  
 Zephaniah, 1:368

- Zephyrinus, 1:193  
 Zeppelins, 5:xxxiii  
 zero-sum game, 5:207  
 Zetkin, Clara, 4:449  
 Zeus, 1:12, 172, 182, 189, 203, 204, 231, 318, 319, 478  
 Zeus Ammon, 1:11  
 Zhang (Chang), 1:499  
 Zhang (Chang) brothers, 2:427  
 Zhang Chunqiao (Chang Ch'un-ch'iao), 6:162, 176  
 Zhang Ling (Chang Ling), 1:107  
 Zhang Luoxing (Chang Lo-hsing), 4:311  
**Zhang Qian (Chang Ch'ien)**, 1:184, 185, 240, 437, 493, 502, 504–505  
 Zhang Xueliang, 5:235, 425  
 Zhang Zai (Chang Tsai), 2:299–300  
 Zhang Zhi (Chang Chi), 2:299  
 Zhang Zolin (Chang Tso-lin), 5:123, 235, 407, 408  
 Zhang Zuzheng (Chang Chu-cheng), 3:498  
 Zhao (Chao), 1:186, 2:429  
 Zhao Gao (Chao Kao), 1:272, 378, 491  
**Zhao Kuangyin (Chao K'uang-Yin)**, 2:373, 442  
 Zhao Tuo (Chao T'o), 1:471  
 Zhao Ziyang (Chao Tzu-jang), 6:238, 423, 460  
 Zhelev, Zhelyu Mitev, 6:129  
 Zhen Fei (Chen-fei), 4:171  
**Zheng Chenggong (Cheng Ch'eng-Kung)**, 3:200, 249, 414  
**Zheng He (Cheng Ho)**, 2:xl, 107, 277, 437, 442–443  
**Zheng He's Voyage along Coastal Asia and Africa, 1431–1433**, 2:M60  
 Zhengtong (Cheng-t'ung), 3:248  
 Zheng Zhilong (Cheng Chih-lung), 3:414  
 Zhenjin, 2:242  
 Zhezong (Che-tsung), 2:182  
 Zhi (Chi), 1:252  
 Zhirinovskiy, Vladimir, 6:373  
 Zhivkov, Todor, 6:53, 129  
*Zhongyong (Chung-yung)*, 1:92  
 Zhongzong (Chung-tsung), 2:390  
**Zhou (Chou), duke of. See Duke of Zhou**  
**Zhou (Chou) dynasty**, 1:xxxii, xxxiii, 18, 76, 91–92, 93, 106, 120–121, 176, 204, 238, 241, 253, 271, 377, 418, 426, 486, 490, 493, 499, 505–507, 2:395, 3:405  
 Zhou Dunyi (Chou Tun-yu), 2:299  
**Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai)**, 5:223, 425, 439, 6:59, 115, 119, 176, 196, 267, 475  
 Zhou Yituan (Chou I-tuan), 4:454  
**Zho Zongtang (Tso Tsung-t'ang)**, 4:162, 238, 289, 402, 415, 454  
 Zhu (Chu), 3:249  
**Zhuangzi (Chuang Tzu)**, 1:106–107, 241–242  
**Zhu De (Chu Teh)**, 5:18, 223, 239, 395, 438–439  
 Zhu Di (Chu Ti), 2:436, 442  
 Zhugo Liang, 1:464  
 Zhu Rongji, 6:460  
**Zhu Xi (Chu Hsi)**, 1:92, 2:276, 299, 300–301, 443–444, 3:268  
 Zhu Yizhun (Chu I-chun), 3:401  
 Zhu Yuanzhang (Chu Yuan-chang), 2:276, 294, 400, 436, 439, 3:153, 247  
 Zhu Yunwen (Chu Yun-wen), 2:442  
 Zhu Yusong (Chu Yu-sung), 3:249  
**Zia, Khaleda**, 6:453, 475–476  
 Ziauddin, Khwaja, 6:299  
**Zia-ul Haq, Muhammad**, 6:62–63, 331, 476  
**Zimbabwe**, 2:367–368, 444–445, 4:333, 6:296–297, 364–365, 422  
 Zimbabwe, Great, 1:4, 2:36, 367–368, 445, 439, 3:22  
 Zimmermann, Arthur, 5:248  
 Zimmermann Telegram, 5:208, 248, 412  
 Zimri-Lim, 1:41, 260  
 zinc, 4:226  
*Zinjanthropus boisei*, 1:326  
 Zinoviev, Gregory, 5:69, 359, 360, 384  
 Zinzendorf, Nicholas Ludwig von, 2:190, 4:446  
 Zion, Mount, 1:370  
**Zionism**, 4:116, 175, 454–455, 5:21, 37, 44, 51, 52, 189, 411, 439–441, 6:290  
 Ziska, John, 2:189  
 Ziya, Pasha, 4:451  
 Ziyad bin Salih, 2:392  
 Zola, Émile, 4:116  
 Zollern, Frederick of, 3:166  
**Zollverein, German**, 4:151, 153, 155–156  
 Zone of Peace, Freedom, and Neutrality (ZOPFAN), 6:44  
 Zongli Yamen (Tsunqli Yamen), 4:415, 5:50  
*zongos*, 2:160  
 Zoroaster, 1:44, 79, 348  
**Zoroastrianism**, 1:xxxvi, 58, 79, 206, 237, 240, 261, 306, 412, 413, 414, 415, 437, 507–508, 3:10, 252, 261  
 Zorwan, 1:347  
 Zoschenko, Mikhail, 5:361  
 Zoskales, 1:137  
 Zubayr ibn al-Awwam al-, 2:105  
 Zuloaga, Félix, 4:274  
**Zulus**, 1:408, 4:xxxviii, 14, 66, 67, 160, 300, 354, 378–380, 5:46  
 Zulu War, 4:300  
 Zumarraga, Juan de, 3:136  
 Zuni Indians, 1:296, 2:xxxv, 3:267

- Zunyi Conference, 5:223  
Zuo Zongtang (Tso Tsung-t'ang), 4:288, 311  
Zurbarán, Francisco de, 3:21, 39, 354  
Zurich-London agreements, 6:113  
Zutucapan, 3:287  
Zuurveld, 4:395  
Zvonimir of Croatia, 2:243  
Zwickau prophets, 3:15, 296  
Zwide, 4:379  
Zwingli, John, 3:26  
Zwingli, Ulrich, 3:15, 117, 125, 126, 330, 414–416, 6:132  
Zygmunt I, 2:256  
Zygmunt II August, 2:256  
Zyklon B, 5:151  
Zyuganov, Gennadii, 6:373