



L3 preparation of orals

Great speeches and documents 1689-2022

John Mullen

Université de Rouen

John Mullen, Université de Rouen - Teaching blog

Links and comments for university students of English, and of British Studies and British history. Study links connected with my classes, and general links on current affairs etc. There are sometimes indications as to what group might be particularly interested (L2 for Licence 2nd year, for example)



Tuesday, January 17, 2023

Followers

<http://johncmullen.blogspot.com>



1. John Locke 1632-1704
English philosopher



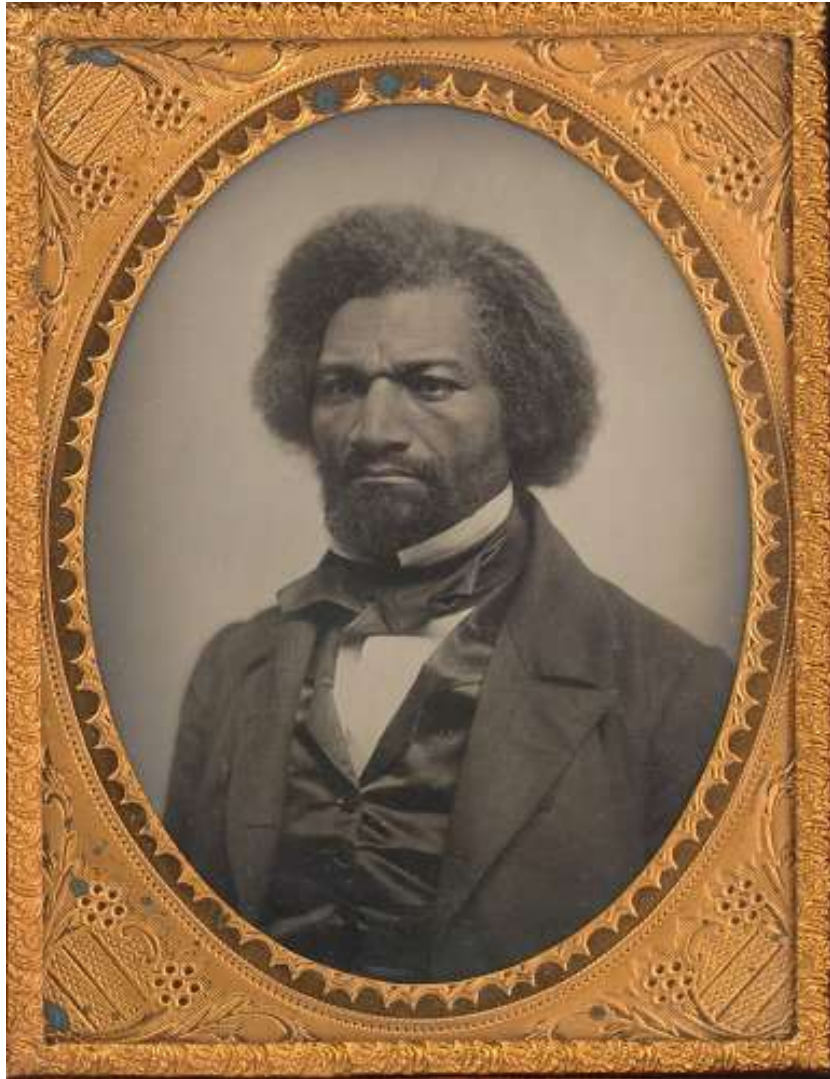
Statue in Thetford, England

2. Thomas Paine
1736-1809
Anglo-American
revolutionary activist



3. Thomas Babington Macaulay, 1800-1859 British Whig politician

Statue, Trinity
College,
Cambridge



4. Frederick Douglass
1817 or 1818 – 1895

US activist and
intellectual, born in
slavery

Then February holidays



5. Emmeline Pankhurst 1858-1928

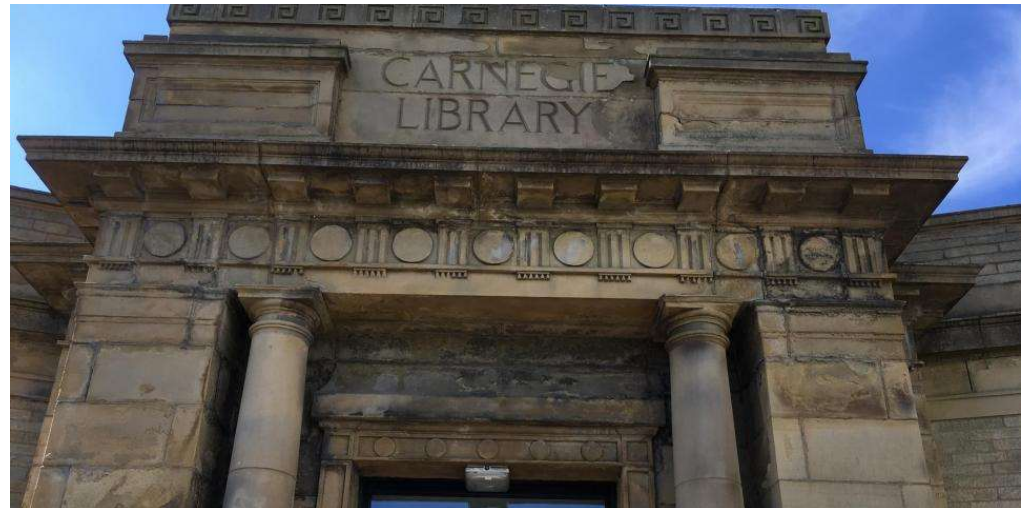
English political activist and
leader of women's suffrage
movement



Recent statue in Manchester



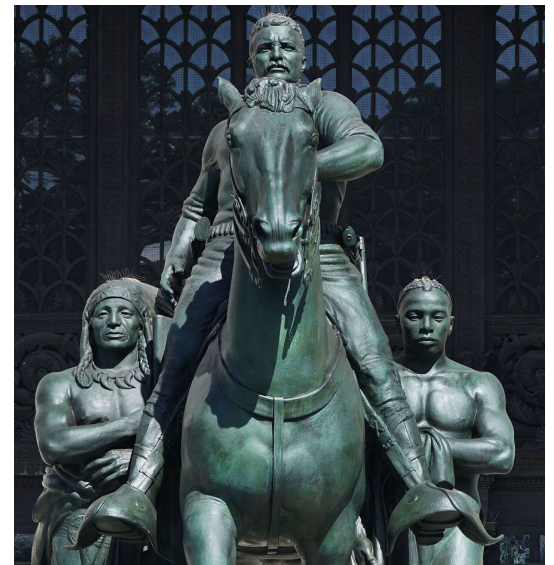
6. Andrew Carnegie
1835-1919
Scottish-American capitalist,
and philanthropist



Carnegie library in Osaltdwistle, England



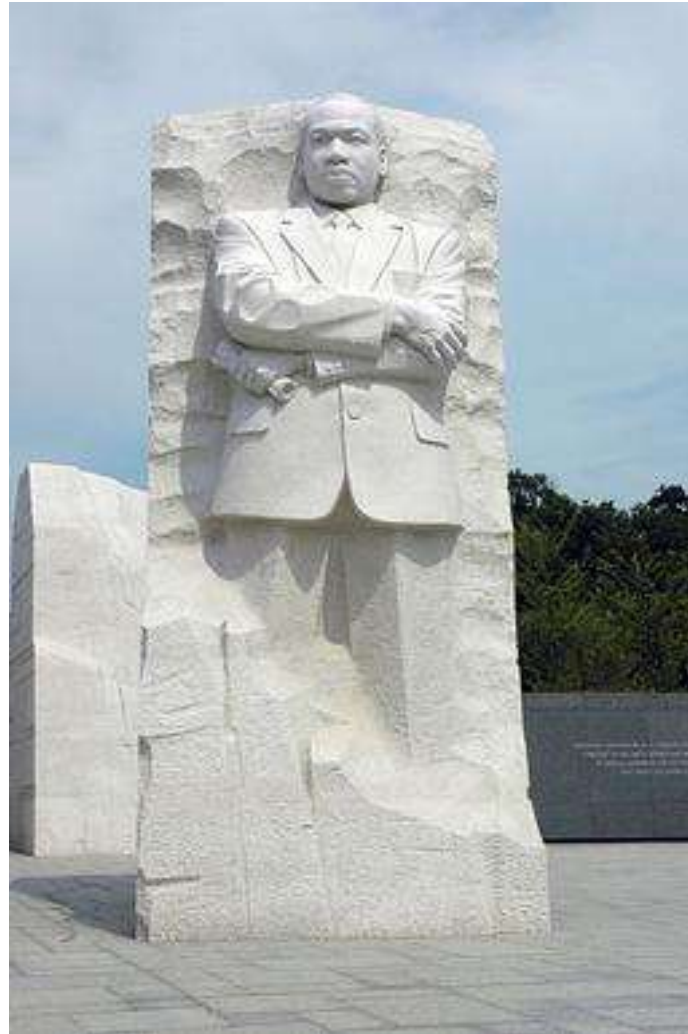
7. Theodore
Roosevelt
1858-1919
US politician and
26th president of
the United States





8. Nelson Mandela
1918-2013
South African activist,
later president of
South Africa





9. Martin
Luther King
1929-1968
US Baptist
minister and
activist

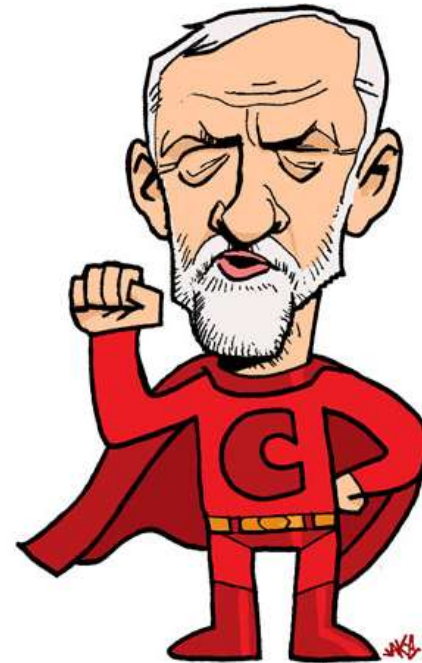


10. Margaret Thatcher
1925-2013
British Conservative Prime Minister





11. Jeremy Corbyn
b 1949
Left-wing leader of the
Labour Party 2015-2020



Then Easter
holidays



Mary Lou McDonald
b 1969
Président of Sinn Féin



John Locke

A
LETTER

CONCERNING

Toleration :

Humbly Submitted, &c.

LICENSED, Octob. 3. 1689.

LONDON,

Printed for *Awnsham Churchill*, at the *Black Swan* at *Amen-Corner*. 1689.

A
LETTER

Concerning

TOLERATION.

By *John Locke, Gent.*

THE THIRD EDITION.



Boston, Printed and Sold by *Rogers and Fowle* in *Queen-Street*, next to the *Prison*.

1743

HERITAGE
BOOKS



"The troops . . . pulled down the ryles" (p. 252).

Monarchs before the civil war

Henry VIII 1509-1547

Edward VI 1547-1553

Lady Jane grey

Mary 1 1553-1558

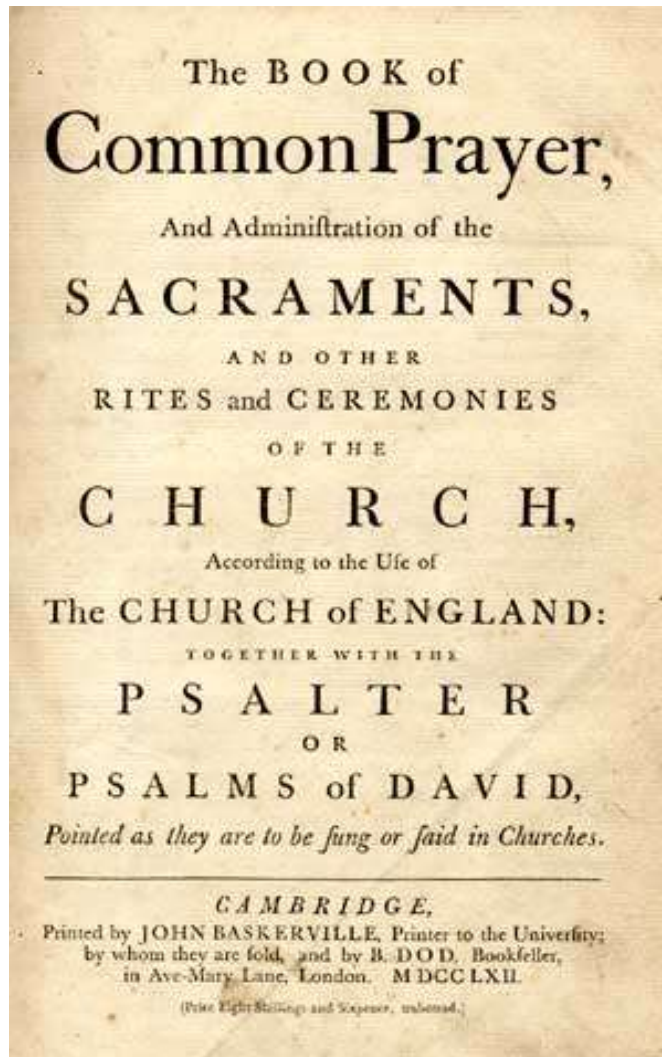
Elizabeth 1558-1603

James I 1603-1625

Charles I 1625-1649

Some of the ideas of the reformation

- Against corruption in the church
- For a personal relationship with God
- Less separation between priests and others
- No transubstantiation
- No papal infallibility



First Book of Common Prayer
was established in 1549



The Burning of Katherine Cancher, and her two Daughters in the Isle of Guernsey.

G. Jones Sculp.

Edinburgh Rev.

Published as the Act directs for H. Tropp, Peter-nester Rev.

A N
EXPOSITION
OF THE
Thirty-nine Articles
OF THE
CHURCH of ENGLAND.

Written by
GILBERT Bishop of SARUM

The Second Edition Corrected.

L O N D O N.

Printed by J. Baskin, for R. C. Crosswell, in the Strand
Over in St. Pauls Church-Yard. MDCC.



Edmund Campion



John Southworth



The millenary petition in 1603 objected, among other things, to wedding rings and vestments,

The toleration of those that differ from others in matters of religion, is so agreeable to the gospel of Jesus Christ, and to the genuine reason of mankind, that it seems monstrous for men to be so blind, as not to perceive the necessity and advantage of it, in so clear a light. I will not here tax the pride and ambition of some, the passion and uncharitable zeal of others. These are faults from which human affairs can perhaps scarce ever be perfectly freed; but yet such as nobody will bear the plain imputation of, without covering them with some specious colour; and so pretend to commendation, whilst they are carried away by their own irregular passions. But however, that some may not colour their spirit of persecution and unchristian cruelty, with a pretence of care of the public weal, and observation of the laws; and that others, under pretence of religion, may not seek impunity for their libertinism and licentiousness; in a word, that none may impose either upon himself or others, by the pretences of loyalty and obedience to the prince, or of tenderness and sincerity in the worship of God; I esteem it above all things necessary to distinguish exactly the business of civil government from that of religion, and to settle the just bounds that lie between the one and the other. If this be not done, there can be no end put to the controversies that will be always arising between those that have, or at least pretend to have, on the one side, a concernment for the interest of men's souls, and, on the other side, a care of the commonwealth.

The commonwealth seems to me to be a society of men constituted only for the procuring, preserving, and advancing their own civil interests.

Civil interest I call life, liberty, health, and indolency of body; and the possession of outward things, such as money, lands, houses, furniture, and the like.

It is the duty of the civil magistrate, by the impartial execution of equal laws, to secure unto all the people in general, and to every one of his subjects in particular, the just possession of these things belonging to this life. If any one presume to violate the laws of public justice and equity, established for the preservation of these things, his presumption is to be checked by the fear of punishment, consisting in the deprivation or diminution of those civil interests, or goods, which otherwise he might and ought to enjoy. But seeing no man does willingly suffer himself to be punished by the deprivation of any part of his goods, and much less of his liberty or life, therefore is the magistrate armed with the force and strength of all his subjects, in order to the punishment of those that violate any other man's rights.

Now that the whole jurisdiction of the magistrate reaches only to these civil concernments; and that all civil power, right, and dominion, is bounded and confined to the only care of promoting these things; and that it neither can nor ought in any manner to be extended to the salvation of souls; these following considerations seem unto me abundantly to demonstrate.

First, because the care of souls is committed to the civil magistrate, as well as that of other



jurisdiction over one another.

215 That the thing may be made yet clearer by an example; let us suppose two churches, the one of arminians, the other of calvinists, residing in the city of Constantinople. Will any one say, that either of these churches has right to deprive the members of the other of their estates and liberty, as we see practised elsewhere, because of their differing from it in some doctrines or ceremonies; whilst the Turks in the mean while silently stand by, and laugh to see with what inhuman cruelty christians thus rage against christians? But if one of these churches hath this power of treating the other ill, I ask which of them it is to whom that power belongs, and by what right? It will be answered, undoubtedly, that it is the orthodox church which has the right of authority over the erroneous or heretical. This is, in great and specious words, to say just nothing at all. For every church is orthodox to itself; to others, erroneous or heretical. Whatsoever any church believes, it believes to be true; and the contrary thereunto it pronounces to be error. So that the controversy between these churches about the truth of their doctrines, and the purity of their worship, is on both sides equal; nor is there any judge, either at Constantinople, or elsewhere upon earth, by whose sentence it can be determined. The decision of that question belongs only to the Supreme Judge of all men, to whom also alone belongs the punishment of the erroneous. In the mean while, let those men consider how heinously they sin, who, adding injustice, if not their error, yet certainly to their pride, do rashly and arrogantly take upon them to misuse the servants of another master, who are not at all accountable to them.

230 Nay, further: if it could be manifest which of these two dissenting churches were in the right way, there would not accrue thereby unto the orthodox any right of destroying the other. For churches have neither any jurisdiction in worldly matters, nor are fire and sword any proper instruments wherewith to convince men's minds of error, and inform them of the truth. Let us suppose, nevertheless, that the civil magistrate is inclined to favour one of them, and to put his sword into their hands, that, by his consent, they might chastise the dissenters as they pleased. Will any man say, that any right can be derived unto a christian church, over its brethren, from a Turkish emperor? An infidel, who has himself no authority to punish christians for the articles of their faith, cannot confer such an authority upon any society of christians, nor give unto them a right which he has not himself. This would be the case at Constantinople. And the reason of the thing is the same in any christian kingdom. The civil power [20] is the same in every place: nor can that power, in the hands of a christian prince, confer any greater authority upon the church, than in the hands of a heathen; which is to say, just none at all.

We have already proved that the care of souls does not belong to the magistrate: not a magisterial care, I mean, if I may so call it, which consists in prescribing by laws, and compelling by punishments. But a charitable care, which consists in teaching, admonishing, and persuading, cannot be denied unto any man. The care therefore of every man's soul belongs unto himself, and is to be left
325 unto himself. But what if he neglect the care of his soul? I answer, what if he neglect the care of his health, or of his estate; which things are nearlier related to the government of the magistrate than the other? Will the magistrate provide by an express law, that such an one shall not become poor or sick? Laws provide, as much as is possible, that the [24] goods and health of subjects be not injured by the fraud or violence of others; they do not guard them from the negligence or ill-husbandry of the
330 possessors themselves. No man can be forced to be rich or healthful, whether he will or no. Nay God himself will not save men against their wills. Let us suppose, however, that some prince were desirous to force his subjects to accumulate riches, or to preserve the health and strength of their bodies. Shall it be provided by law, that they must consult none but Roman physicians, and shall every one be bound to live according to their prescriptions? What shall no potion, no broth, be taken, but what is prepared
335 either in the Vatican, suppose, or in a geneva shop? Or, to make these subjects rich, shall they all be obliged by law to become merchants, or musicians? Or, shall every one turn victualler, or smith, because there are some that maintain their families plentifully, and grow rich in those professions? But it may be said, there are a thousand ways to wealth, but one only way to heaven. It is well said indeed, especially by those that plead for compelling men into this or the other way; for if there were
340 several ways that lead thither, there would not be so much as a pretence left for compulsion. But now, if I be marching on with my utmost vigour, in that way which, according to the sacred geography, leads straight to Jerusalem; why am I beaten and ill-used by others, because, perhaps, I wear not buskins; because my hair is not of the right cut; because, perhaps, I have not been dipt in the right fashion; because I eat flesh upon the road, or some other food which agrees with my stomach; because I avoid
345 certain by-ways, which seem unto me to lead into briars or precipices; because, amongst the several paths that are in the same road, I choose that to walk in which seems to be the straightest and cleanest; because I avoid to keep company with some travellers that are less grave, and others that are more sour than they ought to be; or in fine, because I follow a guide that either is, or is not, cloathed in white, and crowned with a mitre? Certainly, if we consider right, we shall find that for the most part they are such frivolous things as these, that, without any prejudice to religion to the salvation of souls,
350 if not accompanied with superstition or hypocrisy, might either be observed or omitted; how they are

nothing in religion but by the authority and counsel of the doctors of that church?

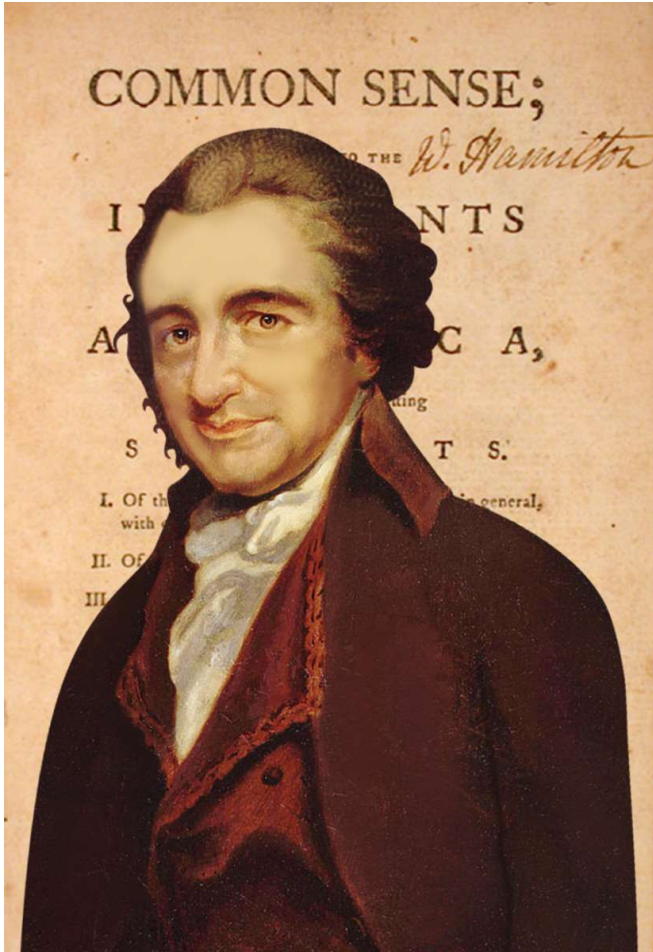
410 But to speak the truth, we must acknowledge that the church, if a convention of clergymen, making canons, must be called by that name, is for the most part more apt to be influenced by the court, than the court by the church. How the church was under the vicissitude of orthodox and arian

18



emperors is very well known. Or if those things be too remote, our modern English history affords us fresher examples, in the reigns of Henry VIII. Edward VI. Mary, and Elizabeth, how easily and smoothly the clergy changed their decrees, their articles of faith, their form of worship, every thing, according to the inclination of those kings and queens. Yet were those kings and queens of such different minds, in points of religion, and enjoined thereupon such different things, that no man in his wits, I [28] had almost said none but an atheist, will presume to say that any sincere and upright worshipper of God could, with a safe conscience, obey their several decrees. To conclude, It is the same thing whether a king that prescribes laws to another man's religion pretend to do it by his own judgment, or by the ecclesiastical authority and advice of others. The decisions of church-men, whose differences and disputes are sufficiently known, cannot be any sounder, or safer than his: nor can all their suffrages joined together add any new strength unto the civil power. Though this also must be taken notice of that princes seldom have any regard to the suffrages of ecclesiastics that are not favourers of their own faith and way of worship.

425 But after all the principal consideration, and which absolutely determines this controversy, is



Tom Paine

THOMAS PAINE,
AUTHOR AND REFORMER,
WAS BORN
JANUARY 29TH 1737,
IN A HOUSE NEAR THIS SITE
WHITE HART STREET.

Plaque in
Thetford, the
town he was
born



Statue in
Bordentown USA
« Father of the
American
Revolution »



Statue in
New Jersey

Where is there
not a statue of
Tom Paine?



PRESS RELEASES

[Home](#) / [News](#) / [Press Releases](#)

REPRESENTATIVE RASKIN INTRODUCES LEGISLATION TO BUILD MEMORIAL TO THOMAS PAINE

February 11, 2022

WASHINGTON, DC – Today, Congressman Jamie Raskin (MD-08) along with eight of his House colleagues, introduced legislation to authorize the construction of a memorial to American political activist and philosopher Thomas Paine.

“Tom Paine was a person so far ahead of his time that his work still challenges us in significant ways today to build a more democratic society,” **said Rep. Raskin.** “This luminary patriot of the Enlightenment and the American Revolution inspired people in the colonies not only to overthrow the tyranny of faraway kings



Statue in Paris, Parc
Montsouris



The Paine House at Thetford, England.

Paine's aged mother was living in this house when he visited her after the American Revolution.

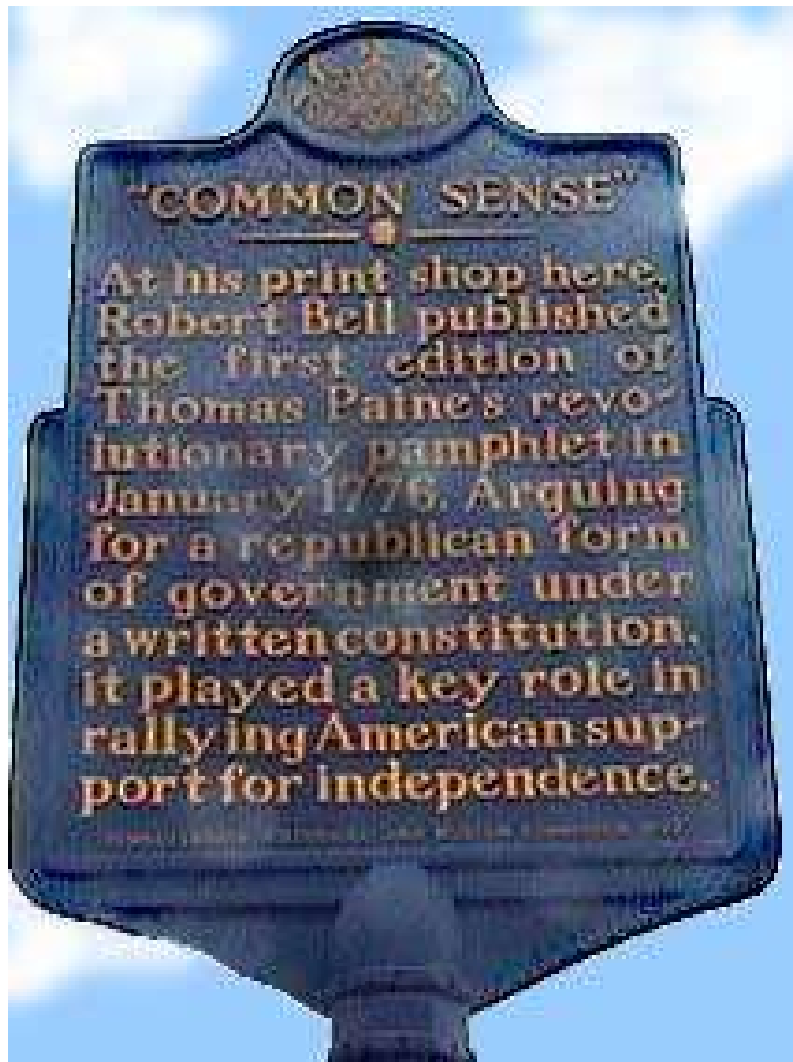
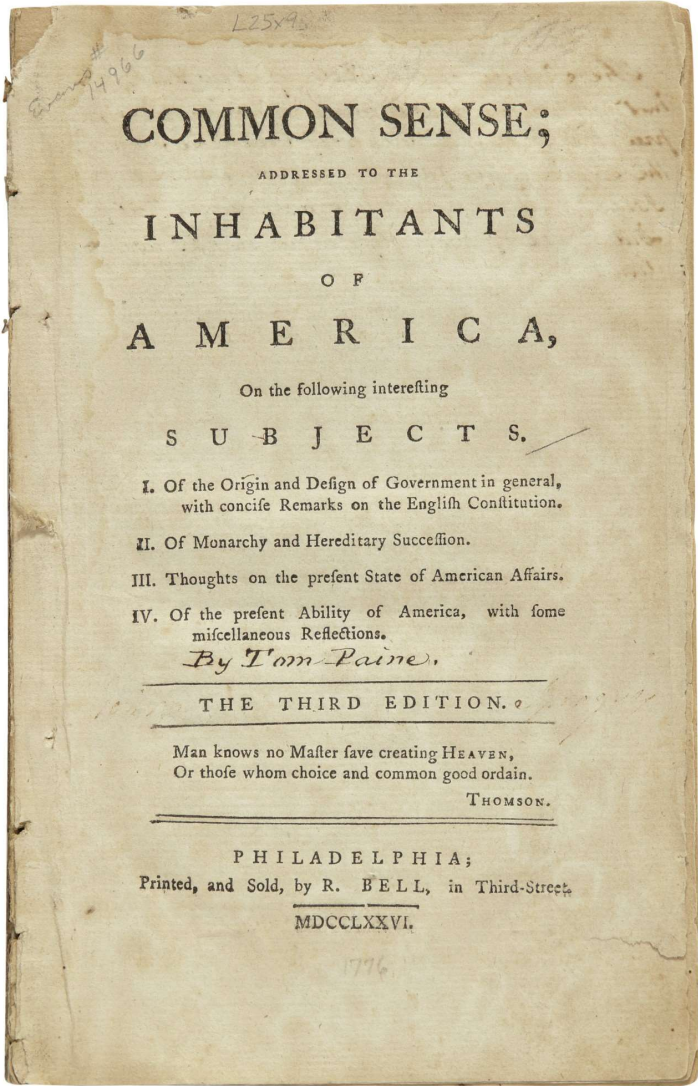
William M. Van der Weyde,
The Life and Works of Thomas Paine, Vol. I, Facing p.188.

The house of his
childhood



Thomas Paine was ranked No. 34 in the [100 Greatest Britons](#) 2002 extensive Nationwide poll conducted by the [BBC](#).^[147]





“Such is the irresistible nature of truth that all it asks, and all it wants, is the liberty of appearing.”

“Of more worth is one honest man to society and in the sight of God, than all the crowned ruffians that ever lived.”

“But Britain is the parent country, say some. Then the more shame upon her conduct. Even brutes do not devour their young, nor savages make war upon their families.”

“Small islands, not capable of protecting themselves, are the proper objects for kingdoms to take under their care; but there is something absurd, in supposing a continent to be perpetually governed by an island”

THESE are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands by it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman.

Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly: it is dearness only that gives every thing its value.

The Crisis
1776

RIGHTS OF MAN:

BEING AN

ANSWER TO MR. BURKE'S ATTACK

ON THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

BY

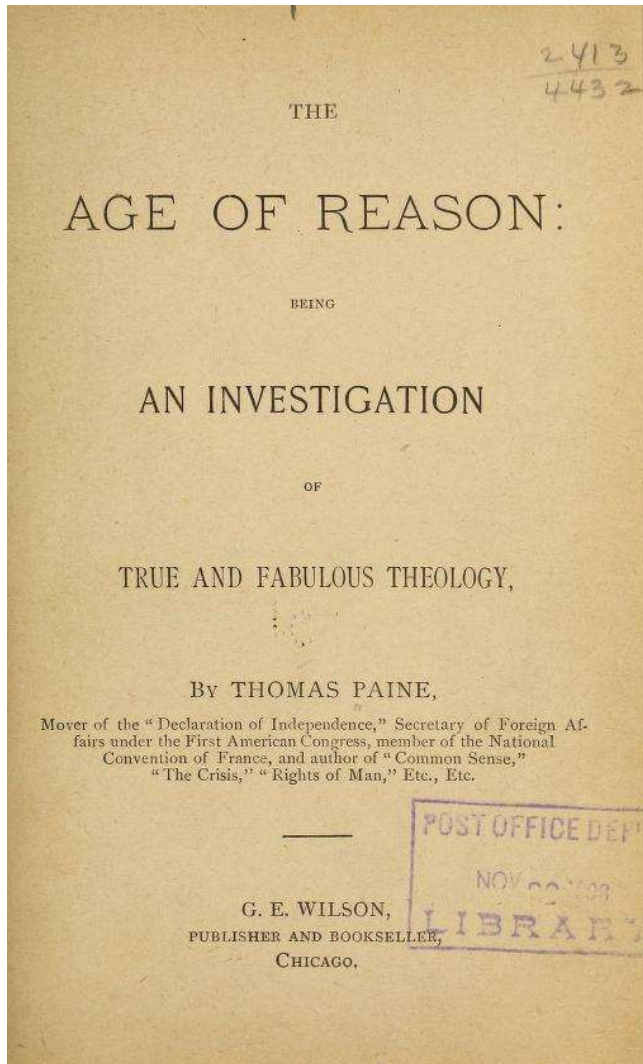
THOMAS PAINE,

SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO CONGRESS IN THE
AMERICAN WAR, &c.

AUTHOR OF THE WORK ENTITLED COMMON SENSE.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON, IN PAULS CHURCH-YARD,
MIDDLSEX.



 Create new

New Folder

 Library

 Saved files

 Photosonic

 Bulk Upload

 Chatsonic new

Chatsonic



Tell me about Tom Paine's book "The Rights of Man".




Thomas Paine's book "The Rights of Man" was published in two parts between 1791 and 1792. It is widely considered to be one of the most influential works of political philosophy in modern history, and is a cornerstone of the Enlightenment period. The

Include latest Google data:

 Reset Chat

Enable Memory:

Current personality: **General AI** 

 Today's limit 23

Write a Facebook ad for ChatSonic.



[View Features List](#)

0 / 2000

Thomas Paine's book "The Rights of Man" was published in two parts between 1791 and 1792. It is widely considered to be one of the most influential works of political philosophy in modern history, and is a cornerstone of the Enlightenment period. The book examines the concept of natural rights, particularly the right to life, liberty, and property, and argues for the need for governments to recognize these rights. Paine argues that governments that do not protect these natural rights are not legitimate, and should be replaced by governments that do. He also calls for a system of representative government, universal suffrage, the abolition of hereditary privilege, and the rights of citizens to assemble and petition. The book was extremely controversial, and was quickly banned in Britain, but was widely read in France and the United States, and has had a lasting impact on political thinking around the world.

Why was Tom Paine imprisoned in France?

Thomas Paine was imprisoned in France due to his support of the French Revolution. He was arrested in 1793 and held for nearly a year, from 1793 to 1794, by the Jacobin regime [1]. Despite being a central figure in the Revolution, historians have tended to overlook Paine's involvement in the event [2]. This is partly because of the fact that a lost manuscript of Paine's was only recently discovered, which outlines his reflections on the Terror of the French Revolution [3].

Chatsonic

A constitution is the property of a nation, and not of those who exercise the government. All the constitutions of America are declared to be established on the authority of the people. In France, the word nation is used instead of the people; but in both cases, a
90 constitution is a thing antecedent to the government, and always distinct there from.

In England it is not difficult to perceive that everything has a constitution, except the nation. Every society and association that is established, first agreed upon a number of original articles, digested into form, which are its constitution. It then appointed its officers, whose powers and authorities are described in that constitution, and the government of that society
95 then commenced. Those officers, by whatever name they are called, have no authority to add to, alter, or abridge the original articles. It is only to the constituting power that this right belongs.

From the want of understanding the difference between a constitution and a government, Dr. Johnson, and all writers of his description, have always bewildered
100 themselves. They could not but perceive, that there must necessarily be a controlling power existing somewhere, and they placed this power in the discretion of the persons exercising the government, instead of placing it in a constitution formed by the nation. When it is in a constitution, it has the nation for its support, and the natural and the political controlling powers are together. The laws which are enacted by governments, control men only as
105 individuals, but the nation, through its constitution, controls the whole government, and has a natural ability to do so. The final controlling power, therefore, and the original constituting power, are one and the same power.

Dr. Johnson could not have advanced such a position in any country where there was a constitution; and he is himself an evidence that no such thing as a constitution exists in
110 England. But it may be put as a question, not improper to be investigated, that if a constitution does not exist, how came the idea of its existence so generally established?

In order to decide this question, it is necessary to consider a constitution in both its cases:—First, as creating a government and giving it powers. Secondly, as regulating and restraining the powers so given.



120 Magna Charta, as it was called (it is now like an almanack of the same date), was no more than compelling the government to renounce a part of its assumptions. It did not create and give powers to government in a manner a constitution does; but was, as far as it went, of the nature of a re-conquest, and not a constitution; for could the nation have totally expelled the usurpation, as France has done its despotism, it would then have had a constitution to form.

125 The history of the Edwards and the Henries, and up to the commencement of the Stuarts, exhibits as many instances of tyranny as could be acted within the limits to which the nation had restricted it. The Stuarts endeavoured to pass those limits, and their fate is well known. In all those instances we see nothing of a constitution, but only of restrictions on assumed power.

130 After this, another William, descended from the same stock, and claiming from the same origin, gained possession; and of the two evils, James and William, the nation preferred what it thought the least; since, from circumstances, it must take one. The act, called the Bill of Rights, comes here into view. What is it, but a bargain, which the parts of the government made with each other to divide powers, profits, and privileges? You shall have so much, and I will have the rest; and with respect to the nation, it said, for your share, You shall have the right of petitioning. This being the case, the bill of rights is more properly a bill of wrongs, and of insult. As to what is called the convention parliament, it was a thing that made itself, and then made the authority by which it acted. A few persons got together, and called themselves

285 With respect to the organization of the legislative power, different modes have been adopted in different countries. In America it is generally composed of two houses. In France it consists but of one, but in both countries, it is wholly by representation.

The case is, that mankind (from the long tyranny of assumed power) have had so few opportunities of making the necessary trials on modes and principles of government, in order
290 to discover the best, that government is but now beginning to be known, and experience is yet wanting to determine many particulars.

The objections against two houses are, first, that there is an inconsistency in any part of a whole legislature, coming to a final determination by vote on any matter, whilst that matter, with respect to that whole, is yet only in a train of deliberation, and consequently
295 open to new illustrations.

Secondly, That by taking the vote on each, as a separate body, it always admits of the possibility, and is often the case in practice, that the minority governs the majority, and that, in some instances, to a degree of great inconsistency.

300 Thirdly, That two houses arbitrarily checking or controlling each other is inconsistent; because it cannot be proved on the principles of just representation, that either should be wiser or better than the other. They may check in the wrong as well as in the right therefore to give the power where we cannot give the wisdom to use it, nor be assured of its being rightly used, renders the hazard at least equal to the precaution.¹

305 The objection against a single house is, that it is always in a condition of committing itself too soon.—But it should at the same time be remembered, that when there is a constitution which defines the power, and establishes the principles within which a legislature shall act, there is already a more effectual check provided, and more powerfully operating, than any other check can be. For example,




365 It is inhuman to talk of a million sterling a year, paid out of the public taxes of any country, for the support of any individual, whilst thousands who are forced to contribute thereto, are pining with want, and struggling with misery. Government does not consist in a contrast between prisons and palaces, between poverty and pomp; it is not instituted to rob the needy of his mite, and increase the wretchedness of the wretched.—But on this part of the subject I shall speak hereafter, and confine myself at present to political observations.

370 When extraordinary power and extraordinary pay are allotted to any individual in a government, he becomes the center, round which every kind of corruption generates and forms. Give to any man a million a year, and add thereto the power of creating and disposing of places, at the expense of a country, and the liberties of that country are no longer secure. What is called the splendour of a throne is no other than the corruption of the state. It is made up of a band of parasites, living in luxurious indolence, out of the public taxes.

375 When once such a vicious system is established it becomes the guard and protection of all inferior abuses. The man who is in the receipt of a million a year is the last person to promote a spirit of reform, lest, in the event, it should reach to himself. It is always his interest to defend inferior abuses, as so many outworks to protect the citadel; and on this species of political fortification, all the parts have such a common dependence that it is never to be
380 expected they will attack each other.

Monarchy would not have continued so many ages in the world, had it not been for the abuses it protects. It is the master-fraud, which shelters all others. By admitting a participation of the spoil, it makes itself friends; and when it ceases to do this it will cease to be the idol of courtiers.

385 As the principle on which constitutions are now formed rejects all hereditary pretensions to government, it also rejects all that catalogue of assumptions known by the name of prerogatives.




To conclude this part of the subject:—One of the greatest improvements that have been made for the perpetual security and progress of constitutional liberty, is the provision which the new constitutions make for occasionally revising, altering, and amending them.

460 The principle upon which Mr. Burke formed his political creed, that of "binding and controlling posterity to the end of time, and of renouncing and abdicating the rights of all posterity, for ever," is now become too detestable to be made a subject of debate; and therefore, I pass it over with no other notice than exposing it.

37

465 Government is but now beginning to be known. Hitherto it has been the mere exercise of power, which forbade all effectual enquiry into rights, and grounded itself wholly on possession. While the enemy of liberty was its judge, the progress of its principles must have been small indeed. The constitutions of America, and also that of France, have either affixed a period for their revision, or laid down the mode by which improvement shall be made. It is perhaps impossible to establish anything that combines principles with opinions and practice,
470 which the progress of circumstances, through a length of years, will not in some measure derange, or render inconsistent; and, therefore, to prevent inconveniences accumulating, till they discourage reformation or provoke revolutions, it is best to provide the means of regulating them as they occur. The Rights of Man are the rights of all generations of men, and cannot be monopolised by any. That which is worth following, will be followed for the sake of
475 its worth, and it is in this that its security lies, and not in any conditions with which it may be encumbered. When a man leaves property to his heirs, he does not connect it with an obligation that they shall accept it. Why, then, should we do otherwise with respect to constitutions?



- Mccauley

Whereas it is expedient to take
effectual measures for remedying several
abuses that have long prevailed in
the choice of members to serve in
the Honourable House of Parliament
to deprive many unwieldy persons
of the right of returning members
to grant such privilege to large po-
pulous and wealthy towns to in-
crease the number of burgesses of



THE MEMBERS OF THE **TYPOGRAPHIC ART IN SHEFFIELD**, on an occasion when the people of England, as with one heart and voice, are giving utterance to those grateful emotions which the recent consummation of their ardent wishes has so justly inspired, eagerly step forward on this happy occasion, to aid in the general expression of delight by exhibiting, in full operation, that powerful machine, the "second Ark," the harbinger of the freedom of the world. Though few in number, in comparison with the local Trades of the Town, they trust they do not form an unimportant part of the intelligent and industrious population of this district: nevertheless, they would be ashamed of themselves, could they remain indifferent when called upon to manifest their devotion and attachment to those wise and beneficent Legislators who have promoted and secured a **REFORMED HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT**. They are proud of having been taught an Art which, though it has left its own origin in obscurity, commensurates all other inventions, hands down to posterity every important event, and immortalizes both the discoveries of genius, and the exploits of greatness. The **PRESS** has proved the only effectual instrument for dispelling prejudice, superstition, and error; and such are the advantages which it has conferred upon states, communities, and individuals, even while under galling restrictions, that they await, with intense anxiety, the period when, in Britain at least, it will be "free as the air we breathe." They contemplate with delight the efforts now made for the general diffusion of knowledge; and it is their fervent wish that a powerful impetus may be given to those efforts, by the speedy removal of all those taxes and imposts which have so long retarded the progress of literature. With these sentiments, they have determined to adopt the following

Order of Procession.

A **BANNER**, with the words "Letter Press-Printers," in white satin; in the centre the King's Arms, tastefully worked; on the reverse, the Crown and Cushion.

Large blue **SILK BANNER**, borne by two individuals, with the figure of a Columbian Press at the head, and bearing the inscription, "The Press, the Palladium of the Liberties of the People—the Terror of bad Government."

Such of the **EMPLOYERS** as have honoured the Procession with their presence.

A **STANDARD** of blue, with the words "Caxton, the first English Printer; born 1410, died 1492." An individual representing **WILLIAM CAXTON**, dressed in the costume of the age in which he lived, mounted on a grey Horse, and attended by two Pages; the former carrying a copy of *Lutimer's Sermons*, printed in 1571.

A raised **CAR**, with a splendid Canopy, formed of Flowers, Evergreens, &c. on which two Printing Presses were placed, with Men engaged in printing the Stanzas written by the Author of the "*Corn Law Rhymer*," and dedicated to the Members of the Printing Business; and a Song, by the same Author, to be sung by the Members of the Political Union, at the Public Dinner held to commemorate the passing of the Reform Bill. In the front of the Car was placed a blue silk Banner, with the words "Dispeller of Darkness," on the reverse, "Enlightener of Mankind." On the opposite side, two blue **Silk Flags**, with the words "Gutenberg and Faust," accredited inventors—1439; "Caxton and De Walle," first English Printers. The Car was otherwise tastefully decorated with orange coloured **Flags**, bearing appropriate inscriptions.

FLAG,

"The Liberty of the Press."

FLAG,

"Repeal of the Taxes on knowledge."

Three Stewards with Scarlet Silk Sashes and White Wands.

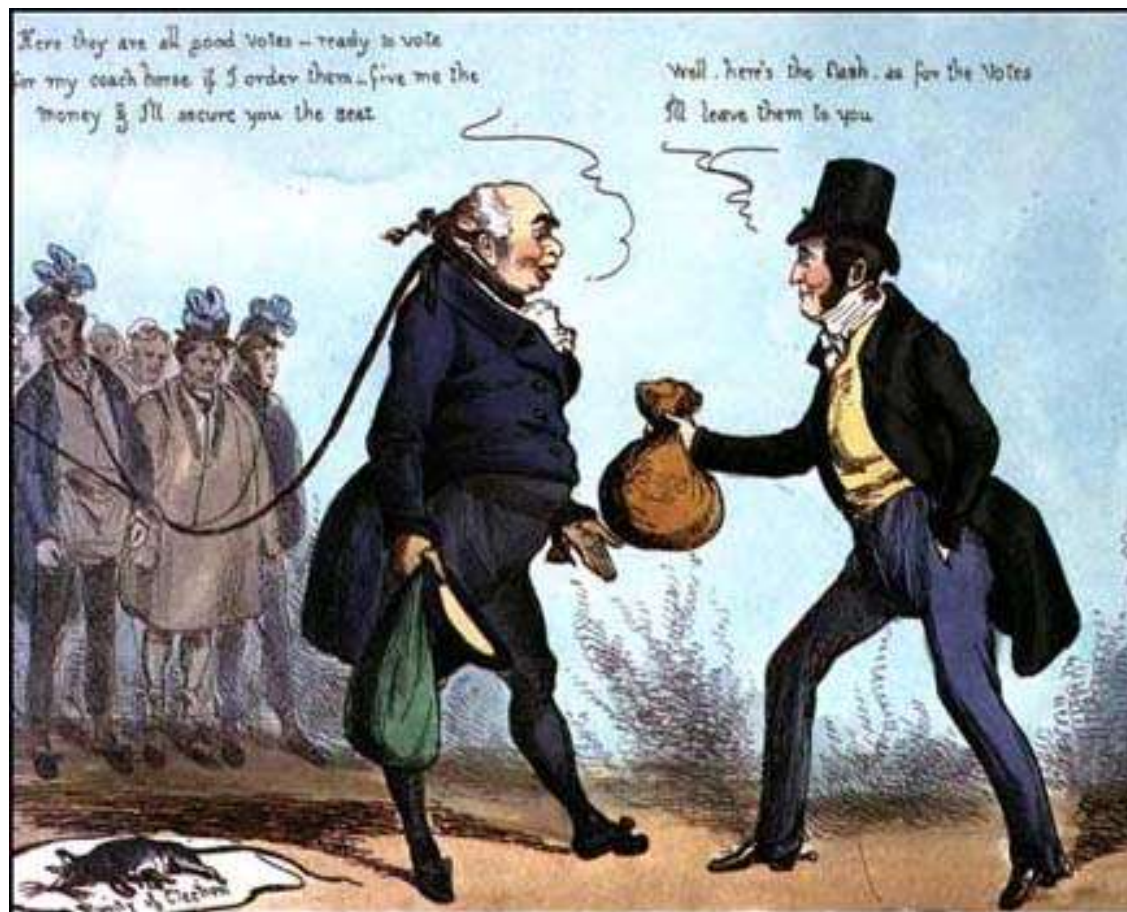
The Members of the Printing Business, four abreast, wearing white Gloves, with blue Favours. **Mr. WILLY**—Chaise drawn by four horses: a Blue Flag with figures "84," being the majority on the passing of the Bill, and, on each side of the Chaise the words "Sun Express, in thirteen hours."

—•••—
MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF SHEFFIELD.

The Right to Vote

- Following the **French Revolution** a number of “**societies**” emerged in **Britain** demanding **political reform**:

- **Broaden the franchise** : elections were neither representative nor balanced ;only around **10% of the adult male population had the vote.**
- **Stop corrupt election practices: “rotten boroughs” and “pocket boroughs”.**
- Moreover, with no **secret ballot**, voters were easily **bribed or intimidated.**



- W. Heath's cartoon *How to Get Made an M.P.* (1830)



- William Hogarth's *Canvassing for Votes* depicts the corruption endemic in election campaigns prior to the Great Reform Act.

- The three major societies were:
- The ***Society for Constitutional Information (SCI)***, revived by John Horne Tooke in 1791: composed of intellectuals, with wealthy patrons, and trying to influence at all level through radical propaganda.

John Horne Tooke (1736 –1812)
was an English politician and
philologist



▪ The ***Society of the Friends of the People (SFP)***, split from the ***SCI*** in **1792**: less radical and consisting mainly of **Whig's MPs (such as Earl Grey)**.

Charles Grey, 2nd Earl Grey (1764 – 1845)



- ***The London Corresponding Society (LCS)***, founded by **John Frost** a draper and tailor and shoemaker **Thomas Hardy (1792)**: mostly composed of **workers and artisans**; they wanted **universal male suffrage, annual Parliaments** and **paid MPs**.

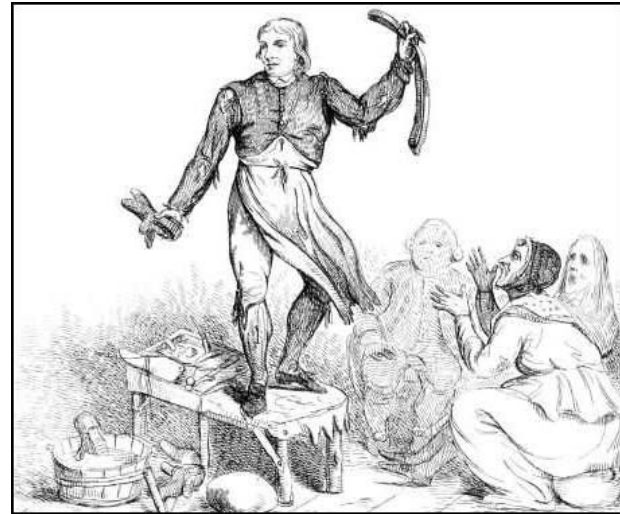


John Frost



- **Meeting of John Thelwall** (1764 – 1834) at **Spa Fields in London (1795)**. He was a radical British orator who helped form the **London Corresponding Society** in 1792. By James Gillray.

➤ However, the anti-reform Tories under William Pitt, who used the French Revolution as a foil to reject proposed changes.



Thomas Hardy
Isaac Cruikshank, *The Cobbler
Turned Preacher* (1791)

To stop further thought of reform,
Pitt issued a **Royal Proclamation**
(1792) outlawing **sedition meetings**
and writings.

Some activists were then arrested
and transported to Australia.



William Pitt the Younger
(1759 –1806)

- **Pitt** introduced even greater restrictions as the relationship between **France and Britain** worsened:
- He suspended *Habeas Corpus* twice between **1794 and 1801**.
- He introduced the **Treasonable Practices Act (1795)**, which made it an offense to bring the **King or Government into contempt**.

- The **Combination Act (1799)** forbade political agitation among workers.
- The **Unlawful Societies Act (1799)**, made it illegal for any society to meet in secret
- The **Corresponding Societies Act (1799)** banned the **LCS** and its regional affiliates.



- **George Cruikshank**, criticizing the Cabinet Ministers who suspended **Habeas Corpus in 1817** and attempted to stifle the **Radical Press** after an attack on the Regent.
- In this drawing he used the image of a printing press, usually a symbol of free expression, but here changed into a scaffold where Liberty has been hanged.

- When **Henry Hunt** was invited to speak at a huge meeting at **St Peter's Field** in **Manchester (1819)** in favour of **Parliamentary reform**, the magistrates, fearing a riot ordered the **local yeomen** to arrest him.
- The crowd resisted and the **yeoman charged**: 11 people were killed and 400 wounded.

➤ Local reporters dubbed it the **Peterloo Massacre.**



A painting of the Peterloo Massacre by Richard Carlile

As I lay asleep in Italy
There came a voice from over the Sea,
And with great power it forth led me
To walk in the visions of Poesy.

I met Murder on the way –
He had a mask like Castlereagh
Very smooth he looked, yet grim;
Seven blood-hounds followed him:

All were fat; and well they might
Be in admirable plight,
For one by one, and two by two,
He tossed them human hearts to chew
Which from his wide cloak he drew.

The first lines
of the poem
« the Mask of
Anarchy » ,
written by
Percy Shelley
after the
events of
Peterloo

And that slaughter to the Nation
Shall steam up like inspiration,
Eloquent, oracular;
A volcano heard afar.

And these words shall then become
Like Oppression's thundered doom
Ringing through each heart and brain,
Heard again - again - again

'Rise like Lions after slumber
In unvanquishable number –
Shake your chains to earth like dew
Which in sleep had fallen on you –
Ye are many - they are few.'

**The last
lines of
the same
poem**

The First Reform Act

- The **Tories** remained opposed to **Parliamentary reform** until **1830**
- One of the main factors in change was the agitation for reform led by the **Birmingham Political Union** formed by **Thomas Atwood (1830)**.

- The **Bill** had a difficult time in Parliament it was **twice rejected** by the **Lords** ; **Lord Grey** even resigned to force the Bill through.
- Meanwhile, **rioting took place in towns all over Britain** to keep up the pressure on Parliament.

- Eventually, the **Lords** allowed the **Reform Bill** through in **1832**.
- In its final form the **Reform Act** increased the electorate from about **350,000 to 650,000** (**18%** of the total adult male population in **England and Wales**).
- In **Scotland**, it increased the electorate to about **12%** of the total adult male population.

Why were working-class activists disappointed by the 1832 Reform Act ?

The 1832 Reform Act was initially viewed with optimism by working-class activists, who believed that they would benefit from the extension of the franchise and the redistribution of parliamentary seats. However, the Act ultimately fell short of these expectations.

The franchise was extended only to the most affluent members of the working classes, with the property requirement of 40 shillings effectively maintaining the existing exclusion of the majority of the working class. Furthermore, the redistribution of parliamentary seats only applied to counties, and not to the boroughs, which meant that only a small number of people in a few select areas were granted the franchise.

The Act also failed to address some of the key grievances of the working classes, such as the Corn Laws and the Poor Law. This disappointment led to the Chartist movement, which campaigned for further reform, including the extension of the franchise to all adult males. Although the Chartists ultimately failed to achieve their goals, the 1832 Reform Act provided the groundwork for further reform in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

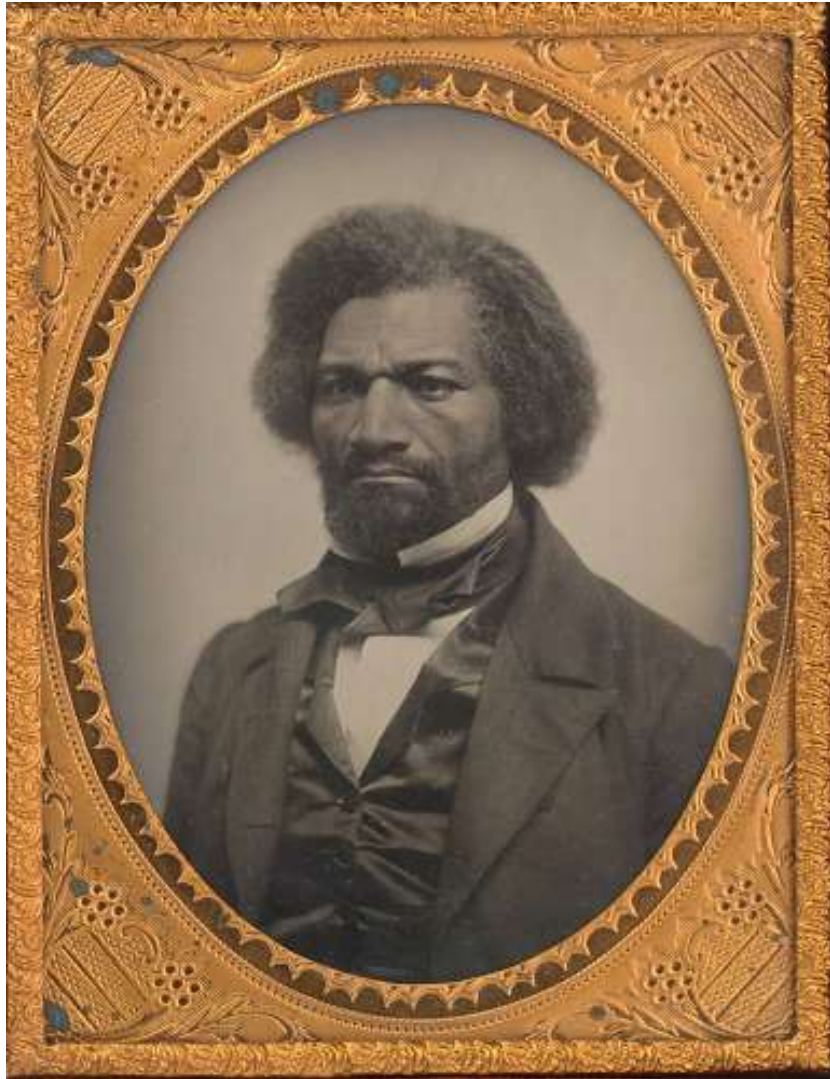
Chatsonic

Q : What was the role of Lady Gaga in the 1832 Reform Act ?

Lady Gaga had no role in the 1832 Reform Act [1], which abolished tiny districts, gave representation to cities, gave the vote to small landowners, tenant farmers, shopkeepers, householders who paid a yearly rental of £10 or more, and some lodgers. It also introduced the first explicit statutory bar to women voting by defining a voter as a male person. This meant that only qualifying men were able to vote, and it extended the electorate from about 400,000 to 650,000, making about one in five adult males eligible to vote [2]. The 1832 Reform Act is viewed as one of the most important pieces of legislation in British political history as it was the first step towards a more representative democracy. However, it is important to note that no women were given the right to vote under this Act [3], which seems outrageous to us today.

[1] Reform Act 1832 - Wikiwand [2] The Representation of the People Act February 1918 A ... [3] Blog: The Secret World of London Clubs Part 1

Chatsonic



Frederick Douglass
1817 or 1818 – 1895

US activist and
intellectual, born in
slavery

The case for British slavery reparations can no longer be brushed aside

Afua Hirsch



There is now a global debate focused on all those nations who built their wealth by denying black people humanity



Illustration by Eleanor Shakespeare

Once asked a British cabinet minister why the country had never apologised for the transatlantic slave trade. After all, this nation trafficked more enslaved Africans than almost any other - at least 3 million on British ships - yet it has only ever expressed "regret". It's a strange choice of words for playing a leading role in the greatest atrocity in human history.

The minister explained to me that the UK cannot apologise, because the case against it - watertight in moral and ethical terms - might then become legal too. In short, Britain won't use the language of apology, out of fear this might pave the way for reparations.

That admission made me sit up and take notice. Because, passionate as I have always been about racial justice, I'm also not immune from the perception of reparations as - in the words of American writer [Isabel Wilkerson](#) - especially "radioactive".

Advertisement: CAMPER

Advertisement for CAMPER shoes. It features a grid of six different shoe models in various colors (grey, blue, yellow, green). The brand name 'CAMPER' is prominently displayed at the top.

Most viewed

US shoots down 'octagonal' flying object near military sites in Michigan

2020

2022

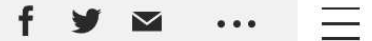


nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/churches-played-active-role-slavery-segregation-...



Churches played an active role in slavery and segregation. Some want to make amends.

SHARE & SAVE -



NBCBLK

Churches played an active role in slavery and segregation. Some want to make amends.

Some churches across denominations are acknowledging that their wealth was often built off of enslaved labor and are committing parts of their endowments to reparations funds.



THE NORTH STAR.

RIGHT IS OF NO SEX—TRUTH IS OF NO COLOR—GOD IS THE FATHER OF US ALL, AND ALL WE ARE BROTHERN.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., FRIDAY, AUGUST 11, 1848.

WHOLE NO.—33.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS, Editor.
N. S. DELANY, Editor.

VOL. I. NO. 93.

The NORTH STAR is published every Friday, at No. 24, Buffalo Street, (opposite to Arcade).

TERMS.
Two dollars per annum, advance. No subscription will be received for less than this amount.

The object of the NORTH STAR will be to attack SLAVERY in all its forms and aspects; advocate UNIVERSAL EDUCATION; and the abolition of PUBLIC SQUALIDITY; promote the moral and intellectual improvement of the COLORED PEOPLE; and have the glory of FREEDOM to the THREE MILLIONS of our BROTHERS FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN.

PUBLISHERS' NOTICES.
All communications relating to the business of the paper, orders of subscribers, notices, etc., should be addressed to J. D. GAY, Publisher.

LIST OF AGENTS.
New York—W. W. Wood, Jr., Corchell, Belden, Noyes, and others.
Boston—W. W. Wood, Jr., Corchell, Belden, Noyes, and others.
Philadelphia—W. W. Wood, Jr., Corchell, Belden, Noyes, and others.

Advertisements.
For the first insertion, one dollar per square for one week.
For the second insertion, fifty cents per square for one week.
For the third insertion, thirty cents per square for one week.

Selections.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION.
At a Convention, held in the Unitarian Church in the city of Rochester, on the 11 day of August, 1848, to consider the Rights of Woman, politically, socially, religiously, and industrially.

the institution of a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and securing its progress in such form as to insure solid basis for the rights of woman.

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.

A large audience convened. Opportunity for prayer was given. A long and interesting letter from James C. Jackson, approving the subjects of the convention was read.

Mr. Rogers reported the average price of labor for compression to be from \$1 to \$3 per day per hour, from \$1 25 to \$1 50 per week to be deducted therefrom, and they are generally obliged to take half or more than half in their bills.

Mr. G. L. W. reported the condition of the oppressed of this portion of our citizens, and expressed her gratitude that the subject was claiming attention.

He has no untried the loss of divorce, so to whom shall be the proper course of divorce, in case of separation, in which the guardian ship of the children shall be given as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of either the law, in all cases, going upon the false supposition of the equality of man, and giving all power into his hands.

herself he dared not claim a right which he would not concede to woman; in reference to the enfranchisement of women, it need not be questioned whether she would use that right or not; he contended, that man should not withhold it from her, he alluded to the oppressive customs in the Old World, which so wronged woman, that they subjected her to the most horrible and well as degrading means for a livelihood. He would see her elevated to an equal position with man in every relation of life.

Mr. P. asked, Who, after charging, she had property, and whose name should be retained? He thought an inquiry necessary; all business must cease until the consent of both parties be obtained. He saw an impossibility of introducing such a vote into society. The proposal he established the unity of the married pair—they were one.

Resolved, That in an admitted principle of the American Republic, that the only just power of government is derived from the consent of the governed; and that taxation and representation are inseparable; and woman being taxed equally with man therefore she ought not to be deprived of an equal representation in the government.

Resolved, That we greatly deplore the amity and indifference of woman in regard to her rights. It restricts her to the occupancy of an inferior religious, political and domestic station in society; and we wish to inspire her with a desire to stand on an equal basis, claiming her equal right to think, speak and act on all subjects that interest the human family.

Resolved, That the assumption of man to settle estates, when men die without will, leaving widows, is an insult to woman, and ought to be regarded as such by every friend of right and humanity.

It has often occurred to me, therefore, that it was rather singular that all this great advice should always come from one side. How it is that there are so few guide-posts to point the way to innocent young gentlemen, who have

order; she knew every woman who, to all intents and purposes, is at the head of her family.

Resolved, That we greatly deplore the amity and indifference of woman in regard to her rights. It restricts her to the occupancy of an inferior religious, political and domestic station in society; and we wish to inspire her with a desire to stand on an equal basis, claiming her equal right to think, speak and act on all subjects that interest the human family.

Resolved, That the assumption of man to settle estates, when men die without will, leaving widows, is an insult to woman, and ought to be regarded as such by every friend of right and humanity.

Resolved, That we greatly deplore the amity and indifference of woman in regard to her rights. It restricts her to the occupancy of an inferior religious, political and domestic station in society; and we wish to inspire her with a desire to stand on an equal basis, claiming her equal right to think, speak and act on all subjects that interest the human family.

Resolved, That the assumption of man to settle estates, when men die without will, leaving widows, is an insult to woman, and ought to be regarded as such by every friend of right and humanity.

Resolved, That we greatly deplore the amity and indifference of woman in regard to her rights. It restricts her to the occupancy of an inferior religious, political and domestic station in society; and we wish to inspire her with a desire to stand on an equal basis, claiming her equal right to think, speak and act on all subjects that interest the human family.

From the United States Gazette.
HINTS FOR WIVES.

Obedience is a very small part of conjugal duty, and in most cases easily performed. Much of the comfort of a married life depends upon the lady's great deal more, perhaps, than she is aware of. She scarcely knows her own influence; how much she may do by persuasion—how much by sympathy—how much by unremitted kindness and little attention. To acquire and retain such influence, she must, however, make her conjugal duties her first object. She must not think that anything will do for her husband—that any one is good enough for her husband—that it is not worth while to be agreeable when there is only her husband;—that she may close her piano, or lay aside her lute, for why should she play or sing merely to amuse her husband? No—she must consider all these little arts of pleasing, chiefly valuable on his account—as means of perpetuating her attractions, and give permanence to his affections—she must remember that her duty consists not so much in great and solitary acts—in display of the sublime virtues to which she will only be occasionally called; but in trifles—in a cheerful smile, or a minute attention generally rendered, and proceeding from a heart full of kindness, and a temper full of amiability.

In looking over a late paper, I met with the above valuable hints on the duties of wives to their lords, pointing out the mules in which they were to secure, in the husband, the cherishing devotion which had characterized the lover. The most inflexible specific, or the one most strongly insisted upon in rules of this kind, is a "smiling countenance." No matter what a wife's avocations may have been during the day, her countenance must be always wreathed in smiles on the approach of her husband.

Being one of those fortunate individuals who have hitherto escaped the name, I have had leisure to give to these subjects that profound reflection which characterizes those situated like myself.

It has often occurred to me, therefore, that it was rather singular that all this great advice should always come from one side. How it is that there are so few guide-posts to point the way to innocent young gentlemen, who have

brought about, I am firmly resolved to continue AN OLD MAID.

The following outline of the celebration of the day of the emancipation of eight hundred thousand colored men in the British West India Islands, was yesterday celebrated in appropriate style in this city. A great many colored people from the neighboring villages and cities were present.

First of August.—The anniversary of the day of the emancipation of eight hundred thousand colored men in the British West India Islands, was yesterday celebrated in appropriate style in this city. A great many colored people from the neighboring villages and cities were present. At 12 o'clock, a large and respectable procession was formed at the Colored Church in Ford Street, which marched, accompanied by excellent music, to Washington Square, where all the accommodations for speakers and hearers used on such occasions, had been prepared. After the appointment of officers and music by the band, Mr. Frederick Douglass, of this city, delivered an able and interesting oration. He spoke with much eloquence and effect at the great events now transpiring in Europe, compared the present condition and future prospects of France with those of England, and although in either country there was much to encourage the patriot, his hopes were chiefly confined to England; for "what in France was bloody revolution, in Britain was peaceful reformation."

Mr. D.'s allusion to his kindred still in bondage was beautiful and affecting. He called particular attention to a declaration made in the British Parliament by Lord John Russell, to the effect that the emancipated slaves in the West India Islands were better provided for, more comfortable and thrifty than any other peasantry in the world. His declaration was based upon evidence stated by committees appointed by Parliament to inquire into the condition of the colored people in the West India Islands. Mr. D. was followed by Henry W. Johnson, of Cananahogue. Mr. Leonard, who was announced, was not present.

There were some 1500 or 2000 persons present. The proceedings were conducted with entire decorum and propriety throughout.—American.

The First of August.—The jubilee of the colored people yesterday passed off with great calmness, and without anything disagreeable occurring to mar the general good feeling and happiness which seemed to prevail among the par-

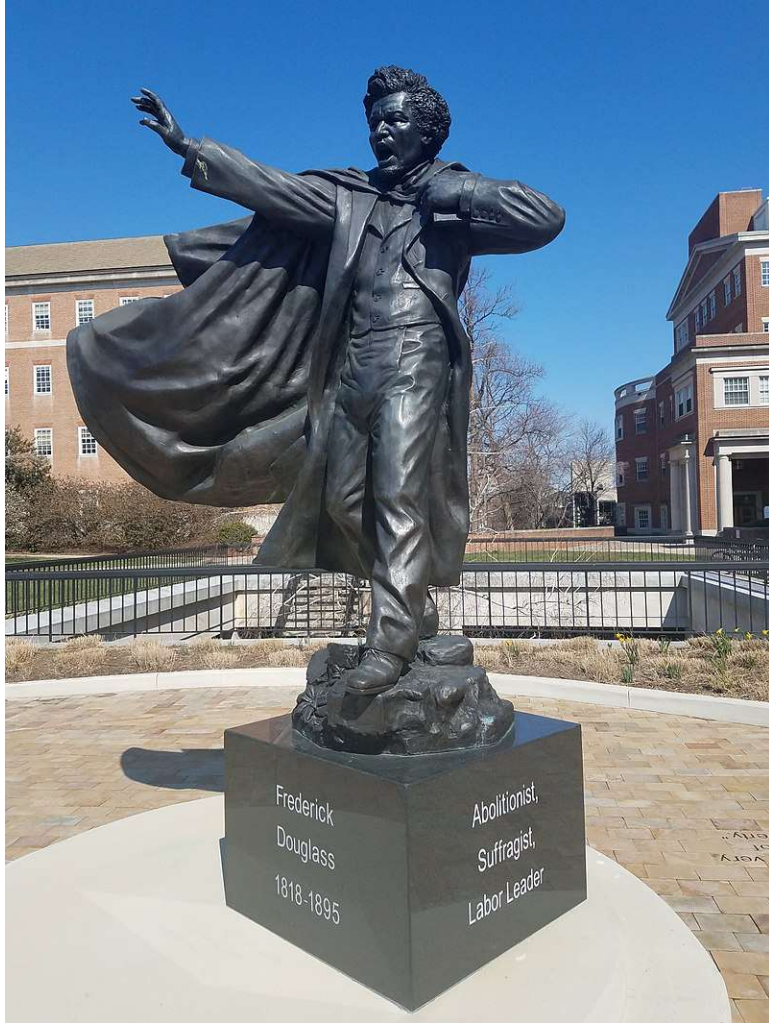
were riding back and forth, slaving the city, and enjoying their freedom in the highest degree. We trust that the "peculiar institution," the overthrow of which they met to commemorate, may not be extended over broad acres and fertile lands now free from its stain.

The Celebration of August 1st. This event passed off on Tuesday last, in a manner gratifying to all spectators and participants. The procession was numerous, the address eloquent and appropriate, and the conduct of the active participants such as to draw out agreeable remarks from those who have before calculated like celebrations. We believe that all who witnessed the exercises of Tuesday, must acknowledge that a change in public sentiment has taken place even within one year. We noticed at the Senate a general sensation of all sorts of people, had the only instance of blackguardism that we could note, emanated from the Rochester Courthouse office, as the colored people passed, and from that source we might expect anything but gentlemanlike conduct, for that concern has nothing to do in the estimation of good citizens.

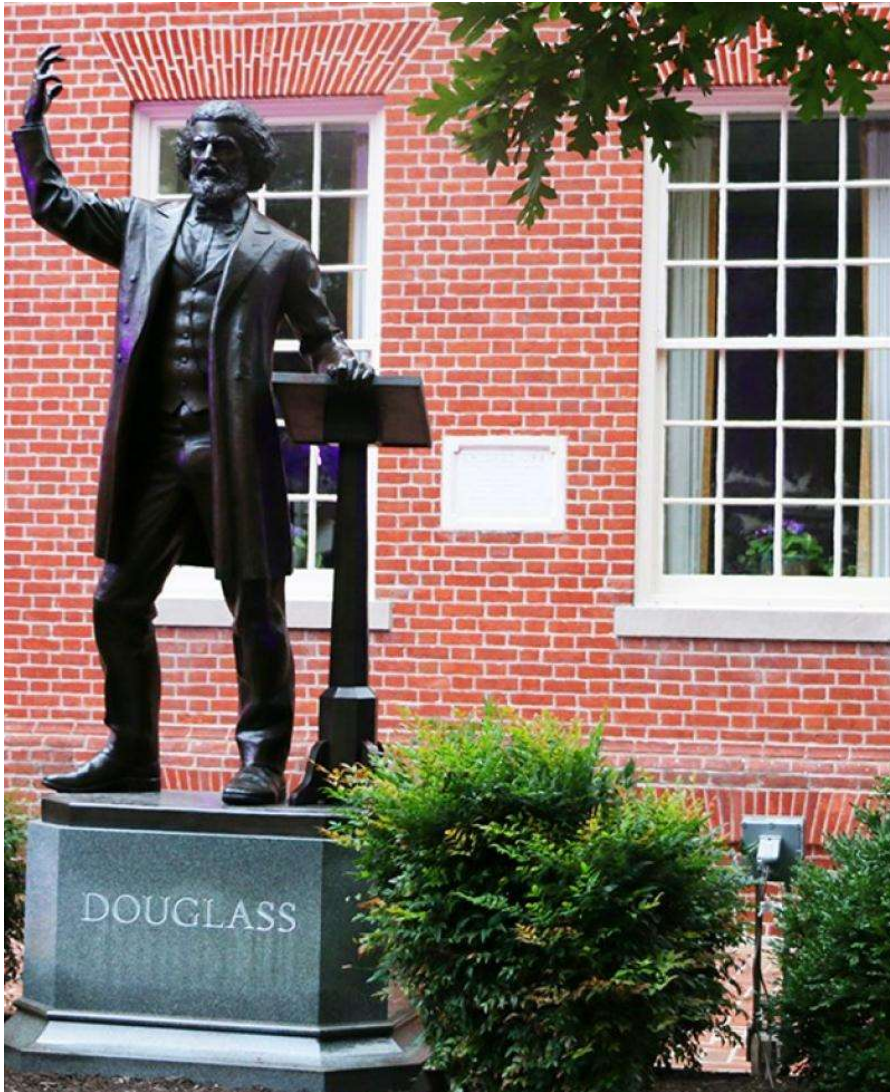
The day will be remembered by our citizens with pleasure, and we would express an humble wish that our fourth of July might in all future time be as orderly and appropriately celebrated by our white friends, as was the first of August by our colored citizens.—National Reformer.

WHAT IS TO BECOME OF LAMAR-TINE?
The London Times of July 16th, has the following reflection touching this subject:
"A strange spectacle is visible at this moment in Paris—a spectacle not only strange, but impressively teaching. There is a man in that capital of liberty and revolutions, who has, within the compass of a few weeks, experienced all the perils and vicissitudes of statesmanship. Yesterday, he was returned almost to liberty; to-day, he is shut up as if the touch of his hand or the sound of his voice were contaminating—yesterday, he was the glory of the republic; to-day he is the victim—Who is this man? He is the just whose soul was intoxicated with the beauty of freedom, and from whose lips came those words of eloquence which only a day or two back thrilled through the heart of Christendom.
"Every citizen of France felt the sincerity of this man's enthusiasm—it

JOHN DICK, PROPRIETOR.



College Park,
Maryland
Erected 2015



Talbot county
courthouse,
Maryland,
erected 2011



Harlem,
New York, 2011



2020, Rochester
New York, statue
of Douglass
destroyed –
culprits
unknown

The statue was found on Sunday, July 5, the 168th anniversary of one of Douglass's most famous speeches denouncing slavery, and the damage was done amid a heated national debate over tributes to historical figures. (New York Times)



2017 removal by protesters of 1924 statue to confederate soldier



1899 statue

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O-ZblMfZpuw>



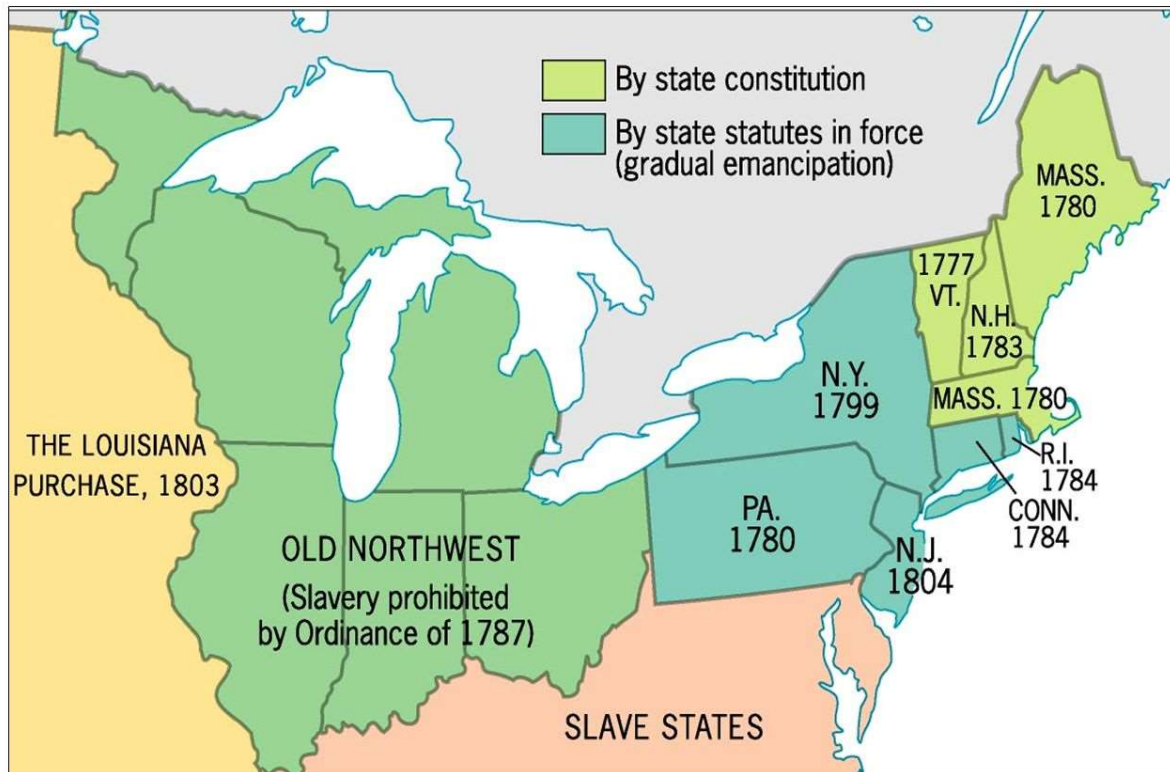
CITY OF WESTMINSTER

OLAUDAH
EQUIANO
(1745 - 1797)
"THE AFRICAN"

LIVED AND PUBLISHED HERE
IN 1789 HIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY
ON SUFFERING THE
BARBARITY OF SLAVERY,
WHICH PAVED THE WAY
FOR ITS ABOLITION.



The North



•The Northern states had all abolished slavery by 1804



Early textile
factories in North
of USA



Plantation slaves 1862

Slavery is said to be an evil... But is no evil. On the contrary, I believe it to be the greatest of all the great blessings which a kind Providence has bestowed upon our glorious region... As a class, I say it boldly; there is not a happier, more contented race upon the face of the earth... Lightly tasked, well clothed, well fed—far better than the free laborers of any country in the world,... their lives and persons protected by the law, all their sufferings alleviated by the kindest and most interested care....

Sir, I do firmly believe that domestic slavery regulated as ours is produces the highest toned, the purest, best organization of society that has ever existed on the face of the earth.

James Henry Hammond in the US Senate 1836

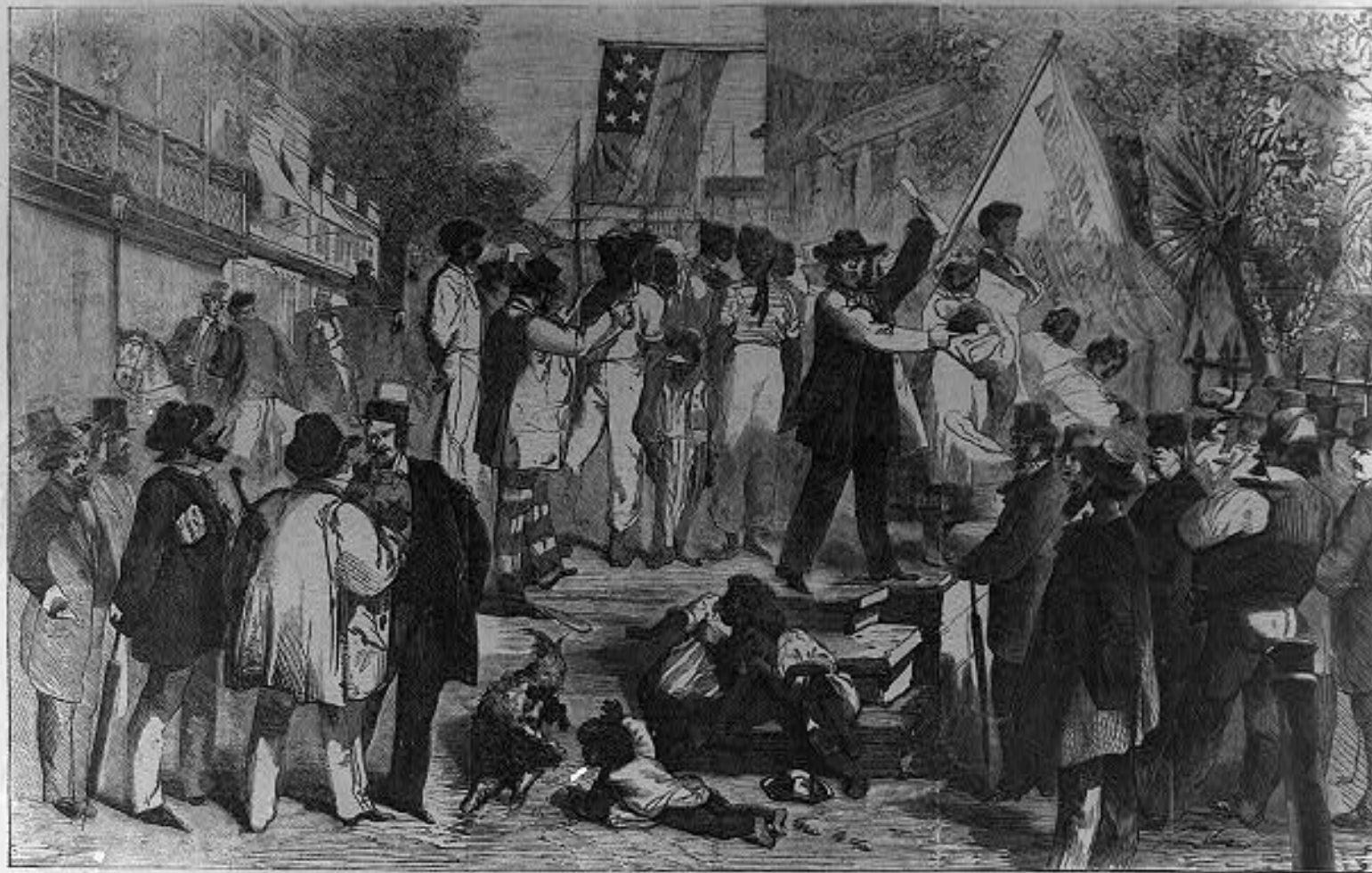
US constitution

Article IV, Section 2, Clause 3:

No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.



Statue Nat
Turner
Richmond,
Virginia



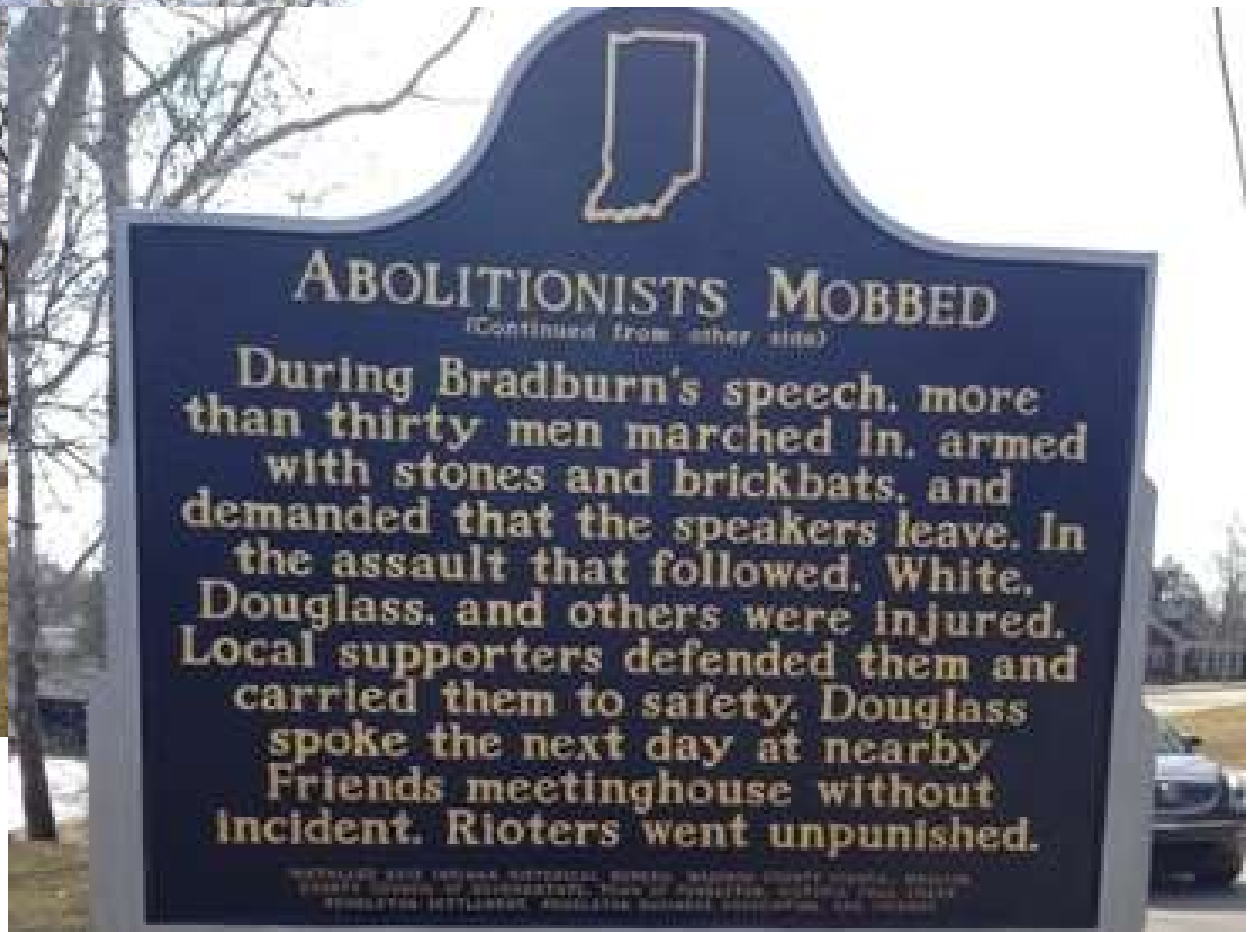
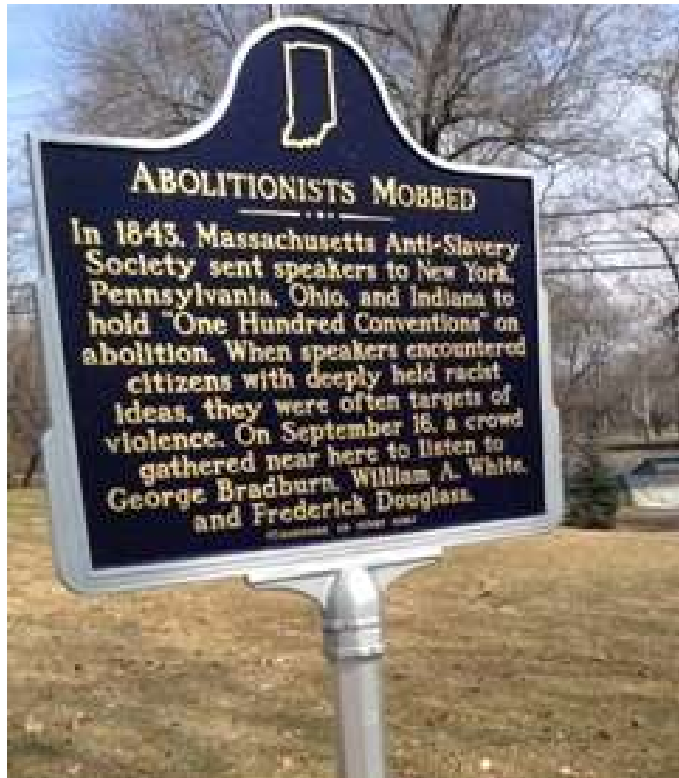
A SLAVE AUCTION BY THE SOUTH-EAST AS ORIGINALLY SKETCHED BY THOMAS E. BATES.—[SEE PAGE 61.]

Slave
auction
around
1860



Harper's ferry
soldiers 1859







Frederick Douglass

NARRATIVE
OF THE
LIFE
OF
FREDERICK DOUGLASS,
AN
AMERICAN SLAVE.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED AT THE ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE,
No. 25 CORNHILL
1845.

Eleven days and a half gone, and I have crossed three thousand miles of the perilous deep. Instead of a democratic government, I am under a monarchical government. Instead of the bright, blue sky of America, I am covered with the soft, grey fog of the Emerald Isle. I breathe, and lo! the chattel becomes a man. I gaze around in vain for one who will question my equal humanity, claim me as his slave, or offer me an insult. I employ a cab—I am seated beside white people—I reach the hotel—I enter the same door—I am shown into the same parlor—I dine at the same table—and no one is offended.... I find myself regarded and treated at every turn with the kindness and deference paid to white people. When I go to church, I am met by no upturned nose

1847



Justice - at the door:
I. SURELY AM NOT EXCLUDED